

Volume I
No. 24



Tuesday
1st December, 1964

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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

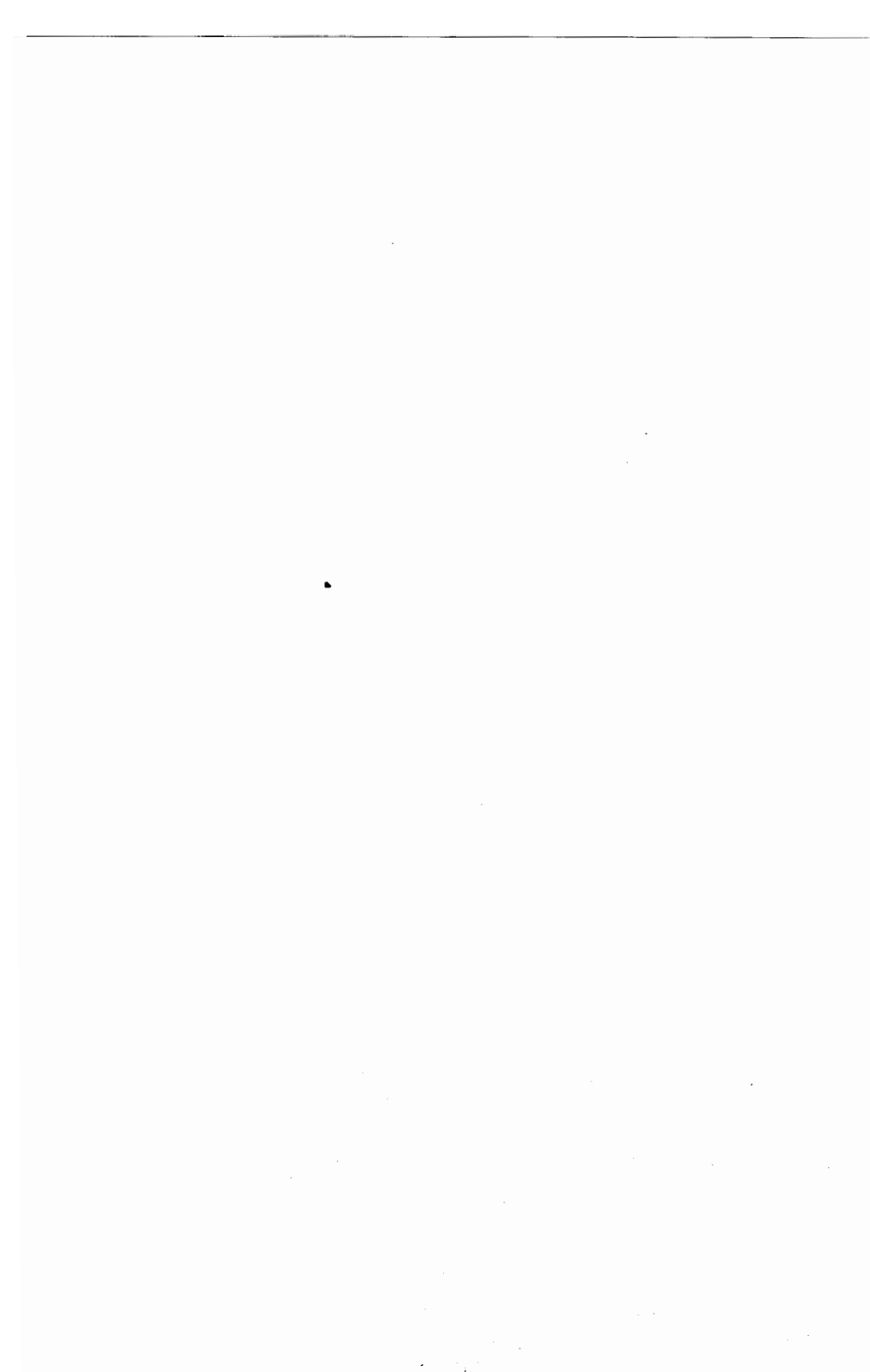
CONTENTS

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS [Col. 3153]

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDER 66 (2) (Motion)
[Col. 3169]

BILL:

The Supply Bill, 1965 (Second Reading) [Col. 3170]



MALAYSIA

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

Official Report

First Session of the Second Dewan Ra'ayat

Tuesday, 1st December, 1964

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

PRESENT:

- The Honourable Mr Speaker, DATO' CHIK MOHAMED YUSUF BIN SHEIKH ABDUL RAHMAN, S.P.M.P., J.P., Dato' Bendahara, Perak.
- „ the Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M. (Kuala Kedah).
- „ the Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Justice, DATO' DR ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Johor Timor).
- „ the Minister of Finance, ENCHE' TAN SIEW SIN, J.P. (Melaka Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, DATO' V. T. SAMBANTHAN, P.M.N. (Sungai 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, P.J.K. (Kuantan).
- „ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, DR LIM SWEE AUN, J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- „ 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 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 without Portfolio, ENCHE' PETER LO SU YIN (Sabah).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry, TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).

- The Honourable the Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development and Assistant Minister of Justice, ENCHE' ABDUL-RAHMAN BIN YA'KUB (Sarawak).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, ENCHE' SULAIMAN BIN BULON (Bagan Datoh).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, ENSKU MUHSEIN BIN ABDUL KADIR, J.M.N., S.M.T., P.J.K. (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, P.P.T. (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAHIM ISHAK (Singapore).
- „ WAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN DATU TUANKU BUJANG (Sarawak).
- „ 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).
- „ 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).
- „ ENCHE' ALI BIN HAJI AHMAD (Pontian Selatan).
- „ O. K. K. DATU ALIUDDIN BIN DATU HARUN, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- „ ENCHE' JONATHAN BANGAU ANAK RENANG, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ PENGARAH BANYANG ANAK JANTING, P.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SEONG YOON (Setapak).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SIANG SUN (Bentong).
- „ ENCHE' CHIA CHIN SHIN, A.B.S. (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).
- „ ENCHE' S. FAZUL RAHMAN, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT, K.M.N. (Penang Utara).

The Honourable ENCHE' HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N., J.P.
(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' 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).

„ ENCHE' JEK YEUN THONG (Singapore).

„ PENGHULU JINGGUT ANAK ATTAN, Q.M.C., A.B.S. (Sarawak).

„ ENCHE' KADAM ANAK KIAI (Sarawak).

„ ENCHE' KHOO PENG LOONG (Sarawak).

„ ENCHE' KOW KEE SENG (Singapore).

„ ENCHE' EDMUND LANGGU ANAK SAGA (Sarawak).

„ ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N. (Segamat Selatan).

„ ENCHE' LIM HUAN BOON (Singapore).

„ ENCHE' LIM PEE HUNG, P.J.K. (Alor Star).

„ DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD (Kota Star Selatan).

„ ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).

„ DATO' DR HAJI MEGAT KHAS, D.P.M.P., J.P., P.J.K.
(Kuala Kangsar).

„ 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.
(Jejebu-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, J.M.N. (Sungei Patani).

„ WAN MOKHTAR BIN AHMAD (Kemaman).

„ TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).

„ ENCHE' MUHAMMAD FAKHRUDDIN BIN HAJI ABDULLAH
(Pasar Mas Hilir).

„ TUAN HAJI MUHAMMAD SU'AUT BIN HAJI MUHD. TAHIR,
A.B.S. (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 AHMAD KAMIL, D.K., S.P.M.K., S.J.M.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).

- The Honourable ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- „ ABANG OTHMAN BIN HAJI MOASIL, P.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Timor).
- „ 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, P.J.K., J.P. (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' SIOW LOONG HIN, P.J.K. (Seremban Barat).
- „ ENCHE' SNAWI BIN ISMAIL, P.J.K. (Seberang Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' SNG CHIN JOO (Sarawak).
- „ 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 TOH HONG (Bukit Bintang).
- „ ENCHE' TAN TSAK YU (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' TIAH ENG BEE (Kluang Utara).
- „ PENGHULU FRANCIS UMPAU ANAK EMPAM (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' YEH PAO TZE (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).
- „ ENCHE' STEPHEN YONG KUET TZE (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB, P.J.K. (Langat).

ABSENT:

- The Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Minister of National and Rural Development, TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ the Minister for Local Government and Housing, ENCHE' KHAW KAI-BOH, P.J.K. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister of Lands and Mines, ENCHE' MOHD. GHAZALI BIN HAJI JAWI (Ulu Perak).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDUL RASHID BIN HAJI JAIS (Sabah).
- „ DATO' ABDULLAH BIN ABDULRAHMAN, Dato' Bijaya di-Raja (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAAID, J.P. (Seberang Utara).
- „ CHE' AJIBAH BINTI ABOL (Sarawak).
- „ DR AWANG BIN HASSAN, S.M.J. (Muar Selatan).

- The Honourable ENCHE' E. W. BARKER (Singapore).
 " ENCHE' CHEN WING SUM (Damansara).
 " TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S.
 (Batu Pahat Dalam).
 " DATU GANIE GILONG, P.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
 " ENCHE' GANING BIN JANGKAT (Sabah).
 " DR GOH KENG SWEE (Singapore).
 " ENCHE' HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Kapar).
 " ENCHE' STANLEY HO NYUN KHIU, A.D.K. (Sabah).
 " DATO' SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, P.M.N.
 (Johore Tenggara).
 " ENCHE' KAM WOON WAH, J.P. (Sitiawan).
 " DATU KHOO SIAK CHIEW, P.D.K. (Sabah).
 " ENCHE' LEE KUAN YEW (Singapore).
 " ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
 " ENCHE' AMADEUS MATHEW LEONG, A.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
 " DATO' LING BENG SIEW, P.N.B.S. (Sarawak).
 " DR LIM CHONG EU (Tanjong).
 " ENCHE' LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
 " DATO' LIM KIM SAN, D.U.T., J.M.K., D.J.M.K. (Singapore).
 " ENCHE' JOSEPH DAVID MANJAJI (Sabah).
 " ENCHE' MOHD. ARIF SALLEH, A.D.K. (Sabah).
 " ENCHE' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA, P.M.K.
 (Pasir Puteh).
 " ENCHE' ONG KEE HUI (Sarawak).
 " ENCHE' ONG PANG BOON (Singapore).
 " TUAN HAJI OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Hilir Perak).
 " ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN WOK (Singapore).
 " ENCHE' S. RAJARATNAM (Singapore).
 " ENCHE' SOH AH TECK (Batu Pahat).
 " DATU DONALD ALOYSIUS STEPHENS, P.D.K. (Sabah).
 " ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
 " DR TOH CHIN CHYE (Singapore).
 " ENCHE' TOH THEAM HOCK (Kampar).
 " ENCHE' WEE TOON BOON (Singapore).
 " ENCHE' YONG NYUK LIN (Singapore).

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

KEWAJIPAN KEMENTERIAN KEBUDAYAAN, BELIA DAN SOKAN

1. Enche' Hussein bin Sulaiman (Ulu Kelantan) bertanya kepada Menteri Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sokan apa

sa-benar-nya kewajipan² yang dipertugaskan kepada Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sokan? Adakah kerja-nya sa-mata² mengawal dan menggalak, dengan lisan dan tulisan sahaja, akan badan² Sokan, Belia dan Kebudayaan dalam negeri ini atau pun memberi galakan dan arahan yang kuat serta dengan bantuan alat² dan kebendaan kepada badan² itu supaya badan² itu betul² boleh berjasa dan bergerak dengan pesat dan jitu.

The Assistant Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports (Engku Muhsein bin

Abdul Kadir: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah kewajipan² yang akan ditugaskan kepada Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan ini ia-lah di-antara yang lain², menolong, membantu, menasehat dan menggalakkan badan² kebudayaan, belia dan sokan. Pertolongan yang di-beri pada lazimnya ada-lah berupa:

- (a) pertolongan peribadi
- (b) pertolongan kewangan sa-takat yang boleh
- (c) pertolongan perkakas² dengan sa-chara pinjam.

Berkenaan dengan (a) di-sebabkan Kementerian ini ada-lah satu Kementerian yang baharu dan belum ada mempunyai anggota² yang chukup di-Kementerian ini sendiri dan langsung tiada mempunyai sa-orang anggota pun di-tingkatan negeri dan daerah², maka pertolongan yang sempurna itu tiada-lah dapat di-beri melainkan dengan menggunakan perkhidmatan² yang di-beri melalui Pegawai¹ Kebajikan Masharakat Negeri dan Pegawai² Masharakat Daerah. Berkenaan dengan (b) pertolongan kewangan ini akan di-beri menurut kedudukan satu² badan sa-takat mana yang boleh, dan pada lazimnya untuk, (1) penubuhan dan (2) pemberian kepada projek² yang tertentu. Berkenaan dengan (c) pertolongan perkakas² dengan sa-chara pinjaman ada-lah perkakas sa-umpama projek film 19 MM, generator, mesin jahit, dapur memasak, pembesar suara. Perkakas² ini ada-lah di-simpan oleh Pegawai² Masharakat Negeri dan jika di-kehendaki boleh-lah di-pinjam daripada pegawai² itu. Di-sini suka-lah juga di-tegaskan ia-itu Kementerian ini tiada-lah berhajat hendak mengawal segala badan² yang telah tertuboh dengan suka-rela dan bersendirian. Sa-sungguh-nya Kementerian ini suka menggalakkan lagi semangat bekerja dengan suka-rela itu. Sayugia di-ma'alumkan ada-lah badan² ini telah pun di-tubohkan dengan suka-rela dan bersendirian beberapa lama sa-belum Kementerian ini di-tubohkan. Dari itu bagi permulaan-nya Kementerian ini chuma akan memberi pimpinan, panduan, nasehat dan galakan dalam

lapangan latehan untuk meningkatkan lagi taraf dan mutu badan² itu.

TENAGA PEMUDA PEMUDI UNTOK MENENTANG KONFRONTASI

2. Enche' Hussein bin Sulaiman bertanya kepada Menteri Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan boleh-kah Kementerian ini dengan segera mengembelingkan tenaga pemuda dan pemudi dan mengarahkan tenaga itu untuk menentang konfrontasi dengan sa-chara berkesan untuk membantu Kerajaan dengan rapat dan bertanggung-jawab dalam hal propaganda, merisik rahsia ejen² musuh dan menjaga keamanan dalam kampung masing²; dan apa-kah yang telah di-buat ka-arrah ini.

Engku Mohsein bin Abdul Kadir: Ada-lah tugas bagi mengarahkan tenaga untuk menentang konfrontasi ia-lah di-dalam Kementerian Pertahanan dan juga di-Kementerian Kerajaan Tempatan dan Perumahan yang saya perchaya Ahli Yang Berhormat itu mengetahui. Langkah² telah pun di-ambil untuk mengarahkan tenaga belia berkenaan dengan perkara ini. Oleh yang demikian tiada-lah payah Kementerian ini mengambil langkah yang lain di-luar daripada tugas-nya berkenaan dengan perkara ini. Begitu juga ada pun tanggung-jawab dalam perkara propaganda, mengintip rahsia ejen² musuh dan menjaga keamanan dalam kampung² ada-lah tugas Kementerian Penerangan dan Penyiaran dan Kementerian Hal-Ehwal Dalam Negeri. Pekerjaan ini ada-lah berkehendakkan kemahiran yang tertentu. Walau pun demikian, Kementerian ini telah-lah meminta kerjasama badan² belia untuk memberi bantuan kepada Kerajaan dalam mana² perkara yang munasabah di-kehendaki.

BAHAN² DAN ALAT² UNTOK BADAN² PEMUDA MENJALAN- KAN RANCHANGAN KECHIL DI-BAWAH RANCHANGAN LUAR BANDAR

3. Enche' Hussein bin Sulaiman bertanya kepada Menteri Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan boleh-kah Kementerian ini memperbekalkan badan²

pemuda, di-bawah Rancangan Luar Bandar, dengan bahan² dan alat² untuk mereka menjalankan rancangan kecil tempatan seperti membaiki titi², sekolah², membina madrasah², jalan² dalam kampung dan lain² bagi meng-untongkan anak² kampung dengan chepat dan murah serta menggunakan dengan baik dan berfaedah akan tenaga belia, dan jika Kementerian ini ada rancangan demikian, bila akan di-laksanakan.

Engku Muhsein bin Abdul Kadir: Bekalan alat² dan bahan² memang telah pun di-beri kepada badan² belia dengan chara pinjaman untuk menolong mereka dalam projek² kemajuan luar bandar semenjak sa-belum-nya lagi rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar di-adakan. Projek² untuk mengelokkan lagi kampung² telah pun di-jalankan oleh kelab² belia dengan jalan persaorangan atau bergotong-royong sa-bagai satu daripada projek² mereka. Semenjak ada-nya rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar beberapa banyak badan² belia telah pun menggabungkan diri mereka dengan Majlis Tetap Belia Daerah. Satu daripada tujuan Majlis ini ia-lah memberi kerjasama dalam projek Pembangunan Luar Bandar dalam daerah² itu.

TRADE UNIONS ORDINANCE— REVISION

4. Enche' C. V. Devan Nair (Bungsar) asks the Minister of Labour whether the Government is aware of the general view in trade union circles that many of the provisions of the Trade Union Ordinance are either outmoded, arbitrary or unsatisfactory in other ways and call for comprehensive revision and when the Minister will be ready to divulge the dynamic details of the dynamic new labour legislation he has promised.

The Minister of Labour (Enche' V. Manickavasagam): Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not agree with the views of the Honourable Member for Bungsar that the Trade Unions Ordinance is either outmoded, arbitrary or unsatisfactory. If any trade unionists feel that the Trade Unions Ordinance requires amendments on any particular provi-

sion, they can bring such proposals to the Ministry. For the information of the Honourable Member, I have had recently discussions with the M.T.U.C. officials on certain proposals submitted by them.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Mr Speaker, Sir, would the Minister kindly explain, if in his view he thought that the provisions of the Trade Unions Ordinance are neither outmoded, arbitrary, nor obsolete, why did he find it necessary to promise in this House a new dynamic labour legislation?

Enche' V. Manickavasagam: Mr Speaker, Sir, the dynamic approach to labour questions need not necessarily be the complete revision of the Trade Unions Ordinance. As regards dynamic approach to labour questions, if the Honourable Member could just wait for the next two weeks, I would explain in detail as to what we have in mind as far as labour problems are concerned for the betterment of labour in this country.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: I recall, Mr Speaker, Sir, that the promise made by the Minister was to provide a dynamic new labour legislation—I am subject to correction.

Enche' V. Manickavasagam: I think the Honourable Member is confusing the Trade Unions Ordinance with other Ordinances. The Ministry has in view a number of proposals as we have mentioned in this House. For the information of the Honourable Member, the extension of the Employees Provident Fund to cover every worker in this country is in itself a far-reaching approach towards the betterment of workers in this country; and there are a number of other matters which I propose to give in detail during my Budget speech.

Dr Tan Chee Khoo (Batu): Mr Speaker, Sir, if the Honourable Minister denies that the Trade Unions Ordinance is neither outmoded, arbitrary or unsatisfactory, will he consider it satisfactory if labourers are arbitrarily and summarily dismissed by employers, if the trade unions are denied recognition and if the

employees, when they attempt to form trade unions, are not only denied recognition but are also victimised and sacked by the employers? Does he consider this state of affairs as satisfactory?

Enche' V. Manickavasagam: Mr Speaker, Sir, I think, if the Honourable Member would remember, I have replied to such questions by both the Honourable Member for Batu and the Honourable Member for Bungsar that where the termination of employment is concerned, my Ministry, with the assistance of the employers' organisations and the M.T.U.C., is evolving a procedure on the basis of the I.L.O. recommendation on termination of employment; and with regard to recognition of trade unions, I have explained in this House that we are also evolving a procedure on recognition of trade unions, and I have also assured that, if it is found that legislation is necessary, I will consider that too.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Sir, I am very grateful for the assurance of the Honourable Minister. Does all that he has said not confirm that the existing legislation is at least unsatisfactory, if not outmoded?

Enche' V. Manickavasagam: That is the view of the Honourable Member for Batu, Sir, because some of the politicians wanting to get into trade unions cannot do so. (*Laughter*).

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Mr Speaker, Sir, I am a trade unionist who got into politics, not the other way round! So, would the Minister give me this answer: does he envisage, or does he not, changes and amendments to the Trade Unions Ordinance? That is what my question boils down to.

Enche' V. Manickavasagam: Sir, if the trade unionists in this country feel that it is necessary, as I have said, I am prepared to consider it. I have also said in my reply, Sir, that I have had discussions on certain proposals submitted by the M.T.U.C.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, if I heard the Honourable Minister correctly, he said that he would reveal

these dynamic details of the dynamic new labour legislation in his Budget speech during the current session?

Enche' V. Manickavasagam: Those are the words of the Honourable Member for Bungsar and quoted by the Honourable Member for Batu, Sir!

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Sir, on a point of clarification. This dynamic labour legislation and programmes were mentioned not in this particular Budget session but when this House discussed His Majesty's Gracious Speech.

