

PARLIAM ENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT (HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES) OFFICIAL REPORT

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MALAYSIA

DEWAN RA'AYAT

(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

Official Report

First Session of the Second Dewan Ra'ayat

Friday, 22nd May, 1964

The House met at half-past Nine o'clock a.m.

PRESENT:

The Honourable Mr Speaker, Tuan Syed Esa Bin Alwee, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S.

- the Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Youth, Culture and Sports, Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M. (Kuala Kedah).
- ", the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, Minister of National and Rural Development and Minister of Lands and Mines, Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Dato' Hussain, s.m.n. (Pekan).
- ", the Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Justice,
 DATO' DR ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N.
 (Johore 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. (Sungei Siput).
- " the Minister of Transport, Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- ,, the Minister of Health, Enche' Bahaman bin Samsudin (Kuala Pilah).
- the Minister of Education, ENCHE' ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB (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 Local Government and Housing, ENCHE' KHAW KAI-BOH, P.J.K. (Ulu Selangor).
- " the Minister for Sarawak Affairs, Dato' TEMENGGONG JUGAH ANAK BARIENG, P.M.N., P.D.K. (Sarawak).
- ,, the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).
- ,, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, ENCHE' SENU BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- ,, the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry, TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).

The Honourable the Assistant Minister of Lands and Mines,

ENCHE' MOHAMED GHAZALI BIN HAJI JAWI (Ulu Perak).

- " the Assistant Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, Enche' Sulaiman Bin Bulon (Bagan Datoh).
- ", the Assistant Minister of Youth, Culture and Sports, ENGKU MUHSEIN BIN ABDUL KADIR, J.M.N., 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 (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- " ENCHE' ABDUL RAHIM ISHAK (Singapore).
- " WAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN DATU TUANKU BUJANG (Sarawak).
- " Tuan Haji Abdul Rashid bin Haji Jais (Sabah).
- " ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN, K.M.N., P.J.K. (Krian Laut).
- " ENCHE' ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN (Lipis).
- " ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN GUL AHMAD MIANJI (Pasir Mas Hulu).
- " Dato' Abdullah bin Abdulrahman, Dato' Bijaya di-Raja (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- ", Y.A.M. Tunku Abdullah ibni Al-marhum Tunku Abdul Rahman, p.p.t. (Rawang).
- .. Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah (Kelantan Hilir).
- " Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad, a.m.n. (Muar Utara).
- " Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid (Seberang Utara).
- " CHE' AJIBAH BINTI ABOL (Sarawak).
- " Enche' Ali bin Haji Ahmad (Pontian Selatan).
- " O. K. K. DATU ALIUDDIN BIN DATU HARUN, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- " DR AWANG BIN HASSAN, S.M.J. (Muar Selatan).
- " ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- " Enche' Jonathan Bangau anak Renang (Sarawak).
- " PENGARAH BANYANG ANAK JANTING (Sarawak).
- " ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- " Enche' Chan Seong Yoon (Setapak).
- " Enche' Chen Wing Sum (Damansara).
- " Enche' Chia Chin Shin (Sarawak).
- " Enche' Francis Chia Nyuk Tong (Sabah).
- " Enche' Chia Thye Poh (Singapore).
- " Enche' Chin Foon (Ulu Kinta).
- " ENCHE' C. V. DEVAN NAIR (Bungsar).
- " Enche' Edwin anak Tangkun (Sarawak).
- " DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI ABDUL MAJID (Johor Bahru Timor).
- " DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N. (Jitra-Padang Terap).

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

- DATU GANIE GILONG, P.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
- " Enche' Ganing bin Jangkat (Sabah).
- " ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT, K.M.N. (Penang Utara).
- " DR GOH KENG SWEE (Singapore).
- " Enche' Hamzah bin Alang, a.m.n. (Kapar).
- " Enche' Hanafi bin Mohd. Yunus, a.m.n. (Kulim Utara).
- " Enche' Harun bin Abdullah, a.m.n. (Baling).
- " WAN HASSAN BIN WAN DAUD (Tumpat).
- " ENCHE' HO SEE BENG (Singapore).
- " Enche' Stanley Ho Ngun Khiu, a.d.k. (Sabah).
- " Enche' Hussein bin To' Muda Hassan (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).
- " Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar, j.m.n. (Johor Tenggara).
- " ENCHE' JEK YEUN THONG (Singapore).
- " PENGHULU JINGGUT ANAK ATTAN (Sarawak).
- " ENCHE' KADAM ANAK KIAI (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' KAM WOON WAH, J.P. (Sitiawan).
- " ENCHE' KHOO PENG LOONG (Sarawak).
- " Enche' Edmund Langgu anak Saga (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' LEE KUAN YEW (Singapore).
- " Enche' Lee Seck Fun (Tanjong Malim).
- " Enche' Amadeus Mathew Leong, a.d.k. (Sabah).
- " Enche' Ling Beng Siew (Sarawak).
- " DR LIM CHONG EU (Tanjong).
- " Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat).
- " DATO' LIM KIM SAN, D.U.T. (Singapore).
- " Enche' Lim Pee Hung (Alor Star).
- " DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD (Kota Star Selatan).
- " ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).
- .. ENCHE' JOE MANJAJI (Sabah).
- " DR HAJI MEGAT KHAS, J.P., P.J.K. (Kuala Kangsar).
- " ENCHE' MOHD. ARIF SALLEH, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- " Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda (Pasir Puteh).
- .. ORANG TUA MOHAMMAD DARA BIN LANGPAD (Sabah).
- " Enche' Mohd. Daud bin Abdul Samad (Besut).
- " Enche' Mohamed Idris bin Matsil (Jelebu-Jempol).
- " ENCHE' MOHAMED NOORDIN BIN MASTAN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Seberang Selatan).

The Honourable Enche' Mohamed Yusof Bin Mahmud, A.M.N. (Temerloh).

- Enche' Mohd. Zahir bin Haji Ismail (Sungei Patani).
- " WAN MOKHTAR BIN AHMAD (Kemaman).
- " Tuan Haji Mokhtar bin Haji Ismail (Perlis Selatan).
- " ENCHE' MUHAMMAD FAKHRUDDIN BIN HAJI ABDULLAH (Pasir Mas Hilir).
- " Tuan Haji Muhammad Su'aut bin Haji Muhd. Tahir (Sarawak).
- " DATO' HAJI MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ABDUL JABAR, D.P.M.S., A.M.N., J.P. (Sabak Bernam).
- " Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad (Tanah Merah).
- " DATO' NIK AHMAD KAMIL, D.K., S.P.M.K., S.M.J.K., P.M.N., P.Y.G.P., Dato' Sri Setia Raja (Kota Bharu Hilir).
- " Enche' Ng Fah Yam (Batu Gajah).
- " DR NG KAM POH, J.P. (Telok Anson).
- .. ENCHE' ONG KEE HUI (Sarawak).
- " Enche' Ong Pang Boon (Singapore).
- " Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah (Hilir Perak).
- " Enche' Othman bin Abdullah, a.m.n. (Perlis Utara).
- " Abang Othman bin Haji Moasili (Sarawak).
- " ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN WOK (Singapore).
- " ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Timor).
- " Enche' S. Rajaratnam (Singapore).
- " Tuan Haji Rahmat bin Haji Daud, a.m.n. (Johor Bahru Barat).
- " ENCHE' RAMLI BIN OMAR (Krian Darat).
- " Tuan Haji Redza bin Haji Mohd. Said, j.p. (Rembau-Tampin).
- .. RAJA ROME BIN RAJA MA'AMOR (Kuala Selangor).
- " Enche' Sandom anak Nyuak (Sarawak).
- " Enche' Seah Teng Ngiab, P.I.S. (Muar Pantai).
- " Enche' Sim Boon Liang (Sarawak).
- " ENCHE' SIOW LOONG HIN, P.J.K. (Seremban Barat).
- " Enche' Sng Chin Joo (Sarawak).
- " DATU DONALD ALOYSIUS STEPHENS, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- " ENCHE' SULEIMAN BIN ALI (Dungun).
- " PENGIRAN TAHIR PETRA (Sabah).
- " Enche' Tajudin bin Ali, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- " Enche' Tai Kuan Yang (Kulim-Bandar Bharu).
- .. 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).
- " DR TOH CHIN CHYE (Singapore).
- " ENCHE' TOH THEAM HOCK (Kampar).

The Honourable Penghulu Francis Umpau anak Empam (Sarawak).

- " ENCHE' YEH PAO TZE (Sabah).
- " Enche' Yeoh Tat Beng (Bruas).
- " Enche' Stephen Yong Kuet Tze (Sarawak).
- " ENCHE' YONG NYUK LIN (Singapore).
- .. Tuan Haji Zakaria bin Haji Mohd. Taib (Langat).

ABSENT:

The Honourable the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, ENCHE' MOHAMED KHIR JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).

- ", the Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development and Assistant Minister of Justice, Enche' Abdul-Rahman bin Ya'kub (Sarawak).
- " Tuan Haji Abdullah bin Haji Mohd. Salleh, a.m.n., s.m.j., p.i.s. (Segamat Utara).
- " Enche' Chan Siang Sun (Bentong).
- " Enche' Hanafiah bin Hussain (Jerai).
- " DATO' KHOO SIAK CHIEW, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- " ENCHE' KOW KEE SENG (Singapore).
- " Enche' Lee San Choon, K.M.N. (Segamat Selatan).
- " ENCHE' LIM HUAN BOON (Singapore).
- " ENCHE' PETER LO SU YIN (Sabah).
- ENCHE' MOHD. TAHIR BIN ABDUL MAJID (Kuala Langat).
- " Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam (Ipoh).
- .. ENCHE' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM (Menglembu).
- .. ENCHE' SOH AH TECK (Batu Pahat).
- ... ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
- .. ENCHE' WEE TOON BOON (Singapore).

IN ATTENDANCE:

The Honourable the Minister without Portfolio, DATO' ONG YOKE LIN, P.M.N.

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE

(Motion)

The Minister of Transport (Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir): Mr Speaker, Sir, with your permission, I beg to move—

That at its rising this day the House shall adjourn sine die.

The Minister of Education (Enche' Abdul Rahman bin Haji Talib): Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That at its rising this day the House shall adjourn sine die.

EXEMPTED BUSINESS

(Motion)

Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir: Mr Speaker, Sir, with your permission, I beg to move—

That notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 12, this House shall not adjourn today until 8.30 p.m. unless the business on the Order Paper for today has been completed.

Enche' Abdul Rahman bin Haji Talib: Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to. Resolved,

That notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 12, this House shall not adjourn today until 8.30 p.m. unless the business on the Order Paper for today has been completed.

MOTION

THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

Address of Thanks

Order read for resumption of debate on Question,

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong as follows:

'Your Majesty,

We, the Speaker and Members of the Dewan Ra'ayat Malaysia in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer Your Majesty our humble thanks for the Gracious Speech with which the First Session of the Second Parliament has been opened."

Mr Speaker: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, saya suka menerangkan, ia-itu daripada pagi ini sa-hingga pukul 12 tengah hari ini, saya akan memberi peluang kapada beberapa orang Yang Berhormat berchakap membathkan Titah di-Raja. Saya sedar dan saya tahu, ia-itu ramai daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat yang hendak mengambil peluang berchakap. Kerana itu, saya merayu dan saya minta sa-kali lagi kapada Ahli² Yang Berhormat yang dapat peluang berchakap, hendak-lah berchakap dengan berapa pendek dan tidak-lah mengulangi lagi apa² yang telah di-chakapkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat yang lain.

Mulaï dari pukul 4.30 petang ini sa-hingga pukul 8.30 malam, Yang Berhormat Menteri² bagi pehak Kerajaan akan memberi jawapan atas hujah² yang telah di-datangkan didalam Dewan ini. Sekarang perbahathan atas Titah di-Raja disambong sa-mula.

Enche' Othman bin Wok (Singapura): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menyambong uchapan saya pada petang

sa-malam ada lagi satu perkara yang saya rasa harus saya sentoh sambil lalu pada pagi ini. Ahli Yang Berhormat bagi kawasan Pontian Selatan dalam uchapan-nya sa-malam telah juga menyebutkan tentang soal gerai² bagi orang² Melayu di-Geylang Serai. Saya tidak tahu sama ada Ahli Yang Berhormat itu jahil atau sengaja menjahilkan diri-nya tentang apa yang sa-benar-nya telah berlaku dalam soal tersebut. Masaalah gerai² orang Melayu di-Geylang Serai sudah pun selesai dalam satu perundingan yang telah di-adakan oleh Dewan Perniagaan Melayu, Singapura, dengan Menteri Kesihatan Singapura. Satu keputusan memberi puas hati kapada Dewan Perniagaan Melayu mewakili penjual² Melayu di-Geylang Serai telah pun di-chapai. Kalau saya tidak silap persetujuan tersebut telah pun di-siarkan di-dalam akhbar² tidak lama dahulu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita sekarang telah melangkah masok ka-dalam peringkat baharu, dahulu kita telah berjuang mewujudkan Malaysia, tetapi sejak 16hb September tahun lalu perjuangan kita mewujudkan negara tersebut telah juga berhasil, tetapi perjuangan kita belum selesai lagi. Apa yang harus kita perjuangkan sekarang ada-lah bagaimana kita harus mengekalkan negara Malaysia itu yang terdiri daripada negara² Sabah, Sarawak, Singapura dan Malaya daripada berpechah-belah dan runtoh. Ini-lah soal-nya yang mesti kita menongkan sa-dalam2-nya. Ada-kah kita mahu negara Malaysia sa-buah negara yang tegoh. bersatu, sa-bati dari mana sa-tiap kita menchurahkan ta'at setia yang tidak berbelah bahagi serta menganggap diri masing² sa-bagai ra'ayat Malaysia yang tulin? Atau mahu-kah kita negara Malaysia sa-balek-nya? Tentu sa-kali kita tidak menghanchorkan kembali yang telah kita perjuangkan matian2 itu, kechuali sa-tengah2 mereka saperti Ahli² PAS, Socialist Front, Barisan Socialist, SUPP yang berada di-kanan saya ini.

Sa-malam kita telah mendengar lima usul yang telah di-kemukakan oleh

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari kawasan Batu, konon-nya untok menyelesaikan confrontasi yang sedang di-lancharkan oleh Indonesia terhadap negeri kita ini. Jikalau kita semak baik² usul² itu, nyata-lah sa-kira-nya usul² itu kita terima, maka kedudokan kita bagi menghadapi confrontasi Indonesia akan menjadi lemah. Ini-lah yang di-tunggu² oleh Sukarno dan Parti Komunis Indonesia. Jikalau tentera2 monwealth di-tarek balek dan pengkalan yang ada di-sini di-tutup, saya rasa tidak sampai 48 jam Sukarno akan mengirim tentera²-nya ka-sini dan Malaysia akan di-telan bulat² oleh Indonesia dengan tidak payah dimamah-nya lagi dan tenggelam kadalam perut Indonesia saperti batu.

Dari sekarang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tugas kita ia-lah untok mengiratkan perpaduan ra'ayat Malaysia yang terdiri dari berbilang bangsa. Ada-lah menjadi tugas kita untok mengekal abadikan perpaduan ini. Dengan perpaduan dan kekuatan ini-lah kita akan dapat menentang sa-barang pencherobohan dari luar dan pencherobohan dari dalam negeri ini dari anasir² dan pengkhianat²-nya yang anti-national. Kita telah melihat sa-malam bagaimana telah timbul perpechahan diantara Socialist Front dengan Barisan Sosialis. Socialist Front telah pun menyatakan pendirian mereka terhadap confrontasi, tetapi Barisan Sosialis belum lagi, saya kira mereka maseh menunggu arahan² daripada "back seat driver" mereka.

Uchapan Titah-nya Dalam Seri Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Paduka Agong telah juga menyebutkan tentang perkara Kerajaan Malaysia hendak mendampingkan diri-nya dengan negara² Afro-Asia. Ini memang-lah satu dasar yang amat baik, walau pun sudah terlambat. Sa-harus-nya perhubongan irat dengan negara² Afro-Asia sudah di-lakukan lama dahulu sabelum Malaysia di-wujudkan agar salah tidak berlaku di-kalangan faham Afro-Asia terhadap bentokan Malaysia. Waktu saya menghadhiri Sidang Negara² Setia-kawan Afro-Asia yang telah di-langsongkan Tanganyika, pada bulan di-Moshi. February tahun yang lalu, saya telah mendapati bagaimana jahil-nya sanegara² Afro-Asia tengah tentang Malaya dan ranchangan Malaysia. Kerana itu-lah di'ayah falsu Indonesia. Communist China dan Russia yang menentang Malaysia telah di-telan bulat² oleh negara² tersebut. Apabila saya kembali ka-Kuala Lumpur, saya telah menemui Tunku Perdana Menteri mengeshorkan kapada beliau supaya Malaya mengirimkan segera satu rombongan untok mengunjongi negara² Afrika dan menerangkan ranchangan Malaysia, tetapi sa-hingga Malaysia sudah terbentok, baharu-lah rombongan sa-umpama itu di-kirimkan ka-Afrika dengan di-ketuaï oleh Perdana Menteri Singapura

Mr Speaker: Berapa lama lagi anggar-nya?

Enche' Othman bin Wok: Hendak di-katakan panjang, ta' panjang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tetapi saya agak² dalam 10 minit lagi.

Mr Speaker: Saya tidak-lah hendak menyekat kebebasan Yang Berhormat berchakap, tetapi beri-lah peluang kapada Ahli² yang lain supaya mereka juga dapat mengeluarkan fikiran-nya.

Enche' Othman bin Wok: Lima minit lagi.

Mr Speaker: Chuba sa-berapa pendek.

Enche' Othman bin Wok: Hasil dari penerangan² yang telah di-buat oleh rombongan tersebut, beberapa buah negeri, saperti Algeria, Nigeria, Ghana dan lain²-nya telah faham tetang masaalah Malaysia dan telah berjanji akan menchari jalan untok membantu Malaysia bagi menyelesaikan masaalah confrontasi Indonesia. Jalan untok merapatkan serta mengiratkan perhubongan kita dengan negara² Afrika telah terbuka. Terpulang-lah kapada Kerajaan untok mengekalkan-nya.

Ada-lah menjadi harapan saya, Kerajaan akan berusaha untok menambahkan lagi Kedutaan-nya di-negeriini dan melengkapkan Kedutaan² tersebut dengan orang² yang berpengalaman dan bijak, dan bukan dengan ahli² politik yang sudah tidak laku di-dalam negeri ini.

Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin menegaskan sa-kali lagi bahawa sa-bagai Parti Pembangkang yang ta'at setia dan rela berkurban untok kepentingan national dan bersedia memberi tegoran² yang membena dalam soal² dalam negeri. Saya mengharapkan segala tegoran yang di-kemukakan oleh kami dalam Dewan ini sa-moga-nya mendapat perhatian dari pehak Kerajaan.

Enche' Ling Beng Siew (Sarawak): Mr Speaker, Sir, I fully support the motion by the Honourable Member for Port Dickson to thank His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong for the Address delivered in this House. The people in Sarawak, free from colonial have good reasons to look forward to a happy and bright future within Malaysia. They feel confident that their future will be happy and bright, because the Alliance policy takes into consideration the interests welfare of all our people. irrespective of the racial origins and irrespective of the State boundaries. The Alliance Government's policy, as outlined in His Majesty's Address, shows foresight and determination, justice and fairness. The recent victory of the Alliance in the elections has proved conclusively that the vast majority of our people are standing firmly behind the Alliance Government.

Typical of the pro-Soekarno elements the Honourable Member for Batu yesterday again harped on the wornout line that the people in Sarawak were rushed into joining Malaysia without self-determination. Elections in Sarawak last year, based on the universal adult suffrage, showed that about 75 per cent of the voters voted for the pro-Malaysia candidates. The election was carried out in the proper manner, with no complaint from the Opposition. Among 24 districts the anti-Malaysia party won in only five districts. All these can be verified by facts and figures. They are also confirmed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his Malaysia Report. Soekarno refused to publish the United Nation's Report on Malaysia. The Socialist Front also tried to misrepresent the facts during the recent elections, but their baseless argument was totally rejected by the people.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the world knows that the people of Sarawak have had their self-determination. We in Sarawak do not want Soekarno to determine our fate; neither do we want the Honourable Member for Batu to determine our fate for us. We have now chosen to become part and parcel of Malaysia and we shall defend Malaysia's honour and integrity at any cost. (Applause). I cannot understand the logic of the Honourable Member for Batu when he said his Party was prepared to defend Malaysia, yet he liked President Soekarno, wanted British troops to withdraw from our defence positions. Has he not heard that Soekarno is determined to crush Malaysia with his 21 million volunteers? Is he not aware that we are a nation of only 10 million people? In face of aggression of such the magnitude, is it not logical that we must seek the help of our friends to defend our nation? Sarawak is bearing the brunt of Soekarno's confrontation. but anyone who cares to visit Sarawak will see that the people's determination to fight the aggressor is very strong. The confrontation has in no way lowered our will and our determination to play our full role in building a happy and prosperous Malaysia.

In this respect, Mr Speaker, Sir, I happy to note that generous provisions have been made to speed up social and economic development in Sarawak. To narrow the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots" the rural people in Sarawak must receive maximum assistance from the Government to improve their standard of living. When the farmers and gardeners become prosperous so will the town become prosperous. combat poverty and ignorance, to bring about progress generally, Education in Sarawak must receive special attention from the Government. Compared with Malaya, the standard of education in Sarawak is very far behind. It is hoped that the primary school fees in Sarawak will soon be abolished and that post-primary education will soon

be provided for all boys and girls. Thank you.

Enche' Ong Kee Hui (Sarawak): Mr Speaker, Sir, in the Royal Address His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong stated that we in Malaysia are living in critical times. Those of us who come from the Borneo States of Malaysia are in a position to appreciate perhaps more than others what His Majesty's words imply, because in the confrontation of Malaysia by Indonesia we in Borneo are at the front line and bearing the brunt of the attack.

For us in the Borneo States the position under normal circumstances would be difficult enough, due to the stress and strain which are inevitable in the transitional period and in the division of powers between the States and the Central Government. To use an analogy, Mr Speaker, Sir, for us the wooing and honeymoon are over, the marriage has been consummated, and we have to adjust ourselves to the first years of married life. adjustment is difficult enough for us in Borneo who have entered, if I may say so, a harem where there are eleven other wives more matured and more sophisticated than ourselves. Further, life becomes even more anxious and worrying for us, when we have to live with a frustrated, ardent and ruthless neighbour living next door. Yesterday, in his speech the Honourable the Prime Minister of Singapore talked of centrifugal and centripetal forces which will make or break Malaysia. I am putting it in more simple and nontechnical language that our people in the long houses can understand.

Like many others in the Borneo States, we in the SUPP had strong reservations about the marriage. This springs from a natural desire for freedom from any ties, although the security of a married life is obvious and apparent to many; we are also conscious of the obligations and responsibilities of a married life. We are not unaware that the world today is not a safe place for virgins or unattached females, but we had a step-father, who was supposed to look after

and safeguard us in accordance with and undertaking certain principles given by him. I refer, Mr Speaker, Sir, to the nine cardinal principles of Brooks rule, which Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom had pledged itself to uphold, when she took over the administration Sarawak. When the Malaysia Plan was first announced, we were reminded of the cession of Sarawak by the Rajah of Sarawak to the United Kingdom as a colony and of that unhappy episode in our history, which caused so much unhappiness and which cost the lives of one colonial governor and four misguided young Malays. It gives us little comfort today to know that our fears are justified and we face even greater troubles than during unhappy period of our history.

I mention this, Mr Speaker, Sir, so that Honourable Members can understand our fears and our misgivings, and why it was that the people of Sarawak proved so difficult over the formation of Malaysia. To return to my analogy, Mr Speaker, Sir, now that the marriage has taken place, we must not only be reconciled to the situation but, in the interest of all, try and make a success of it.

This marriage can only succeed, if there is mutual understanding among the members of this new family of States. It is, therefore, a matter of regret to us in the SUPP that the Honourable the Prime Minister of Singapore had seen fit to pay us a few compliments and tag a red label on the SUPP. We, in fact, expect a little more sympathy from him than from. shall we say, the Honourable Ministers opposite, for it was not so very long ago that a similar label was tied to the PAP. Who knows, Sir, that history may yet repeat itself, and the SUPP may emerge from the political wilderness as the PAP did and assume the same degree of respectability that they now claim.

In his speech, the Honourable the Prime Minister of Singapore referred to the wind of change and to the chasm that exists between the PAP and the other opposition parties. With due respect, may I suggest that changes

constantly take place around us in nature in an unstatic world. As movements on the earth's crust create these chasms, so can further movements and convulsions remove them. In any case, chasms can be bridged and should be bridged or filled up, if we wish to build a road in Malaysia that will bring us to the promised land, where we can find happiness and prosperity for our people. To that end, it behoves us to find common ground and areas of agreement instead of finding faults and looking for differences. Whatever the Honourable the Prime Minister of Singapore may say of us, we have on numerous occasions proved ourselves to be a responsible opposition. We had no hesitation whenever national interests were involved to set aside party interest. It is on record that I, as Chairman of SUPP, had when the Brunei revolt took place made a public appeal to our members to dissociate themselves from the rebels, and we had no hesitation in suspending two branches at Kiah and Sibuti when some people of Brunei origin got involved in the revolt. Furthermore, in response to the appeal of the Government, we called off a rally at Miri which had taken our members several months to prepare and which was scheduled to take place at that time. We have consistently adhered to the principles of achieving our political aims by constitutional means.

In the confrontation by Indonesia we have unequivocably declared that we will fight to maintain the territorial integrity of our country. All these are on record and there is no gainsaying it. Having made our stand clear on such national issues and manifested our loyalty, we are therefore aggrieved by the recent action of the Government in closing our party branch in Lundu and a sub-branch at Sampadi. For the information of this House, this Branch and sub-branch had in fact ceased to function, and there was no creditable evidence that in fact the Branch and sub-branch had been used for subversive and illegal activities. In the Government statement on the closing of the Branch and sub-branch, the names of certain persons and their

alleged activities were mentioned. Many of these persons said to be our party officials are not even members of the Party. We therefore, cannot but see in this a move by the Government to intimidate our supporters and destroy SUPP, the only effective opposition party in Sarawak. If we really subscribe to the principles of parliamentary democracy, we must deplore action such as this, and I would appeal to the Government in the interest of national unity to review this matter. Such action must in the end undermine the confidence of our people in Government and alienate their feelings, when there is vital need to rally the people to the defence of the nation threatened by aggression.

The role that the SUPP is playing in the State is that of a loyal opposition, a watchdog of the people, keeping the State Government up to the mark and on the straight and narrow path, ever-ready however to co-operate with the Government should the national interests demand it.

Here in the House our number is small, but nevertheless we are here as representatives of the people Sarawak to look after their interests and to contribute in discussion and put forth the Sarawak view point in matters of national interest. In pursuance of this aim, I wish to refer to the subject of education, which is a burning issue in Sarawak. Reference is made in His Majesty's Address to the introduction of a comprehensive school The introduction additional three years of post-primary education in the peninsula states of Malaysia is a welcomed innovation. We in the SUPP have for years agitated for such a scheme under the colonial regime. Although in numbers our urban population is not large, nevertheless the spectacle of 70% of our school population being let loose on the streets at the age of 12 or 13, with no prospect of employment until they reach the age of 15 or 16, is a matter of grave concern to us. Unfortunately, there is no indication as to whether this scheme is to be extended to the Borneo States and, if so, when. Further, although we have both in our

Council Negri and here in this House sought clarification from the Honourable the Minister of Education as to when free primary education, which the people of the peninsula States now enjoy, is to be extended to Sarawak, there is no indication in the Royal Address that it will, in fact, be extended to Sarawak. It is a matter of regret to us that immediately after Malaysia Day that free primary education is not introduced to the Borneo States, as its psychological impact on our people will be tremendous. There are a large number of people in the rural and interior areas who find it difficult financially to send children to school or keep them there. and Malaysia will therefore have a real meaning to these people if they were relieved of this anxiety. As it stands now, the introduction of three additional years of post-primary education will only have the unfortunate effect of widening the educational gap between the peninsula States and the Borneo States. Lastly, there are disquieting rumours that the introduction of free primary education into Borneo is held up by the Federal Government's insistence on the Borneo States adopting the same curriculum that is now in use in the peninsula States. If this is true, such insistence is not in keeping with the Inter-Governmental Report and the agreement which formed the basis of Malaysia. We wish to seek clarification and assurance on the points which I have raised on the subject from the Honourable the Minister of Education.

Reference has been made by some speakers to the subject of the special rights of the Malays. I do not wish to raise communal issues but would make just one comment. We think that more openings and giving opportunities for the have-nots of whatever race is right and proper, if we wish to have a more equal society. Disquieting information has, however, been given us that here in the peninsula States preferential treatment is given on racial grounds in promotion in the services. I stand open to correction, Sir, but if this is true, it is my earnest hope that such a practice is not perpetuated, for nothing will undermine Malaysia more than a policy of racial discrimination.

