

Volume II
No. 30



Thursday
2nd December, 1965

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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

CONTENTS

ANNOUNCEMENT BY Mr SPEAKER [Col. 4449]

BILL:

The Supply Bill, 1966—

Committee of Supply (Fifth Allotted Day)—

Head S. 17 [Col. 4450]

Heads S. 18, S. 19 and S. 20 [Col. 4517]

MALAYSIA

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

Official Report

Second Session of the Second Dewan Ra'ayat

Thursday, 2nd December, 1965

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

PRESENT:

- The Honourable Mr Speaker, DATO' CHIK MOHAMED YUSUF BIN SHEIKH ABDUL RAHMAN, S.P.M.P., J.P., Dato' Bendahara, Perak.
- „ the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Minister of National and Rural Development, TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, DATO' V. T. SAMBANTHAN, P.M.N. (Sungai Siput).
- „ the Minister of Transport, DATO' HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ the Minister of Education, ENCHE' MOHAMED KHIR JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Health, ENCHE' BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN (Kuala Pilah).
- „ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, DR LIM SWEE AUN, J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- „ the Minister for Local Government and Housing, ENCHE' KHAW KAI-BOH, P.J.K. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).
- „ the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, ENCHE' SENU BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, TUAN HAJI MOHAMED GHAZALI BIN HAJI JAWI (Ulu Perak).
- „ the Minister of Lands and Mines, ENCHE' ABDUL-RAHMAN BIN YA'KUB (Sarawak).
- „ the Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development, ENCHE' SULAIMAN BIN BULON (Bagan Datoh).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Education, ENCHE' LEE SIOK YEW, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Sepang).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Finance, DR NG KAM POH, J.P. (Telok Anson).
- „ the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health, ENCHE' IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Seberang Tengah).
- „ the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N. (Segamat Selatan).

- The Honourable the Parliamentary Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister,
ENCHE' CHEN WING SUM (Damansara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL KARIM BIN ABU, A.M.N. (Melaka Selatan).
- „ WAN ABDUL KADIR BIN ISMAIL, P.P.T. (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ WAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN DATU TUANKU BUJANG (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDUL RASHID BIN HAJI JAIS (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN (Lipis).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN GUL AHMAD MIANJI
(Pasir Mas Hulu).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI MOHD. SALLEH, A.M.N., S.M.J.,
P.I.S. (Segamat Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABU BAKAR BIN HAMZAH (Bachok).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN ABDULLAH (Kelantan Hilir).
- „ ENCHE' AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N. (Muar Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAAID, J.P. (Seberang Utara).
- „ CHE' AJIBAH BINTI ABOL (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- „ PENGARAH BANYANG ANAK JANTING, P.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SIANG SUN (Bentong).
- „ ENCHE' CHIN FOON (Ulu Kinta).
- „ ENCHE' D. A. DAGO ANAK RANDAN *alias* DAGOK ANAK RANDEN
(Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' C. V. DEVAN NAIR (Bungsar).
- „ ENCHE' EDWIN ANAK TANGKUN (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S.
(Batu Pahat Dalam).
- „ DATIN HAJJAH FATIMAH BINTI HAJI ABDUL MAJID
(Johor Bahru Timor).
- „ DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N.
(Jitra-Padang Terap).
- „ ENCHE' S. FAZUL RAHMAN, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' GANING BIN JANGKAT (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT, K.M.N. (Penang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N., J.P. (Kulim Utara).
- „ ENCHE' HANAFIAH BIN HUSSAIN, A.M.N. (Jerai).
- „ ENCHE' HARUN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Baling).
- „ WAN HASSAN BIN WAN DAUD (Tumpat).
- „ ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN TO' MUDA HASSAN, A.M.N. (Raub).
- „ DATO' HAJI HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, D.P.M.P., A.M.N.,
P.J.K. (Parit).
- „ TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN
(Kota Bharu Hulu).
- „ ENCHE' IKHWAN ZAINI (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN IDRIS (Penang Selatan).

- The Honourable DATO' SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, P.M.N.
(Johor Tenggara).
- „ PENGHULU JINGGUT ANAK ATTAN, Q.M.C., A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' KADAM ANAK KIAI (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' THOMAS KANA (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
- „ ENCHE' AMADEUS MATHEW LEONG, A.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
- „ DR LIM CHONG EU (Tanjong).
- „ ENCHE' LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- „ DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD (Kota Star Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).
- „ DATO' DR HAJI MEGAT KHAS, D.P.M.P., J.P., P.J.K.
(Kuala Kangsar).
- „ ENCHE' MOHD. ARIF SALLEH, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ DATO' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA, P.M.K. (Pasir Puteh).
- „ ENCHE' MOHD. DAUD BIN ABDUL SAMAD (Besut).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED IDRIS BIN MATSIL, J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P.
(Jelebu-Jempol).
- „ ENCHE' MOHD. TAHIR BIN ABDUL MAJID, S.M.S., P.J.K.
(Kuala Langat).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- „ ENCHE' MOHD. ZAHIR BIN HAJI ISMAIL, J.M.N. (Sungai 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, A.B.S.
(Sarawak).
- „ DATO' HAJI MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ABDUL JABAR, D.P.M.S., A.M.N.,
J.P. (Sabak Bernam).
- „ ENCHE' MUSTAPHA BIN AHMAD (Tanah Merah).
- „ DATO' NIK AHMAD KAMIL, D.K., S.P.M.K., S.J.M.K., P.M.N.,
P.Y.G.P., Dato' Sri Setia Raja (Kota Bharu Hilir).
- „ ENCHE' NG FAH YAM (Batu Gajah).
- „ ENCHE' ONG KEE HUI (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN HAJI OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Hilir Perak).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI RAHMAT BIN HAJI DAUD, A.M.N.
(Johor Bahru Barat).
- „ ENCHE' RAMLI BIN OMAR (Krian Darat).
- „ RAJA ROME BIN RAJA MA'AMOR, P.J.K., J.P. (Kuala Selangor).
- „ ENCHE' SEAH TENG NGIAB, P.I.S. (Muar Pantai).
- „ ENCHE' SIM BOON LIANG (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' SENAWI BIN ISMAIL, P.J.K. (Seberang Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' SOH AH TECK (Batu Pahat).

The Honourable ENCHE' SULAIMAN BIN ALI (Dungun).

- „ PENGIRAN TAHIR PETRA (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' TAJUDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- „ ENCHE' TAI KUAN YANG (Kulim Bandar Bharu).
- „ ENCHE' TAMA WENG TINGGANG WAN (Sarawak).
- „ DR TAN CHEE KHOON (Batu).
- „ ENCHE' TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- „ ENCHE' TIAH ENG BEE (Kluang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).
- „ TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB, P.J.K. (Langat).

ABSENT:

The Honourable the Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M. (Kuala Kedah).

- „ the Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Justice, DATO' DR ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Johor Timor).
- „ the Minister of Finance, ENCHE' TAN SIEW SIN, J.P. (Melaka Tengah).
- „ the Minister for Welfare Services, TUAN HAJI ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, J.M.N., J.P. (Batang Padang).
- „ the Minister for Sarawak Affairs, DATO' TEMENGGONG JUGAH ANAK BARIENG, P.M.N., P.D.K. (Sarawak).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry, TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, ENSKU MUHSEIN BIN ABDUL KADIR, J.M.N., S.M.T., P.J.K. (Trengganu Tengah).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB, P.J.K. (Kuantan).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN, K.M.N., P.J.K. (Krian Laut).
- „ DATO' ABDULLAH BIN ABDULRAHMAN, Dato' Bijaya di-Raja (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ Y.A.M. TUNKU ABDULLAH IBNI AL-MARHUM TUANKU ABDUL RAHMAN, P.P.T. (Rawang).
- „ 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' JONATHAN BANGAU ANAK RENANG, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN SEONG YOON (Setapak).
- „ ENCHE' CHIA CHIN SHIN, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' FRANCIS CHIA NYUK TONG (Sabah).
- „ DATU GANIE GILONG, P.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Kapar).
- „ ENCHE' STANLEY HO NGUN KHIU, A.D.K. (Sabah).

- The Honourable ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN SULAIMAN (Ulu Kelantan).
- „ ENCHE' KAM WOON WAH, J.P. (Sitiawan).
- „ ENCHE' KHOO PENG LOONG (Sarawak).
- „ DATU KHOO SIAK CHIEW, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' EDMUND LANGGU ANAK SAGA (Sarawak).
- „ DATO' LING BENG SIEW, P.N.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' LIM PEE HUNG, P.J.K. (Alor Star).
- „ ENCHE' PETER LO SU YIN (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' JOSEPH DAVID MANJAJI (Sabah).
- „ ORANG TUA MOHAMMAD DARA BIN LANGPAD (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Timor).
- „ TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID, P.J.K., J.P. (Rembau-Tampin).
- „ ENCHE' SANDOM ANAK NYUAK (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ DATO' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM, D.P.M.P., P.M.P., J.P. (Menglembu).
- „ ENCHE' SIOW LOONG HIN, P.J.K. (Seremban Barat).
- „ ENCHE' SNG CHIN JOO (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
- „ ENCHE' TAN TOH HONG (Bukit Bintang).
- „ ENCHE' TAN TSAK YU (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' TOH THEAM HOCK (Kampar).
- „ ENCHE' YEH PAO TZE (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' STEPHEN YONG KUET TZE (Sarawak).

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY MR SPEAKER

ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR SUPPLY HEADS IN SCHEDULE OF SUPPLY BILL—S.O. 66 (4)

Mr Speaker: Honourable Members, I have an announcement to make. You are aware that in our deliberations on the Supply Bill, 1966, in the Committee of Supply stage, we have progressed up to Head S. 17 for the past five days. It is now apparent to me that since there are nine more days left and sixty more Heads in the Schedule to be discussed, I have to resort to Standing Order 66 (4) and allot a maximum time for each of the remaining Heads of the Schedule to the Bill. A time-table will be distributed to Honourable Members this afternoon.

BILL

THE SUPPLY BILL, 1966

Order read for resumed consideration in Committee of Supply (Fifth Allotted Day).

House immediately resolved itself into Committee of Supply.

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

SCHEDULE

Head S. 17—

Debate resumed.

Timbalan Perdana Menteri (Tun Haji Abdul Razak): Tuan Pengerusi, saya pohon menandatangani supaya kepala bekalan atau supply Head S. 17 yang menunjukkan peruntokan wang sa-banyak \$237,674,453 bagi Kementerian Pertahanan untuk tahun 1966 menjadi sa-bahagian daripada Jadual.