Enche' V. Manickavasagam: I have the speech here, Sir. What I said was that "more dynamic approach to labour questions aimed at further improving the lot of the workers of this country"

FEDERAL HIGH WAY FROM KUALA LUMPUR TO KLANG

5. Enche' C. V. Devan Nair asks the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications to state—

- (a) the reasons for long stretches of the Federal Highway from Kuala Lumpur to Klang not being used within a few months of the opening of the highway to traffic;
- (b) why sections of the highway are being dug up;
- (c) whether the Public Works Department is also responsible for the laying of water pipes and if so why did the Department not plan for both the road-making and pipe-laying to be done at the same time; and
- (d) what the estimated cost would be for repairing the stretches of the road dug up.

The Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications (Dato' V. T. Sambanthan): Mr Speaker, Sir, the long stretches of the Federal Highway from Kuala Lumpur to Klang have not been closed to traffic.

The Federal Highway is 19½ miles long. Of this only one carriageway, or dual carriageway, half-a-mile long, has been closed. This has been caused by an earth slip near the Sungei Rasau

Bridge which has damaged the bridge, and it is required that this section of the road be closed. No section of the highway is being dugged up.

The State Public Works Department is responsible for the laying of water mains. The two projects, however, cannot be carried out together because it is necessary to have firm embankments on which pipes can be laid when a new road is being built. It requires that earth moving plant should be able to move over the whole area. If pipes were to be laid at this stage, even before the earth has firmly settled, it will result in damage to such pipes and this is not considered desirable.

As the highway has not been dug up there are no estimates for repairs.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Mr Speaker, Sir, are we to believe that it would be beyond the ingenuity of our engineers to do the road-making and pipe-laying at the same time so that it would not, after the road is constructed, be necessary to dig up the site and so on? Of course I am not an engineer, but I would like an answer.

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: If the Honourable Member had been around when this road was being built he would have observed the large quantities of earth that were being moved and of a new road being made. If he had seen that, he would have been convinced by the fact that it is difficult, or almost impossible, to lay pipes and make the road at the same time. The embankments have got to settle and become hard earth before the workers can really lay the pipes. This is what the engineer told me.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, is the Honourable Minister aware that the bridge that was built near Klang was damaged even before it was opened for use and if so would he give the reasons why and who was responsible for the faulty design of the bridge.

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: If the Honourable Member would refer to the record of the proceedings of this House he would find an adequate answer.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Mr Speaker, Sir, with regard to this building up and unbuilding, constructing and unconstructing, would the Honourable Minister state, for instance, how many times the bridge near the 20th Mile Klang Road has been reconstructed, and why?

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: I have mentioned only one bridge.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not want to be difficult, but would the Minister answer my question: how many times has the bridge been reconstructed?

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, I was also referring to the same bridge. *(Laughter)*.

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: May I have the question again. I could not quite catch the question.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: How many times has the bridge near the 20th Mile Klang Road been unconstructed and reconstructed?

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: The bridge has been constructed only once, Sir. *(Laughter)*.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Can you tell how many times it has been unconstructed?

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: It has not been unconstructed. *(Laughter)*.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Then, how many times has it been reconstructed?

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: Neither has it been reconstructed, Sir. *(Laughter)*.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, may I ask why it has not been opened for use for such a long time? Has there been any fault in design or, perhaps, improvements made to the bridge before it was opened for use?

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: The trouble is that the Honourable Member does not care to look back through the record of the proceedings of this House. He might have remembered that the past Member for Seberang Selatan, Enche' V. Veerappen, asked the same question and I had answered

fairly adequately the question asked then. My only request is that he should go back and look up these records.

AFRO-ASIAN CONCILIATION COMMISSION

6. Dr Tan Chee Khoon asks the Prime Minister to state categorically whether he is prepared to accept an Afro-Asian Conciliation Commission as a first step towards settling the dispute with Indonesia.

The Prime Minister: Mr Speaker, Sir, as far as we are concerned, we have said many times that we accept the principle of the establishment of the Conciliatory Commission to resolve the existing troubles between Indonesia and ourselves. I have said this time and time again and, of course, it must also be understood that we are agreeable to the establishment of the Commission to go into this matter of our dispute, subject of course to them paying due regard to our status as an independent and sovereign country.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, in view of the fact that we are making great efforts—and perhaps quite successful efforts, I am glad to say—to woo the African States, namely, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt, will the Honourable Prime Minister say that he will make use of this new climate to make use of the Afro-Asian group to seek a peaceful solution to this dispute that does nobody any good?

The Prime Minister: Mr Speaker, Sir, we would welcome any offer by any of the Afro-Asian countries to try and make use of their good offices to try and resolve this dispute—I do not care who it is, whether it is from Africa or from Asia. We are pretty tired of all this dispute, because there is no reason for it at all as far as I can see. If the Honourable Member will recall, President Soekarno kept bringing up the question of the Maphilindo decision. The Maphilindo decision, in fact, means that we agreed to invite the Secretary-General of the United Nations to try and assess the views and desires of the people in these

territories. The offer was accepted and the work was done, but President Soekarno refused to accept it, because it does not seem to agree with his own whims and fancies. At that very conference we agreed to accept the services of the Afro-Asian countries, and I kept on mentioning it in the Commonwealth Conference and, I think, my colleague, Tun Haji Abdul Razak, is also making the same suggestion wherever he went, and it is our hope and our prayer that the Afro-Asian countries will take this opportunity to make this offer and we will gladly accept, subject as I have said just now, to the respect due to us as a sovereign independent State.

RELAXATION OF IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS IN THE BORNEO TERRITORIES

7. Dr Tan Chee Khoon asks the Minister of Home Affairs to state whether he intends to relax immigration restrictions to permit immigrants from Formosa to enter the Borneo territories.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Dato' Dr Ismail bin Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman): Sir, the question of relaxation of immigration restrictions in the Borneo territories is a matter for the two State Authorities as provided in the Immigration Act of 1963.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, has not the Federal Government some say on this, because the danger is that if there is an influx of labour from Formosa into the Borneo territories, then, perhaps, the under-employed or the unemployed labourers in this country may not have the chance of a gainful employment.

Dato' Dr Ismail: Sir, Members of the Opposition have always reminded me to obey the rule of the law, to be constitutional, and now it is suggested that I should not do so. *(Laughter).*

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, I did not say that. *(Laughter).*

Enche' Stephen Yong Kuet Tze (Sarawak): Is this not the position, Sir, the arrangement of immigration is under the overall control of the

Central Government but the States will be consulted on matters concerning immigration?

Dato' Dr Ismail: Sir, the Honourable Member is a learned Member and I suggest that he should study the Inter-Governmental Agreement under which we set up Malaysia.

ENTRY OF PEOPLE FROM STATES OF MALAYA TO THE BORNEO STATES

8. Dr Tan Chee Khoon asks the Minister of Home Affairs to state whether he would liberalise travel of Malaysians to Sabah and Sarawak in view of the statement by Sabah's Chief Minister and to promote better understanding between the peoples of Malaysia.

Dato' Dr Ismail: Sir, as I have stated in my reply to the previous question by the Honourable Member, entry into Sabah and Sarawak is in the hands of the State Governments. However, there has been no unreasonable restriction imposed on the entry to the Borneo States of people from the States of Malaya and entry has, in fact, been allowed freely. Indeed workers from Malaya are welcomed into the Borneo States and preference is given to them over persons from outside Malaysia. It is hoped—now I can only say the word “hoped”—that eventually the Borneo States may be prepared to reconsider the present arrangement and allow free movement altogether within Malaysia subject to minimum safeguards as to security measures.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, I am very glad for this “hope” expressed by the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs. But in view of the statement by the Sabah Chief Minister that he would liberalise travel of Malaysians and in view of this new spirit of harmonisation that is now prevailing in this House as expounded by the Honourable Minister of Finance, will the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs make use of his good offices with the Sabah Government to further ease the travel restrictions—I do not mean by force—between

Malaya and Sabah. I say so, Mr Speaker, Sir, because two days ago two patients of mine came to see me at my dispensary and asked me to sign passports for entry into Sabah. That, to me, looks a little odd as we are all one in Malaysia; and, again, in the interest of harmonisation that should not be so.

Dato' Dr Ismail: Well, Sir, as regards the Honourable Member being asked to sign the passports, I consider that it is part of his duty to do so as a Member of Parliament.

Now, as regards making use of my good offices I always do so in the interest of Malaysia.

TELEPHONE SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS IN SARAWAK

9. Abang Othman bin Haji Moasili (Sarawak) asks the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications to state if Government will provide telephone services to rural areas in Sarawak, such as the new villages of Kampong Gita and Kuching, and also sea-side areas, such as Goebli which used to have a telephone service.

Dato' V. T. Sambanthan: Mr Speaker, Sir, it is the intention of the Government to provide telephone services to rural areas in Sarawak. The extent of this will, of course, depend upon the financial provision available, the cost of different schemes and upon the density of population in given areas. The First Malaysia Plan will indicate the extent in which rural areas will be provided with telephones. The provision of telephones in the places mentioned in question is being looked into.

TRADE SCHOOLS IN SARAWAK—ESTABLISHMENT

10. Enche' Chia Chin Shin (Sarawak) asks the Minister of Education to state if the Ministry has any plans to start Trade Schools throughout the State of Sarawak to train boys who have passed the local Junior Examination to encourage them to enter into trade, in view of the large scale of Rural Development Schemes now in progress in Sarawak.

The Minister of Education (Enche' Abdul Rahman bin Haji Talib): Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member will be pleased to know that the Adviser for Technical Education in the Ministry of Education is to visit Sarawak shortly to advise on Technical Education in general. At the moment there is a Trade School in Kuching where courses in Carpentry and Joinery, and Machine Shop work are running and where an Electrical Installation Course will be started as soon as instructors can be recruited.

There is also a flourishing Commercial Institute in Kuching, a second has been started this year in Sibu and other centres may be opened later.

The further development of Trade Training will depend on the recommendations of the Adviser and the availability of funds.

SALARY STRUCTURE OF CIVIL SERVICES IN SARAWAK

Commission of Inquiry

11. Enche' Chia Chin Shin asks the Prime Minister whether a Commission of Inquiry will be set up to review the salary structure of civil services in Sarawak and if so, when will it be able to start with enquiry in Sarawak.

The Prime Minister: Mr Speaker, Sir, the information which I have before me here is that the question of a Commission to enquire into the salaries structure of the public services in Sarawak as well as in Sabah has already been agreed to in 1963. The recommendation set out in paragraph 32 of Annex B of the Malaysia Report of the Inter-Governmental Committee, 1962, is that the Federal Government and the State Governments of Sarawak and Sabah agreed to set up a joint Commission to enquire into and make recommendations on—

- (a) bringing terms and conditions of service throughout the Federal Public Service in Malaysia into line;
- (b) whether officers in Divisions III to V serving in Federalised Departments in Sarawak and Sabah may opt to join the

Federal Public Service of Malaysia; and

- (c) whether Federal conditions should apply to officers who join the Federal Public Service but continue to serve in Sarawak and Sabah.

Sir, I will undertake to remind the Governments of Sabah and Sarawak to try and implement immediately this agreement reached in 1963 in the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Enche' Chia Chin Shin: Mr Speaker, Sir, is the Prime Minister aware that the 1963 Watson Salary Structure Commission did not benefit the local civil servants but benefited the expatriates only?

The Prime Minister: I am not aware of that, Sir. I will look into it. If it is as alleged, then we will try and set up another commission to go into the whole thing. I can assure the Honourable Member that we will try and do it as quickly as we can.

Enche' Chia Chin Shin: Is the Prime Minister aware that the local civil servants in Sarawak are feeling discontented with the existing salary structure?

The Prime Minister: I am not quite aware, but I presume it must be so. *(Laughter).*

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Is the Honourable the Prime Minister aware that the Federal Secretary to the Bornean States is in receipt of expatriation pay, and is the Prime Minister also aware that in view of this we, Malaysians, may be regarded as expatriates in the Bornean States and, therefore, the Bornean States may be regarded as colonies and we as the imperial master?

The Prime Minister: Well, as I said, there are so many things happening in that part of our territory. However, they themselves, when the Commission was set up to go into the question of these territories joining Malaysia, agreed to accept expatriate officers from abroad instead of the so-called expatriate officers from Malaya and

Singapore. However, as I said, I presume there have been quite a lot of things existing in the present service in both Sabah and Sarawak which are not quite satisfactory; and whether we have the right to set up a commission to go into the matter now, in view of the agreement reached in 1963, is a matter which I would like to have a little bit of time to study, before I can give my answer now.

Enche' Chia Chin Shin: Sir, is the Prime Minister aware that S.A.G.O.U. does not accept the 1963 Watson Report because local civil servants did not benefit from his recommendation? Will the Prime Minister consider taking early steps to investigate into this matter?

The Prime Minister: We will, Mr Speaker.

DEVELOPMENT OF KUALA BARAM (SARAWAK) INTO A PORT

12. Enche' Chia Chin Shin asks the Minister of Transport to state whether the Ministry has any plans to develop Kuala Baram into a Port for 1,000-ton steamers and if so, when will this scheme be started.

The Minister of Transport (Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir): Mr Speaker, Sir, a sum of \$30,000 is entered as item 12, Head 198—Ports—of the Development Estimates for 1965 to finance an investigation into the requirements of Kuala Baram port. Plans for developing this port will depend on the result of the investigation.

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDER 66 (2)

(Motion)

Extension of Second Reading of the Supply Bill, 1965

The Minister of Home Affairs (Dato' Dr Ismail): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move,

That Standing Order 66 (2) be suspended insofar as is necessary to enable the House to debate the motion for the second reading of the Supply Bill, 1965, for two more days on Wednesday and Thursday, 2nd and 3rd December, 1964.

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

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That Standing Order 66 (2) be suspended insofar as is necessary to enable the House to debate the motion for the second reading of the Supply Bill, 1965, for two more days on Wednesday and Thursday, 2nd and 3rd December, 1964.

BILL

THE SUPPLY BILL, 1965

Second Reading

Order read for resumption of debate on motion, "That the Bill be now read a second time" (30th November, 1964).

Mr Speaker: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, oleh kerana masa perbahathan atas dasar Rang Undang² Perbekalan, 1965 ini di-lanjutkan daripada tiga hingga lima hari ada-lah berma'ana ia-itu Ahli² akan mendapat lebih peluang untuk berchakap atas dasar² Kerajaan. Saya harap apabila sampai masa-nya untuk Majlis ini membincangkan Jadual Jawatan-kuasa Perbekalan, Ahli² Yang Berhormat boleh-lah membahathkan sa-mata² kepada butir² atau detail-nya dan tidak lagi kepada dasar 'am. Saya harap dengan kerjasama Ahli² Yang Berhormat dapat kita memendekkan masa perbahathan dalam Jawatan-kuasa. Terima kaseh.

Enche' Stephen Yong Kuet Tze (Sarawak): Mr Speaker, Sir, when I said that if loans are required, it should be the Government's declared policy to raise loans locally rather than from abroad, because it stands to reason that the interests paid on domestic loans would remain in the country. It not only prevents the outflow of money but it is one way of ensuring that there will be savings in this country. We all know that the result of free spending as opposed to saving would lead to inflation—that is something which we hope would not happen here. I think the Finance Minister may have this in mind when he says that the Government is considering raising the rates of interest on Post Office Savings Bank deposits. Well, I would myself, Sir,

urge that Government should not only consider it but should implement it, because this will be a step in the right direction.

Last year we were told in this House that it was the Government's intention to institute a sickness insurance scheme, so that those who are unlucky enough to be struck down with serious illnesses will not have to suffer an additional burden for themselves and for their children in the hours of distress. That, Sir, of course, is a very commendable measure. But we want to ask what has become of this scheme. Has it been introduced? If so, I regret to say that we in Borneo have not heard anything about it; but, if not, I think the Honourable Minister of Finance owes this House an explanation.

Now, Sir, I would like to turn to the proposed tax changes. We have heard of criticisms levelled against the undesirability and the inequity of the turnover tax and the payroll tax, on the main ground, that these taxes are not based on the principle of profitability. The Minister of Finance has mentioned that he has introduced these taxes in place of purchase tax. However, he said that he did not introduce purchase tax because of the difficulty in collecting it and that there was not the machinery for the collection of it. Well, Sir, there may be administrative difficulties, but I would say that the turnover tax and the payroll tax cannot take the place of the purchase tax because, generally speaking, purchase tax is levied on non-essential goods, and commodities essential to daily life are usually exempted. If it was the intention of the Government to levy the purchase tax, but for want of the machineries to collect it, and if it was intended to be a burden to be imposed on consumers, then why cannot it be done by increasing the excise duties on goods produced locally and impose higher import duties on goods imported from abroad? That would, at least, be less objectionable and, by exempting therefrom essential commodities, then you will bring it in line with the principle of purchase tax.

The other one is the capital gains tax. Much has been said on this, and I do not wish to dwell very long on this matter but I merely wish to point out here that in 1963 the Government, by way of encouraging intending house purchasers to own their own houses, had exempted from income tax the net annual value of a house occupied by the owner. Now, with this capital gains tax, a person who wishes to buy a house of his own will have to bear the incidence of this capital gains tax. Then where is the encouragement for the intending house purchaser?

The Minister of Finance, by way of harmonizing the tax system, proposes to do away with the business profit tax in Sarawak and replace it by a graduated tax rate. In doing so, he has overlooked the background of most of the small businesses in Sarawak. These businessmen are mostly concerned with family businesses. Perhaps, one or two of the people concerned would appear in the register as partners and the rest are not registered as such. On the flat rate basis which we had before, this does not matter. But with the introduction of this graduated rate, these people will, I am afraid, suffer unless provisions are made to have the sleeping partners registered as partners. The Minister of Finance says that this new graduated tax rate will have the effect of encouraging business firms to form themselves into companies with limited liabilities. That may be feasible, Sir, in cases of traders and merchants, but it would not be available to professional people.

The Minister of Finance has referred to the assurance contained in paragraph 24 of the 1962 Inter-Government Committee Report of introducing tax changes to Sarawak by gradual stages. Yet he sees fit to introduce a drastic change which, I am afraid, will have crippling effect on the middle-income groups in Sarawak.

In his speech, the Minister of Finance says that the Government

attaches great importance to education as a means not only of improving the social aspirations of our people but also as a major factor in achieving a faster rate of economic development. Sir, it is precisely on this premise that we in Sarawak have constantly urged that free primary education, not mentioning the comprehensive lower secondary education, be introduced to Sarawak. The Minister of Education, in his answer to a question earlier, has said that negotiations are still going on with the State Government about this. Sir, these negotiations seem to have taken a long time. If I remember rightly, it has taken about a year. Therefore, we would ask the question, "What is so difficult about the negotiations?" It appears to be very puzzling to people in Sarawak. If there is this difficulty in administering the scheme for lack of machinery, then, as we have suggested earlier on in the State as well as here previously, let us, as a first step, abolish the payment of fees for school children who are already in schools. Now, why cannot this suggestion be accepted at once? Is it the question of money? I am told and I understand that all this exercise would involve something like \$2 million—that, of course, is a very small sum in the context of the national Budget. Therefore, it cannot be a question of money, and we are, therefore, driven to the inevitable conclusion that there may be other unmentionable factors which the Minister of Education does not care to make them known to this House. I think we in this House and the people of Sarawak are entitled to know what these factors are. This question of free primary education has been dangling before us for quite some time, in fact it was one of the privileges that we were told that we would have by joining Malaysia.

The Honourable Member for Tanjong did mention about the re-examination or review of the educational policies of the Government. I would endorse that view, particularly because of the changed conditions that we now find ourselves in. The

educational policy, as I understand it, was formulated when there was only the Federation of Malaya but now there has been a change in the political scene in that the Federation of Malaya is only part of the Federation of Malaysia, and in view of the fact that we have now as members of this new Federation people of different cultural background, and people of different racial origins, it is important that for the development of this country, and for the future of this country, the existing educational policy should be looked into again.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in view of the increasing expenditure on defence and internal security and the impending deficit, the Finance Minister, I think rightly, proposes to postpone or eliminate non-essential development expenditure. In this connection, Sir, I would urge that the Finance Minister should see to it that the money be not spent on luxuries, or luxurious Government buildings. I think "austerity" should be the call of the day, and the essence of public buildings or Government buildings ought to be on utility rather than on appearance. I think we have spent far too much on putting up imposing buildings for exterior show rather than for the utility of it.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I come to another question, the question of local councils. We know that in Malaysia nearly all the towns and cities are being run by local councils or municipalities. Now that we have a Minister for Local Government, who is responsible for the running of the local councils and municipalities, I think he should see to it that the councillors now serving in the Local Councils in Sarawak should receive the same treatment as their counterparts in the Peninsula States. In other words, I think he should see to it that the monthly allowances received or payable to Local Councillors here should be paid to the Local Councillors in Sarawak; after all, they are the same as their counterparts here—they were elected by their electorates in the discharge of their public duties.