In his speech yesterday the Honourable the Prime Minister of Singapore sounded a warning on the pulls on the loyalties of the different communities in Malaysia by the countries of their racial origin. We are in entire agreement with his views, but he had omitted the Dayaks and the other indigenous races in the Borneo states. who must inevitably look across the Indonesian Borneo border, for nowhere else in Asia are to be found the same people. Our people in Sarawak have high expectations of Malaysia, and we must not fail them. Now that Malaysia is an accomplished fact, I say in all sincerity that we are here to make it work.

Dato' Nik Ahmad Kamil (Kota Bharu Hilir): Tuan Yang di-Pertua. saya berdiri ini ia-lah kerana hendak menyertaï Ahli2 Yang Berhormat yang telah berchakap menyampaikan uchapan junjong kaseh kapada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong, kerana titah uchapan-nya kapada Ahli2 Yang Berhormat Dewan Negara dan Dewan Ra'ayat pada hari Thalatha yang lepas. Saya kerana ingatkan pesanan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan mengindahkan pesanan itu tidak-lah berhajat hendak berchakap panjang pada hari daripada ini, hanya sa-lain menyertaï menyokong mempersembahkan uchapan junjong kaseh ada satu dua perkara yang saya hendak sentohkan. Saya anggap kapada titah Seri Paduka Baginda itu uchapan pada pembukaan Dewan Parlimen kedua Malaysia yang ini ia-lah sa-bagai satu titah vang sangat² penting. Sebab pembukaan Dewan Parlimen yang kedua Malaysia ini sa-lepas sahaja daripada pilehan raya yang lepas menunjokkan satu riwayat baharu dalam pemerentahan Kerajaan Perikatan di-dalam negara Malaysia. Ra'ayat Persekutuan sa-ramai²-nya telah memileh memberi keperchayaan sa-kali lagi kapada Kerajaan Perikatan. Kerajaan Perikatan telah memerentah Persekutuan dahulu sejak tahun 1955 lepas daripada pilehan raya pertama, dan kehasilan pilehan raya yang lepas menunjokkan keperchayaan ra'ayat yang ramai-nya kapada kebolehan dan kemampuan Kerajaan Perikatan mengarahkan negara Malaysia ini menuju kapada kemajuan dan kema'amoran (Tepok), dan kebolehan Kerajaan Perikatan mempertahankan kedaulatan negara Malaysia ini serta memeliharakan maruah negara yang berdaulat. pileh sa-bagai telah chorak pemerentahan negeri ini ia-lah Kerayang demokrasi berparlimen. Yaitu Kerajaan ra'ayat memerentah melalui wakil² ra'ayat. Baharu² ini kita telah adakan pilehan raya, kalau tidak salah ingatan saya pilehan raya yang ketiga di-dalam negara kita Semenanjong Tanah Melayu ini. Jikalau saya renong balek kapada pilehan raya yang lepas saya menyoal diri saya sendiri ada-kah kita telah membuat satu keputusan yang bijak memileh chorak berkerajaan chara demokrasi berparlimen? Itu dia saya soal diri saya sendiri. Betapa-kah saya mematutkan menyoal diri saya sa-bagitu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua? Jawab-nya bagini. Jikalau-lah sa-kira-nya kerana sa-mata² berazam berkehendakkan kuasa pemerentahan, kita telah lupa dan memejamkan mata dengan segala perbuatan yang terkeluar daripada adab sopan yang telah di-ikuti dan di-amanahi oleh musharakat yang bermenggalakkan tanggong-jawab dan perbuatan² yang menyalahi undang², menggunakan perkataan tutor kata yang kotor² dan jikalau dengan jalan itu-lah kita menuju hendak memegangkan teraju kerajaan maka saya shak dalam hati saya sendiri, ada-kah kita berkerajaan berchorak demokrasi berparlimen yang mematutkan dan mewajibkan mengadakan pilehan raya itu chorak kerajaan yang kita patut ikut di-negeri ini. Tetapi apabila saya memikir panjang dan menimbangkan dengan halus-nya, walau pun telah berlaku perkara² yang sa-bagitu, sedia perchaya lagi kapada chorak² pemerentahan demokrasi yang berparlimen ini.

Pada pilehan raya yang lepas menurut atoran demokrasi sa-ramai² ra'ayat Kelantan telah memileh sa-kali lagi parti PAS memegang teraju

memerentah mentadbir negeri Kelantan. Saya tidak kesal dan saya tidak rasa sakit hati, sebab ra'ayat sendiri telah menjatohkan hukuman. Ra'ayat sendiri telah menggunakan kuasa-nya sendiri. Perlembagaan tuboh telah mempertanggongkan iawab kapada ra'ayat. Tetapi jikalau sa-kira-nya kita perhati daripada kehasilan angka yang terbit dari pilehan raya negeri saya yang lepas maka di-situ saya boleh kata, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, angin telah bermula perubahan bertiup di-pantai timor nanti (Tepok). Jikalau kita bandingkan pada tahun 1959 dahulu yang mana hanya 27% sahaja daripada ra'ayat Kelantan memileh parti Perikatan, pada kali yang lepas 44% telah ini hampir bersetuju memileh parti Perikatan (Tepok). Maka ini dengan terang nyata-lah bagaimana saya kata angin perubahan telah mula bertiup di-pantai timor. Ini menunjoksa-ramai²-nya bilangan orang vang memileh Perikatan itu telah berupaya mengikiskan chuchi daripada fikiran dan keperchayaan mereka, segala karat² dan kekotoran rachun² yang telah masok ka-dalam menjadi darah daging mereka sa-lama lima tahun yang lepas (Tepok). Sekarang bagi lima tahun yang akan datang, Kerajaan Negeri akan di-tadbirkan oleh Parti Islam sa-Tanah Melayu. Pehak Perikatan yang ada sembilan orang Ahli di-sana akan menjadi satu pehak Pembangkang yang akan boleh menolong Kerajaan membena dan PAS dalam tadbiran-nya.

Sava telah bacha dan tatap dengan halus-nya Titah Uchapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda dalam masa dua hari yang lepas. Bukan main lagi bangga-nya hati saya melihat, tengok segala² apa di-susun yang akan menjadi ranchangan², bagi tahun hadapan yang akan membayangkan juga ranchangan² bagi pehak Kerajaan Pusat pada masa pemerentahan mereka yang datang sa-lama lima tahun lagi. Tetapi saya soal diri saya, sa-banyak manara'ayat Kelantan akan dapat menekmati daripada segala ranchangan² yang telah di-susun itu?

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussin (Lipis): Ya, itu soal-nya!

Dato' Nik Ahmad Kamil: Itu yang saya soal diri saya. Di-pehak saya, saya masok dalam pilehan raya yang lepas menawarkan diri saya kapada ra'ayat Kelantan untok menyuarakan bagi pehak mereka, jikalau mereka berkehendakkan kapada saya. Sa-lama lima tahun yang lepas, ra'ayat Kelantan telah menderita, menanggong kerugian yang amat sangat, sebab ta' dapat merasai kelazatan daripada beberapa ranchangan yang telah di-susun oleh Kerajaan Perikatan dahulu di-dalam Negeri² yang lain yang di-perentah oleh Kerajaan Perikatan. Tetapi, pada diri saya, apa pun Kerajaan memerentah, sama ada Kerajaan Puteh, atau Kerajaan Hitam, atau Kerajaan Kuning, pokok yang akhir-nya ia-lah yang kita kena layankan, dan bicharaia-lah manusia, Tuan di-Pertua. Manusia, laki² dan perempuan, muda dan tua, besar dan kechil. Oleh itu, dalam masa yang singkat yang di-untokkan kapada saya ini, saya suka-lah bertanya jika sa-kiranya pehak yang bertanggongan Keraiaan Perikatan boleh menyatakan di-Dewan ini, apa-kah akan menjadi policy pandangan Kerajaan Perikatan kapada Negeri saya negeri Kelantan sa-lama lima tahun yang akan datang ini? Apa-kah chadangan² Kerajaan Perikatan hendak di-tujukan kapada pendudok2 dan ra'ayat negeri Kelantan? Barangkali, saya boleh agak rasa-nya, jawapan daripada pehak "bukan Perikatan, kami Kerajaan ta' mahu tolong Kelantan, sa-lama lima tahun yang lepas, kami telah menawarkan pertolongan, tetapi malang-nya Kerajaan Negeri yang dibawah pemerentahan PAS dahulu tidak suka hendak bekerjasama, atau tidak suka hendak menerima pertolongan", boleh jadi agak jawapan saya itu betul. Jika sa-kira-nya betul-lah bagitu, saya mengambil peluang ini menyeru kapada pehak Kerajaan PAS di-negeri Kelantan, hendak-lah mereka ketepikan, jikalau boleh, buang-lah ka-laut segala sentiment² politik mereka dan ingat-lah mereka kapada keadaan ra'ayat² di-Kelantan. Bekerjasama-lah Kerajaan itu dengan Kerajaan Pusat, mudah²an dapat-lah ra'ayat Kelantan yang telah terkebelakang sa-lama ini

dapat merasai lazat nekmat daripada pertolongan yang boleh di-hulorkan oleh Kerajaan Pusat. Itu-lah permintaan dan seruan saya kapada Kerajaan PAS Negeri Kelantan . . .

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad (Tanah Merah): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, minta penjelasan.

Mr Speaker: (Kapada Dato' Nik Ahmad Kamil) Dia minta penjelasan boleh? Di-benarkan dia minta penjelasan?

Dato' Nik Ahmad Kamil: Boleh, Tuan Speaker.

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kota Bharu Hilir itu menyebutkan, apa-kah benda yang Kerajaan PAS Negeri Kelantan tidak terima, sekian.

Dato' Nik Ahmad Kamil: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu daripada-nya yang saya faham, ranchangan yang Kerajaan PAS dahulu tidak terima sa-bagai satu pertolongan daripada Kerajaan Perikatan ia-lah Ranchangan Tanah yang di-buka dengan luas-nya di-Negeri² Kerajaan lain di-mana Perikatan memerentah pada peringkat Negeri. Ra'ayat Kelantan telah lapar dan dahaga kapada tanah². Ra'ayat Kelantan ia-lah ra'ayat yang terdiri daripada orang² yang miskin, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana tidak di-buka Ranchangan Tanah, telah banyak daripada mereka, beratus hingga beribu faham saya telah pergi ka-Trengganu, telah pergi ka-Pahang, meminta tanah daripada Kerajaan² dua buah Negeri

Itu satu daripada ranchangan, atau pertolongan yang faham saya Kerajaan PAS di-negeri Kelantan dahulu tidak suka hendak menerima daripada Kerajaan Perikatan, dan sa-besar² itu-lah pertolongan yang saya fikir boleh membawa faedah kapada ra'ayat Kelantan, ia-itu Ranchangan Pembukaan Tanah dengan sa-luas2-nya supaya boleh ra'ayat Kelantan dapat hidup dengan sama sa-imbang, sa-taraf dengan ra'ayat² Melayu di-Negeri² lain yang telah dapat nekmat sa-lama empat lima tahun yang lepas, telah merasa kelazatan nekmat daripada pembukaan tanah di-Negeri² lain.

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad: Saya mahu minta penjelasan.

Mr Speaker: (Kapada Dato' Nik Ahmad Kamil) Dia mahu minta penjelasan, boleh benarkan.

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masaalah pembukaan tanah dalam negeri Kelantan, itu kami punya policy sendiri. Sa-lama kami berkuasa dalam negeri Kelantan, maka chara kami ada-lah hak kami untok mengator policy di-dalam negeri Kelantan.

Mr Speaker: Itu bukan penjelasan, itu penerangan.

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad: Jadi, erti-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua . . . (Di-sampok).

Mr Speaker: Biar saya sahaja yang memberikan hukuman, jangan ramai yang berchakap.

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad: Dinegeri Kelantan, kami telah membuka . . .

Mr Speaker: Sabar dahulu! Awak hendak minta penjelasan; yang awak berchakap ini penerangan daripada pehak awak. Penjelasan ma'ana-nya awak hendak menjelaskan apa dia benda itu.

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad: Terima kaseh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Kapada Ahli Yang Berhormat itu apa-kah kami dalam negeri Kelantan tidak membuka tanah? Apakah negeri kami dengan negeri² yang lain itu lebeh banyak negeri2 lain tanah mengikut membuka persen negeri? Sekian, terima kaseh.

Pato' Nik Ahmad Kamil: Tuan Yang di-Pertua—Tuan Yang di-Pertua telah memberi pesanan pada pagi ini sa-hingga pukul 12 sahaja di-beri peluang kapada Ahli² Yang Berhormat beruchap. Sa-bagaimana saya katakan tadi, saya tidak hendak mengambil masa yang panjang. Saya menyeru kapada Kerajaan PAS di-negeri Kelantan, minta-lah bekerjasama, jika sa-kira-nya chara² mereka itu hendak bekerjasama yang lepas, yang tidak boleh membawa kedua² pehak itu kapada segi yang boleh membuat

kerja, maka tertanggong-lah kapada Kerajaan PAS Negeri Kelantan itu memikirkan panjang dan mengubah chorak² kerjasama, atau chara² yang mereka itu boleh bekerjasama. Jikalau saya hendak bersharah di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan chorak2 dan chara bagaimana-kah Kerajaan PAS di-Negeri Kelantan membuka tanah, tentu-lah saya akan mengambil masa yang panjang. Saya ini dengan kerana Allah menyeru kapada Kerajaan PAS meminta mereka bekerjasama untok demi kepentingan ra'ayat negeri Kelan-(Tepok). Saya minta mereka lupakan soal² parti; itu sahaja. Parti politik itu minta lupakan.

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, minta penerangan.

Dato' Nik Ahmad Kamil: Itu-lah permintaan yang membawa dengan ikhlas, dengan kerana Allah, bukan saya hendak mengkaji parti politik mereka. Dengan jalan politik PAS. ra'avat telah memileh Parti PAS memerentah negeri Kelantan, maka tertanggong-lah pada Parti PAS melihat, menengok supaya jangan-lah orang² ra'ayat² di-negeri Kelantan itu tertinggal ka-belakang. Jikalau mereka tidak mampu membuat, atau menapa² jalankan ranchangan, di-sini-lah berseru saya meminta mereka bekerjasama dengan Kerajaan Pusat; itu sahaja permintaan saya.

Demikian-lah, terima kaseh banyak. (Tepok).

Enche' Tan Toh Hong (Bukit Bintang): Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, on behalf of the people of Bukit Bintang and myself, may I express our appreciation to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong on the delivery of his Gracious Speech, a speech which is simplicity in style and comprehensive in its implications.

Mr Speaker, Sir, being here for the first time, I am most proud to be a Member of this august House of parliamentary sovereignty, eloquent of that true democracy which dignifies the individual human being of Malaysia. At the same time, I am also most humbled by the enormous tasks ahead of us in the five years to come, which

we are duty bound to perform. Bearing in mind this heavy and responsible duty of furthering the welfare of our people, I am shocked and utterly dismayed by the quality of debates of some of the leaders of Opposition parties.

The leader of the Socialist Front charged the Alliance as warmongers without giving any concrete, relevant evidence in his hour-long speech. Rightly or wrongly, the leader of the P.A.P. charged the Socialist Front as a communist open-front organisation. We have yet to hear proof from the Honourable Member from Singapore. The leader of the P.P.P., the Honourable Member for Ipoh, accused the cheating the Malays Alliance of through rural development. Again, it is full-stop there. There is no proof; there is no further explanation. I have never in my life, Mr Speaker, Sir, heard of such a sweeping, general and false statement. I would like to rebut this false statement by the Honourable Member for Ipoh, who is, unfortunately, not here this morning. The Alliance has opened up 500,000 acres of land in its nine years rule and that has given hope, promise and financial security to well over 40,000 families were mostly landless before. Apart from making sweeping statements, he even sank lower to launch an attack of implied smear Honourable one of the Members of this House. I am most perturbed, Mr Speaker, Sir, that in this House of high parliamentary ideals, he should challenge and ridicule the personal qualifications of one of our Honourable Members as to his qualification for holding public office.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh claimed that he had been associated with parliamentary democracy since 1955; and rightly so—he has. But surely a politician of so many years standing would know by now that the basic essence and concept of parliamentary democracy is the concept of elected representatives? The fact that we are all here in this House—including, I regret to say, the Honourable Member for Ipoh—is the best qualification of all. Each and

everyone of us here holds a mandate from the people, upholding a high position of trust that transcends all qualifications. Therefore, Mr Speaker, Sir, I strongly deplore and protest such insinuating vile attack from one parliamentarian to another parliamentarian and I hope we will hear no more of such attack.

Sir, I have sat patiently in this House for the last two days listening to some of the speeches, and for that matter the opening speeches of some of the leaders of the Opposition; namely the Honourable Prime Minister of Singapore, the Member for Ipoh, the Member for Batu and the Member for Pasir Puteh, and I have heard nothing but mainly a chattering verbal warfare on party politics.

Whilst our land are being invaded and our people killed, these political leaders, who have pledged to be worthy of the high trust placed in them, engaged in a verbal mahjong of "I pong you and you pong me; and you are no good, I am better than you." Similarly, while there is a very likelihood of all our homes being ravaged by the fire of war and destruction, the Honourable Member for Ipoh spoke in all earnestness on the problem of putting political poster on a rubber tree.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I regret to say that although I am a "freshie", I would like to lodge a vote of protest against these honourable seniors and seasoned politicians on the quality of debates. I am sure they need not be reminded of the function of the Opposition, and that is, to oppose intelligently and constructively.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to touch on some aspects of the speech by the Honourable the Prime Minister of Singapore. It was a good speech (Laughter), a speech rich in high sounding phrases and slogans. He strongly urged for the need to inculcate in our people a spirit of national identity and unity. But he conveniently forgot to mention that the Alliance Government has urged all along that to survive we must unite, and the people know this too, and the people

have so spoken on the historic day of April 25th. (*Hear, hear*). It is May 22nd today and I regret to say that the Honourable Member from Singapore is somewhat behind time.

Nevertheless, what we all here would like to know is how the Honourable Member would like us to go about inculcating this sense of national identity and unity. We know what to do, but we would like to hear the details of his proposal. One of my colleagues asked me yesterday what are centrifugal and centripetal forces (Laughter) and external pressure? What have they got to do with national identity and unity? I was placed in a most awkward position, because, perhaps, I am not a seasoned political thinker to be able to explain it in simple human terms. So, all I could say was what was meant was that we are like a tin of packed sardines. When the lid is open and left there, either the cat has come to eat them or the sardines are still there, perhaps not as crowded as they were before. In all seriousness, the Honourable Member from Singapore, please, let us have concrete, detailed and down to earth proposals, if he has any!

In the second part of his speech, touching on the Indonesian problem, he said that the most important tasks ahead of us is—and I quote—how to resolve confrontation without undermining the security and integrity of Malaysia. I am still waiting to hear on how he would propose to go about it. I shall appreciate it, if the Honourable Member, could enlighten us with his plans in concrete terms, in language that everyone can understand and know the meaning of, on how to resolve this matter of confrontation. We all want to resolve it too.

At any rate, I feel heartened, and I must congratulate him, when he referred to our relations with Indonesia as the confrontation issue, whereas the Honourable Members for Ipoh and for Batu referred to it as the Malaysia issue. There is a very important and basic difference in these two terms, so fundamentally different, that what we are going to do ahead of us depends

on a clear conception of the meaning and implications of these two terms.

Confrontation issue—"Yes"; Malaysia issue—"No". Malaysia is no more an issue at all, just as the Member from Sarawak had said just now. Malaysia is now a concrete political entity, established by the free wishes and self-determination of a substantial majority of people living in the component States.

The fact that the people freely aspiring to be Malaysians is beyond question. It has been proved and independently ascertained bv United Nations Secretary-General working committees, by the referendum Singapore, by the elections in Sabah and Sarawak, in Singapore, and now in Malaya. Malaysia is a political reality, and I would like to urge the Socialist Front and the Sosialis not to talk any more on the Malaysia issue, because they cannot undo Malaysia, as it has come about through the free wishes of the majority of the people.

Confrontation issue—"Yes". It is the Indonesians who confront us; it is not us who confront Indonesia. They used their propaganda machines to crush us, and they failed miserably. Now, they are using militant guerillas to attack us in our territories. On the other hand, we have done no wrong to the Indonesians. We want only to live in peace, so that we can concentrate our energies and resources to continue to develop our economy and to give our people a better standard of living. Knowing that we want peace desperately. Soekarno and the Partai Komunis Indonesia want us now to attend a Summit Conference for negotiation, while their militant guerillas are still in our territory. We want peace— "Yes". But we will not negotiate for peace when our sacred land is being occupied, because sovereignty cannot be and is not negotiable, and never will be negotiable so long as the Alliance Government is in power. (Applause).

In this concept of sovereignty and the Nation lies the fundamental difference between the Alliance here on one side and the Opposition parties of the P.M.I.P., the Barisan Sosialis and the Socialist Front

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: On a point of clarification, Mr Speaker, Sir.

Mr Speaker: Just a minute. I will ask him. (To Enche' Tan Toh Hong) Do you give way?

Enche' Tan Toh Hong: Yes.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Yesterday I said that we must have peace, but peace with honour, peace that safeguards the integrity of our Nation. Perhaps, the Honourable Member for Bukit Bintang did not have the benefit of a transcript of my speech, or maybe he did not hear me quite properly.

Mr Speaker: (To Enche' Tan Toh Hong) Please proceed.

Enche' Tan Toh Hong: I thank the Honourable Member for Batu for the point of clarification. I said at the very beginning of my speech on this subject that there is a lot of difference between the terms, "Malaysia issue" and "Confrontation issue". That is where our fundamental difference lies, because our thinking is based on different conceptions of the problems involved. I must acknowledge that the Honourable Member for Batu had said that he wanted peace with honour and integrity, and we accept that.

Coming back to this, why do the Indonesians want to crush us? Why do they do this? No one knows for sure, except Soekarno and perhaps a few others. It could be that in view of impending collapse of the stagnating economy and of the internal power struggle among the various groups in Indonesia, they are forced to create an external issue to divert the Indonesian ra'ayat's attention from internal ills. It could very well be Soekarno's dream of a grand Indonesian Empire. But whatever the reasons maybe, Mr Speaker, Sir, the present confrontation against us is a manifestation of an Indonesian illness, or disease, or madness. I would prefer to call the confrontation issue as "the Indonesian madness". Let me illustrate: if a herd of bulls—Indonesian bulls I mean—were to run amok and charge and kill the peaceful pedestrians, we do not call that a pedestrian problem, we call it the problem of the mad bulls.

Sir, on this central issue of Indonesian madness, we reject the five-point plan of the Socialist Front, as proposed by the Honourable Member for Batu. We reject them on the ground that these five points are based on a false assumption and premise; namely, on a Malaysia issue that is never there now. We reject them, because the consequences would be disastrous to our homes, to our children, and to our security.

What then are the courses left open to us, if the Indonesian aggressors persist to occupy our soil? What are the possible courses? As far as I can see it, there are three possible courses, or some combination of these. They are:

- Just as we are doing now in a war of containment, we defend and fight them in our home ground.
- (2) We carry on our defence further by trying to eliminate their supply lines and their bases, which means leading eventually to a total war involvement between the two nations and, therefore, the whole of South-East Asia.
- (3) This is a third and more peaceful course. We can go all out to win world support and sympathy, so that a sufficient force of world opinion can be generated to make the Indonesians stop her aggressive designs and withdraw her militant guerillas from our land.

There is a great deal to commend on the third course of action, for through it we can obtain peace with honour and integrity.

Mr Speaker, Sir, if we feel that this is the right course, then we have got to embark on two phases of action.

One is that we have to convince our American friends that their aids to Indonesia, if unchecked, can only lead to a total war in South-East Asia involving America as well. What is needed to cure the problem of Indonesian madness is not by injecting more vitamins, namely, monetary or military aids, but through applying the correct psychiatric treatment.

The second phase of action is to inform clearly the problem of Indonesian madness, Indonesia's aggression, to as many countries as possible, especially the Afro-Asian countries, whose views are still not defined and whose conception of the Indonesian madness is still probably very vague. It is most important that we should win the open support of these countries, because in the event that we do bring forth this issue to the United Nations, we must be sure of getting a majority support in whatever United Nations Committee it is taken up.

That brings me to the point raised by some Honourable Members about the Afro-Asian tour headed by the Honourable Mr Lee Kuan Yew. Sir. no one can deny the value of this tour. but because the tour was so cursory in nature—the tour was so lightning in its speed, I think in Bahasa Kebangsaan it is called Petir (Laughter)—I maintain that hardly any permanent imprint is left behind in the countries that have been visited. To project the good image of Malaysia is not a task for a day or two, one conference or two conferences, one cocktail or two cocktails. It is more than that, and I urge our Honourable Minister of External Affairs to set up permanent direct representation in these countries, so that our representatives can carry on this project as part of their routine day-to-day work, informing these countries of the issues involved.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have spoken very long on external affairs and I have a great deal to say too on domestic problems, but in view of your reminder that Honourable Members should try to restrict their speeches as far as possible today, I shall only touch on one issue. Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh, who fortunately or unfortunately is not here

today, raised the question why there should be a Ministry of National Development when formerly we had already the Ministry of Rural Development and now we have the newlycreated Ministry of Housing. I regret to say that the Honourable Member for Ipoh was a little too hasty. Had he taken the trouble to read the Gracious Speech of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, I am sure he would not have raised the question, especially with all his legal qualifications. I was a bit intrigued myself. It was not until the Honourable Assistant Minister of Education who pointed out to me the relevant part of His Majesty's Speech that I realised how hasty the Honourable Member for Ipoh had been. His Majesty said, and I quote, "As the reorganisation involved in the creation, combination or division of portfolios is not yet complete, . . .". It is as simple as that.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of order—I thought you said just now that this afternoon was reserved for the Ministers to reply. I was wondering whether the Honourable Member was not speaking out of place?

Mr Speaker: Please proceed.

Enche' Tan Toh Hong: Ministers have not replied yet and I am debating on the Speech by His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. But at any rate, the Member for Dato Kramat has not given me a chance to finish what I wanted to say, because I too intend to request the Minister of National Development for clarification on this point of portfolios; because the people of Bukit Bintang, and not just the people of Ipoh, are also equally interested in this Ministry of National Development. But having gone through the Special Appendix very carefully, I do see the need for a portfolio or a central body to co-ordinate various economic activities under the various Ministries, so that we can have a coherent body for central planning and control.

page three of the Special Appendix, on the Economic Planning Prime Minister's under the Department, His Majesty says that there is a need to co-ordinate the work of the existing organisations undertaking industrial promotion and/or financing such as the Economic Development Board in Singapore, the Industrial Development Division and so forth and that steps are now being taken to establish an autonomous agency to be known as Federal Development Industrial Authority, which will co-ordinate industrial development policies and practices on a Malaysia-wide basis.

Mr Speaker: How long you are going to take?

Enche' Tan Toh Hong: Five minutes, Sir.

Mr Speaker: That is too long! Give a chance for other Members to speak?

Enche' Tan Toh Hong: Yes, Sir, I will finish it now. In the Ministry of Commerce and Industry there is also the problem of co-ordinating the various pioneer status passed by the various States. There is a need for centralisation. I suppose one may guess that this subject might come under the Ministry of National Development. I do not know and I would like formally to request for a clarification from the Ministry of National Development and Rural Development.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji (Pasir Mas Hulu): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagai angbaharu dalam Dewan yang Mulia pada kali pertama-nya saya di-beri peluang berchakap make perkara yang awal yang saya hendak tudohan katakan ia-lah soal di-lemparkan oleh Kerajaan terhadap PAS tentang soal azimat. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau pun sudah beberapa kali teman saya mengatakan dan menapikan yang parti saya terlibat dalam penyiaran pengeluaran azimat itu, tetapi malang-nya PAS maseh bertanggong-jawab kenaan dengan azimat itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-lain daripada dalam Dewan ini di-luar Dewan ini juga dan dalam kempen pilehan rava baharu² ini Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri sendiri dalam satu rapat umum di-Padang Merdeka, Kota Bharu, telah mengeluarkan tudohan² ka-atas PAS atas soal azimat ini. Sa-patut-nya sa-bagai Perdana Menteri sa-buah negara sa-belum membuat tudohan hendak-lah terlebeh dahulu di-pereksa dan di-teliti supaya jangan orang berkata Perdana Menteri kita itu mengekor² dengan tidak tahu perkara yang sa-benar-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi saya, saya bersetuju azimat itu merbahaya kapada keamanan negara kita ini, dan saya mahu bertanya kapada pehak Keraiaan patut-kah tidak manusia yang bertanggong-jawab mengeluarkan azimat itu di-tangkap dan di-hukum? Ini soal-nya yang di-minta Kerajaan menjawab. Saya bersetuju orang itu patut di-hukum, dan Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bersama dengan ini saya membawa azimat yang di-hebohkan oleh orang² Perikatan itu. Saya menpehak Kerajaan supaya menangkap orang yang mengeluarkan azimat itu. Saya tidak mahu memberi nama orang yang membuat azimat itu dan ini saya akan serahkan kapada Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri supaya mengambil tindakan menangkap orang yang mengeluarkan azimat ini di-Batu Pahat oleh sa-orang kuat UMNO. Saya serahkan azimat ini kapada Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri dan saya chabar Kerajaan Perikatan, kalau betul² dia menjalankan keadilan dan demokrasi, tangkap orang yang mengeluarkan azimat itu dan hukumkan dia.