Peruntokan sa-banyak yang tersebut itu terbahagi kepada dua bahagian

ia-itu \$102,360,139 bagi Gaji², sama ada gaji Pegawai² 'Awam dan juga Pegawai² Tentera, Ahli² tentera; dan \$124,153,381 bagi Lain² Perbelanjaan Berulang Tiap² Tahun dan \$11,160,503 bagi Perbelanjaan Khas atau Special Expenditure.

Tuan Pengerusi, Ahli² Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum bahawa sa-bagai sa-buah negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat, kita mesti-lah mempunyai pertahanan yang kuat dan serba lengkap untuk mempertahankan kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan kita. Oleh hal yang demikian Angkatan Bersenjata kita hendak-lah di-perbesarkan dan di-perluaskan dengan barang² baharu untuk menentang sa-barang apa anchaman, sama ada dari dalam atau pun dari luar negeri. Kita tidak dapat membesarkan Angkatan Bersenjata kita dengan serta-merta. Perkara ini terpaksa-lah di-jalankan dengan beransor². Sunggoh pun begitu, rancangan pembesaran ini mustahak-lah di-semak dan di-kaji, dari satu masa ka-satu masa, mengikut keadaan yang berlaku di-dalam dan di-sekeliling negara kita ini. Sa-kira-nya keadaan itu memaksakan kita mencheptakan pembesaran angkatan tentera kita, maka terpaksa-lah kita berbuat demikian supaya kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan negara kita itu sentiasa di-jaga.

Kita telah mula membesarkan Angkatan Bersenjata semenjak tercapai kemerdekaan. Pada masa itu pembesaran yang di-jalankan dengan beransor², akan tetapi apabila berlaku-nya konfrontasi daripada Indonesia, pembesaran telah di-percheptakan sedikit sa-hingga pada masa ini, dan kita akan terus membesarkan lagi tentera kita dari satu masa ka-satu masa sa-hingga kita sampai kepada tingkatan di-fikirkan berpatutan bagi negara kita ini. Tentera darat ada mempunyai tambahan anggota yang banyak sa-kali pada tahun hadapan, pasokan² baharu ia-itu Infantry Battalion atau Pasokan Berjalan Kaki akan di-tubuhkan supaya menambah lagi kekuatan yang sedia. Begitu juga satu Pasokan Juru-tera dan satu Regiment Semboyan—Signal Regiment—akan di-tubuhkan. Sa-lain daripada itu, terdapat juga

pasokan² kecil yang akan di-tubuhkan seperti Pasokan Workshop, Supply Road Transport, Life Aid Test. Sa-lain daripada penubuhan pasokan baharu terdapat juga-lah tambahan anggota kepada pasokan² yang telah lama di-tubuhkan. Umpama-nya, Pasokan Semboyan Workshop, Perubatan, Peninjau dan lain²-nya, akan bertambah bilangan-nya. Dua batalion Malaysian Rangers telah pun menjadi sa-bahagian daripada anggota Tentera Malaysia. Kedua² batalion itu yang mengandongi anak² negeri dari Sabah dan Sarawak, telah di-tubuhkan dan telah mendapat bantuan latihan daripada Kerajaan British. Dan pada masa ini kedua² batalion ini telah di-pindahkan kepada Angkatan Bersenjata Malaysia. Pada tahun hadapan, kita terpaksa mengadakan peruntukan wang bagi kedua² batalion ini. Dalam tahun 1966 juga, jumlah kapal yang ada pada Angkatan Tentera Laut akan di-tambah lagi. Ini berma'ana-lah bahawa lebih banyak lagi kaki-tangan² yang di-kehendaki supaya kapal² itu dapat di-gunakan. Begitu juga-lah pasokan baharu akan di-tubuhkan. Demikian juga-lah pasokan yang telah sedia di-tubuhkan terpaksa di-tambah anggota²-nya dan ini kita terpaksa menambah juga perbelanjaan. Bagitu-lah berkenaan dengan Tentera Udara—kapal terbang yang ada pada masa ini, bilangan-nya akan di-tambah lagi supaya dapat melaksanakan tugas-nya dengan lebih sempurna. Umpama-nya, Squadron Helicopter Alouet akan di-tambah banyak lagi dan di-tambah lagi bilangan squadron.

Tuan Pengerusi, begitu juga-lah Askar Wataniah di-jadikan Pasokan Pertahanan Tempatan yang akan ditambah juga lagi—akan di-perbesar dan di-perluas lagi. Pada tahun hadapan, Pasokan Pertahanan Tempatan yang telah kita tubuhkan di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini, akan di-tubuhkan pula di-Sabah dan di-Sarawak. Sa-lain daripada menjaga keselamatan tempat di-mana ada-nya di-tubuhkan Pasokan Pertahanan Tempatan itu, pasokan ini ia-lah di-gunakan untuk menjaga sasaran penting atau key point di-negeri² kita ini, bagi mencheegah pengkhianat² dari memusnah dan juga membinasakan tempat²

itu. Pada masa sekarang di-Sabah dan di-Sarawak tidak ada Pasokan Pertahanan Tempatan. Oleh itu, terpaksa-lah pekerjaan² di-Sabah dan di-Sarawak itu di-jalankan oleh Pasokan Pertahanan Tempatan yang di-hantar dari Malaya ini. Apabila Pasokan Pertahanan Tempatan di-tubuhkan pada tahun hadapan di-Sabah dan di-Sarawak, pasokan dari Persekutuan ini akan di-tarik balik supaya kita dapat memberi peluang kepada anak² negeri Sabah dan Sarawak menjaga keselamatan negeri² mereka itu sendiri.

Sekarang Tuan Pengerusi, saya suka hendak memberi penerangan sedikit berkenaan dengan peruntukan wang yang terdapat di-bawah Kepala S. 17 ini. Jadi, seperti yang saya terangkan tadi, kebanyakan tambahan² ini adalah terdapat di-bawah gaji², sebab kita terpaksa membesarkan semua anggota² bersenjata kita. Pada 'am-nya, anggaran ini boleh di-bahagikan kepada lima bahagian—A, B, C, D dan E. Bahagian A ia-lah untuk jawatan 'Awam dan juga tentera yang di-ujudkan sa-belum terbentok-nya Malaysia. B ia-lah jawatan² di-adakan semenjak Malaysia di-tubuhkan. Bahagian B ini di-bahagikan kepada dua bahagian ia itu jawatan² bagi Malaysia dan jawatan² bagi Singapura. Di-Singapura, kita ada mempunyai satu Brigade disana. Bahagian C ia-lah untuk jawatan Khidmat Negara yang mempunyai tambahan anggota sa-banyak 1,360 orang. Peruntukan wang ada-lah bertambah lebih kurang \$1,216,200. Jadi penambahan ini ia-lah amat perlu, kerana kita berchadang hendak menambah lagi bilangan pelateh² yang dapat menerima latihan sa-chara bersenjata. Pusat² latihan yang ada sekarang ini akan di-perbesarkan lagi dan kita berchadang hendak tambah lagi dua pusat latihan—satu di-Pulau Pinang dan satu di-Johor Bahru. Pada masa ini—sa-hingga hari ini, sa-banyak 4,175 orang ra'ayat Malaysia telah di-beri latihan tentera, dan 10,802 orang latihan Pertahanan 'Awam. Bahagian D di-untukkan bagi jawatan² dalam Tentera Tempatan dan juga Pasokan Pertahanan Tempatan. Sekarang ini, kita ada mempunyai sa-banyak 1,377 platoon di-serata tempat di-Malaya ini dan Pasokan Pertahanan

Tempatan ini telah pun di-buka kepada kaum wanita. Pada tahun hadapan, Pasokan Pertahanan Wanita ini akan di-tambah lagi supaya lebih banyak lagi kaum wanita kita yang dapat menunjukkan kehandalan dan juga keperwiraan mereka itu bersama² dengan kaum laki² dalam mempertahankan negara kita.

Bahagian E ada-lah untuk jawatan² sukarela yang telah di-panggil bertugas, sama ada menjaga "key point" atau pun membantu askar biasa. Askar yang berkenaan ia-lah Askar Wataniah dan juga Local Defence Corps, Askar Simpanan Tentera Udara. Pada masa mereka itu berlateh, mereka itu hanya-lah di-beri bayaran elaun mengikut masa latihan yang di-jalankan, tetapi apabila mereka itu di-panggil untuk berkhidmat "full-time", maka mustahak-lah di-bayar gaji dan juga layanan² yang lain di-beri seperti askar biasa.

Tuan Pengerusi, sa-lain daripada itu ada-lah bahagian lain²—Perbelanjaan Berulang Tiap² Tahun atau O.C.A.R. Di-sini terpaksa-lah kita tambah peruntukan-nya kerana, seperti saya kata, kita terpaksa membesarkan tentera² kita di-semua pasokan, dan peruntukan ada-lah di-kehendaki bagi membeli barang², alat² senjata dan juga bagi mengganti dan membesarkan berek² tempat kediaman tentera² kita di-serata tempat di-Malaysia ini. Saya fikir tidak payah-lah saya terangkan satu persatu pechahan-kepala di-bawah ini.

Sa-lain daripada itu, Tuan Pengerusi, ada-lah Perbelanjaan Khas atau Special Expenditure yang berkehendakkan tambahan lebih kurang \$5,050,122 daripada angka yang telah di-persetujukan bagi tahun 1965. Jadi di-bawah bahagian ini, kita ada-lah berkehendakkan perbelanjaan² untuk menambahkan berbagai² perkara², umpama pakaian, barang² sector arm bersama, atau pun barang² sector teknik bersama dan juga bagi Tentera Udara berkehendakkan barang² untuk di-gunakan bagi menjalankan latihan seperti radio dan lain²-nya. Bagitu juga-lah kita berkehendakkan peruntukan di-bawah Pechahan-kepala 57

bagi mengadakan tempat kediaman sementara untuk tentera kita di-Sabah dan Sarawak. Jadi tentera² kita yang berkhidmat di-Sabah dan Sarawak itu sentiasa di-tukar, dari satu masa ka-satu masa, jadi mustahak-lah di-adakan tempat kediaman di-situ.