Take the case of the Kuching Municipal Council, which is autonomous and fully elected, and although the President of the Council is expected to put in full-time work, he is not paid anything at all, or any allowance at all. That, Sir, obviously is an anomaly and the Minister concerned, I hope, will rectify this so as to bring into line with what is the practice here and what is expected by us in Sarawak.

Furthermore, I would ask the Minister concerned to prevail upon the State Government to give autonomy to the larger Councils. In Sarawak, for instance, Sibu and Miri are run by elected Councillors but have no autonomy in that the Resident, who is a paid Government official, has concurrent jurisdiction with the Council. Again, Sir, that is an anomaly which I hope will be put right.

The next matter which I wish to touch on is utilisation of State land. The development schemes for the States for which large sums of money are being spent, in my view, cannot succeed unless there is a proper utilisation of State land. We know, of course, that under the Constitution, land is under the control of the State Governments. But I think the Central Government should interest itself in the proper utilisation of land. We, in Sarawak, have plenty of land but, unfortunately, much of it is tied, in the sense that the land is held under customary rights. That, in some way, was necessary before because this land was reserved for natives for the simple reason that they were unable to eke out a living unless they have this land for the growing of padi. Now things have changed; the order of the day is not so much in using land for padi growing, because much of it could be used more profitably for some other crops. Therefore, I think, it is necessary that in the interest of the development of the country that such land ought to be acquired provided, of course, adequate compensation is paid for the acquisition.

Now, Sir, I would like to touch on the Civil Service. We know there is a quota system in Malaya. It is written down in the Constitution. So far, we have not had such a provision in the State of Sarawak or, I believe, in the State of Sabah. It may well be politically expedient to have this provision in the States of Malaya but it does not, to my mind, contribute to a sense of oneness and a feeling of belonging to one Malaysian nation. I hope, therefore, that this provision should not be extended to Sarawak. Again, in the matter of promotion, particularly at this time of national emergency, I think we should see to it that promotion of officers in the Civil Service should be not on racial line but on personal merits. Sir, I mention this because during my short stay here in Kuala Lumpur I have heard complaints of officers being promoted not on personal merits. Now, if that is true, I would say that that is a sure way of making some serving officers unhappy and becoming frustrated. As I have said, at this time of national emergency, when we expect all Government servants to do their work properly, we cannot afford to have a discontented Civil Service and, therefore, we must see to it that serving officers with the best personal merits and not their racial origin will be selected or promoted. It is only by the co-operation of a contented Civil Service can we expect the machinery of the Government to be run efficiently and properly.

Enche' Ali bin Haji Ahmad (Pontian Selatan): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong Bill D.R. No. 22/64 mengenai Anggaran Belanja tahun 1965. Ada-lah menjadi satu hal yang mengemirakan dan menggalakkan saya bahawa kewangan dan ekonomi negara Malaysia kita ini tetap tegoh, walau pun di-ancam oleh konfrontasi Indonesia, sama ada yang berupa ancaman politik international, atau pun merupakan ancaman ekonomi dan ketenteraan. Dalam sa-panjang bahathan daripada Parti² Pembangkang, saya dapati tidak ada yang menarik perhatian dan yang hendak mengemukakan

sa-barang yang baik-nya daripada budget yang di-kemukakan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan. Patut-lah kita berasa shukor bahawa walau pun dengan keadaan yang ada sekarang ini keadaan kewangan dan ekonomi negara kita tetap tegap dan kokoh.

Ahli daripada Barisan Sosialis mengatakan bahawa dengan sebab terbentuk-nya Malaysia ini timbul-lah deficit dalam kewangan negara kita. Tetapi Ahli daripada Barisan Sosialis itu lupa, atau tidak mengetahui tentang keadaan kewangan negara², terutama sa-kali negara² yang chepat membangun. Di-dalam negara² khas-nya yang chepat membangun, soal deficit dalam kewangan negara, adalah merupakan satu perkara yang biasa, sebab banyak daripada wang diperlukan untuk ranchangan² yang mendatangkan faedah bagi kemajuan dan pembangunan negara. Jadi, untuk menyalahkan Kerajaan Perikatan tentang deficit kewangan negara ini, oleh kerana terbentuk-nya Malaysia, ada-lah sa-bagai satu daleh yang amat tipis untuk menyembunyikan kejahilan kita sa-bagai politician dalam negeri ini, atau pun sengaja hendak menchari sebab, walau pun pada langang sa-helai untuk menyalahkan Kerajaan Perikatan. Kalau begitu-lah Barisan Sosialis dalam negara kita, maka peranan-nya sa-bagai Parti Pembangkang dalam negara ini hanya-lah merupakan yang hendak menjatuhkan, yang hendak merosakkan negara kita, bukan-lah peranan-nya sa-bagai Loyal Opposition kepada negara sa-bagaimana yang terdapat di-negara² barat, mithal-nya di-United Kingdom. Kalau-lah Parti² Pembangkang, sa-umpama Barisan Sosialis tidak dapat memainkan peranan-nya sa-bagai Loyal Opposition, sa-bagai constructive Opposition, maka di-sini-lah timbul soal hak-nya untuk hidup sa-bagai parti, sa-bagai sa-buah parti yang memperjuangkan ideology-nya dalam negara democracy. Patut-kah tidak di-beri hak kepada parti yang sa-umpama ini untuk hidup dalam negara kita ini? Soal yang amat penting di-pertimbangkan sekarang, kalau Parti Pembangkang tidak dapat

memainkan peranan-nya sa-bagai Pembangkang yang ta'at setia kepada negara ini ia-lah harus-lah kita per-timbangkan soal menghapuskan hak ini bagi mereka.

Satu lagi perkara yang di-lupakan sama sa-kali oleh Parti² Pembangkang di-dalam Dewan ini ia-lah tentang harmonization policy dalam budget kita. Patut kita ingat, kita sekarang terdiri daripada berbagai² keturunan, ugama dan berbagai² lagi. Kita sedang menuju kepada satu proses untuk melebeh-eratkan perpaduan antara bangsa kita, perpaduan seluroh wilayah Malaysia. Ini-lah salah satu policy kewangan kita yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan. Erti-nya dengan chara budget yang di-buat sa-bagitu rupa, kita menuju kepada harmonization, erti-nya menyamakan sa-beberapa rapat antara berbagai² wilayah di-dalam negara Malaysia ini.

Ini juga tidak di-salorkan oleh Parti² Pembangkang di-dalam negara kita. Kalau bagini-lah peranan Parti² Pembangkang di-dalam negara kita, atau di-dalam Dewan ini, maka hanya-lah Parti Pembangkang ini menjadi tukang chachat sa-mata², ta' lebeh daripada itu.

Sekarang hanya-lah yang timbul soal chara mengenakan chukai. Itu sahaja. Tentang soal harmonization policy, tentang soal peruntukan² ini, saya rasa tidak ada yang membangkang. Hanya-lah soal chara mengenakan chukai sa-bagaimana yang di-perkatakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri Singapura, dan juga rakan²-nya serta beberapa orang lain yang ada sedikit sa-banyak peranan yang constructive dalam Dewan ini. Itu sahaja, chara mengenakan chukai. Ini yang sa-benar²-nya, dan terpulang-lah kepada kacha mata masing² orang dan kacha mata parti-nya sendiri. Ta' lebeh daripada itu. Jadi, pada keselurohan-nya, Anggaran Perbelanjaan bagi tahun 1965 ini merupakan satu Anggaran Perbelanjaan yang kuat, yang tegap, yang kokoh, yang sihat untuk pembenaan satu negara Malaysia yang jauh lebeh kuat, jauh lebeh bersatu padu pada masa akan datang.

Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Barisan Sosialis ada berkata bahawa dengan pembentokan Malaysia ini kita terpaksa menguntokkan lebeh banyak wang untuk pertahanan dan keselamatan dalam negeri. Jahil-kah Ahli Yang Berhormat itu bahawa dahulu kalau-lah perbelanjaan untuk pertahanan dan keselamatan dalam negeri ini kechil kerana kawasan-nya kechil, kerana kawasan yang di-liputi hanya-lah Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, sedang sekarang sudah lebeh luas daripada itu? Jadi sudah "natural" bertambah-nya peruntokan untuk pertahanan dan keselamatan dalam negeri.

Satu lagi Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Barisan Sosialis itu menyalahkan Kerajaan Perikatan kerana membentok Malaysia yang menyebabkan konferantasi Indonesia. Saya pun belum-lah pasti betul sama ada Ahli Yang Berhormat itu jahil atau buat² ta' tahu untuk memberikan sebab mengkeritik Kerajaan Perikatan. Konferantasi Indonesia yang berjalan sejak mula terbentok-nya Malaysia bukan-lah satu perkara yang baharu. Bibit konferantasi Indonesia itu telah tertanam dan tersemai semenjak tahun 1945 lagi, semenjak Panatia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, sudah tersemai-lah bibit ini. Tidak payah-lah saya ulangi dengan panjang lebar. Sa-siapa juga yang mempelajari sejarah, atau sa-tidak²-nya membacha sambil lalu sejarah Asia Tenggara atau pun sejarah Kepulauan Melayu ini, akan dapat mengerti bahawa Sukarno dan Mohd. Yamin telah berchita² untuk menelan Tanah Melayu, Singapura, Selatan Thailand, Sarawak, Sabah dan lain² untuk di-masokkan ka-dalam wilayah Indonesia, manakala gulungan bekas Naib President, Dr Mohd. Hatta, menyatakan tentang Malaya dan lain² wilayah terpulang-lah kepada ra'ayat-nya sendiri, sama ada untuk bersatu, sama ada untuk berhubong rapat dengan Indonesia atau apa pun terpulang-lah kepada ra'ayat itu sendiri. Tetapi di-dalam pengundian dalam Panatia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, gulungan Sukarno dan Mohd. Yamin telah menang. Erti-nya sejak tahun

1945 lagi bibit atau beneh konferantasi atau beneh untuk mengganyang negara kita telah tersemai. Jadi, untuk menyalahkan Kerajaan Perikatan yang menyebabkan konferantasi Indonesia itu ada-lah satu daleh yang salah sama sa-kali dari segi sejarah. Ini menunjokkan sama ada Barisan Sosialis jahil atau pun sengaja memutarbelitkan kenyataan dan kebenaran.

Ini-lah peranan parti Pembangkang sa-umpama Barisan Sosialis di-negara kita. Sa-tiap hujah dan sa-tiap langkah-nya, sama ada di-dalam atau pun di-luar Dewan Ra'ayat ini, sama ada sa-chara kasar atau sa-chara halus ada-lah bertujuan untuk menghanchorkan negara kita—negara Malaysia. Apa-kah Ahli daripada Barisan Sosialis itu mahu kita di-telan oleh "regime" Sukarno dalam mana saya tidak fikir Ahli daripada Barisan Sosialis itu pun dapat hidup dengan baik. Kalau kita menjadi mangsa Sukarno, maka negara kita tidak akan menjadi begitu sahaja, negara kita akan menjadi medan perjuangan—medan rebutan kuasa dunia. Kominis China tidak akan diam. Mahu-kah kita, negara kita dan kehidupan kita di-jadikan pertarongan politik negara² luar, dan kita hanchor? Gajah sama gajah berjuang, pelandok mati tersepit. Ini-lah nasib yang di-perjuangkan oleh Barisan Sosialis dari Singapura. Kalau-lah Ahli daripada Barisan Sosialis itu maseh jahil lagi tentang sejarah sila-lah belajar lagi tentang sejarah sa-belum masuk ka-lapangan politik—sejarah negara kita, sejarah Kepulauan Melayu dan sejarah Asia Tenggara.

Pandang-lah masaalah negara kita ini dalam jangka "prospective" dan jangan-lah pandang sa-mata² daripada muslihat parti, kechuali-lah kalau Parti Barisan Sosialis berjuang untuk chita² mu'tamad untuk menegakkan negara kominis di-Malaysia ini. Kalau itu-lah perjuangan-nya menasabah-lah dengan tindak-tandok ucapan dan perjuangan Barisan Sosialis, sama ada di-dalam atau di-luar Dewan yang mulia ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya amat berbesar hati walau pun negara kita

sedang di-ancham dari berbagai segi, sama ada ekonomi, politik dan ketenteraan, maka di-dalam Bill ini saya dapati sa-bilangan yang terbesar daripada peruntukan itu tetap juga untuk ranchangan² social, sama ada pelajaran, kesihatan dan lain² lagi. Kalau kita bandingkan-lah dengan negara² yang baharu merdeka lain tidak banyak kita dapati Bill atau Anggaran Perbelanjaan yang sumpama ini. Kita lihat sahaja-lah di-Indonesia, untuk pembangunan negara bukan sahaja tidak ada peruntukan, Budget-nya pun tidak ada, apa lagi hendak di-katakan Budget di-kemukakan sa-belum menjelangnya sa-suatu tahun itu. Kita di-sini di-bawah Kerajaan Perikatan bernasib baik dapat menatap Anggaran Perbelanjaan bagi tahun yang kita hadapi, dan daripada Anggaran Perbelanjaan itu kita dapati sa-bahagian besar daripada peruntukan ia-lah di-beri kerana hal² social seperti pelajaran, kesihatan dan lain²-nya. Jadi, kita maseh berasa dalam keadaan yang baik oleh kerana keadaan negara kita walau pun di-ancham dari berbagai segi kita maseh memberi kepentingan untuk kerja² yang mendatangkan faedah yang membangun kepada negara kita. Ini tidak di-nampak atau sengaja tidak mahu di-sebut² oleh banyak daripada parti² Pembangkang di-dalam Dewan ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang saya ingin mengalehkan perhatian kepada soal pelajaran dan bahasa atau "multi-lingualism". Yang Berhormat dari Tanjong—dia tidak ada dalam Dewan ini—dan juga Ahli dari Ipoh—juga tidak ada—sa-lepas menghentam tidak mahu mendengar "argument" daripada orang lain. Mereka ini telah beruchap dalam Dewan ini berkali², boleh di-katakan sa-tiap kali mereka bangun menuntut di-reviu (review) dasar pelajaran kebangsaan, menuntut di-aku² "multi-lingualism" di-negara kita. Kita patut ingati bahawa dasar pelajaran kebangsaan kita ia-lah dasar pelajaran yang paling sa-suai dalam keadaan yang ada seperti hari ini. Tujuan yang utama ia-lah melebeh-eratkan perpaduan di-antara kaum² yang ada

dalam negeri ini. Jadi, kalau kita maseh hendak kepada bahasa China, bahasa Tamil dan bahasa Ingeris apa-kah bahasa perpaduan dalam negara kita? Ada-kah adil mithalnya—sa-belum itu patut-lah saya tegaskan di-sini orang² yang bukan Melayu dan bumi putera harus-lah berterima kaseh kepada bangsa Melayu dan bumi putera bahawa kita semua telah sanggup menerima mereka sa-bagai warga-negara yang sama dengan kita. Mereka harus berterima kaseh.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh dan Yang Berhormat dari Tanjong itu tidak berterima kaseh kepada penerimaan kita ini.

Dan apabila kita telah dengan suka rela menerima mereka menjadi warga negara sama dengan kita, mereka hendak menimpakan pula ka-atas kita akan kehendak² mereka yang tidak dapat kita terima. Perchaya-lah, semua orang Melayu dan bumi putera tidak akan menerima multi-lingualism di-negara kita. Don't push this issue into the throats of the Malays and other natives. This is my warning. Otherwise we won't achieve a united Malaysian nation. I repeat—this is my warning, the warning of the Malays and other natives in this country—"Don't try to push it again into the throats of the Malays and other natives." Mendesak multi-lingualism dalam keadaan negara kita menghadapi anchaman daripada Indonesia ini satu soal yang merbahaya. Dalam masa orang² Melayu dan bumi putera yang lain-nya hampir 100 peratus berdiri di-bela-kang Malaysia mempertahankan keutuhan dan kemerdekaan Malaysia, chauvinist² asing—chauvinist China dan lain² lagi—menggunakan kesempatan ini mendesak tuntutan-nya ka-atas negara kita. Tetapi ingat-lah: jangan di-desak orang² Melayu dan bumi putera sampai ka-tembok, sampai nanti mereka akan meninjau semula sikap mereka terhadap Malaysia. Kalau sampai orang Melayu meninjau sikap mereka terhadap negara Malaysia maka yang akan di-persalahkan ia-lah chauvinist² China, chauvinist² lain-nya sama ada

di-luar atau pun di-dalam Dewan yang mulia ini, sama ada daripada parti lawan atau daripada parti kawan. Ini-lah orang²-nya nanti yang akan bertanggung-jawab kalau sa-kira-nya orang² Melayu meninjau kembali sikap mereka terhadap Malaysia. Jangan-lah di-desak orang² Melayu dan bumi putera yang lain supaya meninjau kembali kalau kita mahukan Malaysia ini tetap kokoh, tetap merdeka sa-lama²-nya. Saya berharap soal multi-lingualism ini jangan di-bangkit²kan kembali. Sa-tiap kali di-bangkitkan soal multi-lingualism saya akan tetap menentang-nya walau di-mana sa-kali pun. Saya akan menentang-nya; bukan kerana saya chauvinist Melayu tetapi saya sayangkan bangsa Malaysia—bangsa Malaysia untuk semua orang, untuk orang Melayu, untuk orang lain² bumi putera, orang² China, untuk orang India dan lain² lagi. Untuk ini-lah maka saya mempertahankan Malaysia, saya tidak mahu Malaysia roboh, saya tidak mahu Malaysia hancor, sebab itu saya menentang multi-lingualism. Saya tahu benar² isi hati perut orang Melayu, hati perut bumi putera dalam negeri ini. Oleh kerana itu berhentikan-lah menuntut multi-lingualism, berhentikan-lah tuntutan supaya di-review balek Undang² Pelajaran Kebangsaan dengan tujuan untuk mengaku², untuk membenarkan multi-lingualism.

Kalau-lah kita maseh sayangkan Malaysia maka berhenti-lah, sa-kali lagi saya berseru berhentikan-lah tuntutan multi-lingualism daripada mana sa-kali pun, sama ada daripada parti² Pembangkang saperti Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Tanjong, saperti Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh atau pun Ahli dari Bandar Melaka sa-kali pun. Dalam hal ini Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bandar Melaka itu nampak-nya sudah melanggar tatatertib atau discipline parti. Saya berharap akan di-berhentikan-lah soal ini. Jadi sekarang sa-benar-nya chauvinism² ini merupakan alat kepada Seokarno dan lain² kuasa yang hendak mengganyang Malaysia; chauvinism apa

sa-kali pun merupakan alat untuk menghanchorkan Malaysia. Ini-lah yang kita hadapkan. Jadi kalau kita terus-menerus mengemukakan tuntutan² chauvinistic bagini maka kita sendiri-lah yang mengganyang Malaysia. Di-sini timbul-lah persoalan, ada-kah chauvinist² ini ejen Indonesia di-negara kita? Ada-kah chauvinist² yang menuntut multi-lingualism saperti Ahli daripada Tanjong dan Ahli dari Ipoh dan juga Ahli dari Bandar Melaka yang tidak hadir di-sini merupakan ejen Indonesia? Saya harap-lah Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri tinjau²-lah perkara ini sebab chara halus-nya ini-lah perjuangan orang² ini. Perjuangan² kumpulan ini merupakan perjuangan² ejen Indonesia, erti-nya hendak mengganyang Malaysia, hendak menghanchorkan Malaysia.

Dalam soal bahasa ini saya rasa kita di-sini mahu bekerjasama dengan Indonesia dalam bidang bahasa, kebudayaan dan sa-bagai-nya. Jadi oleh kerana konfrantasi ini tergendala kerjasama² dalam bidang² kebudayaan, bahasa dan sa-bagai-nya. Saya shorkan kepada pehak Kerajaan ia-itu supaya kita laksanakan-lah sa-berapa segera ejaan baharu bahasa kebangsaan kita. Sebab ejaan rumi kita yang ada pada hari ini kurang rational—kurang scientific, ejaan ini asal-nya di-reka oleh pegawai² Inggeris yang sa-benar-nya tidak begitu faham tentang bahasa Melayu. Kalau-lah ejaan bahasa Inggeris tidak scientific maka tidak perlu-lah kita mesti mengaku bahawa supaya ejaan bahasa Melayu kurang scientific. Jadi saya harap ejaan baharu ini di-laksanakan dengan sa-berapa segera. Sebab bila sa-makin lama di-biarkan ejaan yang lama ini berjalan terus, sa-makin banyak buku² di-terbitkan sa-makin sulit nanti kita hendak mengubah, hendak merationalizekan ejaan bahasa kebangsaan kita, sa-bagaimana masalaah yang di-hadapi oleh ejaan bahasa Inggeris. Sudah tidak dapat di-ubah lagi kechuali sedikit² dapat di-ubah oleh mereka. Jadi sa-belum masalaah ini merupakan masalaah yang rumit nanti kita laksanakan-lah ejaan yang baharu

sebab ejaan yang baharu jauh lebih mudah, jauh lebih rational, jauh lebih scientific daripada yang ada di-reka oleh pegawai² Inggeris dahulu yang tidak begitu dalam pengalamannya tentang bahasa Melayu.