(Azimat di-serahkan kapada Tuan Yang di-Pertua).

Enche' Tan Toh Hong (Bukit Bintang): Can I ask the Honourable Member on what part . . .

Mr Speaker: What order is that?

Enche' Tan Toh Hong: On a point of clarification, Mr Speaker.

Mr Speaker: It is better for you to mention the Standing Order.

to rise on a point of clarification.

Mr Speaker: Dia minta penerangan. (Kapada Enche' Tan Toh Hong) No, he does not give way.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Ahmad Mianji: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat dari Melaka Selatan dan Yang Berhormat dari Hilir Perak harap mengambil perhatian di-atas soal azimat ini. Negeri Kelantan juga telah di-tudoh sa-bagai negeri Cowboy dan kata-mengata. Sa-lain daripada yang wakil² PAS datang Kelantan, ini ada dua lagi Ahli Yang Berhormat yang mewakili Parti Perikatan, saya harap, barangkali mereka itu juga Cowboy.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pehak yang menjaga keamanan pada masa yang lalu telah mengeluarkan satu laporan, kejadian² jenayah yang berlaku dalam dalam Tanah Melayu ini. Negeri yang pertama sa-kali banyak berlaku jenayah ia-lah negeri Selangor, yang kedua ia-lah Pulau Negeri Pinang, Negeri yang ketiga ia-lah Kedah, Negeri yang keempat ia-lah Perak, Negeri yang kelima ia-lah Melaka, dan Negeri yang keenam baharu Kelantan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau bagaimana pun dalam Negeri² ini ada berlaku kejadian² jenayah, tetapi saya tidak salahkan, ada-kah patut kita menyalahkan Kerajaan PAS kerana berlaku-nya jenayah², ada-kah patut kita salahkan kapada Kerajaan Perikatan di-Selangor ini, kerana berlakunya jenayah² dan ada-kah patut kita menyalahkan kapada Kerajaan Petir di-Singapura kerana berlaku-nya jenayah²? Yang patut kita salahkan ia-lah Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, kerana yang kita tahu yang menjaga soal jenavah² ini ia-lah Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-patut-nya Ahli² Yang Berhormat, terutama Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Melaka Selatan, sa-belum berchakap, fikir-lah dahulu dan saya harap kapada Ketua Parti Perikatan supaya memberi kapada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Melaka Selatan, atau ada baik-nya

Enche' Tan Toh Hong: Sorry. I like Ahli Yang Berhormat itu masok sekolah dewasa dahulu belajar.

> Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pontian Selatan telah beruchap dengan semangat dalam Dewan ini sa-malam. Āda orang dalam dunia ini yang berbangga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana kebodohan-nya saperti apa yang di-uchapkannya sa-malam. Kalau tidak kerana Perikatan, Enche' Lee Kuan Yew tidak berada dalam Dewan ini. Bukan-kah ini menunjokkan kesilapan politik-nya, maka orang lain boleh mendapat tempat dalam Dewan ini? Sekarang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa fasal Parti Petir hendak di-marahkan, apa fasal Socialist Front kita hendak marahkan, dan apa fasal P.P.P. kita hendak marahkan? Kalau tidak kerana kebodohan politik Perikatan, mereka² itu tidak akan berada dalam Dewan ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, PAS dalam perkara ini telah berkali² mengingatkan Perikatan 10 tahun dahulu, PAS telah mengingatkan kapada Perikatan, kalau takut kena tikam, jangan beri senjata kapada orang. Sa-telah senjata kita beri, senjata itu sekarang mahu makan perut kita, baharu-lah kita takut. baharu-lah kita mengingatkan orang yang senjata hendak makan kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, timbul-nya soalan sekarang, ada-kah kalau orang² yang memberi senjata itu kita hendak salahkan, atau kalau orang yang hendak menikam kita itu yang hendak di-salahkan? Pada saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang yang memberi senjata itu ia-lah yang salah. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau tidak kerana Perikatan. Petir tidak bernak dudok dalam Dewan ini, kalau tidak kerana Perikatan, Ahli² Petir tidak berhak mengembangkan pengaroh Petir dalam Tanah Melayu ini dan kalau tidak kerana Perikatan, Petir tidak berhak meletakkan chalun²-nya dalam negeri kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, wakil dari Perikatan boleh-lah berchakap dengan semangat akan menghanchorkan Petir dalam tahun yang akan datang saperti yang di-uchapkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Hilir Perak, tetapi apa yang menjadi kenyataan sekarang.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, siapa pun tidak dapat menapikan bahawa 42 orang chalun Perikatan telah hilang, telah jatoh di-Singapura di-ancham oleh Petir . . .

Enche' Hanafi bin Mohamed Yunus (Kulim Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Peratoran Meshuarat 36 (1). Ini tidak ada kena-mengena dengan Titah Uchapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia ini.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menjawab . . .

Mr Speaker: Bila on a point of order, awak dudok dahulu—dudok dahulu. (Kapada Enche' Hanafi) Sila terangkan.

Enche' Hanafi bin Mohamed Yunus: Peratoran Meshuarat 36 (1). Ini tidak ada berkenaan langsong.

Mr Speaker: (Kapada Enche' Hanafi) Awak dudok dahulu. Dalam perkara ini, dia boleh berchakap, sebab ini satu perkara yang besar dan luas. Ya, jemput.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu kenyataan yang tidak dapat di-napikan, Petir telah pun menenggelamkan kapal layar Perikatan ini sa-banyak 42 orang chalun di-Singapura dan dalam masa mereka di-Tanah Melayu ini, dalam masa 24 jam Petir telah mendaftarkan 9 orang chalun-nya bagi kerusi Parlimen, dan sa-orang daripada-nya sudah dapat menawan sa-buah kerusi dalam Tanah Melayu ini

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, parti ini sudah bertapak. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua ta' usah-lah wakil dari Pontian Selatan itu marah kapada orang yang datang, tetapi marah-lah kapada orang yang memberi dia datang.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sudah menjadi kebiasaan bagi pehak Kerajaan dalam menjalankan kerja²-nya apabila tidak berjaya, maka penjajah-lah yang disalahkan, saperti yang di-uchapkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pontian Selatan sa-malam, kita mahu tahu. Penjajah itu di-salahkan, kerana kemundoran orang² Melayu dan kita mahu tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

Perikatan yang sudah memerentah negeri ini sa-lama 9 tahun dan negeri ini telah menchapai kemerdekaan salama lebeh kurang 8 tahun, ada-kah dasar yang di-amalkan oleh penjajahan itu maseh belum berubah, atau tidak di-benarkan di-ubah, atau Perikatan tidak mahu mengubah menjalankan-nya, atau yang di-lakukan. atau di-siapkan oleh penjajah? Saya berkata tidak berubah dan dalam banyak perkara yang Kerajaan hari ini maseh banyak mengamalkan dasar penjajahan. Politik luar negeri maseh terikat dengan penjajah dan sudah menjadi kebiasaan Kerajaan kita ini dalam menjalankan dasar luar negeri-"Made in Great Britain"—lah yang di-amalkan dan "Nombor 10 Downing Street, London"—lah tempat menjadi Kerajaan, tempat Kerajaan Perikatan ini menerima wahi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pontian Selatan juga ada menyentoh soal bahasa. Kata-nya negara² yang berdaulat, saperti Indonesia, Thailand, India, Arab dan lain² lagi semua-nya mengamalkan bahasa ibunda-nya masing². Jadi, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu akan menentang dasar menggunakan berbagai² bahasa diamalkan dalam negeri ini. Saya tidak tahu apa yang hendak di-tentang-nya, kerana apa yang hendak di-tentangnya itu sedang di-amalkan di-negeri Dahulu sekolah² bahasa lain ini. daripada Melayu dan Inggeris tidak mendapat bantuan daripada kuasa penjajah, tetapi sekarang di-beri bantuan berpuloh² juta ringgit tiap² tahun. Dasar berbilang bahasa ini di-amalkan dengan pesat-nya di-negeri ini dengan mendapat galakan daripada Kerajaan dan segala bahasa asing di-akuï sa-bagai sekolah jenis bahasa kebangsaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak tahu dari mana fikiran hendak menentang ini timbul, ada-kah dari perut-nya, atau dari kepala-nya?

Perkara yang akhir yang di-katakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pontian Selatan itu ia-lah PAS tidak mahu kapada jalan raya. Sa-panjang ingatan saya, dalam uchapan rakan saya Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh, tidak sa-patah pun dia berkata tidak

suka, tetapi ada di-katakan bahawa dalam menolong nasib orang² Melayu, Keraiaan hendak-lah mengadakan dasar vang lebeh concrete. Ini di-salahfahamkan, konon-nya PAS tidak mahu kapada jalan raya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, timbul jalan di-atas tanah dan jalan yang di-buat oleh Keraiaan. Saya mahu tahu dan saya mahu bertanya pada Kerajaan Perikatan, membuat Ranchangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar dan jalan² raya itu dari mana-kah wang² itu datang? Ada-kah dari poket ra'ayat, atau pun wang² itu datang daripada poket Menteri² Per-ikatan? Dan ada satu perkara yang menggelikan hati saya: di-sentoh-nya kalau tidak mahu berjalan di-bawah, jalan-lah di-atas pokok kayu—ini monyet, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau-Yang Berhormat dari Pontian Selatan itu biasa berjalan di-atas dahan kayu, jangan-lah menyangka PAS pun buat bagitu. PAS telah di-chabar supaya menunjokkan ta'at setia kapada negeri ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak usah-lah banyak kita chakap dalam soal ta'at setia, kerana pendirian PAS sudah tentu di-ketahuï oleh umum. Kita ta'at dan sayang kapada negeri ini kerana hanya-lah ini negeri kita. Tidak ada lain lagi. Kita tidak peduli dengan Sukarno atau Lee Kuan Yew atau siapa sahaja yang hendak merampas negeri ini dari tangan kitaakan kita tentang. Darah dan nyawa akan kita sedekahkan untok watan yang kita kasehi ini. Tidak usah pehak Perikatan menchabar Sa-bagaimana bukti ta'at setia ini Kerajaan Perikatan telah mengadakan Kerahan Tenaga. Saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. sa-bagai Ketua Pemuda PAS Negeri Kelantan yang pertama mendaftar telah daripada 550,000 ra'ayat negeri Kelantan—sayalah orang yang nombor satu yang mendaftar menyahut panggilan negara. Ini bukti-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua (Tepok).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mahu menyentoh apa yang di-uchapkan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Hilir Perak berkenaan dengan bakat orang Melayu. Mengikut kata-nya, bakat orang Melayu ini petani dan peladang, tidak dapat berniaga. Ada-kah falsafah bakat yang di-chakapkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu keluar sa-telah di-adakan penyelidekan ilmiah, atau dengan angan² Yang Berhormat itu sendiri? Kalau falsafah ini di-ikuti neschava Yang Berhormat itu sendiri tidak dapat dan tidak boleh dudok dalam Dewan ini, dia lebeh layak tinggal di-hutan² menjadi petani. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang Melayu hanya layak jadi petani dan peladang, kemudian timbul-lah berita koma dan titek. saya bersetuju, Tuan di-Pertua, kerana mengikut falsafahnya sendiri yang di-amalkan, mula² PAS, kemudian koma, kemudian Perikatan, kemudian koma-saya tidak tahu, Petir-kah, U.D.P.-kah, P.P.P.-kah baharu-lah Yang Berhormat dari Hilir Perak itu akan stop?

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kapada Yang Berhormat dari Melaka Selatan, dari Pontian Selatan dan dari Hilir Perak, suka-lah saya ingatkan satu pepatah yang berbunyi: kalau-lah dengan perchakapan kita itu akan menunjokkan chetek pengetahuan kita, lebeh baik kita dudok diam² supaya dunia tidak tahu kita ini bodoh.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang saya suka membawa kapada demokrasi. Banyak sudah Yang Berhormat daripada pehak Kerajaan mengatakan demokrasi telah berjalan dengan baik di-tanah ayer kita ini. Demokrasi telah menunjokkan satu benda yang baik, sebab itu-lah di-adakan pilehan raya. Ya! pilehan raya itu betul demokrasi. tetapi chara di-dalam pilehan raya itu tidak demokrasi. Di-Kelantan, umpama-nya, Saya mahu memberitahu kapada Dewan ini dan kapada seluroh dunia supaya tahu bagaimana Perikatan menialankan politik yang habis kotor dalam kempen pilehan raya baharu² ini. Rumah chalun PAS, Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh di-kepong oleh Perikatan—(An Honourable orang Bohong)—Rumah Member: Wan yang bertanding dengan Mustapha Yang Berhormat dari Kota Baharu Hilir di-kepong oleh 1.000 Perikatan—(Some Honourable Mem-BERS: Bohong)-Pejabat PAS dikepong oleh Perikatan. Apabila kita minta pertolongan dan apabila kita talipon kapada polis minta bantuan, apa jawab pehak polis?—"Minta ma'af, saya tidak chukup tenaga."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, banyak perkara yang di-luar garis susila demokrasi di-amalkan. Dunia tidak tahu bagaimana Perikatan ini mengamalkan demokrasi itu. Dan saya menjadi kewajipan bagi saya. saya mahu menerangkan kapada dunia: dengan chara haram dan kejam Kerajaan Perikatan ini di-tegakkan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu perkara yang paling² menyedehkan dan menyakitkan hati ia-lah pegawai keamanan pegawai keamanan ia-itu Pegawai Polis dalam negeri Kelantan, bukan jadi Pegawai Polis untok menjaga ra'ayat, tetapi Pegawai Polis yang jadi tukang kempen Perikatan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-Bachok umpama-nya, dan saya mahu memberi nama Pegawai Polis itu kapada pehak Kerajaan ia-itu sa-orang Inspector yang bernama Nizam, pernah orang PAS di-pukul, apabila orang PAS pergi report kapada balai polis orang PAS itu di-tambah dengan pukul lagi—ini benda yang betul. Saya minta kapada pehak Kerajaan supaya menyiasat dalam soal ini. Ini berlaku dalam hari pilehan raya. Anggota polis seluroh negeri Kelantan telah mengugut ra'ayat dua sa-belum pilehan raya, seluroh penyo-PAS di-panggil ka-rumah pasong, di-tahan, di-pukul dengan pistol, di-paksa supaya jangan bekerja untok PAS supaya menyokong Perikatan. Ini dia benda yang di-lakukan.

Di-kawasan saya sendiri, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Pasir Mas Hulu, 30 orang PAS di-panggil daripada 10 pagi sa-hingga pukul 5 pagi besok baharu di-hantar balek dengan tidak di-beri minum ayer, dengan tidak di-beri mengisap rokok dan tidak di-beri makan, mereka di-ugut dan di-tampar supaya jangan menyokong saya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada hari mengundi kejadian ini berlaku, peti² undi sudah pechah baharu di-bawa ka-tempat pereksa. Mithal-nya, sa-lain daripada tempat saya, di-Kemaman, saya pernah tidor di-Kemaman, peti undi yang hendak di-bawa ka-tempat

bilang undi sa-belum di-bawa ka-situ di-bawa ka-Pejabat Jajahan (District Office), pejabat ini di-kepong oleh Polis, chalun PAS tidak di-benarkan masok hanya chalun Perikatan sahaja dibenarkan masok. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Polis sendiri memainkan peranan yang penting memechahkan peti undi ditengah² jalan dan di-sil (seal) yang lain. Tentang pilehan raya ini teringatlah saya pada cherita Hitler dengan Gestapo-nya. Perikatan ini-lah Kerajaan Nazi dengan Polis dan tentera Wataniah itu-lah Gestapo-nya dan Chief Gestapo-nya berada dalam Dewan ini sekarang. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tentera Wataniah yang digaji dengan duit ra'ayat di-gunakan oleh Perikatan, Malaysia, baik yang di-pancharkan di-Kuala Lumpur atau di-Kota Bharu sudah menjadi alat Perikatan. Guru Sekolah Dewasa mengambil wang dari ra'ayat, \$4 sa-jam berkempen untok Perikatan. Sudah-lah yang lain2 itu tenaga gangster di-gunakan dengan sa-luas²-nya mengugut ra'ayat, tidak di-beri kebebasan untok mengundi dengan bebas, Perikatan beroleh kemenangan dengan hasil kerja² gangster, dan hasil² yang kotor ini-lah hendak di-tonjol2kan oleh Perikatan kapada dunia bahawa demokrasi telah sempurna di-jalankan dalam Tanah Melayu ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua . . .

Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman (Seberang Tengah): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak minta penjelasan . . .

Mr Speaker: (Kapada Enche' Abdul Samad) Dia hendak minta penjelasan—hendak beri jalan?

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Tidak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Mr Speaker: Dia tidak beri jalan (Kapada Enche' Ibrahim) Jemput dudok.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita benchi kapada kominis, kerana dasar-nya tidak betul, tetapi apa yang kita benchi itu berjalan dalam Tanah Melayu sekarang ini. Kita benchi kapada dictator, kita benchi kapada gangster, kita benchi kapada kejam, dan kita benchi kapada segala², tetapi apa yang kita benchi itu berjalan di-tanah ayer kita hari ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita ta' tahu, yang kita tahu UMNO, MCA dan MIC ini-lah parti² yang berada dalam Perikatan, tetapi kita tidak tahu bila-kah Pejabat Pelajaran, Guru² Kelas Dewasa, anggota polis dan wataniah, surat-khabar dan radio kita tidak tahu pejabat² itu bila masok menjadi ahli Perikatan? Tuan Yang di-Pertua . . .

Mr Speaker: Berapa lama lagi? Beri-lah peluang kapada orang lain.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Sadikit lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam 10 minit lagi.

Mr Speaker: 10 minit itu panjang.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Ahmad Mianji: Tidak sampai, 5 minit lagi. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, timbul-lah masaalah yang di-uchapkan oleh wakil Kota Bharu Hilir yang meminta melupakan sentimen politik demi kepentingan ra'ayat negeri Kelantan. Saya tidak tahu dan tidak pernah dalam ingatan saya atau pun dalam Dewan ini, PAS pernah menolak bantuan yang di-beri oleh Kerajaan Pusat. Apa yang saya ingat pernah Kerajaan PAS Kelantan minta bantuan daripada Kerajaan Pusat, malang-nya di-tolak permintaan kita itu.

Satu daripada bukti-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jambatan negeri Kelantan yang menyeberangi sungai Kelantan, pernah wakil Kerajaan Kelantan sendiri datang berjumpa dengan Menteri Pembangunan Luar Bandar hendak meminjam 5 juta ringgit untok menyudahkan jambatan itu tetapi kerana sentiment politik Perikatan ini, jambatan dan bantuan untok jambatan itu tidak di-beri, akhir-nya terpaksalah demi keselamatan, demi kebaikan ra'ayat Kelantan kita terpaksa membuat dengan duit kita sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada satu perkara yang menjadi kenyataan yang tidak dapat di-nafikan ia-itu pembahagian tanah dalam negeri Kelantan.

Kita mahu bagi tahu dan kita mahu ingatkan wakil Kota Bharu Hilir itu, sa-belum PAS memerentah negeri Kelantan daripada tahun 1959, Perikatan sudah pun memerentah tahun 1955 hingga tahun 1959, lima tahun pemerentahan Perikatan di-jalankan di-Kelantan, apa fasal masa itu tidak di-fikirkan untok memberi bantuan kapada ra'avat Kelantan. Ra'avat Kelantan telah di-biarkan tidak mendapat tanah, tidak mendapat sa-suatu tetapi apabila PAS memerentah negeri Kelantan pada tahun 1959, kita telah membuat bakti, kita telah memberi kapada ra'ayat sebab itu-lah pada pilehan raya baharu² ini, walau pun gestapo di-lakukan, walau pun polis memainkan peranan penting, tetapi ra'ayat telah sayangkan kapada PAS, dia tetap mengundi PAS.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada satu perkara lagi yang di-uchapkan, yang di-agong²kan oleh Perikatan ini, ia-itu Perikatan semenjak memerentah seluroh Tanah Melayu ini telah memberi tanah sa-banyak 50,000 ekar kapada ra'ayat. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak memberi tahu kapada Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa PAS sudah memerentah 5 tahun di-negeri Kelantan, 90,000 ekar tanah sudah di-bahagikan kapada ra'ayat (Ketawa). Ini tidak dapat di-nafikan, ini satu benda yang tidak dapat saya bohong, Tuan Yang di-Pertua...

Mr Speaker: Jangan di-kachau Yang Berhormat itu berchakap.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianii: Kalau benda ini bopehak Kerajaan ini boleh Tuan Yang dimenyiasat sendiri. Pertua, timbul pula masaalah dasar luar negeri yang di-uchapkan oleh wakil daripada Pontian Selatan kelmarin ia-itu satu perkara di-uchapkan oleh teman saya dari Pasir Puteh yang mengatakan Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dalam merapatkan perhubongan dengan Afro-Asia ada lebeh baik satu chara yang baik di-lakukan saperti tarek balek pengundian-nya ka-atas negara Israil. Saya perchaya ada Ahli Yang Berhormat dalam Dewan ini daripada pehak Kerajaan yang akan bersetuju dengan

saya. Negara Israil ini di-dirikan atau di-tubohkan atas darah, atas aver mata bangsa Arab dan di-atas darah umat Islam, negara Israil ini di-tegakkan. Negara Israil di-dirikan tidak sa-chara halal tetapi dengan chara haram. dengan sa-chara di-sogok2 dan dengan chara di-paksa. Wakil dari Pontian Selatan mengatakan Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini mengakui Kerajaan Israil. Ini ada-lah perkataan tidak betul dan saya menumpang malu sa-orang yang mempunyai pengetahuan B.A. Honours ini tidak tahu apa yang di-lakukan oleh Kerajaan-nya sendiri. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mula² Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu menchapai kemerdekaan, Kerajaan Israil telah pun di-undi dan dalam Dewan Ra'avat ini, PAS telah membawa satu usul yang meminta Dewan Ra'ayat atau Kerajaan Tanah Melayu ini menarek balek pengakuan-nya di-atas negara Israil ini. Sa-panjang ingatan saya, tiga hari telah di-bahathkan sa-masa ada lagi Allah yarham Enche' Zulkiflee Muhammad, perkara ini telah di-bahathkan panjang lebar tetapi malang-nya suara Perikatan ini ramai maka kalah-lah usul yang di-bawa oleh PAS itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi merapatkan lagi perhubongan kita dengan negara² Afro-Asia ini, saya sa-kali lagi meminta kapada pehak Kerajaan dan saya perchaya ada wakil Kerajaan di-sini yang menyokong chadangan ini supaya Kerajaan Perikatan atau Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini memikirkan sa-mula pengakuan-nya ka-atas negara Israil ini. Saya minta dengan sa-chara hormat-nya lupakan-lah sentiment walau pun benda ini datang daripada PAS tetapi mari-lah kita fikir apa-kah nasib bangsa Arab dan nasib umat Islam di-negeri Arab yang di-halau keluar dari negara Israil, negeri Palastin, oleh orang Israil ini mesti di-fikirkan. Terchonting-lah arang ka-muka negara² Arab dengan Kerajaan pengakuan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ka-atas negara Israil yang menjadi duri darah daging pada umat Islam seluroh dunia ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang kesemua saya meminta di-Pertua. dapat memperhubongkan negara² Afro-Asia dengan Malaysia ini hendaklah Cabinet Persekutuan Tanah Melayu atau Malaysia ini mengadakan meshuarat-nya lebeh² awal dan tolak balek dengan segera pengakuan ka-atas negara Israil ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, terima kaseh.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat): Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish, by summary in fifteen minutes, to put the record straight. Now, it would appear that the impression here is that as Socialist Front has only two "councillors" we are therefore of no significance. The representative from Sabah has said we are facing liquidation. The Prime Minister of Singapore talked of the winds of change.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Ill-winds of change.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Yes, illwinds of change. In fact, what are the figures? The Alliance polled 1,200,000 votes; the Socialist Front polled 330,000 votes; the Pan Malayan Islamic Party polled 355,000 votes. The P.M.I.P votes and the Socialist Front votes come up to 685,000 votes approximately. This means that, between the P.M.I.P. and the Socialist Front alone, we polled more than 50 per cent of the votes obtained by the Alliance. Since we have opposed Malaysia, it therefore cannot be said that it is an insignificant minority that has opposed Malaysia.

Now, as for the Socialist Front representation here—we have 330,000 votes—we are two. The Peoples' Action Party with twelve in Singapore and one from Malaya does not pool more than approximately 300,000 all told. They represent less people than ourselves on the matter of votes in this House. I do not see why they should boast all the time of their winds of change.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Ill-winds of change.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: If they do not stop making all that noisy wind and let the matter drop, their doctors may have to prescribe them another diet to quieten down the winds of change a little.

Mr Speaker, Sir, further if it is true that the people have rejected the Socialist Front because we are against Malaysia, then why did they reject the P.A.P.? They were pro-Malaysia. They have been talking on how loyal they were and challenging us on our loyalty. How did they lose their votes and lose their deposits as well?

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: And how many?

Mr Speaker: Order, order. Do not disturb him.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Mr Speaker, Sir, now again, what do we have in spite of the election issue? As regards percentages, the Socialist Front in 1959 polled 12.9 per cent; this year we polled 16 per cent, although our representation in Parliament with regard to Members comes to 1.9 per cent. The P.M.I.P. polled 17 per cent. The P.P.P., the U.D.P., the P.A.P. and all the other parties together polled 9.5 per cent.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, what was the issue at the elections? According to his Gracious Speech, His Majesty did say that the dominant issue in the elections was the question of confrontation by Indonesia. To support the King's Speech you must accept that to be the truth. Confrontation by Indonesia is certainly, though not entirely wholely, related to anti-Malaysia or pro-Malaysia stand. It can be said that to a large extent the confusion caused by confrontation brought about the return to power of the Alliance.

The Prime Minister of Singapore stated last night quite correctly that the balance of forces outside of this House was not so reassuring. It is true that outside of this House the prospects are not so reassuring—even in Sarawak. There, according to our figures, the Alliance polled 29.2 per cent, and not 70 per cent as alleged by the Honourable Member from Sarawak.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I agree with my colleague from Batu when he says that if our country is attacked by aggressive foreign forces, we should defend it, and we would not be the last to do so. But my question is this; did or did not

the Alliance promise the people during the elections that the national registration and the call-up will be for defensive purposes and that the troops will not be sent out of Malaya? If that is true, then we are faced with the second question. What acts of confrontation are there concerning Malaya that would make necessary the call for registration and call-up? During the elections we read of some acts of piracy. Do they amount to threat of invasion? Acts of piracy themselves have been going on for many, many years, and surely if the Government thought that it desirable that the fishermen should be protected they should have supplied with arms long ago—not with national registration. Besides, can the Government guarantee that the troops to be registered will not be sent to Borneo or outside of Malaya? If the Government can guarantee that, then the question of confrontation and the question of the need for national callup must be examined especially if acts of aggression against Malaysia are mainly acts of piracy.

It is unfortunate that when it came to national call-up, there has been no debate in this House as to the urgency or otherwise of a national call-up and as to the kind and character of the national call-up that is desirable. I remember during the elections the Honourable Member for Ipoh saying that the Parliament should be recalled to deal with the so-called national emergency and the question of national call-up. Mr Speaker, Sir, there is unfortunately no decision in Parliament in this matter and no debate to clarify issues.

Secondly, Mr Speaker, Sir, I think that we have a right to condemn the national call-up, we have a right to criticise the national call-up without being considered disloyal. I cannot see why the Opposition cannot express its views. The motion on the death of Enche' Zulkiflee, a former Member of Parliament, and the speeches made on that motion, clearly indicated that as far as this House is concerned it is not, as Mark Anthony said of Julius Ceasar that "The evil that men do

liveth after them, The good is oft interred with their bones." It would be more a matter of their supposed evils dying with them and their goodness extolled after their death as was in the case of Enche' Zulkiflee. If it is true that the P.M.I.P. was a party of treachery and their members were agents of Indonesia as was claimed by their opponents during the elections, then why make such hypocritical speech as in this House? If it true and they were not disloyal, then they should never have accused of disloyalty merely because it is the duty of the Opposition to criticise the Government. Otherwise, why have the Opposition at all? We might as well have no Opposition.

The Honourable the Prime Minister of Singapore said that they are loyal but that they are no subservient. I say that neither should the Opposition be sycophantic. Mr Speaker, Sir, whether Malaysia is right or wrong, Government has formed it. By Constitution, it exists. It would be wrong if we do not, however, express our doubts. Whether we are right or whether we are wrong, is not for this House to judge. It is for history. If it is an artificial creation; if it is, as has been stated by an Honourable Member from Sarawak an entry into a harem not to the good of the people in the harem and the people in Sarawak. history will say so and we are prepared to wait for history to say whether we are right or whether we are wrong. But surely we cannot be asked to withdraw and say that now it is formed, therefore it is good. We can still say, now it is formed it is still bad; it is still bad for the people. Is it disloyal to say that? As to the question of national call-up and sending troops Borneo. remember that 600,000 voters were anti-Malaysia. Should you force them against their own conscience to go to Borneo? Should we not have a voluntary service? Those people who want to go, like the Prime Minister of Singapore who is so fond of loyalty, should go on a voluntary basis (interruption) And as for the other Member sitting behind the Prime Minister of Singapore—he is also as vociferous—I am sure he would gladly also go.