Tuan Pengerusi, ini-lah sahaja ketegangan² yang saya suka hendak berikan terhadap peruntukan perbelanjaan bagi tahun 1966. Saperti saya kata tadi, angkatan senjata kita telah menunjukkan semangat dan keperwiraan dan ta'at setia yang sangat gilang gemilang dalam menjalankan tugas mereka untuk menentang musuh di-negara kita ini. Di-Sabah dan Sarawak pehak musuh kerap kali membuat percherobohan masuk ka-dalam negara kita. Tetapi Angkatan Senjata Malaysia telah dapat berjaya, sama ada memburu atau pun menentang atau pun menawan mereka itu. Dalam mempertahankan negara kita, tidak dapat tidak ada daripada ahli² tentera kita yang terkorban dan saya suka menyebutkan di-sini bahawa jasa dan pengorbanan mereka itu ada-lah sentiasa di-ingat oleh ra'ayat negara kita ini. Begitu juga kepada askar Commonwealth, Australia, New Zealand dan Great Britain yang memberi pertolongan bagi mempertahankan tanah ayer kita ini, saya suka mengucapkan berbanyak terima kaseh kepada mereka itu. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mohon menchadangkan peruntukan ini.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah (Bachok): Tuan Pengerusi, dengan izin tuan, saya memulakan perbahathan ini dengan memberi terima kaseh kepada Menteri Pertahanan kita yang walau pun sudah terlewat beliau itu memberi terima kaseh kepada Angkatan Tentera kita ia-itu beliau di-akhir sa-kali baharu memberi terima kaseh. Sapatut-nya pada masa membuka ucapan itu-lah dengan terima kaseh kepada tentera² kita itu. Jadi boleh jadi-lah Menteri kita itu memberi peluang kepada saya memulakan terima kaseh itu. Jadi, Tuan Pengerusi

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Tuan Pengerusi, pukulan yang akhir itu-lah yang baik sa-kali biasa-nya (*Ketawa*).

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, kalau akhir makan nasi, chuchi pinggan sahaja-lah (*Ketawa*). Tuan Pengerusi, saya ada menyediakan dua tiga butir di-sini, tidak banyak, rengkas sahaja. Tetapi buat kali yang pertama ini, saya suka-lah hendak menerangkan satu perkara berkait dengan ucapan Menteri kita ini ia-itu patut-lah sangat di-dalam tugas pegawai² penerangan kita ia-itu saperti mana tersebut dalam Butiran (10) muka 153 ini. Kita ada Pegawai Penerangan, ada 10 orang Pegawai Penerangan Kanan boleh jadi-lah maksud penerangan ini ia-lah sa-mata² untuk urusan² berkenaan dengan hal ehwal tentera² dan pegawai²-nya. Tetapi saya suka-lah juga supaya pegawai² ini di-dalam kempen-nya menjalankan recruiting atau pun memilih pegawai² yang baharu itu, di-adakan chetakan², penerbitan² yang memberi semangat kepada pemuda² kita supaya menyambut seruan² pertahanan negara. Sebab sa-tahu saya, ada pehak² yang mendiamkan diri tidak mahu menyambut, hanya mereka itu apabila ada seruan² berkenaan dengan kekayaan ekonomi, di-situ-lah sahaja mereka itu menyambut seruan membeli saham². Tetapi saham² yang untuk mengorbankan darah dan jiwa kerana mempertahankan negara kita ini amat-lah sedikit. Ini ada-lah akibat daripada kurang chergas-nya Pegawai² Penerangan itu menjalankan tugas² mereka kerana pegawai²-nya tidak cukup.

Tuan Pengerusi, bagaimana saya katakan rengkas tadi, khusus-nya saya tujuan kepada perajurit² yang beragama Islam dan juga perajurit² yang berfahaman ketuhanan dan pemuda² yang bakal menjadi perajurit bahawa menyambut seruan pertahanan negara ini bukan-lah sa-mata² masalaah makan gaji dan khidmat, tetapi ada-lah juga masalaah yang bersangkutan paut dengan ugama dan 'akidah. Saya, Tuan Pengerusi, menutup ulasan rengkas ini, saya membacha satu ayat Quran kepada pemuda² itu supaya mereka itu kuat sedikit semangat ia-itu bunyi-nya: (Dalam Bahasa Arab).

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussin (Lipis): Tuan Pengerusi, betul-kah ayat yang wakil itu baca?

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, kalau sa-kira-nya diminta saya baca dengan tidak payah tengok pun, boleh. Saya hafaz ayat Quran itu dan saya sa-orang Utaz yang lima belas tahun berkhidmat . . . (*Ketawa*).

Ini, Tuan Pengerusi, ia-lah satu seruan supaya pemuda² kita menyambut seruan² pertahanan dan kalau-lah kita tidak menyambut . . . (Dalam bahasa Arab) . . . erti-nya Tuhan akan mengubahkan pemerintah lain pula menggantikan kita kalau sa-kira-nya kita tidak bersungguh² dalam pertahanan.

Tuan Pengerusi, oleh sebab itu-lah saya mengatakan ucapan Yang Berhormat Menteri tadi memberitakan kepada kita pertahanan akan di-perkuatkan, mesti ada barang² baharu, mesti menchegeh pencherobohan dari dalam. Saya tidak tahu pencherobohan dari dalam ini daripada gerakan Bungsar-kah atau pun Dato' Kramat-kah. Tetapi pertahanan daripada pencherobohan dalam, kemudian terus memperbesarkan lagi tentera². Jadi ini, Tuan Pengerusi, kalau-lah ini satu tugas yang besar daripada tahun sudah lagi, Tuan Pengerusi, saya minta Menteri Pertahanan ini di-penohkan supaya tidak merangkak bagini sahaja. Saya bukan-lah tidak perchaya kepada Menteri Pertahanan ini. Tetapi, Tuan Pengerusi, ke-semua orang tahu Menteri Pertahanan kita ini akan menjadi Perdana Menteri kerana Perdana Menteri kita akan berpenchen. Jadi kita mahu-lah sa-orang Menteri penoh di-sini di-lantek daripada askar.

Tuan Pengerusi, perkara ini mudah kita boleh chari sa-orang Brigadier General, atau pun Lieutenant General, atau pun Major General dalam tentera kita. Dan kita lantek dia menjadi Senator dan kemudian kita letak-lah orang ini menjadi Menteri daripada kita dudok memileh, ada sa-tengah² yang tidak patut-lah kita bawa ka-dalam Dewan ini. Jadi kita letakkan Menteri itu sa-bagai Menteri Per-

tahanan. Tuan Pengerusi, dalam ka-adaan pertahanan ini, orang² yang merupakan "policy maker" sahaja tidak betul² grip, tidak kuat dia dalam masaalah pertahanan ini. Tetapi kalau sa-orang askar, General atau pun Lieutenant General menjadi Menteri Pertahanan, saya rasa itu-lah perkara yang paling tepat sa-kali dan saya tidak fikir dalam dunia zaman modern yang sa-macham ini Menteri Pertahanan di-bagi kepada orang yang philosopher dan akademik—tidak military.

Tuan Pengerusi apabila kita sebut . .

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad (Kota Star Selantan): Untuk penjelasan, Menteri Pertahanan bagi United States terdiri daripada orang preman ia-itu Mr MacNamara, bukan orang tentera.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi saya tidak ingat ini MacNamara, tetapi kebanyakan orang yang bernama MacNamara itu berjiwa tentera dan kita di-sini MacNamara, dahulu D. P. MacNamara, F. K. MacNamara yang kita import dari Europah itu menjadi commandant Police Dépôt dan saya sudah masuk training tentera, daftar chachar ubat tentera, ini tentera, Tuan Pengerusi, dan lagi satu MacNamara yang di-Amerika itu, kalau ta' salah saya, dia sudah berkhidmat di-dalam tentera dalam perang dunia yang kedua dan memang negara² yang sudah maju, mereka itu melalui dahulu latehan tentera sa-belum mereka itu pergi universiti, tidak seperti di-Malaya.

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Hussin: Tuan Pengerusi, saya minta penjelasan, apa benda yang Wakil Bachok itu telah dapat dalam masa tentera dahulu, saya hendak tahu pangkat-nya yang sudah di-terima.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tidak mustahak saya bagi tahu yang itu—(*Ketawa*) tidak mustahak saya bagi tahu. Tuan Pengerusi, lagi satu, saya tahun sudah saya berkata ia-itu Butiran (26), Nazir Ugama, pada tahun sudah. Saya tidak mahu orang biasa, saya mahu mesti-lah lepasan dari universiti. Saya mengeshorkan

kalau ada orang lain tidak mahu, kita boleh-lah menchabar dalam Dewan ini yang ada beberapa orang kita yang pas daripada universiti Azhar supaya mereka itu masuk ka-dalam tentera memikul senjata, tidak-lah berchakap sahaja, berani di-dalam Dewan ini. Jadi kalau hendak menyambut seruan tentera itu mereka tidak mahu. Mereka membuat satu kebudayaan \$35 sa-hari dalam Dewan ini. Mengangkat senjata mereka itu takut.

Tuan Pengerusi berkenaan dengan jawatan tentera, Butiran (104), (105) dan (106), di-sini Tuan Pengerusi, kita dapati gaji yang di-kemukakan di-sini ia-lah gaji Lieutenant General, Major General, Brigadier. Tetapi sa-tahu saya, pada tahun ini, sudah ada, kalau ta' silap saya, barangkali information saya ta' betul, tetapi saya tahu ia-itu ada beberapa pegawai tentera kita yang sudah naik pangkat kapada Brigadier General, jadi ada-kah orang² ini gaji-nya sama juga dengan Brigadier sa-mata² sedang satu "bar" atau pun pangkat ka-sini naik kapada Brigadier General, satu pangkat yang susah, yang tidak boleh di-dapati sabagaimana sa-tengah² Ahli Dewan Parlimen kita ini dapat dengan samata² rahmat gambar Tunku Abdul Rahman menang di-dalam pilihan raya, tidak mudah pegawai tentera, Tuan Pengerusi, sebab itu, saya mintalah perkara ini di-berikan perhatian yang penoh.

Berkenaan dengan Butiran (122) muka V 157, saya hendak meminta tambah lagi kalau boleh, tetapi saya merasakan amat-lah dukachita kerana "recruit²" kita ini tidak naik gaji-nya ia-itu \$54.50 sa-mata² ia-itu dua hari elaun Parlimen. Hamba Allah itu sudah sa-bulan hendak dapat gaji sabulan, hendak menunggu \$54 itu sama dengan dua hari elaun Member of Parliament. Pada hal orang itu sekarang ini masuk dalam hutan dan saya bimbang, Tuan Pengerusi, dalam keadaan yang konferantasi sa-macam ini kalau tentera² ini tidak puas hati dengan layanan kita, walau pun kita tidak boleh melayan dengan sa-penoh, tetapi hasrat kita kalau kita tidak dapat menunjukkan layanan yang penoh, tentera² kita sekarang ini sudah

tebal jiwa republikan-nya, Tuan Pengerusi, dan apabila tebal jiwa republican ini Kabinet ini tidak akan dapat "stand"—ini ada-lah satu perkara.

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Hussin: Penjelasan, ada-kah Wakil Bachok berchakap, menambah, membangkitkan perasaan menghasut dengan ucapan ini?