Sekarang saya pergi pula kepada soal kebudayaan. Dalam keadaan negara kita sa-umpama ini ya'ani keturunan yang berbilang bangsa yang jauh berbeza² latar belakang kebudayaan-nya, dan masing² dengan sikap-nya bahkan sa-tengah²-nya pula terlalu chauvinistic: kita pertahankan kebudayaan China, tumbuh-lah Nanyang University, kita memper-tahankan ini tumbuh-lah gerakan multi-lingualism atau sa-bagai-nya. Kita perlu membentok satu bangsa yang bersatu padu. Sa-lagi chauvinism asing hendak di-timpakan di-atas negara ini maka sa-lagi itu sulit-lah kita hendak mencapai perpaduan bangsa Malaysia yang tulin dan yang kokoh. Jadi kita perlu-lah membentok atau pun menchiptakan proses pembentokan satu kebudayaan Malaysia yang bersatu padu, yang tulin serta yang berjejakkan bumi Malaysia dan bukan-lah transplantation kebudayaan² asing di-negeri ini dan hendak di-timpakan atas negeri ini. Saya rasa peruntokan untuk kebudayaan ini maseh terlalu sedikit ia-itu mithal-nya sa-orang sahaja pegawai kebudayaan dalam Kementerian Belia dan Sukan. Ini saya harap dapat di-tambahkan.

Dan juga perlu-lah saya menarek perhatian Dewan yang mulia ini bahawa pada beberapa tahun dahulu tokoh² kebudayaan dan ilmu pengetahuan Melayu telah berunding, telah mengadakan Congress di-Melaka dan telah menerima konsep yang sampai hari ini saya pertahankan ia-itu oleh kerana saya anggap konsep yang paling rational. Kebudayaan negara ini hendak-lah kebudayaan yang berteraskan kepada kebudayaan Melayu. Jadi unsor² kebudayaan asing sama ada kebudayaan yang kita terima dari barat atau kebudayaan yang di-bawa oleh orang² China ka-negeri ini atau oleh orang² India ka-negeri ini mana² yang sa-suai kepada bumi negeri ini, kita terima dan kita benarkan menjadi satu kebudayaan Malaysia yang

akan kita banggakan bersama² sama ada oleh keturunan Melayu, keturunan China, keturunan bumi putera yang lain, keturunan India atau lain²-nya. Yang menyebabkan kita selalu bertelingkah pada hari ini ia-lah latar belakang kebudayaan kita berchabang². Latar belakang kebudayaan kita berchabang² sedangkan kita maseh lagi belum fully integrated into one Malaysian culture. Ini merupakan satu masalah di-dalam membentokkan satu bangsa Malaysia yang bersatu padu.

Kalau sa-kira-nya kita sudah berfikir dengan berdasarkan kebudayaan yang satu maka masaalah chauvinism atau sa-bagai-nya itu tidak timbul. Saya maseh ingat lagi masa University Nanyang itu hendak di-bentok, tujuan-nya ia-lah to preserve Chinese culture. Apa jadi-nya kalau orang China hendak mempertahankan kebudayaan China—to preserve Chinese culture? Apa jadi kalau beberapa kebudayaan ada dalam satu negara? Kalau kita tidak bersatu, tidak payah Soekarno datang lagi kita akan hanchor lambat laun. Jadi kita perlu-lah kepada satu pembentokan kebudayaan yang bersatu untuk seluroh keturunan bangsa Malaysia.

Saya mengalu²kan ucapan Y.T.M. Tunku Perdana Menteri mengenai latehan² politik pada pemuda pemudi kita. Sa-benar-nya politik tidak dapat di-pisahkan daripada sa-tiap warga negara sama ada pemuda atau orang dewasa-nya. Chuma soal-nya ia-lah apa politik-nya, itu sahaja. Tetapi sa-lama ini, terutama di-zaman penjajah Inggeris, memang-lah pemuda pemudi itu di-pisahkan daripada politik; politik maksud saya ia-lah kesedaran dan ilmu pengetahuan tentang politik—tentang kedudukan siasah negara kita dalam lapangan yang luas bukan sa-mata² dari politik berparti. Ini memang-lah perkara yang sudah patut di-buat oleh Kerajaan Inggeris sebab kalau pemuda peinudi mempunyai kesedaran politik maka makin lekas-lah penjajahan terhalau dari negara kita. Sebab itu di-pisahkan dan di-momok²kan; di-samping itu pemuda pemudi kita di-galakkan dengan berpoya² tidak

tentu fasal, berpicnic sana, berpicnic sini, berjoget sana, berjoget sini, dancing sana, dancing sini, parti sana, parti sini; akhir-nya lupa-lah tanggung-jawab-nya kepada negara. Ini ia-lah dasar Kerajaan penjajahan dahulu untuk melupakan, untuk melekakan pemuda pemudi kita daripada tugas yang sa-benar terhadap bangsa. Dan sikap yang sa-umpama ini terdapat juga kepada sa-tengah² badan belia yang ada di-negeri ini, tidak-lah saya menafikan sikap ini ada lagi. Jadi dengan ucapan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku, Perdana Menteri itu maka saya berharap-lah sikap kita terhadap soal pemuda pemudi dalam hubungan politik ini akan dinamik dan lebih sa-suai lagi kepada negara kita yang telah merdeka.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh telah berkata bahawa ia menentang hak istimewa orang² Melayu dan lain² bumi putera. Berkali² juga Ahli Yang Berhormat itu mengulang soal hak istimewa orang² Melayu. Dalam keadaan negeri kita yang sa-umpama ini, mari-lah kita berterus terang memerhatikan kenyataan yang ada. Kita tinjau-lah dengan sa-chara objective, lupakan-lah bahawa kita orang Melayu, kita orang India, kita orang China, kita orang apa juga, lupakan-lah sementara ini. Kalau kita perhatikan dengan kaca mata yang objective, maka akan ternampak-lah oleh kita jurang² perbezaan antara kaum² yang ada di-dalam negeri kita. Pada satu pihak orang² yang bukan Melayu dan bumi putera, sa-makin lama sa-makin banyak mendapat hak dan kuasa politik dan pada satu pihak dengan pihak yang lain kita dapati kemajuan² orang² Melayu dan lain² bumi putera tidak-lah sa-bagitu pantas sa-hingga sa-imbang kedudukan-nya dalam lapangan ekonomi, dalam lapangan pelajaran dan lain² lagi. Di-sini mari-lah kita pergi lebih dalam sedikit. Yang menjadi sumber utama kepada perasaan shak wasangka antara kaum di-negara kita ini, bukan-lah oleh kerana orang² Melayu benchikan orang² China, dan orang² China benchikan orang² India, atau sa-

bagai-nya, tetapi yang menjadi sumber atau yang menjadi sebab utama kepada shak wasangka ini ia-lah jurang perbezaan yang menimbulkan rasa takut, takut tenggelam, takut di-tindas. Ini sebab utama. Dalam lapangan ekonomi orang² Melayu dan bumi putera jauh ketinggalan daripada yang bukan Melayu. Dalam lapangan pelajaran begitu juga. Jadi shak wasangka ini maseh ada. Jadi tidak bererti-lah kalau kita sa-benar²-nya sayangkan Malaysia tetapi menentang hak istimewa orang² Melayu. Kalau kita sa-benar²-nya constructive atau membena maka hendak-lah kita berfikir dengan sa-chara positive, ya'ani bagaimana hendak menghapuskan atau hendak menambuskan jurang perbezaan ini, supaya kita dapat hidup sa-bagai suatu bangsa yang bersatu padu. Kalau orang Melayu lemah dalam lapangan pelajaran, perniagaan dan lain², dan kalau bumi putera yang lain² lemah dalam hal² ini maka macham mana gaya-nya, chara-nya kita hendak membetulkan. Tetapi dalam hal ini tidak sedikit pun parti pembangkang seperti Ahli daripada Ipoh, Ahli daripada Tanjong, memberikan sa-barang criticism sa-barang shor yang dapat di-pergunakan untuk menambus jurang² perbezaan ini. Lagi² menentang hak istimewa orang² Melayu. Jadi dengan peranan yang demikian, dengan peranan parti² pembangkang sa-demikian ini, maka nyata-lah bahawa peranan mereka itu dalam system negara demokrasi berparlimen ini tidak-lah constructive, tidak-lah membena. Sa-makin Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh itu menyatakan bahawa ia menentang hak istimewa orang² Melayu sa-makin kuat churiga orang² Melayu dan lain² bumi putera.

Ini akan merosakkan kita bersama. Yang akan rosak ia-lah semua ta' kira apa keturunan. Jadi untuk muslihat perpaduan, untuk melihat pembenaan satu bangsa Malaysia yang bersatu padu yang kuat maka berhentikan-lah menentang hak istimewa orang² Melayu. Tetapi berikan-lah criticism berikan-lah shor² bagaimana kita hendak menghapuskan, hendak menambus jurang² perbezaan ini.

Ini yang paling penting kalau kita mahu negara Malaysia kita ini semakin lama semakin bersatu padu, semakin lama semakin kuat. Kalau maseh juga lagi menentang, maka erti-nya orang² ini sabotage Malaysia, sabotage kejayaan Malaysia, keutuhan Malaysia. Maka saya harap Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri sila²-lah tengokkan orang² sa-umpama ini. Dalam hal ini, saya ingin juga memberikan pendapat saya tentang Economic Secretariat. Sampai sekarang ini, saya sendiri tidak banyak mendengar kegiatan² Economic Secretariat ini. Boleh jadi kerja²-nya tidak di-umumkan, atau apa juga, saya pun tidak tahu-lah. Tetapi saya harap Economic Secretariat ini akan bersikap dynamic dalam menghadapi masalah peranan orang² Melayu dan lain² bumi putera dalam ekonomi negara kita ini sa-bagaimana yang di-lakukan oleh Kerajaan kita dalam bidang pembangunan luar bandar.

Terlanjur saya berbichara tentang perimbangan antara kaum, atau penembusan jurang² perbezaan ini, maka elok-lah juga saya sentoh tentang masalah² di-universiti² dan college². Kalau pada tahun 1950 dahulu peratus anak² Melayu di-universiti² dalam negeri ini antara 10 hingga 15 peratus, maka sekarang ini, kalau kita tinjau pada keseluruhan-nya ya'ani kita champor di-antara University Malaya dengan University Singapore, apa-tah lagi kalau kita champor dengan University Nanyang, maka kita dapati kemajuan, atau pun ratio anak² Melayu dan lain² bumi putera dalam pusat² pengajian tinggi belum-lah begitu jauh maju-nya. Apa-tah lagi sekarang ini, kalau kita lihat di-University Malaya bertumpu² anak² Melayu masuk ka-Faculty of Arts. Sudah-lah itu, bertumpu² anak² Melayu mengambil Pengajian Melayu dan Pengajian Islam, yang lain-nya kurang. Hal yang sa-umpama ini perlu-lah di-siasat, perlu-lah kita perbaiki, bukan-lah oleh kerana saya juga chauvinist, tetapi sa-bagaimana yang telah saya katakan tadi untuk menegakkan satu bangsa yang bersatu padu di-Malaysia ini, perlu-lah kita

mengadakan perimbangan antara kaum. Ini perlu benar dan soal ini perlu-lah kita siasat—autonomy universiti autonomy juga-lah, tetapi peranan universiti perlu-lah sesuai dengan chita², dengan aspiration kebangsaan kita.

Dan satu perkara yang agak menyedehkan juga, kalau benar-lah demikian, ia-itu tersibar-nya khabar² di-kalangan mahasiswa² Melayu dan bumi putera mengatakan ada terdapat racial prejudice di-antara sa-tengah² guru di-universiti terhadap anak² Melayu dan lain² bumi putera. Ini mungkin menjadi salah satu sebab mengapa anak² Melayu dan bumi putera bertumpu² pergi kepada Pengajian Melayu dan Pengajian Islam. Kadang² berjumpa dengan sa-orang professor hendak mengambil satu² subject, professor kata: Oh! awak tidak bagus. Pergi-lah di-jabatan lain. Ini desas desus yang saya dengar di-kalangan mahasiswa² di-universiti, erti-nya desas desus tentang racial prejudice yang di-amalkan oleh sa-tengah² guru di-universiti. Racial prejudice terhadap anak² Melayu yang mungkin benar, atau pun mungkin tidak, tetapi kalau ta'ada api, masakan ada asap. Jadi, saya berharap-lah supaya pihak Kerajaan menengok²kan masalah racial prejudice yang terdapat di-universiti itu. Yang menjadi dukachita-nya ia-itu di-satu pihak orang² yang bukan Melayu mengatakan kita ini mendapat hak istimewa dan berbagai² lagi, kadang² sampai menimbulkan iri hati, tetapi di-satu pihak yang lain orang² kita Melayu dan bumi putera, mithal-nya di-universiti, jumlah peratus anak² Melayu dan bumi putera maseh di-takok lama lagi. Jadi, ini-lah yang perlu kita perhatikan daripada kita menghentam hak istimewa orang² Melayu dan bumi putera dengan membuta tuli sa-bagaimana yang di-lakukan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh itu. Itu tidak berfaedah.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah (Bachok): Untuk penjelasan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Apa-kah ma'ana-nya "takok" lama itu, saya kurang faham sedikit.

Enche' Ali bin Haji Ahmad: Ertinya kalau kita tinjau, kita masih lagi pada kedudukan yang lama, belum jauh beza-nya, belum jauh maju-nya. Ini yang merupakan masalah. Saya berchakap ini dalam bidang anak² Melayu dan bumi putera di-dalam pusat² pengajian tinggi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berchakap mengenai perimbangan antara kaum di-negara kita ini, salah satu masalah tentang peranan orang² Melayu dan bumi putera dalam bidang ekonomi di-negara kita ini ia-lah masalah modal dan masalah know how, masalah ilmu pengetahuan untuk menjalankan perusahaan, perdagangan, atau pun untuk menjalankan pentadbiran. Ini salah satu masalah yang di-hadapi oleh orang² Melayu dan bumi putera. Pusat Latehan Perdagangan yang di-jalankan oleh RIDA di-Petaling Jaya itu, saya rasa terlalu kecil untuk mengeluarkan orang² Melayu dan lain bumi putera yang berkebolehan untuk mentadbirkan sharikat² perdagangan dan perusahaan, atau sa-bagai-nya. Saya sendiri dalam hal ini tidak-lah saya hendak menyalahkan sa-ratus peratus kepada orang² bukan Melayu—saya selalu di-tanya oleh sharikat² daripada orang² bukan Melayu, "Kami perlukan Executive Officer Melayu kata-nya, tolong-lah, charikan, kalau ada." Jadi, saya pun chari² orang Melayu yang boleh menjadi Executive Officer dalam sharikat². Payah benar hendak dapat, sedangkan Pusat Latehan RIDA di-Petaling Jaya ini terlalu kecil. Jadi, saya harap supaya pihak Kerajaan dapat memperbesarkan lagi Pusat Latehan RIDA itu, supaya kita dapat melateh anak² Melayu dan lain² bumi putera dengan sa-banyak²-nya, supaya mereka itu dapat memainkan peranan yang penting dalam bidang ekonomi di-negara kita ini untuk menguatkan peranan mereka dalam bidang ekonomi, dan dengan itu kita dapat menambus jurang perbezaan antara kaum di-negara kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu lagi masalah ekonomi kita ia-lah masalah export getah. Jadi, sa-makin lama sa-makin banyak Amerika Sharikat mengeluarkan getah tiruan. Ertinya makin susah-lah kita untuk mendapat-

kan pasaran kita di-Amerika mengenai getah asli. Rasa saya elok benar-lah, kalau kita sa-makin lama sa-makin banyak perdagangan kita dengan sa-barang negara di-dunia ini. Dalam hal ini tentang penjualan getah² kita. Jangan-lah kita bergantung terlalu banyak kepada pasaran Amerika. Kalau Amerika tidak hendak membeli getah kita, kita tidak dapat berbuat apa², kita tidak dapat memaksa Amerika menutup kilang² getah tiruan-nya. Tetapi apa yang dapat kita buat ia-lah dengan mengalahkannya kepada ka-negara² lain, sama ada ka-negara² Afro-Asia atau pun negara² kominis. Kita perlu kepada "foreign exchange", kita perlu kepada ini untuk pembangunan negara kita. Kalau Amerika tidak dapat memberikan sumbangan untuk pembangunan negara kita, maka tidak-lah bererti kita harus tidak membangunkan negara kita. Kita alihkan-lah pasaran kepada negara² lain, sama ada negara² Afro-Asia atau negara² kominis. Demikian juga tentang bijeh timah. Jadi, akhir-nya kita tidak-lah perlu membataskan pasaran kita untuk mendapatkan "foreign exchange" daripada hasil export kita kepada pasaran Amerika sahaja. Kalau Amerika terlalu memandang kepentingan getah tiruan-nya, maka kita juga berhak untuk memberikan kepentingan kepada "foreign exchange" kita untuk pembangunan negara kita. Sa-kian-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Enche' Abdul Rahim Ishak (Singapore): Mr Speaker, Sir, yesterday the Member from Barisan Sosialis had occasion to mention about the expenditure of \$1.6 million a day which the Government is forced to expend in fighting against Indonesian aggression. Of course, in the course of his speech, he avoided using the word "aggression" by Indonesia and he had very studiously struck to the word "confrontation". It is in the nature of Barisan Sosialis and other disloyal, unpatriotic, Opposition in this country not to refer to Indonesian aggression although people know what it is. He referred to this expenditure of \$1.6 million a day as being a waste of money, and this line of propaganda reminds us of the

same type of argument used by communists and pro-communists in the days of the Emergency, when they used to say that the amount of money—millions—spent in fighting the communists could be better spent in building schools, hospitals, clinics, and so on. Now, yesterday this Member from Barisan Sosialis requested that the old line be stuck to so that the Government could be soften up. I believe that is his intention, because to spend less in our defence against Indonesian aggression is to soften ourselves, to allow ourselves, to finally be subjugated by what the Indonesians want to do, and we very well know what the Indonesians want to do, if we are not prepared for their attacks. On the contrary, during the Emergency, although it was a colonial government then, the perseverance, the patience, and the fortitude had paid off and it was only because of the fortitude of the then Government, with the help of the people of this country by and large, that the communists were driven to the border of Thailand. Similarly, Barisan Sosialis and their types want to soften us up and make us feel that if we are not prepared with our guns and with our defences, then Indonesia will give up; but it is not in the nature of a big aggressive hungry neighbour to behave in the way the Barisan Sosialis wants her to behave.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I was very much cheered this morning when the Member for Pontian Selatan referred to Chinese chauvinists and other chauvinists, and I think—I am subject to correction—he even referred to Malay chauvinists whom, he now thinks, should not take the upper hand in the face of confrontation. I think not only the P.A.P. but the whole House, in this august Chamber, is cheered, when only a few months ago, there were people in this country who were merrily working up feelings of one kind or another, which we all know was not healthy and could only lead to a lot of misunderstanding and, what is more, could lead to our own weakness in facing confrontation. But, of course, it is very strange, while we talk of confrontation and while we are

against chauvinism, to note that people like Mr Tan Lark Sye, the champion of Chinese chauvinism in Singapore and whose citizenship the Singapore Government had occasion to deprive, is now hob-nobbing, rubbing shoulders with some friends of the Member for Pontian Selatan. It is good to know even these things are taken note of and rectified before it is too late.

While on this subject, Mr Speaker, Sir, it is heartening also that there is a mission—it is on its way home really—which has just visited North Africa to win friends. We, in the Singapore Government, had no doubt whatsoever that opinion in Africa and in Asia also would in time be on our side. But while we are winning African opinion, one by one, and while the C.P.A. Conference in Jamaica, from reports I hear, has been very successful from the viewpoint of putting across Malaysia's case against Indonesian confrontation, it is sad, and quite incredible, to know that the air routes from Taipeh to Kuala Lumpur is busy carrying people from our State, particularly those in the Government, in trying to set up links—consular, diplomatic probably later on. Well, I would have thought that this is the surest way of losing, all over again, African support, because the Government in Formosa, to put it very mildly, is a discredited one. It is actually standing with the props supplied by the American Government, the Seventh Fleet; and the leaders there, who had run away from China, are no better than Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai of yesteryear. While we are winning friends, the least we should do is to avoid going to Formosa, and trying to establish links. I am not against Formosa (Taiwan) as such, but what we will be heading for is to allow the chauvinist types, which the Member for Pontian Selatan had referred to—the Tan Lark Syes—who belong to the Kuomintang group in this country, to strengthen their position all over again. This is what it will come to. While we are fighting the Chinese communists—and the C.P.M. in this country is nothing but a branch of the C.C.P.—should we at the same time encourage the Kuomintang to

come back to life? Should we play Chinese politics in our country while (a) we are trying to fight Indonesian confrontation and (b) while we are trying to win friends in Africa, whom we know have no love for either Communist China or Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa? I would advise the Government to have second thoughts about this. Probably, while we are winning friends in Africa, we should not carry out this senseless activities with Formosa; probably there might be a time for us, later on, when the Formosa situation is clear, to make friends with whoever is in power in Formosa.