SOME HONOURABLE MEMBERS: What about you? You follow!

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: I am prepared to follow (*Laughter*) if they will go first. But let them go instead of making that much noise.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Appoint them Field-Marshals.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Mr Speaker, Sir, I think that if the people do not feel that they should die for Borneo, if the people feel in their conscience that they should not fight, then they should have the right to refuse unless the situation is such and our nation's integrity is so threatened by foreign forces of oppression that we have no alternative but to defend ourselves.

Mr Speaker, Sir, as regards the question of the withdrawal of troops, the Honourable Member for Batu made a proposal. Do you agree or do you not agree with it? If you do not agree with it, then make some concrete proposal. But what has the P.A.P. done for so many months? Has it made any constructive proposal for peace? No. Has it tried to talk peace? No. Has it tried to suggest means for peace? No. It has always been for war and constantly says, "We will fight; we will meet threat with threat, arms with arms, war with war." But then in the end comes the pitiful cry from the Prime Minister of Singapore which this House has just heard saying, "We have ten thousand troops facing four hundred thousand from Indonesia. We must have British troops to fight for us. Please do not send them away."

Mr Speaker, Sir, we all realise of course that before Malaysia we had no trouble. And, in the Gracious Speech His Majesty said:

".... I am most humbly and dutifully aware that My heart is overflowing with gratitude to Almighty God for the unity and happiness, the peace and prosperity He has granted to our nation and people during this past momentous year."

Sir, if it is true that we have peace, if it is true that we have prosperity, why have we this National Call-up? Why talk of confrontation? Why talk of the serious situation in Sarawak? Why talk of the serious situation in Sabah? So, obviously, either His Majesty is badly advised or there is no confrontation and no problem regarding the security in Borneo.

It has been also stated by His Majesty that our people have a "flourishing democracy". It is therefore regrettable that the Honourable Prime Minister of Singapore should have criticised the Alliance for its election practices. But he forgot to mention that his Government gave the people of Singapore nine days for elections, he forgot that it banned ten papers and unions, he forgot that it arrested practically all the intellectuals in the Opposition (Laughter) before the elections were held.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon (Batu): Pontius Pilate washing his hands!

Mr Speaker: You have taken more than fifteen minutes now!

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: I started at 11.30 and now it is twenty minutes to twelve.

Mr Speaker: I will give you two minutes.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Mr Speaker, Sir, the P.A.P. representatives have always attempted to set themselves up as the great ideological interpreters of the situation in Malaysia and South East Asia. They talk of a national identity, they talk of a national culture, Singapore culture. And I remember the Minister of Information in Singapore talking of a Singapore identity and culture before Malaysia was formed and now

Enche' S. Rajaratnam (Singapore): Sir, on a point of clarification, there is no such Minister as Minister of Information in Singapore!

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: I am sorry, Sir—Minister of Culture. (Laughter) The Minister of Culture spoke of the Singapore culture and now the Singapore Prime Minister talks of a Malaysian identity and talks of Malays, Indians. Punans, Kalabits. Kadayans, Chinese, Sikhs, Punjabis and all our

various separate races. (Laughter) Now, what is a Malaysian identity? Does Malaysian identity refer to a fellow who can speak Tamil, Malay, Singhalese and Chinese?

Enche' Devan Nair: Those who are for Malaysia are Malaysians!

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Apparently there is a contradiction expressed here. One definition is different from the other. The Honourable Member for Bungsar says, "Those who are for Malaysia are Malaysians? That refers to a national identity. Therefore, those who are pro-Malaysia just raise your hands, and you will have a Malaysian identity. Of course, this is wrong. You cannot force culture you cannot artificially create a national identity, you can create only the structure. Cultural identity are personality matters dependupon cultural and traditional characteristics. You cannot by the wave of the wand from the Minister of Culture create, for example, Singapore culture because Singapore culture is Chinese-orientated and we all know that. Whereas the Malayan culture in Kelantan is Malayan-Thai orientated. As for the people like the Punans and the Muruts who still travel in jungles with blow-pipes, they have a different culture which is not even Malay or Chinese. How are you going to create a national identity out of all these people except to say a political identity, and a political identity is certainly quite different from a national identity.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to end up by reiterating that as far as we are concerned, we represent a sizeable majority in this House. (*Laughter*).

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: In this country!

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: In this country. Six hundred over thousand voters out of two million, voted for those who are clearly opposed to Malaysia. Are all these people disloyal? Are you going to put them in jail and have they no right to express opposition to Malaysia?

We would be failing in our duty if we do not say today that we do not

think that confrontation is the real issue of the recent elections. The confrontation issue was a red herring; and we say that Malaysia has introduced into South East Asia an unholy atmosphere of war. It has unsettled the peace of South East Asia and we must seek all means to peace. I say, Mr Speaker, to allow Malaya to be pushed into war by warmongers such as the Singapore Prime Minister, who came begging to our Prime Minister to be saved by the creation of Malaysia, is wrong and such people should not be taken heed of.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for allowing me to speak, and I hope at the next session that we will not be hurried and that the Opposition will have sufficient time to express their views fully.

Dr Lim Chong Eu (Tanjong): Mr Speaker, Sir, I shall not take much time, because all that I intend to do is to put in the first brush strokes of what my Party through me intends to represent in this House.

Reference has already been made in the Gracious Speech by His Majesty, right at the beginning, that "We are living in critical times . . . ", which has been developed in theme ably, brilliantly, eloquently and effusively all through this House. I wish only to say that when you reduce the arguments that we have so far heard in this House, in respect of this debate, we have on the one side reference to these critical times and its definition in terms of centrifugal and centripetal forces, and on the other side by a promising young fish from Bukit Bintang the idea of its relationship to confrontation and Malaysia. Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to add to this concept that has been brought up in this debate one other concept: namely, that apart from the development of our national entity as a result of the centrifugal and centripetal forces of the Malaysian and the confrontation problems, there is one other more important force, and that is our own inherent vital force. Whether or not we survive, as in the words of the Prime Minister of Singapore, whether this new nation, Malaysia, survives or not, depends very much on

the character of this vital force. It is not just a matter of will, determination and strength to carry out our purposes. There must also be a real identity, a moral calibre and also a virtue attached to that vital force. But biologically it is simple to reduce the importance of this vital force to the ability to adapt ourselves, and in the end it will be the survival of the fittest who will emerge from the next five years. So, I shall have plenty of time in these next five years in this House to develop our thesis. But today I merely wish to indicate that from the Gracious Speech of His Majesty we already clearly find and uncertainty in confusion Government, because there are contradictions quite clearly laid down in this Speech.

The most important of all contradictions is the fact that our nation, and this House today, is Malaysian and we have to think as Malaysians. But find this Gracious Speech in Education reference to almost in Hollywood style; "It gives me great pleasure to say that my Government has met with unprecedented success in its efforts to unify the various races of our plural society through our national educational policy . . ." Sir. though I would challenge this statement, when applied only to the Federation of Malaya, I certainly say that it has got no relevance and no meaning in so far as Malaysia is concerned, because we have yet to establish a truly Malaysian national educational policy. I hope that whilst the Government has given its intention that it will review and introduce changes to its educational policy, it will give this House ample time and opportunity to debate and to create an educational policy, which will really meet the needs of the Malaysian nation. I am not quite so naive the Honourable Prime as Minister of Singapore. The winds of change may have started for him in 1961, but the winds of change, which have blown me from across the floor to this side of the House, started much earlier; but I reiterate, however, the words that were so eloquently made by him yesterday: that if the Government benches do not change their ways, if they do not adapt their attitudes and their policies to meet the demands, the greater demands and the greater responsibilities, which Malaysia in size alone and in extent alone, would make in a greater proportion than that which existed in the old Federation of Malaya, quite apart from the fact that today we face confrontation, then the chances of our survival are "nil". However, I do say that we have hopes that, perhaps, through the new vitality, through the new energy that is created from the Opposition side, the Prime Minister of Singapore may in future longer maintain his Olympian heights and create a chasm across this side of the floor, but will come to realise that the chasm lies really between us here and those opposite us; and that he should not try to establish a causeway in this House by building it from material by digging deeper into the chasm between the narrow passageway separating the right from the left in the Opposition. But we shall bridge this floor that separates us by an expression from our side of the House which is more viable, more cogent and more realistic than that which the Honourable Ministers shall in due course expound to us.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to touch on another matter, and that is again touched on in His Majesty's Gracious Speech. Sir, prior to the formation of Malaysia, my Party urged the Alliance Government to go slow because we felt that the problems that were confronting us with Malaysia were such that the Government would not be able to handle them without creating endless trouble and bringing in new forces which they cannot meet. It is not for me here to claim that our predictions in 1962 were correct, because there is no question about it that the present circumstances prevailing in our nation today are, to a large extent, due to the manner and the haste, whereby Malaysia was implemented. We will not go back to those arguments of the past. However, today now that Malaysia has been established and in this very first session of this House, I wish, on the other hand now, to change our attitude and urge the Government to move with greater urgency to develop this new nation of ours, Malaysia, on a more uniform and on a more equitable basis. I refer to the part of the Gracious Speech regarding the development plans of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak and of the proposed integration of these plans into the first Malaysian Development Plans in 1970. Sir, I urge the Government to reconsider its views and try to intergrate the development plans of these new States in Malaysia earlier than 1970. It is important for us to have an economic uniformity in this country, if we are to create the material viability which was referred to by the Honourable Prime Minister of Singapore.

Sir, on a lesser note, in order that I may bring up something local with regard to my own constituency, I would like to say that confrontation has brought real suffering and real distress to people living in the Tanjong area of Penang. Prior to the elections, the M.C.A. component of the Alliance did try to ameliorate some of difficulties by giving \$15 a month to those who were unemployed through confrontation. Sir, that aid is insufficient and I hope the Government will rapidly take up this issue and continue the aid so long as there is real reason to believe that the distress can be directly attributed to confrontation.

Sir, the other last point which I have to make is that when the time comes for us to talk over the proposed East-West highway, we who live in Tanjong and in Penang, would wish that the development plans which have been passed—the rural development plans—will have a real meaning, that they should lead from somewhere to some place with some objective, and not just lead from nowhere to nowhere. So, it is, from our point of view, necessary for the East-West highway, if it is to have any economic meaning to our country, then to lead from the hinterland of the eastern part northern Malaya to the port of Penang. Thank you, Sir.

Mr Speaker: The sitting is suspended to 4.30 p.m.

Sitting suspended at 12 noon.

Sitting resumed at 4,30 p.m.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

ADDRESS OF THANKS

Debate resumed.

Mr Speaker: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, pada pagi tadi saya ada menyatakan kapada Ahli² Yang Berhormat, ia-itu pada petang ini daripada pukul 4.30 hingga 8.30, saya beri peluang kapada Menteri² menjawab atas hujah² yang di-datangkan oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat. Tetapi oleh sebab saya dapati ada lagi Ahli² Yang Berhormat yang patut berchakap, saya beri-lah lagi, kira² di-dalam satu jam, peluang kapada Ahli² Yang Berhormat. Dan saya harap Ahli² Yang Berhormat jangan-lah berchakap lebeh daripada 10 minit.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair (Bungsar): Mr Speaker, Sir, we may expect that if the press in Jakarta were to report any of the speeches that have been made in this House in the last few days, the speeches which the Jakarta press would undoubtedly take up would be the speeches made in particular by the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat and another speaker from the P.M.I.P. That, Mr Speaker, Sir, would be the kind of speech that would lend sustenance and encouragement to the attitude taken by the Indonesian confrontationists in their dispute with Malaysia.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the clear-cut stand taken on Indonesian confrontation by the Government will have the support of practically everybody in this House and of the nation at large. We are living, as His Majesty's Gracious Address puts it, in unquestionably critical times, and the confidence of the people has undoubtedly been enhanced by the courage, intelligence and confidence of the Government's attitude towards confrontation. But speeches of the kind made by the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat are speeches which tend to undermine the will of the nation to resist foreign aggression at this time of very serious crisis.

The pro-Indonesia and anti-Malaysia groups in this country have obviously drawn certain inevitable conclusions from the results of the last general elections. The most significant lesson, Mr Speaker, Sir, is this—that when it comes to the question of national security and integrity against foreign threats, the people as a whole have proved to be overwhelmingly patriotic in their outlook. The dominant consideration in the minds of the electorate was the unity and survival of Malaysia as an independent nation. The other issues paled into insignificance in the minds of the people before this paramount issue of Malaysian integrity and survival. The results are there for all to see.

anti-Malaysia parties convincingly routed, and it would take a long time for a party, like the Socialist Front, to recover, if at all, from the popular discredit into which it has fallen. Indeed, Mr Speaker, Sir, so much were the people taken up with this issue of confrontation, that even a number of political corpses have been revivified and have astonishingly walked out of political mortuaries in which they would otherwise have remained permanently immured.

Marxist-Leninist theoreticians who inspire the Socialist Front may take some consolation in the pretence that only one candidate from the democratic socialist camp has been returned to Parliament. But this, Sir, is poor consolation, when you consider that in mathematical terms "0 to 1": the increase in the number of democratic socialist M.P.'s in this House from "0" to "1", mathematicians would call it "infinite progression," or at least the beginning of "infinite progression," while the reduction of pro-Communists in number in both Parliament and State Assemblies represents an utter rout.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there have been indications in Singapore that above-ground pro-Communist operators in the Barisan Sosialis have learnt their lessons too well. They have realised that no headway whatsoever is possible for those who take an anti-Malaysia stand. They have decided,

some of them, to pedal a new, softer and more subtle line. Pro-Communist elements may now be expected to sport even a qualified pro-Malaysia line in an attempt to recover a portion at least of the considerable ground they have lost in the last elections. In short, Sir, we may be in the process of witnessing the spectacle of people who turn reasons patriotic for of tactical opportunism. It must be our hope that the people will realise that patriotism is not something which can be turned off and on like an electric switch. Loyalty to the nation, Sir, if it is to pass the test of sincerity, must be a steadily burning flame, which burns brightest of all when the nation faces the greatest peril. We have seen how the Socialist Front and their Barisan Sosialis allies in Singapore displayed a complete absence of national loyalty before these elections, but now they are out, some of them, in an opportunistic attempt to put on a show of loyalty. They will continue, however, to tread the path of national treachery and betrayal, but in the misleading garb of patriots. Such men will in the long run prove far more dangerous than outright sedition-mongers like Dr Lee Siew Choh, who is no longer a member of his party. It can be said of Dr Lee and company that they, at least, do possess the virtue of personal honesty in their anti-Malaysia acts and speeches. They do not hide their sympathies for the enemies of Malaysia. It must be, therefore, the duty of all responsible Members of this House to call on the people to intensify their vigilance against the more subtle operations that we may expect from the internal enemies of Malaysia.

The Government again, Sir, can be applauded for its intention, as expressed in His Majesty's Gracious Address, to associate Malaysia with the Afro-Asian group of countries and at the same time to pursue a policy of friendship with all friendly countries. Our international experience has shown that Afro-Asian misunderstanding Malaysia has given more encouragement to the intransigence of Indonesian confrontationists than any other single factor on the international scene.

The Malaysian Goodwill Mission to Africa has contributed a great deal towards a better and more sympathetic understanding of Malaysia on the part of African Governments. However, it is necessary to follow this up by regular contacts between the Government of Malaysia and the Heads of the various African States. Quite apart from political missions, thought should be given to sending cultural missions, trade missions, and even trade union missions to the various African States.

Sir, it is necessary to emphasise that we must be careful from now on and iudicious in our choice of ambassadors embassy personnel to foreign nations, and particularly the African nations. Malaysian Embassies abroad have to play a vital role and discharge vital responsibilities in the countries to which they are accredited. The Government, Sir, will be making a great mistake if it were to continue to regard ambassadorial positions as sinecures for washed-out politicians for whom there is no more use at home. From now on, the public has a right to expect greater care on the part of the Government in its choice of ambassadors to other countries.

May I suggest, Sir, with due respect to the Honourable the Minister of External Affairs, that in cultivating the good opinion of African nations it is vital to direct our embassies abroad to eschew any dogmatic rigidity in our approach to the different systems of government and varying ideological predilections of the Afro-Asian countries concerned. Any narrow spirit of ideological exclusiveness on our part will not help us to win friends in Africa, and our major task there is to win friends and not to make enemies through any narrow spirit of ideological exclusiveness.

Next, Sir, His Majesty's Speech has dealt in a praiseworthy manner with the subject of confrontation and with the new and positive approach to the Afro-Asian countries. But for the rest, Sir, I must say that those who drafted the Address have done no more than

offer a bloodless and altogether uninspiring collection of trite, timeworn and anaemic platitudes and cliches. There is talk of a more dynamic approach to labour questions, but significantly no dynamic details have been offered. We are told that in the field of industrial development the Government is consistently maintaining its policy of free enterprise with the minimum of restrictions and controls. This policy may or may not have paid dividends—although we are assured by the Government that it has. But trade unionists will note that there is no corresponding policy for free trade unions with the minimum of restrictions and controls. Labour legislation is significantly lacking when it comes to the protection of workers against the arbitrary actions of union-hating employers. Sir. most democratic countries enshrine in the law the right of workers to form or join trade unions and provide penalities where this right is directly or indirectly flouted by employers. Free and democratic trade unionism becomes altogether impossible if this basic protection is not given to the workers under the law.

The most recent example, Sir, of the victimisation of workers who exercised their democratic right to join a trade union of their own choosing provided by the management of Shaw Brothers Limited. Some 30-odd employees were dismissed simply because they freely decided to join an established union, the Cinema Workers Union. The management was apparently of the view that they should join an association controlled by the management. I understand, Sir, that through the praiseworthy efforts of the Malaysian Trades Union Congress and of the Minister of Labour, better counsels have prevailed with the management of Shaw Brothers Limited and a settlement of the dispute has been achieved. But the point that I wish to make is this: that if the management of Shaw Brothers had decided not to budge from their original stand, the Ministry of Labour could not have under the law ensured justice for the workers. Neither could the M.T.U.C. have done so, simply because there is nothing in the law to bring to book any employer who violates the democratic right of workers to join a trade union. Indeed, there have been several instances in the past when such violations of basic rights of association of workers have occurred. Mr Speaker, Sir, there are still employers in this country like the Shaw Brothers who dislike the idea of trade unions crossing their paths. Such employers would receive short shrift in Singapore if they attempted anything of the kind there. The law in Singapore obliges employers to inhibit predatory tendencies and to behave in accordance with the canons of civilised industrial relations. Sir, section 77 of the Industrial Relations Ordinance in Singapore provides that any employer who dismisses an employee by reason of the circumstance that the employee is or proposes to become a member of legitimate trade union would be committing an offence under the law, and penalties are provided and such employers can be prosecuted in a court of law.

Mr Speaker: I do not like to interrupt you, but you have taken more than 10 minutes which I said just now would be given to each member.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: May I just come to the end of the trade unions, Sir. I won't take very long.

This is the reason why employers like the management of Shaw Brothers behave in a rather different fashion in Singapore but ride roughshod over their employees in this country. I would recommend to the Minister of Labour, who is an enlightened man, to introduce legislation in this country, as part of the new promised dynamic approach to labour problems, with a view to providing the workers with this protection which their counterparts in Singapore enjoy. In this connection, might call the attention of the Government to the following lofty sentiments expressed in His Majesty's Gracious Address. "Let us never fail"-said His Majesty-"to remember that what we are and what we do must earn merit in the eyes of God and recognition in the eyes of man." Sir, failure to provide workers with

basic legislative protection against violations of the fundamental right of association in a democratic trade union of their own choosing will earn merit neither in the eyes of God nor of man, and we can be quite certain that the management of Shaw Brothers and managements like them have already piled up a great deal of demerit in heaven. It remains to be seen, Sir, whether their anti-union acts have obtained or will obtain recognition in the eyes of the Government.

Lastly, Sir, may I just touch on the question of hospitals with your permission—it won't take too much time.

Mr Speaker: I will give you another 2 minutes.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Mr Speaker, Sir, this is pressing it too much, and I think I have to leave off my observations on hospitals for another occasion and I will end up.

Sir, social and economic programmes have been sketched by the Government only in the vaguest of outlines and this certainly is a matter for regret. Here is a Government which has received an overwhelming mandate from the people and it should have taken the opportunity to come out with something more than merely a nebulous outline of policy. One can only hope, Sir, that the usual failing of selfsatisfaction and smug complacency that is usually associated with success has not settled on the Government. That would be a tragedy not only for the Government but for the country large. Industrial and economic progress, Sir, are not ends in themselves, but these goals must be sought in order to implement the ideals of social justice, of a fairer distribution of national wealth, of equality of opportunity for all irrespective of race, colour or creed, of the ending of exploitation of man by man and, in short, of a more just and equal society. But the Government's statement on socio-economic policy is conspicuous for its poverty of vision and idealism. Are things to carry on just as before? Are those in authority to look more after themselves and less after the ideals of social justice? That would mean that

we would witness the spectacle of people who, having the opportunity to do something great and good, flunked that opportunity in ignominy. It would mean that those who control the destinies of the nation prefer to travel first class to hell, for that would be the destination of a country which does not hold up, as its supreme and conscious goal, the attainment of social and economic justice for all its citizens.

Let us hope, Sir, in conclusion, that those who hold the reigns of power today will decide not to travel first class to hell, but let us hope that they decide for their good and for the good of everybody else that the ticket to paradise—to a more just society—is a third class ticket in the company of the ordinary people of this country and with the intention of achieving a better life for the people of Malaysia.

I am much obliged, Mr Speaker, Sir.

The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Haji Abdul Razak): Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to reply to a number of points raised by the Honourable Members, particularly those of the Opposition, on His Majesty's Speech. My colleagues, the other Ministers, will reply on various points connected with their respective Ministries.

First, Sir, I would like to reply to the speech made by the Honourable Member for Batu. Now, the Honourable Member, in the course of his long speech, asked what are the qualifications for Ministers, thereby casting aspersions members on Government. The Honourable Member should know that we here practise parliamentary democracy and we have a Party Government. Our Government Cabinet are collectively our responsible to this House and collectively responsible to the country. It is the sole privilege of our Party and the leader of our Party to choose from among the leading members of our Party as Ministers of the Government. main qualifications, Sir. sincerity and devotion to duty which we have shown to the country that we in the Alliance for nine years have served the people well. That is why the people voted us to power after nine

years with such an overwhelming majority. (Applause).

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu, who has just joined this House, still sings the old tune so often sung by his colleagues previously in this House that Malaysia was established against the wishes of the people of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore and that the Alliance Government is responsible for this confrontation and not Indonesia. He also blamed us for bringing this country, as he said, "to the brink of war". Now, Sir, it has been many times stated in this House and fully explained not only to this House but also to the country-and this can be confirmed by the representatives of the people of Sabah and Sarawak and Singapore here in this House—that Malaysia was established out of the free will of the people in those territories. They had expressed by an overwhelming majority their desire to achieve independence through Malaysia. As a result of that, we agreed to establish Malaysia and to have them with us as partners in building a new and a bigger nation.

Now, Sir, on the subject of confrontation, everyone knows—or at least everyone who has the loyalty of the country at heart—that this confrontais caused by Soekarno, Indonesia, and yet the Honourable Member for Batu blames the Alliance Government for this confrontation. Sir. does he not know that there is now aggression in our territories? Does he not know that Indonesia has sent in their troops, regulars and irregulars, into our territories? Does he not know the Indonesian troops have murdered our men, burned their houses their villages? And yet, the Honourable Member for Batu blames Alliance Government for the present state of emergency with Indo-Now, Sir, what right has Indonesia to send troops into somebody else's territories? Because of this. the Socialist Front is furthering Soekarno's and cause is helping Soekarno to achieve his intention and ambition of engulfing our country into what he terms as "Greater Indonesia".

Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu put up a five-point plan for peace and this is what, he says, the Socialist stands for. Sir, his plan is completely out of date. First, he called for an immediate ceasefire. The ceasefire was effected, as everyone in this country knows, as a result of the good office of Mr Robert Kennedy, the Attorney-General of the United States. President Soekarno agreed to call halt to fighting. and we in turn agreed to stop fighting. But we regarded the ceasefire arrangements as unsatisfactory because Indonesia refused to withdraw their troops to their side of the border. We had two meetings at Ministerial level Bangkok to try to resolve this ceasefire arrangement, but the meetings ended in failure because Indonesia will not agree to withdraw their troops from their side of the border. We, on our part, cannot tolerate or condone the presence of foreign troops in our territories. We have a right to exist as an independent, sovereign, nation and our integrity and sovereignty cannot be a subject of negotiation. That is why, Sir, we have made our stand clear that although we want peace and co-operation with our neighbours including Indonesia, we are not prepared to sacrifice our honour and our integrity. We are prepared and are always willing to talk about peace and to find ways and means of living in co-operation and in friendship with our neighbours and with all countries. But if we want to talk about peace, we must able to talk as equals we cannot allow another country to talk with us from a position of strength and dictate terms to us by having its troops in our territories.

Now, Sir, on the question of supervision of the ceasefire, it is wrong to say that the Secretary-General of the United Nations refused to supervise the ceasefire arrangement. The three countries involved, the Philippines, Indonesia and ourselves, agreed to ask Thailand to supervise the ceasefire and the Secretary-General of the United Nations agreed to take note of the position.

On the question of withdrawal of all foreign troops, both British and

Indonesian, from our territories, as I have said, we have asked Indonesia to withdraw their troops from our territories because they have no right to be in our territories. British and Commonwealth troops are in Borneo territories merely for the defence of our territories under our Treaty United Defence with the Kingdom, Before confrontation and before Indonesia started its aggression against us there were no British troops in the Borneo territories. Any country, Sir. has the right to make Defence treaty with other countries and has the right to ask for assistance for the defence of its independence and its integrity.

On the fourth point, the question of the release of all political detainees and as to the restoration of normal democratic life, in this country, as everyone knows, every reasonable man knows, despite confrontation, there is normal democratic life. Indeed we have a very liberal Government, the Alliance Government is a very liberal Government. We have given full freedom to all our opponents to criticise us so long as they do so within the law. Parliament, some time back, passed the Internal Security Act and the principle of this Act was endorsed by a vast majority of the people in this country in the last Election. passed this Act in order to save democracy from people who want to destroy democracy by making use of it. As the Prime Minister of Singapore said yesterday, if we release all political detainees, then there will be no need for President Soekarno to carry out aggression and confrontation. Our democracy and our way of life will be destroyed by agents of the enemies from within our borders.

Now, Sir, on the fifth point, the question of holding direct simultaneous elections in Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore, elections had been held in these territories according to democratic practice, but just because the Alliance Government won by a great majority in Sabah and Sarawak, there is no ground to say that the elections were undemocratic. In Singapore, Sir, the P.A.P. won the State elections by a big

majority and we here never say that the elections were undemocratic in Singapore. We believe in democracy and we always accept, or must be prepared to accept, the verdict of the people expressed in truly democratic ways.

Now, Sir, I come to the allegation made by the Honourable Member for Batu that I was chummy with Enche' Ibrahim bin Yaacob on the visit that we made to Indonesia in December, 1955, and he produced a photograph which was taken in Enche' Ibrahim's house with me and the former Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, Enche' Abdul Aziz. It is true that when we were in Jakarta in December. 1955, Enche' Ibrahim called on the Tunku and myself and it is true that Enche' Ibrahim did invite me to his house and it is also true that we took this photograph in Enche' Ibrahim's house. Sir, I knew Enche' Ibrahim for a long time before the war; he comes from my own State, Pahang. At that time in December, 1955, the Alliance was fighting for our independence and Enche' Ibrahim before the war was also fighting for independence and when we met in 1955, he said he was keen to support our fight for independence. We had no quarrel with him at that time and as I said. I knew him well and I went to his house to see the son of a distant relative of mine who died in Indonesia just after the war and this man was living with Enche' Ibrahim. Now, Sir, when we were fighting for independence, obviously we welcome support from anyone who was willing to support us to achieve freedom for our country. However, Sir, later when we achieved independence, Enche' Ibrahim, if he was a true nationalist, or have the true interest of this country at heart, would have come back to Malaya to help us consolidate our freedom and to help us build our nation. In fact he was asked by our Minister for Information and Broadcasting, who was then our Ambassador to Indonesia, to come back to Malaya, but he refused to do so and instead he took up Indonesian citizenship. Since then, Sir, we know that he has been instigating some people in this country

to overthrow this Government, legally constituted Government. violence and by force. We also know that he is working hand in hand with the communists to overthrow and overrun this country. Therefore, Sir, such a man, whatever his previous background might have been, must be regarded as an enemy of the people and as an enemy of our country because he is working against the interest of our country. I will regard such a man, whoever he may be, even if he is my own blood brother, as an enemy of the State. There is no confusion at all in this matter, Sir. We have ample proof and evidence to show that Enche' Ibrahim is now working against the interest of this country and is in support of some outside power. Therefore, Sir, if the Honourable Member for Batu and his colleagues choose to associate themselves with Enche' Ibrahim, then we know where they stand. (Applause)

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: On a point of clarification, Mr Speaker, Sir. I have not stated that we choose to associate; neither did I impute anything. I showed the photograph and stated that I was willing to let this House and the country to judge. I did not impute anything.

