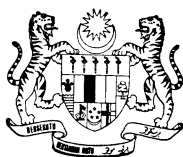


Volume 1  
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Thursday  
10th September, 1964

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT  
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT  
OF MALAYSIA

## CONTENTS

**BILL PRESENTED [Col. 1733]**

**MOTIONS:**

**Perishtiharan Dharurat—Proclamation of Emergency  
(Command Paper No. 25 of 1964) [Col. 1733]**

**The Customs Duties (Amendment No. 6) Order, 1964  
[Col. 1851]**

**The Customs Duties (Amendment No. 7) Order, 1964  
[Col. 1852]**

**EXEMPTED BUSINESS (Motion) [Col. 1789]**

**ADJOURNMENT *SINE DIE* (Motion) [Col. 1789]**

**SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDER 48 (Motion)  
[Col. 1853]**

**THE EMERGENCY (ESSENTIAL POWERS) BILL, 1964  
[Col. 1854]**

MALAYSIA

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

*Official Report*

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First Session of the Second Dewan Ra'ayat

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*Thursday, 10th September, 1964*

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

PRESENT :

- The Honourable Mr Speaker, TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S.
- „ the Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Youth, Culture and Sports, Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M. (Kuala Kedah).
- „ the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, Minister of National and Rural Development, TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, DATO' V. T. SAMBANTHAN, P.M.N. (Sungei Siput).
- „ the Minister of Transport, DATO' HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, ENCHE' MOHAMED KHIR JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Health, ENCHE' BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN (Kuala Pilah).
- „ the Minister of Education, ENCHE' ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB (Kuantan).
- „ the Minister for Welfare Services, TUAN HAJI ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, J.M.N., J.P. (Batang Padang).
- „ the Minister for Local Government and Housing, ENCHE' KHAW KAI-BOH, P.J.K. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister for Sarawak Affairs, DATO' TEMENGGONG JUGAH ANAK BARIENG, P.M.N., P.D.K. (Sarawak).
- „ the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).
- „ the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, ENCHE' SENU BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ the Minister of Lands and Mines, ENCHE' MOHAMED GHAZALI BIN HAJI JAWI (Ulu Perak).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry, TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).
- the Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development and Assistant Minister of Justice, ENCHE' ABDUL-RAHMAN BIN YA'KUB (Sarawak).

- The Honourable the Assistant Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives,  
ENCHE' SULAIMAN BIN BULON (Bagan Datoh).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Youth, Culture and Sports,  
ENGKU MUHSEIN BIN ABDUL KADIR (Trengganu Tengah).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Education, ENCHE' LEE SIOK YEW,  
A.M.N., P.J.K. (Sepang).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL KARIM BIN ABU, A.M.N. (Melaka Selatan).
- „ WAN ABDUL KADIR BIN ISMAIL (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAHIM ISHAK (Singapore).
- „ WAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN DATU TUANKU BUJANG (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDUL RASHID BIN HAJI JAIS (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN, K.M.N., P.J.K.  
(Krian Laut).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN (Lipis).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN GUL AHMAD MIANJI  
(Pasar Mas Hulu).
- „ DATO' ABDULLAH BIN ABDULRAHMAN, Dato' Bijaya di-Raja  
(Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ Y.A.M. TUNKU ABDULLAH IBNI AL-MARHUM TUANKU ABDUL  
RAHMAN, P.P.T. (Rawang).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI MOHD. SALLEH, A.M.N., S.M.J.,  
P.I.S. (Segamat Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABU BAKAR BIN HAMZAH (Bachok).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN ABDULLAH (Kelantan Hilir).
- „ ENCHE' AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N. (Muar Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAAID (Seberang Utara).
- „ CHE' AJIBAH BINTI ABOL (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' ALI BIN HAJI AHMAD (Pontian Selatan).
- „ O.K.K. DATU ALIUDDIN BIN DATU HARUN, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ DR AWANG BIN HASSAN, S.M.J. (Muar Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- „ ENCHE' JONATHAN BANGAU ANAK RENANG (Sarawak).
- „ PENGARAH BANYANG ANAK JANTING (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SEONG YOON (Setapak).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SIANG SUN (Bentong).
- „ ENCHE' CHEN WING SUM (Damansara).
- „ ENCHE' CHIA CHIN SHIN (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' FRANCIS CHIA NYUK TONG (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' CHIA THYE POH (Singapore).
- „ ENCHE' CHIN FOON (Ulu Kinta).
- „ ENCHE' C. V. DEVAN NAIR (Bungsar).
- „ ENCHE' EDWIN ANAK TANGKUN (Sarawak).
- „ DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI ABDUL MAJID  
(Johor Bahru Timor).
- „ DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N.  
(Jitra-Padang Terap).

The Honourable ENCHE' S. FAZUL RAHMAN, A.D.K. (Sabah).

- „ DATU GANIE GILONG, P.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' GANING BIN JANGKAT (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT, K.M.N. (Penang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N. (Kapar).
- „ ENCHE' HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N. (Kulim Utara).
- „ ENCHE' HANAFIAH BIN HUSSAIN, A.M.N. (Jerai).
- „ ENCHE' HARUN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Baling).
- „ WAN HASSAN BIN WAN DAUD (Tumpat).
- „ ENCHE' HO SEE BENG (Singapore).
- „ ENCHE' STANLEY HO NYUN KHIU, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN TO' MUDA HASSAN, A.M.N. (Raub).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Parit).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN SULAIMAN (Ulu Kelantan).
- „ TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN  
(Kota Bharu Hulu).
- „ ENCHE' IKHWAN ZAINI (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Seberang Tengah).
- „ ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN IDRIS (Penang Selatan).
- „ PENGHULU JINGGUT ANAK ATTAN (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' KAM WOON WAH, J.P. (Sitiawan).
- „ ENCHE' KHOO PENG LOONG (Sarawak).
- „ DATU KHOO SIAK CHIEW, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' KOW KEE SENG (Singapore).
- „ ENCHE' EDMUND LANGGU ANAK SAGA (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N. (Segamat Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
- „ ENCHE' LING BENG SIEW (Sarawak).
- „ DR LIM CHONG EU (Tanjong).
- „ ENCHE' LIM HUAN BOON (Singapore).
- „ ENCHE' LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- „ ENCHE' LIM PEE HUNG (Alor Star).
- „ DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD (Kota Star Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).
- „ ENCHE' JOE MANJAJI (Sabah).
- „ DR HAJI MEGAT KHAS, J.P., P.J.K. (Kuala Kangsar).
- „ ENCHE' MOHD. ARIF SALLEH, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA, P.M.K. (Pasir Puteh).
- „ ORANG TUA MOHAMMAD DARA BIN LANGPAD (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' MOHD. DAUD BIN ABDUL SAMAD (Besut).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED IDRIS BIN MATSIL, J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P.  
(Jelebu-Jempol).
- „ ENCHE' MOHD. TAHIR BIN ABDUL MAJID, S.M.S., P.J.K.  
(Kuala Langat).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- „ ENCHE' MOHD. ZAHIR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Sungei Patani).

The Honourable WAN MOKHTAR BIN AHMAD (Kemaman).

- „ TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' MUHAMMAD FAKHRUDDIN BIN HAJI ABDULLAH (Pasir Mas Hilir).
- „ TUAN HAJI MUHAMMAD SU'AUT BIN HAJI MUHD. TAHIR (Sarawak).
- „ DATO' HAJI MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ABDUL JABAR, D.P.M.S., A.M.N., J.P. (Sabak Bernam).
- „ ENCHE' MUSTAPHA BIN AHMAD (Tanah Merah).
- „ DATO' NIK AHMED KAMIL, D.K., S.P.M.K., S.M.J.K., P.M.N., P.Y.G.P., Dato' Sri Setia Raja (Kota Bharu Hilir).
- „ ENCHE' NG FAH YAM (Batu Gajah).
- „ DR NG KAM POH, J.P. (Telok Anson).
- „ ENCHE' ONG KEE HUI (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN HAJI OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Hilir Perak).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- „ ABANG OTHMAN BIN HAJI MOASILI (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN WOK (Singapore).
- „ ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Timor).
- „ ENCHE' S. RAJARATNAM (Singapore).
- „ TUAN HAJI RAHMAT BIN HAJI DAUD, A.M.N. (Johor Bahru Barat).
- „ ENCHE' RAMLI BIN OMAR (Krian Darat).
- „ TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID, P.J.K., J.P. (Rembau-Tampin).
- „ RAJA ROME BIN RAJA MA'AMOR (Kuala Selangor).
- „ ENCHE' SANDOM ANAK NYUAK (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' SEAH TENG NGIAB, P.I.S. (Muar Pantai).
- „ ENCHE' D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ ENCHE' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM (Menglembu).
- „ ENCHE' SIM BOON LIANG (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' SNG CHIN JOO (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' SOH AH TECK (Batu Pahat).
- „ DATU DONALD ALOYSIUS STEPHENS, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' SULEIMAN BIN ALI (Dungun).
- „ PENGIRAN TAHIR PETRA (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' TAJUDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- „ ENCHE' TAI KUAN YANG (Kulim Bandar Bharu).
- „ ENCHE' TAMA WENG TINGGANG WAN (Sarawak).
- „ DR TAN CHEE KHOON (Batu).
- „ ENCHE' TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- „ ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
- „ ENCHE' TAN TOH HONG (Bukit Bintang).
- „ ENCHE' TAN TSAK YU (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' TIAH ENG BEE (Kluang Utara).
- „ DR TOH CHIN CHYE (Singapore).
- „ ENCHE' TOH THEAM HOCK (Kampar).
- „ PENGHULU FRANCIS UMPAU ANAK EMPAM (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' WEE TOON BOON (Singapore).
- „ ENCHE' YEH PAO TZE (Sabah).

The Honourable ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).

„ ENCHE' STEPHEN YONG KUET TZE (Sarawak).

„ TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB (Langat).

#### ABSENT:

The Honourable the Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Justice,  
DATO' DR ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N.  
(Johor Timor).

„ the Minister of Finance, ENCHE' TAN SIEW SIN, J.P.  
(Melaka Tengah).

„ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, DR LIM SWEE AUN,  
J.P. (Larut Selatan).

„ DR GOH KENG SWEE (Singapore).

„ DATO' SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, P.M.N.  
(Johor Tenggara).

„ ENCHE' JEK YEUN THONG (Singapore).

„ ENCHE' KADAM ANAK KIAI (Sarawak).

„ ENCHE' LEE KUAN YEW (Singapore).

„ DATO' LIM KIM SAN, D.U.T. (Singapore).

„ ENCHE' AMADEUS MATHEW LEONG, A.D.K. (Sabah).

„ ENCHE' PETER LO SU YIN (Sabah).

„ ENCHE' ONG PANG BOON (Singapore).

„ ENCHE' SIEW LOONG HIN, P.J.K. (Seremban Barat).

„ ENCHE' YONG NYUK LIN (Singapore).

### PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

### BILL PRESENTED

#### THE EMERGENCY (ESSENTIAL POWERS) BILL, 1964

Bill to confer certain powers on the Yang di-Pertuan Agong which it is expedient that His Majesty should be enabled to exercise in the emergency proclaimed on the third day of September, 1964, under Article 150 of the Federation Constitution; presented by the Deputy Prime Minister; read the first time; to be read a second time at this sitting of the House.

### MOTIONS

#### PERISHTIHARAN DHARURAT— (PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY)

Command Paper No. 25 of 1964

**The Prime Minister:** Tuan Speaker, sa-belum daripada saya mengemukakan usul yang terkandung dalam agenda

persidangan Dewan Ra'ayat pada hari ini, maka terlebih dahulu saya suka menyatakan kepada Dewan ini bahawa pada hari Perishtihran Dharurat itu di-tandatangani oleh Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong, saya telah membuatkan satu kenyataan kepada surat<sup>2</sup> khabar dan radio bahawa Kerajaan telah berpuas hati ia-itu kita sedang menghadapi keadaan dharurat dan keselamatan negara kita sedang di-ancham. Fasal 150 dalam Perlembagaan kita menyatakan bahawa dalam keadaan yang saperti itu Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong boleh mengeluarkan satu Perishtihran Dharurat.

Tanggong-jawab saya pada hari ini ia-lah mendapatkan sokongan yang sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya dari semua Ahli Dewan Ra'ayat ini kepada Perishtihran itu.

Sa-sungguh-nya kita semua merasa amat dukachita kerana terpaksa mengishtihran sa-kali lagi keadaan dharurat dalam negeri kita ini, walhal-nya baharu sahaja 3 tahun yang lepas kita telah merayakan tamat-nya

dharurat yang telah berjalan semenjak tahun 1948. Di-antara masa dharurat itu di-tamatkan pada 31 haribulan Julai, 1961 sa-hingga kapada masa Indonesia melancarkan konferantasi terhadap kita ia-itu kira<sup>2</sup> pada 12 haribulan April, 1963 kita telah dapat merasa megah kerana kita telah dapat hidup dalam suasana yang aman dan riang gembira sa-kali pun negara kita ini terletak di-tengah<sup>2</sup> Benua Asia yang penoh dengan beberapa kekachauan dan pemberontakan<sup>2</sup>, malang-nya kita tidak dapat mengechap nikmat keamanan itu lama sa-bagai yang kita chita<sup>2</sup>.

Dalam ucapan<sup>2</sup> saya di-Dewan ini saya telah menegaskan beberapa kali bahawa sungguh pun kita telah dapat mengalahkan kominis di-negeri kita ini tetapi kita tidak dapat mengalahkan kominis itu sa-lama<sup>2</sup>-nya dan kita tidak dapat menawan atau menghapuskan-nya sama sa-kali dan lambat-laun pada satu hari kelak mereka akan monchol kembali. Salah satu dari sebab<sup>2</sup> yang membawa kapada kekalahan mereka dahulu itu ia-lah kerana mereka tidak mendapat sokongan dengan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya daripada orang<sup>2</sup> dalam negeri kita ini. Sekarang, dengan ada-nya sokongan yang mereka dapat daripada Indonesia yang ada pengikut<sup>2</sup>-nya di-sini mereka chuba hendak memulakan balek usaha<sup>2</sup> membuat kekachauan dalam negeri kita ini. Sa-belum dari konferantasi mereka telah berundur menyembunyi dan menyurokkan diri mereka itu untuk menunggu<sup>2</sup> peluang bagi memulakan balek kekachauan dan keganasan mereka itu. Saya perchaya tentu-lah mereka telah bersunggh<sup>2</sup> bermuafakat dengan pehak yang ada di-luar negeri untuk meranchangkan satu gerakan bersama yang lebeh besar lagi daripada yang mereka telah lakukan dalam tahun 1948 sampai tahun 1961.

Dari semenjak tamat-nya dharurat, kemudahan untuk belayar ka-sana dan ka-sini telah di-beri dengan tidak ada sekatan oleh Kerajaan kita ini. Banyak dari mereka ada yang pergi ka-negeri China telah di-benarkan masuk balek ka-negeri ini dan mereka yang dudok di-sini telah di-beri kebenaran pergi ka-Hongkong atau pun ka-Indonesia di-mana mereka dapat peluang berun-

ding dan bermuafakat dengan badan<sup>2</sup> kominis dan seteru<sup>2</sup> kita di-luar negeri ini dengan senang sahaja.

Pada tahun lepas kita telah menerima laporan yang menunjukkan bahawa pegawai<sup>2</sup> Kedutaan Indonesia termasuk Duta Besar-nya sendiri dan juga kaki-tangan<sup>2</sup> Jabatan Konsul Indonesia di-Pulau Pinang, Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak telah menjalankan kerja<sup>2</sup> khianat dan perbuatan<sup>2</sup> menentang Kerajaan negeri kita ini. Sa-benar-nya pehak yang mula<sup>2</sup> sa-kali membuka tembelang perbuatan khianat itu ia-lah sa-buah akhbar Melayu, ia-itu *Utusan Melayu*. Akhbar itu telah menyatakan bahawa Duta Besar Indonesia sendiri telah bersunggh<sup>2</sup> berusaha membangkitkan rasa silap faham di-kalangan penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-dalam negeri kita ini dengan tujuan supaya timbul pergadohan<sup>2</sup> kaum antara orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dengan orang<sup>2</sup> China dan juga menyemaikan rasa tidak puas hati di-kalangan anggota<sup>2</sup> Pasokan Keselamatan. Akhir-nya sa-kali, kita terpaksa mengambil tindakan ka-atas sa-orang ahli Dewan ini dan juga ahli beberapa buah parti politik yang pendirian-nya chenderong hala ka-kiri atau pun parti<sup>2</sup> yang chenderong ka-hala Indonesia, kerana perbuatan<sup>2</sup> mereka yang tidak setia kapada negeri kita ini yang mengancham keselamatan dalam negeri ini.

Pada 11 haribulan Disember, 1963 saya telah membentangkan satu Kertas Puteh berkenaan dengan perhubungan antara Malaysia dengan Indonesia dalam Dewan ini yang terkandung di-dalam-nya peristiwa<sup>2</sup> dan kejadian<sup>2</sup> yang membawa kapada terputus-nya perhubungan diplomatic dengan Indonesia dan juga pendapat saya tentang perkara<sup>2</sup> yang membawa kapada berlaku-nya keadaan yang mendukachitakan itu. Pada waktu itu saya telah memberi tahu kapada Dewan ini bahawa dari semenjak 12 haribulan April, 1963 beberapa banyak kejadian mencheroboh masuk ka-dalam wilayah kita telah berlaku yang menyebabkan timbul beberapa pertemporan<sup>2</sup> antara Pasokan Keselamatan kita dengan pencheroboh<sup>2</sup> Indonesia. Orang<sup>2</sup> Indonesia yang bersenjata telah melanggar masuk ka-sempadan kita, mereka telah

menghantar pengintip<sup>2</sup> rahsia dan pengachau<sup>2</sup> serta penghasut<sup>2</sup> dari Indonesia ka-Malaysia, dan ejen<sup>2</sup> mereka telah menjalankan kerja<sup>2</sup> subversive dalam Malaysia dengan chergas terutamanya sa-kali di-Singapura.

Saya telah memberi tahu Dewan ini ia-itu sukarelawan<sup>2</sup> Irian Barat dari Malaya yang telah di-tanam dengan perasaan anti-Malaysia sa-masa mereka berlateh di-Indonesia itu telah pun dihantar balek ka-Malaya dalam bulan Disember tahun 1962 untuk menjalankan kerja<sup>2</sup> subversive dalam negeri ini. Banyak daripada mereka yang bekerja untuk kepentingan musuh dan yang menyokong Indonesia perchaya bahawa mereka akan mendapat fa'edah dan untong yang besar kira-nya Indonesia merampas negeri kita ini. Parti<sup>2</sup> dan orang<sup>2</sup> ini ia-lah mereka yang tiada berjaya dalam lapangan politik yang berchorak demokrasi dan tidak dapat memerintah negeri ini melainkan dengan chara yang haram.

Pada masa konferantasi itu mula berlaku, Indonesia telah menyerang nelayan<sup>2</sup> kita yang tidak bersenjata dan merompak serta merampas ikan<sup>2</sup> tangkapan mereka, alat<sup>2</sup> dan perahu<sup>2</sup> mereka, di-dalam kawasan perayeran negeri kita ini atau pun di-dalam territorial water. Di-dalam kesemua serangan<sup>2</sup> itu kita dapati kapal<sup>2</sup> meriam Indonesia dan askar<sup>2</sup> laut Indonesia telah terlibat sama. Dalam masa itu juga kapal<sup>2</sup> terbang Indonesia telah kelihatan mencheroboh angkasa negeri kita ini di-wilayah<sup>2</sup> Borneo dan juga di-Tanah Melayu.

Terang dan jelas-lah sekarang ini bahawa Indonesia sedang memberi bantuan yang banyak kepada kominis dan dari bukti<sup>2</sup> yang kita telah dapati Kerajaan Indonesia yang pro-kominis itu telah menjalankan fitnah—telah membuat pakatan dengan ahli<sup>2</sup> parti kominis di-sini, dan dengan ada-nya pakatan itu maka kira<sup>2</sup> 2,000 orang pemuda pemudi daripada bangsa China dari Sabah dan Sarawak dan juga kira<sup>2</sup> 300 orang dari Singapura termasuk juga orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan kira<sup>2</sup> 200 orang dari negeri<sup>2</sup> lain di-Tanah Melayu ini telah pergi ka-Indonesia untuk di-lateh di-dalam berbagai<sup>2</sup> kerja subversive

dan di-dalam peperangan gurila. Di-dalam masa kejadian<sup>2</sup> itu berlaku, ahli<sup>2</sup> dalam sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> parti politik yang halal dan haram, yang ada di-dalam Malaya ini dan juga di-Singapura, telah mula menunjukkan sokongan mereka kepada Indonesia dan bersatu dengan anasir<sup>2</sup> yang tidak ta'at setia kepada negeri kita ini untuk berusaha bagi memudahkan perchubaa<sup>2</sup> Indonesia hendak mengganyang atau menghancurkan Malaysia ini. Sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> pertubuhan politik telah menunjukkan dengan terang<sup>2</sup> dan terus terang sokongan mereka kepada Indonesia dengan chara menghasut pemuda pemudi negeri ini supaya jangan mempertahankan negara mereka dan jangan mendaftarkan diri mereka untuk berkhidmat dalam negeri mereka sendiri. Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat harus telah membacha satu berita dalam sa-buah surat khabar berkenaan dengan sa-buah parti politik menyebarkan risalah<sup>2</sup> dan isi kandungan-nya sangat berlawanan dengan kepentingan negeri ini, dan melemahkan semangat keperwiraan ra'ayat. Jika perbuatan<sup>2</sup> khianat dan derhaka saperti ini tidak di-chegah, maka tentu-lah Malaysia tidak dapat mempertahankan diri-nya dari musuh luar negeri yang di-bantu oleh pengkhianat<sup>2</sup> dan tali<sup>2</sup> barut Indonesia itu dengan tujuan supaya pergadohan<sup>2</sup> dan kekachauan di-antara kaum akan menghilangkan tenaga dan melemahkan Kerajaan untuk menentang pencerobohan dari luar negeri.

Kekachauan yang berlaku di-Singapura itu susah juga hendak di-kawal kerana pengaruh ejen<sup>2</sup> Indonesia dalam kawasan pergadohan<sup>2</sup> itu ada-lah kuat. Apakala keadaan telah puleh kembali berikutan dengan lawatan saya ka-Singapura sa-lepas dari kejadian yang pertama dan orang<sup>2</sup> Singapura telah puas hati dengan jaminan<sup>2</sup> yang saya beri untuk menyiasat dan membaiki kehidupan orang<sup>2</sup> miskin di-negeri itu maka ejen<sup>2</sup> Indonesia itu telah pergi ka-serata tempat menghasut orang<sup>2</sup> ramai supaya jangan perchaya kepada Tun Razak dan kepada saya, dan juga menyuruh mereka meneruskan perbuatan membalas dendam. Ada laporan<sup>2</sup> yang menunjukkan bahawa beberapa orang ahli parti politik dari Tanah

Melayu ini telah pergi ka-Singapura dengan tujuan hendak menjalankan perbuatan menghasut orang ramai dengan chara memberi kepada mereka 'azimat<sup>2</sup> dan risalah<sup>2</sup> yang derhaka dan berbagai<sup>2</sup> seruan dan akuan untuk membangkitkan sa-mula segala pergadohan dan kekacauan itu.

Jawatan-kuasa Muhibbah tidak dapat hendak mengatasi perbuatan<sup>2</sup> anasir yang tersebut kerana ada-lah difikirkan bahawa kuasa untuk mengambil tindakan ka-atas orang<sup>2</sup> itu terletak di-dalam tangan Polis. Dengan sebab itu kerja<sup>2</sup> jawatan-kuasa ini tidak-lah lagi berkesan. Oleh yang demikian saya telah memberi arahan kepada Polis supaya chuba menchari jalan bagaimana hendak membaiki perjalanan kerja<sup>2</sup> mereka, dengan chara memberi kewajipan<sup>2</sup> yang munasabah dan tertentu kepada Jawatan-kuasa Muhibbah itu. Sa-kira-nya chara yang saperti ini tidak juga akan mendatangkan fa'edah, maka saya telah meminta Polis mengkaji sama ada elok di-gantikan Jawatan-kuasa Muhibbah itu dengan jawatan<sup>2</sup>-kuasa yang lain yang akan bekerja bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan Polis.

Dengan bantuan dari ejen<sup>2</sup>—tali<sup>2</sup> barut Indonesia dan kominis itu, itu-lah juga yang membolehkan Indonesia mendaratkan tentera-nya di-tiga tempat dalam daerah Pontian pada 17 haribulan Ogos dan menggugorkan askar<sup>2</sup> Komando mereka di-Labis pada pagi<sup>2</sup> 2 September.

Sekarang ada pula khabar<sup>2</sup> angin yang mengatakan mereka juga telah menggugorkan lagi tentera<sup>2</sup> tambahan di-Labis. Khabar angin ini jangan-lah di-perchaya<sup>2</sup> sa-hingga Kerajaan telah mengesahkan-nya.

Beberapa orang dari mereka, sunggoh pun bilangan yang kechil, ia-itu orang<sup>2</sup> yang derhaka atau orang<sup>2</sup> yang mendarat telah dapat lepas lari dari kepongan Pasokan Keselamatan kita dan berpechah<sup>2</sup> masok ka-bahagian lain, dan sa-bahagian besar sa-benarnya dari mereka telah di-tembak mati atau pun di-tawan. Musoh<sup>2</sup> itu tidak dapat lari dari kepongan Pasokan Keselamatan itu kechuali dengan pertolongan yang di-beri oleh penderhaka<sup>2</sup>

yang ada di-negeri ini yang telah berpakat sama dengan pehak seteru itu.

Di-negeri<sup>2</sup> Sabah dan Sarawak bilangan tentera<sup>2</sup> musoh yang di-tembak mati hingga 31 Julai ia-lah 206 orang, tertangkap 150 orang, menyerah diri 55 orang, terchedera dan lepas lari 83 orang, berbanding dengan 45 orang askar kita yang terbunuh dan 80 orang terchedera.

Kita mempunyai bukti yang menjukkan bahawa Indonesia berchadang hendak mengharu kita lagi kerana mereka dapati bahawa mereka mendapat bantuan dari kominis dan anasir<sup>2</sup> lain yang menyokong mereka dan juga penderhaka<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-negeri ini. Sa-bagaimana yang telah saya katakan tadi, kita sangat berdukachita kerana dalam masa kita menghadapi anchaman dari luar itu, ada pula sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> parti politik di-sini yang menunjukkan sokongan mereka dengan terang<sup>2</sup> kepada musoh kita. Dengan kerana itu tentu-lah timbul pertanyaan dalam hati kita sama ada patut kita memberi hak<sup>2</sup> demokrasi kepada parti<sup>2</sup> yang tujuan-nya sa-mata<sup>2</sup> hendak menjahanam dan menchabul demokrasi (*Tepok*). Kita menjamin bahawa kita boleh berlawan dengan Indonesia dan menahankan negeri kita dari serangan musoh, asalkan musoh di-dalam negeri kita ini dapat dihapuskan (*Tepok*).

Oleh yang demikian mustahak-lah Kerajaan mengambil langkah sekarang juga supaya keadaan itu tidak menjadi bertambah burok. Sudah-lah terang dan jelas kepada kita semua bahawa kira-nya musoh kita itu tidak mendapat sokongan daripada anasir<sup>2</sup> yang khianat dan daripada kominis, maka tentu-lah mereka tidak dapat mendaratkan dan menggugorkan tentera mereka di-Tanah Melayu ini, dan tentu-lah tentera<sup>2</sup> pencheroboh itu tidak dapat lari dari kepongan tentera<sup>2</sup> kita. Sa-balek-nya pula dengan bantuan dan kerjasama dari ra'ayat negeri ini yang ta'at setia, kita telah dapat ketahu<sup>2</sup> di-mana musoh itu ada dan dapat bertemu mereka, dan juga orang<sup>2</sup> kampung sendiri telah menawan dan menyerahkan musoh itu kepada polis. Mereka telah menangkap musoh itu

dengan tidak menghiraukan bahaya kepada jiwa mereka sendiri kerana mereka redza mati dari menyerahkan negeri mereka kepada musuh mentah<sup>2</sup>.

Apakala parti Perikatan mengemukakan soal pencherobohan Indonesia dalam pilihan raya yang lepas, parti kita telah mendapat sokongan yang besar daripada ra'ayat yang benar<sup>2</sup> ta'at setia kepada negeri ini. Oleh itu kita tidak merasa bimbang sa-kali pun ada pengkhianat<sup>2</sup> dalam kalangan kita kerana mereka itu bilangan-nya sangat kecil jika di-bandingkan dengan bilangan orang<sup>2</sup> yang ta'at setia. Sa-kali pun begitu Kerajaan mustahak bertindak dengan segera bagi mengatasi kedudukan yang burok itu dan bagi mendatangkan perasaan tenang dan semangat kuat di-antara orang<sup>2</sup> ramai.

Dengan menjalankan kuat kuasa peratoran Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat itu, bukan-lah tujuan Kerajaan hendak menyusahkan ra'ayat negeri ini yang ta'at setia. Saya boleh memberi jaminan bahawa peratoran itu tidak akan memberi sa-barang kesan burok ka-atas kehidupan dan gerak geri ra'ayat yang ta'at setia, gudang<sup>2</sup> perniagaan, estate<sup>2</sup> dan lombong<sup>2</sup>. Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat itu bertujuan supaya dapat Kerajaan bertindak dengan chepat dan maju menentang musuh, ejen<sup>2</sup> dan talibarut<sup>2</sup> mereka. Ra'ayat yang ta'at setia tidak patut takut atau bimbang kepada Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat ini.