Sir, as I watched the Minister of Finance yesterday, sitting slumped in his seat for a good part of forty-five minutes, while my colleague, the Member for Bungsar, delivered a few home-truths, I wondered whether he was aware that whatever doubts there might have been in the minds of the vast majority of Malaysians that the Minister of Finance was interested in his own kind, have now been cleared. Today I believe that the whole country has no more doubts that the Minister of Finance wants his own kind to be served first and foremost in the country. The Budget he presented last Wednesday confirms this.

I do not wish to recount the points so clearly put forward by my colleagues in the P.A.P. yesterday over the introduction of the turnover tax, the payroll tax and the lumping together of incomes of husbands and working wives for purposes of tax assessment; neither do I wish to refer to the Minister's magnanimity to his fellow millionaires in Singapore who, by his timely and kind generosity here, have at last decided to become patriotic donors to the National Defence Fund, or even his overt mercy for those who have to pay estate duty.

Sir, the breakdown estimates of the taxes show that eighty per cent will be accrued from indirect taxes which will have to be borne by the consumers whom the Finance Minister knows very well are mostly made up of the have-nots in the country.

Confrontation is the making of the Indonesian Government, which the Member for Pontian Selatan so rightly said. It is not, as a Member of the Barisan Sosialis yesterday implied, our own creation. But surely, in meeting confrontation and the necessity for raising our national funds, it is fair and just to distribute the burden of taxation equitably—those who can afford to pay more being made to pay more than those who earn \$40, \$50 or \$60 a month.

It can be very well understood why Mr Tan Chin Tuan made the \$50,000 personal donation to the Defence Fund. But are we really out to encourage the increase in the number of personal donations from Bank Directors and the like, or is the nation trying to glorify new-found patriots, while the Minister of Finance continues to make things even more difficult for the urban and rural have-nots when we all together face confrontation?

Sir, some months ago, Professor Ungku Aziz of the University of Malaya had occasion to comment that all attempts to promote the buying of shares by Malays will be of no avail so long as the livelihood of the rural people, particularly their income, is not basically improved.

Sir, I heard a most pathetic point made by the Member for Johor Bahru Timor yesterday afternoon when, in trying to defend the five cent levy on crown corks, she said that this tax was good, because it could help or encourage the poor to save by avoiding aerated or bottled soft-drinks. Sir, I marvel at the ability of the Honourable Member for Johor Bahru Timor to turn hardship and deprivation of what is one of the few luxuries our have-nots in the rural areas can hitherto enjoy, into a virtuous appeal to be thrifty. The Minister of Finance has somehow or other succeeded in mesmerising some of his Alliance colleagues into a myopic state of seeing good in nothingness and virtue in hardships. Perhaps, the Minister of Finance is trying to inject a little yoga into his Budget Address, where he

hopes Malaysians will be progressively more cheerful as they eat less and less. But Malaysians are not all yogis and it is not likely that they can appreciate the taxes and the point the Minister wants to put across.

Mr Speaker, Sir, soon the month of Ramadhan will come along, after which the majority of the rural people in Malaya will celebrate Hari Raya Aidil Fitri. Sir, on such festivities, it is not uncommon to serve friends and relatives with bottled soft drinks. Whether it is Geylang Serai in Singapore or the State both of us come from, Sir, Bagan Serai, Tanjong Piandang or Kuala Kurau—in all these parts—it is not uncommon for us to buy a few dozens of aerated water to serve our friends and relatives on Hari Raya Day and it will not be just a five-cent crown cork but it will amount to a good part of ten dollars. Yet, Mr Speaker, Sir, some people think there is good in depriving the only luxury, I think, apart from very wide roads which rural development has brought into the country, which of course the rural people cannot themselves use. But this is the kind of thinking which some in this House on the Government side have deteriorated into.

To the frank and honest comment by Professor Ungku Aziz, I mentioned earlier, we heard a rejoinder by the Deputy Prime Minister—I think he said it in Penang—that it was the intention of the Government to take measures to improve the economic levels of our people and more to improve the income of our rural have-nots—the padi planters, the fishermen and so on. But surely, the Budget as a whole does not point to that direction; if at all, the rural have-nots, who incidentally are the Malays in this country, will have less to eat and to buy. The Minister of Finance, perhaps, is so backward-looking that he wants to encourage bottled soft drinks, where manufacturers revert to the little glass marble—they used to do it, you will remember, Sir, thirty or forty years ago—where the gas was used to push it up so that it could act

as the stopper. Well, I do not know, but if that is the way the aerated water manufacturers are going, they could very well avoid the five cents to sell more bottles.

One would have thought that a “property-owning democracy”, to use the Minister’s own description of the type of society he wishes to bring about, can best flourish with the creation and the existence of a strong middle and lower middle class. There is nothing wrong in this. As a matter of fact, our party’s policy is not so much to call it a “property-owning democracy” but a “socialist democracy”. The point has been raised by the Member for Bungsar yesterday and also by the Prime Minister of Singapore that by taking away from the middle class and the lower middle class what they already have, you will actually be weakening the lower middle class and the middle class in this country. Surely, that is not the way, if it comes to promoting the interests of Malays in the lower middle class and middle class, to enjoy the fruits of their labour, to ensure thrift and hard work as the Member for Johor Bahru Timor implied yesterday. Looking at it from the view point of the Government, I would have thought that to create a Malay capitalist class they first had to create a Malay middle class. But the Minister of Finance, of course, cannot see it from the view point of the Malays. He can only see it from the view point of his kind and hence the drastic measures for income tax as they affect the lower middle class and the middle class in this country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, at the last UMNO Congress held in this city, the nation’s capital, a few months ago I had occasion to read reports in the newspapers about certain leaders, and I think one of them is someone called Enche’ Samad Idris from Negri Sembilan, who called for what he referred to as economic *kebangsaan*, which I interpreted as national economy. I think there were several others also who called for economic *kebangsaan*

which the Deputy Prime Minister—who is the deputy president of UMNO—smothered with cold water and said that they did not know what they were talking about. Sir, this is not the view of Enche' Samad Idris and a few others. This is the view of the Malays throughout the country—the feeling that one particular race in this country is having a monopoly right throughout the nation of the retail and wholesale business is very evident. This is the feeling which prompted people like Enche' Samad Idris and others, countless others, to express dissatisfaction originating from unhappiness, and this is the thing which we from the P.A.P. wish to put across, wish to bring home, to drive home, to the have-nots who by and large happen to be the Malays. But, of course, the last elections had other side attractions. It did not go down very well, but the comments I have heard since last Wednesday when the Minister of Finance presented his Bill, from the Malays and the non-Malays of all classes are such that, to quote some of them, "we did not expect him to do this when we voted him and the party into power last April, but now that he has done it you chaps better go and talk in Parliament. Tell the country what is happening." And, of course, for our part, we shall do our best to present the facts of the case, because much as the Minister of Finance gets his support from Malays, because he had to run to a semi-kampong to contest the election, either in gratitude or, as the Prime Minister of Singapore said yesterday, in the desire to have one's kind prevail, the country is saddled with more taxation.

Finally, Sir, may I in passing stress that the one week that has passed since the Minister presented his Budget for next year has brought enough comments to make people realise that confrontation cannot be met by \$50,000 personal donations or even \$250,000 donations from a few bank directors. Confrontation has to be met by the will of the people properly harnessed and directed and confrontation can best be met that way. The Budget, to say the least, has

not done anything to really get the people to support the Government in stopping Indonesia in her mad adventure called confrontation.

Dr Ng Kam Poh (Telok Anson): Mr Speaker, Sir, in rising to join battle, so to speak, in this meeting on the Budget proposals, I feel a certain amount of trepidation and qualm concerning my own qualifications to debate over this issue. However, since two members of the medical profession from the Opposition have decided to take up the cudgels, I thought it only fair that at least one from the Government Benches should join in the fray.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have tried objectively during these few days to analyse what the various speakers and their parties say in order to find out what they wanted in their criticisms of the Budget, but I find it extremely difficult—what with questions ranging from 100% tax on liquors to a very eloquent speech by the Prime Minister of Singapore—not that I agree with his views at all. So in speaking I find myself in a quandary. However, I shall reply as best as I can to the members of the Opposition, starting first with the largest number of Opposition present in Malaya, i.e. Party P.A.S. Never have I crossed swords with them before. I have usually

Enche' Abdul Rahim Ishak: On a point of clarification. The biggest party in Opposition today is the P.A.P.

Dr Ng Kam Poh: Sorry, the second biggest party. My humble apologies and thank you for enlightening me. As I have said, I have never crossed swords with the Party P.A.S. or the P.M.I.P. before. However, in the session I find it necessary to speak on behalf of the Government Benches what we do think of this party.

I shall start first with the speech of the Member for Pasir Puteh, Kelantan. He must be congratulated for having seen the light and now he supports the Government against Indonesia *vis-à-vis* confrontation. He must be congratulated for that. However, being

a professional man and a curious man, I would like to know the motives behind that. Could it be the massive development aid promised by the Central Government? Could it be that there is really a change of heart? Only time will tell. At this present juncture, Mr Speaker, voicing one's opinion in Parliament, or shouting slogans, cannot absolutely prove to the nation, one's determination to fight for our country, Malaysia. One thing about the speech of the Honourable Member from Pasir Puteh is however outstanding—his proposal for a 100% tax increase on all alcoholic drinks. Now, Sir, I consider this attitude to that of a dog in the manger. I respect his right, I respect his privilege that they do not use liquor in State functions and that they do not like to drink. But why ask for a 100% tax on liquor? I agree, Sir, and I concede that it is a luxury. Personally, as a drinker says, I do not "imbibe". However, with the taxes so high on liquor, why pick particularly on liquor itself? Why spoil the fun of others who drink just because you yourselves do not drink? Besides saying such things they are being bigoted and narrow in nature; one should live and let live. If a man wants to drink, by all means let him drink, but do not slap a 100 per cent tax on him so that he cannot afford to drink any more. Let him enjoy himself a little—life is very short. But how, as I pointed out, Sir, can we expect the Member for Pasir Puteh and his Party to understand such things and to advise the Central Government on his Budget policies knowing full well, Sir, that the State Government of Kelantan is going bankrupt. I regret to say so, Sir. But it seems to be the truth!

Now, Sir, I would like to come to the Honourable Member for Batu—a good friend in a way, my colleague, but we have different attitudes towards life. He says that he is a good Methodist and as a good Methodist he does not drink; besides he is allergic to liquor. Now, Sir, I hope he is also a good Christian, for in one of the principles of Christianity

it is said, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." Just because you cannot drink, and you are allergic to liquor, it does not mean that you should slap 100 per cent tax on liquor and prevent other people from drinking and enjoying themselves. If he would only follow his Christian principles and be more tolerant to others, I am sure we will both come to some sort of a compromise between his spartan way of life and our happy and congenial atmosphere that is at present in this country today. We all know, Sir, that the Member for Batu is a millionaire many times over. In fact, according to the deposed Mr Khrushchev he is at the third or parasitic stage of capitalism—I do not know what stage Mr Kosygin or Mr Bhreshnev would put him in. However, Khrushchev has already said that such capitalism is capitalism at a third or parasitic stage. Here we have now, a paradox of a capitalist-socialist. Now, how that would go I would not know. Sir, personally, I do not grudge him his wealth, nor do I grudge him his spartan, ascetic and frugal way of life. It is his choice, but his support for the Member for Pasir Puteh on a 100 per cent tax on liquor is certainly uncalled for and none-the-less ridiculous. He has given us a list of taxes wherein the Government may levy, such as, excise tax, property tax, gift tax and so on. Now, I can assure the Honourable Member for Batu that the Government side will not take such drastic steps into taxation and burden the people so heavily that they are unable to keep up the standard of living that they are now enjoying.

His concern over our allies not giving adequate help should be dispelled by the announcement that Britain is sending over her newest aircraft-carrier, "the Eagle", renovated at a cost of £15 million to the Far East, and the fact that the Australian and New Zealand troops are here on our soil to help us fight this undeclared war between Soekarno and Malaysia should convince him in no uncertain terms that our allies are giving us every aid possible and unless we

ourselves do something we cannot expect more.

Mr Speaker, Sir when the National Service Bill was presented in Parliament the last time, there was not a single cheep from the Member for Batu, but a few days later all over the country, overnight, there were anti-National Service posters pasted on the walls—anti-Malaysian bills pasted everywhere, especially against the concept of Malaysia and National Service. Sometimes I wonder, even though he is quick to deny any collusion between the Socialist Front of Malaya, the Barisan Sosialis of Singapore and the Sarawak United Peoples' Party in Sarawak, who really are the backseat drivers.

Now I shall come to the Member for Ipoh. Mr Speaker, Sir, I regret to say that the Member for Ipoh is nothing but a sensationalist, if I may put it that way. His Party has no concrete policies except to try to make headlines—the more the merrier, even though these headlines are sometimes detrimental to him. It appears now, Sir, that he has bitten off more than he can chew, and his boast of capturing the State Government of Perak during the last elections has turned out to be empty and hollow. Of late, I notice that he has been pandering to the P.A.P. This is the style of the P.P.P. leader, but it was certainly embarrassing to him when he was told in no uncertain terms by the Prime Minister of Singapore, during the debate on the Internal Security (Amendment) Act, when one Member opposed and the other Member supported the amendment, that this was the wrong procedure for his Party to adopt. In a way, I hope they will take him into their fold, for if they do not, then that would be the end of the P.P.P. and I hate to see the seat there vacant and ending up with the seat being occupied by someone other than our "bully" boy. Sir, one must not take his utterances for their face value. They are not exactly valid. For example, during the last debate on the Supply Bill, he said that the

P.P.P., which was running Chui Chak New Village, had made strong representations to the State Government for street lighting, when I spoke about rural electrification. Mr Speaker, Sir, he does not even know that Chui Chak New Village has street lights, there are already street lights for the past 7 or 8 years. What they are fighting for, in reality, is electricity and power from the Central Electricity Board, for 24 hours. So, you see, Sir, he is talking of street lighting not knowing that they already have street lighting. Of course, they were using a diesel engine. I remember well, Sir, that on the day sometime before the referendum on the merger in Singapore was taken, he held a rally in Telok Anson and this is what was said by the Member for Ipoh, and I quote: "I have just been to Singapore. I have been to the coffee shops; I have spoken to the rickshaw pullers; I have been to the cinemas and spoken to as many people as I could. They spat at the name of Lee Kuan Yew, and if Dr Ng Kam Poh is not careful, the people of Teluk Anson will also spit when they hear his name." Mr Speaker, Sir, I stand here today as the elected Member for Teluk Anson. (*Applause*). How things have changed when the P.A.P. came into power? Now the Member for Ipoh has styled himself a moderate socialist. I wonder what he would have called himself had the Barisan Sosialis won—perhaps "progressive socialist"?

Mr Speaker, Sir, he calls for an immediate recognition of the Nanyang University, of course, with the object of trying to win Chinese voters. Surely, Sir, as a lawyer and a University graduate, he knows that the recognition of a university depends on the standards set up by the university, the facilities provided for the students, the quality of its teaching staff and the adequacy of its laboratories, and so on and so forth. If these amenities are up to the standard, I am sure our Government will give the Nanyang University its due recognition, as has been said by our Minister of Home Affairs many

times, during the election. "Recognition of a university depends on these various factors, not only in Malaya or Malaysia but all over the world." Likewise, I shall commend this to the Honourable Member for Tanjong when he starts clamouring for recognition of Nanyang University.

I come, Sir, to the question of multi-lingualism. When the Alliance won and the Member for Ipoh and his Party were left with only two Parliament Members and five State Legislative Assembly Members, he started agitating for multi-lingualism. Sir, I have here a photostat copy of the official organ of the People's Progressive Party of Malaya entitled "Action"—Volume 1, No. 1, dated August 1956. I shall read to you verbatim for what it said about multi-lingualism.

Mr Speaker: Isn't the Honourable Member going away from the point?

Dr Ng Kam Poh: Sir, I am just replying to the point raised as regards multi-lingualism.

Mr Speaker: Be brief, please.

Dr Ng Kam Poh: I shall be brief, Sir. I quote: "We recommend that, as a purely temporary measure, a member of the Legislature should be allowed to speak in the language of his choice."—I repeat "We recommend that, as a purely temporary measure, a member of the Legislature should be allowed to speak in the language of his choice. This must be subject to the speaker providing an interpreter at his own expense to translate into Malay or English and such other rules as may be considered necessary."

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah (Kelantan Hilir): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya fikir ada-lah kewajipan menjawab bagi soalan yang di-bangkitkan oleh parti² Pembangkang dan lain² lagi baik-lah di-buat oleh Menteri yang berkenaan. Ada pun back-benchers, sa-bagaimana wakil Telok Anson tolong menjawab bagi pihak Menteri maka ini satu perkara yang menhilangkan masa.

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali (Larut Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu on a point of order atau apa?

Mr Speaker: Please proceed!

Dr Ng Kam Poh: Sir, the Member for Ipoh has said that he is not an economist, that he would leave it to experts and that he would rather talk about many other subjects. So, I am sure I can be accorded that privilege.

Mr Speaker: Yes, you can, in passing!

Dr Ng Kam Poh: Thank you very much, Sir. I will not dwell very long on it and I will just say a few words.

Now, Sir, we will come to the question of the official language. Here he says:

"We consider that in accordance with the desire of the Malays, the Malay language shall be declared the official language. In view of the fact, however, that, when considered from an international point of view, the Malay language is spoken by a very small minority people of the world, it is clear that if the Malays are to advance in the study of law and medicine, arts and sciences, a second language is essential; and we feel that the English language will serve this purpose."

Sir, what is multi-lingualism then, as spoken by the Member for Ipoh? He says that it is only a purely temporary measure and that an interpreter has to be hired by the speaker himself. He admits Malay being the official language with English as well. Then why cry for multi-lingualism? I cannot understand it. Sir, I challenge both of them, to challenge the validity of these documents here before me. If they want, I can produce the original copy. (*Applause*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, now we come to the Barisan Sosialis. I will not spend much time on them. The only thing I would like to say is that I sometimes wonder, how they in their own conscience, can go up there to swear before God and take the oath of loyalty to Malaysia, and at the same time say that Malaysia is under a foreign power. I cannot understand the mentality of the people of the Barisan Sosialis.

Now, Sir, we come to the question of taxes and the forms in which they are levied. I would not have liked to comment on this because I have no specialised knowledge of finance. However, one thing I do know and that is that the P.A.P. and the Singapore Government must be feeling the pinch, otherwise they would not be so vociferous in denouncing the Budget as it is at this meeting. Suffice it to say, Sir, I would rather appeal to all and sundry that in the light of confrontation and with growing development projects and the growing defence fund, everyone, regardless of whether he is rich or poor, in Malaysia, should try to bear the burden of this increase in taxes. Sir, nothing in this world is free. Very few people think of that. If you want a better way of life, you will have to pay for it. These are facts and you cannot run away from facts. If we expect better development, a better way of life, better street lighting, better "everything", we have to pay for them. The only difference, Sir, is how you pay.

Enche' Tan Tsak Yu (Sarawak): Mr Speaker, Sir, this is the ninth time I stand up, and I would like to thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to speak this time. (*Laughter*).

In supporting the Supply Bill under debate, I would first of all congratulate the Honourable Minister of Finance for his eloquent and impressive speech delivered to this House a few days ago when he introduced this Bill. I would like to thank him for his effort to meet the increasing demand and the cost of development, defence and social services. I am also grateful to him as, when drawing up this Budget, he has kept in mind the principles laid down in paragraph 24 of the Inter-Governmental Committee Report, 1962 that increases in taxation in Sabah and Sarawak will be imposed in gradual stages. It is sincerely hoped that these will always be the guiding principle when considering the tax changes in the Borneo States.

Under the present difficult times, it is not easy to present a Budget of

this size which will be readily acceptable to all. But at the time of a national crisis, when we are fighting for our survival and, in the meantime, when we are determined to see that our development programmes forge ahead and our social services are maintained and extended, under these circumstances, we all will agree that additional taxation is inevitable, and I am sure that no true Malaysian will oppose this Budget as a whole.

When this Bill is put into operation, it will not only soak the rich but it will also call upon the man in the street to contribute his share. I am speaking from the Sarawak angle and not from the Singapore angle, Sir. This is in line with the policy that the tax burden should be spread as widely as possible, and it is not, as accused by the Honourable Member for Batu, pro-capitalists and anti-labourers. If the tax burden falls on a small section of the community, it will eventually kill the "golden goose". However, as a Member from Sarawak, I would be failing in my duty if I do not voice the opinion of the people of Sarawak in this House.