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: I only said, Sir, if they choose to associate themselves. Sir, there is also no need for us here to talk about visits by Ministers and Councillors of Government to Jakarta and their meetings with Soekarno. Before confrontation, we had no quarrel with Soekarno. In President fact, had no quarrel with anybody except those who want to destroy us, like the communists. Indeed, we wanted to live peace and in friendship Soekarno and with Indonesia just as we want to live in peace with all other countries. It is only because President Soekarno and his colleagues decided to have this confrontation against us and to attack our country that we oppose them because they have done wrong

Now, Sir, our stand in international affairs is clear. As stated in His

Majesty's Speech, we desire to live in peace with all countries, particularly with our neighbours; but it must be based on respect for our independence and honour and our integrity.

Now, Sir, leaving international affairs aside, I would like now to talk about development. Now, a number Honourable Members queried change of the name of Ministry of Rural Development to Ministry of National and Rural Development. This was done, Sir, merely to show clearly that the Alliance Government's policy has always been that while we give priority to development in the rural areas, we are also carrying development in the towns and urban areas and that we intend to give added impetus to urban development in matters of housing and such other things. Our Development Plan, as I have always explained to this House on many occasions, is national in character, national in intent and in scope. We carry out development in accordance with priorities, because it is our intention, first and foremost, to give all our people of all races, wherever they live, the basic amenities of life and to raise their standard of living so that they can live as decent, civilised human beings. This is the first task and that is what we have been doing for the last five years.

The success of our Plan was amply proved by the overwhelming support given to the Alliance Government in the last elections by the people in the rural areas. Therefore, Sir, it is completely untrue to say that rural development had not benefited the Malays or the non-Malays. Rural development has benefited everybody both in the rural areas as well as in urban areas, because prosperity in urban areas must depend on the prosperity of the people in the rural areas, and the majority of our people live in rural areas. If the people in rural areas have a better standard of living and a higher income, it means that there is more money in the country; and when there is more money, there is increased demand for goods and this in turn means better business for the people in the urban areas. That is why we have never divided our people into rural and urban. We have always carried out our development policy in accordance with the needs of the people in all areas. So, National Rural Development Programme has benefited everyone both in the rural and the urban areas and has benefited the country as a whole. The massive support that the people gave the Alliance Government in the last elections is ample proof of the success of our Rural Development Programme. (Applause) It is our intention to carry out rural development in the Borneo territories with the same of urgency, with the same sense dedication and devotion to duty as we have done here. We, in the Central Government, are determined to assist the State Governments of Sabah and Sarawak in whatever way possible to enable the development programme of these two territories to be implemented successfully. We are determined to show to the people of Sabah and Sarawak, who have joined us of their own freewill, that Malaysia benefits them and that independence to Malaysia means better and higher standard of living and more amenities of life. It is only by this way can we prevent them from being infiltrated by communists or influenced by Indonesian propaganda. As I have said recently in my visit to Sarawak, it is necessary for us to fight this confrontation by Indonesia in all fields—military as well as economic and social fields. Therefore, our Development Programme in the Borneo territories must be carried out with the same sense of urgency and dedication as we have done here and as we are facing the confrontation. I do appeal to the leaders in these two territories and to the people there of all races, the Dayaks, the Ibans, the Kadazans, the Malays and the Chinese give to the Central and State Governments their full and wholehearted co-operation.

If Malaysia is to succeed, then we must show to our people of all races that we can provide them with a better way of life, higher standard of living and better amenities. To do this, we must be able to gear our whole

administrative machinery, so that our administration can face up to the great task of not only meeting the confrontation militarily but also carrying out our economic development with a sense of urgency and dedication.

It is easy for some people to talk that there should be equal opportunities for all. But before we could have equal opportunities or equalities for all our people, the conditions in the various areas in our country must be changed and must be brought up to a level in which it will be possible for all our people to have equal opportunities. In the past, under colonial rule, the rural people were neglected. There were no means of communications. There were no social amenities. There were very few schools. So, the rural people had very limited opportunities of life, in particular, opportunities for education. Therefore, all this must be changed so that, as I said, our people of all races, wherever they may be, will be able to have the basic amenities of life and also opportunities for higher and better standard of living.

We, in the Alliance Government, have for the last nine years been saying that the future of our country depends on our ability to bring our people of all races together and to weld them into one united nation. But in order to do this, it is necessary to eliminate imbalances and inequalities, so that every citizen in this country, whatever his racial origin may be, can feel that he has a proper place in our country. As is stated in His Majesty's Speech, this building of one nationhood is a challenge to everyone of us, every citizen of Malaysia. In order to meet this challenge, we must approach the problem in a practical and objective way. We must take the conditions of our people of various races as they exist today and correct the imbalances without stressing on the differences. We have to come to understand, we have to reach agreement, on certain basic principles, on certain delicate issues, such as religion, language and education. The Alliance Government has reached an understanding on all these vitally inflammable and delicate issues. Our policy on these issues has

been accepted by the great majority of people in this country and, therefore, I say it will be dangerous and detrimental to the interests of our country, if we are now to change our policy and our approach on these basic and fundamental issues. We should, bearing in mind the principles that we have agreed on the basic issues, move forward to try and help our people of various races, of various racial origins, to obtain better opportunities and better amenities of life. We must not endeavour to upset the plans that we have achieved on these fundamental issues, and that is why in our approach on these issues we must always be careful and we must always endeavour to bring out common grounds, grounds on which our people do agree and do think in the same way. It is only by doing this that it is possible for us to eliminate differences in course of time. It is my view. Mr Speaker, Sir, by carefully approaching this issue in a calculated way that we can achieve real unity among our people and build a united nation in this country which, we always say on this side of the House, is the foundation of our peace and our prosperity of our young nation.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada dua perkara yang saya suka hendak jawab Yang Berhormat kapada Yang pertama, Yang Berhormat dari Kota pandangan Hilir ada beri meminta Kerajaan Persekutuan atau pun Kerajaan Pusat memberi kerjasama kapada Kerajaan negeri Kelantan untok menjayakan ranchangan² kemajuan, ranchangan² pembangunan luar bandar dalam negeri Kelantan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya telah kerap kali sebutkan dalam Dewan ini dahulu bahawa Kerajaan Pusat sedia hendak memberi kerjasama, sedia hendak menjalankan ranchangan² kemajuan di-negeri Kelantan yang telah ketinggalan sa-lama lima tahun itu; akan tetapi sa-hingga hari ini Kerajaan Pusat tidak dapat kerjasama yang sa-wajar-nya daripada Kerajaan negeri Mustahak-lah Kerajaan negeri Kelantan menurut atoran dan peratoran yang di-perbuat oleh negeri² lain terutama sa-kali dalam hal

ranchangan² kemajuan tanah, jikalau Kerajaan negeri berkehendakkan ranchangan2 kemajuan tanah yang dijalankan, mustahak-lah Kerajaan negeri menyerahkan kuasa kapada Pusat bagi menjayakan Kerajaan ranchangan2 tanah itu, kalau tidak, tentu-lah Kerajaan Pusat tidak sanggup menjalankan ranchangan² hendak tanah itu.

Dalam masa lima tahun yang telah lalu Kerajaan negeri Kelantan enggan membuat bagini, enggan menurut atoran yang telah di-jalankan dengan negeri2 yang lain. Bagitu juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkenaan dengan ranchangan² pembangunan luar bandar yang lain, Kerajaan Pusat sedia hendak memberi kerjasama dan menjalankan ranchangan² daripada negeri Kelantan, asalkan Kerajaan Kelantan boleh menerima atoran dan peratoran yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan Pusat yang telah di-persetujui oleh Kerajaan² negeri² yang lain untok menjayakan ranchangan² kemajuan di-negeri Kelantan itu. Jadi, terpulang-lah kapada Kerajaan negeri Kelantan yang ada sekarang ini untok menunjokkan kerjasama-nya kapada Kerajaan jikalau berkehendakkan ranchangan² kemajuan yang di-minta oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kota Bharu Hilir pada pagi tadi. Kerajaan Pusat hendak membezakan tidak-lah mana² tempat dan daerah sunggoh pun Kelantan itu di-kuasa oleh Kerajaan PAS. Akan tetapi sebab saya sa-bagai Menteri yang bertanggong-jawab dalam hal kemajuan ada-lah tertanggong kapada Dewan ini bagi menjalankan ranchangan² dengan terator dan sempurna dan kalau dapat kejayaan yang penoh mustahak-lah ranchangan² ini dijalankan menurut atoran dan peratoran yang biasa di-perbuat di-negeri² yang lain. Kita tidak dapat hendak menjalankan atoran yang istimewa kapada mana² negeri.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu-lah sa-kira-nya dasar-nya atas perkara ini Kerajaan Pusat sedia-lah hendak menjalankan ranchangan² kemajuan di-negeri Kelantan jika dapat kerjasama daripada Kerajaan negeri. (Tepok).

The Minister of Labour (Enche' V. Manickavasagam): Mr Speaker, Sir, I would first like to reply to the Honourable Member for Ipoh, who is unfortunately not in this House. He wanted to know what we are trying to do regarding the questions of old age pensions, unemployment insurance, etc., as, according to him, these things are not mentioned in His Majesty's Gracious Speech. May I refer the Honourable Member to paragraph 262 on page 44 of the Special Appendix to His Majesty's Gracious Speech. For the benefit of this House, I would like to mention that the social security schemes envisaged cover old age, unemployment. injury, maternity. medical-care and sickness With regard unemployment insurance, question was studied by the Special Committee set up by the Government and the Government has considered contributory unemployment insurance scheme should be further examined as to its feasibility.

Sir, now I would refer to the points raised by the Honourable Member for Pontian Selatan. He suggested that the Trade Unions Ordinance should be reviewed with a view to excluding political influences from trade unions. As the House is aware, we have been fortunate in Malaya, unlike happenings in Singapore, that the Malayan Trades Union Congress has reaffirmed time and again their policy to steer clear of political affiliations. I need not stress too much on the wisdom of such a policy. As long as the trade union movement itself firmly believes in and adheres to this policy, can state confidently that any attempt by political parties to use tools unions as for their political ends would not meet with success.

Sir, now turning to the speech of the Honourable Member for Batu, and also with some reference to the Honourable Member who spoke just now—the Honourable Member for Bungsar—they asked me to explain the dynamic approach to labour questions mentioned in the Special Appendix to His Majesty's Speech. If the Honourable Members concerned

would care to read on from paragraph 259, they would find this explanation. summarise again, what Government has in mind by this dynamic approach is to introduce further protective legislation for the workers of this country, such as, to expand the scope of the various labour laws, to bring within their fold categories of workers at present not covered, increased application of the Wages Council Ordinance to provide for statutory minimum remuneration and conditions of employment where workers are not effectively organised, and to provide greater safety, health and welfare measures through the introduction of a Factory Act, to bring about organisational changes within the Ministry of Labour to cope with the changing demands being made on it, and to introduce new legislation to provide for better security measures, social better standards of housing and so on. Further, while on the one hand positive action is being taken to increase employment opportunities, the national apprenticeship scheme will be expanded to provide greater facilities for both normal apprenticeand accelerated training adult workers. In the field of industrial relations, further action will be taken to strengthen and improve employer/ employee relationships and the procedures under our system of industrial relations. The basic work for such an approach to labour questions has already been done and I hope to introduce most of the legislative measures I have mentioned during the next session of Parliament. Through the strengthening of the procedures of industrial relations and employer/ employee relationships, I am hopeful that much of the friction that has taken place, and has been referred to by the Honourable Members for Batu and Bungsar, will be removed.

More specifically, my Ministry is now considering the possibility of introducing certain measures to remove some of the difficulties that have apparently arisen over the question of recognition of trade unions and termination of employment. Sir, all matters concerning labour and labour legislation are normally discussed at the National Joint Labour Advisory Council and I shall be guided by the advice of the employers and workers in that Council.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu also said that the Government only exhorts the workers to place national interests first just before or during the strikes. Nothing can be farther from the truth. The voluntary system of industrial relations that we have in this country assumes primarily that both the employers and the workers will conduct their mutual relationship in such a way that while their own interests are protected, the national interests or the public interests will not be prejudiced. I have not stress hesitated to this to both employers and workers. Proof of this is available in the very speeches that I and my colleague, the former Minister of Labour, have made and in the records of the meetings we have had and the long discussions that I have had with both workers' and employers' organisations. Thank vou, Sir.

Mr Speaker: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, saya suka hendak menerangkan sadikit, takut tersalah faham, ia-itu sa-belum Menteri² menjawab tadi, saya memberi satu jam lagi kapada Ahli² yang lain.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar telah mengambil masa lebeh kurang sa-tengah jam lama-nya dan ada sa-tengah jam lagi di-beri peluang kapada Ahli² yang lain.

Saya memberi peluang kapada Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri tadi berchakap dahulu kerana dia minta kebenaran saya yang dia hendak berchakap dahulu, kerana ada pekerjaan yang mustahak. Bagitu juga dengan Menteri Buroh yang baharu berchakap sa-kejap tadi; dia minta kebenaran hendak berchakap sadikit, kerana dia ada pekerjaan dia di-situ. Jadi, ada peluang lagi saya beri salama sa-tengah jam kapada Ahli² yang lain.

Enche' Tan Siew Sin: Mr Speaker, Sir, if I may—I would not take very

long—I would like to deal seriatim with the points raised by those Honourable Members who have taken part in this debate.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh. who is not present here this evening, has, by implication, criticised the Government for its selection of my Honourable friend, the Member for Sepang, as the Assistant Minister of Education, principally, as far as I can gather, on the ground that he speaks neither Malay nor English fluently. I think the Assistant Minister of Education's knowledge of Malay is better it is perhaps realised the Honourable Member for Ipoh. (Aprlause) We concede, however, that he does not speak English with an Oxford accent. This stricture, however, coming from the Honourable Member for Ipoh sounds extremely strange. For years he has been telling us that he is the champion of the Chinese language and culture in this country. He has taken us to task because he says that we have not given sufficient weight to the importance of the Chinese language in our educational system, and yet when we appoint a product of the very system whose cause he has appeared to espouse and champion all these years, he says we should not have done it. It may be that the Honourable Member when making these remarks, did not realise their implications. If so, it shows that his apparent espousal of the cause of Chinese education in this country was merely a sham. It shows that deep down in his heart, he, in fact, has a pretty low opinion of the products of the Chinese schools. It is revealing, however, to learn the truth, the real truth, and to learn of his real feelings towards Chinese education.

The Honourable Member for Batu blames the alleged shortcomings of the medical and health services, particularly Government hospitals, on the Treasury. He paints a lurid picture of grave shortages of essential facilities and drugs. I must say that this is the first time I have heard of these so-called charges. I can assure him, however, that though the Treasury does believe in economy, it does believe that we should

get full value for money spent, we have never been guilty of starving essential services either of essential facilities or of essential equipment. That is simply not true.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon (Batu): Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification. I believe the former Honourable Member for Seberang Selatan did bring out this question of shortage of drugs and materials in hospitals. But he was fobbed off by the then Minister of Health who said, "There is no such shortage." I challenge the present Minister of Health that, if he cares to walk with me to the various hospitals in this country and if he cares to talk with me and with the various people who work in the hospitals, they will tell him that the surgeons have to look for the cat guts in the theatre before they can operate. That is the truth.

Enche Tan Siew Sin: Mr Speaker, Sir, I gave way to the Honourable Member, though I need not do so under the Standing Orders, in order to give him a chance to air his views further. I have no doubt that his colleague, the former Member for Seberang Selatan, did make those charges, but he and the rest of the House are aware that the charges of the Socialist Front are more often based on fiction rather than on fact. However, I have no doubt that my Honourable colleague, the Minister of Health, will reply and deal with him adequately.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like now to deal with the strictures made by an Honourable Member from Singapore. I am aware that under the Standing Orders we are not supposed to refer to Honourable Members by name, but as the position of Honourable Members in Singapore is rather anomalous at the moment, at least technically, I hope you will allow me to refer to Honourable Members from Singapore by name.

Mr Speaker denotes assent.

Enche' Tan Siew Sin: In any case, this particular Honourable Member cannot be referred to as the Honourable Member for Singapore because he neither represents it technically nor in fact.

The Honourable Mr Lee Kuan Yew. in his remarks on taxation and on the allocation of scarce resources between one service and another. has exhorted us "to view the world not from the standpoint of the rubber estate owner, or shareholders and stockholders of companies, but to view it also from the point of view of the rubber tappers and the workers in the companies that produce the rubber for the stockholders and the shareholders". I have quoted his exact words. He is singing the familiar theme which he used to such deadly effect (on himself!) during the recent election campaign. I can appreciate that for political reasons he must pose as a champion of the poor. a champion of the toiling masses. To me, however, it is rather strange that whenever this ardent nationalist finds that we cannot accept his point of view, he runs to the British High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur for assistance against us, in the same way that a child runs to his mother for help when he is unable to fend for himself against his playmates. It is significant that Mr Lee has never made a single constructive suggestion as to how we should go about solving our admittedly difficult financial and economic problems. All he does is to mouth pious platitudes and vague generalisations. We also want to improve the lot of the working man, we also want to improve the lot of the worker, we also want to narrow the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots". All this we accept, and we can also assure Mr. Lee that we are no less concerned than he about the need to level up instead of levelling down (as advocated by the Socialist Front), so that those who toil, those who sweat, will get a fair share of the fruits of their labour. No sensible person can quarrel with this view, but the question is "How", and Mr Lee has yet to enlighten us on how he himself would set about this problem. He does not even give general principles as guide lines for us to follow. All he does is to repeat parrot-like pious hopes which can be stated with equal eloquence by any intelligent schoolboy.

Datin Fatimah binti Haji Abdul Majid (Johor Bahru Timor): Tuan

Yang di-Pertua, saya mengambil kesempatan bangun di-sini menguchapkan sa-tinggi² tahniah di-atas Titah Uchapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda bagi membuka Persidangan Dewan Ra'ayat Penggal Yang Pertama bagi Parlimen Malaysia yang kedua, dan juga saya menyokong chadangan daripada rakan kami supaya Titah Uchapan itu di-bahathkan. Dan sa-panjang perbahathan yang telah saya dengar selama dua hari yang lalu hingga hari ini ramai di-antara Ahli² Yang Berhormat telah berchakap berkenaan dengan pilehan raya dan demokerasi. Dari itu sava tidak-lah hendak mengulas hal itu dengan panjang lebar, sa-kadarkan ada sadikit kemushkilan saya terhadap kechaman yang berat mengutok demokerasi yang datang-nya daripada pehak² Pembangkang dalam Majlis yang mulia ini, kerana yang sa-benar-nya demokerasi di-negeri kita telah di-bela dengan baik serta hidup subor dan tegak di-atas dasar² yang di-perjuangkan oleh Parti Perikatan, bahkan bertambah gilang-gemichahaya-nya menyinari Malaysia ini. Sebab pun saya katakan bagitu kerana hanya segelintar ra'ayat sahaja yang sengaja menjadikan demokaresi itu alat perbahathan mereka untok mendatangkan berbagai² tudohan dan mereka-lah sa-benar²-nya telah menyonteng arang dan menghitamkan chorak demokerasi itu serta menyalahgunakan demokerasi yang tulin itu untok kesempatan mereka mengeluarkan chachian yang mereka gunakan dengan sa-puas² hati-nya terhadap pada Parti Perikatan hingga menyentoh soal peribadi pun mereka tidak kira asalkan mereka boleh gunakan demokerasi menjadi alat untok mendapat kemenangan. Tetapi shukor-lah kemenangan Perikatan ada-lah menjadi jawapan yang tepat kapada sa-siapa juga yang telah mempermainkan demokerasi bagi faedah kepentingan mereka sendiri.

Terlanjor berchakap berkenaan dengan demokerasi ini saya juga membayangkan bagaimana demokerasi yang di-sanjong tinggi serta di-beri penghormatan kapada ra'ayat yang menghormati-nya. Kami di-Johor Baharu telah menjalankan tugas² pilehan raya adalah betul² menurut lunas² demokerasi,

kerana sa-belum kami keluar berkempen kami telah di-panggil berunding semua wakil² parti yang bertanding di-dalam pilehan raya itu oleh pehak yang berkuasa Polis juga pegawai² yang berkenaan dengan Pilehan Raya, demikian juga dalam soal lain hingga membuat pondok² di-tepi jalan itu pun kami telah di-minta membuat dengan persetujuan bersama di-antara² parti yang bertanding. Kami daripada Parti Perikatan tidak pernah mendapat keistimewaan dalam apa² juga tugas pilehan raya itu kerana semua parti² telah diberi layanan yang sama dan sa-rupa. Ada kala-nya kami berasa hampir² hilang sabar, kerana memandangkan bahawa kami ada-lah daripada parti yang memerentah, tetapi kemarahan² itu tiba² hilang dengan sendiri-nya apabila kami teringat pada dasar² demokerasi yang di-amalkan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan, tetapi bagai pehak parti lawan kami di-sana ia-itu Barisan Socialis dan Parti PAS telah menggunakan demokerasi itu sewenang² dan dengan sa-suka hati mereka hingga melanggar batasan dan peratoran yang di-tetapkan oleh Undang² Pilehan Raya, mereka telah mendahului daripada Kerajaan membuat chontoh² kertas undi atau pun ballot paper yang berwarna puteh bagi Dewan Ra'ayat dan warna kuning bagi Dewan Negeri serta chukup lengkap dengan tanda simbol parti² yang bertanding, ia-itu Kapal Layar, Kepala Lembu dan Bulan Bintang, yang mana Barisan Socialis telah menunjokkan pangkah yang terang kapada simbol-nya, manakala Parti PAS pula telah menunjokkan pangkah yang terang kapada simbol-nya dan telah di-beri kapada pengundi² sa-belum hari membuang undi. Ini ada-lah sa-bahagian daripada bukti² yang dapat saya katakan di-sini bahawa demokerasi telah di-jadikan alat oleh sa-tengah daripada parti² lawan Perikatan di-Johor Baharu sana, dan sekarang saya pulangkan kapada Majlis yang mulia menimbangkan ada-kah demokerasi tidak di-hormati oleh Kerajaan yang menjalankan pemerentahan negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-lain daripada berchakap mengenai dengan pilehan raya dan demokerasi di-antara

Titah Uchapan Seri Paduka Baginda yang sangat menarek hati saya ia-lah berkenaan dengan ranchangan Kerajaan hendak memberi peluang bekerja kapada orang yang tidak ada pekerjaan, kerana sa-bagaimana yang kita semua tahu bilangan-nya dari sa-tahun ka-satahun ada-lah bertambah ramai, sedang mereka ini sa-bahagian besarnya tidak mempunyai kepandaian yang di-kehendaki oleh majikan. Oleh yang demikian mudah²an dengan ada-nya pandangan yang berat daripada pehak Kerajaan terhadap membaiki nasib mereka bererti-lah pembelaan sa-wajarnya telah di-laksanakan demi kepentingan ra'ayat seluroh-nya, sebab kalau dahulu-nya mereka telah putus harapan untok hidup mempunyaï pekerjaan, tetapi pada masa sekarang mereka boleh-lah menaroh harapan chemerlang dengan ada-nya ranchangan² Kerajaan sa-bagaimana yang di-sebutkan dalam Titah Baginda itu. Dan dengan kerana itu juga sudah sa-patut-nya-lah kita mengalu²kan Titah Seri Paduka Baginda serta menguchapkan sa-tinggi2 terima kaseh kapada-nya, kerana sikap 'adil dan saksama Baginda mengambil berat tentang kebahgiaan dan kesempurnaan hidup ra'ayat-nya. Di-samping itu juga saya berharap kapada pehak Kerajaan sa-moga dengan terlaksana-nya tugas Titah Baginda didalam bidang pelajaran dan latehan supaya ra'ayat terlibat dengan ke-hendak² Titah Baginda itu akan segera merasai pembelaan yang sedia dan di-selenggarakan oleh Kerajaan bagi faedah mereka sakalian.

Sa-lain daripada itu, saya suka juga menarek perhatian tentang Baginda mengenaï anchaman yang dihadapi oleh negeri kita. Sa-sunggohnya di-dalam perkara ini saya atas nama warga-negara Malaysia meng-uchapkan sa-tinggi² tahniah kapada Kerajaan yang telah membuktikan ketegasan yang penoh bertanggongjawab mempertahankan tanah ayer kita sa-bagai sa-buah negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Maka oleh kerana itu di-samping mengalu²kan sa-tiap langkah yang di-ambil oleh Kerajaan menentang sa-barang anasir² mengancham negara kita, saya juga menyampaikan hasrat yang di-amanah-

kan oleh ra'ayat yang telah memberi mandat kapada Kerajaan Perikatan meneruskan membena tugas bahagiaan dan kema'amoran, iuga mempertahankan kemerdekaan kedaulatan mereka ada-lah bersedia menyambut Titah Baginda, juga sentiasa berdiri tegoh di-belakang Kerajaan di-samping bersedia memberi sapenoh² sokongan hak dengan darah dan jiwa sa-kira-nya keadaan telah memaksa minta pengorbanan mereka.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam Titah Uchapan Baginda juga mengenaï dengan pertahanan dan keselamatan Kerajaan terus menjalankan tindakan terhadap kominis mengancham sempadan negara kita. Kita harus-lah memberikan perhatian yang berat kapada pehak pertahanan dan kekerana selamatan, di-dalam apatah lagi dharurat aman mereka-lah yang paling penting untok mengawal ketenteraman negara, maka dengan tanggong-jawab mereka yang sa-bagitu berat sa-bagai alat negara yang nyawa-nya terletak di-hujong senjata, maka sa-bagai kita ada-lah perlu memberi timbangan bagai kemudahan² hidup mereka sa-lain daripada sara hidup-nya yang maka tempat tinggal-nya juga patut di-beri layanan yang sempurna. Di-sini saya tidak-lah bertujuan mengatakan Kerajaan tidak mengadakan rumah atau barek² yang baik untok mereka. Apa yang saya maksudkan ia-lah bilek² atau pun barek yang ada itu sangat kechil dan tidak selesa atau pun tidak menchukupi besar-nya untok satu² keluarga. Saya suka memberi pandangan di-dalam perkara ini sa-moga mendapat perhatian daripada Menteri Yang Berhormat. Sa-bagaimana yang saya tahu kesulitan yang di-hadapi oleh ahli² polis biasa yang berjawatan rendah tentang tempat tinggal mereka, kerana bilek2 yang di-untokkan bagi mereka itu hanya-lah lebeh kurang 10 kaki persegi sahaja, sedang kalau di-pukul rata pada tiap² satu keluarga itu mereka ada mempunyai bilangan anak ka-atas daripada 5 orang.

Sa-kurang²-nya elok-lah kita memberi mereka itu bilek yang besar atau pun dua bilek bagi tiap² sa-orang supaya yang berpadanan dengan tenaga mereka churahkan berkawal siang atau pun malam apabila mereka berada dirumah masing² maka dapat-lah mereka dudok dengan rehat tidak saperti keadaan yang ada pada hari ini ia-itu hanya dapat tidor di-satu tempat ruangan tetamu sahaja. Jadi manakala keluarga mereka yang lebeh daripada enam tujoh orang dan yang ada sampai 12 orang mereka macham ikan sadin berlimpah² dan bertindeh². Ini sangatlah patut di-pertimbangkan supaya ra'ayat di-berikan layanan kapada mereka agak sesuai dengan perkhidmatan sa-bagai perajurit tanah ayer yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Tetapi apa yang saya saksikan pada hari ini keadaan tempat tinggal mereka sangatlah menyedehkan ia-itu umpama-nya sava mithalkan di-Johor Bahru sana, sa-tengah daripada sa-tengah-nya tinggal di-dalam barek yang terletak di-tengah bandar ia-itu di-antara Jalan Campbell dengan Jalan Ah Fook. Tetapi dukachita apabila hari hujan lebat maka kebanjiran-lah mereka semua kerana ayer bah kira² satu kaki tinggi-nya masok ka-dalam bilek² mereka yang sudah sedia sempit dengan anak² mereka juga penoh dengan barang² rumah tangga.

Mr Speaker: Nampak-nya panjang sangat—sudah lebeh 10 minit rengkaskan sahaja-lah.