Sekarang Kerajaan hendak mengadakan sa-buah Jawatan-kuasa untuk menyusun perkara<sup>2</sup> penerangan mengenai dengan dharurat. Kerajaan hendak menyebarkan berjuta<sup>2</sup> risalah dalam semua bahasa melalui saluran pentadbiran dan lain-nya supaya dapatlah orang ramai dalam seluroh negeri ini faham akan tujuan Kerajaan yang telah mengishtiharkan dharurat itu. Risalah<sup>2</sup> ini akan mengandongi penerangan<sup>2</sup> kepada orang<sup>2</sup> ramai berkenaan dengan Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat, kejayaan<sup>2</sup> yang di-chapai untuk mengawal keamanan dan keterangan<sup>2</sup> berkait dengan kejadian<sup>2</sup> yang berlaku. Risalah<sup>2</sup> itu juga akan mengajar orang ramai bagaimana chara yang sa-baik<sup>2</sup>-nya untuk mereka bekerjasama dengan Kerajaan, dan perkara<sup>2</sup> yang Kerajaan

suka mendapat ma'alumat dari orang ramai dan bagaimana jalan yang sa-baik<sup>2</sup>-nya untuk mereka menyampaikan ma'alumat itu. Saya suka memberi amaran kepada parti<sup>2</sup> politik yang berkenaan ia-itu kira-nya mereka maseh juga menunjukkan sokongan kepada musuh dengan jalan menyebarkan di'ayah<sup>2</sup> yang bohong dan yang menghasut sa-bagaimana yang mereka telah lakukan, maka Kerajaan tidak ada jalan lain melainkan terpaksa-lah mengambil tindakan yang kuat dan tegas ka-atas mereka. Tetapi sa-belum saya berbuat begitu saya rasa sangat-lah patut saya memberi amaran terlebih dahulu kepada parti<sup>2</sup> politik itu pada sa'at dan hari ini.

Kita dudok di-sini dalam sa-buah negara yang demokratik. Oleh itu sangat-lah patut bagi semua parti<sup>2</sup> politik yang di-benarkan dan di-halalkan di-negeri ini mengamalkan dan patoh kepada asas<sup>2</sup> demokrasi. Sa-balek-nya jika mereka menchabul asas<sup>2</sup> demokrasi dan hak<sup>2</sup> kelebihan serta peluang<sup>2</sup> yang di-beri kepada mereka itu sa-hingga mengancam keselamatan dan kedaulatan negeri ini, maka Kerajaan terpaksa-lah mengambil tindakan ka-atas mereka saperti yang telah saya sebutkan tadi.

Dengan ada-nya keadaan dharurat ini maka Kerajaan akan membesarkan Tentera Wataniah (Territorial Army), Pasokan<sup>2</sup> Pengawal Kampong (Vigilante Corps), menghidupkan balek Badan atau Pasokan Pertahanan 'Awam dan Home Guard yang telah menunjukkan jasa mereka dalam masa dharurat dahulu. Dengan membesarkan dan menghidupkan balek pasokan<sup>2</sup> ini, maka kita berharap akan dapat menamatkan keadaan dharurat itu dengan segera, tetapi wajib-lah bagi sakalian ra'ayat yang ta'at setia kepada negeri ini memberi perkhidmatan mereka kepada Kerajaan dan menolong Kerajaan untuk menamatkan dharurat itu dengan sa-berapa segera yang boleh.

Saya amat-lah sukachita kerana banyak Union<sup>2</sup> yang besar, ia-itu National Union of Plantation Workers, National Union of Teachers, Congress of Unions of Employees in

the Public and Civil Services, Railwaysmen's Union of Malaya, Malayan Technical Services Union, War Department Civilian Staff Association, University Students Union dan Persatuan Silat Gayong Kedah, yang telah berjanji hendak memberi sokongan yang sa-penoh-nya kapada Kerajaan dalam sa'at dharurat ini. (*Tepok*). Maka saya suka mengambil peluang ini untuk menguchapkan terima kaseh kapada ketua<sup>2</sup> dan ahli<sup>2</sup> kesatuan<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut. Saya perchaya Kesatuan<sup>2</sup> Majikan juga akan turut sama memberi pengakuan mereka untuk menyokong Kerajaan.

Saya berseru kapada seluroh ra'ayat negeri ini supaya tampil ka-hadapan memberi sokongan mereka kapada Kerajaan dengan chara menawarkan diri mereka untuk berkhidmat didalam salah satu Pasokan yang saya sebut tadi. Sokongan yang sa-habis kechil sa-kali yang boleh di-beri oleh satu<sup>2</sup> orang pada masa ini ia-lah menolong supaya perasaan muhibbah di-antara kaum itu dapat di-pelihara. Sa-barang berita<sup>2</sup> angin yang boleh menimbulkan rasa benchi antara satu sama lain mesti-lah segera di-padamkan, kerana tujuan orang yang menimbulkan berita angin itu ia-lah hendak membangkitkan rasa benchi dan shak wasangka antara semua kaum yang dudok di-sini dengan aman dan kaseh mesera dari semenjak ber-kurun<sup>2</sup> dahulu.

Negeri ini mempunyai chukup tempat, chukup hasil bumi dan chukup peluang untuk tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang boleh hidup dengan riang dan senang. Sa-lagi hak<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang terkandung dalam Perlembagaan itu di-hormati oleh orang<sup>2</sup> lain, maka orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu mesti-lah pula hormat hak<sup>2</sup> orang lain menchari kehidupan mereka dari sa-hari ka-sahari. Dengan adanya sikap hormat menghormati dan saling mengerti antara satu sama lain, maka saya tidak nampak sa-barang sebab kenapa boleh timbul sa-barang perasaan shak wasangka dan benchi membenchi di-antara satu kaum dengan lain. Perasaan yang burok itu tidak ada dahulu, jadi kenapa-kah perasaan itu boleh timbul sekarang ini. Oleh itu nyata-lah bahawa ke-

adaan itu bangkit sa-mata<sup>2</sup> dengan sebab perbuatan pengkhianat<sup>2</sup> dan puak derhaka yang di-beli oleh pehak seteru kita Indonesia untuk menimbulkan pergadohan dan kekacauan dalam negeri ini.

Kita merasa dukachita, kerana menghadapi konfrontasi dari sa-buah negeri yang kita sentiasa pandang sa-bagai negara jiran yang bersahabat, dan kita rasa lebeh<sup>2</sup> dukachita lagi, kerana orang<sup>2</sup> yang telah mendapat faedah dan keuntongan di-bawah Kerajaan demokrasi ini menggunakan hak<sup>2</sup> dan kebebasan mereka untuk menolong musuh yang hendak menghanchorkan dan menjahanamkan negeri ini. Oleh itu mesti-lah kita bertindak dengan chepat untuk menghadapi-nya. Kita berdo'a kapada Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala untuk memberi pertolongan dan melindungi kita.

Tuan Speaker, saya pohon mengemukakan usul yang berbunyi:

Bahawa Majlis ini dengan sa-penoh-nya bersetuju dan menyokong Perishtiharan Dharurat yang di-bentangkan dalam Majlis sa-bagai Kertas Titah No. 25 tahun 1964.

**Enche' Abdul Ghani bin Ishak (Melaka Utara):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun pada pagi yang bertuah ini ia-lah menyokong atas chadangan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri. Ada-lah menjadi kebanggaan kapada saya yang mewakili ra'ayat dalam kawasan saya yang semenjak dahulu lagi menchintaĩ keamanan, maka di-Dewan yang bertuah ini, pada pagi ini-lah dapat saya menyuarakan yang sa-benar-nya kehendak<sup>2</sup> bagi pehak ra'ayat yang saya wakili ia-itu tidak lain dan tidak bukan ia-lah untuk menjaga keamanan negara, untuk mempertahankan keamanan kita, dan juga untuk memenohi janji saya—janji Perikatan untuk memelihara maruah negeri ini.

Sa-bagaimana yang kita ketahuĩ bahawa sa-sabuah negeri tidak akan mendapat kemajuan, kalau sa-kira-nya tidak ada keamanan, dan apa yang paling penting pada kita semua sekarang ini ia-lah untuk menjaga keamanan itu kalau telah ada, dan barangkali menegakkan keamanan, kalau sa-kira-nya keamanan terduga.

Sa-bagaimana yang telah kita sama<sup>2</sup> tahu sa-bagaimana yang telah di-suarakan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku pada pagi ini, sa'-at-nya telah tiba kepada kita semua, kepada kita seluroh ra'ayat Malaysia ini untuk menyahut seruan tanah ayer kita untuk menjaga tanah ayer kita daripada kekacauan yang telah pun mulai timbul, dan harus kalau kita tidak waspada terhadap negara kita, negara kita akan tinggal dengan kenang<sup>2</sup>an pada masa akan datang, tetapi sa-bagai satu bangsa yang mengenalkan keadaan diri kita—sa-kali ini kita telah merdeka, saya rasa kita tidak boleh biarkan negeri kita hanchor daripada kemerdekaan itu untuk di-chabut, atau pun hilang daripada tangan kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana yang kita ketahui daripada keterangan yang di-berikan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku ia-itu ada di-antara ra'ayat di-dalam negeri ini yang dengan sukarela menjadi tali-barut pehak yang menyerang kita. Ini-lah, kalau kita, kalau ra'ayat yang chintakan keamanan, patut-lah daripada sekarang ini lebih ka-hadapan lagi untuk menchari jalan dan menghanchorkan sa-siapa juga yang menjadi tali-barut yang boleh menyampaikan musuh<sup>2</sup> itu bertapak kepada kita. Bukti-nya pada kita sekarang ini terang dengan tindakan<sup>2</sup> yang di-buat oleh orang atau pun mereka yang tidak bertanggung-jawab, ini akibat-nya tidak lain dan tidak bukan melainkan terkena kepada darah daging kita sendiri. Mithal-nya, kekacauan yang timbul di-Singapura, anasir<sup>2</sup> yang dapat menchuchok memechah-belahkan di-antara penduduk<sup>2</sup> dan ra'ayat di-sini, orang<sup>2</sup> yang terhasut atau mereka yang terhasut tentu-lah dapat memastikan sekarang ini, bukan orang yang menghasut itu menjadi atau pun mendapat kerugian, tetapi kita kalau tidak waspada dapat di-hasut atau dapat barangkali di-chuchok oleh mereka yang menchari kesempatan hendak menghanchorkan kita.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bila di-laksanakan Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat ini tentu-lah bagi pehak Kerajaan akan dapat menjalankan langkah dan lain<sup>2</sup>

lagi lebih berkesan daripada yang ada sekarang ini.

Saya pada pagi ini rasa saya tidak-lah bermaksud berchakap panjang dalam Majlis ini, tetapi sa-belum saya dudok dan sa-belum saya memberi peluang barangkali Ahli<sup>2</sup> yang lain berchakap dalam hal ini, bagi pehak saya menguchapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> tahniah kepada pehak<sup>2</sup> yang sa-lama-nya menghalusi atau pun mengambil berat dalam perkara<sup>2</sup> atau pun dalam hal<sup>2</sup>, sa-hingga dapat kita ketahui perkara<sup>2</sup> yang boleh mendatangkan kerosakan kepada negara kita. Umpama-nya ucapan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku, sa-bahagian daripada akhbar dalam tanah ayer kita ini, terutama sa-kali akhbar *Utusan Melayu*, mithal-nya, telah pun menyiarkan perkara atau pun langkah busok yang di-buat oleh Kedutaan<sup>2</sup> Indonesia yang ada di-sini yang di-taborkan-nya rachun perpechahan kepada semua ra'ayat, daripada masa penyibaran itu saya rasa kebanyakan ra'ayat di-tanah ayer kita ini dapat memahamkan dengan sa-sungguh<sup>2</sup>-nya benar-kah langkah atau pun apa-kah langkah yang telah di-buat atau yang di-adakan oleh wakil<sup>2</sup> atau ejen Indonesia yang ada di-tanah ayer kita.

Sa-lain daripada itu, kepada ra'ayat dalam Malaysia ini patut-lah kita menghalakan pandangan kita kepada saudara kita yang ada di-Pontian khas-nya ia-itu kita patut menguchapkan tahniah dan harus pada masa akan datang seluroh ra'ayat akan dapat menchontohi apa yang telah di-buktikan oleh ra'ayat atau oleh saudara kita khas-nya di-daerah Pontian walau pun tidak ada mempunyai senjata yang lengkap dan tidak ada mempunyai kesiapan yang barangkali disusun daripada awal, kerana kejadian ini tidak di-sangka telah pun memberi sokongan yang baik dan memberi sokongan kepada Kerajaan sa-hingga dapat kita ketahui sekarang ini banyak di-antara tindakan saudara<sup>2</sup> kita di-Pontian itu memberi hasil yang baik. Dan dalam hal ini nampak kepada saya, kerana di-wilayah saya sendiri pun telah menyahut seruan yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan, ia-itu kita masing<sup>2</sup> sekarang ini menjaga rumah

tingga kita walau sa-besar mana pun barangkali yang boleh kita buat, kita patut buat dan mesti buat untuk mempertahankan maruah negara kita, jadi sudah pun di-adakan pasokan<sup>2</sup>, terutama di-kampung<sup>2</sup> yang di-kenal sekarang ini dengan Pasokan Pengawal Kampung. Pada pihak Kerajaan pada masa akan datang ini saya suka-lah merayu untuk melengkapkan sedikit atau pun memberi alat<sup>2</sup> yang menasabah yang dapat di-gunakan oleh saudara<sup>2</sup> kita atau oleh ra'ayat ketika menjalankan tugas pada masa mereka bertugas yang akan datang.

Jadi, dengan ini saya ada-lah menyokong dengan kuat-nya chadangan Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri (*Tepok*).

**Dr Toh Chin Chye (Singapore):** Mr Speaker, Sir, in 1948 a state of Emergency was proclaimed for Malaya and Singapore. This duration of Emergency lasted twelve years. Last week a similar state of Emergency was proclaimed for the whole of Malaysia. The circumstances under which these two Emergencies have been proclaimed, however, are different. Today the entire country faces a greater peril from an aggressive neighbour, whose intention and objective has been squarely stated in a White Paper issued by the Central Government in April, which is to include the territories of Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore and Malaya into a greater Indonesia.

The train of events which we experience today is so much reminiscent of the history of Europe in the 1930s when Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria and Poland one by one fell under the machinations of Hitler and his Nazi Party and became vassals of Germany. The comparison between the European situation and that of South-East Asia is inevitable. If we ourselves do not wish to be like these unfortunate European States which fell victims one after another to the fascist conspiracy, then it is necessary that we all seek to learn the historical reasons which brought about the collapse of these States from the events that eventually led to World War Two.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Munich itself, the capital of Austria, is a lovely ancient city.

**Dr Tan Chee Khoon (Batu):** On a point of clarification. I do not think Munich is the capital of Austria. Vienna is the capital of Austria.

**Dr Toh Chin Chye:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I thank the Member for Batu for his correction and am very grateful to him indeed. I am quite sure he will have greater reminiscence of Munich as not the capital of Austria but as a city where the Nazi Party was founded. But, Sir, it is unimportant whether Munich or Vienna was the capital of Austria. What I was going to say is that it is history and not geography that has made Munich famous, for Munich has become synonymous with appeasement. While we ourselves are all sweet reason in our attempts to co-exist with neighbouring Indonesia, it is also necessary that sweet reason should be backed up with resolve and determination not to succumb to the pressures that we face today. The world must know the efforts we have made for peace in Manila, Bangkok and Tokyo. But in the end let us resolve that over Malaysia there must be no Munich.

It has been clear that from the time the West Irian issue was settled in the United Nations, Indonesia has sought to perpetuate an atmosphere of crisis not only at home but also abroad by picking upon Malaysia as the whipping boy. Today, Indonesian confrontation has not ceased at economic blockade, but has now extended to overt aggression. As the Prime Minister has indicated, Indonesian guerillas have made incursions into the borders of Sabah and Sarawak and now they have landed at Pontian and paratroopers dropped at Labis in Malaya. Pressure is also kept up by subversion in Singapore. This subversion has taken the form of agitating and provoking inter-racial clashes so as to create civil commotion and bring the economic life of the city to a halt. Though war has not been declared, the battle for Malaysia has begun. These then are the circumstances of the second emergency we face.

Mr Speaker, permit me to digress a little over what I wish to call the "Singapore Lesson." For over 100 years the different communities in Singapore have lived together in peace. Side by side they have resisted the Japanese occupation of World War II. The July disturbances have unfortunately created cracks in racial harmony and the enemy now seeks to widen these cracks further. It is sad indeed that this breach in our own defence has initially been created by our own petty politicians, petty politicians whose vision does not extend beyond their noses. (*Applause*). Let it be remembered by all and sundry that nobody can whip up such mob feeling with fiery oratory and then hope to snuff it out as it can be done with the flame of a cigarette lighter.

The healing of the cracks in inter-racial harmony must be a continuous process. There is no once and for all solution to all this business of July, just as there is no summary cure for cholera. Vaccination against cholera confers immunity for only six months, after which the germ once more becomes lethal and the victim succumbs. So also goodwill between communities must be preached and practised not just for six weeks or six months, but continuously. This is the only insurance and prophylaxis against future outbreaks of communal disturbances. Most important of all let us ourselves be on our guard against allowing external hostile forces to exploit the multi-racial character of our nation.

Mr Speaker, there is no doubt that the promulgation of the emergency has given the Central Government enormous powers. In brief, the executive authority of the Central Government now overrides the legislative authority of any State, notwithstanding anything in the Federal Constitution. Moreover more teeth has now been put into the emergency by the proclamation of a state of security for Malaysia, and a state of danger for Singapore. To the man in the street—the layman—it is confusing, if not bewildering, to be told that we are now living in a state of emergency, in a state of security and a state of danger. Really, all these proclamations in effect give the Police and

the military very wide powers which they normally would not have. It would be tedious for me to relate what all these powers are but they are all described in Section 3 of the Public Order Preservation Ordinance 1958 and Section 47 of the Internal Security Act of 1960.

Today Parliament is asked to approve the proclamation of the state of emergency with this full knowledge that all authority will be vested in the hands of the Central Government, and that the Central Government can make rules and regulations without prior consultation with Parliament. If emergency powers are necessary for the Central Government to prosecute the battle for Malaysia, then so be it. Sir, there is danger in the air and the times are too grave for us to allow party politics to divide the people and weaken our resistance to Indonesian infiltration. On the other hand, it is necessary that the Central Government should exercise the powers, that the States have temporarily surrendered, with great care and discretion. There is no denying that any abuse of the very large powers that have been given to the Police and the armed forces under the proclamation of emergency can reduce us to a Police state.

Memories of the last emergency are unpleasant. At that time criticism of the colonial authority was interpreted as sedition. Such restrictions on freedom of speech almost brought political life to a halt. Regulations on the movements of persons were not only irksome but also resented because of the rigidity with which the government bureaucracy implemented them. Over zealous and over excessive application of emergency powers, while necessary in the prosecution of the problems of security, can also at the same time create apprehension and suspicion of intentions. It is thus more urgent than ever for the Central Government to assuage all fears that the emergency powers will not be abused.

Let us hope, Sir, that in dealing with the problems of security we ourselves do not create for ourselves problems of wider magnitude which cannot be solved purely by emergency laws.

May I at this juncture, Mr Speaker, remind the House that this is the time for us to mobilise all our resources to combat external aggression. Members of the House may have seen in the newspapers this morning a story that the Barisan Sosialis of Singapore has submitted a resolution for debate in the Singapore Legislative Assembly. This resolution severely criticises the move taken by the Central Government to call up all those who were registered for national service. This, Sir, is indeed astounding, the wolves are at our doors but the Barisan Sosialis asks us to surrender so that we can be devoured. Whatever may be the motive of this resolution, the Barisan Sosialis is clearly playing the role of the Trojan Horse for Indonesian forces. They have at the same time, in submitting a resolution, written a letter to me asking me to summon an emergency meeting of the Singapore Legislative Assembly to debate on this resolution. I have also replied to the Barisan Sosialis that matters of defence and matters relating to conscription are the powers and the responsibility of the Central Government, and that it was appropriate and constitutionally correct for them to submit this resolution to you, Mr Speaker of the Dewan Ra'ayat, so that debate can take place. I have also indicated to the writer of this letter that as he is also a Member of Parliament, he could use this opportunity to voice his views which he would otherwise have done in the Singapore Assembly; and I hope that the representatives of the Barisan Sosialis in this House will this morning make their views known on conscription, so that it will never be said that they were denied the opportunity of free speech.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the emergency of 1948 lasted twelve years and, unless a quick solution to Indonesian aggrandisement is in sight, this emergency of 1964 may be just as long. Malaysia has been formed willingly by the territories of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak in the belief that parliamentary democracy will be the basis of our Government. This belief and this hope must always be sustained and be kept alive. But this can be done only if the

Central Government exercises its emergency powers with tolerance and restraint, so that the confidence of the people in the democratic system will not fade, and the people will not be disillusioned over the viability of the Federation of Malaysia itself.

However, there can be no second thoughts or half-hearted efforts in the conduct of the campaign to win the battle for Malaysia. The alternative is to fall under Indonesian hegemony. We have stated time and again that in matters of national importance, we are prepared to work actively with the Central Government; and in this battle for Malaysia, we will play our part, so that the battle will be won and Malaysia will be saved. (*Applause*).

**Dr Tan Chee Khoon:** Mr Speaker, Sir, this House has just listened to the sober analysis of the crisis facing this country. There is no doubt that Malaysia is at the cross roads of history and that our very survival as a nation is at stake.

During the recent weeks, the Socialist Front has been much maligned against and, at this juncture of history, I wish to reiterate our stand on certain issues, comment on some of the problems facing the country and, finally, make certain proposals for the consideration of the Alliance Government.

The latest actions by Indonesia and her agents, as stated by the Government, go to prove what we have always warned the Government against. Let me reiterate what we have warned the Government time and again:

Firstly, we have warned that the way Malaysia was formed, or was being established, would lead to quarrels and bloodshed with Indonesia;

Secondly, that our defence forces are inadequate and that too much reliance should not be placed on British and Western support;

Thirdly, that the foreign policy, as pursued by the Alliance was unrealistic and would lead us into trouble; and

Fourthly, that only negotiations could solve the present dispute which has arisen out of all.

Our warnings have been proved right, and now the Alliance Government has found it necessary to declare a state of

emergency in less than four years after it was lifted. This, to our mind, would have been unnecessary and is the result of the failure of the Alliance Government in following a policy totally out of step with that of the Afro-Asian nations and wholly unrelated to the situation in South East Asia. We have urged the Government to follow a policy of neutrality and non-alignment as that followed by the Afro-Asian countries, so that we will not be involved in the struggle between the major power blocs.

However, since the day it was decided to form Malaysia, this country has been more and more closely associated with the western bloc. The Prime Minister has even stated, right in this House, that co-existence is impossible. This attitude by a small country at the present time is completely out of step with present day trends when major powers have accepted co-existence as necessary and vital if a world conflagration is to be avoided. This attitude has also aroused the antagonisms of other powers in this region and has lost us the support and sympathy of the Afro-Asian countries. This, indeed, is a sorry state of affairs that has been brought about by the Alliance Government.

However, the Socialist Front, being a party dedicated to the ideals of democracy and wholly opposed to the use of force to solve disputes between nations, pledges itself to support the Government in this grave situation (*Applause*) and calls on the Government to re-assess the situation and follow a more realistic course of action.

We, on our part, are fully conscious of the grave situation facing this country as a result of the aggressive acts of Indonesia and the friends she supports. Although Indonesia has denied any knowledge of the landings at both Pontian Kechil and Labis, it is clear that she is involved and that the dispute is now carried from the jungles of Borneo to the heart of the mainland. What they hope to achieve is hard to say. It is possible that the landings were made to intimidate this country or to prepare for internal uprisings.

Mr Speaker, Sir, during the last few days much has been said on the disloyalty of the people in this country. Many have been branded as traitors. None other than the Minister of Transport has stated that at least two members of the Socialist Front have been caught amongst those who landed in Pontian Kechil. The Prime Minister himself just now stated that there are in this country parties which support Indonesia and he gave a warning to these parties in no uncertain terms if they should continue their support of Indonesia. Mr Speaker, Sir, it is curious that the first announcements of the Malaysians who landed with the Indonesians merely stated that they were Chinese and Malays. Ten days later, I do not know what prompted the Minister of Transport, instead of the Minister of Defence, to state that there were two members of the Socialist Front amongst those who landed in Pontian Kechil. Mr Speaker, Sir, I wonder why is that that there was this long delay. Maybe, it was for security reasons. If it is so, then why identify only the Socialist Front. Is it not so that among the Chinese who landed at Pontian Kechil there might be members of the M.C.A.? (SOME HONOURABLE MEMBERS: No!) If it is not so, I challenge the Government to prove me wrong. Is it not also true that amongst the Malays who landed in Pontian Kechil there were a number of UMNO members? (SOME HONOURABLE MEMBER: No, no! *interruption*) Again, I challenge the Government to disprove me.

Mr Speaker, Sir, just before the last elections it was proved that members of the UMNO were caught in possession of arms. We did not label the UMNO as being traitors to this country. We did not. In fact, we did not comment at all on it, because we realised that in a population of ten millions there must be the odd man with a screw loose (*Laughter*), and, as such, we did not believe that "one swallow makes a summer" and hence we have refrained from calling the UMNO traitors to this country. But I notice that the Ministers in this country are very free in labelling at least the Socialist Front as being traitors. If

they say it, let me say once again and let me quote the Biblical quotation "He who is without sin, let him cast the first stone."

Mr Speaker, Sir, however, these landings show how vulnerable this country is to foreign attacks and how defenceless we are. The assurances given time and again that we are well prepared have been proved false. We have always been told of the necessity for foreign bases in this country. But these landings show that the bases have not been of any use. It is most disturbing to realise that foreign planes can come over this country with impunity. It appears that all the assurances given by the British to protect this country cannot be relied upon as we have stated before.

Therefore, defence is of paramount importance now. In this matter of defence, our forces together with the other military units of Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand are totally inadequate to defend this country. We are not even equipped to fight a conventional war and in the event of a nuclear war in this part of the World we will certainly be destroyed and in such an eventuality the living may well envy the dead.

Let us, therefore, have a look at our Army. I am not revealing any military secret when I say that we have an Army of 15,959—I am quoting from the 1964 Estimates. Mr Speaker, Sir, this is no military secret, least of all to the Minister of Defence. The army as stated in this Estimates book here is 15,959 in number. For those who want to see it, it is *vide* page 122. No doubt, the Army has been enlarged since. With all the expansion I doubt we have more than a division and a half under arms and together with the British and other Commonwealth troops I doubt if we have more than three divisions in all.

I believe I am right in saying that our police and other ancillary forces number about 23,203. Again I quote from these Estimates. I think I am right in saying that the number here is stated as 23,203; so that the total troops in this country number less than

80,000. It must be remembered that most of our equipment is obsolete by modern standards.

Mr Speaker, Sir, here may I pay a short tribute to the military and to the Police for a job well done. I regret that in the press reports not much prominence has been given to the Police. We must remember that this country is not at war yet and the Police are still responsible for internal security in this country, and, as such, I hope that in future official handouts recognition will be given to the part played by the Police. Here while paying tributes to the Police, I wish to echo the fears of the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore when he warned this House on guarding against that such powers given to others and also to the Police will not be abused by the Police and the military. We do hear stories of regular beating ups by the Police and I do hope that when reports are made to the proper authorities proper investigations will be made, so that there can be no grudge borne against the Police, for at this time of our crisis it is vitally important that the whole country should be united.

Mr Speaker, Sir, as regards our tiny and puny Navy, it consists of derelicts of World War II palmed off to us by Great Britain. They could not even prevent a small-scale landing such as the one that occurred in Pontian Kechil.

As for the Royal Malaysian Air Force, this is still in its infancy and I doubt we have more than half a dozen pilots of Malaysian origin capable of flying supersonic jet planes. Sir Hector McGregor, the retiring Air Officer Commanding Far East Air Force, said that it was still very young and that it would be some time before it could meet Malaysia's needs adequately.

Because of these inadequacies, we have the sorry spectacle of our Prime Minister hawking for military hardware in London, Washington and Ottawa. Of course, he has received promises, a whole heap of promises, but promises are of no value when you are fighting a shooting war.

According to foreign press reports, London will sell military hardware to us, Washington will give sympathetic consideration for credits—the Americans are always careful about that, and Ottawa wants first to send a military mission to assess the situation before they give us aid. It looks like everybody wants to cheer us from the sidelines, while we Asians spill Asian blood. From the foregoing it will be seen how defenceless we are. The Socialist Front is not the only one to say so. Let me quote the *London Observer* of June 28th, 1964, and the United States State Department.

Headed "Breakdown of Tokyo Talk Serious", the *London Observer*, an independent Sunday newspaper, argued that although Britain "cannot wash her hands" off the dispute over Malaysia, she should point out to Malaysia that she lacks resources to take part in a large scale Asian conflict. The *London Observer* commented:

"The breakdown of the negotiations between President Soekarno of Indonesia and Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaysia, before they had hardly started, is very serious. If President Soekarno continues his policy of military aggression, called "confrontation", a very dangerous situation will arise. At little cost to Indonesia, a policy of sending guerillas to infiltrate the Federation could tie down quite a disproportionate number of British and Malaysian troops."

Note here: "Tie down quite a disproportionate number of British troops", because it is well known that Britain has not got too many troops to spare. Their Army from the Rhine has been flown here and if there is a road block on the autobahn to Berlin, these troops may well be flown back again. It is to Britain's interest—

"Britain cannot wash her hands off this quarrel. We are solemnly bound to come to the aid of Malaysia and there can be no question of our trying to evade our responsibilities."

But, Mr Speaker, Sir, let me quote the following paragraph—and I wish to repeat it again very carefully:

"But equally, Britain should point out to Malaysia that she lacks the resources to take part in a large-scale, long-term conflict in Asia."—May I repeat it again,

Mr Speaker, Sir—

"But equally, Britain should point out to Malaysia that she lacks the resources to take part in a large-scale, long-term conflict in Asia."

Precisely, because he can call on Britain for protection. The Tunku is under obligation to his ally to act with caution. The Defence Treaty is not something to be waved as a red flag in front of Indonesia.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the United States, too, have been very quick to clarify its limited commitment to us and the happiness of our Prime Minister is short-lived. In an article published in the *Straits Times* of September, 7th the State Department officials are reported to have said, I quote:

"It was believed that the President assured the Tunku that the United States would not permit Malaysia to be destroyed but at this stage she is unable to give a military commitment of any kind.

Officials said that the only specific commitment extended to the Tunku was that the United States would give sympathetic consideration to the request for the credit purchase of jet planes, troop-carrying helicopters and landing craft for use in jungle warfare against Indonesia."