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Ini di-dalam Parlimen, bagaimana saya hendak menghasut tentera, saya dalam Parlimen, saya di-dalam rumah yang mulia ini.

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Hussin: Jadi tidak-kah pandangan ini akan di-siarkan di-dalam akhbar yang boleh di-bacha oleh askar² kita?

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, beri tahu Menteri Penerangan, suruh dia cancel, jangan masokkan.

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Hussin: Ada-kah begitu dasar Kerajaan kita yang demokrasi?

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Jadi kalau begitu kebebasan apa-kah Ahli Yang Berhormat hendak menahan saya berchakap, saya akan turut perintah, Tuan Pengerusi, kalau Tuan Pengerusi kata jangan, saya balek kam-lain, kalau dia hendak perintah saya, no!

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Hussin: Tuan Pengerusi, saya tidak akan melanggar hukuman tuan, dan saya tidak akan memerintah Wakil Bachok untok berhenti berchakap. Saya memohon penjelasan daripada ucapan yang baharu sa-bentar ini. Terima kaseh, Tuan Pengerusi.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Dan apa yang saya katakan itu ada-lah penjelasan.

Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail (Kuala Trengganu Utara): Ada-kah Parti Pas sukakan bentuk pemerintah republik? Terangkan betul² dalam Dewan ini.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, itu masalaah lain,

tetapi masaalah yang saya sebutkan ini ada-lah masaalah pandangan saya dan tidak-lah patut Ahli² ini menekan saya supaya saya berkata, dengan niat supaya saya hilang "point". Saya siuman dan ta' marah, Tuan Pengerusi, orang buat macham mana pun saya ta' marah. Dan apa yang saya akan kata, saya akan katakan sa-hingga-lah Tun sendiri memerentahkan.

Tuan Pengerusi, kembali kita kepada peruntukan ini, muka 168, ia-itu perbelanjaan penyenggaraan—ini kapal terbang pula, saya mahu kapal laut, Tuan Pengerusi, ada kapal laut, Tuan Pengerusi, saya maksudkan di-sini muka 168, Pechahan-kepala 26 dan 27 Tuan Pengerusi, boleh-lah Menteri kita ini memperbetulkan kalau saya silap ia-itu perbelanjaan penyenggaraan kapal terbang ta' di-masok, saya ta' sebutkan kapal terbang, ia-itu pada tahun ini lebeh angka-nya menjadi \$5 million dekat² \$6 million. Apa yang sampai kepada saya, Tuan Pengerusi, ia-itu saya minta-lah penjelasan daripada Menteri, kapal² yang kita beli ini di-katakan kapal² British yang lama yang masok perang yang kedua dahulu, perang dunia yang kedua. Jadi kapal² ini hendak di-buang bagitu sahaja, kalau bagitu British membuat Perjanjian Pertahanan dengan kita dan berjanji hendak menolong beberapa kapal, kapal yang di-gunakan untuk tentera. Maka kapal² burok ini-lah di-bawa balek pergi ka-England, dan disitu di-sapu chat dan di-buat baharu, kemudian ada yang di-tinggalkan di-Pulau Malta, bagitu bagini, dan kita membawa kapal² mari ka-sini sebab itu-lah perbelanjaan menyenggarakan kapal ini—"maintenance" ini—bukan beli kapal², jaga motokar, menjaga kapal bermelion² dan kalau-lah macham ini nampak-nya perbelanjaan maintenance itu lebeh mahal daripada kapal² burok itu lagi. Jadi ini, Tuan Pengerusi, boleh jadi orang menudoh bahawa Malaya kita ini sudah-lah kena jajah, sudah merdeka daripada jajahan pun maseh kena lagi tipu oleh orang puteh, dan baharu² ini dia membuat statement orang puteh ini dia hendak berunding dengan Indonesia pula fasal konfrantasi kita. Kita yang konfrantasi dia hendak berunding! Jadi, Tuan Pengerusi, ini-lah kapal.

Mr Chairman: Saya suka hendak menegor, ta' boleh-lah kata tipu, orang puteh, ta' boleh-lah berchakap macham itu, barangkali ada muslihat apa², boleh berchakap, tetapi ta' boleh kata tipu, tipu chakap yang ta' baik.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, perkataan yang ta' baik itu kita ubahkan kepada dia bagi barang yang ta' elok. Dia tidak tipu, tetapi dia bagi barang kepada Menteri kita ia-itu kapal² yang ta' elok dan kita ta' mahu-lah Menteri kita ini selalu mendapat kapal² yang ta' elok, sebab orang tudoh dia tidak berapa pandai pula. Jadi, Tuan Pengerusi, saya lebeh suka-lah Menteri kita memberi perhatian yang sa-benar-nya sebab bukan sahaja merugikan kita membayar "maintenance" tetapi boleh jadi mengendalikan kechergasan tentera² navy kita menjalankan kerja. Ini Tuan Pengerusi, kalau-lah kita gambarkan kapal² yang burok ini sama-lah juga dengan motokar yang burok. Kalau motokar saya lalu dengan sa-tengah² motokar² Ahli² Yang Berhormat, dia pakai petrol lari deras, saya punya enjin disel sudah burok, selalu dia potong. Jadi kalau bagitu, kalau kapal kita ini burok bertemu dengan kapal² Indonesia atau pun kapal² seterusnya dia boleh buat macham², dia sumpit kita, kita hendak buru dia, dia lari bagitu sahaja, ini menambahkan sakit hati lagi kepada tentera² kita yang hendak melawan yang sa-benar itu dan dia balek dia kata Kerajaan kita beri kapal burok kepada kita pula. Jadi marah pula orang² itu lagi dan marah-lah lagi Ahli² yang sa-belah kiri ini, kata saya mengapi²kan tentera tetapi, "this is the point".

Dato' Haji Mustapha bin Abdul Jabar (Sabak Bernam): Penjelasan sedikit, Yang Berhormat ada menyebut bahawa Kerajaan kita telah membeli kapal² yang burok. Dapat-kah di-terangkan apa jenis kapal dan berapa banyak? Nama kapal yang di-beli burok itu barangkali Yang Berhormat ini sudah tengok, minta penjelasan?

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, saya tidak mengatakan kita membeli kapal² burok, saya tidak

kata begitu. Saya kata ia-itu dalam Perjanjian Pertahanan kita dengan Inggeris ada memberi kapal² kepada kita dengan kapal² ini sa-tahu saya kapal burok, saya tidak kata beli. Jadi ada-kah Ahli Yang Berhormat ini takut sangat kepada kapal Melayu ini?

Tuan Pengerusi, berkenaan dengan Pechahan-kepala 28—Peluru pun, Tuan Pengerusi, amat-lah di-khuatirkan. Saya tidak dapat mengatakan; yang information yang saya dapat itu betul, tetapi chukup untok saya mengatakan khu- atir di-sini ia-itu amat-lah kita takut bahawa peluru² ini peluru² yang lama yang sudah di-gunakan dalam peper- anangan yang lalu atau pun peluru², walau pun ada isi-nya di-dalam, tetapi tidak dapat menembak dan dia akan merupakan dummy sahaja. Kebanya- kan peluru² yang sa-macam ini selalu mengechiwakan tentera²—salah satu daripada sebab²-nya, kekalahan pe- perangan Arab—UAR—dengan Israel, mengikut surat khabar, ia-lah kerana mereka itu membawa peluru², yang kosong—dummy belaka. Apabila ber- tempur, peluru² itu tidak dapat me- menembak kepada orang itu, dia dapat mengeluarkan bunyi tetapi tidak me- menembak. Bunyi-nya itu boleh menakut- kan dan boleh mematikan orang² pena- kut sa-bagaimana sa-tengah² Wakil Perikatan, tetapi kepada tentera², dia tidak boleh mematikan—peluru yang dummy, itu.

Enche' Mohd. Tahir bin Abdul Majid (Kuala Langat): Tuan Pengerusi, saya minta penjelasan, kepada Yang Ber- hormat itu, kerap kali dia mengatakan ia-itu Ahli Yang Berhormat dalam Rumah yang mulia ini penakut. Ada- kah dia berma'ana mahu menchabar, sama ada takut atau tidak, menchuba di-luar Dewan ini.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji (Pasir Mas Hulu): Tuan Penge- rusi, saya suka hendak bertanya chuba apa?

Enche' Mohd. Tahir bin Abdul Majid: Tuan Pengerusi, Yang Ber- hormat itu tidak payah bangun, saya berchakap kepada Yang Berhormat yang daripada Bachok, jangan di- salah gunakan.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Dato' Pengerusi, kami orang² PAS datang daripada Kelantan, kami kalau takut kami tidak masok Dewan ini, apa jadi pun tidak apa.

Enche' Mohd. Tahir bin Abdul Majid: Dato' Pengerusi, kalau hendak menchuba boleh juga-lah.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu barangkali dia hendak bergurau, tetapi challenge yang sa-macam itu- lah menyebabkan

Mr Chairman: Itu-lah, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu jaga sedikit chakapan, jadi berlawan dalam Rumah ini, susah- lah.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Jadi, Tuan Pengerusi, saya rasa masa- alah di-luar itu tidak usah saya jawab di-sini, kalau ada peluang kita boleh berjumpa-lah di-luar tetapi di-dalam Dewan ini saya rasa tidak dapat mene- rima dengan sa-macam itu.

Tuan Pengerusi, jadi berkenaan de- ngan peluru² ini amat-lah mustahak kita perhatikan. Barangkali ada sa- tengah² sahabat kita dalam Dewan dia ingat masaalah kita berchakap fasal peluru ini, ada-lah masaalah biasa sahaja, tetapi orang yang ada penga- laman dalam masaalah tentera ini, amat bimbang di-atas peluru yang kita beli daripada luar negeri itu. Jadi saya perchaya-lah Kementerian kita ini akan dapat perhatikan sa-penoh ber- kenaan dengan peluru ini.