Datin Fatimah binti Haji Abdul Majid: Dengan kerana itu, saya berseru-lah kapada pehak Kerajaan supaya melebehkan timbang rasa atas keadaan mereka itu ketika membena bilek baharu di-masa yang akan datang. Atau pun buat sementara waktu pada masa sekarang benarkan-lah ahli² polis itu mendudoki dua bilek pada satu rumah supaya lega sadikit keadaan mereka itu tinggal pada satu² keluarga.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada uchapan saya yang akhir saya ada-lah tinggal di-negeri Johor ia-itu Johor Bharu ada-lah berdekatan sangat dengan negeri Singapura. Jadi Singapura ada-lah menjadi satu perhatian kapada saya juga. Saya boleh memberi gambaran yang terang sa-kali bagi membuktikan kata² saya ini. Di-negeri Singapura ada

kawasan tempat² yang banyak pendudok² vang terdiri daripada orang² Melayu. Di-sini saya bayangkan umpama di-dalam Singapura manakala kita masok di-Jalan Ubi, di-Jalan Bayam, di-Jalan Tebu dan di-Jalan Marekan ini, 80 peratus terdiri Melayu. daripada orang² Tetapi sangat mendukachitakan, nasib pendudok² di-sana daripada hingga sekarang tidak dapat pembelaan satu pun. Manakala jalan² raya maseh lagi jalan² merah dan berlubang² lekoklekek, manakala kereta berjalan diatas jalan raya ini macham berjalan di-atas gelombang atau pun berumba dan sampah pula penoh bertimbun² di-tepi jalan dan parit penoh dengan ayer longkang danau yang berbau tidak bergerak ka-mana². Manakala hari hujan maka longkang² yang berbau ini telah masok dekat rumah² orang yang ada berdekatan di-situ.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami pernah mendengar suara yang melaung² untok membawa angin perubahan kemajuan dalam Malaysia. Saya rasa ta' usah-lah mereka bersusah payah hendak membawa chadangan mengubah suasana masharakat negeri kita, ubahkan sahaja-lah keadaan parit² dan longkang² di-sepanjang jalan di-Kampong Melayu di-Singapura itu pun memadaï satanggong-jawab-nya (Tepok). Kalau-lah untok menjamin kebersehan Kampong Melayu tidak dapat disempurnakan, bagaimana-kah charanya Kerajaan Singapura boleh memberikan iaminan mempertinggikan taraf hidup kalau-lah rumah² pangsa yang di-peruntokkan; saya tahu tidak berapa kerat daripada orang Melayu yang mampu menyewa-nya dan sesuai untok di-dudoki-nya. Apa yang saya nampak akibat yang akan di-terima oleh orang Melayu di-sana ia-lah kerana tidak sa-chara langsong mereka akan terusir daripada tempat asal-nya. Kalau dahulu mereka tinggal berkumpul di-satu tempat tidak berapa lama lagi mereka akan bertempiaran berpechah belah membawa mereka masing². Oleh yang demikian perpechahan ini-lah kelak dengan melemahkan suara orang Melayu di-Singapura. Kerajaan Singapura boleh menda'awa bahawa layanan² istimewa

telah di-berikan kapada orang Melayu tetapi orang Melayu sendiri yang telah menolak-nya. Ini memang satu alasan yang bijak tetapi kita ada-lah menjawab-nya untok melepaskan batok ditangga sahaja.

Saya tidak-lah hendak berchakap demikian untok membangkitkan semangat perkauman hanya meminta pembelaan kerana dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu tidak memberikan layanan berbedza² kapada ra'ayat yang berbilang bangsa. Hanya di-Singapura sahaja orang² Melayu menjadi mangsa angin perubahan untok kemajuan orang lain tetapi kehanchoran dan kehapusan hak orang Melayu di-sana. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kebetulan pula cherita didalam akhbar Berita Harian semalam mengatakan, di-Singapura kira² 600 orang Kampong Alexander yang mana 200 orang daripada-nya ia-lah orang Melayu telah di-perentahkan berpindah daripada tanah tempat tinggal mereka. Bagitu juga sadikit masa yang lalu saya terbacha di-dalam akhbar mengatakan lebeh seribu orang Melayu pendudok² Kampong Ambar juga telah di-kenakan perentah pindah daripada tempat kediaman masing². Dan orang² ini khabar-nya telah di-suroh menchari kawasan lain pula untok di-jadikan tempat kediaman-nya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-sunggoh-nya kalau-lah benar cherita² kejadian saperti ini, saya ingin tahu apa-kah langkah² di-ambil oleh Menteri Kebajikan Masharakat di-Singapura untok menolong orang Melayu yang menjadi mangsa per-pindahan itu. Sebab saya perchaya orang ini bukan semua terdiri daripada kaum buroh sahaja bahkan juga diantara-nya bangsa² lain yang terdiri daripada gulongan orang² miskin. Dengan kerana itu sama ada sudah atau pun belum tindakan di-ambil kerana kebajikan mereka, saya merayulah kapada pehak yang berkuasa di-Singapura tolong-lah ambil perhatian yang berat terhadap nasib mereka khas-nya orang Melayu di-sana yang kita tahu pada masa sekarang suaranya sayup² ketinggalan jauh belakang ia-itu suara² yang berirama sedeh ia-itu menuntut pembelaan. Dengan ini saya juga nasehatkan parti P.A.P. sa-kira-nya kapada

mereka itu tidak mahu menyesali kemudian sila-lah bertindak dari sekarang dan beri-lah pembelaan yang sa-wajar-nya kapada saudara² kami orang Melayu di-Singapura sana. Sekian-lah, terima kaseh.

The Minister of Transport (Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir): Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to reply to the Honourable Member for Ipoh . . .

Dr Tan Chee Khoon (Batu): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, boleh-kah saya berchakap sadikit?

Dato' Haji Sardon: The time is limited.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Dua minit sahaja.

Dato' Haji Sardon: I have not come to that point yet.

Mr Speaker: Order, order!

Dato' Haji Sardon: Sorry, Sir.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like first to reply to the Honourable Member for Ipoh, who unfortunately is not here. He asked me to reply on a matter of policy as to the issue of licences giving preference to the Malays. Now, he mentioned in this House of the privilege given to the Malays by my Ministry in the issue of road transport licences, in particular licences for taxi cabs and hire cars. He expressed the hope that my Ministry would revise the practice of establishing target figures, based upon population ratios. As the Honourable Member may be aware—as he himself is a lawyer— Section 118 of the Road Transport Ordinance, which is in line with Article 153 of the Constitution, provides that preference should first be given to the Malays for such licences until the number of such licences given to the Malays is satisfactory. The decision as to whether or not this position is satisfactory is based upon the ratio of Malay to non-Malay population. I consider that this basis is fair and reasonable. Now, I would like to quote.

According to the latest census, in the whole of the Federation of Malaya, Malays come to about 49.8 per cent. Up-to-date the Malay ratio has come

up to 48.08 and in the number of hire cars and taxi licences issued, out of 4,149 in all, the Malays up to now have been given only 1.995, or 48.08 per cent-not even half. Now, the Honourable Member for Ipoh is a bit concerned with his State, because he is in Perak—unfortunately he is not here. but I think he will see the report; in Perak the Malay quota is only 39.7 per cent and that target has been achieved and has been gazetted on the 4th of March, 1959. But he is always worried that although the non-Malays can apply whenever there is any vacancy for the issue of new permits for taxis, the ultimate result was that it was given to a Malay. But we have to count on points and I did explain to him, not only once but many times in this House, that the points counted will be that whoever applies, he must state that he stays at the place where the taxi is to be based—that is the first point. The second point is that he must be able to drive the taxi. The third point is, has he served in any of the forces for the defence of the country? That is, whether he had been a member of the Services. And the fourth point is that, has he got the money to purchase and not to deal in an "Ali Baba" trick—name lending. Many of the Malay applicants have been ex-servicemen and we have all agreed that they should be given a chance to earn a livelihood after the Emergency ended in Malaya; therefore, the Malay applicants not because they are Malays were considered and given on points. This is the grouse. But I would like to say to all the Honourable Members of the Opposition who want to wipe out the privileges of the Malays, which is guaranteed in the Constitution, get your party to win, get a two-thirds majority, then amend the Constitution (Applause).

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka hendak . . .

Dato' Haji Sardon: No, no, I am not pointing at him—sorry (*Laughter*) but I am addressing the Members of the Opposition who are trying to get rid of the privileges of the Malays.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: He is one of them.

Dato' Haji Sardon: Now, he put in another reason. To say that because of the establishment of the targets we have caused the number of illegal taxis to increase, is definitely incorrect. I suggest to my Honourable friend the Member for Ipoh—and not for Batu that the presence of illegal taxis is the result of more tangible reasons—it is economic. In operating a diesel-engine taxi a licencee would require to pay licence and insurance fees amounting to something like \$104 a month for a diesel-engine of between 16 to 20 H.P. In the case of a private vehicle, an illegal taxi owner pays only slightly over \$60 a month. There is already a difference of \$44 a month. In addition to this, the private vehicle is not subject to restrictions on the maximum number of passengers it can carry. He is also not subject to regular inspection by the Road Transport Department and does not therefore have to maintain his vehicle to a required standard. This accordingly reduces his maintenance costs. He is consequently able to charge the public lower rates than would be economical for licensed taxis to follow. But I would like to advise members of the public not to travel in the "pirate" taxis or illegal taxis because they are not insured and if they were to be injured travelling in that taxi, or broke their heads or broke their arms, they have no chance to get any compensation. The Government has always taken action to check illegal taxi operators, but unfortunately this is not easy without the co-operation of the public. My Ministry will continue to ensure that these illegal operators are brought to book whenever sufficient evidence is available. In Perak alone, we have seized eight vehicles in the first four months of this year, of which five have been confiscated and the balance of three are waiting for trial. I am sure that if my learned friend from Ipoh had been here, probably he would be more convinced to hear me speaking rather than reading from the report or reading from the newspaper reports. This is the whole trouble with

the Opposition side. When they expect us to reply, they never show up.

Now, I would like to reply to the Honourable Member for Batu, and now I will speak in Malay.

Kapada Yang Berhormat dari Batu kerana dia mahir dalam bahasa Melayu dan dia juga tidak bersetuju sa-orang daripada Menteri Muda konon-nya berchakap dalam satu Majlis yang mana ia hadhir, orang semua chakap Melayu, Menteri Muda itu chakap kalau bagitu ia mahir Inggeris, bahasa Melayu dan biar-lah saya chakap Melayu terus. Sa-belum ia hendak bangun hendak minta ma'af bagitu bagini tunggu-lah dahulu dengar saya berchakap. Pehak pembangkang, pertama sa-kali pehak Socialist Front, selalu hentam keromo, erti-nya gasak sahaja. Saya tidak ada di-sini, tetapi saya dapat tahu yang ia telah mengata-Minister of The Transport, Menteri Pengangkutan Dato' Sardon chabar sama President Soekarno. Saya tidak pernah chabar President Soekarno, saya berasa malu, President Soekarno umor-nya sudah 63 tahun sekarang, saya sa-bagai Ketua Pemuda UMNO Malaya tidak patut menchabar orang yang tua sa-macham itu. Sakurang²-nya pun saya hormati umornya, tetapi sa-benar-nya ini tudohan yang tidak betul, kalau tidak perchaya nanti barangkali Yang Berhormat itu kalau tidak betul ia sa-bagai sa-orang gentleman dan sa-bagai sa-orang yang betul² faham dan barangkali akan berchakap, dan saya akan benarkan ia berchakap. Yang sa-benar-nya yang saya chabar ia-lah Aidit, Ketua Partai Kominis Indonesia yang menjadikan kita huruhara, yang menjadikan ini konfrantasi itu yang kita semua sekarang ini menghadapi segala persiapan, segala pengorbanan mengsiapa juga yang hendak hadapi melanggar negara kita, kita akan leborkan-nya (Ketawa). Kita bukan mahu meleborkan dia, tetapi mahu mempertahankan tanah ayer, kemerdan kehormatan negara kita (Tepok). Maka saya harap Yang Berhormat wakil dari Batu akan membetulkan yang saya tidak ada menchabar President Soekarno. Tetapi

saya menchabar Aidit yang hendak hanchorkan Malaysia, dan chabaran itu saya telah terima jawapan, Sardon mari datang di-Ibu Kota Jakarta di-Ibu Pejabat Kominis, ini menyatakan yang Aidit bachul, mahu saya pergi di-Headquarters mahu di-keriok ramai², mahu hentam saya satu orang, ini tidak kena gaya, ini-lah chara-nya kominis mahu berjuang.

Kedua-nya ada Menteri nama anaknya Soekarno, konon-nya sudah ditukar, dia tidak tahukan siapa Menteri itu? Maka, biar saya terangkan, Menteri itu, ini dia Menteri-nya, Sardon (Tepok). Betul anak saya nama-nya Mohamed Soekarno, nama tidak menjadi soal pokok, daripada dahulu nama anak saya yang No. 1 Mohamed Rizal, the hero of the Malav of the Philippines apabila sudah dapat tahu keadaan konfrantasi, saya tidak mahu nama sava menjadi soal di-Tanah Melayu, dan saya menjadi bapa Soekarno tidak boleh control sama Soekarno, maka saya mengambil keputusan tukar nama anak saya, tukar senang sahaja, potong Soekarno, Mohamed sahaja nama engkau. (Ketawa). Habis kesah, itu betul. Alhamdulillah, kita kapada Allah pada malam tadi kita dengar President Soekarno sudah setuju mahu tarek balek ashkar2-nya, dan kita harap lima point yang Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Batu itu minta tidak payah-lah di-chadangkan, sudah kami chuba lama sudah, baharu ini Soekarno setuju, kita harap nanti ia setuju berunding, boleh damai perkara ini kalau Indonesia mahu damai, tetapi kalau Indonesia dia mahu hanchorkan Malaysia bagaimana juga Kepala Parti Socialist Front atau Kepala Lembu mahu hanchorkan Malaysia, sila sabelum kami hanchor, biar kami mempertahankan negara kami, biar hanchor jadi debu, ini ikrar kami pemuda² Malaysia, tetapi kalau pemuda Socialist Front atau pun pemuda² Barisan Sosialis tidak berani tidak mahu mempertahankan dan Malaysia, lagi baik mereka tidak ada dalam Malaysia ini, kerana mahu tidak mahu mereka akan remok dan hanchor (Tepok), tetapi kami sanggup

untok mempertahankan tanah ayer kami, chukup-lah buat panduan. Oh! belum habis, ada lagi satu. Saya kalau ta' jawab, sangat malu, kerana apa, nama orang yang tidak ada di-dalam Rumah yang berhormat ini di-sebut.

Di-dalam bulan June, rombongan kaum wanita dari Malaya telah pergi ka-Indonesia. Rombongan itu di-ketuaï oleh Yang Berhormat Senator Aishah Ghani. kemudian-nya pula Datin Saadiah, itu ta' apa-lah, tetapi dia kata isteri Menteri Pengangkutan pula ditambah-nya lagi, yang ketiga Yang Berhormat Che' Som. Konon-nya Yang Berhormat Che' Aishah Ghani sabagai Ketua Rombongan itu mengatakan, kami hendak minta chari panduan daripada kaum² ibu di-Indonesia. Ini menuniokkan kita semua sa-kali simpati, atau kita menyokong kaum² ibu di-Indonesia, bahkan tidak. Timbalan Perdana Menteri. sa-sudah kembali dari Manila dan telah berunding dengan Menteri Luar Indonesia, Dr Subandrio, dan isteri Dr Subandrio kenal baik dengan Tuan Abdul Razak, Timbalan Perdana Menteri, dan meminta supaya tiga orang kaum ibu dari Tanah Melayu ini di-hantar supaya dapat perhubongan baik, kerana pada waktu itu mahu di-adakan jalan perdamaian, tetapi malang-nya terganggu sa-kerat jalan, tetapi sekarang kita mahu perhubongan balek. Maka uchapan Che' Aishah Ghani, sa-bagai Ketua Rombongan itu bukan ia mahu mengikut, atau ia tidak lebeh maju daripada Kaum Ibu Indonesia, tetapi ini ada-lah adat orang Melayu—saya minta resam wakil Batu itu faham-sabagai adat resam orang Melayu, apabila kita pergi ka-rumah atau negeri orang, kita merendahkan diri. Maka dengan sebab itu, dia kata, kami suka juga hendak menengok, hendakkan panduan apa yang baik untok kami boleh buat oleh²an, boleh di-jalankan di-Tanah Melayu, tidak mengikut dengan buta tuli. Maka ini semua kata pehak parti pembangkang sangat²lah hendak menghambat hati orang² Indonesia, sangat-lah kita ini lemah, sangat-lah kita ini mahu tundok kapada Indonesia, sebab itu Kerajaan Perikatan juga yang menyebabkan

confrontasi ini. Ini ada-lah tidak betul; saya belum habis lagi.

Maphilindo juga di-sebutkan. Per-Menteri Singapura dan juga Menteri Pengangkutan, Sardon Jubir, juga menyokong Maphilindo. Saya suka terangkan kapada Yang Berhormat wakil dari Batu, sa-bagai sa-orang nationalist, dan saya perchaya beliau kalau sa-benar²-nya sa-orang nationalist, tentu bersetuju dengan saya dan semua orang yang ada dalam Rumah yang berhormat ini yang kita punya dasar, atau policy Kerajaan Perikatan, mahu berbaik² dengan jiran² semua sakali yang ada di-dalam lengkongan Tenggara Asia ini, Malay Archipelago. Orang Philipina ada sa-banyak 30,000,000; orang Indonesia ada sabanyak 100,000,000; orang Malaysia. ada sa-banyak 10,000,000. Ada-kah kita di-suroh bergadoh² tetapi oleh kerana Maphilindo ini di-bangkang oleh komunis sejak dari mula² saapabila keluar chadangan Maphilindo ini, maka Socialist Front juga membangkang Maphilindo. Maka apabila Aidit, Ketua Parti Komunis Indonesia, sampai di-Hong Kong, lepas ia meminta tolong ka-Moscow, minta tolong ka-Peking, ia bilang hanchorkan Malaysia. Ia balek ka-Jakarta, ia minta President Sukarno dengan apa helah-nya juga, berkata hanchorkan Malaysia, sampai baharu² ini, dua malam dahulu, saya mendengar di-radio mengatakan hanchor-Malaysia. Kita dengar kempen² belum berapa bulan lagi, belum berapa minggu lagi, saya pergi ka-Kluang, Parti Socialist Front, Parti Kepala Lembu, apa ia kata: "Hanchorkan Malaysia". Saya kata: "Kalau hendak hanchorkan Malaysia, hanchorkan aku sa-orang dahulu, hanchorkan umat yang 10 juta dalam Malaysia ini, baharu-lah hanchorkan Malaysia ini". Kalau hanchor Malaysia ini, ada-kah mereka—parti yang menyeru Malaysia hanchorkan itu tidak hanchor? Ini-lah yang menyebabkan Allah subhanahu wata'ala juga tahu, hakim—2,700,700 ra'avat menjadi orang pengundi², wakil ra'ayat daripada Parti Socialist Front dahulu-nya ada tujoh orang, sekarang tinggal chuma dua orang; sa-orang

wakil ra'ayat yang lama ia-itu dari Pulau Pinang Dato Keramat, dan saorang wakil yang baharu dari kawasan Batu, Kuala Lumpur.

Maka saya berharap Yang Berhormat wakil dari Batu jangan-lah menjadi macham batu, kaku, biar-lah tersenyum sadikit, kerana apa, saya pun sudah kena tutoh juga. Maka kalau sudah kena tutoh sama² kita berchakan dalam politik, maka sama²-lah kita terima dengan baik, kerana ini dalam perbahathan, dan saya berharap Yang Berhormat wakil dari Batu sa-kira-nya silap yang saya tidak menchabar President Sukarno, kerana saya malu, President Sukarno berumor 63 tahun. saya baharu 48 tahun, saya Ketua Pemuda, ta' patut chabar macham itu. Maka saya minta-lah kapada Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-lah sahaja, dan saya uchapkan banyak terima kaseh. Maka kalau sekarang ini, barangkali wakil dari Batu tadi terdiri2 hendak berchakap, saya boleh dudok, kerana dia minta peluang hendak berchakap. Saya harap Yang Berhormat wakil Batu boleh berchakap apabila saya dudok.

Pr Tan Chee Khoon (Batu): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka hendak memberi uchapan di-atas uchapan Menteri Pengangkutan. Saya hendak minta ma'af kapada Menteri itu dan kapada Rumah yang berhormat ini, oleh kerana sa-malam saya ada berkata yang Menteri itu ada meminta lawan dengan Sukarno. Sa-betul-nya, Menteri itu ada meminta lawan dengan Enche' Aidit. Demikian itu, saya sa-kali lagi minta ma'af kapada Menteri itu, dan juga minta ma'af kapada Rumah yang berhormat ini.

The Assistant Minister of Education (Enche' Lee Siok Yew): Mr Speaker, Sir, I think this is the right time for me to say a few words here in order to show the test of the Member for Ipoh and the Member for Batu who spoke day before yesterday and yesterday about my appointment as the Assistant Minister of Education.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have been appointed as Assistant Minister of Education because the leader of the Alliance has confidence in me that I should be able to represent the views of

the people to my Ministry. Mr Speaker. Sir, as you are aware, the M.C.A. has been accused by the Opposition in this House, outside this House and also at election rallies. The Opposition has accused that the M.C.A. is selling Chinese culture and also is trying to kill, destroy, Chinese culture in this country. Sir, today I am a member of the M.C.A. and also an elected Member to this House for a second term from my constituency. However, when I am appointed as an Assistant Minister, there is something which the Opposition has to say particularly about my qualifications. Sir, the Member for Ipoh was campaigning that this party is to protect, and to preserve, the Chinese culture in this country. I myself have been educated in Chinese and have spent twelve years in a Chinese school. But today, when I have been appointed as Assistant Minister of Education, the Opposition is not happy about it.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I admit that I do not have an academic degree or even a University degree, but I have what is most needed in holding the post of Minister Education, Assistant of because I am a man of the people. I know and I understand the people's problems and their cultural needs, and I shall dedicate my service to meet such problems and needs. Today, in spite of the criticisms from the Opposition they have alleged that the M.C.A. is quite useless-we have on this side of the House more elected M.C.A. Members of Parliament as compared with the number in the year 1959. We have 27 elected M.C.A. M.Ps out of 34 candidates, who stood in the last election (Applause), returned supported by the Chinese. That shows that the Opposition's accusation is not true.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I am very proud to be appointed to this high post of Assistant Minister. I shall try to do my very best, and with all my ability to discharge my duty, in order to assist my Honourable Minister to implement the Alliance Education policy.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to take this opportunity also to say a few words in Bahasa Kebangsaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, suara² di-Dewan ini dan uchapan² daripada Ahli² Yang Berhormat di-Dewan ini berkenaan Pilehan Raya 25 haribulan April yang lalu, saya sabagai chalun daripada Parti Perikatan bertanding kawasan saya—kawasan tua saya di-Sepang—satu kawasan vang Parti Lembu kuat dan satu kawasan yang 95% pengundi itu orang buroh, orang penureh getah, orang menanam sayor²an dan pekerjaan lain². juga dapat sokongan penoh daripada Barisan Sosialis di-Singapura mengambil 100 orang pemuda dan pemudi pendudok di-kawasan saya melawan dan tentang saya, tetapi hari ini ra'ayat sudah terang dan fahamkan apa-kah kerja² dia buat dan apa-kah uchapan daripada Parti Lembu itu. Parti itu kalau tidak silap saya Perdana Menteri Singapura ada beruchap parti itu parti communist front. Ahli² Yang Berhormat di-Dewan ini jangan lupa apa-kah sebab Lembu itu dan Parti Tandok itu jadi patah? (Tepok).tandok Soal itu menjawab-nya bagi saya senang. Ahli² Yang Berhormat jangan lupa, tahun Parti Kominis Malaya ada 1945 memerentah Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-lama 14 hari. Saya tahu sebab saya datang dari kawasan kominis yang kuat, Kajang. Bila kominis perentah Malaya 14 hari di-Malaya ini, kami menampak bendera merah di-pasang di-tiap² pekan dan kampong. Hari ini kami tengok Parti Lembu itu ekor pun merah, kepala pun merah, pun merah (*Ketawa*). Pilehan Raya 25 haribulan April yang lalu di-kawasan Batu, di-kawasan saya dan di-kawasan Damansara Parti Lembu itu yang kuat, Ahli² Yang Berhormat nampak-lah di-pasang bendera merah juga. Jadi, saya tidak tahu-lah. Apa-kah maksud pasang bendera merah itu kalau itu tidak Ahli² kominis? Yang Berhormat jawab-lah di-dalam Dewan ini atau di-luar Dewan ini.

Saya pun faham juga Yang Berhormat dari Batu itu di-dalam hari pilehan raya melawat kawasan dia sendiri dari sa-rumah ka-sarumah membawa peti ubat untok menolong orang sakit sa-bagai sa-orang doktor.

Memuji orang pengundi di-hari pilehan raya, tetapi saya suka minta kapada Yang Berhormat ahli itu boleh-kah mulai hari ini dan tiap² bulan membawa peti ubat itu jumpa orang yang sokong dia di-kawasan-nya itu? Kalau boleh saya mengaku dia Yang Berhormat itu ada-lah sa-orang yang baik dan betul mahu tolong orang miskin, tetapi kalau tidak Yang Berhormat itu sudah menipu pengundi sahaja (Tepok). Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu-lah uchapan daripada saya dan saya uchapkan terima kaseh kapada Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Dr Lim Chong Eu: Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of order. I did not interrupt the Honourable Assistant Minister because it is not the practice for us to interrupt the Government benches, but I would like to make a point of clarification. He started by replying to the Honourable Member for Ipoh and the Honourable Member for Batu and then he referred to the Opposition—which that the included us—did not approve of his appointment. Sir, on a point of clarification, I would say that on our side here, we have reserved our judgment. We wish to see what will transpire before we pass judgment. We have not asked about his qualifications. We shall judge him according to his deeds in the next five years.

The Minister of Health (Enche' Bahaman bin Samsudin): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun untok menjawab uchapan² Ahli² Yang Berhormat mengenai Kementerian Kesihatan.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Temerloh meminta supaya layanan perubatan di-bahagian out-patient di-beri perchuma kapada orang ramai. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bayaran bagi rawatan di-bahagian out-patient memang telah berjalan kuat-kuasa-nya di-dalam tiap² negeri semenjak beberapa tahun yang lampau. Saperti di-nyatakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Temerloh itu Pegawai Perubatan mempunyai kuasa membebaskan sa-saorang yang di-fikirkan-nya tidak mampu membayar daripada bayaran yang di-tetapkan itu, sama ada sa-bahagian daripada-nya atau kesemua-nya sa-kali.

Kementerian ini sedar tentang masaalah dan kerumitan yang telah timbul berkenaan-nya, dan pada masa ini perkara ini ada-lah di-dalam siasatan dan satu Jawatan-kuasa akan di-lantek bagi-nya, supaya bayaran yang di-kenakan ada-lah sama diserata negeri² di-Malaya, dan supaya hanya mereka² yang mampu membayar di-kenakan bayaran.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Temerloh juga meminta Kerajaan mengadakan peratoran atau undang² bagi mengawal harga ubat² yang di-beri oleh doktor² private; dan meminta di-adakan undang² supaya ubat² di-peroleh daripada "chemists" dan bukan-nya di-jual oleh doktor² itu terus.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada masa ini mengikut kelaziman di-negeri² dan lain, ada-lah menjadi keberatan bagi Kerajaan mengadakan peratoran atau undang² mengawal bayaran ubat² atau rawatan yang di-beri oleh doktor² private sebab menyentoh kebebasan sa-saorang itu bertindak. Keraiaan ada-lah berikhtiar bersunggoh² untok memperluas dan memperelok perkhidmatan perubatan, dengan tujuan supaya kemudahan² perubatan dapat dengan senang-nya kapada tiap² pendudok yang memerlukan-nya. Dengan demitidak-lah lagi berapa kelak mustahak bagi sa-saorang pergi kapada doktor private untok menerima rawatan.

Peratoran di-United Kingdom tidak boleh kita ikut pada masa ini kerana kita kurang serba serbi-nya. Di-seluroh Malaya kita ada lebeh kurang 60 pharmacists sahaja. Ranchangan untok memperbanyakkan latehan pharmacists ada di-dalam timbangan Kerajaan.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Tumpat dan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Melaka Selatan meminta kerajaan mengadakan sa-orang doktor di-kawasan²-nya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka menyatakan bahawa Kementerian Kesihatan adamenjalankan sa-genap ikhtiar untok menambahkan bilangan doktor². Permintaan Ahli² Yang Berhormat itu di-ambil ingatan untok penohkan apabila sahaja keadaan mengizinkan.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh he is not here today—referred to complaints of ill-treatment or nontreatment of patients in hospitals and also complaints about blood transfusion where relatives of patients are threatened to provide blood. Speaker, Sir, the Ministry of Health welcomes justifiable and constructive complaints against improper treatment and service in the hospitals and health service as a whole. My Ministry invariably causes investigations to be made into such complaints and makes every endeavour to ensure against a repetition. Disciplinary action against the officers concerned is taken where merited. My Ministry has review the machinery to deal with such complaints to ensure effective and expeditious attention. In fact, I have in mind the appointment of a special officer to deal with such complaints and take immediate action. In some hospitals the supply of blood in the blood bank is inadequate to meet the need for blood. Basic to the solution of the problem is the willingness of the general public to come forward to donate their blood to our blood banks and thereby maintain an adequate and steady supply. I earnestly appeal to members of the public to do so. At the same time my Ministry is giving constant attention to the re-organisation and running of the various blood banks in our hospitals.