From these quotations, Mr Speaker, Sir, it should be clear that capitalists are the same the world over. They are interested in business. They will sell anything to anyone. They will give credit to anyone, if the credit is good. They will even cut your throat to make profits.

Remember the sale of the Vauxhall trucks to Indonesia by British firms. The Hercules C130 plane that dropped the paratroopers at Labis is of United States manufacture and the parachutes and equipment, too, are said to be from the United States. As such, can we trust these capitalist countries? Can we rely on them?

Note also the bombast of Sir Hector McGregor, the retiring Officer Commanding, Far East Air Force. In a farewell interview at Penang on 10th June, 1964, he said "Indonesia could not afford to bomb any part of Malaysia. To do this would be plain suicide for her." He added that there was absolutely no doubt that the Far East Air Force would be able to cope

with any emergency that might arise in this region. "If Indonesia attempts any bombing it would give us more than adequate reason to hit back." He added that the combined might of the R.A.F. and the R.A.A.F. would render the Indonesian Air Force relatively insignificant." Statements such as these are typical of the hectoring of the once mighty British Raj who still thinks that Britannia rules the waves, or is it controls the clouds or air?

It would be pertinent at this stage to ask what were the R.A.F. and the R.A.A.F. doing during the landing of the paratroopers at Labis? By Sir Hector McGregor's bombast, they should have been blasted off the skies long before they reached Malaya. All the foregoing shows how the Prime Minister has been led up the garden path by the empty promises of Great Britain and her leaders like Sir Hector McGregor. This reminds me that in my speech during the debate on the King's Speech, I had already warned this House that this country should not place too much reliance on our Defence Treaty with Britain. I see that the *Observer* in London has echoed the same views.

I see that the Alliance Government now proposes to buy jet planes and helicopters. These are indeed necessary but have we the personnel to man them? I do not think so. Hence, when they arrive they will be flown by foreigners. A situation akin to that in South Vietnam will develop and we will be the laughing stock of the Afro-Asian World.

As soon as the Prime Minister was promised military hardware by Britain, the United States and Canada we saw how Subandrio flew off to Moscow and there too was promised military aid. Mr Speaker, Sir, it is this escalation of the present dispute that is so very, very frightening. The Prime Minister has now openly stated that we are pro-West and some members of UMNO have urged that we join SEATO. If we do so, then it means that this country will be a pawn in the chess board of international power politics.

This escalation will inevitably lead to a shooting war which will certainly not be confined only to Malaysia and Indonesia. Malaysia will be the battleground for the big powers and if nuclear weapons are used we will be obliterated from the map. In such a holocaust there shall be no victors and, again, may I repeat, the survivors who are badly maimed may well envy the dead.

Added to our inadequate defences we unfortunately have the problem of communal disharmony and strife that has reared its ugly head. Whilst the disturbances last week and this week in Singapore can probably be laid at the door of Indonesia I doubt that the same can be said of the riots in Singapore and in Bukit Mertajam in July this year.

Here may I quote the Prime Minister of Singapore who in the *Straits Times* of 8th September, 1964, is reported to have said—the caption of this small paragraph, Mr Speaker, Sir, is "Some Fools"—

"Within nine months of Malaysia some fools started to mess things up—the Indonesians were unsuccessful until our politicians started."

Mr Speaker, Sir, just now we heard the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore also blaming the politicians for stirring up trouble in Singapore just prior to the July riots down there. But our Prime Minister maintains that it was the Indonesians who were responsible for the riots. What, then, is the truth? If the Prime Minister of Singapore is right, then is it not true that many of these fools or villains are in this House and some of them may be sitting opposite me and some of them may be to my immediate left? And if these fools or villains are responsible, Mr Speaker, Sir, why are they not brought to book?

I hope the Commission of Inquiry that the Government is going to set up will consist of men of courage and independent thinking, who will delve into the truth of the matter and make their findings and recommendations fearlessly. The Socialist Front makes this request because it has always been

the practice of the Alliance Government to pick on trusted party members to form such committees or commissions.

We can be sure that Indonesia will exploit this weakness of ours and it behoves all of us to fully support the Goodwill Committees that have been established all over the country and to ensure that we do not destroy ourselves. If that happens, then we deserve to be swallowed up by Indonesia.

In view of what I have said about our defences and communal disunity, it would be foolish and midsummer madness to talk of a shooting war with Indonesia. At this juncture of our history this House must take stock of our position and ask itself *Quo Vadis*, i.e., where do we go from here? The Socialist Front maintains that the solution lies not in a shooting war, the consequences of which are too horrible to contemplate, but in a negotiated peace. Hence we must take the dispute from the jungle to the conference table, and there we must pursue an unrelenting search for peace. Peace with honour, not of the Munich pattern that the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore warned us, peace based on mutual respect and peace that recognises the right of nations and peoples to live the life of their choice.

As such it is secondly, of equal importance, that the suggestion to have a Conciliation Commission of Afro-Asian countries to find a way of settling the dispute should be tackled with all speed and renewed vigour. If there is genuine sincerity on both sides to settle the dispute then no conditions should be put for such a Commission to carry out its work, apart from that of a cease-fire. Any conditions should be left to the Commission itself to decide and the findings or recommendations should be binding on both sides.

We urge this course of action again and again because we feel that this is the only way in which we can have lasting peace. Our Prime Minister agreed to this at the Tokyo Talks but appears to have changed his mind, whilst Indonesia has reiterated its readiness to talk.

Even the Manchester Guardian in an editorial said, I quote:

"The Tokyo proposal of an Afro-Asian Conciliation Commission, if anything comes of it, can only increase the world's appreciation of the Malaysian cause, whereas there seems little future for the Indonesian confrontation."

Our Prime Minister has attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and has visited several other countries. But he still admits that some countries have still not been able to see his point of view on Malaysia. Again, I quote, "One Prime Minister even suggested we were aggressors." That shows to what extent we have convinced the Afro-Asian nations of the justness of our cause. But the proposed Commission should be able to clear all this and suggest ways and means of extricating ourselves from the mess that has been created. As such it is imperative that the Government makes a declaration of its intention to pursue this course of action straightaway for all to judge our sincerity. I strongly urge the Government to do so.

Thirdly, our foreign policy must be reorientated. It is now in a state of confusion and many countries especially those of the Afro-Asian group are suspicious of our policy.

The Yang di-Pertuan Agong in His Gracious Speech said, "My Government will follow an active independent policy". But the Prime Minister does not follow such a policy, and the actions of the Government prove that the policy is one of subservience to and of being a pawn of Western powers.

The Prime Minister, speaking at the seminar organised by the National Union of Federation Students, defended his pro-West policy and he criticised other countries that think that it is not fashionable or smart to align themselves with the West while receiving aid from the West. He also said, "We don't shilly-shally." We believe that honesty counts . . . in our internal or external affairs." This is enough to show the contradiction. While the Yang di-Pertuan Agong says our policy is independent, our Prime Minister says it is pro-West.

Then again, some divisions of UMNO have clamoured for the

Government to join SEATO. The sum total of this confusion will lead us not to the operating theatre, as suggested by the Prime Minister of Singapore, but will only lead to the mortuary or to the burial ground of small nations.

Therefore, we like to commend the words of the Ghanaian Minister of Finance to the Government. He is reported in the *Straits Times* of 3rd September to have said, and I quote:

"Asian countries should follow a policy of non-alignment, non-aggression and non-interference if they desire to protect their sovereignty, integrity and independence. All Asian countries should remember that a big power always uses smaller countries for its own ends. What is damaging to the position of Malaysia is that it appears to be unconditionally committed to the West. It is this political appearance that should be clarified."

Everyone here should know to whom this statement is directed. It is this opinion which many nations unmistakably have about our country's foreign policy that is going a great deal of damage to us. As called for by the Ghanaian Minister of Finance, the Government should clarify its stand; otherwise it will have to be tied to the apron strings of Britain and the United States until we are obliterated from the map.

The Prime Minister was very happy after his visit to the United States of America. But may I ask him, how long does he expect this kind of assistance to continue? Does he expect this to continue *ad infinitum*? Would they defend this country even to the extent of provoking a global war? Already the State Department has denied any assistance from the Seventh Fleet and has clarified that only credit facilities will be given. Perhaps, the Prime Minister will give some clarification. But apart from that, is not the Prime Minister aware of the chaos in Vietnam and the reasons for Cambodia to turn against the West? I believe that this country played host to Prince Norodom Shihanouk, and brave and reassuring words were exchanged. But, does he not know that the Prince has now pledged support for Indonesia?

Whenever we have suggested a policy of non-alignment, the Government has

thought it fit to brand us as communists encouraging alignment with the communist bloc. But the Ministers speak with their tongue in their cheek when they say that they follow a neutral policy. We believe that for a small country, such as ours, only a non-aligned policy can save this nation. We cannot defend ourselves with armed might but we can defend ourselves with moral right. In the events of the world today and right in the United Nations, it is the small non-aligned countries that influence major issues. As such, we would urge the Government not to be wishy-washy and to state its foreign policy clearly.

In the Appendix to the King's Speech, it was stated that the Government would try to better its relationship with the Afro-Asian bloc. But the truth mission to Africa does not seem to have achieved much. The Prime Minister did not think it fit to visit any African or Asian country. His trip to France, which seems to follow a neutral line, was cancelled. All he did was to visit England, Australia and Canada. All the moral support he has got is from none other than Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Britain. Apart from these few "white" countries, no other country has offered military help.

A look at some of the British press comments should open the eyes of the Government. I quote from the *Observer* of the 28th of June, 1964, again. While commenting on the breakdown of the Tokyo talks the *Observer* commented:

"The Tunku would do well to remember that one day he will have to live in the same Asian world as Indonesia, in which Britain's support will probably be, in the eyes of the nationalists, a source of weakness rather than of strength."

Is it not a shame that a foreign press has to draw our attention to the fact that we are Asians? Is not the Government convinced that our foreign policy is basically wrong?

I would like the Government to realise that we are Asians first and that our destiny is with Asia. Even the Australians are beginning to realise this and are beginning to take determined efforts to foster friendship with Asian countries. But we run with cap in hand

across continents for military help, which would never solve the problems but worsen it. We should instead keep step with other Asian countries and learn to live together as Asians. We cannot afford to be misled by a little bombast, backslapping and high praise. We cannot become tools knowingly or unknowingly of the big powers. Like most small nations, we should band together and survive on goodwill and tolerance.

Lastly, let me comment on the Emergency Regulations now laid before this House. In view of the grave crisis facing the nation, the Government has now decided to impose Emergency Regulations throughout Malaysia. Of all the Opposition Parties in this House, the Socialist Front has suffered the most from these Regulations in the past. The Socialist Front has borne the brunt of the Emergency Regulations, and the Socialist Front has bitterly opposed the Emergency Regulations in the past. We have heard just now the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore urging the Central Government to use these powers with discretion and with a sense of tolerance. Mr Speaker, Sir, however, at this time of national crisis and in view of the fact that we have had some form of the Emergency Regulations in the Internal Security Act, we, the Socialist Front, accept it as a necessary evil to maintain order whilst an all-out effort for peace is made. We hope that these Emergency Regulations will not lead us to a Police State as warned by the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore. We, however, warn the Government not to use the Emergency Regulations to suppress or intimidate the Opposition and request it to withdraw these Emergency Regulations when the dispute with Indonesia is settled. These are all very extreme and harsh measures and we call upon the Government to give an assurance to the people of this country that as soon as the situation improves the Government would immediately repeal them. My colleague, the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat, will later on when the opportunity arises speak much more on our stand on the Emergency Regulations.

Finally, may I appeal to Honourable Members of this august House and the

people of this country: Let us one and all bend all our efforts to achieve an honourable end to our dispute with Indonesia. Let us put aside party differences and unite the nation to achieve this. The Prime Minister can be rest assured of the allegiance and support of the Socialist Front in his endeavours for a peaceful solution and for this he will earn the undying gratitude of the nation if he can lead the nation away from the disaster that looms ahead of us. But at the same time, the Socialist Front like to add that if war is forced on us by Indonesia, we would like to assure His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong that we will fight shoulder to shoulder in the defence of this motherland of ours. And here I am reminded of a passage from Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*:

"And how can man die better  
Than facing fearful odds  
For the ashes of his fathers  
And the temples of his gods."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, akhir-nya mari-lah kita—ingat-lah: "Bersatu tegoh, bercherai roboh." Terima kaseh.

**Enche' Tan Toh Hong (Bukit Bintang):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to give whole-hearted support to the Honourable the Prime Minister's motion to fully endorse the Proclamation of Emergency issued by His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

This is the darkest hour since the inception of Malaysia and of independence. Our sacred land has been openly and blatantly invaded by Indonesian aggressors, our people indiscriminately killed, our Singapore torn with chaotic strifes perpetuated and instigated by evil-intent subversives. Bearing these in mind, no matter what the Socialist Front may think of power blocs, of neutrality, of Britain, of the United States of America or any other nation, in this grave and critical situation we would not be ashamed to accept help and aid from any hand so long as that hand extends in the spirit of a friend in need.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the purpose of these Emergency Regulations is obvious, to preserve our survival and to maintain peace and order. In this moment of

utmost perils, there is no substitute for resoluteness, for strength and determination as encompassed by this Proclamation. The enemies must be deterred. I am sure the people of Bukit Bintang would like me to congratulate our leaders for their swift actions, for their courage to inconvenient the innocents so that our homes and children are protected, our security maintained.

Soekarno and the P.K.I. have avowed to destroy us by every conceivable means at their disposal. Apart from open militant invasion, they and their agents are trying to destroy us from within. The communal riots, perpetuated and instigated by such evil persons are an example of the despicable depths they would sink to to make Malaysia crumble from within. Apart from such plots giving them the satisfaction of seeing Malaysians killing off one another, there is an important international diplomatic implication.

They want to alienate us from world sympathy. In contrast to the Indonesians, we have built a remarkable image throughout the world, whatever the Socialist Front may think of our Government's foreign policies. This is the image of self-helped growth, stable conditions, peace and harmony, that has given us tremendous international goodwill, understanding and co-operation.

Such goodwill is essential to a small trading and developing nation like ours, which aims at continuously increasing our standard of living. It is of particular importance, now that we are formally bringing our case to world tribunal.

Apart from maintaining internal stability and security, these Regulations will give added strength and purpose to our patriotic people of Pontian and Labis, whose very vigilance has brought us victory at this stage of the battle for survival; added strength and determination to our heroic armed forces in Sabah, Sarawak and Johore; and added strength and patience to our brave Malaysians who are now suffering hardship and the ordeal of imperialistic hostilities along the borders of Sabah and Sarawak.

This Proclamation is therefore most timely. I only appeal to our Government to impose these regulations effectively, without fear or favour. We must be definitely sure that Soekarno's agents, Communist subversives and violent elements are wiped out from our midst. To do less is to destroy ourselves.

Let me warn these fifth-columnists and those who are still in doubt of our resoluteness: so long as the Alliance Party is in power, we will not hesitate to use any drastic measures to ensure our people's right to survive and to our children's right to an ever life and future (*Applause*).

**Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda (Pasir Puteh):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-sudah 12 tahun lama-nya negeri ini menempoh zaman dharurat dan zaman gelap yang tetap kekal dalam ingatan seluroh ra'ayat di-negeri ini, maka sekarang kita terpaksa pula menempoh zaman yang saperti itu, entah berapa lama pula zaman saperti ini akan berkepanjangan bergantung-lah kepada suasana dan keadaan anchaman terhadap negara kita pada masa sekarang ini. Walau bagaimana pun, kedudukan dan keadaan anchaman yang tetap sentiasa mengancam negara dan tanah ayer kita yang di-kasehi ini pada masa sekarang sudah-lah patut dan menasabah bahawa pengishtihran dharurat itu di-lakukan oleh Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong, dan pehak Parti PAS ingin-lah menyatakan bahawa ia tetap berdiri bagi bersama<sup>2</sup> memandang zaman depan bagi negara ini dengan harapan<sup>2</sup> chemas yang mudah<sup>2</sup>an zaman depan bagi negara kita ini akan dapat menukarkan chorak yang lebeh baik dan akan dapat di-kawal dan di-pertahankan keselamatan negara kita ini.

Chuma, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita tahu bahawa dengan di-laksanakan Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat di-dalam negara kita ini pehak Kerajaan mendapat satu kuasa yang sangat<sup>2</sup> luas memperoleh suatu kuasa bertindak yang tidak terbatas. Satu daripada kuasa bertindak yang termaktub di-dalam Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat ia-lah kuasa bagi menangkap, menghukum atau menahan

siapa sahaja yang di-shaki sa-bagai ejen musuh atau yang di-shaki melakukan pekerjaan<sup>2</sup> yang akan mengancam keselamatan negeri atau keselamatan ra'ayat. Sunggoh pun pada dasar-nya undang<sup>2</sup> ini ada-lah sangat mustahak dan terpaksa di-gunakan demi menjaga keselamatan negara ini, akan tetapi pengalaman<sup>2</sup> sa-lama 12 tahun di-zaman negara kita ini menempoh dharurat, ia-itu-lah semenjak negeri kita ini belum lagi merdeka, maka patut-lah pengalaman<sup>2</sup> yang saperti itu di-kaji sa-mula dan di-jadikan asas panduan, yang baik di-jadikan tauladan dan yang kurang baik di-jadikan sempadan.

Sa-masa Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat berlaku di-zaman negeri ini maseh merupakan tanah jajahan bagi British, banyak kejadian<sup>2</sup> yang sangat<sup>2</sup> tidak di-ingini berlaku. Pertentangan antara gulongan dengan gulongan dan perkelahian antara peribadi dengan peribadi telah di-jadikan suatu modal yang besar untuk menggunakan Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat ini bagi menekan pehak yang lemah. Sa-orang ra'ayat yang ada mempunyai perasaan dendam tersemat dengan sa-orang ra'ayat yang lain chukup untuk membalas dendam-nya dengan melaporkannya kepada pehak yang berkuasa bahawa si-anu ada-lah kaki-tangan musuh atau pun anggota kominis atau sa-bagai-nya, dan kita tahu penanganan Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat ini tidak ada ampun dan ma'af. Laporan yang saperti itu boleh menyebabkan orang<sup>2</sup> yang tidak berdosa dan tidak bersalah di-tahan di-bawah undang<sup>2</sup> yang maha kuasa ini. Jadi hal saperti demikian kalau-lah berlaku pada masa kita berjalan dalam Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat yang sekarang ini akan sunggoh<sup>2</sup> merugikan negara kita dan akan benar<sup>2</sup> menyebabkan perpechahan batin di-antara ra'ayat di-dalam negeri ini. Hal ini semua ada-lah sangat<sup>2</sup> tidak di-kehendaki dan patut-lah di-hindarkan, lebeh<sup>2</sup> lagi dharurat yang ada sekarang ini dengan dharurat yang di-jalankan sa-lama 12 tahun yang lalu ada-lah mempunyai bentok yang berlainan walau pun di-dalam hal undang<sup>2</sup> mempunyai satu chara-nya. Bentok yang berlainan kata saya, Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat yang dahulu khusus di-tujukan kepada pemberontak

dari dalam negeri, di-tujukan kepada kegiatan<sup>2</sup> kominis yang sa-chara terang<sup>2</sup> melawan pemerintah dengan sa-chara kekerasan, dan hal itu lain dengan bentok kita sekarang ini. Kita menghadapi bukan sahaja kegiatan<sup>2</sup> subversive dari dalam, tetapi khususnya kita menghadapi kegiatan anchaman yang berterang<sup>2</sup> dari luar.

Di-dalam sa'at menghadapi anchaman yang berterang<sup>2</sup> dari luar—dari Indonesia sekarang ini—sadikit menimbulkan perasaan perpechahan di-kalangan ra'ayat ada-lah merugikan negara kita dengan sa-chara besar<sup>2</sup>an. Sebab itu-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam melakukan kuat-kuasa Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat ini maka sangat-lah mustahak pehak Kementerian atau pehak yang berkuasa memerhatikan dengan teliti sa-barang laporan dan sa-barang fitnah yang di-timbulkan oleh orang<sup>2</sup> yang tidak bertanggungjawab yang menchari kesempatan untuk melakukan kehendak<sup>2</sup> nafsu-nya melepaskan dendam kesumat-nya dengan mengambil kesempatan berlakunya Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat di-dalam negara kita pada masa sekarang ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-lain daripada itu, sudah-lah kita ketahuhi bahawa wujud-nya Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat ini ia-lah oleh sebab anchaman dari luar. Berlaku-nya pendaratan di-Pontian dan berlaku-nya penurunan tentera<sup>2</sup> payong terjun di-Labis menyebabkan kita telah merasa bahawa telah-lah sampai masa-nya negara kita ini bertindak dengan chepat dan bertindak dengan chergas bagi mengawal supaya hal<sup>2</sup> yang sademikian itu tidak berlaku lagi pada masa akan datang.

Pertahanan negara ada-lah merupakan satu unsur yang terpenting di-dalam menghadapi hal<sup>2</sup> yang saperti ini. Dengan mengabaikan soal pertahanan negara, maka erti-nya kita mengabaikan suatu daripada tugas yang maha berat dan tugas yang besar bagi keselamatan negara kita pada masa akan datang.

Kita tahu bahawa alat<sup>2</sup> pertahanan negara kita atau kekuatan tentera kita sendiri maseh berkurangan walau pun kita telah merdeka hampir 10 tahun

lama-nya. Kita maseh kurang tentera<sup>2</sup> laut, kita maseh kurang tentera<sup>2</sup> darat bahkan kita maseh kurang tentera<sup>2</sup> udara, bukan sahaja kurang orang-nya tetapi juga kurang alat<sup>2</sup> persenjataan yang moden yang sa-imbang dengan alat<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-pehak musuh. Sebab itu nampak *tendency* kita sekarang ini bergantong kapada pertolongan negara<sup>2</sup> sahabat, dan ini pernah di-nyatakan oleh Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita sendiri apa lagi oleh Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri bagaimana negara kita sekarang ini berterima kasih kapada negara<sup>2</sup> sahabat, ia-itu negara<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth yang telah memberi pertolongan yang besar kapada Malaysia untuk menghadapi keadaan<sup>2</sup> yang merunching sekarang ini. Tetapi apa yang pertama sa-kali yang menjadi tanda soal kapada kita sekarang ini apa-kah negara<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth sa-lain daripada negara Commonwealth kulit putih tidak di-minta mengirim tentera-nya membantu kita atau pun kelengkapan perang membantu kita? Apa-kah dari seluroh jumlah negara<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth ini maka negara Great Britain, Australia dan New Zealand sahaja yang mempunyai kemampuan dan kesanggupan untuk menunjukkan sikap sahabat-nya terhadap negara kita yang muda ini?

Itu satu masaalah yang perlu di-pertimbangkan oleh Kerajaan kita sekarang ini sebab menambah jumlah ramai anggota<sup>2</sup> dari negara Commonwealth yang berkulit putih akan memberi satu pandangan yang janggal terhadap pertahanan negara kita ini. Kalau dahulu pehak Indonesia pernah membuat tuduhan terhadap negara kita ini bahawa kemerdekaan negara kita ini maseh merupakan kemerdekaan patong<sup>2</sup>, kekuatan tentera Malaysia maseh di-kongkong dan di-awasi oleh Great Britain, maseh dapat lagi kita menyangkal tuduhan seperti itu dengan tindakan kita mengkebangsaankan jawatan<sup>2</sup> yang terpenting dalam tentera sa-bagai mithal-nya melantek General Tengku Osman menjadi Panglima Tertinggi bagi Angkatan Bersenjata Malaysia menggantikan tempat General British, dapat-lah dengan alasan itu kita melaongkan kapada dunia bebas

bahawa kita benar<sup>2</sup> terlepas daripada ikatan British atau ikatan penjajah di-lapangan ketenteraan. Akan tetapi dengan timbul-nya keadaan sekarang ini dan dengan banyak-nya nanti tentera<sup>2</sup> kulit putih di-hantar ka-dalam negara kita ini, maka alasan yang hanya sa-suatu itu akan di-ketepikan dengan sendiri-nya manakala pandangan<sup>2</sup> umum akan dapat melihat di-mana sahaja berbangkit pergolakan di-dalam tanah ayer kita—di-Pontian dan di-Labis entah di-mana lagi, maka munchol-lah tentera<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth yang berkulit putih mengambil tempat mengawal suasana dan keadaan di-tempat itu. Kita tahu bahawa walau pun kita maseh banyak mempunyai tentera<sup>2</sup> yang terdiri daripada askar Melayu dan tentera peninjau negara ini tetapi dalam masa suasana genting yang berlaku di-Singapura banyak daripada angkatan tentera Askar Melayu itu di-pindahkan ka-sana dan tentera Commonwealth mengambil alih tempat Askar<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu di-Labis sa-bagai mithal-nya, kerana kekurangan<sup>2</sup> tentera kita sendiri. Tetapi ini akan dapat di-atasi sa-kurang<sup>2</sup>-nya dapat merengankan tekanan<sup>2</sup> propaganda jahat yang di-datangkan daripada luar kalau sa-kira-nya tentera<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth itu lebih banyak terdiri daripada negara<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth yang berkulit hitam atau pun berkulit chokelat seperti kulit kita ini sendiri.

Lagi satu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu masaalah yang sa-lama-nya maseh menekan di-dalam tiap<sup>2</sup> kepala ra'ayat dalam negeri ini, sa-jauh mana dapat kita meletakkan keperchayaan kapada British sa-bagai bekas tuan kita—bekas negara penjajah yang telah pernah menjajah kita beratus<sup>2</sup> tahun lama-nya. Sa-jauh mana dapat kita meletakkan keperchayaan kapada kesanggupan dan kesungguhan negara itu untuk melindungi kita di-dalam hal<sup>2</sup> peristiwa yang seperti ini. Dahulu negara kita ini menjadi tanah jajahan British, maka 100 peratus hal pertahanan negara tergenggam tanggong-jawab-nya dalam tangan British. Sekarang kita sudah merdeka tentulah tidak 100 peratus tanggong-jawab itu tergenggam di-dalam tangan British

hanya sa-kadar melunaskan kehendak<sup>2</sup> Perjanjian Pertahanan Bersama dan perjanjian persahabatan di-antara negara<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth. Sa-waktu ia mempunyai kuasa 100 peratus—tanggung-jawab 100 peratus bagi mengawal keselamatan negara ini, kita telah saksi dengan sendiri sa-waktu penjajah kulit kuning dari negara mata hari terbit melancharkan serangan kilat-nya di-dalam tahun 1941 ia-itu sa-waktu pechah perang dunia yang kedua hanya beberapa ketika lama-nya sahaja kesanggupan bekas tuan kita itu untuk mempertahankan negara kita ini daripada serangan luar. Hingga hampir tiga tahun lebeh lama-nya ra'ayat dan negara kita menderita di-bawah chengkaman Kerajaan Facist Jepun yang bersimbulkan kemahuan bersama di-Asia Timor Raya. Hal ini patut-lah dan sudah-lah sa-mesti-nya maseh tinggal kesan<sup>2</sup> tanda tanya di-dalam tiap<sup>2</sup> kepala ra'ayat negeri ini, sa-jauh mana kemampuan dan kesanggupan negara British itu dapat menolong dan membantu kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hanya dengan satu chara yang tersendiri bagi menguatkan kekuatan tentera, dari ra'ayat negeri ini sendiri sahaja-lah yang dapat menjamin sama ada menolak tuduhan<sup>2</sup> jahat daripada luar atau pun sama ada bersungguh<sup>2</sup> hati dengan sa-penoh rasa ta'at dan setia bagi berjuang bermatian<sup>2</sup> mempertahankan negara. Kita telah mendaftarkan di-dalam pendaftaran negara baharu<sup>2</sup> ini 100,000 pemuda<sup>2</sup> yang gagah berani untuk mempertahankan negara kita. Kita telah memilih tentera<sup>2</sup> wataniah, kita telah melakukan apa sahaja yang kita fikirkan patut untuk di-lakukan. Akan tetapi negara kita maseh menderita di-dalam soal peralatan senjata. Bagaimana-kah fikiran pemerintah ini sendiri kalau sa-kira-nya permohonan bantuan daripada negara<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth itu—permohonan bantuan angkatan senjata-nya di-tukarkan dengan bantuan alat<sup>2</sup> senjata, dan dengan demikian pemuda<sup>2</sup> kita dapat di-lateh dengan sa-chukup<sup>2</sup> nya dalam sa'at yang sa-singkat<sup>2</sup> nya dan di-berikan peralatan<sup>2</sup> senjata serba moden, maka ini akan lebeh berkesan di-dalam

pengawalan pertahanan negara kita pada masa akan datang.

Sa-bagai satu perkara yang patut di-fikirkan ia-lah masalaah pendaratan tentera Indonesia di-Pontian dan penurunan tentera<sup>2</sup> payong terjun-ny di-Labis, sampai sekarang maseh ada orang yang bertanya apa-kah kejadian pendaratan di-Pontian dan penurunan payong<sup>2</sup> terjun di-Labis itu dapat berlaku oleh kerana kelemahan pertahanan negara kita atau oleh kerana kechuaian pehak<sup>2</sup> yang tertentu—pehak kita sendiri atau pehak Inggeris yang memang kita tahu pehak Inggeris itu sampai sekarang ini maseh mempunyai share di-dalam mempertahankan negara dengan ada Perjanjian Pertahanan Bersama antara Malaysia dengan Great Britain. Saya perchaya kalau pertahanan negara kita kuat hal yang demikian itu tidak mungkin berlaku, kechuali di-dalam keadaan perang yang jelas atau dalam keadaan perang yang sa-benar<sup>2</sup> nya. Kita tahu sebab<sup>2</sup> hal ini boleh berlaku ia-lah kerana kelemahan pertahanan, ini-lah yang perlu di-ubat dan di-atasi.

Satu perkara lagi yang saya hendak sebutkan dalam soal pertahanan ini saperti yang pernah pehak kami di-sini menyatakan di-dalam Rumah yang bertuah ini pada masa yang telah lalu, yang kita bimbangkan dari peristiwa yang berlaku di-tanah ayer kita ini akan berubah menjadi medan pertarongan antara negara<sup>2</sup> besar dalam dunia ini. Sebab kita tahu di-mana sahaja pechah-nya sengkita di-dalam dunia sa-belah sini, sama ada di-Cambodia, sama ada di-Laos, sama ada di-Vietnam, sama ada di-Korea mithal-nya, maka akan timbul-lah—akan munchol-lah negara<sup>2</sup> besar mem-pertarongan perang ideology-nya. Dan kita tahu bahawa negara<sup>2</sup> besar sekarang ini maseh mengintai<sup>2</sup> men-chari satu medan baharu bagi di-perhebatkan lagi perang semangat—perang ideology atau mungkin menjadi perang panas.