Tuan Pengerusi, ada lagi satu per- kara—satu berita, ada beberapa surat yang saya tidak perchaya sangat surat itu, boleh jadi surat terbang yang sa- mata² hendak menimbulkan perkara yang tidak baik dalam Dewan kita ini. Tetapi, Tuan Pengerusi, ada satu per- kara yang saya rasa penting ia-itu ada-lah satu berita berkenaan dengan kedudukan Federal Military College kita di-Sungai Besi ia-itu perubahan² baharu yang berikutan dengan gerakan² membesarkan tentera kita, sa-bagai- mana yang di-katakan oleh Menteri Pertahanan kita ini, ia-lah latehan baharu akan di-adakan di-College itu dan khabar²-nya pegawai² yang ber- tugas itu akan di-tukar atau di-ganti

dengan pegawai² daripada luar negeri ia-itu bukan daripada Malaysia. Maka kalau-lah ini berlaku yang sa-benar dan akan berlaku dengan sa-benarnya, maka saya rasa itu akan merugikan kita, kerana pegawai² yang akan bertugas, melateh di-situ, sa-patut-nyalah daripada anak negeri kita terutama kalau pangkat Adjutant, pangkat Quarter Master dan begitu juga pangkat Depôt Commandant, apa-tah lagi instructor²—guru²—baris itu. Jadi ini, Tuan Pengerusi, orang² Malaysian kita memegang jawatan² itu disamping dia menunjokkan kebolehan-nya, dia juga mempunyai perasaan yang bersunggoh² kerana dia hendak melateh anak negeri kita sendiri dengan gaji-nya murah, tetapi kalau kita bawa orang luar datang ka-sini—Sergeant Major (R.S.M.) gaji-nya sahaja pun \$1,000 lebeh. Kalau orang kita \$600.00 semua sa-kali. Jadi ini, Tuan Pengerusi, kalau berlaku semangat kita, semangat melateh tentera tidak akan dapat kita pupok kapada tentera² kita dan sudah-lah sampai bagi kita pada masa ini, ia-itu kita tidak mahu lagi pegawai² luar negeri di-bawa datang ka-sini pada waktu yang pegawai² kita sendiri ada di-dalam negeri ini.

Tuan Pengerusi, berkenaan dengan Latehan Udara. Pegawai² Udara, saya dapati anak² Melayu amat-lah sedikit. Saya tidak tahu, sama ada orang² Melayu kita ini tidak menyambut seruan atau pun memang peluang² itu berkehendakkan kelayakan yang lebeh banyak yang tidak dapat di-kalangan anak² Melayu kita atau pun anak² bumiputera kita. Tetapi, Tuan Pengerusi, memandang pada tiap² tahun, kita ada menerbitkan budak² sekolah lebeh daripada 100,000 pada sa-tahun, saya rasa di-antara 100,000 itu amat-lah banyak budak² kita yang berhajatkan kapada perkhidmatan (service) yang kita boleh bawa mereka itu kapada latehan tentera. Dalam dunia yang sekarang ini, Tuan Pengerusi, ia-itu barang siapa kuat dia itu yang benar, kita bimbang negara kita kecil kalau sa-kira-nya kita tidak dapat memperkuat diri dalam lengkongan kita sendiri, kerana apabila might itu right, maka kita-lah yang terok sa-kali. Jadi dengan menyalorkan budak² chawangan² ini, saya rasa, tidak-lah

merugikan kita malah menguntongkan kapada kita.

Tuan Pengerusi, saya mengaku bahawa peruntokan bagi Kementerian Pertahanan, dari segi ekonomi merupakan unproductive, dia tidak dapat menguntongkan sa-suatu, kerana dia habis sa-mata² dari segi ekonomi-nya. Tetapi ekonomi negara kita, Tuan Pengerusi, tidak akan dapat berjalan dengan stable kalau keamanan dan pertahanan negara kita ini tidak stable. Ekonomi kita bergantung kapada keutuhan tentera negara kita.

Akhir-nya, Tuan Pengerusi, itu-lah sahaja seruan saya ia-itu:

- (i) berkenaan dengan kenaikan gaji,
- (ii) berkenaan dengan perbelanjaan kapal²,
- (iii) berkenaan dengan peluru,
- (iv) saya minta ma'af kapada Tuan Pengerusi, kalau saya ada berchakap tersilap sedikit sa-banyak, tetapi saya suka-lah memberi tahu kapada Ahli² Dewan ini, masaalah ajak challenge di-luar itu tidak patut-lah kita kemukakan dalam Dewan, kerana saya anak jantan juga, Tuan Pengerusi. Jadi saya minta ma'af-lah kapada Tuan Pengerusi, tidak dapat saya hendak menyambut seruan itu. Kalau dia mahu saya hari² ada di-luar.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat): Mr Chairman, Sir, the Defence Estimates in 1962 was \$90,029,532; it increased to some \$155 million and then to \$207 million; and now it has arrived at the present figure of \$237,674,453—an increase, Mr Chairman, Sir, in a four year period of \$147,644,919. Of course, we all know that, in times of emergency, defence needs must be increased, but one should also ask oneself whether or not, when the nation is small and when the nation is weak financially, one should not see if that money can be better spent; whether one should obtain security through arms, or one should seek other means whereby to make increase of arms expenditure unnecessary and spend this money for the future of our country. In other words, if we can solve the problem of

increased expenditure on arms by some other means, whether it is not possible for us to spend this \$147 million per year on other needs, such as, more hospitals and more schools for the training of our children, in order to give a better future for our country.

There are two ways, Mr Chairman, Sir, of ensuring the security of a country: either increase arms expenditure, increase our military power, or seek other means or some other peaceful solution so as to remove the threat of external aggression. In the Vietnamese war, one line of action has been demonstrated clearly—the American Government feels that, because of its military power and its might, it can by force of arms seek a solution, it can, by means of more bombers, more fighters, more men, more helicopters, more tanks, seek a solution to a difficult situation. But, Mr Chairman, Sir, it is very clear that we are not America: we have not got Flying Fortresses, we have not got atomic aircraft, we have not got the big tanks, we have not got the large helicopters, we have not got atomic submarines, we have not got battle ships—we have not even one destroyer in the Malayan Navy that is worth talking about; we have not got any four engined jet aircraft—and if we have to buy ten of that, we will be bankrupt; and even if we have ten of those jet engined big aircraft and four engined aircraft, we have no money to maintain them, nor the crew nor the personnel, nor the technical know-how; and we have not got even the tanks used by India and Pakistan in their war against each other—they have got armoured cars; they have got bren-gun carriers; we have got empty riot lorries fighting small boys; we have got reconnaissance aircraft flying at a speed of 67 miles an hour; we have not even got helicopters that can carry heavy equipment into the Bornean jungles; we have to depend upon the *Tentera Wanita*, the *ketua* of whom is here, the Honourable Member for Johore Bahru Timor; and can we imagine sending the flower of our womanhood into the jungles of Borneo by out-of-date aircraft; and are we going to risk

maiming, crippling and difiling the flower of our womanhood?

Mr Chairman, Sir, as I have said, there are two ways of solution, and I say they are necessary because of the accelerated increase of our defence expenditure: one is political and the other one is military. Militarily speaking, we have nothing but a toy army. Mr Chairman, Sir, I do not like to reduce the importance of our army, but we must accept that a nation of less than 10 million people, so diversified in our educational systems and our knowledge, so different in our political awareness, so small in percentage of secondary school graduates and university graduates, that we cannot have more than a small army that can do no more than to delay an aggression upon us. They can provide nothing more than an emergency service in time of war. So, Mr Chairman, Sir, when the Honourable Minister of Defence says that our army has shown courage in the Bornean jungles, I congratulate him, but I must draw to the attention of this House that the fact is that our army in Borneo is not always in the front line—very often they are in our base, in the baseline—and we have been insulted quite a great deal by the foreign press when they show photographs of fighting in Borneo. The foreign press is showing photographs of the Bornean fighting abroad. They have talked about our Malaysian soldiers but have taken pictures of British soldiers. So, we see our Malaysian soldiers with long noses and blue eyes! Even in the recruitment campaign in London by the Green Jackets, the advertisement was: “Come to Malaysia if you want adventure! Come to the front line if you want adventure” The impression given is that they are the people who have been defending the Bornean territories. Is that true, or is that false? I suppose if I go further than that, I might be betraying military secrets which everybody knows about, anyway.

Now, Mr Chairman, Sir, our army is less than 20,000. What is the size of the Indonesian army, which is supposed to be confronting us—400,000: 500,000: 600,000? And what

about their armed militia, not to talk about their regular armed forces? What about their parachute battalions? What about their Russian aircraft? What about the American planes recently sold to them by a German? Have we been able to stop all these arms? When we talk about our defence, we have got to view our present situation against that of the world situation. We have got to realise our size in comparison with the size of other nations.

Mr Chairman, Sir, I notice here that with regard to the Singapore posts for our military arm, the expenditure has now been taken off but the posts are left there, probably to be filled later on, which means we are spending no money now for the Singapore posts but the Singapore posts have not been deleted. Am I wrong? I am not sure. My point is this, and it is more important than whether or not we are maintaining an army in Singapore: what is more important is how much is Singapore contributing to the defence of Malaysia? Singapore, whose Prime Minister said in September 1963, when our Honourable Prime Minister was thinking of postponing the formation of Malaysia, the man said, "If you do not form Malaysia by the 16th of September, 1963, we will go it alone." Now they are going it alone. Mr Chairman, Sir, are they contributing and are they contributing enough? Their Budget is small, it is something about 60% of our Annual Budget, but how much, we would like to know, are they contributing to our defence. I ask this. After all, Mr Chairman, Sir, confrontation came about—I use "confrontation" because it is the normal word, not that I agree with it—because of Malaysia, and Singapore was part of it and, therefore, must bear part of the responsibility. It is unfortunate that the Honourable Minister of Defence has not told this House what is the percentage of their contribution. We must know it.

Mr Chairman, Sir, if we accept that our army cannot be big enough, cannot be powerful enough militarily, there are two means of still making

ourselves most effective from the military point of view. Firstly, we must have a more efficient army, and to have a more efficient army we must have certainly better educated and better trained people, a small mobile force of experts or skilled people, not a whole mass of foot-sloggers. Our soldiers must be able to drive cars and motor cycles, go on bicycles, live on their own and fight on their own, work behind the lines in sabotage. They must be trained in sabotage work, in explosives and in the operation of wireless transmitters. Have we got such an army personnel? The other way is to have what I would like to call a land army, an army based on the land, an army which involves the whole of the nation, a nation of people most of whom can carry arms, if necessary, and can fight if necessary for their country—militia trained to become minor experts. But, Mr Chairman, Sir, to do that, to get that kind of army, you must have a proper ideological system.

When we deal with that kind of army, we deal with the politics of our country. Politically our Government must have the full support of the people, not only to obtain a majority in Parliament but a majority of people who are prepared to die for their land. But if the land does not belong to the peasants, why should they die for it? If the workers of this country do not feel they have a stake in this country, and only the millionaires are getting profits from the industries and their firms by making these people slog for about \$80 a month, why should they die for it? As long as the people know it, the Government cannot have a militia, because the people will not fight and the Government cannot trust the people with guns. That is why, Mr Chairman, Sir, recently, after the confrontation, the police began to take back licences for guns and restrict the number of gun licences, and in many cases to reduce it, because they could not trust the people. They could not trust the people because they know very well that the people have no stake in this country—not only the bumiputeras, whether as defined by the Honourable Prime Minister or

otherwise, but not even the immigrant people. But, of course, to go more into it will mean that I will be starting off another debate. So, I will restrict my remarks on this point and end up by saying that militarily again you need two types of army: a highly professional and skilled army, or an army of the people. To have an army of the people, you must have an ideology of Government which will give to the people, the peasants and the workers of this country, a stake in this country, which we have not got. If we cannot achieve this, then the second way is open to us, that is a political solution.