Firstly, I would like to touch on the turnover tax. This tax will be levied on business, commerce and professions at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ or 1% . Since the income tax and trade licensing fees are imposed in Sarawak, the turnover tax is considered unfair and unreasonable; and it should not be imposed as not all businesses can make $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ or 1% profit on the turnover. In fact, some businesses even make a loss, especially during the present trade depression. If this proposed tax is imposed, it will certainly cause greater hardships to the trading community as a whole. Therefore, I would strongly urge the Honourable Minister of Finance to seek some other means of revenue—even to increase the import duty on non-essential commodities, such as, liquors, cigarettes and some other luxury goods which may be more acceptable to the trade.

Secondly, sugar is one of the most essential commodities consumed by

the people. In Sarawak, before and after the World War, sugar and rice were two of the main items which were placed under strict control so as to keep the prices down. As 80% of our population are living in the rural areas where the living standards of the people are already low, the increase in the import duty of sugar will increase prices to such an extent that the native population living in the rural areas in Sarawak will be unable to buy it and this will lower the living standards of the rural people in Sarawak and it might be detrimental to their health. Therefore, it is strongly felt that the import duty on sugar should not be increased.

Thirdly, I wish to touch on the subject of education. Whenever the question of free primary education was raised in this House, the answer would be it was under consideration, or it was under discussion with the State Government. I do not know how long it will need to be considered or discussed, but the people of Sarawak are anxious to know when free primary education will be implemented there. The tax structure in Sarawak is being brought into line with that of the other Malaysian territories and the people there will be paying more and more taxes. Certainly, the Sarawak people are entitled to ask for free primary education when comprehensive educational system for lower secondary schools is being launched in Malaya. In accordance with the Sarawak Annual Report, 1962, out of 232,280 children of school age, i.e. from 5 to 14 years, only 114,470, representing 49.29%, were in school. In other words, more than half of our children of school age are not in school. This is a very serious matter from an educational point of view, and I hope something will be done about it in the near future. The longer the implementation of the free primary education is deferred, the wider will be the gap between Sarawak and Malaya in the field of education.

In conclusion, Sir, I wish to make it quite clear that we in Sarawak are not opposed to taxation. We are

prepared to make sacrifices in the face of Indonesian aggression. We support the policy that the burden of the tax should be spread as widely as possible and that the increases should be fair and reasonable. Sir, I support this Bill.

Mr Speaker: It is now almost 1 o'clock. The sitting is suspended till 4.30 p.m.

Sitting suspended at 1.00 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 4.30 p.m.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

BILL

THE SUPPLY BILL, 1965

Second Reading

Debate resumed.

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong (Singapore): Mr Speaker, Sir, the Alliance Party was returned to power on the support of the poor people, the people living in the rural areas and backward areas of the country. The base of the Alliance Party is the rural people, the majority of whom are poor. In fact, in the whole of Malaysia, whether rural or urban, the majority of the people are very poor, because we have just emerged from the cruel exploitation of colonial rule and we are classified as one of the world's backward and underdeveloped countries. Only a very few people in our midst are very rich, like the Honourable Minister of Finance. So, it is very natural that the majority of the people, after having elected a Government, should ask for a better life, for an improvement of their miserable lot. They do not ask for the moon. They do not ask that you change the country into an Utopia or a paradise overnight. They only ask for better roads in the kampongs, so that it would be easier for them to travel to and from their places of work, better homes to live in, more schools in which to educate their children and more social welfare services to help their very poor and distressed people. All these need money. Where are we going to get this money? We cannot

have something for nothing. We cannot get the money from the common people because they are already poor and they cannot afford to pay out any more. So, the logical answer would be to get the money from the rich. The rich people are not particularly worried if you take away some money from them because they have plenty of money. If a rich man has two villas, he can make do with one and let the other people share the benefit of the other villa. To take away some money from the rich people would be, as a Chinese saying goes, "to take away a hair from nine cows". They do not feel it. So, in simple language, the correct financial policy would be to soak the rich to pay for the services of the poor—and this is what we call socialism.

Again, our country is facing Indonesian aggression. Indonesian paratroopers, supporters and fifth columnists are landing all over the country. We need a large army, a good defence system and a very good internal security net-work to defend our country from being overrun by the Indonesians. All these, again, need money, and who should pay for the extra defence expenditure—the rich or the poor? The rich people have everything to lose if the country is overrun by the Indonesians. All the rubber estates, palm-oil estates, tin mines, timber forests and the factories which produce wealth will be lost if we do not succeed in driving the Indonesian invaders out. The poor have nothing to lose, because they own nothing. So it is only logical that we should ask the rich to contribute more to the defence expenditure of the country, because they have so much at stake. This, again, is what we call socialism.

From the above, we can see that all the signs in the country point to socialism. All the people in the country cry for socialism. The survival of Malaysia as a democratic country depends on socialism. In fact, socialism and democracy are inseparable: they are like Siamese twins; you cannot separate one from the other. If we sincerely believe that

democracy should be our basic political system for a very long time to come, then we must carry out socialist programmes in order to preserve democracy. If we believe in a system based on "one-man one-vote" in which one man is as strong as the other in terms of political power, then it is inevitable that we must make him as rich as the other in terms of economic gains. We cannot expect the poor to sit tight and keep quiet when they see that the few rich people are enjoying life and have a nice time at the expense of their misery and, especially, when they know that they have as much political power as the rich, or even greater. Democracy cannot hold such a situation. You need guns and bayonets to hold it, to keep the people down and from asking for a better share in life—but sooner the country will deteriorate and the whole people will become sour and the place will go down like South Vietnam in which everything will be lost. So it is, in fact, to the interest of the rich people that they should give up some of their fortunes to promote the welfare of the country as a whole.

Sir, the people as a whole want a more just and equal society. We need to have a fairer distribution of the wealth of our country, because too much of the nation's wealth is controlled by too few people. If you want the people to defend the country you must give them something which they think is worth defending. That is why we ask for socialism. We ask for socialism not just because the political philosophy of our Party is based on socialism, but because we sincerely believe that democratic socialism is the only way for Malaysia. It is good for all of us, whether we are in the P.A.P. or in the Alliance Party or just as a common man. Not only the signs in Malaysia point to socialism, but the whole world is going socialist. The Afro-Asian countries, which form 70 per cent of the United Nations's membership, are adopting one form of socialism or other. Even

Enche' Lee San Choon: Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification. Is the so-called free enterprise advocated by P.A.P. socialism?

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: We have stated in the past that we in Singapore as an island cannot have socialism in Singapore, because Singapore as an entrapment itself cannot develop socialism.

Enche' Lee San Choon: So you admit that that is not socialism.

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: But we believe in extending the scope of socialism to the whole of Malaysia. We believe that if this political ideology is extended to the whole of Malaysia, and with its vast natural resources, it can keep the people and give the people a better life. So, as I have said, the whole world, the Afro-Asian countries, which form 70 per cent of the United Nations' membership, are adopting one form of socialism or the other. Even the old and conservative Britain, our former colonial master, has recently switched over to socialism. And against this tidal wave of socialism the leadership of the Alliance Government is not entirely unaffected. Only recently we heard the Deputy Prime Minister said that the Alliance Party was a party of neither left nor right. Hitherto, they had been describing the Alliance as a party of the right. So, their position has changed, from a party of the right to a party of not so right, then they change to a party of not so left, and then they try to become a party of the left. Of course, this process would take a very long time, but it is a good sign. At least, the pressure of socialism has been brought to bear on the Alliance leadership and made them shift their position.

But in the face of these great changes affecting the whole world, I regret to say that we have a Finance Minister who is a very rich man himself, who refuses to acknowledge that socialism is the order of the day.

Dr Ng Kam Poh: Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification.

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: Let me make my speech, please. On the 17th of October this year, he went down to Singapore and spoke at a dinner given by the Hokkien Huay Kuan. He was reported to have said that he found it difficult to accept the proposition in which only a political philosophy distinctly socialistic, or savours of socialism, could attract the great mass of people. He asked all his friends, whom he called "men of financial standing", to come forward to occupy a more important position in society. And in order to encourage these men of financial standing to come forward to carry out political activities for him, he has given them an "*ang-pow*" equivalent to 5% of their total income. He did this by lowering the rate of taxation in the highest income bracket from 55% to 50%. Hitherto, these "men of financial standing" in Singapore have to pay 55% of their taxable income to the Government. Sir, what justification has he in making these rich men even richer? After all they cannot

Enche' Tiah Eng Bee: Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of order, Standing Order 35 (6), which says a Member shall not read his speech but he may read extracts from books or papers in support of his argument.

Mr Speaker: Is the Honourable Member reading from his speech?

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: I am just referring to my notes, Sir. I think if the Finance Minister can read his speech—72 pages of it—I think the Government benchers should at least allow other Members to refer to their notes. Sir, we who are not so fortunate enough to come from an English school are not very fluent in the English language, but we try to do it. In 1967 we will try to do it in the National Language; but, of course, we still have to refer to our own notes. I hope the Finance Minister himself can read out his future Budget speech—72 pages of it—in the National Language.

So, having said that, Mr Speaker, Sir, I am inclined to compare the

Minister of Finance with the Chinese proverbial frog who stayed at the bottom of a well. He had never come out from the bottom of the well, and when he looked up from the bottom of the well, he saw that the sky was like a round blue plate and so he concluded that the sky was only a small round blue plate and refused to believe that the sky was in fact a big vast space. Likewise, the Minister of Finance stays in his own rosy garden and ivory tower, and when he looks out from his ivory tower he sees only his friends of financial standing, and so he concludes that the world is full of rich men, and refuses to believe that the world is full of starving people, and that socialism is on the rise. He stubbornly refuses to believe that socialism is the only solution to our problems, in spite of the fact that the sources of the taxes he depends upon to yield revenues some of which are in fact products of socialistic ideas, such as the estate duty, profits tax and capital gains tax, and so on.

Sir, the Alliance Party was elected by the poor and the not-so-rich people in the rural and suburban areas. One would imagine that the taxation policy of the Alliance Government should be to tax the rich in order to help the poor. Yet when I study the Budget speech in the course of the last few days, I was dismayed to find that the reverse is true.

To my mind, the Finance Minister's tax proposals are too harsh for the poor and the living, and too lenient for the rich and the dead. I only have to quote a simple example to show that the Finance Minister is trying to catch all the small fish and letting away the big ones. Everyone knows that the tin mining business enjoys unprecedented prosperity as a result of the tin price boom several months ago. According to a very rough estimate, the profit derived from tin in 1964 alone would amount to \$212 million. They have made tons of money, but they are only asked to contribute a meagre sum of \$5 million in the form of profit tax. On

the other hand, the poor people, the kampong folks in the rural areas and the labourers in the urban areas, whose only luxury is aerated water to quench their thirst, are asked to cough up \$8.2 million as crown cork duty, which is unheard of in any country in the world. So, where is the justice in this tax policy?

In this respect, I must congratulate the Minister of Finance for his ingenuity in inventing a unique tax system to squeeze the poor people of their money. A poor man cannot afford to have luxurious habits. So the Minister of Finance cannot catch him on the luxurious goods. A poor man does not own a motor car. So he cannot be caught on the motor car tax. He seldom drinks beer or other strong drinks. So he cannot be caught on the liquor duty. He smokes low grade cigarettes and so he cannot be caught on the tobacco tax. But during and after work, he has to go to the small coffee shop in the kampong to refresh himself, and there the new tax system makes sure that he has no escape. For every tea-spoon of sugar he puts in his coffee cup, he is taxed through the sugar duty and for every bottle of "Coca-cola" or "Pepsi-cola" or "Green Spot", he is taxed five cents by the crown cork duty. It is almost certain that a labourer working under the hot sun drinks more bottles of aerated water than a company Director who works in an airconditioned office. So, who are paying more—the small man or the big business boss?

Sir, the two per cent tax on payroll will have a very damaging effect over our new industries—far more than we can ever imagine. In our country, traditionally with a large number of unemployed people, it is always desirable that we should create more factories which are labour intensive in nature in order to absorb the large number of unemployed people. By imposing 2% tax on the payroll, the Government is, in fact, discouraging employers to employ more workers. When an industrialist opens a factory, he will think twice or thrice when it comes

to the question of employing workers, because the more workers he employs, the more tax he will have to pay. It follows that he will try to employ more machines and less men, if he can have it, because by employing machines he does not have to pay tax and by employing men he has to pay tax. This will, of course, help to modernise and speed up the automation process in our country, but then it will not solve our unemployment problems. By employing more machines, the factories will, of course, be run more efficiently and will produce more profits, but this will only benefit the company directors and will not help to alleviate the misery of the great mass of people who are unemployed.

Enche' Lee San Choon: Sir, on a point of clarification, if I may.

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: Could I inform the Honourable Member that if he wants to make any clarification, he has ample opportunities to do so when he stands up to speak!

Mr Speaker: Are you giving way?

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: No. My second point against the payroll tax is that it will add to our labour cost. To the industrialist, the two per cent payroll tax and the five per cent for the Employees Provident Fund together form the basis of his labour cost; and the labour cost is always added to the price of the product and passed on to the consumers. This will increase the price of the product. Already our labour cost is very high in comparison with the labour cost in Hong Kong and elsewhere in South East Asia. By adding another 2% to the labour cost, it will only help to price our industrial products out of the international market and even in the domestic market. The industrialists in Hong Kong, for instance, do not have to pay 2% on payroll and 5% for the Provident Fund. So, they will at least have 7% profit margin ahead of our industrialists in respect of labour cost. I sincerely hope that the Government will seriously reconsider the imposition of this tax with a view to abolish it in order to help

our industrial products to compete with foreign industrial products.

It is also not true to classify payroll tax as a direct tax, because the payroll tax will always be considered by the manufacturers of goods as part of the cost of production, and it will be added to the price of the commodity and passed on to the consumer. So, in the end, it is the consumer who bears the tax.

Another point against the payroll tax is that at the present moment there are many firms in Singapore and Penang which had dealings with Indonesia in entrepot trade, firms engaged in barter trade and shipping. These firms engage quite a large number of workers. Because of confrontation, their business was disrupted, but they still keep on paying their employees in the hope that their commercial activities may be diverted to some other fields. In the meantime, they are not making any profit at all. Now, if the Government were to impose a 2% payroll tax on them, this will inflict serious hardships on them. Already, they find it difficult to keep on paying the salaries to employees without any work being done. If the Government were to impose another 2% on the payroll, then the net result would be that these firms would gradually close down and retrench their workers in order to preserve their capitals. Again, this will cause widespread unemployment. I hope that, if the Government decides to implement this payroll tax at all, due consideration must be given to these firms which are the first victims in the Indonesian confrontation.

I do not have to tell you the strong feelings the small businessmen have against the turnover tax. If the Minister of Finance reads the Chinese newspapers, he will know the seriousness of the outcry of the businessmen in the Chamber of Commerce in Singapore. The objection to this turnover tax is that it is unrealistic and unprincipled and that it hits the small retailers harder than at the big businessmen.

In any direct tax system the principle is always that the more profit you make, the more you are subjected to tax. But this turnover tax is neither here nor there. A big turnover sometimes does not mean a big margin of profit. Sometimes a big turnover carries no profit at all. In some entrepot trade where big turnover is involved, like rubber firms, sometimes the profit is as low as $\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the gross turnover, and if this $\frac{1}{2}\%$ is taken away by the Government as turnover tax, then from where are these small businessmen going to get the money to pay for the office expenses and the other overhead charges?

The evil of the turnover tax is that the smallest retail sellers are hit the hardest. We all know that a commodity has to pass through several stages before it reaches the consumer, and at every stage this commodity is taxed $\frac{1}{2}\%$. As it passes through several stages, its price will increase several times, and when it reaches the small retailer the price is already up a few per cent and the small retailer has to pay the tax based on this higher price. For instance, an importer imports a dozen of Brand's Essence of Chicken at a price of perhaps \$20 and he probably sells it to the first distributor at a price of \$21. So he is taxed $\frac{1}{2}\%$ on this \$21. And then the first distributor sells it to the second distributor and then it is sold to the first retailer, second retailer and finally the price at which the last retailer sells it to the consumer may well be \$30 a dozen and so this small retailer is taxed $\frac{1}{2}\%$ on this \$30. It follows that the very smallest retailer pays the highest tax. So where is justice in this system of taxation? And then a big turnover sometimes does not mean any profit at all—it may even be a loss. For instance, it is customary for some Indian textile shops to hold one or two cheapsales a year. They dispose of their old out-dated stocks, in order to get cash money to buy new stocks and they sometimes dispose of the goods at cost or even at a loss. The turnover in these cheapsales—as we

all know from Chotirmalls and all the other shops in the Capital—is very, very big, but the margin of profit is *nil*, or even a loss is incurred sometimes. However, these small businessmen have now to pay $\frac{1}{2}\%$ on their gross turnovers.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not of course say that all the new taxes introduced are no good. The Government has to use money and some taxes must be imposed.

The introduction of a capital gains tax, for instance, is a progressive move. This is a form of tax which is advocated by all socialists. The capital gain out of a rubber estate, for instance, or shares from the share market, is not due to the personal effort of the owner. It is not a gain earned by sweat and toil or by the skill of the owner. The appreciation of value of a rubber estate or other landed properties is mainly due to the money which the Government spent on the development of the land; the Government makes roads, lays cables and water pipe-lines so that the value of the land goes up. Since a great percentage of the gains is due to Government's development, therefore, it is fair that a greater percentage should go to the Government. The gain from the shares is also not a hard earned gain. It is due to the economic expansion of the country. Therefore, part of it must go to the Government. Even though this tax is proposed, I feel that the 20% levy is too low, and that the Government has no sincerity in imposing the tax. I think it is a camouflage to show to the people that the Government is soaking the rich, but in fact they are soaking the poor. Throughout the 72-page Budget speech of the Finance Minister, I cannot find how much money he intends to raise from this system of tax. In the Estimates of the Federal Revenue, I find that the receipt from capital gains tax is only entered as \$10 as a token vote.

I will now proceed to substantiate why I say that the present financial policy is too harsh for the poor and

the living and too lenient for the rich and the dead. The Minister of Finance says that the country is short of money, we have to spend more on defence, and every patriot should tighten his belt and contribute more to the Government. That is fair enough. But I do not understand why he should only single out the poor man and the small businessman and let away the rich man. The small man is taxed on everything—sugar tax, crown cork tax, textile duty and so on; but, on the other hand, the rich man is let away fairly easily. Take, for instance, the duty on gold. It is a luxurious item and only the rich can afford to use it as jewellery. The Minister of Finance has said that because of the widespread smuggling in gold, therefore, he has decided to reduce the duty from 25% *ad valorem* to 10% *ad valorem*. We cannot follow the logic of his argument. We can have smuggling in any commodity. Is he going to reduce the duty of the other commodities, in order to curb the smuggling trade? Take, for instance, the sugar duty. There is no duty on sugar in Penang Island, whereas sugar in the mainland is subject to duty. So smuggling of sugar from Penang to the mainland is bound to happen, and is the Minister of Finance going to reduce the duty on sugar because of this smuggling?

Enche' Geh Chong Keat (Penang Utara): If the Member from Singapore will give way on a point of clarification—to bring sugar from Penang to the mainland will be just like bringing coal to New Castle.

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: I am very much obliged for the information offered by the Honourable Member, and I thank him for that, but there are other trades we have. For instance, tyres in Singapore are not subject to a very high tax, whereas tyres in the Mainland are subject to a very high duty. So, smuggling of tyres is bound to happen from Singapore to the Mainland; and because of this, is the Honourable Minister of Finance going to reduce

or waive the duty on tyres or on other commodities?

Similarly, the Minister of Finance also said that because we could not get much from estate duties, therefore he decided to reduce the rate on the top income bracket from 60 per cent to 50 per cent. A millionaire who died and left behind \$2 million to his heirs will now pay 10 per cent less to the Government. Why are we so soft to the man who died rich? After all, he would have made full use of his money, he would have enjoyed life with his money during his life time, and when he died, he could not take his money with him to his grave. So, he should not be too bothered about how we dispose of his fortune and he should allow the public as a whole to benefit from the vast fortune he left behind. I think of all the Members of this House, the Minister of Finance himself is probably the only Member who will benefit from this reduction, because he is the only Member most likely to leave several millions of dollars behind when he dies; (*Laughter*) but, then, he is not going to die in another five years' time. So, why should he bother to introduce the reduction now? Why should he bother at all about the disposal of his vast fortune after his death? Under the new scale, the group of men who die rich benefit generally. Whether a man dies rich, not so rich, or very rich, his fortunate heirs, sons and children, get better benefit. For instance, if a man dies and leaves \$100,000 to his son, under the old scale he is taxed \$8,250; but under the new scale he is only taxed \$5,000 which means a saving of \$3,250 for him and for his family. Now, if a man dies and leaves \$200,000, previously he had to pay a tax of \$25,750, but now he is only paying \$16,250, a saving of \$9,500 for him and his family—and this saving tends to go up according to the size of his fortune. If he leaves \$1,000,000, previously he has to pay \$328,250, now he is only paying \$231,250, a saving of \$97,000. If millionaires of the category of the Minister of

Finance happen to die, then they will save 10 per cent of their total fortunes. Sir, we all know that the Minister of Finance is a man of fortune. So, the financial policy must reflect his own personal thinking. It is too much to expect him to put up tax proposals which will seriously hurt his own kinsmen. But why do it so blatantly?

Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail (Kuala Trengganu Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Dewan ini bukan untuk burong² nuri dari Petir. Sa-panjang masa ini, saya nampak dia hanya mengulang²kan chakap-nya; sa-olah² Ahli² P.A.P. dua hari yang lepas menumpukan bahathan-nya di-Dewan ini. Masa kita sadikit, berpuluh² Ahli Yang Berhormat yang belum berchakap lagi, kalau di-biarkan *repetition* macham ini, maka ta' sampai kamana kita.

Mr Speaker: Will you be brief?

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: I will take only one minute. So, I . . .

Enche' Geh Chong Keat: Is the Honourable Member from Singapore trying to make it tough for the Minister of Finance?

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: No. I hope that the Honourable Member there will not have the wrong impression. This is only a criticism on principle. This is a criticism for the good of the country. In fact, this criticism is offered on the basis that it is good for the Alliance itself, because we all know that the Alliance Party is based on the support of the people from the ulus, from the kampongs. So, the financial policy of the Alliance must be to the benefit of these poor people and not the rich—and this is good for the whole of the country, because I do not think we should make this place a very discontented country in which only the communists can gain benefit.

Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-panjang bahathan ini banyak di-tumpukan kapada *personal* Menteri Kewangan sendiri, bukan banyak pada dasar-nya.

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: No. I have not touched on the personal fortune of the Minister.

Mr Speaker: Will you get on with your speech?

Enche' Jek Yeun Thong: Yes, Sir. So, this is only for the good of the Government as a whole, because, I think, if the financial policy can be based on a more reasonable and just principle, then not only the people will benefit but the Alliance itself, which is supposed to be supported by these poor people. It will get support from the poor people who will be grateful to the Alliance for this financial policy. Right now, in Singapore, while the rich men are celebrating the 5 per cent reduction in tax on their incomes, the lower income groups are yelling because they are made to pay more. The hard-working husbands and wives who used to enjoy some benefit by being taxed separately are now made to pay more. As far as I can see, there is no justification in this tax policy. The rich men who have everything at stake are not paying anything more, while the poor men who have nothing to lose if the country is being overrun are made to pay more, and I sincerely hope that the Government would review this retrograde policy before it is too late.

Enche' Tan Toh Hong (Bukit Bintang): Mr Speaker, Sir, in a war of survival the question facing this House is: Shall we go all out to build up our military might at the expense of economic growth and at the expense of social services? Or, shall we have a Budget that would be in deficit so that our defence needs, our economic impetus, our standard of living continued to be reinforced? The Honourable the Minister of Finance has chosen the second course of action. In terms of present realities, it is the only right course, and also it is the course of greatest resistance. To build up our defence, and at the same time to proceed with national construction, he has courageously chosen the course which gives

him the most headache. It is like a woman rubber tapper, (*Laughter*) who has to feed her babies and at the same time has to mend the mosquito nets for protection against vicious mosquito attacks.

Given such a grave situation as it exists now, we must therefore analyse this controversial Budget along the lines of national objectives, not petty criticisms. Is this Budget designed to achieve those objectives—the objectives of survival and growth? The answer is "Yes". First, let us appraise this Budget in the light of the struggle for survival.

This august House now assembled learns for the first time in our history of the total national expenditure one quarter goes to defence. It amounts to \$589 million; and this vast sum of money is necessary. It is necessary because imperialistic Soekarno persists in encroaching on our rightful territories. It is necessary because, if we do not prepare ourselves, if we do not do all that is necessary to be eternally vigilant, this small and rich nation will be swallowed up by Soekarno. This sum of \$589 million will be one of our best armours, and is also one of the most effectual means of preserving our peace.

Herein, Mr Speaker, Sir, our prosperity will find confirmation in leadership of clear purpose clearly proclaimed. (*Applause*). No-one can accuse the Alliance Government that it is not doing its utmost to ensure the defence and security of Malaysia. Even then, this is only the first step in a series of planned action in the battle for survival, in the battle for betterment. Although Malaysia is second only to Japan in Asia, no sane, responsible government can afford to relax in national construction, especially in a developing economy like ours.

In this respect, the Malaysian people will find in this Budget all the necessary elements designed to meet a set of national and social challenges, the challenges of more Petaling Jayas—incidentally, Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Enche'

Lee Kuan Yew admires so much our Petaling Jaya (HONOURABLE MEMBERS: *Hear, hear,*)—more electricity, more factories, more padi fields, more schools, more clinics, and a host of other amenities which a decent human should enjoy—amenities like those which the shopkeepers of Bukit Bintang are now enjoying, the nurses in the General Hospital are now enjoying, and the teachers, clerks and office girls are now enjoying. Admittedly, there are slum dwellers in Bukit Bintang and a great number of workers, tappers and kampong folks who do not enjoy these modern city amenities. But with more budgets like this that are orientated towards national development and construction, I am sure they too will have a chance to enjoy them in time to come.

Mr Speaker, Sir, this Budget is designed essentially for the future. Nevertheless, the time will come when our children and our children's children will thank this House for having approved and endorsed this historical Budget, because this is a budget that encompasses a new political and economic framework. The seal of Malaysia in this Budget is irrevocable. (*Applause*). An inspiring feature in this Budget is the economic integration of a common market wherein development and national expansion will continue to give the Malaysian people a higher standard of living and will continue to ensure our children a better life. The first prerequisite is that the national cake must continue to grow bigger and bigger. That is the first prerequisite.

Mr Speaker, Sir, let us now examine briefly this new economic framework in the light of this national cake. The first step towards geographical harmonization of such taxes is now under the consideration of this House. This House has just authorised the setting up of a Federal Industrial Development Authority and had just given legal powers to Bank Negara for the necessary arrangement in issuing our own currency and coins. The Tariff Advisory Board is already working and the National

Development Planning Committee has already gone into action. All these mechanics for acceleration of growth and industrial expansion are there now. Our investment climate has never been better, despite confrontation; our currency is strong, and we have also command of our own resources in foreign exchange.

The vital factors, therefore, are monetary investment and human investment.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is heartening to see that the total investment in 1964 continues to increase, ranging from 11 per cent increase in Malaya to 26 per cent increase in Sarawak. In 1965, the larger injections than previous years of development estimates and expenditure into the economy will certainly accelerate growth, giving our people more jobs and bring about increased economic activities, particularly if we see this against the background of yearly growth in Malaya since independence.

Mr Speaker, Sir, this growth is clearly expressed by the figures of Gross Capital Formation. I shall now read the absolute figures of Gross Capital Formation from year to year:

1959	...	...	520 million
1960	...	...	875 million
1961	...	...	986 million
1962	...	...	1,159 million
1963	...	...	1,207 million
1964	...	...	1,339 million.

In percentages of annual increase, in 1960 the Gross Capital Formation increased by 68.3%—just after independence—in 1961, it increased by 12.7%, in 1962, it increased by 17.5%, in 1963 by 4.1% and in 1964 by 11%. It has increased all the time.

I put it to you, Honourable Members, no one dares to raise his voice and say that the national cake is not growing larger and larger. And this has been achieved despite the consistent downward trend of export earnings since 1959.

Very briefly, Honourable Members, this is the Alliance's story of progress

building upon progress. No wonder the Honourable the Prime Minister of Singapore admires our Petaling Jayas so much! (HONOURABLE MEMBERS: *Hear, hear.*)

Mr Speaker, Sir, what is happening in the monetary investment picture is also simultaneously being shown in the investment in human skills, intelligence and ability.

Take the expenditure spent in educating our children. Between the periods 1955 to 1965, for the States of Malaya alone, education expenditure has increased by 413% and, for 1965, the Honourable Minister of Finance has wisely, very wisely, allocated a sum of \$389 million or 16.5% of total national expenditure—the highest so far spent in education.

Coupled with the innovation of comprehensive upper secondary schools with its four main streams—academic, trade, technical and vocational—I call this Budget a revolutionary investment in developing our human resources, in developing our youths. (*Applause.*)

Mr Speaker, Sir, to sum up this story of progress building upon progress, may I borrow a famous quotation from that great champion of underdeveloped countries, the late Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, who said, "Real progress must ultimately depend on industrialisation." May I humbly add that no industrialisation is possible without appropriate investment in human resources, which is what the Alliance Government is doing now.

Mr Speaker, Sir, this is no ordinary Budget. It is a Budget of strength, of growth, of responsibility. It is an adult typifying the emergence of a young child into adulthood and should deserve the commendation of this House.

Now, may I touch on that big "bang, bang" of the opposition on the so-called social revolution in narrowing the gaps between the rich and the poor—the haves and the have-nots—which was repeatedly brought up before this solemn House

yesterday and today. If I remember correctly, I think I have heard this so-called social revolution somewhere during the last election. What amazes me more is that the Socialist Front has also taken up this worn-out battle cry!

The Honourable Member from Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, and the Honourable Members from Bungsar and from Batu have talked a great deal on the burden of taxation and they accused the Alliance Government of not distributing the burden of taxation according to the ability to pay. I wonder if they really make an exhaustive study of the White Paper on "Tax changes within Malaysia", which I am sure they each have a copy. On page 3 of it, under "Rates of Tax on Direct Taxation", a full scale of progressive income tax is clearly shown. May I paraphrase for them to save them a trip to a tax-consultant? I hope the Honourable Member from Jerai, who is not here, does not mind! If a clerk earns a nett profit, or nett assessable income of \$2,500 a year, he pays a tax of 6%, another person earns \$5,000 a year and he pays a tax of 9%; for another person earning \$7,500, the tax is 12%, for earning \$10,000 the tax is 15%, for \$15,000 the tax is 20%, for \$20,000 the tax is 23%, for \$25,000 the tax is 25%, for \$35,000 the tax is 30% and for \$45,000 earning the tax is 40%; and finally a rich man who earns a nett assessable income of \$50,000 or more a year he pays a rate of 50%. Putting it another way, a clerk earning a nett assessable income of \$2,500 a year pays for the whole year \$150 tax or 6%. But if a rich *towkay* like the Honourable Member for Batu earns a nett assessable income of \$50,000 a year, he pays a tax of \$25,000 or half of his nett earning. After that, every dollar he makes, he gives 50 cents to the Central Government to the Government's kitty. Mind you, half of this \$50,000 or \$25,000 which goes to the Government's kitty is used for social services for the poor, for defence, for development. Is not that, Mr Speaker, Sir, taking more

from the rich and very much less from the low income group? Who can deny that the rich is taxed much, much higher than the low income group? We heard a lot of half-truths and distorted truths and, if I may say so, some of them are lies from the Members of the Opposition Bench. We, the Alliance Backbenchers are very disappointed over the standard in which they carry on distorted debate in this august House. (HONOURABLE MEMBERS: *Hear, hear.*)

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Member from Singapore, Mr Jek Yeun Thong, was talking about death duty. In the case of death duty it is also a progressive rate just as the income tax rates which I have explained. Again, page 12 of this White Paper shows a graduated tax scale which is based on a progressive series of taxation—the larger the value of an estate the greater the death duty. If a rich man dies leaving behind an estate of \$2 million, \$1 million goes to the Government as death duty, or half of the estate, and this \$1 million is used by the Government for social services, for health, for education, etc., benefiting the masses, for development and for defence ensuring our survival. Who dares to say that this is not taking from the rich for the poor? Besides, if a man dies leaving behind a property worth \$50,000, he has only to pay a death duty of 5%, or \$2,500 out of the estate of \$50,000 goes to the Government. Further, if a hard working man belonging to the broad masses of the lower middle income groups, like a teacher or a shopkeeper in Bukit Bintang, dies leaving behind a property, say a house worth \$25,000, not a single cent of death duty will be charged. This goes to show how much the Alliance Government values the hard-earned savings of the lower middle class people—for instance, a Government officer who lives in the Kampong Pandan Quarters.

This clearly exposes all sorts of half truths, quarter truths and lies that have been said about the Alliance Government in regard to the tax

changes it has proposed. It is all in the White Paper; the whole Schedule is there, but unfortunately for some reason or other the members of the P.A.P. purposely distorts the whole idea of direct taxation.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we have heard again from the Honourable Member from Singapore, Mr Jek Yeun Thong, that the Alliance does not tax the rich more. The Honourable Prime Minister of Singapore and the Member for Bungsar, all P.A.P. members, loudly proclaimed that the Alliance Government is not fair, not just and not equitable. On this Budget, Mr Speaker, Sir, the P.A.P. has definitely distorted facts and twisted truths and this has made many responsible people feel very sad indeed. I put it to the P.A.P. that their criticisms are unfair and unjust; they themselves are unfair and unjust. (HONOURABLE MEMBER: *Hear, hear*). Perhaps they do this with the view of capturing political gains, but certainly it is not the right way to go about in a democratic system of Government, or perhaps they do this with a view to ending the two-year truce which the chairman of the P.A.P. announced. Some two months ago the P.A.P. chairman flew here and begged for a truce for two years and that was given much publicity. Hardly three months have passed before they have broken their promise and again unfairly and unjustly attacked the Alliance Government and this breaking of promises is just like what they had done formerly when they came to Malaya to contest the Federal elections: promises made, promises not kept and now they deliberately distort this Budget by half truths and by quarter truths. Mr Speaker, Sir, we have seen, again, the so-called "wind of change" of the P.A.P., as they see it themselves. They like to change all the time. (*Laughter*) There is nothing which we can do about it, Mr Speaker. (*Applause*).

Coming to the Budget, and direct tax in particular, do not forget that income tax rates—which I have shown just now as progressive—not only rise as the income bracket rises but the

rate itself goes up faster and faster as the income bracket climbs upwards; in other words, not only do taxes go up but they also go up steeper and steeper. That is the principle of direct taxation according to the ability to pay—the rich pays more and the very poor do not pay anything at all. There should be no doubt that the rich is being taxed much more than the poor. Not only is it done according to the equitable principle of ability to pay but also these taxes collected from the rich are used directly and indirectly to finance social services of one kind or another for the benefit of the have-nots—services like hospitals, schools, welfare aid and so forth. Where does the money on social services come from? In fact, in Malaya there appears to be a direct co-relation that as the total income tax receipt rises—as the proceeds from the rich, from the haves, from the companies rise—the social services provided by the Alliance Government for the people, for the masses, also rise at the same level. Income tax receipts for 1959 was \$125 million while for 1965 they are \$248 million. Over this period of years direct income tax has arisen by 200% and the money spent on social services by the Alliance Government for the same period rose by 215%. For simplification, another way of putting it is that for every cent that is collected through direct income tax—every cent from the well to do, from the companies—this one cent has also gone into services for the have-nots, like health, welfare and education. Every economist, even Professor Silcock, will agree that the progressive taxation as shown by these two Schedules is definitely related to the concept of ability to pay, the richer you are the more tax you pay.

In the case of the turnover tax, the impact of this new tax is spread throughout every section of the economy. On any particular trade the critical question is whether the trade deals with essential commodities or in luxury items and whether the system of marketing in the

structure of that industry permits the cumulative tax to be passed over to the working man. It does need a lot of analysis and study and yet we have heard Members of the Opposition lumping everything together like *rojak* and say this is bad. (*Laughter*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, this turnover tax requires a very exhaustive length of study of each trade in Malaysia and also of an analysis of commodity by commodity—and yet the Opposition came out with a P.A.P. contention. But, Mr Speaker, Sir, if essential articles consumed daily by the working men bear the burden of the turnover tax, then there is a *prima facie* case for exemption of this particular trade. I refer, for example, to sundry shops, small coffee shops, even textile shops. On the other hand, trades like share broking are more confined to the rich, and it is well known that share broking firms generally make great fortunes, particularly in the tin booms and in the booms of new issues of shares. In fact, even before a new share broker firm starts any business it has already fetched a good \$60,000 or so, which shows the profitability of the trade. These rich and exclusive classes of stockbrokers can shoulder the burden of turnover taxes. In fact, the early turnover of stocks and shares amount to something like \$1,500 million and this would give a yield of \$7½ million to the Government and this would be spent for the masses of the poor people in the lower income group. I really could not understand, Mr Speaker, Sir, why the P.A.P. make so much empty noises when they did not even make an effort to study the implications of the turnover tax.

Nevertheless, there are situations where there is a good *prima facie* case for exemption where turnover tax is concerned—that is, in the first few initial infant years when the businessman just started trading and where his volume of trade may not come to the break-even point that would give his firm a profit and enable his firm to carry on. Also, in the situation where in the last few years of declining business that is

slowly dying out, the losses every year is getting larger and larger year by year, then there is a good case for exemption. These are the things that the P.A.P. people should talk about and not by simply brandishing half-truths and distorted facts.

Again, Mr Speaker, Sir, take the case of the capital gains tax—note the word “Capital gains tax”. Capital gains tax is obviously designed to tax exclusively the “haves”. How can the “havenots” possess the capital when they are the “havenots” and this capital gains tax is designed more particularly to tax that part of the capital in the economy which indulges in land speculation and in share speculation. All short-term capital gains less than 5 years that accrue from the sale of the property shares are subject to tax. Mr Speaker, Sir, economically this capital gains tax has great long-term beneficial effects to our national economy and growth because “speculative” capital would be induced to invest in projects that would accelerate economic growth and expansion in order to bring about more productive activities.

The Honourable Minister of Finance is obviously very concerned that non-speculative hard-earned savings of a thrifty man is exempted from capital gains tax. If it keeps a property for more than 10 years there is proper saving. Thus a Government officer, a teacher, or a trader who buys a house by instalment and keeps it for 10 years in order to safeguard or to ensure for the rainy days need not pay any capital gains tax at all when he sells the property.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I think I have spoken long enough and there are other Honourable Members who would also like to take the floor. But before I conclude, may I stress that in the battle for survival we have to bear in mind that strength is our only hope: a new soldier trained is strength; a new bridge built is strength; a new hospital is strength; a new school is strength; and definitely, a new technician or a

scholar is strength. (*Applause*). In their hearts and minds Members of the loyal Opposition know that this is a Budget of strength and hope for upon it will emerge the complex shape of things of future events to come—economic, political and military complexes—that will push this tiny Malaysia well on to the forefront. (*Applause*). History will call this Budget a monument of growth, gratitude and responsibility, because this Budget has no powder, has no rouge, has no lipstick. It is austere; it is austere because the Alliance Government recognises political realities, because it encompasses economic and social truths as they now exist. Most significant of all, this Budget is an assurance of tomorrow. The real question is: have we got the nerve and the will? For it is a long road, an uphill road, all the way. Thank you, Sir. (*Applause*).

Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail (Kuala Trengganu Utara): Tuan Yang Dipertua, dalam membinchangkan belanjawan yang telah di-bentangkan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan, saya nampak bahawa Dewan ini, oleh sa-tengah² pihak telah di-gunakan sa-bagai satu medan *propaganda* untuk parti sendiri. Saya tidak faham, kenapa-kah pihak Petir, atau P.A.P. memuntahkan kechaman yang begitu hebat ka-atas belanjawan ini. Ada-kah kerana belanjawan ini belanjawan yang di-kemukakan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan, atau kerana belanjawan ini belanjawan yang di-siapkan oleh orang yang bernama Tan Siew Sin? Saya merasa motive yang besar daripada serangan yang pahit di-churahkan oleh P.A.P. atau Petir, atau kechaman yang di-panah oleh Petir ini kepada belanjawan ini, ia-lah kerana belanjawan ini di-siapkan oleh sa-orang yang jauh pandangan-nya, yang jauh pengalaman-nya, yang bernama Tan Siew Sin, yang menjadi musuh ketat kepada P.A.P. dan ketua² P.A.P. sendiri. Jadi, kalau sudah demikian dan kalau sudah memang kechaman ini lebih berdasarkan kechaman kerana perselisihan peribadi, maka saya merasa banyak dan sa-bahagian besar daripada kechaman²

yang telah di-lemparkan oleh Petir itu tidak benar dan tidak dapat di-terima.

Saya sangat hairan sa-belah pagi tadi sa-orang ahli Petir, Enche' Rahim bin Ishak, dari Singapura sampai tergamak mengatakan ada konon-nya orang² ramai memberitahu kapadanya: kalau bagini-lah chukai² yang akan di-kenakan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan kepada ra'ayat, maka ra'ayat tidak akan memilih Perikatan dalam Pilihan Raya yang lepas. Saya tertanya² ada-kah ini Rahim Ishak yang berchakap atau Petir yang berchakap atau P.A.P. yang berchakap, kerana pengertian daripada perchakapan ini sa-benar-nya P.A.P. tidak suka Perikatan menang, sa-benar-nya perlawanan yang besar dalam Pilihan Raya yang lepas antara Perikatan dengan Socialist Front. Ada-kah dengan tidak sengaja pihak P.A.P. sudah menyatakan dalam Dewan ini pagi ini bahawa memang sa-benar-nya P.A.P. lebih suka kalau Socialist Front menang dalam Pilihan Raya yang lepas. Saya ingin tahu dan saya juga ingin tahu perkara yang demikian kalau P.A.P. ingin Perikatan kalah dalam Pilihan Raya yang lepas erti-nya P.A.P. suka konfrantasi Indonesia ini menang, suka kita diganyang dan di-hanchorkan oleh Indonesia. Ini-kah dia—ini-kah dia logik dari perjuangan P.A.P? Maka terang dan jelas P.A.P. sa-buah parti yang paling munafik dan yang paling hypocrite dalam tanah ayer kita (*Tepok*).