Perpindahan tentera<sup>2</sup> British daripada Jerman untuk datang ka-Malaysia kerana memberi pertolongan kepada negara Malaysia dalam bahaya ini akan boleh menimbulkan suatu para-sangka yang sangat payah di-padam.

Apa-kah itu satu langkah awal atau para langkah untuk memindahkan medan perang semangat di-Berlin atau German kepada satu medan perang di-Tenggara Asia ini yang bernama Malaysia, ini-lah yang kita bimbangkan. Kita berkehendakkan pertolongan, tetapi kita tidak mahu dengan pertolongan itu memberikan kesempatan hal yang kita tidak ingin berlaku. Alhamdulillah, sa-lama ini negara kita-lah yang boleh merupakan sa-buah negara yang teraman, negara yang ma'mor, negara yang bahagia di-dunia sa-belah sini. Sédangkan negara<sup>2</sup> jiran kita yang lain, bukan sahaja Indonesia, negeri<sup>1</sup> yang lain menghadapi kerisis demi kerisis, menghadapi berbagai<sup>2</sup> pemberontakan, menghadapi anchaman dan dan sa-bagai-nya. Dan itu suatu gambaran yang mudah kita pandang bagaimana negara<sup>2</sup> besar itu mempergunakan kekuatan senjata-nya, dan kekuatan politik-nya. Peristiwa<sup>2</sup> di-Vietnam baharu<sup>2</sup> ini, mithal-nya dengan peristiwa<sup>2</sup> kejadian di-antara Amerika dan Vietnam, satu gambaran yang sangat mudah di-nampak oleh siapa sahaja yang mempunyai pandangan luas dalam soal politik. Jadi, apa-kah dasar pehak pemerintah untuk menchari satu alasan dan menchari satu alat yang jelas dan nyata yang akan dapat memahami kapada seluroh dunia bebas bahawa perpindahan tentera British dari Jerman itu tidak merupakan perpindahan medan perang antara kuasa<sup>2</sup> besar.

Sekarang ini kita maseh belum dengar, apa-kah tindakan atau reaction daripada negara<sup>2</sup> block timur atau block Kominis atau Russia. Sa-kadar yang kita dengar ia-lah Indonesia minta pertolongan daripada Russia, maka permintaan itu berhasil. Sa-kadar yang kita dengar Malaya meminta pertolongan daripada Amerika dan berhasil, dan nampak-nya ini pun ia-lah tanda<sup>2</sup> yang akan menunjukkan apa yang akan berlaku di-dunia sa-belah sini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang ini persoalan Malaysia atau pun persoalan anchaman dan pencherobohan daripada Indonesia terhadap negara kita Malaysia ini, telah lama di-kemukakan kapada Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa<sup>2</sup>

Bersatu. Satu langkah yang bijak yang patut di-beri tahniah kapada pehak Kerajaan ini, yang telah membawakan soalan itu dengan gagah dan berani kapada Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-patut-nya hal ini telah lama di-lakukan. Pehak Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri menyatakan bahawa dengan berlaku kejadian di-Pontian dan di-Labis, Kerajaan sekarang ini mempunyai chukup bukti untuk membentangkan kapada Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu bahawa Indonesia terang<sup>2</sup> mencheroboh Malaysia.

Saya ingin mendapat penjelasan apa-kah beza-nya Pontian dengan Labis dan Tawau di-Sabah, atau pun dengan . . . . apa-kah nama-nya satu kampong itu sudah lupa saya, dalam Division Dua di-negeri Sarawak, apakah beza-nya, sana Indonesia menyerang chara terang<sup>2</sup> masok jauh berpuluh<sup>2</sup> batu ka-dalam, yang di-sini Indonesia telah mendaratkan tentera-nya melalui kapal, dan Indonesia menerjunkan angkatan udara-nya melalui kapal terbang. Dalam segi semangat yang di-namakan semangat mencheroboh, sama sahaja nilai-nya. Dalam segi bakti pun sama sahaja nilai-nya. Apa-kah perlu pehak Kerajaan Malaysia ini menunggu kejadian di-Pontian itu, baharu hendak membawakan kapada Majlis Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu?

Dahulu Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam Rumah yang bertuah ini, kami telah pernah menchadangkan supaya kalau Indonesia itu benar<sup>2</sup> mengancham, atau pun mencheroboh terhadap negara kita ini, maka ka-Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu-lah hendak-nya kita mengemukakan masa-alah ini. Tetapi, entah kerana soal ini datang-nya dari kami, maka telah dianggap sepi sahaja. Sa-hingga akhir-nya tatkala Perdana Menteri menghadhiri Sidang Commonwealth di-London, dan sa-sudah berunding dengan Perdana Menteri British, baharu-lah Perdana Menteri mengeluarkan satu kenyataan bahawa Malaysia akan melaporkan sa-genap peristiwa pencherobohan yang di-lakukan oleh Indonesia, kapada Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu. Tetapi sa-hingga itu kata kenyataan Perdana Menteri, tidak-lah perlu untuk di-bahathkan, chuma

sa-kadar melaporkan. Baharu-lah sekarang, saya ulang, sa-sudah kejadian yang berlaku di-Pontian dan Labis, sikap melaporkan, berubah kapada sikap mengemukakan dengan tegas kapada Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu. Ini satu hal yang kita kesalkan. Saya menguchapkan tahniah tadi, kerana hal itu di-bawa dengan tegas kapada Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu, tetapi saya kesal kerana terlalu akhir, kerana sepatut-nya perkara itu di-bawa dahulu lebeh awal, jangan-lah sangat kita memikirkan soal banyak atau sedikit-nya sokongan yang akan datang daripada negara<sup>2</sup> lain. Jangan-lah sangat kita memikirkan untuk menimbangkan kedudukan hal yang berlaku dalam negeri kita ini terlalu banyak bergantung kapada fikiran<sup>2</sup> dari luar. Biarlah kita bertindak dengan tegas dengan kejujuran dan kesungguhan dengan nekat dan tekad yang tegoh daripada peribadi jiwa bangsa kita sendiri.

Timbalan Perdana Menteri baharu<sup>2</sup> ini telah memberikan satu kenyataan, kata-nya kalau Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu tidak dapat berbuat apa<sup>2</sup>, maka Malaysia mempunyai hak yang penoh untuk bertindak. Apa-kah sa-lama ini Malaysia tidak mempunyai hak untuk bertindak? Apa-kah sa-sudah Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu tidak dapat berbuat apa<sup>2</sup>, baharu hak yang penoh itu ada pada Malaysia, ini satu soal. Apa-kah ini merupakan satu amaran bahawa Malaysia telah bersedia untuk menghadapi perang terbuka, atau pun ini hanya merupakan satu chabaran kapada Majlis Keselamatan itu? Terserah-lah kapada pentafsiran masing<sup>2</sup>. Tetapi kalimah yang menyatakan, jika Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu tidak dapat berbuat apa<sup>2</sup>, maka Malaysia mempunyai hak yang penoh untuk bertindak.

Saya rasa kalimah ini sa-olah<sup>2</sup>-nya membayangkan bahawa kita tidak mempunyai hak sekarang ini untuk bertindak. Kita mempunyai hak untuk bertindak sa-kadar apa yang kita kehendaki dengan mengemukakan masalah itu kapada Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa<sup>2</sup> Bersatu, ia-lah oleh kerana kita ingin supaya persoalan itu diselesaikan sa-chara damai. Damai atau perdamaian itu-lah yang menjadi pokok

yang kita kehendaki sa-lama ini, sebab kita tahu bahawa perang ada-lah perang, dan perang erti-nya binasa bukan sahaja pehak yang kalah, tetapi juga pehak yang menang.

Sa-lain daripada itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-lain daripada Ka-Bangsa Bersatu, mustahak-lah dari sekarang ini, kita memikirkan satu jurusan lain pula ia-itu kita mengemukakan masalah kita ini kapada bangsa<sup>2</sup> Afro-Asia atau pun Afrika-Asia. Langkah ini sangat-lah mustahak, dengan kerana Indonesia sendiri dan juga kita sendiri ada-lah terlingkong di-dalam keluarga bangsa<sup>2</sup> Afro-Asia. Kalau bangsa<sup>2</sup> Afro-Asia ini dapat benar<sup>2</sup> bersatu dalam memberikan sumbangan perdamaian antara kedua negara bersaudara ini saya perchaya kita akan dapat menemui satu zaman yang gemilang pada masa akan datang. Saya tidak tahu bahawa Indonesia akan bertegang urat leher-nya, walau pun negara<sup>2</sup> Afro-Asia itu akan bertindak memberi sumbangan-nya kapada perdamaian di-dunia sa-belah sini, tetapi walau bagaimana pun kalau hal itu timbul daripada kehendak Malaysia sendiri, maka kita akan dapat menchatit satu sejarah di-dalam sejarah<sup>2</sup> tanah ayer kita yang gemilang itu bahawa kita telah mulai menghulorkan tangan kapada negara<sup>2</sup> Afro-Asia untuk mengambill tahu dan bertanggung-jawab akan sa-genap peristiwa dan kejadian yang berlaku di-negara<sup>2</sup> Afro-Asia ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mengaleh pandangan saya kapada soal Kawalan Kampong, atau pun Pengerahan Tenaga. Yang ini pun ada hubungan-nya dengan soal pertahanan negara. Seluruh negara kita sekarang ini telah di-lakukan satu langkah yang besar, ya'ani menubuhkan Pasokan<sup>2</sup> Kawalan Kampong. Pada mula-nya maseh merupakan kawalan<sup>2</sup> pantai. Apakala berlaku kejadian pendaratan di-Pontian Pasokan Kawalan Pantai di-tubuhkan, tetapi apabila berlaku kejadian di-Labis, maka Pasokan Kawalan Pantai itu dengan sendiri-nya berubah menjadi Pasokan Kawalan Kampong. Langkah ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu langkah yang bijaksana dan baik, sebab rasa kesedaran yang timbul daripada ra'ayat untuk mempertahankan negara—itu

lebih memberi kesan daripada meletakkan harapan hanya sa-mata<sup>2</sup> kepada tenaga luar. Ini-lah satu perkara yang sangat penting. Kekuatan alat senjata sa-mata<sup>2</sup> dengan tidak ada kekuatan iman, kekuatan semangat dan rasa kesadaran yang sunggoh<sup>2</sup> daripada ra'ayat yang chinta dan kaseh kepada negara ini dan rela berkorban untuk mempertahankan negara kita ini, maka itu tidak akan berhasil nampak-nya, melainkan apakala rasa rela berkorban—semangat berjuang serta iman yang tegoh di-dalam perjuangan, di-champur dengan alat<sup>2</sup> senjata yang lengkap; ini-lah sahaja yang dapat menjamin keselamatan negeri kita ini. Supaya tidak menimbulkan hal<sup>2</sup> yang telah berlaku pada masa<sup>2</sup> yang lalu yang pernah saya bangkitkan dalam Rumah yang mulia ini, maka perlu-lah pehak Kerajaan itu memberikan satu arahan di-dalam melaksanakan tugas memilih anggota<sup>2</sup> Pasokan Kawalan Kampong ini, atau Vigilante Corps supaya melupakan soal parti politik, melupakan soal kepentingan parti politik.

Saya bimbang, kalau hal ini maseh berlaku terus-menerus, saperti berlaku-nya dalam soal pemilihan Tentera<sup>2</sup> Tempatan, atau Tentera<sup>2</sup> Wataniah. Saya dapat memberikan chontoh-nya bagaimana beberapa orang daripada Pasokan Tentera Wataniah yang sa-chara kebetulan terdiri daripada orang<sup>2</sup> yang bukan daripada Parti Perikatan; apakala sudah bekerja, sudah mendapat latehan, kemudian akhir-nya di-ketahui oleh ketua-nya yang dia ini bukan daripada ahli parti Kerajaan, tetapi ahli daripada parti lain, maka dengan sendiri-nya dia itu di-pechat daripada Tentera Wataniah. Saya dapat memberikan bukti-nya yang jelas di-atas hal ini dan dapat menunjokkan siapa<sup>2</sup> orang yang telah menemui nasib yang saperti ini. Ini-lah yang sangat menyedehkan. Apa-kah perlu-nya perasaan berparti itu di-hidupkan di-dalam sa'at<sup>2</sup> negara kita ini menempoh keadaan dharurat dan keadaan bahaya yang sa-demikian rupa? Tidak bolehkah perasaan berparti itu di-ketepikan buat sementara waktu, sa-hingga keadaan negara kita ini mengizinkan perasaan berparti itu di-hidupkan, ber-

chambah dan bertumbuh dalam masharakat kita. Ini-lah satu hal yang patut benar pehak Kerajaan ini mengawasi-nya. Saya tidak perchaya ketua<sup>2</sup> yang melakukan tindakan saperti itu mendapat arahan daripada Kementerian yang tertentu—tidak saya perchaya dan tidak lagi saya hendak menudoh, tidak—tetapi kalau tidak di-beri arahan supaya mereka itu melakukan sa-chara adil, jangan memilih parti, neschaya hal ini boleh berlaku dengan berluas<sup>2</sup> dan boleh berlaku dengan sewenang<sup>2</sup>-nya.

Yang kedua, dalam soal discipline, bukan sahaja latehan menembak, tetapi juga latehan discipline ini pun perlu. Banyak hal<sup>2</sup> yang berlaku baharu<sup>2</sup> ini, heboh konon-nya ada tentera Indonesia mendarat di-Pasir Puteh, kawasan pilehan raya saya sendiri, sa-hingga heboh konon-nya—sa-orang tua telah menemui tentera Indonesia itu, sa-hingga dua hari kemudian oleh kerana heboh-nya dan sa-sudah di-lakukan suatu penyiasatan oleh pehak Pasokan Keselamatan, terpaksa-lah Radio Malaysia menyiarkan satu berita yang menapikan hal itu.

Apa yang berlaku, Tuan Yang di-Pertua? Petang itu Tentera<sup>2</sup> Wataniah berlately, malang-nya sa-tengah daripada-nya tidak pulang ka-rumah, sebab jauh, atau leteh, maka bermalam-lah mereka entah di-rumah siapa. Pukul lima pagi dia turun daripada rumah itu, waktu dia lalu di-chelah<sup>2</sup> kampung bertemu dengan orang tua yang turun kerana menunaikan kadza hajat. Ditanya oleh orang tua itu, dia jawab dengan bahasa Indonesia—menggunakan kalimah Indonesia sa-olah<sup>2</sup> menakutkan orang tua itu. Orang tua itu lantas meraong, dan akhir-nya melapor-kan kepada polis, maka heboh konon-nya yang tentera Indonesia ada di-sana. Yang sa-benar-nya ia-lah Tentera Wataniah yang kebetulan terkena kepada orang yang tidak mempunyai discipline. Demikian pula yang berlaku dua hari yang lalu di-Bulut Susu di-Jajahan Pasir Mas, Tuan Yang di-Pertua—Tentera Wataniah dengan memakai uniform-nya masuk ka-kampung yang kebetulan orang tengah heboh pada malam itu; ada sa-buah kapal terbang terbang rendah dan tidak

berlampu, maka di-hebohkan orang konon-nya tentera payong terjun sudah turun di-Jajahan Pasir Mas. Bertemulah dengan dua orang yang berpakaian hijau pukul dua malam. Kebetulan tuan rumah mendengar bunyi angsa terlalu bising, maka heboh-lah orang mengatakan yang tentera Indonesia—tentera payong terjun Indonesia—sudah masuk ka-kampung. Bila di-siasat kemudian, rupa-nya Tentera Wataniah datang menchuri angsa—tidak semuanya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam beribu<sup>2</sup> hanya sa-orang dua yang menerbitkan kejadian yang seperti itu, tetapi itu-lah satu perkara yang patut di-jaga nama baik discipline dan sebagainya-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam soal Kawalan Kampung ini kami di-negeri Kelantan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Alhamdulillah, dapat-lah saya nyatakan dengan tegas bahawa dalam soal menubuhkan Pasokan Kawalan Kampung ini dapat di-lakukan dengan chara yang lichin dan chara yang terator. Telah di-arahkan supaya dalam memilih anggota<sup>2</sup> Pasokan Kawalan Kampung ini jangan-lah di-pilih daripada satu parti sahaja, jangan oleh kerana kebetulan yang menjadi Penghulu itu orang yang chenderong kepada Parti PAS maka semua anggota Kawalan Kampung di-ambil daripada Parti PAS, maka sa-buah kampung lagi oleh kerana Penghulu-nya chenderong kepada Parti Perikatan di-pilih daripada anggota<sup>2</sup> Parti Perikatan. Maka sudah saya mengkaji dan menyiasat keadaan itu di-negeri Kelantan saya dapati dari jumlah lebih kurang 72,000 anggota Pasokan Kawalan Kampung yang telah di-beri tauliah sekarang ini boleh-lah saya katakan terdiri dari hampir sama banyak dari anggota PAS atau pun anggota Perikatan atau pun orang yang tidak berparti, sa-hingga dengan demikian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perasaan berparti itu dapat di-lenyapkan dan dapat di-ketepikan dan mereka telah menunjukkan kesungguhan kerjasama atas nama ra'ayat yang chintakan kepada keamanan dan sayangkan kemerdekaan tanah ayer kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada masa mula<sup>2</sup> di-perintah menubuhkan Pasokan Kawalan Pantai, di-negeri Kelantan

telah di-tubuhkan Pasokan Kawalan Pantai sa-ramai 8,000 orang, tetapi sudah berlaku-nya kejadian di-Labis dan sa-sudah mendapat arahan daripada pehak Kementerian, maka sekarang ini jumlah anggota itu telah meningkat kepada lebih kurang 72,000 orang, sedangkan orang yang memohon untuk menjadi Pasokan Kawalan Kampung, tua dan muda, laki<sup>2</sup> dan perempuan, berjumlah hampir<sup>2</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$  juta orang, hampir sa-paroh daripada penduduk negeri Kelantan itu. Bukan-lah saya cheritakan ini untuk bermegah dengan jumlah yang ramai daripada Pasokan Kawalan Kampung di-negeri Kelantan itu—tidak sama sa-kali, tetapi saya nyatakan ini ia-lah untuk memberi satu pernyataan bahawa pehak Parti PAS ada-lah sungoh<sup>2</sup> dan benar<sup>2</sup> bersama dengan seluruh ra'ayat dalam negeri ini untuk menjaga dan mempertahankan kedaulatan dan kemerdekaan tanah ayer kita ini daripada sa-barang anchaman luar dan dalam.

Ini-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam soal ini fitnah<sup>2</sup> satu perkara yang harus di-kawal dengan rapi.

Dua hari yang lalu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pehak pegawai tinggi kerajaan negeri Kelantan menerima panggilan talipon daripada Kementerian Keselamatan Dalam Negeri menanyakan kenapa negeri Kelantan tidak buat apa<sup>2</sup> lagi dalam soal menubuhkan Pasokan Kawalan Kampung? Maka bertanya-lah pegawai tinggi negeri Kelantan itu siapa yang melaporkan? Maka dia pun cheritakan: di-hadapan saya ini ada sa-orang bernama—saya tidak mahu sebutkan nama-nya—si-anu bin si-anu, ia-itu-lah salah sa-orang daripada Ketua UMNO Bahagian di-negeri Kelantan, mencheritakan kepada pegawai tinggi Kementerian, bukan kepada Menteri, minta ma'af, kepada pegawai tinggi Kementerian bahawa negeri Kelantan tidak berbuat apa<sup>2</sup>. Maka langsung di-terangkan oleh pegawai tinggi negeri Kelantan tadi kita telah berbuat, bukan tidak berbuat apa<sup>2</sup>. Kenapa-kah satu kenyataan daripada orang itu chukup untuk meragu<sup>2</sup>-kan kita, sa-hingga akhir-nya 5 minit kemudian sahabat saya Ketua UMNO Bahagian yang tertentu itu menalipon sa-mula kepada Setia-usaha Kerajaan

negeri Kelantan meminta ma'af, sebab sa-benar-nya dia tidak tahu apa yang telah berlaku di-negeri Kelantan selama ini. Ini satu fitnah. Ini-lah rupanya kalau tidak di-adakan penyiasatan. Mithal kalau takdir datang sa-orang berjumpa dengan Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri menceritakan hal<sup>2</sup> sa-demikian, kalau kebetulan Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri itu menaruh kepercayaan sapa-neh-nya kepada orang yang melaporkan, apa jadi? Timbul-lah perasaan shak wasangka dan perasaan tidak perchaya-memperchayai antara kita sama kita, sedangkan hal itu sangat<sup>2</sup> tidak dikehendaki di-waktu negara kita sedang menghadapi bahaya ini.

Baik-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya kembali kepada soal Kawalan Kampong. Soal senjata dan soal alat<sup>2</sup> bagi tiap<sup>2</sup> anggota Kawalan Kampong. Bekerja siang dan malam dengan jam<sup>2</sup> yang tertentu untuk mengawal atau menjaga kok<sup>2</sup> ada sa-barang pendaratan baik dari laut atau dari udara atau dari sempadan ada-lah satu tugas yang terlalu berat dengan tidak mempunyai senjata dan dengan tidak mempunyai alat hatta lampu suloh atau pun baju hujan di-waktu hujan, maka itu erti-nya terlalu sangat-lah kita ini tidak mengambil berat. Dan saya tahu pehak Kementerian, terutama-nya Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri sendiri ada mempunyai persediaan bagi mengatasi soal<sup>2</sup> ini, sebab estimates sedang di-minta kepada tiap<sup>2</sup> Negeri supaya menentukan berapa jumlah barang yang dikehendaki dan berapa harga-nya. Itu Alhamdulillah-lah akan dapat perhatian hendak-nya dan akan dapat pengawal<sup>2</sup> kampong itu alat<sup>2</sup> yang sa-mesti-nya.

Tetapi soal senjata—senjata bagi orang kampong yang sa-lama ini ada bagi mengawal harta-benda-nya dan rumah-tangga-nya ia-lah senapang ya'ani senapang kampong, senapang patah. Apa yang berlaku dalam sabulan dua baharu<sup>2</sup> ini hampir  $\frac{3}{4}$  daripada pemegang<sup>2</sup> senjata yang berlesen dari negeri Kelantan telah di-rampas senjata-nya. Bila saya berjumpa dengan Menteri<sup>2</sup> Besar negeri lain, rupa-nya bukan sahaja di-negeri

Kelantan di-negeri<sup>2</sup> lain pun di-rampas dan tidak di-sambong atau di-perpajakan lesen memegang senjata api itu. Di-sa'at negara saperti ini hal ini sangat mengkechiwakan. Saya mintalah dengan jasa baik pehak Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri atau Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri dengan jasa baik mereka berdua ini dapat-lah senjata<sup>2</sup> api itu di-pulangkan kembali kepada tuan yang empunya, kechuali dengan terang<sup>2</sup> kita dapati orang itu merbahaya kepada negara, jika itu saya pun tidak suka senjata itu di-pulangkan kepada mereka itu. Di-pulangkan-lah senjata itu kepada orang<sup>2</sup> yang benar berhak atau tuan yang empunya dan kita perchaya dia itu tidak merbahaya kepada negara, dengan di-beri suatu sharat bahawa dia mesti-lah menggabungkan diri-nya ka-dalam Pasokan Kawalan Kampong dan mesti berkhidmat dengan menggunakan senjata yang di-berikan itu. Saya perchaya dengan chara saperti demikian dapat dua faedah. Sa-lain daripada faedah yang pertama orang itu merasa senang hati dengan hak milek-nya dapat kembali dan mengawal harta milek-nya dan faedah yang kedua Pasokan Kawalan Kampong kita akan memiliki senjata, sa-kurang<sup>2</sup>-nya satu pasokan satu atau dua. Ini satu.

Yang kedua patut-lah pehak Kementerian mengadakan senjata<sup>2</sup> tambahan yang di-beri kepada Pasokan Pengawal Kampong dengan chara bergeler<sup>2</sup> mengikut tugas mereka itu berjaga. Tiap<sup>2</sup> pengawal kampong di-beri lesen untuk memegang senjata api, kalau perlu kepada lesen mengikut peratoran biasa, kechuali kalau dengan Undang<sup>2</sup> Dharurat tidak perlukan lesen, itu pun lagi baik. Maka senjata api di-beri kepada satu Pasokan Kawalan sa-kurang<sup>2</sup>-nya 4 atau 5, mereka bergeler<sup>2</sup> memerhatikan senjata api mengikut gelaran mereka berjaga. Sebab, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak mustahil bahawa mereka itu akan menghadapi bahaya<sup>2</sup>. Kalau benar<sup>2</sup>-lah tentera pencherobohan dari Indonesia itu mendarat sama ada dari udara, dari laut atau dari sempadan, mereka tidak mendarat dengan tangan yang kosong,

mereka mesti mendarat dengan alat senjata yang serba moden. Bagaimana kita menghadapi-nya? Betul ada orang berkata bahawa takan-lah kita hendak suroh Pasokan Kawalan Kampung itu melawan. Apa yang kita kehendaki mereka itu apakala melihat hal itu melaporkan kepada Pasokan Keselamatan. Itu betul. Tetapi sementara hendak melaporkan kalau ter-tembong dan kalau tempat Pasokan Keselamatan itu jauh, sebab tidak semua kampung ada pos atau pun pusat keselamatan. Ini satu perkara yang mustahak, daripada mati bodoh elok-lah mati berlawan, ada nilai dan ada harga-nya dalam perjuangan mempertahankan tanah ayer.

Kalau mati dengan tidak bersenjata itu terok sangat. Yang kedua, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, patut-lah Kerajaan mengadakan suatu undang<sup>2</sup> berkenaan dengan Pasokan Kawalan Kampung ini, chara pentadbiran-nya kalau tidak ada undang<sup>2</sup> pun tetapi apa sahaja-lah supaya mempunyai per-atoran meliputi chara kawalan atau sa-bagai-nya. Dan satu perkara yang mustahak ia-lah jaminan, jaminan terhadap orang<sup>2</sup> ini. Dengan ada-nya jaminan itu dua faedah mereka akan dapat. Yang pertama kesungguhan orang itu bergerak, yang kedua keadilan masyarakat itu dapat di-berikan kepada-nya. Kalau mereka itu chedera bila kena atau berlaku sa-suatu kejadian, apa-kah mereka itu akan di-beri layanan atau bagaimana layanan yang akan di-berikan—ka-Hospital mereka di-bawa, dan bagaimana layanan kalau mereka itu mati, bagaimana pula hal-nya; betul-lah mati dalam perjuangan kerana mem-pertahankan tanah ayer, mati yang mulia tetapi walau pun mulia nama-nya anak<sup>2</sup>-nya yang tinggal itu perlu-kan kepada bantuan, ini yang perlu mendapat timbangan dari pihak kita. Kita boleh menyeru semangat ra'ayat supaya berjuang tetapi sa-suatu mesti kita hulorkan kepada ra'ayat di-sam-ping semangat yang di-tunjokkan oleh ra'ayat dan tenaga suka-rela yang di-berikan oleh ra'ayat. Mereka tidak berkehendakkan gaji—mereka tidak berkehendakkan upah, mereka ber-kehendakkan senjata, mereka berke-

hendakkan layanan, mereka berke-hendakkan jaminan, ini-lah sahaja yang mereka kehendaki dalam kerja<sup>2</sup> mengawal kampung<sup>2</sup>-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh kerana Tunku Perdana Menteri kita telah menyebutkan hal<sup>2</sup> yang berlaku di-Singapura baharu<sup>2</sup> ini maka saya pun ikut-lah menchampori soal<sup>2</sup> itu. Saya tidak hendak champor masaalah Singapura itu sa-bagai satu masaalah yang keseluruhan-nya tetapi saya champorkan masaalah Singapura itu sa-bagai satu masaalah yang tersen-diri. Saya ikut bersedeh-lah atas keja-dian itu dan memang-lah sa-pendapat antara saya dengan pihak Perdana Menteri, bahawa sa-barang keka-chauan yang berlaku di-sa'at saperti ini kalau tidak pun sa-chara langsung, sa-chara tidak langsung, boleh meng-kaitkan dengan hal<sup>2</sup> politik yang ber-laku sekarang. Akan tetapi walau bagaimana pun saya terkenang pada satu masa dahulu kenyataan Yang Berhormat Menteri Muda Perda-gangan dan Perusahaan waktu beliau bergiat baharu<sup>2</sup> ini dalam soal penyertaan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-lapangan ekonomi, beliau telah memberikan satu pandangan yang chukup menarek perhatian saya sendiri. Sa-lain dari-pada menarek, dapat saya mengatakan chukup menawan hati saya sendiri, ia-itu sa-barang kejadian boleh jadi; kenyataan ini di-keluarkan sa-sudah berlaku-nya kejadian di-Singapura yang pertama; sa-barang kejadian boleh jadi sa-kira-nya perseimbangan ekonomi masyarakat dan kehidupan ra'ayat tidak di-perbetulkan; demikian-lah lebeh kurang ayat-nya tetapi kalimah<sup>2</sup> itu saya tidak dapat meng-ambil sa-biji<sup>2</sup>-nya tetapi itu-lah maksud-nya. Saya akui benar dan patut-lah pihak Cabinet pun meng-akui benar. Sa-barang peristiwa boleh jadi kalau perseimbangan ekonomi masyarakat dan kehidupan ra'ayat tidak di-perbetulkan. Bukan saya hendak mengatakan bahawa kejadian yang berlaku di-Singapura itu membangkitkan soal perseim-bangan ekonomi, sa-barang hal boleh membangkitkan hal<sup>2</sup> demikian, kalau tidak-lah kejadian Singapura itu ber-laku di-sa'at negara kita sedang

menghadapi konfrantasi, kalau tidak-lah kejadian Singapura itu berlaku di-sa'at negara kita di-cherobohi oleh negara asing, saya perchaya pernyataan Menteri Muda itu akan bertambah jelas gambaran-nya tetapi apa boleh buat dia berlaku di-sa'at konfrantasi. Suasana konfrantasi, bangunan konfrantasi, rupa konfrantasi itu menguasai segala<sup>2</sup>-nya.