I quoted the example of America in Vietnam. I would like to quote the example now of countries like Nepal, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark and even the infamous Portugal—Mr Chairman, Sir, these are small countries, and they could have been overrun at any time; they could have been taken over at any time—in fact, Finland lies next to Russia—and yet they are today independent and sovereign States, with Switzerland having a compulsory national service and a civilian population who can be armed and who can fight at any time; and with Sweden and Norway not having an armed militia at all, yet those people have been able to be independent. They have not been threatened. Why? Their solution lay not in increased armed expenditure, but in political solution. Those countries realised that if they did not take on an external aggressive policy, or an external policy which would aggravate their bigger neighbours, they would not have to spend money on arms but they could spend their money on more schools, more old age benefits, higher wages for their people and more hospitals. At the moment, in Malaya, we do not even have a proper insurance for our workers, and the need for insurance is so great that we came to Parliament the other day and passed a Bill insuring ourselves and allowing the reporters to come to and fro without insurance, so that if they get killed by a car it is just too bad. I mention the reporters only as an example. There are other people cafeteria workers, canteen workers, and so

on—who are not under Government employ in this House, but that is by the way.

Now, Mr Chairman, Sir, coming back to my topic, Singapore was, to some extent, responsible for the situation. Singapore's contribution, we do not know; we know that they are sending a regiment to Borneo—that is all. But Singapore is trying to seek another way out already. Singapore tried to have Pulau Senang as a trading centre for the exchange of goods between Indonesia and Singapore. Singapore sent its Deputy Prime Minister on a tour to win friends on the "left" and in the "middle". They have tried to win the friendship of Cambodia, of Pakistan, of the Arab countries and the African countries of the Afro-Asian group. What have we done to switch our external line in order to lessen the confrontation pressure and therefore lessen our defence needs?

Even in the case of the war between Pakistan and India, our Malayan Government came up with not a neutral stand but a nebulous stand supporting the statement of our Ambassador to the United Nations, Enche' Ramani, and publishing his statement, proving in fact that what they thought Enche' Ramani said Enche' Ramani did not say, and in fact the impression Enche' Ramani tried to create was not the impression that the Government thought he was creating. Anyone who reads the speech carefully will find that he lists a whole list of aggressive acts by Pakistan—it does not mention anything about India—and, therefore, gave the impression that he was taking sides, and our Malaysian Government made it even worse by saying that he meant the other thing, the opposite of what he had said, instead of coming out clearly to say, "Look, we stand for peace, we stand for the demarcation line, we stand for international agreements under the United Nations" and sticking to it and say whoever aggresses is wrong.

Now, I come, Mr Chairman, Sir, to our Afro-Asian brothers. I call them brothers. Some people think they are

not very good brothers. Some people think they are good brothers; some people think they are bad brothers. But, never mind, let us call them our brothers or our friends—members of the Afro-Asian Comity. We know that the Afro-Asian Comity dislikes the American attitude in Vietnam. What is our stand then? I leave it at that. Do I have to go further than to illustrate it? I do not think so.

Now, Singapore has made attempts at friendship and attempts to neutralise her stand so as to stand in the “middle” and be friendly to all, in order to develop her entrepot trade and in order to cut down her defence expenditure. We on the other hand, are not only killing Penang by taking away the entrepot trade but we have made no efforts to seek this solution. We say instead, “We have a good friend. We have a Defence Treaty with England. We must depend upon England to defend us.” But what does Mr Michael Stewart, the present Foreign Secretary of the British Government say? He says the quarrel is between Indonesia and Malaysia, and he has even given the impression that whatever is the outcome of the political struggle in Indonesia, confrontation will continue and that we should, in fact, reconsider the whole Malaysian set-up and see whether or not a new Federation can be formed—“a loose kind of Federation”, I think were his words—or “a looser kind of Federation which will have the goodwill and the support of the majority of the people of the Bornean territories”. Mr Chairman, Sir, if even the British Government is now considering a solution—that we should cut down our defence needs by political action, then how can we say that it is wrong? At the present rate—I come to my next point—if we do not seek a political solution and we do not attempt to change our policy on defence by having a different type of army, or an ideological system to inform the people—the workers and the peasants—what will happen to us if the present trend continues?

I think, Mr Chairman, Sir, to sum it all up, we will only become a

British base for as long as Britain has interests here and can profit from this country. We are slowly but surely becoming an armed camp. And the unfortunate, the pitiful thing, Mr Chairman, Sir, the sadness of it all, is that this camp will not be under our control but under the control of the British Army. I list these things: the Butterworth Base is under British command, the Terendak Camp is under British command, the Kluang Detachment is under British command, the Singapore Naval Base is under British command and the new Air Bases which are in the process of being built would come under British command. And to cap it all, Mr Chairman, Sir, we have only one place which has light and which shines in this gloomy picture—the beautiful island of Penang; and yet on top of that Island they are putting up a military base. In my last election campaigns when I went down there I could see helicopter after helicopter carrying huge, heavy equipment through there to Tiger Hill or Western Hill. Why could they not have put the base in Kedah peak, I wonder? It is higher, it is more barren, it is bigger and there are less people to kill. Why put it in Penang Hill and make Penang a danger zone, so that even tourists will be scared of going there (*Laughter*)? In fact, I suspect this is what I would call a “subversive attempt” of the Minister of Finance to prevent people from going to Penang to buy cheap goods, so that we may not live off the fat of our land.

Mr Chairman, Sir, these bases are beyond our control. These bases make us more dependent upon British power. These bases, therefore, make our country less independent. I know. Mr Chairman, Sir, that we are independent politically—everybody says that, everybody acknowledges that, but independence is not only political, as it carries with it other things. To be fully independent, we must be under no foreign economic pressure, we must be under no foreign military pressure, and we must be under no foreign cultural pressure. As soon as we see our youths playing the guitar, wearing tight trousers and

singing beat music, we know they are under western influence. To that extent we cannot be independent. And if we see in our army, all officers, senior officers or most of the senior officers, except for one or two for the purpose maybe of propaganda, effectively being people seconded from other armies or people who are not Malaysian citizens, then we must question whether or not in the end we are right. Should we fight and die or sell ourselves into slavery simply because the emperor can pay our family more tahils of silver? This is the question that we have to decide. We have not got an army that is effective, nor can this army defend our country.

Now, Mr Chairman, Sir, let us deal with the smaller points of this budget proposals. One sees on page 169, Sub-head 39, Secret Services. In 1965—\$6,500; in 1966 “nil”. We are spending not one cent on our Secret Services. Why is it that in 1966, we are not spending one cent? In 1965 we spent \$6,500. Is it because the Secret Services had made a blunder of it? We need the Secret Services. Usually the secret intelligence goes and finds out what is happening and gives reports, and the fact that the Secret Services have been removed means that they must have blundered somehow, somewhere. So, my mind went back to 1964—election time—and I discovered how they made those blunders. First of all, big statements that Indonesian parachutes have been dropped in Telok Anson—everybody got frightened: Indonesian parachutes have been dropped—photographs were taken, but it turned out they were not Indonesian parachutes at all after the elections; they were Malayan Air Force parachutes which were dropped in error, and they had, in fact, Air Force markings. So, our intelligence must have made a blunder there.

Enche' Tan Chee Khoon: Not really intelligent!

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Not very intelligent, but honest maybe. Well, Mr Chairman, Sir, they must have made that one blunder. The next thing was as I said, my mind went back

again to the report that parachutes were also dropped at the Thai border—parachutes had been found at the Thai border, in Upper Perak, in Kedah—and I think our Honourable Minister of Defence even went all the way up. Then suddenly the parachutes disappeared—I do not know what happened to them.

Dr Lim Swee Aun: Maybe they were removed by the members of the Socialist Front!

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Mr Chairman, Sir, if they were removed by members of the Socialist Front, you should put us in the Intelligence (*Laughter*). See how bright we are!

Dr Lim Swee Aun: Sir, they probably have good intelligence. That is why they are against Malaysia.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Mr Chairman, Sir, I knew that they might talk of the Socialist Front in Kedah and Penang and so on. So, my mind went to the P.M.I.P. territory. This time it is P.A.S. not us—Bachok, Kelantan. Again, foot-prints were found on the sand walking up and walking back into the sea and a case of ammunition was put on the Shore. A submarine left the east coast of Sumatra went all the way round Malaya, south of Singapore and went up to north of Malaya and left a case of ammunition there, and it was promptly discovered by our Local Defence Corps—not Tentera Wanita unfortunately, but by the male members thereof. (*Laughter*). Again, the case of ammunition seemed to have disappeared. So, I thought perhaps that was why they have decided not to have an intelligence and they have decided to remove it—it is unnecessary expenditure. Mr Chairman, Sir, I was wondering where they spent all that money. And how is our army set up? Of course, the Honourable Minister of Defence said that they are spending more money on the Tentera Wanita so that they may join up with our men and go together to defend our country—how together, and what is their togetherness, we don't know (*Laughter*). But I see, Mr Chairman, Sir, the Marriage Allowances have been increased in this

Budget and the number of bidans have also been increased.

Enche' Tan Chee Khoon: May I ask the Government benchers if that is the reason for this togetherness?

Dr Lim Swee Aun: That is in the minds of the Socialist Front who are only thinking of bidans, and nothing else. (*Laughter*).

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Sir, it is not in our minds. And also Nursing Sisters have been increased and I thought this itself may have been accidental. But we also find Female Religious Teachers have also been increased. For example in Bahagian 3, Page 155 item (67)—Guru Ugama Perempuan (Female Religious Teachers)—16. Then we come to page 159 Bahagian 3 again, item (168), Senior Religious Teachers, this time—8. Then we come lower down to item (178)—Guru Ugama Rendah, this is Junior Religious Teachers—14—of course, I won't deal with the bidans, and then on page 160, item (182) again Guru Ugama Perempuan (Female Religious Teachers)—17. Then, Mr Chairman, Sir, we have on top of that Entertainment Allowances which also show an increase. Entertainment for the Tentera² Wanita or entertainment for what, I don't know. But, anyway, entertainment has been increased in one Head alone from nothing. Item (330) at page 167 under Division E—Entertainment Allowance \$1,067,192 and immediately following that comes Marriage Allowance of \$12,240—it is very unfortunate that they put them together all the time. And then again, Mr Chairman, Sir, at page 165—Entertainment Allowance, item (283) from \$94,000 approximately it has increased to \$159,400 and immediately following that again Marriage Allowance last time \$10 now \$7,200. So, one wonders whether or not it is the intention of the Honourable Minister of Defence to increase the number of our army by having greater number of marriages.