Saya melihat ukoran yang di-kehendaki oleh P.A.P. di-atas bentok ekonomi yang hendak di-adakan-nya di-tanah ayer kita ini. Apa-kah benda-nya yang hendak di-buat? Baharu² ini—minggu lepas—10 hari yang lepas P.A.P. telah menyambut Hari 10 Tahun-nya, dan salah satu matlamat yang hendak di-chapai oleh P.A.P. ia-lah hendak mengambil hati orang Melayu yang telah di-hanchorkan sa-bagai kacha, di-Singapura dan Tanah Melayu. Saya baca dalam *Sunday Times*, 22 haribulan November—P.A.P. menerangkan—the right way to end Malay poverty—jalan yang betul untuk menamatkan kemiskinan orang Melayu, dan dalam

Dewan ini pun kita dengar kechaman² yang bukan sedikit terhadap chara² hendak menolong orang Melayu. Bila saya bacha akan programme yang hendak di-jalankan oleh P.A.P. untuk menyelamatkan orang Melayu, saya teringat-lah pada satu pepatah Melayu berkata: macham ibu ayam bertelor sa-biji, bising sa-buah kampong. Apa-kah yang hendak di-buat oleh P.A.P. bagi menyelamatkan ekonomi orang Melayu kata-nya ia-lah dengan democratic socialist economic planning—ranchangan ekonomi sosialis. Chara apa-kah ranchangan ekonomi sosialis itu? Saya bacha atau saya beri intisari daripada ranchangan itu—mengadakan penyelidekan berkenaan dengan tanaman² yang beruntong yang boleh di-tanam oleh petani Melayu, satu. Memberi pinjam kepada petani, dua. Melateh petani² Melayu itu dalam teknik moden dan bahagian tanaman, tiga. Yang keempat ia-lah mengadakan sistem agriculture and co-operative. Kalau ini sahaja yang di-katakan oleh Petir suatu ranchangan ekonomi sosialis hendak menyelamatkan orang Melayu, maka lebih indah khabar daripada rupa. Kerana ini memang sedang di-jalankan sekarang, co-operative dan tanaman² yang sesuai untuk petani² sedang kita jalankan. Maka tidak ada satu benda yang baharu yang hendak di-beri dan yang hendak di-tawarkan oleh Petir untuk menyelamatkan ekonomi orang Melayu. Telor sa-biji tetapi bising sa-buah kampong. Ini-lah Petir dan ini-lah dia panah-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dari sememjak hari sa-malam sa-lain daripada panah² buloh daripada Petir ini, Dewan ini telah mendengar beberapa fikiran dan pendapat dalam beberapa perkara yang sa-patut-nya tidak di-katakan dan tidak di-chakapkan pada masa ini. Kita sa-patut-nya sedar-lah sekarang ini kita di-dalam menghadapi pancharoba yang besar dan kita dalam keadaan perang yang tidak berishtihaar serta kita dalam masa hendak memelihara perpaduan segala warga-negara di-tanah ayer kita ini dari pada segala keturunan, kaum dan bangsa, tiba² meletus serangan ka-atas hak istimewa Melayu, bahasa

kebangsaan yang hendak di-jadikan bahasa Melayu dan macham² lagi. Saya sendiri berfikir kalau saya hendak berchakap dengan semangat yang bernyala² saya boleh chakap, tetapi ini bukan masa-nya kita berchakap dengan semangat yang bernyala². Kita berchakap dengan hati yang tenang dan dengan kepala yang dingin memandang akan nasib tanah ayer kita ini yang hendak kita atorkan bagi masa yang akan datang. Apa-lah guna-nya di-ulang² tentang hak istimewa orang Melayu ini—ta' usah masok dalam Perlembagaan, tidak guna. Perkara ini sudah selesai. Soal hak istimewa sudah selesai terchatit dalam Perlembagaan. Sa-kurang²-nya orang yang bukan Melayu yang menjadi warga-negara Persekutuan Malaysia yang mendapat kehormatan di-pileh menjadi ahli dalam Dewan ini berterima kaseh-lah kepada anak negeri ini dan kepada tanah ayer yang bertuah ini. Ini hanya untuk chatitan tentang hak istimewa Melayu dalam Perlembagaan—itu pagi, petang, siang, malam tidak berhenti di-maki dan di-hamun. Orang yang tidak berterima kaseh dan orang yang tidak berbudi tidak akan mendapat tempat hidup, dan saya berkata kepada siapa sahaja yang menentang hak istimewa Melayu ini dalam Perlembagaan bahawa ra'ayat sendiri, dan bukan sahaja orang Melayu dan bumiputera ra'ayat Malaysia ini sendiri, akan memberi hukuman kepada-nya dalam masa yang akan datang. Tidak lama masa-nya kerana sekarang ini kesedaran sudah memunchak, kesedaran untuk membentok satu bangsa yang kokoh dan tidak ada suatu jaminan yang lebih kokoh untuk penyatuan bangsa Malaysia melainkan ia-lah dengan ada-nya perimbangan ekonomi. Kalau tidak ada perimbangan ekonomi tidak usah mimpi-lah. Memang akan timbul rasa tidak puas hati, rasa kechurigaan dan rasa ragu² antara satu puak dengan satu puak. Perimbangan ekonomi mesti di-chari, mesti di-usahakan, mesti di-timbulkan dan mesti di-adakan, dan ini-lah hak² istimewa yang di-beri kepada orang Melayu yang lemah dalam bidang ekonomi.

Kalau tidak hendak di-tulis dalam Perlembagaan, kita telah tengok banyak di-negeri² lain bila ada hak yang sama dengan penoh dan persaimbangan ekonomi, belum terjamin maka sa-suatu peristiwa malang yang dahshat akan tertimpa kepada kaum itu. Di-Amerika sendiri saya bawa untuk pengetahuan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh yang tidak hadir pada petang² ini, biasa-nya dia petang² tidak hadir, hak sama rata memang terchatit dalam Perlembagaan antara segala warga negara Amerika tetapi apa terjadi di-negeri² di-selatan Amerika di-mana hak di-beri sama kepada warga negara dari kaum Negro. Kerana ekonomi mereka tidak terjamin mereka boleh di-perkotak-katekan oleh yang kuat dalam segi ekonomi. Maka untuk mencapai kekuatan dan ketenteraman politik dalam negeri kita ini, warga negara Malaysia dari segala keturunan sedar hanya boleh di-chapai dengan persaimbangan ekonomi dan biarkan-lah hak istimewa ini yang tidak sa-berapa, di-kekalkan sa-hingga dapat-lah di-beri peluang yang lebeh sedikit kepada bumi putera, orang Melayu, yang lemah dalam ekonomi, yang lemah dalam pelajaran.

Bagi pehak orang Melayu pula satu perkara ada ternyata dan jelas kalau kita hanya lena dengan hak istimewa, kalau kita hanya sedap dan nyaman dengan hak istimewa dan tidak kita menggunakan kesempatan yang ada ini untuk membena diri sendiri, untuk menguatkan diri dengan kerjasama bersefahaman dengan segala warga negara Tanah Melayu ini dengan sokongan segala pehak yang boleh menyokong, kalau kaum China lebeh senang tolong-lah beri sokongan—helping hand kepada orang Melayu dalam perkara ini, orang lain pun begitu juga. Kalau ini tidak di-sadari oleh orang Melayu sendiri tidak ka-mana juga kita. Orang Melayu mesti belajar daripada sekarang dengan ada-nya hak istimewa—yang kita akan sampai kepada sa'at² yang perlu di-pertahankan, sampai kepada bila masa untuk menjamin kedudukan dan persaimbangan ekonomi, kita mesti berusaha mem-

perkuatkan diri kita sendiri dengan menggunakan kesempatan ini dengan sa-penoh²-nya, tidak boleh kita hanya berserah kepada takdir, tidak boleh kita ini berserah kepada bantuan Kerajaan. Ini semangat yang harus kita kikis, harus kita belajar bergantung kepada diri sendiri. Kor'an dan Islam pun menyuruh, bahawa Tuhan telah berfirman, bahawa Tuhan tidak mengubah nasib satu² kaum itu kalau kaum itu tidak mahu mengubah nasib-nya sendiri. Kita belajar-lah dari Kor'an, kita belajar daripada Islam dan kita jalankan-lah tenaga kita bagi membaiki diri kita sendiri dengan dorongan dan sokongan kerjasama seluruh warga negara dengan jaminan yang ada dalam Perlembagaan ini.

Tentang soal berbagai² bahasa, Ahli² Yang Berhormat yang lain juga berchakap panjang. Soal ini tidak timbul lagi. Bahasa rasmi itu ia-lah bahasa Melayu dan bahasa Inggeris sementara waktu dan bahasa kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal menjadi bahasa Melayu. Sudah selesai kita putuskan dan kalau ini hendak di-usek lagi akan pechah-lah saloran perpaduan kita di-Malaysia ini. Jangan di-usek² bahasa kebangsaan, jangan chuba hendak di-perkembar²kan, di-perdukan, di-pertigakan, di-perempatkan bahasa kebangsaan, akan pechah ikatan Malaysia. Ini-lah jaminan yang besar bagi kita, menjamin perpaduan Malaysia, menjamin kekuatan Malaysia yang terdiri daripada berbagai² kaum yang ada dalam negeri ini. Kenapa-kah pehak² Pembangkang tidak faham perkara ini, kenapa-kah di-timbul²kan dari satu masa ka-satu masa soal multi-lingualism ini, adakah mereka itu hendak menghanchor-kan Malaysia? Ada-kah mereka itu hendak menjahanamkan Malaysia? Ada-kah mereka hendak menenggelamkan Malaysia? Kalau hendak menenggelamkan Malaysia, lebeh baik dia keluar, jangan dudok dalam Malaysia. (Tepok).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tentang soal multi-lingulism ini terseret-lah soal Lim Lian Geok yang di-katakan konon-nya Lim Lian Geok ini ia-lah

johan perjuang bahasa China di-negeri ini. Alang-kah salah-nya gambaran yang di-berikan oleh Lim Lian Geok dan perjuangan-nya. Tindakan yang Kerajaan ambil ka-atas Lim Lian Geok bukan kerana soal bahasa. Kita semua tahu ini lama sudah, soal keselamatan dalam negeri, soal usaha² Lim Lian Geok membahayakan keselamatan negeri kita, membahayakan perhubungan kaum dengan kaum, ada-kah kita mesti biarkan sa-orang yang tidak bertanggung-jawab, yang tidak tahu ta'at setia kepada negeri ini, menghanchorkan negeri kita ini sendiri?

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh sendiri memperjuangkan multi-linguism tetapi belum sampai had-nya dia membahayakan keselamatan dalam negeri. Tetapi terang-lah bahawa Lim Lian Geok sudah sampai had kepada membahayakan keselamatan negeri ini. Siapa sahaja ahli, saya perchaya pehak Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri akan mengambil tindakan atas siapa sahaja yang akan menggunakan bahasa untuk membahayakan keselamatan negara. Dalam perkara ini terseret-lah kita kepada soal University Nanyang. Saya rasa dengan sipat yang ada sekarang ini, dengan chorak yang ada sekarang ini, tidak ada warga negara yang waras fikiran-nya mengatakan Kerajaan akan mengakui University Nanyang. Tidak ada manusia yang waras fikiran-nya minta Kerajaan memberikan bantuan kepada pelajar University Nanyang, kerana soal yang besar dalam satu² rumah pelajaran ia-lah isi pelajaran-nya. Kalau isi pelajaran di-University Nanyang di-katakan oleh sa-buah Surohanjaya yang menyiasat University itu sendiri tidak sampai kepada taraf ka-mana², apa lagi pula dia mengajar dengan bahasa China, bahasa yang di-aku² dalam sistem pelajaran kita, bagaimana boleh di-aku²? Bagaimana-kah boleh di-terima University Nanyang menjadi sa-bahagian daripada yayasan pelajaran tinggi di-negara kita ini. Dan saya sa-bagai sa-orang wakil ra'ayat dalam Dewan ini akan tetap membangkang dengan penoh hati sa-lagi saya menjadi Ahli Dewan ini, sa-barang

tindakan Kerajaan untuk mengakui atau memberi bantuan kepada University Nanyang, sa-lagi Nanyang tidak mengubah chorak, tidak usah chorak. Nama-nya pun lain, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Nanyang ini ma'ana-nya selatan Negeri China, ini merupakan semangat suatu perkara yang maseh kita tidak ingini. Ini satu perjuangan daripada gerakan kebangsaan China yang chawangan-nya ka-mari, semangat daripada nama Nanyang itu sendiri tidak sesuai dengan peribadi dan keperibadian negara kita ini (*Tepok*).

Masa² yang akhir ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ketika Kerajaan sedang hendak mempersembahkan satu sistem pelajaran baharu, satu evolusi pelajaran baharu—yang di-namakan sistem pelajaran aneka jurusan, gulungan² yang chauvinist yang hendak menanggok di-ayer keroh menggunakan kesempatan ini menyuara sa-mula supaya bahasa China menjadi bahasa rasmi, dan ini-lah perkara yang menjadi kita teringat kembali kepada bahawa sa-nya barangkali ini suatu perchehan daripada usaha lama gulungan² yang hendak menentang Kerajaan dan bahasa rasmi. Pada masa yang akhir² ini ada gulungan orang² China menggunakan kesempatan mendesak Kerajaan membentok pelajaran aneka jurusan ini mengemukakan supaya bahasa China di-jadikan salah satu bahasa dalam sekolah aneka jurusan, mengemukakan tentang supaya bahasa China menjadi bahasa rasmi dalam Malaysia ini. Tetapi, Tuan yang di-Pertua, saya sa-bagai sa-orang ra'ayat biasa dan sa-bagai sa-orang Ahli Dewan dalam Dewan ini mengatakan bahawa ini bukan masa-nya lagi hendak menggali² kan perkara ini. Kita sudah putuskan dan telah menjadi dasar kebangsaan Kerajaan ini bahawa sa-nya bahasa rasmi hanya-lah bahasa kebangsaan dan bagi sementara waktu ini, sampai tahun 1967, bahasa Inggeris yang lain tidak ada.

Dan saya memberi amaran-lah kepada gulungan² yang chauvinist ini yang hendak menanggok di-ayer yang keroh, kalau di-teruskan juga-lah dan kalau ada mana² pehak yang memberi

sokongan dari belakang dengan diam², bahawa mereka ada-lah melakukan suatu usaha yang akan memecahkan perpaduan negara kita ini, dan kita sendiri akan menggali kubor sendiri, dan kepada orang yang demikian kalau mereka hendakkan juga bahasa lain daripada bahasa kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi, lebeh baik sahaja-lah berangkat keluar daripada tanah ayer kita ini.

Mengenai belanjawan yang ada di hadapan kita, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sangat sukachita dengan sikap sa-bahagian daripada pihak pembangkang daripada parti PAS dan juga Ahli dari Tanjong yang telah mengalu²kan belanjawan ini. Walau bagaimana pahit pun belanjawan ini dia ada-lah merupakan suatu usaha yang berani bagi negara kita, menghadapi masa pencherobohan yang pahit yang ada di hadapan kita pada masa ini. Belanjawan yang ada ini pada saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ialah satu belanjawan untuk kita mengetatkan sedikit tali pinggang kita, kita belajar sedikit mengetatkan sedikit tali pinggang kita menghadapi masa kechemasan yang ada ini. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau pun serba sedikit di-ketatkan pinggang oleh belanjawan ini, suara raungan kuat kita dengar bukan sahaja daripada pembangkang, ini nampak-nya mereka mesti bangkang, tetapi ia-lah yang lebeh kuat yang ta' terdengar sedikit dalam Dewan ini daripada kaum kapitalis sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, barangkali kalau kita mengikuti sa-buah akhbar yang biasa-nya menyuarakan kepentingan kapitalis, surat khabar Inggeris yang ada saya bawa keratan-nya di-sini, 27 haribulan, sampai menisfatkan belanjawan ini kepada sa-tengah² chukai-nya suatu physical madness—sampai begitu, kalau sudah kapitalis menyerang, pihak pembangkang pun menyerang, Socialist Front-kah, Petir-kah, panah-kah. Maka tanda belanjawan ini ada suatu yang baik di-dalam-nya. Orang yang terkena kapitalis memarah Pembangkang pun marah tentu ada sa-satu yang baik di-dalam-nya, ada anasir

yang baik yang berguna di-dalam-nya dan saya rasa, sebab itu saya mengalu²kan belanjawan ini yang memberi suatu belanjawan yang realistic, yang berani menghadapi masa yang kita tempoh sekarang ini, masa konfrantasi, dengan kita menambahkan beban sa-banyak sedikit. Sa-panjang yang saya kaji daripada belanjawan ini, yang lebeh berat terkena bukan orang kebanyakan, bukan ra'ayat jelata, bukan ra'ayat murba ra'ayat marhain, tetapi ia-lah orang yang berada. Maka dengan sebab itu saya merasa belanjawan ini belanjawan yang patut di-sokong oleh semua orang.

Ada juga macham² kechaman, ada yang marah fasal chukai gula pun di-Singapura naik macham² lagi, tetapi saya sendiri sa-orang yang kurang pengetahuan dalam perkara ekonomi dan kewangan. Saya merasa bahawa chukai gula di-Singapura ini memang patut di-kenakan. Pada masa ini dalam masa kita hendak bergerak kapada industrialisation dalam masa kita hendak mengadakan Common Market, kalau lambat ta' lambat, Common Market akan berjalan antara Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu. Kalau biscuit di-Singapura di-buat dengan gula yang murah hendak berlawan dengan biscuit yang di-buat di-Johor atau di-Kuala Lumpur dengan gula² yang mahal, tidakkan dapat kita mengadakan pasaran yang bersama, maka saya merasa untuk Singapura chukai gula memang patut.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tadi saya ada katakan perkara yang besar yang ada di hadapan kita ini untuk kekuatan dan ketenteraman negeri kita ini ia-lah pertimbangan ekonomi. Saya dengar banyak ulasan berbagai² macham² Ahli² Yang Berhormat tentang chara² Kerajaan hendak mendirikan dan memperbaiki ekonomi orang² Melayu, tetapi saya hendak menyentoh satu perkara sahaja ia-itu tentang RIDA suatu Perbadanan suatu Lembaga suatu alat yang didirikan oleh Kerajaan untuk membantu ekonomi orang Melayu. Dalam pertolongan yang ada di hadapan kita,

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-utokkan untok RIDA sa-banyak \$3,560,000, untok membaiki ekonomi orang Melayu sa-ramai 3½ million atau 4 million. Kalau kita bagi satu kepala dengan 3½ million ini baharu dapat \$1.00 sa-orang, baharu \$1.00 sa-orang. Apa boleh orang Melayu buat dengan \$1.00 sa-orang satu kepala yang di-sediakan oleh RIDA ini. Kalau sungoh kita hendak baiki ekonomi orang Melayu dengan RIDA, RIDA ini harus di-perkuatkan, bukan 3½ million, bahkan 35 million baharu chukup, baharu padan boleh kita membuat ranchangan berbagai² bagi membaiki ekonomi orang Melayu. Maka saya berharap-lah supaya, kalau perkara ini tidak sempat lagi barangkali untok pertimbangan Menteri Kewangan masa akan datang, supaya RIDA betul² merupakan suatu alat bagi memajukan ekonomi orang Melayu. Maka suatu peruntokan yang sesuai dengan ranchangan² yang complete, yang

comprehensive, harus di-buat bagi RIDA. Maka baharu-lah bernama satu langkah yang betul² berkesan, yang betul² effective bagi menyelamatkan dan bagi memimpin bagi bimbingan dan menolong ekonomi orang Melayu supaya dengan segera kita dapat menchapai pertimbangan ekonomi yang akan menjamin ketenteraman kita dan akan menjamin perpaduan kekuatan politik kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka pergi sekarang kapada suatu perkara ia-itu tentang soal bahasa kebangsaan. Ini pun banyak orang berchakap, tetapi saya hendak sentoh satu dua perkara yang belum di-bangkitkan sahaja

Mr Speaker: Ahli² Yang Berhormat kalau ada lagi ucapan Yang Berhormat boleh-lah di-sambong pada besok pula bila Meshuarat ini di-sambong lagi.

Adjourned at 6.30 p.m.