Tetapi walau bagaimana pun, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, patut-lah pehak Kementerian ini, saya tidak hendak minta kenyataan tetapi saya hendak minta tindakan dan perlaksanaan. Jaminan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri waktu lawatan-nya ka-Singapura baharu<sup>2</sup> ini ada-lah satu jaminan yang baik yang kalau disusul dengan pelaksanaan yang baik, maka dia akan dapat sedikit sa-banyak memberi ubat yang mujarrab bagi mengatasi sa-barang hal kekacauan<sup>2</sup> yang mungkin akan berlaku pada masa<sup>2</sup> yang akan datang. Chuma apa yang saya dukachitakan ia-lah kenyataan Perdana Menteri mengkaitkan beberapa orang dari kalangan PAS yang di-katakan terlibat dalam peristiwa kejadian di-Singapura itu. Saya tidak tahu hal di-Singapura, akan tetapi jangan-lah hendak-nya kalau terdapat satu dua orang dari kalangan partai PAS atau partai apa sahaja, mengkaitkan diri partai itu sendiri dengan gerakan—tindakan activity tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang atau personal activity. Boleh jadi mungkin ada dari kalangan PAS, mungkin ada dari kalangan Party Ra'ayat, mungkin ada di-kalangan PMS, mungkin ada di-kalangan UMNO yang melakukan activity persendirian dalam hal<sup>2</sup> yang berlaku di-Singapura itu tetapi tidak-lah boleh melibatkan partai politik di-mana orang itu menjadi anggotanya, tidak boleh melibatkan parti PAS mithal-nya di-dalam kejadian Singapura itu. Ini harus-lah di-ma'alumi dan di-fahami, parti PAS sendiri ikuti bersedeh dengan kejadian itu dan kita bersama<sup>2</sup> berdiri dengan pemerintah supaya hal kejadian perpechahan perkauman tidak lagi berlaku.

Sa-bagai mithal-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau-lah kira-nya kita ini

hendak menonjol<sup>2</sup>kan perasaan dendam kesumat dan perasaan membalas sakit hati mithal-nya hendak di-hidupkan, perasaan perkauman itu di-negeri Kelantan-lah tempat-nya atau tanah-nya yang subur sa-kali boleh memecahkan keadaan sa-bagai communal disturbance itu. Kalau di-Singapura orang Melayu kurang orang bangsa lain banyak, berlaku perkelahian, orang Melayu habis, itu-lah diayah yang timbul, di-Kelantan orang bangsa lain kurang, orang Melayu banyak, kalau sa-titek ayer sahaja benih itu boleh timbul dengan subur sebab tanah-nya terlalu subur.

**Mr Speaker:** Berapa minit lagi?

**Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda:** Ada dua minit lagi. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh kerana PAS yang merasa diri-nya benar<sup>2</sup> bertanggung-jawab bagi mengelakkan sa-barang kejadian yang tidak di-ingini ini, maka saya boleh-lah memberi pengakuan kepada Perdana Menteri dan Timbalan Perdana Menteri serta Menteri<sup>2</sup> lain semua-nya, bahawa di-negeri Kelantan dapat di-kawal dan di-jaga-nya. Saya sendiri, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan pehak Pegawai Polis mengambil tindakan kilat, terpaksa bergerak dari sa-sa'at ka-sesa'at apakala dapat sahaja ada bunyi khabar angin yang boleh memecahkan sa-suatu keadaan, yang memecahkan perhubungan antara kaum, maka terpaksa di-ambil tindakan. Ini pun chukup menjadi bukti, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa PAS sendiri tidak ingin kejadian seperti ini berlaku, sebab itu-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jangan-lah di-kaitkan kalau ada orang PAS mungkin telah di-tangkap kerana di-shaki ada mempunyai pertalian dengan kejadian kekacauan di-Singapura itu, jangan di-kaitkan dengan parti PAS. Kita, parti PAS mempunyai pendirian sendiri tetapi kalau ada satu dua orang PAS yang bertindak mengikut kehendak hati-nya—melakukan tindakan dengan kehendak sendiri dengan tidak arahan dari parti, maka itu di-luar tanggung-jawab parti. Demikian-lah, barangkali pehak Perikatan pun demikian juga. Ta'kan-lah Perikatan hendak menyanggup kira-nya ada

ahli-nya melakukan di-luar kehendak dasar parti-nya sendiri. Jadi, pada akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, PAS memberi-lah sokongan sa-penohnya kapada pengishtiharan dharurat di-negeri ini (*Tepok*).

**Mr Speaker:** Meshuarat ini ditanggohkan sa-hingga 4.30 petang ini.

*Sitting suspended at 1.00 p.m.*

*Sitting resumed at 4.30 p.m.*

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

### EXEMPTED BUSINESS (Motion)

**The Minister of Local Government and Housing (Enche' Khaw Kai-Boh):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move,

That, notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 12, the House shall not adjourn today until consideration of all Government business set out on the Order Paper has been completed.

**The Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications (Dato' V. T. Sambanthan):** Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That, notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 12, the House shall not adjourn today until consideration of all Government business set out on the Order Paper has been completed.

### ADJOURNMENT *SINE DIE* (Motion)

**Enche' Khaw Kai-Boh:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move,

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

**Dato' V. T. Sambanthan:** Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

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

### PERISHTIHARAN DHARURAT— (PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY)

Command Paper No. 25 of 1964

*Debate resumed.*

**Dato' Donald Stephens (Sabah):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to give full support to the Proclamation of Emergency.

Sir, we have been patient. We have allowed our cheeks to be slapped by the enemy and, instead of seeing a penitent enemy, we have merely whetted his appetite for more bullying, and all we get is more slapping. Soekarno's gangsters have time and again committed aggression in Sabah and Sarawak; they have invaded our territory and killed our people. Murder and arson have been committed. Now, not being satisfied with using his so-called "guerillas" and "volunteers" and terrorising the innocent people along the border of Sabah and Sarawak, Soekarno has embarked on unmistakable aggression, daylight aggression, by landing troops at Pontian and dropping his paratroopers at Labis and what is more Soekarno's Defence Minister has taken pride in announcing that his forces had committed aggression against Malaysia.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu has used the word "dispute" in referring to Indonesia's action against us. I take exception to the use of this word because, in fact, there is no dispute; there is only aggression on the part of Indonesia against Malaysia. The peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah had decided that they wanted to be united as a nation in Malaysia. After long and careful deliberations, they had managed to agree on the basis on which Malaysia was to be established, and Malaysia was established. Why should anyone dispute the right of the people of Malaysia to be united in Malaysia? The words "Dispute", "guerillas" and "volunteers" lend respectability to Soekarno's aggression. These "guerillas" and "volunteers" are, in fact Soekarno's soldiers. Some of them may have originated from the States of Malaysia—I know there are none from Sabah—but they are in the pay of Soekarno and they have been trained to help Soekarno to crush Malaysia. This makes them traitors to Malaysia, and they have no right, therefore, to be known as Malaysians. They are traitors and should be treated like traitors and called traitors and not "guerillas" or "volunteers".

All the repeated acts of aggression by Soekarno have naturally made it

increasingly necessary that we take all possible steps to defend ourselves, and the Declaration of a state of Emergency throughout Malaysia, is, therefore most timely. I hope that this Declaration of a state of Emergency will bring home to every Malaysian the fact that the time has come when everyone, of all parties, should rally round the Government of Malaysia and to stand firmly behind the Prime Minister in the face of the danger which confronts our nation, to be solidly united and to be prepared to give everything we have in thwarting the evil designs of Soekarno and his stooges.

I would also like to suggest, most humbly, that we should declare a moratorium in politics, especially on racial politics, which can only lend strength to our enemy. Let us stop jockeying for position with an eye to the next elections knowing that unless we stick together and defeat the enemy, there may not be any next elections.

Mr Speaker, one question, I know, to be paramount in the minds of many in Malaysia is this: how long are we going to sit back and allow the enemy to hit us as and when and where he pleases? I know that the patience of the people of Malaysia is at an end and they are now waiting to see that we give back to the enemy the sort of medicine that they have been giving to us in the past. There are many also who consider it a great privilege to be asked to undertake the work of retaliating against the enemy. I hope it may not be too long before they are given the chance to do so. Force must be met by force. We must hit back. Dictators know only one language, and that is the language of force; and this is the language which we must use in our future dealings with the dictator in Jakarta.

The Honourable Member for Batu, again, this morning took great pains to impress on us that we are weak militarily—that I do not agree. I do not think that we are all that weak, and we must not forget that we have right on our side. We also have friends who are committed to our defence, and I see no reason for us to be in any way ashamed to invoke the help of the

Agreement made for our defence, especially in this our fight against Soekarno's aggression.

Of course, we must go on fighting in the diplomatic field, in the United Nations, but even the worst pacifist among us must by now realise that in the final analysis, if Soekarno persists in his aggression—and all signs indicate that he intends to go on with his dream of "Indonesia Raya"—there can only be one answer to Soekarno's use of force, and that is counter-force. Wishful thinking on our part will get us nowhere. Soekarno's intentions are as clear as daylight and we must plan accordingly. Putting our heads in the sand, ostrich-fashion, will only allow our enemy to have the advantage which he craves. What I mean to say is that we should not think or pretend to believe that the worst that is likely to happen to us is to have this state of emergency imposed on us. We must, in all fairness to ourselves, be prepared for the worst—for war. I am no warmonger.

I have gone through one war, one terrible war, and have always prayed that the good God would spare us any more wars, but for our nation, for our Malaysia, we must be prepared to sacrifice everything. We will never allow our newly gained independence and freedom to be taken away. A long time ago an American patriot said, "Give me liberty, or give me death." This I am sure is how every true Malaysian feels today about our nation.

The Proclamation of Emergency throughout Malaysia should therefore be most welcome to all of us, because this is a clear indication that our Government intends to take every step necessary for the defence of our country. I would like, Mr Speaker, Sir, to take this opportunity to support the motion before this Honourable House and also to say that the people of Sabah are solidly behind our Prime Minister and the Federal Government in all the steps which the Government has taken and are taking in the defence of our nation. I know that Sabah is prepared to make every and any sacrifice for the nation and will follow faithfully our Bapa Malaysia, who with right on his side, with God's help and

blessing, will yet lead us out of the Emergency, crush our enemies and bring us all into the harbour of peace, prosperity and happiness (*Applause*).

**Mr Speaker:** Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat, saya perchaya ramai daripada Ahli<sup>2</sup> yang hendak berchakap dalam masa-alah ini. Saya minta dan saya merayu-lah kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> yang akan dapat berchakap itu, chuba-lah berchakap dengan sa-bberapa ringkas supaya dapat Ahli<sup>2</sup> yang lain berchakap untuk mengambil bahagian dalam perkara ini; dan lebih kurang pukul enam, saya akan memberi peluang kepada Menteri<sup>2</sup> untuk menjawab satu persatu apa yang telah di-datangkan oleh pihak Ahli<sup>2</sup> tadi.

**Dr Lim Chong Eu (Tanjong):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to associate myself in support of the motion moved by the Honourable Prime Minister this morning, and in so doing right from the very beginning of this important and grave debate, I would like to take the opportunity to state that the party to which I belong, the United Democratic Party, also reaffirms our full support for the Government's proposal of the Proclamation of a state of Emergency in this country. I sincerely hope that this point is clearly understood by all my Honourable friends in this House so that they will not misconstrue the real purpose of what I shall have to continue to say in my speech in trying to represent what we consider a loyal and democratic Opposition must effectively do under these circumstances. Until such time as suggested by the last Honourable speaker, when a moratorium is proposed, I am afraid that there are certain things that have to be done and said and they should be taken in the spirit of the security of the nation and not just as backbiting in this House.

Publicly, Sir, our party has already declared our support of the Government's emergency measures. We have also stated that we consider that these measures were inevitable, and furthermore we have stated that in these times of danger the Government should further consider not only taking these steps but also that they should take more positive measures to develop the

security, the wellbeing and the unity of our nation. It was succinctly pointed out by the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore earlier on this morning that the Proclamation of Emergency, and under it the Bill which we shall in due course pass, will confer great powers on the Government and he has already pointed out in his own way that the exercise of such overwhelming powers require great restraint and great control. We are not an irresponsible Opposition and whatever suggestions and criticisms we may make now in this debate are made with every intention to help the Government and to co-operate with the Government in every way we think correct, so as to preserve the integrity and the sovereignty of Malaysia, which today is being attacked by our neighbour Indonesia under Soekarno's regime. However, we would like to make it quite clear that our party, the United Democratic Party, is also firmly dedicated to the preservation of the democratic institutions of our country based upon the principles of equality and justice for the people of our country.

Without any doubt, we feel that nobody in this country, and certainly no one in this House, including the Honourable Prime Minister himself, would have willingly declared the present state of Emergency without the extenuating circumstances which prevail today. Since we all realise that the state of Emergency will undoubtedly to some extent curtail the forms of democracy that we would normally practise in our country as guaranteed by our Constitution, therefore, we consider that it is the proper function of a loyal Opposition that it should do everything that it can under the conditions of emergency in which we live in order not only to help preserve the defence of our nation but also at the same time we must always be vigilant that whatever steps that the Government will necessarily have to undertake in these emergency conditions will not unduly deprive our people of the rights and the liberties which are guaranteed to them by our Constitution and which they have been accustomed to accept as the ideal way of living. It is not our intention at a

time like this to review how the state of emergency has come about; unlike other members of Opposition groups whose loyalties are less tangible than ours, we will not harp back on the immediate past history of the formation of Malaysia and with a sense of smartness and righteousness try to remind the Government, "There, I told you so." After all, the United Democratic Party from the very day of its inception had advised the Government to go slow with the formation of Malaysia, because we had anticipated the very state of affairs which we face today and we had also queried the rosy pictures of greater peace, greater prosperity and greater happiness that Malaysia will bring to the people of this country which were at one time brightly painted by some of the leaders of the Alliance Party, particularly those from the Malayan Chinese Association when they went round the country trying to gain the support of the people for the Constitution of Malaysia.

When we use the word "inevitable" we are not trying to refer back to the past when we were openly critical of the naive promises of the M.C.A. leaders about what the plan of Malaysia really meant. When we used the word inevitable, we mean that this emergency measure must be promulgated now in view of the open aggression of our territory by Soekarno's troops. As a matter of fact, even when this session of the House first met, Indonesian troops were already attacking parts of Malaysian territory in the borders of Sarawak and Sabah, but our people were still new to this concept of a new Malaysian nation. Therefore, what had then taken place in Long Jawi, in Tebedu, in Tawau seemed very far away to us. Even the Government had not yet fully awakened itself to the grimness of the situation that has already overtaken us.

Let me recall that at the first meeting of this session of the House, when we were debating His Majesty's Gracious Speech, I stated then that whereas in the past we, in the United Democratic Party, had urged the Government to proceed more slowly with the plan for the formation of Malaysia, we now

urge the Government to act with a sense of greater urgency to bring the unity of Malaysia into reality, and we further urged that everyone of us must think of ourselves as Malaysians. Admittedly, at that meeting I made that statement arising out of reference to the educational policy of the Government, but the principles were meant to be general, for it is the truth that until all the people in this country think, live and act as Malaysians, then the unity and integrity of our new nation will only be words written on paper and not be fully effective.

Now that Malayan territories, or rather the territories of the States of Malaya, have been directly violated by the landings in Pontian and the dropping of paratroopers in the Labis area, the people of all the States of the Federation have begun to appreciate the full significance of what confrontation mean. At last, we are beginning thoroughly to react as a nation. The inevitability of the process, therefore, Mr Speaker, Sir, to which we refer, is that anything that happens to us today, from the Siamese border all the way down the Peninsula to Singapore, and across the sea to the States of Borneo right down to the farthest point in Sabah, must affect each and everyone of us in this country who honestly and truly declares himself to be a Malaysian.

Today, under these times of danger, the challenge that confronts us is whether or not the new nation of Malaysia shall survive. It is in this light that we consider the Government's action of declaring a state of emergency as a measure to safeguard our nation to be inevitable, and it is in this spirit that we offer our full support. (*Applause*). It is to our mind not enough merely to go on talking about goodwill amongst the races, inter-racial harmony, and so on, as indeed is still being used again and again by various Members and leaders of the Government themselves. The important thing today is that we must no longer think of ourselves as Malays, Chinese, Indians, Ibans, Kadazans, Dayaks, Kenyahs, Muruts, or any of the other single community, who together form

the Malaysian people. Not only must we not think of ourselves any further as members of any single community, but we must also not think of ourselves any further in division as natives, Malays, and non-native Malaysians. Not only must we not do this, but we must no longer continue to go on thinking of ourselves as Malaysians, Borneans or Singaporeans. The inevitability of the challenge today is simply this: we must think and act as Malaysians, as a united national community under our new Constitution, or else we shall be divided amongst ourselves to perish piecemeal under the aggression of a totalitarian foe. Therefore, I wish here to take this opportunity to pledge again the support of members of our Party, and all those who support the United Democratic Party in this country, in any action that this Government may consider fit and necessary to adopt, in order to uphold and preserve the sovereignty of Malaysia and the dignity of His Majesty, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong as the constitutional symbol of this sovereignty. We fully appreciate the dangers confronting our nation and, together with every other loyal Malaysian, we shall be prepared to lay down our lives, if and when necessary, in the defence of our nation under the threat of the present aggression. However, we consider that it is our loyal duty to our King and to our country to stress and, if necessary, to restate that we either exist as Malaysians or not at all.

Under these circumstances, Sir, we feel somewhat remiss that certain quarters of the Alliance leadership, under the present stress and dangers to our nation, still continue to think and harp upon their former chauvinistic and communal line. We have earlier today accepted the warning from the Honourable Prime Minister to the Opposition parties that they must act in national terms, but in accepting the warning from the Government we also ask that the Government and the Alliance Party in power should look into their own house and try to settle their own affairs—for example, with every sincerity in our hearts we criticise the recent statement by an important

backbencher of the Alliance, who still thinks of confrontation and of our resistance to Soekarno's aggression in terms of the necessity of those Malaysians of Chinese origin to have to once again prove their loyalty to this nation, when he said that for the past twelve years the Chinese have been suspect and that the present emergency has given the Chinese a chance to further prove their loyalty to this nation. Mr Speaker, Sir, such a frame of mind is not consistent with the situation as it confronts us today; nor is it in consonance with the realities of what Malaysia means today to all of us. If, indeed, we were to allow ourselves to think along such chauvinistic and communalistic line, then if a group of people in this country are to be suspect at all, it would be logical that those Malaysians who by ties of blood and of culture and of political inclination are intimately associated with the Indonesian people. But we in the United Democratic Party do not consider it realistic to pursue such a line of thought or such a line of action. I reiterate that the crux of the matter today is whether as loyal citizens of Malaysia we shall live and think and act as Malaysians, so that the nation of Malaysia can exist, or whether we shall perish from the face of this earth, because we cannot transcend the racial differences that have hindered us in the past. Therefore, we consider that under these dangerous times we can either cement the unity of the peoples of Malaysia or, if we fail to do so by failing to adopt the proper attitude and proper policies, our new nation shall break up into the various fragments from which we started our new life as a new nation and be destroyed by an unreasonable tyrant.

Sir, I therefore urge that in exercising the powers conferred upon them by the declaration of a state of emergency in our country, the Government will act, and shall act, only in the context of the Constitution of Malaysia, under which circumstances there are only either loyal citizens of Malaysia, or those who are traitorous and disloyal to our nation. In the face of our present danger, where every single loyal citizen

should be and must be prepared to do everything in his power, if needs be even to lay down his life, for the preservation of our national sovereignty, inevitably the situation demands that every single citizen must be accorded equality of status as a Malaysian—and for that we must try and eliminate as quickly as possible the discrimination, the discrepancies and the communal feelings that still, unfortunately, prevail in certain quarters of our population, who still think in terms of racial origin and in terms of State divisions.

It is our opinion that the Government is today in a position to take the positive leadership of providing a truly Malaysian climate and attitude of mind once and for all, and to forge the unity of the concept of the Malaysian nation, and thereby convert the dangerous and terrible consequences of Indonesian confrontation into a basic instrument for welding our peoples together into a single nationhood. It is not enough for us just to declare a state of emergency to control our people. We must do something more positive—and at this juncture of our history, the Government has the opportunity. To a large extent, the powers conferred upon it shall be in its hands. United, I feel sure and I am certain that most of us in this House feel sure, we shall be able to withstand the onslaught of Soekarno's ambition, but divided we shall be destroyed. By preserving as best as we can the democratic institutions of our country under a state of emergency, we shall not only survive but we shall, with God's grace, provide the kind of leadership which will lead South-East Asia from the present state of turmoil and conflict into a more stable and happier state of affairs. If at any time should we lose sight of the fundamental democratic nature of our country during the period of the state of emergency, we may survive, but we shall certainly lose the essential characteristics that have made the world respect and recognise us as an important democratic nation in the past. Sir, I am confident—and I am sure the vast majority of the people in Malaysia are confident—that, under the leadership of Tunku Abdul

Rahman as our Prime Minister and as the Leader of our nation, we have every chance of coming out of these trying circumstances with greater prestige and with brighter prospect of our future development. (*Applause*). We hope that God will grant him the health, strength and the long life to lead us for many more years to come. (*Applause*). However, as I have warned earlier, we have to be very careful, and in particular the Government of the Alliance Party in power have to be especially careful. Whilst expressing this fervent hope I would still, nevertheless, urge the Honourable the Prime Minister seriously to consider the deleterious effect that may be caused to the rest of the nation by occasional statements made by quarters close to him over the possibility of his relinquishing his post as Prime Minister. A positive action on the part of the Government, therefore, will be to make sure that in future no such statements shall emanate, or be allowed to emanate, except through the Prime Minister himself. Everybody throughout the length and breadth of Malaysia agrees that in this one unique man we have the nucleus of our nation. So, do not let us play with all these tales of his resigning, or possible resigning, especially in these times of danger.

In this respect, Sir, we also consider that it is our duty to point out that the recent statements made by the newly appointed Political Secretary to the Prime Minister have created an increased sense of uncertainty instead of a greater sense of assurance, which we can only presume they were meant to provide. If we may offer a critical appraisal of these statements, we would like to say that it does appear somewhat queer, if not senseless, for statements to be made from such influential quarters that the Deputy Prime Minister is not "anti-Chinese". This kind of double negative statement, at its very best, is disheartening, unenlightening, and easily misunderstood. We must presume and accept that all the members of the Government are true Malaysians and, therefore, they think, live and act as

Malaysians, and are not only not *pro* any one section of the diverse racial components of Malaysia, but certainly they are not in any way *anti* any one of them. Under these circumstances, would it not have been better, would it not have been more proper, for propaganda of such a nature not to have been made? If it must be made, it should be made in a truly positive manner—for example, by stating that the Deputy Prime Minister is entirely pro-Malaysian, rather than by putting it in this feeble and double negative way. Further, Sir, one would have thought that if it were really necessary for the Government to make such statements, then the statements, if they are to be effective, should be made by some responsible and respected Members of the Government, such as the Minister of Information, who has achieved his proper and rightful place in this country by the process of democratic elections into this House, and not by a Political Secretary whose one claim to a place in our nation's parliamentary history has so far been that he had gained his present position and status by the peculiar method of losing as a candidate in the parliamentary elections. (*Laughter*). I realise, Sir, when I say this, that there will be those who may interpret or misinterpret my intention as being mischievous and harmful. Therefore, I immediately wish to say that it is with a deep sense of responsibility and duty to this House and to our nation that I find it necessary to say what I have to say, no matter how unpleasant it may be. I am not trying to re-open issues over matters which had already been debated during the previous meeting of this House, although I must remark that it is unfortunate that one has to refer to a Political Secretary who cannot be present here to rebut my statement. Sir, I am not trying to re-open that debate, neither am I concerned with the person of the Political Secretary, for after all the gentleman I refer to is one whom I have, up to this day and in the past, been happy to call a friend. What I am concerned over is the impact and the reaction which such statements have made

upon the public mind. Whether it is true or not, I ask those active Members of the Alliance to go to the coffee shops, to the kampongs and to all the various places to find out. People have asked, "Who has been spreading rumours that the Deputy Prime Minister is anti-Chinese?" Sir, I suggest to you that if you make a double negative statement of this kind, it is deleterious and harmful. But, perhaps, it is just the newness of his present position which has led to the unrestrained enthusiasm, but without doubt, Sir, these statements have been widely misinterpreted, and we consider that in future the Government could act in a more positive manner to ensure that such equivocal opinion should be carefully screened, because in these times of danger the Government must provide the leadership and the rallying point for all quarters of the nation. We can ill-afford statements of this type to circulate and to stir up speculation among the masses of our people.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there are yet more important positive actions which the Government can take. In the past, we in the United Democratic Party have often urged the Government to define more clearly what it means by the word "subversive" when the Government employs the powers under the Internal Security Act. We have advocated again and again that those who had been detained under the powers of the Internal Security Act should be given due and fair trial, so that the people of our country will be able to follow the actions of the Government and to judge for themselves what is good for the country and what is not.

With the proclamation of the state of Emergency, and later on when we pass this Bill which is before us, it is even more important for the Government to put into practice what we have been advocating all along. Under the terms of the Emergency Proclamation, we shall not only be dealing with those persons who are subversive but also with those who are openly traitorous and overtly disloyal to this country. Since, under the Emergency, we shall be bringing to trial those who have

been traitorous and disloyal, as you will find on page 2 of the proposed Bill—Clause 2 (2) (c)—we consider that the Government should do everything it can to dispel any suspicion and fear that may still exist among our people over what is subversive and what is not, and what the Internal Security Act really means. In our opinion, there is no better way and nor surer way of achieving this than by giving those who have been detained under the Internal Security Act due and fair trial.

Sir, there is one point which I wish to stress very clearly. There are important and useful aspects of the Internal Security Act. To some extent, in its earlier form, I was associated with that Act. In respect of the recent riots that have taken place, I think most of us will agree that it was through the powers conferred upon the Central Government by those sections of the Internal Security Act, that the Government was able to act rapidly and effectively and to control and stop the rioting. To some extent, the Internal Security Act, particularly those sections which refer to trouble in this country, arose from the unfortunate early experience we had of rioting in Penang in 1957. So, not everything is bad or wrong about the Internal Security Act, and we should make it clear to the people that it is so. But, in so far as individual liberties and rights of citizens are concerned, under the circumstances of the Emergency, I think, if the Government is willing to bring to trial the traitors, we should at least give our own citizens fair and due trial.

In the past we have also openly championed the basic principle of the rule of law, which it is generally accepted as one of the fundamental criteria of the democratic institutions which we cherish under our Constitution, that no one shall be presumed guilty until so proved. Therefore, we have advocated that the Government should not go on casting aspersions, doubts, about the integrity and loyalty of the Opposition parties, but that the Government, in times of national crisis and danger, should take the Opposition parties into its confidence, whenever it

deems it is necessary to act under the Internal Security Act. We have advocated this, because we have always believed that basically the vast majority of our citizens are loyal only to this country, although we realise that there are “black sheep” even in the best of established nations and even in the best of established parties.

I do not wish at this moment to refer to the riot in Bukit Mertajam and the riot in Singapore, because the Government has announced its intention to hold commissions of enquiry into these riots. However, I feel sure that when and if these commissions of enquiry make their reports, the Alliance will have much heartsearching and much house-cleaning to do. So, do not just cast aspersions on the Opposition parties—certainly not under these times of national danger!

Our belief in the basic loyalty of all our citizens has been clearly borne out by the recent turn of events when, upon the open and flagrant aggression of our territory by Soekarno, even those who previously were the bitterest in their opposition to the policies of the Government, have immediately and openly rallied to the support of the action of the Government to safeguard the sovereignty of our nation. I do not wish here, Sir, to refer to the Socialist Front or to the statement it has made in the Press. The members of the Front are capable of speaking for themselves, but they were openly bitter, and the Honourable Member for Batu said that they were the people who suffered the most. Yet, on this aggression, they have immediately rallied to the Government. Therefore, we suggest that another very important positive step which the Government can consider it should take during the state of Emergency, will be for the Government not to declare just a moratorium on political life in this country but for the Government to bring leaders of the Opposition parties into closer confidence and more intimately in contact with the development of events, so that the country can more strongly respond against further aggression of our territory, not only in loyalty but also with a better sense of integration and unity of purpose and effort.

Sir, as we understand it, the Government seeks to present the case of Soekarno's aggression to the United Nations. To this we give all our support and our blessings for success. But, nevertheless, we feel that it is necessary for us to urge the Government to spare no efforts, and not to hold on to any position of false pride or arrogance, to secure the peace not only of our nation but also the peace of the whole of South East Asia. We have heard earlier the Honourable Chief Minister of Sabah talking about having had our cheeks slapped again and again—Sir, that is only a way of talking. But, do not let ourselves in these times of danger to be carried away by our own propaganda and, whilst we resolve with our heart to do what we can to preserve the integrity of our nation, let us keep our wits about us, so that our nation can still exist in this earth. Let us not forget our history. Let us not forget that in the past it was the animosity, the perpetual bickering between the States in South East Asia that led to the establishment of the colonial era in this area of the world. Now that we have newly emergent independent nations in South East Asia, each one of them still inexperienced in their own way of life, we must do everything that we can to ensure that all of us who have just regained our independence should learn to understand the problems confronting ourselves, and more important still, should learn how best we can solve these problems between ourselves without the interference of nations who have no immediate intimate interest in the welfare and wellbeing of the peoples living in this part of the world.