The Honourable Member for Batu touched on the newspaper report that Hospital Assistants will be made Assistant Medical Officers. I am afraid this is a case of inaccurate reporting by the Press. The statement I made refers to the creation of posts of Hospital Assistants who would discharge the functions and duties of Assistants to Medical Officers, or Medical Assistants, and not Assistant Medical Officers.

The Honourable Member also referred to the cholera outbreak in Malacca. I would like to inform him that the Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Cabinet to report on the outbreak of cholera in 1963 had made its investigations and had submitted its report and recommendations,

which were presented to Parliament on 10th January, 1964. The points raised by the Honourable Member for Batu have been fully dealt with in the said report, and I do not consider further comments are necessary.

The Honourable Member also referred to the shortage of doctors and the delay in appointing applicants. I would like to state here that every effort is being made to solve the problem of shortage of doctors. Apart from the arrangements made some time back to recruit doctors from the Philippines. on a Government Government basis, every encouragement is and has been given individual applications especially from India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. Twenty doctors from these countries have been recruited into the service since July, 1963. Over one hundred and fifty applications are under action. It is found, however, that many of the applicants, due to lack of proper housemen training, are not registrable under our Ordinances.

With regard to the appointment of doctors, delays do at times occur in cases where insufficient information is submitted by the applicants since their applications and experiences are basic to the determination of their registration, appointment and salary. In clear cut cases appointments are made within one week after the receipt of applications.

The Honourable Member also referred to the question of subsidy for the Lady Templer Hospital. Mr Speaker, Sir, this question is under consideration by the Government and I am personally looking into this matter.

The Honourable Member also enquired with regard to the new General Hospital, Kuala Lumpur. I would like to inform this House that the architects for the new General Hospital have been appointed and the detailed drawings are being done. It is expected that construction would commence in 1965.

With regard to shortage of drugs and other things in the hospitals, as complained by the Honourable

Member, I shall personally investigate into this matter, and I hope he will give his co-operation.

I shall be meeting representatives of the Malayan Medical Association soon in order to discuss with them problems relating to my Ministry.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya uchapkan terima kaseh di-atas tegoran² yang membena daripada Ahli² Yang Berhormat. Kementerian saya menyambut baik chadangan² dan tegoran² daripada sa-siapa jua pun.

Saya baharu sahaja menjadi Menteri Kesihatan. Saya sedar ada-nya banyak masaalah² saperti kekurangan doktor², hospital², ubatan², kelinik² dan sabagai-nya. Saya mengaku chuba memasaalah² nyelesaikan ini sa-berapa danat dan chepat-nya. nasihatkan: Sementara itu. sava simpan-lah diri dalam kesihatan sabilang masa, supaya masaalah² saya sebutkan tadi beransor berkurangan. Terima kaseh.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Dr Lim Swee Aun): Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to reply to certain points raised by the leader of the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party, the Honourable Member for Pasir Puteh. In his speech, he said:

"Kami (that is the P.M.I.P.) pun perchaya bahawa Negara² yang baharu munchul yang baharu Merdeka tidak dapat berdiri dengan tegap dan kukoh, kalau sa-kira-nya tidak mendapat pinjaman daripada luar Negeri bagi membangunkan Negara itu sendiri."

Sir, I fully agree that a country like ours, a newly independent country, must find foreign loans to assist us in our economic development. All developing countries are short of capital and since the formation of the United Nations there has been several bodies trying to solve this situation of how to find sufficient capital to lend or to give these underdeveloped countries to help them develop economically. As a result of these explorations, several advanced countries have given grants and loans and even the United Nations has suggested the possibilities of compensatory financing. Be that as it may, these moves were still not up to the expectations of the underdeveloped countries and as a result of these demands by the underdeveloped countries, the United Nations is now holding a conference on Trade and Development in Geneva for the last two months.

Sir. the World Bank and the developed countries will consider loans. but all lenders must ensure that the country that borrows the money will be able to return the capital plus interest. We in Malaya have borrowed from the World Bank for the building of hydroelectric dams; we have also borrowed from foreign countries to build our piers. But all these lenders must first satisfy themselves that we are credit worthy, that we are able to repay these loans and that our Government will guarantee the repayment of these loans. Foreign loans will only therefore be given to the extent of the credit worthiness of a country. Beyond that point loans will become risky and foreign countries will not be prepared to lend us any more.

In the economic development of our country the Alliance Government is prepared to use external loans in the setting up of certain industries or infrastructure to industries, which will assist in the industrial development programme of this country where private enterprise is not prepared to step in. The best example I can give you, Sir, is the building of the hydro-electric dams where international loans have been borrowed by the statutory body, the Central Electricity Board, through a Government guarantee.

The Honourable Member for Pasir Puteh has suggested that we should finance all our industrial projects by foreign loans and in this way we can change the structure of our economy. Sir, this will be very true if a country is able to get so much foreign loans to finance every factory that it builds. Secondly, when a country does overborrow, not only will the economic structure of the country be changed, so will its political structure, because we do know that as much as a person who is in the clutches of a moneylender finds life miserable and intolerable, so will a developing nation find itself economically and politically controlled

by the lending country when the borrower is unable to honour its debts. This form of economic subversion is not new and I am sure the Honourable Member for Pasir Puteh, who is no new-comer to this House, is fully alive to the existence of such practice in other parts of the world.

It is for this reason that the Alliance Government, fully realising that we must have foreign capital to assist us in our economic development, is encouraging foreign private enterprise to invest in joint ventures with local capital in our industrial development programme. We have succeeded in attracting fourteen or more different countries to invest in Malaysia. This will ensure that no single foreign country will dominate the economy of our country. Through joint venture, not all the profits will leave the country. Through joint venture we are building up capital growth and it is wrong for the Honourable Member for Pasir Puteh to say that in this way the citizens of our country will only be the unskilled labourers of these factories.

There is no denying that all newly independent countries are far, far behind the developed countries in wealth, in technical know-how and in the standard of living. Advanced countries have industrialised a century or more ago, but we are only just beginning to industrialise. Without capital, without technical know-how, how can we compete with these advanced We countries? have to compete survive. This is the problem facing all newly independent countries. International bodies like the United Nations, the World Bank, the General Agreement for Trade and Tariff and others are prepared to talk and talk and talk, but so far we have not been able to produce any effective legislation that can compel the advanced countries to ensure that the developing countries get a fair share of the world's benefits. There is no effective legislation to prevent the standard of living of the advanced countries from steadily rising. Neither is there any legislation that can make the standard of living of developing countries rise. All that is left for us in the underdeveloped countries is

for each of us to strive for economic expansion, to strive for the raising of living standards through our own efforts and with whatever assistance we can receive from outside.

Sir, I do not intend to expound on whether a free or controlled economy is the better. All I propose to say is that the Alliance Government stands for free enterprise and we believe that the fastest, surest and most beneficial method for the nation to industrialise through joint venture. In this we not only get the capital needed for expansion, but we will gradually gain the technical know-how that we lack. Because of the profit incentive, the factories set up by these joint ventures have to succeed. Foreign capital invested in our country cannot afford to see that their capital will not be returned. What is more important, through joint venture we shall jump from the bullock-cart to the jet. Because foreign entrepreneurs have invested their capital here and because of the profit incentive, they must compete with the advanced countries for markets. Through the judicious use of tariffs, we can ensure fair competition. Through competition we can achieve and ensure high standards in the goods that are produced in this country. Through free enterprise and joint venture in industrialisation, the Alliance Government believes that we shall succeed in changing our agricultural into a mixed economy economy. Through this avenue we hope to be in a better position to compete with the advanced countries and at the same time to be able to raise the standard of living of all our peoples.

The Honourable Member for Pasir Puteh next complained about the backwardness of the Malays in commerce and industry. He inferred that the Government was doing nothing to narrow the economic gap between the Malays and the non-Malays. This is absolutely wrong. The Alliance Government is fully aware that the Malay community as a whole has lagged behind the other races in commerce and industry. For this reason special provisions have been provided in the Constitution to empower Government

to promote greater Malay participation in commerce and industry.

To assist the Malays to find capital, the Government through RIDA has given out about \$25 million in loans. The Sharikat Kewangan Malaya Raya is an additional source of capital but like all loans they must be repaid. There must be some form of security although quite a number of RIDA loans are given unsecured.

To assist the Malays to gain technical know-how, RIDA has been providing courses for Malay businessmen. My Ministry is now running courses for Malay contractors. The Ministry of Labour is running apprenticeship schemes. The Government has given more scholarships to the Malays.

To assist the Malays to involve themselves in certain businesses like the transport business, the Government has reserved quotas for them.

These are the handicaps given to the Malays in commerce and industry.

One is almost tempted to compare the economic position of the Malay community and the non-Malay community with that of the underdeveloped and developed countries in the world. As much as we believe that free enterprise and joint-venture is the best and surest way to succeed in the industrialisation of our nation, we believe that joint-ventures of Malay and non-Malay capital will be the surest way of producing capital growth and technical know-how for the Malays in commerce and industry.

In furtherance of this aim, it is the policy of the Government to reserve a portion of the capital of pioneer companies to Malays so that the Malays will then have a stake in the industrial development of the country. The Malay individuals may not have the necessary capital, but collectively, through the Sharikat Pemodalan Kebangsaan, the Malay community can meet the capital commitments.

To ensure that the Malays can acquire technical know-how, a portion of jobs in these factories are reserved for them so that they can participate in the technical training programmes offered by these factories.

I am glad that the Honourable Member for Pasir Puteh in his speech quoted what the Prime Minister was reported to have said, viz:

"Kami sudah menjadi bangsa yang merdeka dan berdaulat, sudah-lah sampai masa-nya bagi orang² Melayu dalam Negeri ini menukar sikap daripada sikap merayu² meminta pertolongan kapada sikap perchaya kapada diri sendiri dan bekejar merebut kapada kemajuan. Kalau gulongan² lain daripada warga negara negeri ini dapat maju dalam lapangan ekonomi, maka kenapa daripada gulongan orang² Melayu sendiri tidak dapat maju dalam lapangan ekonomi?".

Sir, I do hope that the Malays will heed this call for self-confidence, this call to strive to succeed.

The Malay community as a whole may be economically backward, but one must not overlook the fact that there are also hundreds of thousands of non-Malay individuals who are as poor as, or perhaps even poorer than, some of the Malays. An economic system where a small section or a small group are rich and the greater section are poor cannot, in this present world, be tolerated. You have heard the Minister of Finance to say that it is the Alliance Government's policy to strive to narrow the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots". But the Government alone cannot assure the economic progress of the individual "if", in the words of the Prime Minister, "there is no desire to change, but there must be the need for the individual to have self-confidence and the need to strive to succeed."

Dr Lim Chong Eu: Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification.

Mr Speaker: Do you give way?

Dr Lim Swee Aun: I have finished, Sir!

Dr Lim Chong Eu: Mr Speaker, Sir, in deference to the Honourable Minister, I did not interrupt him during his speech and I let him finish his speech before I would ask for elucidation on a matter which he raised during his speech.

Mr Speaker: He has finished his speech already!

The Assistant Minister of Justice (Enche' Abdul Rahman bin Ya'kub): Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member for Ipoh, who is not here this evening, has stated in this House that, as regards mining land in Perak, investigations in respect of the alleged corruption have started but that the Attorney-General has directed or instructed that no name should be mentioned because "big shots" are involved. Sir. I am informed by the Attorney-General that he has given no such instruction or direction to the Police or to any other person. He has further assured me, and I am satisfied, that in the performance of his duties he has always adhered to a very strict policy or principle of impartiality uninfluenced by race, position, wealth or political affiliations.

The same Honourable Member also requested the Government to consider improving the schemes of service of judicial officers. As regards judges, I would like to remind this House as to what was said by the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister in August last year when the Judges' Remuneration Bill was debated in this House. He said as follows:

"Now, Sir, in view of the different rates of salaries and allowances payable to these Judges in the different parts of Malaysia, it will be necessary to review the rates of remuneration at an early date after Malaysia and the Government proposes to do this."

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Government is looking into this matter and at the same time opportunity will be taken to consider the schemes of service of other judicial and also legal officers.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh also spoke on the topic of the revision of the laws: he said he hoped that the Committee which is doing the revision would also consider amendment to the laws, such as powers which are vested in the various judicial officers and also in the Attorney-General. Sir, law revision is governed by the Revised Edition of the Laws Ordinance, 1959, and the powers of revision are vested not in a committee in the sense that we have five, six or seven persons sitting as Law Revision Commissioners, but in Commissioner appointed under the Ordinance by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. There is, therefore, no committee of law revision.

The Commissioner's powers, which are wide and extensive, are described in section 5 of the said Ordinance. They include the making of such adaptations or amendments in any law as may appear to be necessary or proper as a consequence of any change in the constitution of the Federation or any part thereof or any part of the Commonwealth. However, the powers conferred by section 5 are subject to the provisions of section 7, sub-section (1) of the same Ordinance. This says:

"The powers conferred on the Commissioner by section 5 shall not be taken to imply any power in him to make any alteration or amendment in the substance of any law."

The reason for this, Mr Speaker, Sir, needs no elaborate explanation; only Parliament has the authority to make and amend laws. As the Revised Edition of the Laws stands at present, the Commissioner has no power to make alteration or amendment in the substance of the laws. Amendments to the powers vested in judicial officers and in the Attorney-General may or may not be amendments in the substance of the laws. If the amendments are in the substance of the laws, then the only thing that the Commissioner can do is to follow the procedure laid down in sub-section (2) of section 7 of the said Ordinance. This says:

"In every case in which any such alterations or amendments are in the opinion of the Commissioner desirable in any law he shall draft an order setting forth such alterations or amendments, and such order shall, subject to the sanction of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, be submitted for the approval of each House of Parliament, to be signified by resolution; and upon such approval being obtained the Commissioner shall thereupon be authorised to make the alterations or amendments specified in such order."

Before I conclude on this subject, Mr Speaker, Sir, since the Honourable Member for Ipoh mentioned in his speech that the present Attorney-General is a political figure, I would like to tell this House that the Attorney-General, the present one, is not a political appointee. I do not know what the Honourable Member was trying to tell this House when he said that the Attorney-General is a political figure.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to reply to a few points raised by the Honourable Member for Batu, who took great pains to describe himself as someone who is not a political virgin. I think, Sir, the Honourable Member is entitled to receive a better honour than that he himself has claimed. I think the epithet "political old maid" is more precise to describe the deep frustration of those in the Socialist Front, for when I heard him speak yesterday he reminded me, Sir, of the many frustrated old maids in England.

The Honourable Member for Batu has described five Alliance candidates who are sitting here—Enche' Ling Beng Siew, who is not there, Wan Abdul Rahman, Haji Su'ut and a few others and myself—as discredited politicians simply because we were defeated in the Local Council elections in Sarawak last year. That description, Sir, coming as it did from a Member of the Kepala Lembu Party, is no surprise to us at all. He also alleged in his speech that the Straits Times "was moved to protest over my appointment as Assistant Minister of Justice". I do not remember having read any such protest at all, Mr Speaker, Sir. But be that as it may, my five colleagues from Sarawak and I were first elected to this House in October last year by the Council Negri in Sarawak. When Parliament was dissolved, Council Negeri had to re-elect Members to this House again and a meeting was held in April this year and all the six were re-elected. This proves, Sir, that at least—because Sarawak still follows the "tier" system of elections the majority of the elected people of Sarawak who sit in the Council Negri in Sarawak have confidence in us. Of course it is understandable that this does not please the Socialist Front and its blood brother the S.U.P.P., whose Members are not present here this evening; they might have just left Kuala Lumpur and returned to Sibu and Kuching. But this time it is very significant that the S.U.P.P., the younger brother of the Socialist Front, has chosen to ask the Socialist Front to speak in this House about many things concerning Sarawak. Sir, if we were discredited politicians simply because we were defeated in Local Council elections in Sarawak, then the comrade of the Honourable Member, the nonpolitical virgin, or whatever he likes to call himself—I refer to the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat—is in a worse position, because, was he not defeated in Local Council elections in Penang? And not only that, was he not defeated in Ayer Itam by our Alliance candidate, the Honourable Enche' Khor Sin Kheng on 25th April this year? Yet we find him speak here—he was elected in a Parliamentary constituency—but we have not said that he is a discredited politician, because we are not so naive as the Honourable Member for Batu to suggest that. We know the clear distinctions between Local Council elections, State Council elections and elections to this Honourable House. The laws in Sarawak do not say that in order to be elected to this House one must win in a Local Council election.

The same Honourable Member also dealt with elections in Sarawak. He quoted figures in an attempt—I think he failed miserably yesterday, very much to his annoyance—to mislead this House into believing that had Enche' Jumat, a member of the Binatang District Council, not been bought over—that was the expression used by him—by the Sarawak Alliance, then the S.U.P.P. would have controlled Sarawak or, at least, the Third Division, which sends 11 members to Council Negri in Sarawak.

Sir, the total number of seats in the Third Division Divisional Advisory Council is 27. Of these 10 belong to the Sarawak United Peoples' Party and 17 to the Sarawak Alliance. Now, even if Enche' Jumat had supported the S.U.P.P., the S.U.P.P. would thereby have gained control of only the Binatang District Council, and because the Binatang District Council sends only three representatives to the Third Divisional Advisory Council, the Sarawak Alliance would still have controlled the Third Division, because 27 minus 13 gives the Alliance 14 and the S.U.P.P. 13—and the Sarawak Alliance would still win. In other words, the Sarawak Alliance would still have

elected 11 members from the Third Division to the Council Negri in Sarawak. Therefore, there is no reason why the Sarawak Alliance, knowing that it was in a very strong position, should resort to buying over Enche' Jumat.

In fact, Sir, what did happen was that although Enche' Jumat stood as an independent candidate in the local council election, he, right from the beginning, supported Malaysia. He supported the Alliance, but because of some disagreement over the question of the choice of candidates, he chose to stand as an independent candidate. Therefore, until right to the very last minute, there is no question of his going over to the S.U.P.P., as the Honourable Member for Batu implied when he said that the Alliance feared that he might do so and bought him over.

The Honourable Member for Dato Kramat said this morning that the Sarawak Alliance secured only about 49 per cent of the votes and that the S.U.P.P. gained about 25 per cent. He was, if I am correct, speaking on the question of Malaysia. But, Sir, the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat has deliberately omitted to mention in this House the votes gained by the pro-Malaysia PANAS, which now sends two representatives to this House, and also the pro-Malaysia independent candidate. I would not like to waste the time of this House and would merely refer him to pages 53, 54, 55, 56 and 57 of the United Nations Malaysia Mission Report on this question.

Finally, Sir, allow me to entertain this House a little bit with a Socialist Front's song sung by many Socialist Front supporters in Selangor, especially Kuala Langat, to woo voters. This song reads something like this:

"Pok amai², belalang kupu², Keluar beramai², undi Kepala Lembu."

To this on the 25th April the people of Malaya replied to the Socialist Front:

"Pok amai², belalang kupu², Keluar beramai², tanam Kepala Lembu." (Applause). Thank you.

The Prime Minister: Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not propose to take very much of the time of the House, as after all there is not very much time left. But one thing which I would like to say is that the time allowed for debate on the King's Speech has been short. It is obvious to all that this House with the increased number of Honourable Members will require more time in order to debate the King's Speech. This is an experience and we hope to do better next time.

Many of the points raised in the House by the many Honourable Members have been dealt with by my colleagues, but there are points which I feel that it is my duty to reply to, and these are points in respect of matters in my own portfolio. They are matters affecting the elections and Malaysia, with emphasis on the Indonesian confrontation.

With regard to elections, allegations have been made, and I feel that Honourable Members will, perhaps, excuse me if I do not mention them by name when replying. This is because I have to be brief in my reply, but I think Honourable Members can identify from my reply that my reply refers to the points raised by them. According to one Honourable Member, there were thousands of eligible voters turned away from voting. This appeared to be quite true, but the fault, according to the report I received from the Election Commission, is not due to the Election Commission, or any irregularity in elections, but rather due to our own fault in that we had not checked the registers earlier, and that we had neglected to warn the voters to inspect the registers to see whether their names had been entered or not. I, myself, had occasion to tell my own Party off for this neglect of duty. But now that the elections had been held, there is nothing much that we can do except to learn from experience that next time one of the things we have got to do is to inspect the registers.

According to the reply I received from the Chairman of the Election Commission, to whom I addressed my

question, he said that the electoral rolls were opened in September and October, 1963, and that it was opened for inspection too during December, 1963 and January, 1964. This was the time when all political parties, according to him, should have taken the trouble to see and check for themselves whether the names of the voters were on the registers or not—and according to him the inspection of registers was extended beyond this month for the benefit of the voters themselves. Now, having had this inspection open to all, and people did not take advantage of this, it is, according to the Chairman of the Election Commission, not the Commission's fault that the names of voters had not been entered on the registers.

Then, again, as far as the elections were concerned, according to the Chairman of the Election Commission, they went off smoothly and in accordance with democratic practice. For myself, I would say that it was not just one party alone which had suffered, because of this error or irregularity, but every party that took part in the elections had suffered and it is we ourselves who are to be blamed. It is wrong to suggest, as the Honourable Member has insinuated, I think, that the Alliance has won the elections purely through the shortcomings in the election machinery. Some of the parties which had lost the elections have taken their defeat rather very badly, and this the case with the Honourable Member who has brought this matter up. He also suggested that the Alliance had intimidated the people into voting for us. According to him, if they voted for us, their sons would be exempted from the call-up for national service, but on the other hand, if they voted for the Opposition, they would be called-up—this is utter nonsense, and I may say that it is unparliamentary language to use. Nevertheless, I think it is wrong for him to suggest anything like that, because you will remember that the election result itself rests on the fact that if the Alliance were returned to power, the call-up would be effective and the people would be called upon to defend their country. That is the issue on which these

elections were fought. It was obvious to all that if they voted for the Alliance, they would have to stand country. defend this and was the Opposition, on the other hand, who went round and said that if they won the people would not be called upon for national service. In fact, the Socialist Front had issued cartoons and other pamphlets showing the Honourable Prime Minister of Singapore and myself feeding young men as cannon fodders and various other things, which suggests in itself that if you vote for the Alliance you will, in fact, be called upon to fight for this country. There is no mistake in that. The people's answer is that we are ready to fight and defend this country with our lives. The whole truth is that the Honourable Member for Ipoh and his brother and the Party, which they run, have suffered the worst defeat probably in their lives, and I don't think they have been able to get over it. Instead of crying inside their own room, they have gone out to utter all sorts of nonsense against the Party that won.

Sir, another matter which I would like to point out to the Honourable Member is the question of Ministers, which he raised. Before I come to that, I would like to answer the specific points which he raised in connection with the elections to which answers have been given by the Election Commission.

For instance, he said in his speech that some clerks by an oversight had not struck off some of the names from the white list of the electoral roll. There are three lists: (a) the white list, (b) the yellow list and (c) the green list. Under the existing law, the electoral rolls are certified in these three lists. List (a) that is the white list, being the merged electoral roll of the previous years; List (b), the yellow list, being the list of new electors; List (c) being the list of persons who have died or are no longer qualified and their names appearing in List (a) will have been deleted in the offices of the Supervisor of Elections before the rolls are supplied to presiding officers. These are the three lists. According to

the Chairman, instructions were issued by the State Supervisor of Elections to returning officers to re-check the deletions already made in the rolls in the offices of the Supervisor of Elections. If, therefore, there are specific cases where these deletions had not been made which gave non-electors eligibility to vote, then the matters can be brought in the election petition. According to the Election Commission, some allowances should be given for some slight errors which might have occurred in making this deletion, as the Election Commission had to prepare all the electoral rolls for the country in a very great hurry.

On point two—this suggests that polling agents were refused permission to seal ballot boxes at polling stations and that they were refused permission to accompany ballot boxes to the counting houses—it is doubtful, according to the Chairman of the Election Commission, whether it is really true that any polling agent had been refused permission to seal ballot boxes at polling stations. The Election Commission has issued very instructions that before the commences the ballot boxes should be shown empty to any polling agents as attend and should then be closed. locked and sealed by the presiding officer and any polling agents as attend may also fix their seal. This is on point two.

The other point which he raised I don't think I need mention here. But according to him, two boxes had been taken by different routes. According to the Election Commission this is subject to enquiry. Perhaps the election agent might have taken a different route in order to pick up someone. but that should not affect the voting or the number of vote there.

There is another point, I remember, which he raised and that is to the effect that in some boxes there were more ballot papers than are the voters themselves. This is due to the fact that some of the ignorant voters had put in the votes which they intended to cast for the State into the wrong boxes—into the Federal boxes. All

these and other points which he raised are being attended to. Then as he has suggested, he is taking an election petition to court—that will be dealt with by the right authority when it comes to court.

Regarding another matter—he suggested that there has been corrupt practices at elections—I do not know what form they took, in what shape they appeared. If there is clear evidence of any corrupt practices, it is for the Honourable Member to take matter up in court. He knows the procedure and we expect him to bring it up. But he is well aware that there is a case pending in Penang where a member of a certain party had offered \$5 to a voter to vote for that party. That matter is in court and I do not need to dwell any further on this matter. In fact, where there have been corrupt practices and attention brought to it, action will be taken as soon as we can. It is no use for the Honourable Member to just come here and make charges. If he knew the fact. it was his duty to make a report, so that action could have been taken as quickly as possible. In fact, if there has been any irregularity or error in the elections, it is the party which put up the largest number of candidates which would suffer the most—and that is our own Party. The Honourable Member is aware that we have got no control over the Election Commission Supervisors or all those connected with the elections, because the Election Commission is an independent Commission and nobody, in fact, is allowed to check, correct, or to pass any vote of censure on the Election Commission. I, as the Minister responsible for the portfolio, am only responsible for their payment but not for their supervision, and I have no control whatsoever over their work. Therefore, as I have said, party, every candidate. suffered and suffered alike, but if there is anything we can do to put it right, let us all contribute our share towards

Now, I come to the question of qualifications of the Assistant Ministers, which the same Honourable Member spoke on. He has asked what

are the qualifications of the Assistant Minister. To that I say that it is none of his business. (Applause). The right to appoint a Minister or an Assistant Minister is my privilege as the Leader of my Party. For that matter, whether a person is a gardener or he is not qualified academically to hold that appointment, it is my business to see to it. If he will look into the past history of the rise to power of the Soviet, he will find that the first Cabinet they had, or some executive power which they held, were held by people who were not, as he would have academically qualified. say that the Honourable Assistant Minister whom we have appointed as the Assistant Minister of Education is qualified to hold that (Applause) and I can say that we pick person because of his spirit, his dedication and his loyalty to the country and to the Party. It is my business to see that he does his work, and if he does not do the work it is my business also to see that he does, and not the Honourable Member for Ipoh.

The Honourable Member for Batu also talked about confrontation by Indonesia and, I think, he suggested whether he said it or not I was not quite clear but I only received a note—that we are responsible for this confrontation and that, in fact, the idea of merger with the States of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore is to serve the British interests. Well, I need not do anything more than to suggest to the Honourable Member to refer to the Solidarity Committee Report, Report of the Codbold Commission and, lastly, the Report of the United Nations Secretary-General. From there he will see and satisfy himself that Malaysia was formed absolutely in accordance with the desire and the wishes of the people of Singapore, Sabah and Borneo, and where a country or a State indicated that it did not wish to join us, we left it out as we had done in the case of Brunei. We have not forced anybody against their own will to join us.

The situation at this moment is that confrontation has broken out and we

are prepared to meet it as best as we could. I would like to inform this House that as far as Soekarno and myself are concerned, we have no quarrel. Wherever we have met so far, we have met on terms of friendship. As far as Indonesian people are concerned, we have had no quarrel either. The only quarrel that we have has been with the communists. It is clear to all that the cause of the confrontation, if you like to go into it very exhaustively, is that there is one evil force behind it—that is the communists; and I must say that they have cause to complain. They have cause to be annoyed with us, because we are one of the very few countries which met their uprising, broke it and crushed it. Naturally, they feel the pain very badly and could not forget it, because they have raised their ugly heads in other countries and they have been allowed to survive—more than survive, they have been allowed to flourish—but in our case they have not been able to do so, and they have felt it very badly. However, unfortunately, I am sorry to say, they have penetrated some of the parties here and have used some of our politicians to air their views and to speak their minds and sing their song. This is the song we have heard sung time and time again. Again, they were annoyed with me, perhaps, because when I was in India, I was one of the first to oppose the communist aggression in Indiaand that I think has been a trouble right from the start of the quarrel with Indonesia.

Further, I think, it was also the communists, who suggested that by forming Malaysia we are forming a barricade against communist infiltration into areas of the States of Sabah and Borneo. It is not Indonesia in actual fact, because there is no question of trying to encircle, as suggested by Soekarno, one hundred million by ten million people. But what we have done, I admit, is that by freeing these people in these States we have stopped the communists from making any inroad into these States, which they had in their minds of taking control.