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah (Hilir Perak): Tuan Pengerusi, saya

menyatakan sukachita saya dan soko-
ngan saya kapada peruntokan yang di-
berikan kapada Kementerian Pertaha-
nan sa-banyak \$237,674,453 lebih
itu untuk pertahanan negara kita.
Pertahanan negara kita ini, kalau kita
lihat daripada peruntokan² dari tahun²
yang telah sudah, nyata-lah bahawa
peruntokan ini bertambah dari satu
tahun ka-satu tahun, oleh kerana me-
mentingkan dan memandang penting-
nya kapada kedudukan kita di-dalam
sa-buah negara yang sedang di-ancham
oleh musuh kita dari luar. Banyak
barangkali dari fikiran² yang telah
timbul daripada peruntokan pertahanan
kita bagi tahun ini, ada yang meman-
dang bahawa barangkali peruntokan
ini tidak begitu chukup, dan oleh
kerana tidak chukup-nya itu menyebab-
kan kita ini terpaksa, kata mereka,
menggantungkan nasib kita kapada
pertahanan daripada Kerajaan lain.

Tuan Pengerusi, kita tahu bahawa
kita ada-lah sa-buah negara yang
maseh muda bukan sahaja negara kita
ini maseh muda di-dalam kemerdekaan-
nya, tetapi juga di-dalam pertahanan-
nya dan dalam semua hidang perusa-
haan kita. Oleh kerana kemudaan kita
di-dalam kemerdekaan ini, kita nampak
bahawa banyak kekurangan² yang kita
rasakan perlu di-lalui oleh masa dan
process keadaan kita itu sendiri. Walau
pun ada orang memikirkan terutama-
nya bagi pehak² Pembangkang, bahawa
pertahanan kita ini perlu-lah di-penohi
oleh ra'ayat negeri ini sendiri berban-
ding dengan apa yang di-punyai oleh
Kerajaan yang menentang kita, um-
pama Indonesia yang mempunyai askar-
nya lebih daripada 400,000 orang,
kita perlu mempunyai kedudukan per-
tahanan yang sa-imbang dengan
negara² itu. Tetapi, Tuan Pengerusi,
walau pun Indonesia mempunyai per-
tahanan dan mempunyai askar, tentera
yang chukup, yang banyak, apa-kah
akibat daripada itu? Sebab, Indonesia
itu sendiri tidak mempunyai daya un-
tok membelanjai tentera-gya dan untuk
melengkapi tentera-nya dengan semua
kelengkapan², kerana di-Indonesia
sendiri tidak mempunyai factory² atau
kilang² membuat senjata, membuat
kapal terbang, dan sa-umpama-nya,
membuat kapal selam, kapal perang

dan sa-bagai-nya. Maka oleh kerana Indonesia mahukan kapada pertahanan-nya itu sedangkan kemampuan-nya tidak begitu ada, akhir-nya terpaksa-lah juga dia menyembah negara² luar untuk mendapatkan kelengkapan² ini. Untuk mendapatkan bantuan daripada luar, Indonesia terpaksa menggunakan satu ideology didalam perjuangan politik dalam negeri dan luar negeri, ia-itu menentang apa juga chorak penjajahan, baik daripada British, Amerika dan apa juga yang ada di-dalam dunia ini disifatkan-nya sa-bagai musoh, sa-kali pun negara² itu tidak banyak mengancam kedudukan Indonesia sendiri, tetapi oleh kerana negeri yang berhadapan dengan negara Amerika dan Britain itu ia-lah negara² kominis, maka terpaksa-lah Indonesia menyatakan sokongan-nya kapada negara kominis untuk menentang apa yang di-namakan imperialist, dan penjajahan dengan tujuan supaya dengan dasar itu dia mendapat sokongan benda² pertahanan dari negara² itu sendiri, terutama-nya dari negeri China kominis dan daripada negeri Russia. Daripada kedua² buah negara ini-lah pada faham saya, Indonesia mendapat alat² pertahanan-nya sejak daripada kapal perang-nya, senjata, perkakas dan semua sa-kali di-dapati daripada negara² ini dengan polisi dan dasar politik-nya menentang imperialist. Tetapi, Tuan Pengerusi, Indonesia yang seperti ini tidak memberi keuntungan kapada Indonesia sendiri, sebab negara kominis tidak akan senang dan tidak akan puas hati dengan segala bantuan yang di-berikan kapada Indonesia dengan tidak mendapat keuntungan daripada pemberian itu, dan akhir-nya Indonesia menjadi alat sa-chara langsung, atau tidak sa-chara langsung, kapada negara² kominis di-luar Indonesia sendiri dengan menjadikan Parti Komunis Indonesia sa-bagai ajent yang terbesar daripada negara² kominis di-Indonesia sendiri.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon (Batu): Untuk penjelasan, Tuan Pengerusi, kami sekarang membinchangkan pertahanan Indonesia atau pun pertahanan Malaysia?

Mr Chairman: Pertahanan Malaysia, tetapi dia akan tiba ka-situ-lah!

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Pengerusi, kalau Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Batu mengikuti ucapan Ahli dia sa-belah tadi, maka kita tahu-lah chakap yang dikemukakan-nya itu tidak sama sa-kali ada sangkut paut-nya dengan pertahanan kita, tetapi kemudian dia membandingkan dan saya pun chuba membandingkan soal ini. Tuan Pengerusi, apa yang berlaku di-dalam pertahanan Indonesia dengan empat ratus ribu tentera daripada alat² yang di-dapat daripada negara kominis yang saya katakan tadi bahawa negara kominis itu tidak akan memberi sa-barang bantuan, melainkan dengan sebab² politik sa-balek-nya itu. Maka jadi-lah Parti Komunis Indonesia itu sa-bagai alat, sa-bagai ajen yang terbesar sa-kali bagi negara kominis, terutama-nya Komunis China bagi memasukkan ideology faham politik yang di-punyai oleh negara China Komunis itu. Akhirnya, apa-kah yang telah berlaku pada 30 September, tahun ini? Saya hendak bertanya kapada Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Batu, daripada PAS, daripada Datok Keramat, apa-kah dia mahu berlaku-nya peristiwa 30 September di-Malaysia ini? Sebab apa yang kita dengar daripada ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Batu—ma'af daripada Datok Keramat—dan daripada PAS, daripada Bachok menyatakan bahawa pertahanan kita ini tidak cukup dan perlu di-tambah, dan anggota-nya perlu di-tambah dan menchabar Ahli² Perikatan di-sini hanya pandai dudok sahaja dalam Dewan ini dengan mendapat elaun \$35 sa-hari, penakut, ini satu chabaran daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bachok pada mula dia berchakap tadi. Tetapi, kalau sa-kira-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bachok satu orang jantan, dia tidak akan lari di-bawah meja—belum berhadapan dengan musoh, hanya na' suroh menari changgong sahaja malam tadi pun dia sudah tuang—lari—pengechut—yang tidak ada dua dan tolok banding-nya! Ada-kah dia sanggup berhadapan dengan tentera Indonesia

yang di-lengkapi oleh senjata² daripada Russia, dari China Kominis?

Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Keramat): On a point of clarification, the Honourable Member who is just speaking has crossed the floor. You must be careful so that he may not cross the country one day (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Pengerusi, biar-lah saya ta' layan chakap orang yang memang sudah ta' betul di-dalam pertimbangan akal dan fikiran-nya, kerana harus agak-nya ter-lalu seronok dengan kemenangan di-dalam pilihan raya yang baharu ini sahingga chakap-nya luar biasa sejak enam tujuh tahun Parlimen ini bersidang dan Ahli dari Datok Keramat itu sa-orang daripada anggota-nya. Saya terchengang sa-orang yang mempunyai capacity—loyar mempunyai chakap² yang keanak²an dan kebudak²an di-dalam Dewan ini. Tuan Pengerusi, saya tinggalkan soal itu, saya ingin menyatakan, apa-kah yang telah berlaku setelah kita ini ingin hendak membesarkan tentera kita. Kata-lah kita hendak mempertandingan kekuatan tentera Indonesia, kerana nampak-nya Indonesia merupakan. Satu negara yang bertentangan dengan kita pada sa'at sekarang ini. 400,000 tentera—400,000 tentera, kalau kita hendak mempunyai tentera yang sa-banyak itu, sa-banyak 400,000 tentera, maka kita patut menyedari perbelanjaan yang mungkin ditelan oleh tentera yang bagini besar jumlah-nya. Sa-orang tentera—pukul rata belanjaan-nya sa-banyak \$4,000 sa-tahun dan kalau 400,000 tentera kita yang kita recruit daripada negeri kita ini sendiri, kerana hendak mempersebandingkan kekuatan kita dengan kekuatan Indonesia—belanja gaji sahaja, kita terpaksa menggunakan wang sa-banyak \$1,600 juta—erti-nya keseluruhan Budget ini kita berikan kepada Pertahanan dan gaji askar² itu sahaja dan Ahli Dewan Ra'ayat

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Tuan Pengerusi, saya minta jalan sadikit. Ada-kah maksud Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Hilir Perak ini takut berulang-nya sejarah 30 September di-Indonesia itu, sebab itu

tidak mahu di-besarkan tentera Malaysia ini? Kerana tadi Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ada berkata, “ada-kah Wakil PAS dan Wakil Dato Kramat ini mahu tentera kita di-besarkan dan berulang-nya sejarah 30 September di-Indonesia mithal-nya?” Ada-kah itu sebab² maka pasokan tentera Malaysia ini tidak boleh di-perbesarkan?

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Pengerusi, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Mas Hulu, sayang, kerana dia baharu masok Melayu dan tidak faham berchakap Melayu.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: On point of clarification, Sir, I think he referred to my qualification just now as a lawyer but I do not know whether or not it is true he was at one time a member of the Indonesian Armed Forces.

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Pengerusi, ini-lah bisikan daripada Ahli PAS yang saya nampak tadi sa-bagai sa-suatu apa yang di-namakan character assassination yang akan dikeluarkan oleh Perdana Menteri bagaimana tektik pehak Pembangkang untuk membunuh—suatu character sa-sarong di-dalam potensi, di-dalam kekuatannya, di-dalam politik negara kita ini.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Untok penjelasan, Tuan Pengerusi.