When the Government published the Manila Agreement prior to the establishment of Malaysia, although we did not agree with the principles of Maphilindo, nevertheless, we hailed the meeting held at Manila as a step in the right direction for the peoples in South East Asia by providing an opportunity for the representatives of the three neighbouring, though dissenting, countries to meet directly and discuss openly the basic disagreements

that prevail amongst us and to try to find a solution for them. As a matter of fact, the United Democratic Party at that time also advocated that we should bring other neighbouring independent nations in South East Asia into such a conference in order to broaden the base of such a conference. Today even whilst we fully support the correctness and the wisdom of the Government in presenting the case of Soekarno's aggression to the United Nations Security Council, even as we are fully aware of the important significance of the Anglo/Malaysian Treaty and our role and part in the Commonwealth, nevertheless in view of the unhappiness, disaster and ruin which open conflict and war will inevitably bring to all the peoples in South East Asia, and not just to ourselves, we urge the Government to take the positive step, even at this late stage, even in the face of the flagrant expression of Soekarno's ambition, to reconvene a meeting of the Manila Agreement countries where we should openly and directly lay down our righteous grievances against the military expansionist aims of Indonesia. We realise that the prospects may appear dim and such arguments may be open to criticism. But we suggest that we should never be afraid to confront our bitterest foes over the conference table. Certainly, in the wider context, we should also take our case to the Afro-Asian nations with the just belief in the righteousness of our case and motivated by the knowledge that once war is unleashed no matter which side wins, the peoples of both sides will reap only sufferings and sorrow, and by the principle that whenever possible we should leave no avenue unexplored to avoid war.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I fully understand that some quarters in this House may misunderstand, or deliberately misinterpret what I have just said. But once again I reiterate that we fully support all the actions that the Government has already taken. However, we still consider it our duty to ask the Government to re-evaluate these positive measures which we propose in

order to try and solve the present unhappy state of affairs in our region of the world. After all, when we look further abroad to the Western nations, even to those from whom we today seek support, in spite of their longer history in modern civilisation, in spite of their industrial progress, they present a history of conflict and misunderstanding which they have not been fully able to solve amongst themselves in the last 500 years. If you look through the history of Europe as taught to all our children in our schools today—through the kindness of the Minister of Education—we read about the seven years war, about the hundred years war, about the forty years war that prevailed in Europe. Sir, perhaps the key to the situation is to be found in an honest application of the principles of the United Nations Charter, particularly the principle that no nation should interfere with the political doctrine and aspirations of another nation's Government and another nation's people. So, just as we rightfully claim that Indonesia and Soekarno should not attempt by military force to try and tamper with the democratic institutions of our nation, we too can help somewhat to ease the situation if we are not too insistent over the character, colour and nature of the Indonesian Government or the trend of their political beliefs. We only have to think back . . .

**Mr Speaker:** How long are you going to take to finish your speech?

**Dr Lim Chong Eu:** Not long, Sir. I am very nearly through.

**Mr Speaker:** I want to give a chance to other members to speak.

**Dr Lim Chong Eu:** I realise that, Sir. We only have to think back to nations in the last half century or so, where at one time Soviet Russia with their Communist and Soviet principles found themselves at variance and in open hostility against the rest of the Western world, and yet today Russia under Khrushchev, still guided by her Communist-inspired policies, can establish a *modus operandi* with the rest of the Western world, including the

United States of America and the New Frontier capitalism of Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

Nearer home, and in more immediate context, we must quickly learn from the older nations the subtleties of diplomacy, i.e. the subtleties of the relationship between nation and nation. After all, the United Kingdom, who are the co-architects, if not the principal consulting engineers of our Malaysian nation, even as they had their embassy burnt in Jakarta, even as they now pledge us full support and aid against Soekarno's confrontation, still they maintain diplomatic relations with Indonesia and they still carry on trade and business with the Indonesian people. Furthermore, the United States of America, whom our Prime Minister recently approached for support for our nation, although they have announced their full moral support for Malaysia, nevertheless they still maintain their diplomatic relations with Indonesia and they still maintain their trade and their business with Indonesia. As a matter of fact, they are still giving aid, although limited now with their new change in policy, to Indonesia. This, Sir, is the nature of diplomacy in our modern world, and this is the nature of the relations between Government and Government and all nations. Therefore, perhaps with greater restraint, with greater patience on our part, even at this very critical state of affairs, we may yet live through this present storm and emerge with greater triumph and with greater hope not only for ourselves but also for the rest of the world.

Further, Sir, I would like to bring to the attention of the Government that another positive step which they can take under the present circumstances is to be very careful with regard to our relations with other nations, and we should not do anything or say anything that might antagonise the feelings of those nations who are not directly involved in this present conflict between Indonesia and ourselves either by unrestrained actions or statements. This is the time, Sir, when we need more friends and not to make more enemies. Unless the Government

positively takes steps to be more careful over its statements and actions, we will find ourselves fighting not just Indonesia but perhaps the rest of the whole world. Sir, it may seem peculiar, but I suggest that before any kind of statement is made we should be very careful to consult the Ministry of External Affairs. I refer to the unfortunate circumstances which led to the banning of British goods to Malaya at a time when we are talking of co-operation; to the proposal of banning of Dutch goods, and so on. Sir, it is this type of technique which can create havoc and reap havoc to our foreign policy. It may well be for the state of affairs in the United States that its Secretary of Defence can be in a position to indulge in a challenge to the rest of the Communist world, but surely in full realisation of the smallness of our nation and the restrictions of our resources, our Minister of Defence can hardly emulate the Secretary of Defence of the United States. It is in this light, Sir, that we urge the Government to be very careful and to appreciate that other nations have their particular reasons for their relationship with Indonesia even at this time. We should not make ourselves vulnerable to the kind of propaganda which can weaken our relationship with those who are trying to be our friends. Certainly, Soekarno is doing his best to lead us into this kind of unnecessary attitude by using American-made planes and arms when he sends his troops into our territories. Other such circumstances easily come to mind, and the Government should positively be aware not to get into such pitfalls. It is in this light, Sir, that we urge the Government finally to take more positive measures in this state of emergency to consolidate the strength and unity of our nation.

It is our opinion that the emergency laws are framed in such a manner whereby the Government is given greater power to exercise more direct control over our citizens, but they do not by themselves enable the Government to weld our people and our nation into a more unified force with greater unity and strength of

purpose in action. We appreciate that in the past the Alliance Government had made creditable advance in trying to unify the Federation of Malaya. Today, with the creation of the new nation of Malaysia, with the Emergency, and with the unbridled confrontation of Soekarno, time is running out against us. We, therefore, urge the Government that in exercising the powers conferred upon it by the Emergency Regulations to temper its actions with a dedication to the concept of Malaysia as a nation of peoples with diverse racial origins by practising justice and equality amongst all the citizens of Malaysia in the light of our Constitution and by eschewing all further references to the chauvinistic and communal tendencies, which have hindered our development as a united nation in the past.

We consider that the most fundamental and positive step that the Government and the members in the Government can take in the face of dangers created by this emergency is one where they, individually and collectively, rigidly discipline themselves to think and to act as Malaysians, and only as Malaysians, without fear or favour to the community to which they were born. In the face of our present danger there can be only one community, and that is the national community of Malaysians.

In our resolve to dedicate our lives to the preservation of our nation and of our King, let us once and for all determine to live and act as Malaysians, for this is our only salvation. Just as I have said earlier, the only way whereby we can successfully surmount the dangers of Soekarno's aggression is for us to become truly Malaysians. There is no time left for us to manoeuvre politically in communal or chauvinistic terms either as Malays, Chinese, Indians, Ibans, Kadazans, Muruts, Kenyahs, Dayaks, etc; nor, indeed, can we afford at this time to constitutionally manoeuvre ourselves as citizens of the States of Malaya—that is as Malaysians, or as citizens of the States of North Borneo—that is as Sarawakians or

Sabahans, or as citizens of the State of Singapore—that is as Singaporeans.

**Enche' Kam Woon Wah (Sitiawan):** Sir, may I interrupt on a point of order? Standing Order 44 (1) says:

"The Chair, after having called the attention of the House, or of the Committee, to the conduct of a member who persists in irrelevance, or in tedious repetition . . . . ."

Sir, I think the whole of his speech is very tedious and most of us might fall asleep.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat):** Mr Speaker, Sir, may I make a short comment? This is a very important debate and you have given us up to six o'clock after which time the Ministers will reply. The Honourable Member for Tanjong has occupied the House for three-quarters of an hour. There are only twenty-five minutes left. The S.U.P.P. has not spoken, the Barisan Sosialis has not spoken, and the P.P.P. has not spoken. It would appear that in respect of the Opposition Members or Parties they have not spoken at all. In view of this, would you not reverse your decision and extend this debate until all the Members of the Opposition parties have spoken?

**Dr Tan Chee Khoon:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I fully support the request of my colleague.

**Mr Speaker:** (*To Dr Lim Chong Eu*) I think you have taken very long in this debate. I will give you thirty seconds more for that.

**Dr Lim Chong Eu:** Sir, may I crave your indulgence. I had fully accepted your view. As a matter of fact, until I was interrupted, I have already come to the last bit of my notes.

**Mr Speaker:** There are still many Honourable Members of the Opposition who would like to take part in this debate.

**Dr Lim Chong Eu:** I know, Sir. I am just finishing . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Order, order. Do not interrupt me when I am speaking! I want to give a chance to other Members of the Opposition to speak on this motion. There are only twenty-five minutes more to go. So, I will only give

you another thirty seconds, then I will give a chance to somebody else.

**Dr Lim Chong Eu:** Sir, it is with the fervent hope that this House shall lead this nation today and create Malaysia as a unity and a reality that we support the motion of the Honourable the Prime Minister. Sir, I hope it is within thirty seconds. (*Laughter*).

**Enche' S. P. Seenivasagam (Menglembu):** Mr Speaker, Sir, in the face of criminal acts of aggression committed by the Indonesian Government against the people of Malaysia, we have no option but to extend our full support and to endorse the proclamation of the emergency. We endorse and support the Proclamation of Emergency. We do not associate ourselves with the remarks of the Honourable the Chief Minister of Sabah that we must welcome the Proclamation of Emergency, because even the Government, I am sure, finds it distasteful that they have to proclaim a state of emergency. Nobody likes it, but we accept it as a regrettable necessity in the circumstances.

I do not intend to trace the history of the policy of the Peoples' Progressive Party in relation to confrontation by Indonesia. We have spoken on that more than once before, and it is not necessary for us to repeat it. I think it is safe to say that the Peoples' Progressive Party, right from the beginning, even before the Government, realised the menace of Indonesia to this country, and we had done our propaganda against Indonesia, because we knew what was coming.

I do not agree with those Honourable Members who have suggested that a new approach must be made to meet the situation, that new negotiations should be tried, and so on. I think that stage has gone. The indications are that there is no room for negotiation, and I think the clearest indication came the other day, when Soekarno more or less appointed his successors, because he said Indonesian freedom owed a debt of gratitude to the Communists. So, it is quite clear that when Soekarno goes, the Communists will take over—lock, stock and barrel—in Indonesia and there will be no room for negotiation

with the Indonesian Communist Party. (Applause).

In-so-far as the Proclamation of Emergency is concerned, that in itself is a very short document, but what will concern the people of this country more will be when the Essential Regulations are promulgated—and what is contained in those Regulations is a matter which concerns every man in the street, and it is in the light of that that I wish to make a few observations.

With the proclamation of a state of emergency, dictatorial powers are assumed by the Government as a matter of necessity. To that any democratic country has to submit, to save its very existence. But it is important for the Executive, for the Cabinet, for the Government, to understand that the Essential Regulations to the Proclamation of Emergency is an instrument to be used against our enemies and that in the use of these Regulations there must be no oppression or suppression of civil liberties and the legitimate rights of the law-abiding citizens of this country. That, Mr Speaker, Sir, must be made clear and emphasised not only to the top level but also to the rank and file, to every Police officer in this country, because we who have lived through the last Emergency know—and as one who was concerned with Emergency cases know—how with these Emergency Regulations the Government can, to put it bluntly, do anything it likes. All it has got to do is to add a tab—“it is expedient in the public interest”—and it can do anything it likes. It can even prescribe a death penalty for stealing a chicken and no court of law can declare it *ultra vires*. I am not anticipating a debate on this Bill, but it is quite clear, one can see the writing on the wall, that very, very extensive inroads are going to be made, affecting the civil liberties of the people of this country. I for one do not see why the Government wants power to provide for special rules of procedure in relation to civil cases. What on earth have civil cases to do with the prosecution of the war against Indonesia? These are wide extensive powers and probably copied from some other piece of legislation, without thinking what is

really necessary to meet the present situation. I hope that before this Bill comes into this House for debate, those responsible in the Attorney-General's Department will only ask for powers that are necessary, and not ask for an omnibus or a blank cheque to be given over by this House to the Executive.

Now, in the prosecution of this, what I would like to call, war against Indonesia, it is important that the Government must do nothing to antagonise the people, or any section of the people in this country. And at the lowest level I think the thing that most stirs the mind of the public against authority in this country is the action of junior Police officers. Throughout the last Emergency, and even right up to this day, we have got cases of Police officers unnecessarily—I say unnecessarily—bullying the public, causing suffering to relatives, and so on. Even the other day, there was a case in Lumut, where a person was arrested, detained for two weeks by an order of the court. The poor mother and father wanted to go to a Lumut Police Station to see him, but they were chased away by the O.C.P.D. in Lumut. What did they do then? They had to take a car to come right up to Ipoh to see me, and I had to telephone the D.P.P.; the D.P.P. had to telephone the O.C.P.D.; and then they were allowed to go and have a look. This sort of thing must not happen. There are going to be a lot of arrests under this Internal Security Act on suspicion, on information, and it is important that proper directives be issued to see that nobody suffers unnecessarily, that people are not denied their basic fundamental rights.

An attempt will be made, I am sure, to provide for special boards for people arrested under these Regulations. That is an obnoxious thing. It is not necessary, and I hope the Attorney-General will not ask for it. We have not reached such a stage in the war against Indonesia that we must set up special courts, that we must reduce the standard of proof to hang people. In the last Emergency one of the things the British Government did was to say that a man could be hanged if there were reasonable grounds to suspect that he had

committed a certain offence. In this Emergency I hope the Government is not going to start to hang people, because somebody can give evidence that there is reasonable suspicion that he has committed an offence.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, I am not making a very systematic speech because I am bearing in mind your request that we should not take too much time, and therefore I am jumping from one point to another—any important point that occurs to my mind.

On the question of detention, wide powers will undoubtedly be given—again that is the root cause of dissatisfaction in this country, the root cause of animosity to the Government—because we acknowledge the fact that it may be necessary to detain people, but we refuse to subscribe to the view that the man who is detained should not be given a reasonable chance to exonerate himself, and the only way you give a man a reasonable chance is to let him call evidence, to let him be represented by a lawyer, to let him face his accusers—not to lock him up in a gaol, serve notice on him saying, “In the interests of the Federation you are detained; go and defend yourself if you can”. That sort of thing caused a great deal of hatred during the last Emergency towards the Government in power at that time; and I hope a more efficient system of review of these cases will be devised. It is not beyond, I hope, the ability of the Attorney-General of this country.

I think I will refer to only one more point, and that is the formation of these vigilante corps. It is important that we must not arm bands of people and let them roam around the country. It is important, if you want to arm these people, to set up a central organisation. There must be discipline and there must be officers with a sense of responsibility. It will be a tragedy if we encourage armed bands to roam about in the countryside on the pretext of looking for Indonesians. You will have a crop of gang robberies, you will have a crop of murders, and so on. I hope that no serious consideration will be given to the suggestion that arms

should be thrown away to these vigilante corps. We do not know their history, they have not been screened, and probably those who want to be subversives, those who want to use the arms against the Government, will be among the first to volunteer to receive these arms.

With those observations I conclude by saying that the Peoples' Progressive Party will endorse and will continue to support the Government to the fullest of its ability in the struggle against Indonesian criminals at present in this country. (*Applause*).

**Enche' Ong Kee Hui (Sarawak):** Mr Speaker, Sir, we are here in response to your summons and in answer to a call by the Government to rally behind it under circumstances of a national emergency. We have come urgently, Sir, from the far flung part of Malaysia and some of us, like my Honourable friend here from Baram, have to travel overland, by river and by air to be here today to give parliamentary sanction to the special powers which the Government had already taken under emergency regulations to cope with recent developments. I am, therefore, grateful, Sir, for the opportunity to express the views of my Party on this occasion.

We in Sarawak, Sir, have been living under similar regulations under the colonial regime since the Brunei revolt and these have been perpetuated after Malaysia Day. We are, therefore, very conscious, Sir, of the restrictions which can now be imposed on personal liberties and normal political life and the ever-present danger of the abrogation thereby of the principles of democratic government which we all hold so dear and to which other speakers before me have alluded.

I do not wish, Sir, to dwell on actions which the Government in Sarawak had taken from time to time which, in our view, had gone beyond what we consider necessary even under circumstances of the day. I would however, Sir, add my voice to that of others on the need for caution on the part of the Government on the application of these emergency regulations.

Government must resist any temptation to take advantage of the current situation or circumstances to weaken or eliminate the Opposition in Parliament or in the State, for to succumb to such a temptation, Sir, is to destroy the whole basis of our democratic system of government and, maybe, of the nation itself. At this time in the history of our young nation of Malaysia we will only survive as a nation if we can maintain national unity and sink our political and other differences of race, culture, religion, etc. If the Government allow party politics to come first, or try to advance party interests at the expense of the Opposition, it will only result eventually in destroying all by dividing the people when unity is so vital in the face of a common enemy or external aggression.

In this respect, Sir, we in the S.U.P.P. have made our stand quite clear before, and that is as a responsible Opposition, it is our duty to see to it that the Government carries out its functions or duties fairly and efficiently and that the voice of the people is heard. But at a time of national crisis such as this, we are ready to sink our party differences and rally behind the Government in the defence of our nation on the understanding that the Government, on its part, will accord to us the treatment to which we are entitled as a responsible Opposition in a democratic country. It is in this light and in that spirit that we reiterate our stand that much as we dislike the restriction to personal liberties and the danger of curtailment of our political life, or restriction on our political life, that we accept these necessary measures which the Government has put forward.

As the pioneer political party in Sarawak and the spearhead of the nationalist movement, we in the S.U.P.P. have made inter-racial harmony and unity the foundation on which the whole platform of our Party rests. The composition of our people and our society in Sarawak, Sir, is more complex and multi-racial than in other States of Malaysia; and in

this context the task of welding the diverse races into one people or one nation is rightly our aim. We have been able, despite the intrigues of colonial officials, who tried to keep us divided, to impart to a large number of even politically unsophisticated people an awareness and acceptance of the need for regarding and working together as one people whatever their racial origin. I mention this, Sir, not as a S.U.P.P. propaganda but because it was at that time when we were trying to build in Sarawak a nation out of our diverse races that the Malaysia Plan was mooted. At that time it was our firm conviction that before we join others, we should put our own house in Sarawak in order. There was nothing sinister in this desire or aim, and we think that much of the difficulties and troubles now experienced in the formative stages of this new nation might have been avoided, had what we advocated been followed or was possible.

Now that Malaysia has been formed and we now face a situation which might or might not have been foreseen by its architects or those others responsible, the need for the spirit of unity or *sa-hati*, as we like to call it, is even greater for its survival. If, instead of shouting "Hidup Malaysia" or "Merdeka", we are prepared to sink our differences and shout "*Sa-hati*", without having to join the S.U.P.P. or the U.D.P., our chances to *hidup* might be more certain.

In conclusion, Sir, I would sincerely suggest, as a matter of urgency, that the Ministers should be better informed of the peculiarities and sensitivities of the Borneo people. I say this because of recent statements made by Ministers. Far be it for me to champion the cause of the former expatriate colonial civil servants, but I am perturbed at the accusation which had been labelled on them by some Ministers that these officers, who were largely responsible in the first place for fostering the formation of Malaysia, now are consciously or otherwise separating the people of the Borneo States from the rest of Malaysia. This accusation had been denied

by others in the Government, but, nevertheless, the fact that such statements could be made, which causes a certain amount of confusion in Borneo, suggests very strongly the point which has been brought out by my friend, the Honourable Member for Tanjong, that at this time of national crisis, statements such as those, which tend to rouse feelings, which tend to divide the people, should not be made and should be more seriously considered before they are made.

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh (Singapore):** Mr Speaker, Sir, as it is an important issue, I beg you to give me sufficient time to deliver my speech.

**Mr Speaker:** Please speak a bit louder.

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** I beg you to give me sufficient time to deliver my speech, because it is nearly 6 o'clock.

**Mr Speaker:** I will give you 10 minutes.

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** Mr Speaker, Sir, if you take the wrong turning, you must lose your way. If you plant a poisonous plant, you must not be surprised if the fruits are poisonous. Sir, this is the logic of events. Similarly, those who have led this country into the neo-colonialist path must be held responsible when the country loses its way. Those who have planted the poisonous plant of Malaysia must be punished if its fruits poison our children.

We had warned of the consequences of this foolish Malaysia venture, but the Alliance Government arrogantly refused to listen. Now the price must be paid. Sir, everybody knows that Malaysia is dying. This artificial creation of the British cannot survive, because the people do not want it. Malaysia is finished (*Laughter*), and the people who created Malaysia will be finished with it (*Laughter*).

**Enche' C. V. Devan Nair:** On a point of information . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Do you give way?

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** No, no!

**Mr Speaker:** He does not give way.

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** Do not allow Malaysia to cause any more damage. The ruling party is afraid of its own political skin. That is why they insist on clinging to Malaysia, although it is really rotting. We must not allow them to drag our whole country down with them. Today when the situation in Malaysia is further deteriorating and when the people realise the evil of Malaysia, the ruling parties are trying to bluff and intimidate the people. We must point out to the ruling clique that the eyes of the people are wide open. They can no longer trick them as they have seen the truth. We have steadfastly repeated that as a political party loyal to the people it is our responsibility to tell this truth to our people.

Sir, in the last undemocratic general election in Singapore (*Laughter*) . . .

**Enche' C. V. Devan Nair:** Radio Jakarta!

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** Despite all the dirty methods employed by the P.A.P., we, an anti-Malaysia political party, had gained the support of 210,000 voters. If anti-Malaysia means anti-national, as branded by the Government, then how large is the number of the anti-national people! And moreover, the people who supported the P.A.P. out of fear or ignorance (*Laughter*) are coming to realise the evil of Malaysia. It obviously indicates that the method of threats and intimidation has not frightened the people from distinguishing the good from the evil. The number of people holding anti-Malaysia views are ever increasing.

Sir, today in the face of such a deteriorating situation only two ways are left for the Alliance. They can either proceed with their policy of military expansion and use armed forces to retain Malaysia, or turn over a new leaf at this critical juncture to accept the will of the people by returning the right of self-determination to the people of the Borneo territories, release all political detainees, pursue a non-aligned foreign policy, stamp out all colonial remnants and solve the Malaysia issue politically.

ONE HONOURABLE MEMBER: Hand over Malaysia to the Communists!

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** The former way means more hardships and sufferings to all the peoples of these territories and complete isolation internationally, but the latter is the way that promises a bright future for the country as well as to its people. Sir, today Malaysia has still not gained support from Afro-Asian countries and even the Government admits this. Malaysia has merely gained verbal promises from some pro-Western countries, and those who promise to render arms assistance to Malaysia are Western imperialist countries, namely, Britain, U.S.A., Australia, etc. If the Alliance continues to follow the imperialists down this blind alley, then it is craving for its doom and preparing to share the grave with Malaysia.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the first year of Malaysia has brought about too many catastrophes and sufferings to the people of Singapore.

**The Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development (Enche' Abdul-Rahman bin Ya'kub):** On a point of order under Standing Order 35 (6). The Honourable Member is reading a speech written by his Big Brother! (Laughter).

**Mr Speaker:** Proceed!

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** There is severe and crippling loss of trade, loss of business, loss of jobs as well as loss of the means of livelihood for tens of thousands of workers. According to the figures issued by the British Board of Trade, which the Government of Singapore has been hiding from the people of Singapore, the trade of Singapore has been hard hit by the formation of Malaysia. The Board of Trade reported that Singapore's export trade was down by more than 10 per cent while imports decreased by almost 25 per cent compared with the first quarter of last year. Imports dropped from £102 millions to £77 millions and exports dropped from £71 millions to £45 millions for the January/March quarter in 1963 and 1964 respectively. In sharp contrast, in the rest of the

overseas sterling areas exports increased by nearly 14 per cent and total imports by about 11 per cent.

**Mr Speaker:** You have one more minute left.

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** I think one more minute is too short.

**Mr Speaker:** I will give you one more minute.

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** I think it is most unfair for me to complete my speech in one minute. I beg you to ...

**Mr Speaker:** No, I will give you one minute.

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** Sir, when the Prime Minister talks of defending our country, we find it hollow. This Government has betrayed all the vital interests of the people to the British. It has no right to talk of defending the nation. This Government is oppressing the people; more than 200 political leaders and trade unionists are in the jails of Singapore. Our Secretary-General, Mr Lim Chin Siong, is in Changi and political dwarfs like Mr Lee Kuan Yew can strut around and talk big only when giants like Mr Lim Chin Siong are kept out of the political arena (interruption).

**Mr Speaker:** Do not disturb him.

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** The Prime Minister has spoken about the communal riots in Singapore. He says that the Indonesians and the Communists caused it. We are from Singapore and we know that this is just to cover up the real culprits. The Prime Minister of Singapore is telling, in Europe, that the UMNO politicians have caused it. The UMNO in Singapore says that the P.A.P. has caused it. We who are in Singapore know that the communal riots were the work of the UMNO and the P.A.P. who were indulging in a bitter fight for power. All this nonsense about the Indonesians and the Communists causing these riots is just to hide the truth that the main culprits belong to the ruling parties.

SOME HONOURABLE MEMBERS:  
Nonsense! Lies!

**Enche' Chia Thye Poh:** We challenge the Government to have a public enquiry into this. When the riots started . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Order, order! Your time is up—it is already one minute.

**Mr Speaker:** Saya beri peluang kepada sa-orang Ahli lagi dari pehak perempuan yang belum lagi berchakap.

**Datin Fatimah binti Haji Hashim (Jitra-Padang Terap):** Terima kaseh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun untuk memberi sokongan atas usul yang di-kemukakan oleh Perdana Menteri. Saya hendak memberi sokongan dengan sa-penoh-nya, bersetuju menyokong Perishtiharan Dharurat, kerana dari segi pandangan dan pendapat saya, ia-lah sa-lagi ketenteraman negara ini tidak dapat di-kembalikan, maka kaum<sup>2</sup> perempuan-lah yang banyak kelak menderita dengan perbuatan<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan Indonesia dan kominis dalam masa dharurat ini. Akibat-nya berbangkit perpisahan antara suami-isteri dan anak dengan ibu-bapa kerana mereka pergi berjuang. Kita ra'ayat negeri ini telah pun menempoh atau menghadapi masa dharurat sa-lama 12 tahun dengan itu di-harap jangan-lah berlaku lagi hendak-nya.

Kami kaum perempuan sukakan kapada keamanan dan berkehendakkan kapada keamanan. Maka Perishtiharan Dharurat negeri ini ada-lah satu daripada chara untuk kita mematah dan menyekat dan supaya keamanan dapat di-kembalikan samula yang mana kita tahu pengkhianat<sup>2</sup> yang hendak membuat kachau-bilau dan huru-hara dan bagi hendak menjahanamkan keamanan negeri kita yang telah dapat kita adakan ini. Juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan keadaan yang ada saperti hari ini maka saya bermohon hendak-lah Kerajaan segera mengadakan undang<sup>2</sup> atau pun peratoran berkenaan dengan menjaga dan mengawal barang<sup>2</sup> makanan dan lain<sup>2</sup> yang perlu daripada naik harga supaya jangan memberi peluang kepada kaum perniagaan mengambil kesempatan menchari laba

yang melampau dalam masa keselamatan negara kita ini terancham.

Pengalaman yang berlaku di-Singapura dalam masa pergaduhan yang pertama, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkenaan dengan kenaikan harga barang<sup>2</sup> makanan mungkin akan berulang lagi di-tempat lain bila di-adakan sekatan berkurong. Ini-lah kebimbangan kaum perempuan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ra'ayat selalu berseru memohon panggilan tanah ayer untuk mereka berkhidmat menahan negara daripada anchaman musuh. Ra'ayat memohon senjata, dengan itu harap-lah Kerajaan beri peluang dan kesempatan kepada ra'ayat, pemuda dan pemudi untuk menunjokkan ta'at setia kepada negara-nya. Saya pernah menyatakan bahawa bagi kami kaum perempuan sedia dan sanggup berganding bahu dengan kaum laki<sup>2</sup> walau memikul senjata demi untuk mempertahankan kedaulatan dan keselamatan negara kita. Beri-lah kami sakalian berkhidmat sa-kurang<sup>2</sup>-nya dalam lapangan kechemeasan, jururawat dan lain<sup>2</sup> perkara yang layak bagi kami kaum perempuan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam keadaan yang ada pada masa ini tidak guna kita berchakap banyak mengkeritik Kerajaan. Apa yang di-kehendaki ia-lah pengorbanan dan ta'at setia kepada negara. Semua ra'ayat mesti berdiri di-belakang Kerajaan sa-masa keselamatan negara di-ancham. Semua kaum mesti mengeneipikan perasaan perkauman dan sentimen kerana musuh kita yang telah mengambil kesempatan ini dengan mengadakan keadaan huru-hara. Bila ini berlaku maka sudah tentu keselamatan negara tidak dapat di-tenteramkan lagi. Maka senang-lah musuh<sup>2</sup> dari luar dan kominis dari dalam menumbangkan Kerajaan yang di-pilih ra'ayat dan kemudian mereka memerintah kita.

Hari ini semua dunia memandang dan mendengar perbahathan kita, kerana tenggelam atau timbul-nya Malaysia berma'ana tenggelam dan timbul-nya chara pemerentahan demokrasi yang tulin di-Tenggara Asia.

Saya tidak percaya negeri yang berchorak demokrasi yang bersahabat dengan kita itu akan membiarkan perkara ini berlaku. Sa-sungguh yang demikian ini tidak bermā'ana yang kita sakalian ra'ayat negeri ini akan melepaskan tanggungan pertahanan negara kita ini sa-mata<sup>2</sup> kapada sa-habat kita. Pengorbanan dari ra'ayat sendiri ada-lah lebeh besar erti-nya dan sangat<sup>2</sup> di-kehendaki supaya sekalian dunia tahu yang ra'ayat negeri ini bukan-lah satu ra'ayat yang bachul dan tidak kasehkan tanah ayer-nya sendiri. Pengorbanan kewangan dan harta-benda ada-lah sangat di-kehendaki juga untuk perbelanjaan pertahanan negara ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Dari itu Kerajaan mesti juga mengambil tindakan undang<sup>2</sup> untuk mendapat lagi banyak hasil daripada sa-bahagian kekayaan negeri ini yang maseh lagi ada di-tangan orang perniagaan dan hartawan. Jika ra'ayat yang miskin di-kampong<sup>2</sup> sedia berkorban tenaga dan jiwa untuk keselamatan negara sudah sawajar-nya-lah di-saimbangkan yang kaum yang senang yang berharta-benda dan kaya menyumbangkan dan mengorbankan sedikit sa-bahagian daripada wang-nya itu untuk keselamatan negara ini.