It was the communists again, I must say, who objected to our alliance with Britain, which under Agreement, Britain has got to establish bases in Singapore, in Malacca and in one or two other places within Malaysia and that in itself has been set up in order to stop the communists from making any attack on this territory of ours. They have found to their dismay that it will be difficult to overrun this country with the British and our allies here—and, therefore, they, in actual fact objected to the setting up of these bases in this country.

Now, as it has been pointed to the Honourable Member—I think he realises it himself as well as we dothat if the British were to close down the bases and they were to move out, before we knew where we are, we wake up in the morning to find ourselves being surrounded by Soekarno's men; and I can tell the Honourable Member that if Soekarno does take control of this country and run this country, we will find ourselves worse than we found ourselves in during the Japanese time. After all. the Japanese at least had done so much for their country, had been able to feed their people and had been able to put their people on the footing of European countries in the way of industrialisation and other things. But the Indonesians have been able to give their people nothing at all: they have been giving them empty words and empty stomach all these years that they have run their country. And God help us if people like Soekarno and his hordes were to come to our country and run our country—I hope God will never allow it. and I am sure the Honourable Member will not like it.

On the question of Maphilindo, as suggested by him, it was formed to serve the Alliance Party's purpose, it was done, I think, as a ruse to give Indonesia dominance over this country. The last thing which we would like to see, as I said just now, is Indonesia running this country and to suggest that we by forming Maphilindo wanted Indonesia here is not quite correct. Our present stand with regard to Indonesia's confrontation is a clear

indication of our feeling—we meant to fight it out with them if that needs be. I can inform this House that Mr Lopez had just seen me and had a meeting with the Members of the Cabinet just now: and he has conveyed our terms to President Soekarno. I am happy to say that most of the terms have been accepted (Applause) except one or two which, in effect, means that we might not have war with Indonesia for the next couple of days. (Laughter) However, it is my hope that when we meet, and if we do meet, that the Honourable President will do all he can to honour the terms of agreement. In the past he had not seen fit to do it, and I hope God has changed his mind and has given him a change of heart. With that I hope we will manage to see peace not for a couple of days, as I said just now, but perhaps for a couple of months or a couple of years. That will give us a breathing space to carry on with our rural development in this country.

There is one other thing which, I think, I must mention, although I have hardly time to go into all these, because my colleagues have to reply to the points raised by Honourable Members. In respect of Thailand, he said it is not quite a happy choice, according to a report I have received here, to appoint Thailand as the country to supervise the withdrawal of army from our country. I personally that the appointment of our neighbour Thailand strikes a happy medium, because they have been close neighbours of ours: they have always associated themselves with peace in this region of Asia and have shown a real sincere desire to see a settlement of this trouble between Indonesia and ourselves. Therefore, it is right that we should bring them into the picture, and it is one of the suggestions made to President Soekarno that when we do have a meeting wherever it may be—President Soekarno, of prefers Tokyo for some reason of his which I can't tell you (Laughter)— Thailand will also be present at this meeting as a party, who will verify the withdrawal, in order to satisfy the parties concerned that we are ready for the Summit Talk—without with-drawal there can be no Summit Talk.

Then the other matter, I think, is the question of the release of political detainees. I would not like to say anything on that, because my colleague will reply on that, but one thing I do say is that if these people are released, then we will get trouble galore in this country.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh brought up again the question of equal rights for all. I do not know what he means. Perhaps, he understands it better than I do, but this is a matter which he has brought up from time to time. What this Government has been trying to do and what my colleagues have been trying to do have been to strike a balance between the "haves" and the "have-nots"; and as it is clear to all that the Malay people are the "have-nots", I do not think anybody will begrudge our effort to help the Malay people by carrying out rural development—and in carrying rural development, it is not only the Malay people but others who live in the rural areas equally benefit from it.

Then, there is another matter which he has harped on from time to time—multi-lingualism. There is not a person here, I say who cannot speak Malay in this country, unless it is through sheer ignorance on their part, or through sheer disloyalty to this country. Everyone, as we know, speaks Malay and it is easy for us to use Malay as the national language in this country, and that is accepted by all, and I think it does not take anybody long to learn the language, because we know that all have some sort of knowledge of it.

Another matter raised by him and which has been brought to my attention is about certain corruption in certain land scheme in Perak. I can assure him that I will see that an inquiry is instituted, and it will be Government's duty to find out the real cause of it, or the truth of it.

Further, there is another question raised, I think, by somebody about voluntary service. According to one Honourable Member, he said that we

should not compel anybody to serve this country but to ask them to give voluntary service for the defence of this country. As I said, if you study the effect of this cartoon, which I mentioned just now, it is obviously clear to you that the Socialist Front and those Parties linked up with the Socialist Front, had never intended to serve this country, because in that cartoon is depicted the Honourable Prime Minister of Singapore and myself as driving the people forward, with chains tied to their back, tied to the cannons, with whip in hand, lashing at them to go forward, with me and sword and the flag of the Alliance pushing them. It is obvious from that cartoon that if we ask them to give voluntary service, this country will just be dominated by Indonesia at no time, because there is not going to be any fighting at all.

Then, somebody else talked marriage—I think a Member from Sarawak. He said that this Malaysia is just a marriage, that it is a harem and all that sort of rubbish. In actual fact, we are members of one family. It is not a question of marriage, it is a question of being members of one family. Perhaps, he referred marriage because he has in mind that as a marriage can be broken up, so can Malaysia be broken up. But I think the people of Borneo and Sarawak know better, and they can answer for themselves.

I think there is no more that I need reply except, perhaps, to the Honourable Member for Pasir Puteh.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh telah menudoh bahawa kita telah mengitirafkan Israel, kita berkawan dan bersahabat baik dengan Israel. Barangkali Yang Berhormat itu salah faham-kah atau ada tujuan yang lain, saya tidak tahu-lah, tetapi bagi menjawab soal yang telah di-keluarkan itu, saya suka sebutkan di-sini kita mengitirafkan Israel sa-bagaimana kita itirafkan negeri² kominis yang tidak bersahabat dengan kita dan negeri² itu ada jadi ahli dalam United Nations. Jadi bukan-lah berma'ana bahawa dengan mengitirafkan Israel

kita berkawan dan bersahabat dengan Israel, kerana bagaimana beliau telah sebutkan di-dalam uchapan-nya masa ada permainan di-Indonesia, Israel telah di-tolak keluar, bagitu juga kita pun tolak Israel keluar, bahkan kita yang mula² tolak Israel keluar itu. Barangkali Yang Berhormat itu tidak sedar bahawa di-dalam segala kesusahan yang telah berbangkit dinegeri Islam, Kerajaan kita-lah yang memberi pertolongan yang besar, baik berkenaan dengan refugee di-Palestine pun berkenaan dengan kesusahan yang berbangkit dan yang menimpa kapada negeri Islam didan lain², Afrika kita-lah vang memberi bantuan dan derma yang Tujuan kita tidak hendak besar. berseteru dengan rakan kita yang Islam bahkan sa-bagai sa-ugama, maka tertanggong-lah kapada kita berbaik² dan berapat² dengan saudara kita sa-ugama. Jadi, berkenaan vang dengan tudohan-nya yang mengatakan kita buat baik dengan Israel itu sama sa-kali tidak berasas.

Bagitu-lah juga bagaimana yang di-tudoh oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tentang ranchangan melawat sambil belajar, konon-nya, semua pergi makan angin; bukan makan angin sahaja, makan angin memang keluar negeri naik kereta orang kata makan angin. Makan angin perkataan Melayu, ma'ana-nya luas. Tetapi tujuan kita hendak memberi orang kita keluar negeri belajar, jadi sambil makan angin sambil belajar. Dengan pelayang mereka dapat kerana melawat negeri lain dapat-lah buka akal dan fikiran-nya. Jadi dengan kerana kita berperasaan orang² Parti PAS hendak sangat buka akal dan fikiran, kita tidak tutup kapada orang² PAS, bahkan saya selalu kata bawa orang² PAS keluar negeri sa-berapa yang boleh, jadi mereka selalu di-bawa keluar (Tepok). Tetapi apa menyusahkan Parti PAS ia-lah banyak yang sudah keluar negeri itu sudah pun masok UMNO (Ketawa) (Tepok). Apabila mereka balek semua jadi orang UMNO. Apa dia boleh buat. Kalau hendak beri orang PAS pergi sama dengan orang PAS tidak kenalah, kita kena-lah champor sa-bagai

satu bangsa Malaysia, bukan sa-bagai PAS. Siapa kenal PAS luar daripada Tanah Melayu? (Ketawa). Jadi kalau ada orang PAS memasokkan namanya kita tolak, tolong-lah beritahu kapada saya; Insha Allah saya akan Kita tidak betulkan. ada tujuan hendak menolak orang PAS, orang Socialist Front atau sa-siapa daripada bersama² berjalan makan sambil belajar. angin dan Maka sa-takat itu-lah sahaja saya sebutkan (Tepok),

Temenggong Jugah Anak Barieng (Minister for Sarawak Affairs): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak menjawab di-atas perchakapan sahabat saya sa-malam. Saya patut menjawab sebab saya ada-lah Chairman Alliance Party. Kata sahabat saya dari Batu, Alliance Sarawak membeli undi orang Iban. Sava mahu bertanya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jam berapa Alliance membeli Iban di-Sungai Binatang, berapa haribulan, berapa ringgit \$3.00, \$30,000 atau \$3,000. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, salama meeting yang dahulu, saya tengok saudara itu tidak ada di-sini barangkali sudah 7 bulan, apa fasal sekarang baharu perkara itu timbul. Patutnya tuan jangan lambat memberitahu kalau ada party Alliance membeli Iban. Tetapi barangkali S.U.P.P. membeli betul. Sava fikir susah Alliance membeli Iban sebab saya pun Iban. Yang paling kuat parti dalam Sarawak parti Pusaka Anak Sarawak. Sa-saorang yang menjalankan parti tidak ada duit sendiri dengan tulang urat sendiri berchakap dengan kawan² orang Iban tetapi saya fikir tuan salah faham, siapa bilang Stephen Yong atau Ong Kee Hui atau Khoo Peng Loong, beri-lah jawapan ini supaya saya tahu. Kalau betul terang tuan dengar atau lihat atau tuan sendiri ada pergi ka-Binatang atau pergi ka-Sibu berjumpa dengan Jumat, saya mahu tanya tuan apa macham badan Jumat, besar chuba-lah beri kapada saya tetapi barangkali tuan tidak nampak Jumat hanya nama sahaja. Saya patut menerangkan siapa beritahu kapada tuan parti S.U.P.P. ia-lah kawan Kepala Lembu. Kalau dia parti S.U.P.P., beritahu saya supaya saya tahu. Sebab saya Chairman Alliance Sarawak saya tahu. Tetapi kalau tuan mahu bilang bagitu yang susah-lah barang yang sudah lama di-katakan; tuan berchakap panjang lebar dua tiga jam kata orang Melayu, omong² kosong sahaja (Tepok).

Tetapi saya fikir tuan banyak kerja, saya tahu tuan sa-orang doktor tetapi sava tidak tahu doktor-sekolah tidak tahu, tetapi kalau doktor ubat janganlah tuan buat dua kerja, bagus-lah tuan buat satu kerja sahaja sebab tuan menyelamatkan manusia dunia ini. Kalau tuan sa-orang doktor politik. ubat patut jangan masok Barangkali tuan salah dengar, orang beli Iban, atau orang mahu beli ubatkah ini tidak terang. Bagi doktor saya fikir bagus-lah tolong orang Sarawak, saya tahu di-Sarawak tidak ada banyak doktor. Kalau orang Indonesia tembak orang Sarawak, bagi-lah ubat kapada mereka. Saya fikir saudara saya ini banyak yang menyokong Soekarnotidak ada yang menyokong Malaysia. Tetapi lain kali jangan-lah berchakap bagitu sahabat (Ketawa). Kalau betul dia beli chuba-lah beritahu kapada Jugah, apa² hal pun Alliance Sarawak saya tahu. Jangan-lah kawan ikut parti S.U.P.P.—kaki tangan S.U.P.P. mereka ini banyak komunis, jangan champor dengan komunis. Saya bersetuju benar dengan kata Perdana Menteri kita. kalau menyokong komunis tidak pun dia masok komunis dia maseh berfikiran komunis. Saya fikir ta' usah saya berchakap panjang kerana banyak kawan² saya hendak berchakap tetapi saya hendak memuaskan hati tuan. Tuan baharu kelmarin saya tengok tetapi dahulu tidak ada. Kalau dapat jawab-lah perkara itu di-hadapan saya supaya tahu. Jangan-lah kata saya ada membeli Iban. Saya telah terangkan tadi Jumat ia-lah Iban kalau dia mahu mengikut komunis tidak ada lain jalan. Tuan punya chakap macham tong tidak ada ayer—tong kosong, terima kaseh (*Tepok*).

The Minister of Home Affairs and Justice (Dato' Dr Ismail bin Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman): Mr Speaker, Sir, the election is over, a new House is convened, and a new Speaker has been elected. If ever any Member of the House should complain that the

Speaker is biased towards the Government, the decision today will prove otherwise for the half an hour reserved for the Government has been given to others.

Sir, when we began this House, we thought at least that we would start with a clean slate. I, at least, had hoped that issues which were discussed at great length—sometimes with great heat in the last Parliament—and also had formed part of the platform of the various political parties in the elections, would not have been brought back to this new House. But human nature is such, Sir, that some people, whilst professing to know the practice of parliamentary democracy, chose to bring these old issues back to this House.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh's favourite theme in the last House had always been the accusation that Members of the Alliance Government had been corrupt, and that during the time the Government was in power, corruption, as he would like to put, was rife in the country. In this present House, he has again made the same allegation. I have no doubt that the Honourable Member for Ipoh had used this issue of corruption very extensively during the elections in Perak, because he confided to me that it was his utmost desire that his Party should form the Government of Perak. Now, Sir, if corruption had been as rife as he had alleged, surely the electorate in Perak would not have returned, once again, the Alliance into power? We, on the Government side, Sir, do admit that there is corruption. For that matter, I would like the Honourable Member for Ipoh to point out to me which country can boast that there is no corruption at all. But having admitted that there is corruption, we categorically deny that corruption is rife in the country, and that it has seeped to the various levels of society in this country. In the Gracious Speech, or at least in the Appendix to the Gracious Speech, it is mentioned, it is admitted, that there is corruption in the country, but it has not grown. It has remained static, and statistics from the Anti-corruption Agency has proved this fact and we, on the Government side, are trying our level best and in fact we are now reviewing the methods of fighting this corruption.

Sir, the Honourable Member, who spoke for the S.U.P.P. bitterly complained and deplored the Government's action in closing down a branch and sub-branch of the Sarawak United Peoples' Party on the ground that these S.U.P.P. branches were being used for subversive activities. He claimed this action to be a move to intimidate the supporters of the S.U.P.P. as well as to destroy the Party. He saw no credible evidence whatsover to justify the closing of these two branches. He appealed to the Government to review the matter in order not to undermine the people's confidence in the Government and to alienate ill-feelings in this vital hour. Sir, he made a plea, but he never substantiated his plea by facts. Now, I am going to reply to him by producing facts to this House. I would like to read, although this is marked secret, but I think there should be no secret to this House, I would like to acquaint this House on incidents that occured in Lundu in Sarawak, which led to the closure of this S.U.P.P. Branch.

Sir, during the months January to March, 1964, two platoons of Indonesian border terrorists attempted to establish bases in the Lundu area from which they intended to terrorise the local population, and into which it was intended that other Indonesian border terrorists units would move prior to attacks on the security forces in the area, which would then be liberated. This plan was thwarted by security forces action in which lives were lost on both sides and during which it became evident, both from captured documents and from statements corded from persons arrested, that the Lundu Branch of the S.U.P.P., under the direction of its secretary, Lau Kah Heong, had been responsible for the provision of food and materials to the Indonesian border terrorists. Lau had received prior notice of the arrival of the Indonesian border terrorist units and had used the organisation of the Lundu S.U.P.P. Branch to prepare assistance for them. On March 29, 1964, an armed and uniformed Indonesian border terrorist was shot and killed by security forces in the Lundu area. He was identified as Zaiton bin Ahmad, an Indonesian, formerly resident in Lundu, who had been elected vice-chairman of the Lundu Branch of S.U.P.P. on its registration in November, 1960 and who at the time of his death still held that office, although he had not lived in Lundu since 1962.

Now, Sir, I would like to read the names of the S.U.P.P. members who were arrested. The member, who spoke on behalf of the S.U.P.P., said that it was a false accusation to say that members arrested were members of the S.U.P.P. Sir, I would like to make it clear to the House that there were a large number of people arrested and that not all who were arrested were S.U.P.P. members; but these are the names of the S.U.P.P. members who had been arrested in connection with this Lundu incident, and I would like to read to the House the admission of these members when they were interrogated by the Police.

- 1. Nain anak Kassim, member of S.U.P.P. He admitted to have supplied food to Indonesian border terrorists on two occasions. He stated that on 28th January, 1964, he met the branch secretary, Lau Kah Heong in Lundu. Lau said that a party of Indonesian volunteers would be arriving at Temaga on or about 29th January. Lau gave Nain \$30 and instructed him to purchase food for them. On 29th January and 31st January he gave food to three Indonesian border terrorists he met at Temaga. The food had been purchased from the shop of one Onn Pak Chai.
- 2. Onn Pak Chai, another prisoner, shopkeeper and member of S.U.P.P., Lundu, admitted that he had twice supplied food to the Indonesian border terrorists in early February, 1964.
- 3. Chai Mee Too, member of S.U.P.P., Lundu, admitted having supplied food to Indonesian border terrorists on 22nd February, 1964. On 23rd February he gave a large tin of biscuits and some rice to the Indonesian border terrorists, and on these occasions another member of the S.U.P.P., Ee Thye Chin, was present and also handed over biscuits and rice. On 24th April, 1964, in the Kuching High Court he was convicted of consorting with Indonesian border terrorists and sentenced to 21 months imprisonment.

I will not take the time of the House by reading all the admissions or statements of these captured S.U.P.P. saboteurs. Sir, on the strength of all this, can we accept the allegation of the Honourable Member from the S.U.P.P. that the Government in arresting these traitors on the ground that we are trying to intimidate the S.U.P.P. as a political body? Sir, we, and I personally, strongly believe in democracy. In fact, I have gone so far as to offer my advice to the Socialist Front in the last House. I said that I would like the Socialist Front to be a real Opposition Party in the House and for that reason I offered my help. I said, "Help me to clean your Party of all these communists and these traitors". Now, my advice was taken as a threat. The result of the last election has shown what a pity it was that the Socialist Front had neglected to accept my advice.

Sir, it may not be too late for the S.U.P.P. to accept my advice and I extend again my advice, "Co-operate with the Government and we will make you into a real democratic political party. But if you, the members of the S.U.P.P. should choose to associate with the enemies of the country, then you must expect no mercy from this Government." (Applause).

Dr Lim Chong Eu: Sir, on a point of clarification.

Dato' Dr Ismail: Sir, I have at the outset of my speech said that you have been generous to allocate the time of Ministers to other Members. So, I am not trying to be recalcitrant, selfish, but I have only less than twenty minutes to reply to the observations of the Honourable Members. So, if the Honourable Members will forgive me, I will continue with my reply.

di-Pertua, Tuan Yang di-dalam masa perbahathan berlaku di-dalam Parlimen ini, saya ada-lah banyak masa dudok dalam bilek saya dalam Rumah Parlimen ini, dan saya menperbahathan yang berlaku ia-lah dengan saloran broadcast, jadi bila saya dengar satu suara yang melaong² dalam Dewan ini, dan saya dengar pula dia mengatakan ia-itu Gestapo Chief ada dalam Rumah ini,

saya pun terperanjat, sebab apa, bila hari kita membuka Parlimen ini, Tuan Speaker sendiri telah menengok ia-itu sa-orang telah berdiri di-depan Speaker yang bukan Ahli meshuarat ini. Jadi, saya pun panggil Inspector tanya dengan dia, sementara menunggu Inspector itu datang, saya dapati rupa-nya ia-itu ia-lah uchapan daripada Ahli dari Pasir Mas Hulu. Nyaris² saya fikir katakan orang yang gila isim telah masok dalam Rumah ini. (Ketawa). Rupa²-nya Ahli yang baharu. (Ketawa).

Jadi, Ahli yang baharu ini, Ahli dari Pasir Mas Hulu ini ada membuat banyak² tudohan. Kita tahu-lah, ma'alum-lah Ahli baharu yang memang-lah orang baharu, kadang² hendak menunjokkan kemegahan dia, kechergasan dia, kepandaian dia beruchap, kadang² membuat tudohan² yang melampau², tetapi bagi saya sa-bagai Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri, jikalau saya tidak jawab saya tidak tudohan ini, tentu-lah menyampurnakan kewajipan saya.

Ahli Yang Berhormat itu, kata dia yang pertama ia-itu di-dalam pilehan raya di-Bachok, Kelantan sana, sa-Inspector bernama yang Inspector Nizam Mohamed telah berat sa-belah dalam menjalankan kewajipan dia dan dia sentiasa menangkap ahli² daripada PAS dan bila orang ini dalam tahanan, orang ini telah di-pukul dan telah di-gertak supaya dia mengundi kapada Perikatan. Polis berkata, keadaan sa-macham itu tidak berlaku. Jadi, kalau keadaan sa-macham itu berlaku. mengikut undang² negeri ini, tidak sa-orang pun boleh mengugut sa-saorang itu pergi mengundi sa-bagai sa-orang pengundi. Jikalau Ahli dari Pasir Mas Hulu itu, jikalau barangkali dahulu dia belum menjadi Ahli meshuarat Parlimen ini kurang sadikit tahu undangan, jadi sekarang telah menjadi Yang Berhormat, tentu tahu undangan, bawa-lah aduan ini kapada tempat berkenaan.

Satu lagi kata dia dalam masa pilehan raya di-Kota Bahru, rumah Wan Mustapha telah di-lengkongi oleh 1,000 orang daripada ahli² penyokong Perikatan dan bila di-buat report kapada polis, polis tidak membuat apa² tindakan. Polis berkata, report samacham ini tidak ada di-buat. Saya perchaya juga penapian daripada polis ini, kerana saya kenal Wan Mustapha ini sa-orang lawyer, tentu-lah dia mahir dalam hal ehwal law, dan jikalau dia betul² mendapati yang perkara ini benar² berlaku, tentu-lah dia sa-bagai sa-orang lawyer tahu mengambil apa² chara supaya mengatasi perkara yang tersebut itu.

Satu lagi kata dia bila peti² undi ini di-bawa dengan escort oleh polis kapada tempat menghitong-nya, ahli² P.M.I.P. tidak di-beri bersama² membawa peti² undi itu. Ini sa-bagimana vang di-katakan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri itu, perkara ini boleh jadi, jadi, atau ta' jadi, tetapi sa-bagai election agents, itu ada-lah kewajipan² dia yang telah dalam Undang² terchatit Raya, jikalau dia di-tegah daripada membuat kerja² yang di-tentukan kapada dia, tentu-lah dia boleh mengambil tindakan.

Kemudian dia berkata ia-itu mula² dia menapikan yang PAS ini ada mengechap azimat, dan dia berkata di-Batu Pahat orang UMNO membuat azimat. Jadi, dia menchabar supaya saya menangkap ahli UMNO yang membuat azimat itu. Saya ia-lah sa-bagaimana yang saya tahu ia-itu tidak ada salah hendak membuat azimat, dan saya pun bila membuat uchapan di-Pasir Mas sana, tempat Yang Berhormat itu bertanding, saya memberitahu orang ramai bahawa perkara itu tidak ada salah untok membuat azimat, tetapi apa yang salah-nya ia-lah menggunakan azimat itu supaya memaksa orang² mengundi kapada Parti PAS, itu yang salah; membuat azimat tidak salah. Jadi, ta' payah-lah saya menangkap ahli² daripada UMNO itu, nanti saya pula mendapat kesusahan daripada parti saya sendiri, oleh sebab dengan hasutan tuan. (Ketawa).

Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh telah menudoh yang dalam pilehan raya yang telah lalu ia-itu anggota² polis telah memaksa pengundi² supaya mengundi kapada Parti Perikatan walau pun dia tidak berchakap Parti

Perikatan, ma'ana-nya Parti Perikatanlah. Ini satu tudohan yang berat yang di-datangkan kapada anggota polis yang di-beri kuasa supaya menjaga vang Undang² Pilehan Raya itu tidak di-salahgunakan oleh sa-siapa pun. Jadi tudohan sa-macham itu tempelak kapada Polis, dan parti bagi Ahli Yang Berhormat itu patut-lah mengeluarkan butir² berkenaan dengan tudohan-nya itu. Saya boleh menyiasat dan kalau ada anggota² polis memyang sa-macham itu di-hukum kapada-nya, tetapi kalau membuat tudohan yang umum samacham ini menjadi satu fitnah kapada Polis yang pada masa ini nama-nya sangat-lah harum, bukan sahaja di-Malaysia bahkan di-seluroh dunia (Tepok).

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh juga telah menudoh yang ahli² Kerajaan telah menangkap parti² daripada Pembangkang sabelum pilehan raya oleh sebab dengan keperluan politik. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, beberapa kali saya telah memberitahu kapada Ahli² Yang Berhormat dalam Dewan yang lama dan sekarang saya ulang sa-kali lagi ingatan saya ia-itu kita menangkap ahli2 dalam satu2 pertubohan politik itu bukan-nya sabagai sikap-nya ahli politik bahkan dia ia-lah telah melanggar undang² negeri. Kalau mithal-nya dalam Parti banyak gangster tentu-lah banyak orang PAS di-tangkap (Tepok). Kalau banyak to' guru dalam Parti PAS yang menyalahgunakan ugama dan akan menjadi huru-hara kapada negeri, tentu-lah to' guru bukan sa-bagai sifat-nya Parti PAS ditangkap. Jadi, kalau banyak ahli² Parti PAS di-tangkap itu menunjokkan ada keburokan sadikit dalam Parti PAS. Patut-lah di-betulkan dalam negeri yang demokrasi ini.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu, in his two-hour long speech, made many observations, and I would like only to reply to the point in regard to the conditions which, he said, we should accept in order to have peace with Indonesia. Now, Sir, I would not like to touch on all the various aspects of the conditions,

because they have been adequately dealt with by the Prime Minister of Singapore—and I thank him. I would only like to answer one of the conditions wherein he has said that all detainees should be released.

Now, Sir, these so-called political detainees were detained under the Internal Security Act, 1960, and the corresponding laws in the other States of Malaysia. These persons are considered to be prejudicial to the security of the country, if allowed to remain at large. Most of detainees' representations had been considered by the Advisory Board constituted under the law. The Board has made recommendation for their continued detention. Regular reviews of their cases have also been made by the same Board, and their continued detention has been recommended. Sir, many of these so-called political detainees are self-confessed subvertors and Indonesian border terrorists. Is the Honourable Member for Batu seriously suggesting that we should allow these people to be at large? How does he reconcile that to his professed loyalty to the country, when he wants these very people, who are traitors to the country, to be allowed to be at large? (Interruption) We are in Parliament and I would like to remind the Honourable Member for Batu that, first and foremost, we have Standing Rules and Orders, under which there is provision where any Member can, if he likes, choose to interrupt any other Member who is speaking. I think it is just as well to remind a "new boy" to this House, Sir, that in parliamentary democracy we must abide by the rules. We must follow them—I was on the point of going to say "not follow". I think even in the people's democracy, they have rules there, but the punishment, I can assure the Honourable Member, is more severe than the punishment meted out by this House.

Sekarang saya sampai kapada jawapan Yang Berhormat dari Johor Barat

Mr Speaker: Saya suka mengingatkan masa hanya ada 5 minit lagi.

Dato' Dr Ismail bin Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman: I will try to be as quick as possible, Mr Speaker, in your wishes to meet with although I am the injured party. Now, Sir, berkenaan dengan tegoran Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Johor Barat berkenaan dengan Inspector-General of Police ia-itu kata-nya patut-lah tempat jawatan itu penohi oleh sa-orang ra'ayat negeri ini. Sava suka-lah menyatakan kapada Yang Berhormat itu ia-itu ahli expatriate ini hanya-lah bekerja sa-hingga tahun yang akhir ia-lah 1965 dan dia berkhidmat di-sini ia-lah dengan permintaan saya sendiri kerana masa-nya dia bersara telah penubohan sampai. Pada masa Malaysia dengan ada-nya kekurangan anggota² polis dan memikirkan keamalan yang ada pada diri-nya dia

suka menolong kita. Itu-lah sahaja, terima kaseh. (Tepok).

Mr Speaker: Dua minit sahaja, kalau tidak lebeh baik saya tutup Majlis ini.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong as follows:

"Your Majesty,

We, the Speaker and Members of the Dewan Ra'ayat Malaysia in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer Your Majesty our humble thanks for the Gracious Speech with which the First Session of the Second Parliament has been opened."

Mr Speaker: The House shall adjourn sine die.

Adjourned at 8.30 p.m.