**Dato' V. T. Sambanthan:** Mr Speaker, Sir, this morning the Honourable Member for Batu held our attention for the better part of an hour, and yet at the end of it all—when we had heard his whole speech—he refused to face facts, he refused to face the truth. And throughout that speech, if we had noted carefully, we would have found that his main blame was on our foreign policy. Over and over again, he has said that we have got to live together with Asian countries, we have got to survive with goodwill and tolerance, and we have got to go any number of times to get this peace—but he has forgotten the number of times that our Prime Minister went almost cap in hand, almost with a begging bowl in hand to get this peace which we all wanted. Has he not forgotten the number of times we had been to Bangkok, to Tokyo, to Manila and to Phnompenh? Is his memory so short that

he did not realise that we had made very serious and systematic efforts to bring peace to our country? He has only to look back into our Estimates for the past nine years to realise that we were gearing our country to peace, to building up more schools, more hospitals, and such like, so that we could give our people what they needed. We thought the freedom given to us imposed upon us a duty to improve our economy to meet our own wants. We thought that freedom was not an opportunity for us to wage war. All these facts, surely, the Honourable Member should have known, and yet he does not choose to know them. He was saying that Asian countries should not fight Asian countries. True, but who wants to fight—we or they? Who has been the aggressor?

**Dr Tan Chee Khoon:** On a point of clarification, Mr Speaker, Sir, I did not say that we want to fight, neither did I say we have not pursued the path of peace. I merely stated that we should continue to pursue the path of peace. Perhaps, the Honourable Minister of Works did not hear me correctly.

**Dato' V. T. Sambanthan:** Indeed "Yes", Mr Speaker, Sir, to pursue the onerous path of peace. How do you go ahead from here? Who has been guilty of all this aggression? Who has been doing all these acts of aggression? Surely, not us! Surely, we have enough reasons to recognise that we have walked the last mile? Surely, he does not want us to fall absolutely flat and say, "Look, this country is yours now. You can do what you want. We will not utter one word against what you say, nor act in retaliation to what you have done." If this is his concept of nationality, or of national freedom, or national dignity, surely we in this House have a different concept.

I think the Honourable Member for Batu is very wrong in all that he has said. Throughout that speech of his, how much did we hear about condemnation of this aggression? I was surprised that not one word was said by him condemning this Indonesian aggression. Surely, an Honourable Member of this House should have that

amount of patriotism for this country to condemn this act of aggression! (*Applause*). Why is he drawing a red herring across the whole country in this House? What is he trying to prove? Is he trying to prove that if the Socialist Front had been masters of this country, then everything would have been all right? How? That is the question. Yet if you go through this line of argumentation, you will find one or two very simple facts—that is, you have got to be non-aligned, you have got to be neutralists. If you are neutralists—well, we are neutralists—and suppose somebody comes and causes aggression, how do you get out of it? This is a question which I would like to ask the Honourable Member for Batu. I am sure he has no reason, no answer, for it.

Some other Honourable Members of the same type of thinking say that if any country has been with us, it is pro-Western; if any country is against us, then it is all right; if any country gets aid from Red China or Russia, it is neutralist; if it gets assistance from the West, it is imperialist. We now know whose line they are toeing. I only wish for the goodness of this country that people like the Member for Batu should look into history. He mentioned, I think, about our being at a very important juncture in history. If he did that, he would realise that the many times the Prime Minister went to these meetings he went almost like a Chamberlain; he was almost on the throes of selling this country through his peaceful methods; he was almost at the episode of Munich. We were indeed! And unless we fight back, history will be repeated here. Dictatorship knows no limit, and it has never known limits. A dictatorship, a ruthless one, devoid of any democracy, as that which exists in Indonesia, has an insatiable appetite such as Hitler's fascism had. These are fundamental concepts. My friend's knowledge of geography may be good, but he ought to improve on his knowledge of history. (*Laughter*). If he did that, I am sure that the Honourable Member for Batu, and people of his thinking—be they Barisan Sosialis or others—would mend their ways, would

realise that today, at this very important juncture in our history, there is only one way, and that way is to fight back. We have tried every little bit, and we have gone the whole distance. We have tried to appease this man Soekarno. We have tried our best. But, as happened after Munich, it has happened here. The ways of dictatorship are always the same. You may call our policy wishy-washy, our foreign policy wishy-washy; you may call it anything you like; but the fact of the matter is that we have not wanted it. Our economy has not wanted it. We have been geared for peaceful production. We have been geared for improving this country by peaceful methods—that fact is undeniable. Whatever anybody may say, that fact is undeniable. It is borne, every little bit of it, by our estimates for the past nine years. Maybe we were wrong. Maybe we should have thought that freedom meant also the right to arm ourselves and to be prepared to fight back anybody. Maybe, if we had done it, we would have been in a better position. But we know, if we had done it, Members like the Member for Batu would have said: "Look, you have become an aggressor nation. Why do you want so many planes, why do you want so many fighters, why do you want this, and why do you want that?" And so, throughout these years, this has been our policy. I only appeal to the Honourable Member—it is an appeal—that even at this late stage, let him do some serious thinking. Let him think seriously within himself. Let him ask his own Party comrades to think again, again, and again, and then come back to the fact that we as patriots have only one way ahead of us—and that is to defend our nation truly and faithfully, and not to draw a lot of red herrings across the road and to say that this is wrong and that is wrong. The right thing to do is to fight back, and for that, Mr Speaker, Sir, I hope Honourable Members who still now express dissatisfaction, or come to this House with certain clichés that they wanted to throw around, would now re-think and mend their ways. Thank you.

**The Minister of Transport (Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benar-nya saya tidak hendak berchakap tetapi oleh kerana Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Batu telah berchakap panjang pagi tadi terutama sa-kali atas ucapan saya waktu saya berada di-Pontian, saya suka menerangkan waktu saya melawat ka-Pontian pada 19 hari-bulan Julai, saya telah pergi sa-bagai Wakil Ra'ayat Pontian Utara yang mana kawasan saya telah di-langgar oleh askar<sup>2</sup> Indonesia yang kita ketahui telah pun sa-tengah<sup>2</sup>-nya di-tangkap dan di-tawan dan sa-tengah-nya askar<sup>2</sup> orang<sup>2</sup> Indonesia itu telah di-tembak. Yang Berhormat wakil Batu ini sa-bagai ketua Socialist Front Malaya yang besar sa-kali, mari-lah sama<sup>2</sup> saya pergi ka-Pontian sana dan tengok betul<sup>2</sup> pemuda<sup>2</sup> China yang di-Pontian itu tidak kurang dari tiga empat puluh orang yang telah menyeberang dua tiga bulan dahulu sa-belum-nya naik askar<sup>2</sup> Indonesia itu, maka antara-nya yang kena tangkap itu beberapa orang juga yang datang dari Pontian, siapa dia tidak payah saya chakapkan di-sini, pergi-lah bertanya sendiri siapa dia. Tetapi yang membawa saya chukup susah hati ia-lah rombongan askar<sup>2</sup> Indonesia yang naik dari Sanglang yang mana dapat pimpinan daripada yang kita tahu dahulu-nya daripada ketua<sup>2</sup> di-kawasan<sup>2</sup> itu Socialist Front; tetapi kalau mereka itu sudah berhenti menjadi Ahli<sup>2</sup> S.P. itu lain kesah. Dan orang<sup>2</sup> di-situ tahu, nampak dan kita sedang mengejar askar<sup>2</sup> Indonesia itu sampai hari ini belum lagi dapat. Patut wakil Batu kalau betul<sup>2</sup> menyokong usul pada hari ini walau pun ia kata "Necessity of evil; we have to support this motion it does not matter; it is a matter of life and death now (Tepok)".

Mari-lah tolong bersama saya menangkap dua tiga puluh orang itu kalau pun di-katakan mereka itu sekarang bukan ahli<sup>2</sup> Socialist Front tidak apa, mari kita pegang askar<sup>2</sup> Indonesia itu hidup<sup>2</sup>. Jangan berchakap sahaja di-dalam Rumah yang bahagia ini berdegat<sup>2</sup> macham itu dan macham ini. Waktu kita berchakap

sudah habis, patut Yang Berhormat<sup>2</sup> terutama sa-kali ketua<sup>2</sup> sakalian parti<sup>2</sup> hari ini menguchapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> terima kaseh kapada anak buah saya yang di-Pontian itu sudah menyelamatkan dan telah menangkap hidup<sup>2</sup> dengan tidak bersenjata, menangkap askar<sup>2</sup> Indonesia yang bersenjata ini bukan satu perkara yang main<sup>2</sup>. Saya tidak dengar sa-patah wakil Batu itu memberi timbang rasa dan terima kaseh kapada mereka itu bahkan hentam balek lagi, ini tentu-lah tidak patut.

**Dr Tan Chee Koon:** Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification.

**Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir:** Tidak ada waktu, saya hendak berchakap sedikit sahaja. Yang kedua-nya, saya merayu-lah kapada sakalian ketua<sup>2</sup> parti<sup>2</sup>, parti Socialist Front—wakil Batu, sila-lah bersama<sup>2</sup> saya kita boleh pergi ka-Pontian. Kedua-nya, PAS siapa wakil-nya, sila-lah bersama<sup>2</sup> saya pergi ka-Pontian kerana ada juga di-sana parti PAS dan parti Socialist Front. Mari kita pergi bersama<sup>2</sup>, berjumpa anak buah kita di-sana dan bekerjasama dengan kerajaan supaya menghapuskan saki baki askar<sup>2</sup> Indonesia yang ada lagi di-Pontian itu kerana hendak mengamankan negara kita. Kalau betul<sup>2</sup> chakap<sup>2</sup> mereka itu ikhlas dan betul<sup>2</sup> hendak bekerjasama dengan pehak Kerajaan, dengan pehak Polis, Tentera dan dengan pehak orang ramai tetapi jangan-lah sedikit<sup>2</sup> dengar che-rita sudah marah, perkara yang sah di-sembungikan.

Yang kedua-nya, bagi pehak penduduk<sup>2</sup> Pontian yang mana saya wakil-nya yang mereka telah buat kerja<sup>2</sup> yang di-wajibkan kapada mereka untuk negara, sa-bagai sa-orang yang ta'at setia kapada negara menguchapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> terima kaseh kapada Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri Tunku Abdul Rahman yang telah membagikan perkataan<sup>2</sup> yang manis, yang indah, mudahan<sup>2</sup> ini akan membagi lebeh semangat lagi bukan sahaja kapada penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-Pontian sahaja tetapi di-seluruh Malaysia. Tadi saya dengar juga pehak PAS, tidak ada senjata, bagaimana

kita hendak berjuang? Kami pun tidak ada senjata di-Pontian, telah berjuang, alhamdullillah dengan izin Tuhan selamat kami, hidup kami dan dapat menangkap askar<sup>2</sup> Indonesia itu hidup<sup>2</sup>, terima kaseh.

**The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Haji Abdul Razak):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka menjawab pandangan<sup>2</sup> yang di-datangkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada pehak terutama sa-kali Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh beruchap dengan panjang lebar dan sungguh pun dia ada memberi akuan yang parti-nya, diri-nya dan Kerajaan Kelantan yang di-ketua<sup>2</sup>nya akan memberi sokongan kepada pehak Kerajaan dalam mengambil langkah<sup>2</sup> untuk menjaga keselamatan dan keamanan negara kita ini, akan tetapi saya dukachita dan pehak Kerajaan dukachita dalam ucapan-nya yang panjang lebar itu tidak sadikit pun dia mengecham perbuatan Indonesia—pencherobohan yang di-datangkan oleh Indonesia terhadap kita di-Malaysia ini. Sa-balek-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita dengar penyokongan parti PAS di-Kelantan pada masa mendengar pendaratan dari pehak tentera Indonesia di-Pontian dan juga di-Labis, mereka itu telah bersorak suka yang tentera Indonesia itu datang. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita menghadap keadaan yang sangat kechemasan ini—kita menghadapi anchaman pencheroboh daripada musuh, dengan sebab itu pehak Kerajaan mustahak mendapat kerjasama sokongan yang sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya daripada warga negara yang ta'at setia kepada negeri kita ini.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh ada-lah mengetua<sup>2</sup> satu Kerajaan—satu negeri di-Malaysia ini, jadi mustahak-lah kita mendapat keterangan atau akuan yang tegas daripada-nya bukan sahaja menyokong langkah<sup>2</sup> yang di-ambil oleh Kerajaan untuk menghadapi dan menentang musuh yang ada di-hadapan kita pada hari ini bahkan menchela perbuatan khianat, perbuatan yang salah daripada segi Undang<sup>2</sup> dunia yang di-jalankan oleh Soekarno dan rakan<sup>2</sup>-nya terhadap negara kita ini.

Sa-balek-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ucapan wakil dari Pasir Puteh itu nampak-nya tidak berlainan dengan ucapan yang di-perbuat oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Batu. Kedua<sup>2</sup>-nya itu nampak menyalahkan kepada pehak Kerajaan di-dalam beberapa perkara, menyalahkan dasar luar negeri kita, menyalahkan dasar pertahanan negara kita, menyalahkan Perjanjian Pertahanan yang kita buat dengan pehak Kerajaan British.

Saya suka menyebutkan di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jika tidak ada tentera British, Australia dan New Zealand menjaga pertahanan negara kita ini, harus sudah lama negara kita ini ditaa'lok oleh President Sukarno. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sungguh pun kita ada-lah negara yang kecil dan sa-benar-nya kita tidak mempunyai tentera yang besar yang boleh menghadapi musuh yang besar seperti Indonesia itu, akan tetapi tentera kita ada mempunyai latehan yang sempurna, tentera kita mempunyai senjata yang modern, sama juga, kalau tidak lebih, agak-nya daripada yang di-punya<sup>2</sup> oleh tentera<sup>2</sup> Indonesia. Dengan sebab itu dalam pertemporan di-antara tentera kita dengan tentera Indonesia sentiasa tentera kita dapat, sama ada menawan mereka itu, atau membinasakan mereka itu, sentiasa kita dapat kemenangan bila berlawan dengan tentera mereka itu. (*Tepok*).

Jadi, saya suka mengambil peluang ini menguchapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> tahniah kepada tentera<sup>2</sup> kita. Saya sa-bagai Menteri Pertahanan berasa bangga di-atas chara-nya tentera<sup>2</sup> kita menjalankan tugas masing<sup>2</sup> mempertahankan tanah ayer, baik di-Sabah dan di-Sarawak atau pun di-Pontian dan Labis. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, seperti yang saya katakan tadi, kita mempunyai tentera<sup>2</sup> yang tidak bagitu besar, jadi mustahak kita dapat bantuan dan pertolongan daripada negeri<sup>2</sup> lain, negeri<sup>2</sup> yang suka hendak menolong kita. Kita bukan-lah menghadkan kepada negeri British, Australia atau Canada, bahkan mana<sup>2</sup> negeri pun kalau hendak memberi pertolongan kepada kita, kita terima. Jadi bukan-lah kita menghadkan seperti kata Yang Berhormat tadi kepada negeri<sup>2</sup> yang

berkulit putih sahaja. Kita terima bantuan daripada mana sa-kali pun, sebab kita berkehendakkan bantuan yang saya kata sa-belum Indonesia menjalankan dasar konfrontasi terhadap kita, kita tidak minta pertolongan daripada tentera British, bahkan tidak ada tentera British di-Sabah dan Sarawak, oleh sebab ada konfrontasi daripada Indonesia, sebab Indonesia mencheroboh negara kita, maka terpaksa kita menggunakan Perjanjian Pertahanan kita dengan British dan terpaksa kita minta pertolongan daripada pihak British.

Tadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ada juga berkata pendaratan di-Pontian dan juga di-Labis, barangkali di-sebabkan kechuaian dari pihak tentera kita atau pun pihak Kerajaan sendiri. Saya suka menerangkan bahawa kita mempunyai sempadan yang luas dan dalam chara pertahanan zaman modern ini, tentu-lah sukar kita hendak menjaga seluruh kawasan udara di-negara kita ini. Kita ada-lah berdekatan dengan Indonesia. Malaya dengan Sumatra cuma 15 batu, atau 20 batu, dengan kapal terbang, dari Sumatra boleh datang ka-mari 15 minit atau 20 minit, atau ½ jam sahaja, boleh sampai tentu-lah tidak susah bagi Indonesia hendak menyerang kita, atau hendak mendarat dengan chara kapal terbang. Kita juga kalau hendak menyerang Indonesia tidak susah bila² masa kita boleh serang (*Tepok*) kerana 15 batu dan 20 batu dari negara kita.

Tetapi kita tidak bertujuan atau tidak berniat yang tidak baik. Kita bukan berniat hendak mena'alok mana² negeri, kita tidak berniat hendak bermusuh dengan siapa². Kita berniat dan berkehendakkan kedudukan negara kita aman dan tenteram, dan mempertahankan negara kita. Dengan sebab itu kita ada-lah hendak mempertahankan tanah ayer kita, jika di-serang oleh pihak musuh, dan pagi ini pendaratan di-Pontian dan Labis itu bukan-lah di-sebabkan oleh kechuaian daripada mana² pihak. Begitu juga Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Putih mengatakan, kenapa kita tidak membawa perkara itu kepada Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa² Bersatu sa-belum

daripada itu. Jadi saya suka terangkan sa-belum daripada itu rakan² kita dari Thai dan President Macapagal suka hendak mengadakan penyelesaian dengan chara berunding dengan pihak Indonesia. Kita dengar is berkata yang mereka itu sedia hendak berselesai dengan chara berunding. Jadi kita chuba hendak tengok sama ada pihak Indonesia jujur atau ikhlas dengan berchakap yang sa-macam itu. Dengan sebab itu kita jalankan perundingan di-Manila, di-Tokyo, dua kali di-Tokyo dan di-Bangkok.

Jadi sa-lepas daripada Persidangan Kemunchak baharu ini, nyata-lah pada kita, President Sukarno tidak berkehendakkan keamanan, dan tidak berkehendakkan supaya di-selesaikan begitu. Jadi, kemudian daripada itu sudah ada pendaratan di-Pontian dan Labis, jadi nyata-lah bahawa Indonesia berazam hendak menghanchorkan negeri kita. Dengan sebab itu-lah kita sedang mengambil langkah membawa perkara itu kepada Majlis Bangsa² Bersatu. Jadi, sa-hingga pendaratan di-Pontian dan Labis, Indonesia telah menghantar tentera² dan gurila² di-Sabah dan di-Sarawak, tetapi di-Pontian dan Labis Indonesia telah menyerang satu negeri ia-itu Malaysia dahulu, ia-itu satu negeri yang Indonesia telah akui sa-bagai negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Jadi terang kepada dunia bahawa perbuatan itu ada-lah perbuatan yang melanggar Undang² dunia dan melanggar Piagam Bangsa² Bersatu. Jadi itu-lah sebabnya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita telah mengambil langkah membawa perkara itu kepada Bangsa² Bersatu.

Ahli Yang Berhormat itu juga mengatakan patut-lah kita chari jalan lain membawa kepada Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa² Bersatu untuk menyelesaikan perkara itu dan menchadangkan membawa perkara itu kepada negara Afro-Asia. Kita, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pihak Kerajaan sedia hendak mengambil apa juga langkah yang patut untuk hendak menyelesaikan perkara ini, tetapi perkara yang penting sa-kali pada hari ini ia-lah ada-nya pencherobohan yang di-datangkan terhadap negara kita oleh Indonesia. Kalau pencherobohan ini

boleh di-tarek balek, perkara ini boleh selesai. Perundingan boleh di-jalankan. Apa juga ikhtiar boleh di-buat untuk hendak mengembalikan balek perhubungan baik antara kita dengan Indonesia, tetapi perkara yang menghalang penyelesaian di-atas hal ini ia-lah pencherobohan yang di-perbuat oleh Indonesia terhadap kita dengan tidak ada apa sebab sedikit pun. Jadi, ini-lah perkara yang penting sa-belum boleh di-adakan apa juga commission—Reconciliation Commission-kah, Afro-Asian Commission-kah, atau apa juga sa-kali pun, mustahak-lah pencherobohan ini di-berhentikan. Kalau maseh pencherobohan ada, bagaimana-kah perkara ini hendak di-rundingkan? Bagaimana-kah pehak kita dapat menyelesaikan perkara ini? Jadi, itu-lah chara kedudukan kita pada hari ini.

Dan lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-atas hal keselamatan dalam negeri, saya telah sebutkan ia-itu kita sedang mengambil langkah hendak membesarkan tentera<sup>2</sup> kita—tentera laut, tentera darat, tentera udara dan kita suka hendak mendapatkan pertolongan daripada semua negara yang suka hendak memberikan pertolongan, bukan sahaja pertolongan alat senjata bahkan pertolongan wang juga; pertolongan tentera bagi sementara ini, pertolongan kapal dan pertolongan kapal terbang.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh tadi ada berkata, mengapa kita tidak meminta pertolongan senjata, sebab kita ada banyak pemuda<sup>2</sup> dan pemudi<sup>2</sup> yang juga boleh memegang senjata untuk mempertahankan negara kita ini—itu saya faham. Kita ada banyak pemuda pemudi yang redza hendak mempertahankan negara kita ini, tetapi yang penting-nya ia-lah, kalau kita hendak membesarkan tentera negara kita dengan sa-berapa segera, neschaya kita terpaksa membelanjakan wang dengan banyak, dan kalau ta' dapat bantuan wang dari luar, terpaksa-lah kita mengurangkan, atau pun memberhentikan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> kemajuan yang kita sedang jalankan. Dan jikalau kita hendak membesarkan tentera kita lebeh lagi yang di-chadangkan oleh Kerajaan pada hari ini, terpaksa-lah kita meminjam wang daripada mana<sup>2</sup>

pehak. Kita tidak berada wang bagi hendak membesarkan tentera<sup>2</sup> kita dan melateh tentera<sup>2</sup> kita saperti mana yang kita kehendaki. Jadi, dengan sebab itu-lah bagi sementara ini, terpaksa kita bergantung kepada pertolongan daripada rakan<sup>2</sup> kita dari luar, atau pun dari negeri<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth yang suka hendak memberikan pertolongan kepada kita.

Saya telah sebutkan kerap kali dalam Dewan ini bahawa sa-belum confrontasi, dasar kita dalam lapangan pertahanan ia-lah hendak mempunyai tentera yang chukup untuk menjaga keselamatan dalam negeri, menjaga perayeran laut yang berdekatan dengan pantai<sup>2</sup> kita, menjaga keamanan di-kawasan<sup>2</sup> kita dan kita tidak mempunyai tentera untuk hendak berperang, hendak berlawan dengan mana<sup>2</sup> pehak. Jadi, dengan sebab itu-lah kita dapat menumpukan wang ringgit dan tenaga kita untuk kemajuan negara; dapat menjalankan ranchangan pembangunan dengan besar<sup>2</sup>an, dapat menambah dan mengadakan kemajuan<sup>2</sup> dalam lapangan pelajaran, kesihatan dan sa-bagai-nya. Kalau kita mengadakan tentera<sup>2</sup> yang besar pada masa dahulu sa-lepas kita menchapai kemerdekaan, tentu-lah kita tidak dapat menjalankan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> yang kita telah jalankan yang kita tahu ra'ayat negeri ini kehendaki. Jadi, dengan sebab kita terpaksa menghadapi confrontasi dari pencherobohan Indonesia pada hari ini, maka terpaksa-lah kita membesar dan meluaskan tentera kita dan ini tentu-lah mengambil masa sedikit, dengan sebab itu-lah pada masa ini terpaksa kita mendapatkan bantuan dan pertolongan daripada rakan<sup>2</sup> kita.

Berkenaan dengan Pasokan<sup>2</sup> Kawalan yang di-sebutkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh itu, saya telah ishtiharkan ia-itu kita akan membesarkan Pasokan<sup>2</sup> Kawalan ini dan saya harap Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri akan dapat menubuhkan Pasokan<sup>2</sup> Kawalan ini di-serata tempat, tetapi mustahak-lah kita mendaftarkan nama bagi orang yang hendak menjadi ahli Pasokan<sup>2</sup> Kawalan ini sa-belum kita dapat memberikan senjata kepada mereka. Jadi, ini akan di-jalankan

dengan sa-berapa segera, sebab kita tentu-lah tidak dapat hendak memberikan senjata kepada sa-siapa juga yang berhendakkan senjata, mereka ini kena-lah kita kawal, sebab kita tahu ada musuh dalam negeri kita, ada orang daripada warga negara kita ini yang menolong Indonesia yang menjalankan pekerjaan<sup>2</sup> subversive, yang menjalankan kehendak<sup>2</sup> musuh itu. Dengan sebab itu-lah kita terpaksa mengator perkara ini dengan sempurna-nya mengikut chara Home Guard yang kita buat pada masa dharurat dahulu, dan dalam hal ini, Kerajaan tidak-lah hendak mengutamakan ahli<sup>2</sup> daripada mana<sup>2</sup> parti; asalkan mereka itu ta'at setia kepada negeri kita ini. Jadi, dalam hal pertahanan ini, kita berkehendakkan semua ra'ayat negeri ini untuk memberi kerjasama dan menun-jukkan ta'at setia mereka itu kepada negara kita ini.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I only wish to reply very briefly to some of the comments made by the Honourable Members from the Opposition Benches, in particular the Honourable Member from Batu. My Honourable friend, the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications has replied to certain of the points he raised, but I would like to say that I am too greatly surprised with the fact that in his long, very well prepared speech, in which he blamed this Government for a number of things—blamed this Government for the present state of Emergency, blamed our foreign policy, blamed our defence policy, blamed our Defence Treaty with the United Kingdom—he did not say a word against Indonesia. He knows, I think everybody in this country knows . . . . .

**Dr Tan Chee Khoon:** May I clarify one point. I think the Government wishes deliberately to misunderstand me. I have repeatedly stated in this House that we condemn Indonesian aggression against this country (*Applause*), that we will support the Government in its measures and—when the Minister of Transport would not allow me to speak—I paid a tribute to the good work done by the Army and the Police.

**Tun Haji Abdul Razak:** Well, Sir, that is very assuring, because I have got a written text of the Honourable Member's speech here, in which he did not mention a word about condemning Indonesian aggression. I am glad that he has had second thoughts over it (*Laughter*) and it is reassuring to us. I am very pleased, Sir, that as a result of hearing speeches from Government Benches the Honourable Member has greatly improved in his thought (*Laughter*).

Sir, the Honourable Member alleged that our defence forces are inadequate and that our troops are not armed with modern weapons. As I have explained, it is true that we have a small armed force, but our armed forces are well trained and are well equipped with the most modern weapons. The Honourable Member also alleged that we have a derelict Navy. Again, I wish to say that although we have a small Navy, although we only started after Independence—when we achieved independence we had no Navy; we started with a small Navy which we obtained from Singapore—but we have now improved that Navy. We have replaced the old ships with modern patrol crafts, with modern patrol boats, and although our Navy is still small, but they are well equipped with modern boats and modern weapons.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu also alleged that the recent landings in Pontian and Labis were perhaps due to the carelessness or negligence on the part of our Air Force, or the R.A.F. or the R.A.A.F. I have explained just now in Malay that under modern conditions it is difficult to have hundred per cent defence proof against air attacks. Sumatra is only about 15 to 20 miles from here and a plane can travel from any part of Sumatra to Malaya within 20 minutes, less than half-an-hour. So it is very easy for Indonesians to land in this country either by plane or by boat. In the same way, it is very easy for us to make landings in Sumatra or in Rhio by boat or by plane. Sir, under those conditions it is extremely difficult to have 100 per cent defence proof against the possibility of landings by

Indonesia. However, Sir, the moment we heard of the landings our forces went into action and I am pleased to say that we have been able now to eliminate most of those members of the enemy who have landed either in Pontian or in Labis.

The Honourable Member spoke at length about our foreign policy. I am sure the Honourable Prime Minister will reply to him adequately on this point. But I would like to say this, Sir: whatever our foreign policy has been, the policy that we have been following has been an independent foreign policy. He has alleged that we have never realised that we are Asians living in Asia. I must say that the first thing we did after we achieved independence was to have the Treaty of Friendship with Indonesia, our nearest neighbour. And what is the result of that, what is Soekarno's reply to our friendship? Confrontation. Again, we established the Association of South-East Asian States with Thailand and the Philippines, in order to have economic co-operation and friendly consultations. We have done all these to bring the countries together. We did attempt to have a consultative organisation with Indonesia and the Philippines at the meeting in Manila. That proposal ended in failure, because Indonesia had started its aggression against us. We have done everything possible to maintain close and friendly relations with our neighbours in Asia, because we know that we live in Asia and we have got to work with our neighbours. But if our neighbours choose to carry out acts of aggression against us, what can we do other than to defend ourselves and carry out whatever measures necessary to protect our country and our people.

Now, the Honourable Member and, I think, the Honourable Member for Menglembu, also spoke about the Emergency Regulations. As a result of the Proclamation of a State of Emergency under Article 150 of the Constitution, the Government is now being given wide powers. We do realise that the powers given to us, to the Government, by His Majesty under the

Constitution are wide powers—and these are not the powers which we would like to invoke in a democratic country in peace time, but as the Honourable Prime Minister has explained in this motion this morning, the situation is serious, the threat to our security is serious. However, I can assure the House that the most careful consideration will be given to the need of any regulation before we formulate one, taking into consideration that the powers are really necessary. But I would like to say to the House that it is necessary to bear in our mind, in the forefront of our mind, that the overriding consideration in the present state of emergency must be the public good, the safety and security of this country, and the desirability of defeating the enemies, their agents and their collaborators. This, Sir, are the principles which will guide us in formulating the Emergency Regulations, and we shall take no more powers than are considered absolutely necessary for prosecuting the Emergency. At the same time, Sir, I must say that we would not hesitate to take whatever powers as are necessary, and to use those powers, if we feel that it is necessary in the interest of our country and in the interest of the safety and security of our people so to do. This is our position, Sir.

As I said, it is very necessary for us to have these Emergency powers in the present position to deal with the present grave situation. I say, Sir, this is not the time for talking. This is the time for action. The country is facing a national crisis, and it is not the time either for recrimination. If we want to recriminate, let us do it after we have defeated the enemy. This is the time for us to proceed and prosecute the Emergency. I agree that if Honourable Members want to criticise the Government, they can do so, but let their criticisms be constructive, let their criticisms be for winning this Emergency, because our first task, now that we have declared a State of Emergency, must be to end this Emergency, to win the war and to defeat the enemy, because without that there will be no survival for us, for Malaysia. I would like to say, Sir, that

this is the position of the Government, and I hope the Members of this House as a whole will give the Government full and undivided support in all measures that we may have to take to prosecute this Emergency. Thank you, Sir. (*Applause*).

**The Prime Minister:** Mr Speaker, Sir, so much has been said in the course of debate, which we have from this morning until now, and I am sure that if this debate were to be open for another few days all the speakers would like to have the opportunity to say something. However, as my colleague has pointed out just now, this is not the time for talking but that this is the time for action. Nevertheless, those who have spoken have made their views heard and their points clear. If I have missed some of the points that have been brought up by Members, I would like to say that it was not due to my inattention, but as during the course of the debate I have been called away to attend to so many other things. So, if there is anything that I have left out in my reply to the many points raised by the Honourable Member, I would ask to be excused. I was here this morning, when the Honourable Member for Batu had his say and, as my colleague has pointed out just now, he made a well prepared speech with which to launch a severe attack on the Government, but at the same time and with the same breath he has suggested that his Party is all out in support of the Government. When my colleague referred to his speech, he said that there was nothing said, or nothing written, in the text of the Honourable Member's speech to say that he is going all out to support the Government—nevertheless, I am happy to know that he and his Party have now changed their stand and their minds and have come out openly to do so. (*Laughter*).

From the speech, couched in terms which perhaps require a little bit of study, it is not for me to take up some of the issues which he raised now, because I have got to be sure what was intended rather than what was said. Let us hope, however, that the least we

can expect from the Opposition parties, the parties which the Honourable Members represent, is that they will take measures in support of the Government and also discourage their men from mixing up with the undesirables, the handful of traitors, and also the enemy personnel whom we find in this country in large numbers. I hope that they will not go round the country and tell the people that the Alliance Government is trying to use them as cannon fodders in our war with Indonesia, or in our fight with Indonesia, and also that they will not stop their youths who are sympathetic to their Party from registering for the National service. Further, I hope that they will try to give information, or at least encourage their members to give information, that will lead to the arrest of some of the collaborators and the arrest of some of the enemies. If they can give just this help, or the assurance that they will give this help, I think that is all the help and support we need from them. I must warn the Opposition again that I do not doubt their words, but on the other hand, if they do not do these things but continue to work against the Government, they do so at their own risk. I, or this Government, cannot play about nor can afford to be lenient when the happiness and security of the people are at stake, and when the fate of this nation is being threatened—the fate, security and sovereignty of the nation is being threatened—by the enemy from within and without. All these matters perhaps mean very little to some people, but to the nation as a whole it is a matter of life and death. Much has been said by the Opposition in the course of speeches in the debate, and Opposition Members have been trying to put the blame on the Government for this trouble which we are facing now. My colleagues had dealt with the Honourable Member for Pasir Puteh and to save time there is no need for me to go further into this. As I have said, nothing has appeared from the speech of the Honourable Member for Pasir Puteh, or from that of the Member for Batu—either by implication or otherwise—to

suggest that Indonesia is at fault. I would like to inform Honourable Members of a message which I have received just now from our representative in the United Nations. It is to the effect that Indonesia has accepted all the blame for aggression. Therefore it will be a waste of words for any Member to say, our even to think, that we are to blame for it.

Many Honourable Members of the Opposition who have spoken in the course of the debate have suggested that our foreign policy is at fault, just because we do not side with the Afro-Asian group. I think that is an overstatement of fact. As far as I know, we have always taken the side of the Afro-Asian group, whether it affects our foreign policy, or in the course of discussion in the precincts of the United Nations Headquarters. However, it is very difficult to know which group of the Afro-Asian people that the Honourable Members suggest that we should join. As far as we are concerned, our policy has been independent, and it has been clearly stated by His Majesty in His Gracious Speech to this House of Parliament early in the year. And all I need say is that we are an Afro-Asian nation, or Asian nation—there is no getting away from it. But at the same time, we have got to look after our own interest, the interest of our people, and to know and to pursue a policy which is best suited for our people and our country. I have left no doubt, when discussing this matter at my meetings with President Soekarno and President Macapagal, that nothing would please us more than to work in line with our Afro-Asian groups and to leave all affairs affecting our security, our country, in the hands of Asian groups. But Honourable Members will remember that even as early as 1949, I think, our neighbour Indonesia had in mind that rich country of Malaya with its ordered way of life should be, perhaps, a useful acquisition to Indonesia, and that it should be made a territory of Indonesia under Soekarno's ambitious plan of Indonesia Raya. Therefore, this trouble which we are meeting from Indonesia is not new—it is

something of which I have informed the House from time to time. However, since the Opposition has chosen not to listen to me and not to understand what I have tried to convey to them, there is nothing that I can do, except that I hope and pray that, in course of time, they will be able to look back at all those events that led to this present confrontation and to comprehend themselves that this trouble, which we are meeting today, is not of our doing, but is the diabolical act of our enemy across the sea—Indonesia. As my Honourable colleague has said just now, to suggest that we could prevent Indonesian airplanes from coming across and dropping some of their men, goods and belongings on our territory—to prevent that happening—is quite possible had we been on the alert, or if our Allies had been ready to meet it, I think, is to suggest a miracle, because with the short distance that an aeroplane would take to get here and within the short time involved, it is not possible for our machines to take off from the ground. It takes only 12 minutes for the Indonesian aeroplane to get to Labis—and within the period of 12 minutes it is not possible for us to stop them. However, as has been pointed out by my colleagues, we can do the same thing as they do, but we want to maintain peace in this part of the world and, therefore, we do not do it. If we chose to do it, even our little plane, travelling at a speed of 105 miles an hour, could still bomb and strafe Indonesian airports and their installations. We have not done so, because we want peace. We have been devoting most of our time, our attention, our money for peaceful development in this country, because we felt it would be a sheer waste of time, sheer waste of money, to try and build up a force strong enough to meet any threat or attack from outside, because no country that aims to attack us would do so unless it is satisfied that it is at least ten times stronger than we are. Therefore, we have only the choice of either to be ready to fight the enemy or to feed, clothe and house our people. And which do the people of

this country prefer? We have felt the pulse of the nation and we know exactly what the people want. Therefore, we have chosen the course of carrying on with the peaceful development of the country, in order to satisfy the needs, the wants and the desire of our peace-loving people.

Now, what is in fact the policy of this Afro-Asian group that our Opposition talked about so glibly, I personally do not know. I have met quite a number of Afro-Asian people in the course of my travel, in the course of my visit to the United States, in the course of my conferences with Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, but still it is not possible for me to say what in fact is that policy. Some of them have chosen to call themselves "non-aligned" whilst at the same time take great pride in being a member of the Commonwealth.

In the course of the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, they talked of how nice it would be to have a Commonwealth Secretariat to do the work of collating and co-ordinating all matters affecting the Commonwealth countries, but none of them talked about the Eastern bloc, and none of them appeared to show any desire to lean towards the other bloc. Therefore, I take it that they prefer to be in a bloc from which they can get the greatest advantage for their respective country and for their people. So, it follows that we have chosen the side which, we feel, can fit in with our way of life, can help us to improve the lot and the happiness of our people, can give us a sense of security against threats from outside. We would have liked to leave our fate in the hands of our Asian brothers but, as I said earlier on, their very intention, as far as we could judge from their overt acts, or assess from their overt acts, is to destroy rather than to help us. Let us take Indonesia: its aim is to destroy or crush us, but before it can achieve that purpose, it has already destroyed and crushed its own people. There is no prospect, there is no hope, for the people of Indonesia. What Soekarno has done for them is to destroy them. When he was in Tokyo and in Manila enjoying himself, I was thinking to myself, "Here is the

modern Nero—(*Laughter*) Nero, the old Roman scoundrel (*Laughter*) who, while Rome burned, played his fiddle—Soekarno while Indonesia starves, he sings and enjoys himself thoroughly." I thought that he was a bigger scoundrel than the Roman scoundrel, Nero. That is the man, who has been saying things every day, every hour of the day, every day of the week, but what he is saying today fits in quite well with what is working in his mind. He said, "The communists in Indonesia are the pillars of revolution"; and also he went on to say that to ignore the communists would be to ignore seven hundred million Chinese communists and that Indonesian revolution was a revolution of the people and the peasants were the people. I think he said, "We know the communists are in open rebellion against the order of things in this world"—and this statement from Soekarno shows that if he is not a communist, he is well on the way to be one. Therefore, where is the so-called non-alignment of Indonesia or Soekarno? If he can choose his bloc without being criticised by the Opposition here, why then cannot we choose which bloc we should belong to? Why should we be told by the Opposition, or the Honourable Member for Batu, that we have made a mistake? The people have chosen. It is not we who have chosen, because that issue has been put to people during the recent elections, and the people have returned us by a large majority. Therefore, it is obvious that the people want us to remain in this bloc, the people want us to run things in the way we have been doing. On the other hand, if the Socialist Front were to get the support of the people, I would not question what policy they would adopt either internally or externally. It is their right to do so because the people have returned them to power—but I do pray that they will never be in power. (*Laughter*). So, I am satisfied that the course we have chosen is the right one, and I feel that only time can tell that what I am saying now is correct. We may have troubles for some time—God knows how far long it will be—but I am

sure that as there is God above, we will get over these troubles and our nation will grow in strength and good health, and that this country will be able to give happiness and protection to us and for all our descendants to come.

Further, it has been suggested—I think by the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore and some other Members of this House—that the Proclamation, perhaps, will give to the Police and the Military wide powers. It is true, but as my Honourable colleague, Tun Abdul Razak, has explained just now, every power that they will use will be given to them and that there will be constant consultations between the Military and the Police as to how that power will be used. It is for us to see to it that they will never abuse this power, because the sole intention of this Proclamation of the Emergency is not to deal with the peaceful citizens of this country, or the law-abiding citizens of this country, but to deal with those elements whose aim is to destroy this country, whose only purpose is to see how best they can cause disturbances and chaos in this country—and this is the reason why this Proclamation has to be made. It never has been the intention to reduce this country into a police State and, as I have said, the Emergency Regulations are designed to enable the authorities to act swiftly against the enemy and to enable the peaceful, loyal citizens of this country to live in peace without fear for their own safety. In order to do this, we have got to remove the enemy from our midst and the only way we can do this, sad as it might seem, is by making this Proclamation. Before we advised His Majesty to issue this Proclamation we had to satisfy ourselves that there is a real grave state of emergency in this country, and having satisfied ourselves only have we advised His Majesty to declare this State of Emergency by Proclamation. I can assure those members who expressed certain concern about the trial and the detention of those who it will be necessary to arrest, that there will be no abuse of authority or powers in dealing with

them. We will have them enquired as soon as we can; and also in the case of those who have been brought to trial, we will see that the trial is carried out according to our law, with the exception that in those cases of Emergency they will have to be carried out according to the Emergency laws as laid down under the Regulations. All trials will be carried out as quickly as possible.

It was suggested also by the Honourable Member from Tanjong that the Constitution demands that every single citizen must be accorded equality of status as a Malaysian. The Constitution has in no uncertain terms set out the rights of every citizen in this country and we have proved to this country that all these years that we have been in power we have upheld this Constitution, and that was what I said this morning—that so long as the Malays feel that their rights under the Constitution are protected they should respect the right of others. That has been the mutual understanding existing in this country. That is why I felt that all this trouble that had broken out in Singapore was not due to any cause other than that created by our enemy, the Indonesians, who had planted all these feelings of hatred and feelings of suspicion one against the other when they were here before. That is why I am concerned. Without the instigation from this enemy this trouble would never have occurred, because this is one of the countries in the world that has enjoyed so much harmony. From time immemorial the people in this country have always lived in peace and in harmony, as I had occasion to say when I was in America when I was asked, “What is your greatest achievement since independence?” I said the greatest achievement since independence has been the goodwill, friendship and mutual understanding which exists in this country among the people of all races and creeds. And no sooner said then this trouble broke out in Singapore. I have never felt such an idiot in all my life (*Laughter*). Sir, I hope and I pray that all the Honourable Members who have the interest of and concern for the people at heart

must try and do everything possible to try and maintain this harmony among the various people in this country, because there is no need for trouble. As I have said this morning, there is plenty of land and plenty of scope for everybody to carry out his activities. But there must be mutual respect between the people of all races. It is too much to expect that everybody will feel himself absolutely and one hundred per cent Malaysian or Malayan at this stage. It takes time, it takes education, but with the help of every member, every community in this country and all the responsible people in this country, I am sure that goal will be achieved in quicker time than we think.

It is also suggested that divided we fall—that is sure enough. That is why we should stick together and we should fight Indonesia and after we have done that, then we should settle down and plan again for the reconstruction of this country in a way we feel best suited to this nation. It was suggested by a Socialist Front member from Singapore that Malaysia is dying.

**Dr Tan Chee Khoon:** On a point of explanation. The Prime Minister has mentioned the Socialist Front member from Singapore. There is no Socialist Front member from Singapore.

**The Prime Minister:** I am so sorry, I beg your pardon (*Laughter*). Well, actually it is the translation. Only one is Socialist Front in English; the other one is Barisan Sosialis in Malay (*Laughter*). Speaking in English I called it Socialist Front. So I apologise for it. However, if the Honourable Member takes exception to it, I don't blame him either (*Laughter*).

The Honourable Member from Barisan Sosialis in Singapore suggested that Malaysia is dying. I think he is wrong and it is what I would say just wishful thinking and it is a prayer which will never come into being. He also suggested that the number of people who are anti-Malaysia are ever-increasing or ever-growing. That may be so, but not in this country but in the detention camps perhaps (*Laughter*). It was also suggested that

Malaysia has not gained support from the Afro-Asian countries. I may tell the very Honourable Member that we have got all the support we need. The others who do not give, I don't think it matters very much. I had occasion to say the same thing at the Commonwealth Conference. It was also suggested that since this trouble began with Indonesia, many people of Singapore have lost their livelihood, there has been a loss of trade and there has been drop in the imports, etc. That is not brought about by us. The Honourable Member must satisfy himself that all this has been brought about by Indonesia. If we have suffered this much, I would assure the Barisan Sosialis member that Indonesia suffers more. But that is neither here nor there. I must say that we are sad and sorry for what is happening in Singapore, but since we have to fight an enemy we have got to make sacrifices, and here I would ask the Honourable Member to help us in putting things right in Singapore as best as we could.

Then it was suggested here—it is not for me to reply—that the Prime Minister of Singapore is telling the people in Europe that the disturbance in Singapore is the work of the UMNO. All I need say is that it is not the work of the UMNO, but I am not there to reply to the Honourable Prime Minister of Singapore. But I do not think he quite said that. He said it is due to some irresponsible politicians. Whether he referred to UMNO or to Barisan Sosialis, I do not know (*Laughter*). But I am inclined to think that the reference which he made was rather more to the Barisan Sosialis.

Then, there was a challenge from the Honourable Member that we should have a Commission of Inquiry to inquire into all these disturbances in Singapore and to find out the cause of these disturbances. I can assure the Honourable Member that that will be done. When it will be done, I do not know—but it will be done. In fact this Government has already appointed a Committee, or suggested certain names to be on this Committee, and we have

already agreed on the terms of reference for this Committee.

It was also suggested by the Honourable Member for Tanjong that there should not be any talk about giving up my leadership at this time. I must thank the Honourable Member for Tanjong for thinking so highly of me and, as I have said in the UMNO General Assembly, as long as the people want me, as long as I feel I am of service to the nation, I will remain as the servant of this Government. (*Applause*). I do not doubt the sincerity and integrity of the Opposition Members. I know what they feel, how they feel, about this situation obtaining in this country. I think they realise, as well as we do, that it is only under our system of democracy that we are able to have different parties and to speak our minds as we want to, uninterfered and uninterrupted. But once this country ceases the practice of democracy, then there will be the end of everything for us all. And it is in order to uphold democracy that we feel that these Emergency Regulations are necessary, in order to remove the enemy from our midst—the enemy who has no respect, no love, for democracy.

Sir, I beg to move. (*Applause*).

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That this House fully endorses and supports the Proclamations of Emergency laid before the House as Command Paper No. 25 of 1964.

### **CUSTOMS DUTIES (AMENDMENT No. 6) ORDER, 1964**

**Tun Haji Abdul Razak:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move—

That this Houses resolves that in accordance with the powers vested in it by virtue of sub-section (2) of section 10 of the Customs Ordinance, 1952, the Customs Duties (Amendment No. 6) Order, 1964, which has been laid before the House as Statute Paper No. 64 of 1964 be confirmed.

Sir, although the meeting of this Parliament is especially called to discuss the first motion on the Order Paper, but as it is made mandatory by law to have this order confirmed at

the first meeting of Parliament, it is necessary for me to bring two motions before this House.

Now, the primary purpose of this Order is to provide protection for a domestic manufacturer of refined sugar. The Government, Sir, is satisfied that without protection it would not be practicable for the refinery to operate as low cost foreign producers can very easily flood our market with their product.

The House will also note that the Order has changed radically the tariff classification of sugar for the purposes of collecting Customs duty. Hitherto, sugar has been rather unsatisfactorily classified regardless of the sugar content. Sugar was classified according to whether it was meant for further refining or whether it was imported for consumption. This Order seeks to reclassify sugar according to its degrees of polarisation i.e. the exact extent to which the sugar is refined. It is an accepted system of classification commonly adopted in countries where there are sugar refineries. Now, this change in the nomenclature not only improves the tariff classification but also assures that the protection accorded to the domestic refinery is used to the maximum advantage.

Sir, I beg to move.

**Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir:** Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That this House resolves that in accordance with the powers vested in it by virtue of sub-section (2) of section 10 of the Customs Ordinance, 1952, the Customs Duties (Amendment No. 6) Order, 1964, which has been laid before the House as Statute Paper No. 64 of 1964 be confirmed.

### **CUSTOMS DUTIES (AMENDMENT No. 7) ORDER, 1964**

**Tun Haji Abdul Razak:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move—

That this House resolves that in accordance with the powers vested in it by virtue of sub-section (2) of section 10 of the Customs Ordinance, 1952, the Customs Duties (Amendment No. 7) Order, 1964, which has been laid before the House as Statute Paper No. 65 of 1964 be confirmed.

Now, Sir, the House will recall that in April last year, the duty on aluminium stripes and sheets was raised from 10 per cent *ad valorem* to 30 per cent *ad valorem* in order to provide protection for a domestic industry. Since this increase was made, it was found that large quantities of aluminium sheets have been coming into the country at prices below those existing in the exporting country. The result of this under-valuation is that the protection given to the domestic industry was completely nullified. In order to overcome this difficulty, it was found necessary to amend the duty from an *ad valorem* basis to a specific basis. The Order before the House seeks to do just this. That is to say, the duty of 40 cents per lb works out to approximately the same as the old duty of 30 per cent if the aluminium sheets are imported at fairest prices.

Sir, I beg to move.

**The Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry (Tuan Haji Abdul Khalid bin Awang Osman):** Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That this House resolves that in accordance with the powers vested in it by virtue of sub-section (2) of section 10 of the Customs Ordinance, 1952, the Customs Duties (Amendment No. 7) Order, 1964, which has been laid before the House as Statute Paper No. 65 of 1964 be confirmed.

### SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDER 48 (Motion)

**Tun Haji Abdul Razak:** Mr Speaker, Sir, with your permission, I beg to move that Standing Order 48 be suspended for the duration of this meeting.

This is necessary in order to enable me to move the second and third reading of the Emergency (Essential Powers) Bill which I presented to this House on a certificate of urgency this morning.

**Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir:** Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed.

Resolved,

That with the consent of Mr Speaker, Standing Order 48 be suspended for the duration of this meeting.

## BILL

### THE EMERGENCY (ESSENTIAL POWERS) BILL, 1964

#### Second Reading

**Tun Haji Abdul Razak:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Bill intituled "An Act to confer certain powers on the Yang di-Pertuan Agong which it is expedient that His Majesty should be enabled to exercise in the emergency proclaimed on the third day of September, 1964, under Article 150 of the Federal Constitution" be read a second time.

Sir, this House has had a full debate on the motion moved by the Honourable the Prime Minister on the Proclamation of Emergency and now the House has fully endorsed and supported the Proclamation. Therefore, Sir, this House is now fully aware of the circumstances that made it necessary for the Government to proclaim this state of emergency.

Sir, it is indeed a sad thing for this Government—the Alliance Government—to have to advise His Majesty to proclaim a state of emergency throughout Malaysia because it was this Government just four years ago that brought the previous Emergency to an end and put an end to all the restrictions and hardships that the people of this country had to endure for 12 years.

However, as has been fully explained in the debate on the motion of the Honourable the Prime Minister, the Government considers that it is necessary, in view of the serious threat to the safety and security of our country, that a state of emergency should be proclaimed and that Government should be vested with the necessary powers under the Constitution to enable the Government to take adequate measures to defend this country and to fight the enemies.

Sir, the Emergency was proclaimed under Article 150 of the Constitution and section 2 of the Article gives His Majesty all the powers to promulgate Ordinances necessary for prosecuting the emergency. However, it is felt that instead of making a series of Ordinances from time to time, a proper way would be for Parliament to empower His Majesty by an Act of Parliament to make Essential Regulations. Honourable Members will remember that under the previous Emergency, Essential Regulations were made under similar power by the High Commissioner before Independence and later by His Majesty.

I would like once again, Sir, to assure this House that the Government will give very careful consideration to any Regulation that is considered necessary to be made; also, I can assure the House that the Government will see to it that the powers under these Regulations will be exercised most carefully, and also justly. I think this House and the country know fully well how this Government had exercised the Emergency Regulations, the powers under the Emergency Regulations, during the four years that this Government had to carry out the Emergency; and also, this House and the country are fully aware of the way in which Government had exercised the powers, fairly wide powers, conferred by the Internal Security Act which was passed by this House. Therefore, Sir, this House and, I think, this country need have no fear that the Emergency Regulations that may be promulgated will be abused or misused. But I must say again here, Sir, that although we will exercise careful consideration before promulgating any regulation, I must make it clear that we will not hesitate to promulgate any regulation if we consider it necessary for the interest and for the security of our country.

Sir, I beg to move.

**Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir:** Sir, I beg to second the motion.

**Dr Lim Chong Eu:** Mr Speaker, Sir, we have already spent one whole day over the question of the emergency

and, I think, throughout this House we have heard expressions, except one, that everywhere in this country people will rally round the Government. No matter how much we quarrel over the words that are written into this Bill, unless the Government implements it and acts in the manner that it has assured this House, no quarrel between us over the words of the Bill can lead us anywhere.

Sir, the only thing I would like to raise is one which I have pointed out earlier on. We understand the wide powers that we are giving to the Government by the passing of this Bill, and so I do urge the Honourable the Mover of the motion to remember again that, in essence, parliamentary democracy which is the characteristic of our nation depends upon the fact that ultimately all legislation will pass through this House. It is admitted that under the terms of emergency and crisis, the Government shall have full powers to act, but I do hope that not only will the Government act only as and when necessary but, if and wherever possible, it would try to refer to this House Bills which do not amount to Bills of utmost urgency in so far as time is concerned. Sir, it is only by this careful preservation of our dedication to parliamentary democracy that we can hope to weather through this period of emergency and come through with the same spirit as we today abandon what powers we have in this House and entrust it to the care of those in Government.

**Dr Tan Chee Khoo:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I fully endorse what the Honourable Member for Tanjong has just so very lucidly put before the House the fears of we on this side of the House. It is expressed not only by the Honourable Member for Tanjong but also by the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore that, if these powers that we are now conferring on the Government are abused, it may well lead to a police state, and it may well be the death-knell of democracy which these powers seek to preserve.

Mr Speaker, Sir, if I remember rightly, just now the Member for

Menglembu pointed out this little passage written here on page 2—I think he referred to section 2 (d)—“make special provisions in respect of procedure (including the hearing of proceedings in camera) in civil or criminal cases.” Mr Speaker, Sir, I can understand the need for such power in the case of criminal cases, but I do not see the relevance of it in the case of civil cases; and it is things like this that rouse the fear and apprehension not only of we on this side of the House but of a large section of the people of this country. It is very reassuring to hear every Government Front Benchers telling us that these powers will not be abused, and I hope that these solemn promises given by the Honourable Ministers will be solemnly kept and preserved by them.

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah (Kelantan Hilir):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun mengambil bahagian di atas perbahathan ini. PAS menyokong Bill yang ada di hadapan kita ini dan saudara saya dari Pasir Puteh dalam membahathkan Bill ini telah menyokong polisi Kerajaan. Chuma di-sini walau pun kita telah dengar perbahathan tadi bahawa jaminan dari Timbalan Perdana Menteri, tiap<sup>2</sup> undang<sup>2</sup> yang akan di-buat terlebih dahulu akan di-timbangkan sa-dalam<sup>2</sup>-nya supaya jangan-lah undang<sup>2</sup> itu akan menimpakan atau pun menjadi satu tanggungan berat atau kedzaliman kepada ra'ayat. Kita juga berpuas hati di-atas jaminan yang telah di-berikan oleh Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri. Tetapi sungguh pun begitu suka-lah saya hendak mengingatkan bahawa sa-nya ada-lah kuat-kuasa yang kita akan beri kepada Kerajaan ada-lah satu kuat-kuasa yang paling besar yang di-dalam kuat-kuasa ini Kerajaan boleh mengambil tindakan apa juga ka-atas siapa<sup>2</sup> pun yang Kerajaan shak telah menjalankan perkara<sup>2</sup> yang boleh merosakkan keamanan negeri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mengingatkan Kerajaan supaya mengambil berat di-atas segala undang<sup>2</sup> yang akan di-buat untuk memelihara dan menjamin keadaan keamanan dalam negeri ini dan kemerdekaan tanah ayer kita, tetapi di-samping itu suka-lah

saya mengingatkan bahawa sa-kira-nya ada aduan<sup>2</sup> daripada pehak ra'ayat bahawa sa-nya ada undang<sup>2</sup> yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan itu di-salah gunakan, maka pehak Kerajaan akan mengambil berat dan menyelidek sama ada aduan itu betul atau tidak.

**Tun Haji Abdul Razak:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi menjawab perkara yang di-bangkitkan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Kelantan Hilir, saya telah memberi akuan bahawa Kerajaan tidak akan mengadakan undang<sup>2</sup> itu melainkan jika mustahak, dan Kerajaan mengadakan undang<sup>2</sup> ini ada-lah samata<sup>2</sup> hendak menyelamatkan negeri ini dan mempertahankan negara kita ini daripada anchaman musuh. Jadi, saya boleh-lah beri akuan jika ada apa<sup>2</sup> aduan dari mana<sup>2</sup> pehak yang mengatakan undang<sup>2</sup> ini tidak di-gunakan dengan sempurna maka Kerajaan akan menyiasat dalam perkara itu.

Sir, in reply to the Honourable Member for Tanjong and also the Honourable Member for Batu, I have already given an assurance to this House on two occasions that the Government will give very careful consideration before promulgating these Regulations. As I have said, we realise that the powers conferred under this Act, the Emergency Regulations are wide, and they are not the powers which one would like to invoke in a democratic country in a peace-time. However, in view of the serious threat to our country, the Government considers it necessary that it should have this power in order to deal with the enemy, to defeat the enemy and to deal with enemy's agents and the enemy collaborators throughout the country.

In reply to the Honourable Member for Batu, and also the Honourable Member for Menglembu, when he raised the matter in respect of Clause 2 (2) (d), i.e., on the subject of making special provisions in respect of procedure in civil or criminal cases, I would like to say that most of the cases connected with Emergency are criminal cases, but there are occasions when the Government officials or other persons sue or are sued in civil cases; and it sometimes happens that in the course

of such proceedings, evidence, either documentary or oral, has to be produced in Court, and such evidence cannot possibly be withheld by a plea that it is a privilege. Therefore, it may be necessary, through normal course of justice, to produce this evidence, and obviously in a normal trial such evidence will be published, and it may happen that the publication of such evidence or such document may seriously embarrass the Government efforts for the defence and security of this country. I do not say that it may happen, but it is possible that it may. That is why it is necessary to have this provision to cover such eventualities.

I would like to explain, Sir, that these powers were also provided under the 1948 Emergency Regulations. So, I consider it necessary to retain the word "civil" here for cases which I have just mentioned.

I would like to assure this House, again, that the Government will be most careful in promulgating these Regulations and, as I have said in moving this Bill for the second reading, this House and the country have only to judge the record of the Government in exercising the powers both under the Emergency Regulations for four years from 1955 to 1960 and in exercising the powers under the Internal Security Act, which is still in force in this country.

**Dr Tan Chee Khoon:** Sir, I would like to ask one more question, and I do not like to delay the proceedings very much longer. We have just heard the Deputy Prime Minister explaining on the question of necessity for these Regulations to cover civil cases as well. But the previous line in Clause 2 (2) says, "... including the hearing of proceedings in camera ..." Consequently, if there is anything in the civil suit that may well embarrass the

Government or any parties concerned, it may be held in camera. So, I do not see any reason why we should have civil cases included here. The previous line confers the Government these powers. Why should a civil case be covered by the Emergency Regulations since it has nothing to do with the Emergency?

**Tun Haji Abdul Razak:** Sir, normally we only hear in camera criminal cases. Obviously, it has seldom been the practice to hear civil cases in camera. That is why, we have had this provision for cases which I have just mentioned. Although such cases may be rare, in view of the state of Emergency we are in now, it is necessary to make this provision in case the Government or the Government officials or members of the Government are asked to produce the document or evidence in civil cases which we cannot normally resist or claim privilege. That is why we have to make this provision.

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 6 inclusive ordered to stand part of the Bill.*

*Preamble ordered to stand part of the Bill.*

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

*House resumed.*

**Mr Speaker:** The House stands adjourned *sine die*.

*Adjourned at 8 p.m.*