Tuan Pengerusi, Yang Berhormat itu ada berchakap menyentoh peribadi saya mengatakan saya masok Melayu boleh jadi orang ta' faham; nanti dia kata saya ini mualap atau apa-kah, kalau saya masok Melayu, dia itu pun bukan Melayu, dia itu Jawa—Jawa yang kedua!

Yang ketiga mahu-kah saya menceritakan ka-dalam Dewan ini, apa-kah yang di-lakukan oleh Yang Berhormat daripada Hilir Perak ini samasa ia menjadi tentera dalam pasokan Pemberontak Republik Indonesia? Mahu-kah saya menceritakan apa-kah yang di-lakukan oleh saudara ini di-Indonesia dalam Dewan ini? Hu-lah kejadian² dan kesah² pelarian-nya . . .

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Pengerusi, saya lebih berhak menceritakan di-dalam Dewan ini daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Mas Hulu; dia tidak tahu apa yang berlaku.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, sa-masa saya duduk dengan dia dahulu dia cheritakan habis kapada saya (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Pengerusi, biar-lah saya terangkan asas daripada yang saya sebutkan tadi, ia-itu apa-kah bagi pihak Pembangkang, PAS atau Socialist Front, mahu berlaku apa yang di-sebutkan 30 September di-Indonesia, ia-itu pemberontakan kominis merebut kekuasaan sa-chara kekerasan, membunuh askar² dan orang 'awam, membunuh ulama² Islam dan menghanchorkan apa yang di-sebut keyakinan beragama di-Indonesia. Apa-kah orang PAS mahu kejadian yang seperti itu?

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Tuan Pengerusi, apa beza-nya dengan kominis Indonesia dengan Perikatan yang menangkap Tok² Guru PAS? (*Tepok*).

Mr Chairman: Order! Order! Will you please allow the Honourable Member to continue with his speech.

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Pengerusi, ini-lah yang saya katakan bahawa apa yang di-chakapkan oleh orang² Yang Berhormat dari PAS, hanya pandai membuka mulut, tetapi tidak pandai menggunakan kepala di-dalam ucapan-nya.

Di-dalam kita membahathkan soal Pertahanan, kita mesti-lah memikirkan akibat daripada sa-suatu yang kita datangkan kepada sa-suatu ranchangan yang boleh menimbulkan terlibat-nya negara kita ini menjadi alat kepada sa-suatu ideology politik luar negeri, seperti yang pernah kita dengar bertahun² di-dalam perbahathan Pertahanan ini. Kita mahu kepada Pertahanan negara kita dari kita sendiri, tidak chukup dengan keadaan yang ada sekarang, kita akui, bukan tidak kita akui bahawa Pertahanan kita

tidak chukup, tetapi tidak chukup Pertahanan kita ini, kita rasakan, sa-telah kita menghadapi apa yang di-namakan konfrantasi dari Indonesia dan sebelum daripada ini kita tidak merasa dan kita tidak pula menengok bahawa tentera kita yang ada sekarang tidak chukup, sebab tentera yang ada sekarang ini-lah yang telah menghadapi musuh 12 tahun lama-nya ia-itu musuh kominis dan tentera yang ada sekarang ini-lah juga yang telah berjaya menghapuskan dharurat dalam negeri ini. Bagi fahaman kita, kalau sa-kadar kominis dalam negeri ini sahaja, atau pun kaki-tangan², talibaru² kominis yang menyeludup masuk ka-dalam pertubohan² ugama, atau masuk ka-dalam pertubohan² politik, itu sahaja yang menjadi musuh, maka tentera kita yang ada sekarang sudah chukup. Tetapi, kita rasakan tidak chukup-nya, kerana kita berhadapan dengan suatu kekuatan tentera luar negeri dengan di-namakan kekuatan tentera Indonesia. Kita setuju, baik-lah kita bersetuju sekarang ini, mithal-nya, kita hendak menaikkan jumlah tentera kita daripada jumlah yang ada sekarang kepada jumlah 400,000 orang, belanja-nya itu-lah, kata saya tadi, 400,000 orang—sa-orang tentera biasa pukul rata perbelanjaan-nya sa-banyak \$4,000 sa-tahun, chuba-lah jumlahkan kalau 400,000 tentera. Itu gaji sahaja. Tentera yang banyak dengan tidak ada senjata, tidak guna juga, tidak ada faedah. Tujuan kita tentera yang banyak, chukup dengan alat kelengkapan, alat peperangan, persenjataan dan kelengkapan² yang lain, sa-umpama kita. Kalau hendak menanding dengan Indonesia. Satu ribu kapal terbang. Kalau sa-buah kapal terbang harga-nya \$2 juta, kalau 1,000 buah berapa pula harga-nya, dan kalau satu senjata harga-nya \$1,000—400,000 senjata berapa harga-nya? Akhir-nya, semua kekayaan negeri ini di-hisap oleh Pertahanan sa-mata², akibat-nya pembangunan tidak berjalan, akibat-nya pembangunan negara tidak ada lancar, akibat-nya ranchangan kemajuan negara tidak akan berjalan dan rasa saya ini-lah yang di-kehendaki oleh Socialist Front dan ini juga yang di-kehendaki oleh PAS . . .

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Betul!

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah:
 . . . supaya ranchangan ini tidak berjalan dan mana-kala ranchangan ini tidak berjalan, taraf hidup ra'ayat tidak di-naikkan, kedudukan negara betul, tidak ada stability di-dalam ekonomi, tidak ada kekuatan di-dalam perindustrian, di-dalam usaha² hendak menaikkan taraf hidup ra'ayat, akhir-nya ra'ayat lapar, ra'ayat susah dan orang ini juga yang akan memancing di-ayer yang keroh ini. Lihat-lah Kerajaan Perikatan, di-perbesarkan tentera dan di-laparkan perut ra'ayat, jadi-lah cherita Sukarno di-Indonesia. Apa-kah ini yang mereka mahu? Apa-kah dasar mereka itu yang jujur, yang di-katakan jujur terhadap negara ini? Apa-kah ini sa-orang Islam yang benar² berchakap apa yang di-lidah dan apa yang di-hati-nya? Ini-lah chakapan² munafik yang di-lakukan oleh orang² PAS di-dalam Dewan ini dan di-luar Dewan ini sendiri, berchakap hendak mempertahankan tanah ayer, berchakap hendak mempertahankan negara . .

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah:
 Perkataan munafik itu tidak patut, Tuan Pengerusi.

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah:
 . . . berchakap hendak mempertahankan bangsa, berchakap hendak bersama² dengan Kerajaan Negeri ini, meminta bantuan, sokongan, bagitu dan bagini, tetapi bila sampai keluar—mereka mempunyai lidah berchabang dua saperti biawak.

Ini-lah, Tuan Pengerusi, yang patut kita sedari, yang patut kita insafi benar² dalam soal pertahanan negara. Sebab kita nampak chontoh nampak chontoh yang paling dekat sa-kali ia itu Indonesia—Indonesia sudah menjadi alat, menjadi perkakas kepada Kominis China.

Wan Hassan bin Wan Daud (Tumpat): Tuan Pengerusi, di-bawah Kepala berapa Yang Berhormat ini berchakap? Nampak-nya dari tadi lagi tidak masok². Kepala mana pun lagi. Pechahan Kepala berapa dia berchakap itu?

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah:
 Tuan Pengerusi, supaya mempunyai 'adat dan sopan dalam Dewan ini, kalau saya tidak membenarkan berchakap dia mesti dudok.

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad: Tuan Pengerusi, kalau di-katakan PAS itu biawak, dia kata anjing menyalak . . .

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah:
 Standing Order nombor berapa dia berchakap?

Mr Chairman: Jangan-lah sampai anjing menyalak. Saya ada beri peluang, baik pun PAS, baik mana parti pun. Saya tidak ada Parti. Saya beri peluang berchakap, tetapi kalau tuan² berbangkit—*interrupt* macham itu—nanti saya tidak beri berchakap lagi.

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah:
 Tuan Pengerusi, saya kata sa-benar-nya saya hendak mencheritakan soal ini, oleh sebab saya tahu bahawa Ahli² sahabat saya daripada sana tidak berapa senang, kalau saya hendak berchakap dia takut saya hendak bantai dia! Tetapi, saya hendak menerangkan kepada orang yang telah di-kelabuī kepala-nya dengan chakap², dengan teori² yang melangit tinggi. Kalau sa-kira-nya, kata saya tadi, tentera kita ini di-tambah kekuatan-nya daripada anak negeri ini sendiri, kerana bukan hendak mempertahankan negeri di-dalam-nya, tetapi hendak menandingi kekuatan negara luar—Indonesia, maka kita akan memakan belanja yang terlalu banyak. Semua sa-kali ranchangan pembangunan tidak akan berjalan, gaji tidak akan berjalan, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bachok tidak akan dapat elaun, Parlimen kita tidak akan bersidang, sebab semua wang kita akan di-churahkan kepada pertahanan sa-mata². Jadi apa-kah kemajuan sa-sudah itu, akibat, saperti kata saya tadi, ra'ayat akan lapar, ra'ayat tidak akan mendapat kehidupan yang baik. Bila ra'ayat lapar, kehidupan yang baik tidak sempurna, kekuatan ekonomi kita tidak terjamin. Benda² yang di-perlukan oleh ra'ayat akan melambong tinggi—harga-nya akan melambong tinggi. Black market akan keliaran di-merata² dalam dunia tanah ayer kita ini. Akhir-nya, mata

wang kita jatuh seperti yang berlaku di-Indonesia—sa-butir telur kita terpaksa membeli 10 ribu rupiah. Ini akibat-nya. Betul kita boleh tunjuk kepada orang tentera kita bagus—gagah; Air Force kita bukan main lagi tetapi apa ma'ana-nya ini semua kalau ra'ayat sengsara, kalau ra'ayat tidak dapat hidup—tentu-lah ra'ayat melarat, bila ra'ayat ini melarat, di-sini-lah datang anasir² kominis, pehak² Pembangkang akan champor di-dalam merosakkan lebih banyak lagi perekonomian kita

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: (Bangun).

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Pengerusi, saya rasa, saya harap Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada PAS mempunyai peluang hendak berchakap; dia hendak kachau saya berchakap, saya lagi panjang hendak berchakap, sampai habis pukul 1.00 nanti.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Kalau sa-kira-nya dia bagi, kalau dia tidak bagi

Mr Chairman: Kalau hendak bertanya, on a point of order, atau apa?

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Saya minta penjelasan.

Mr Chairman: Kalau penjelasan itu dia boleh bagi.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Kalau dia ta' bagi, saya dudok-lah.

Mr Chairman: Dia ta' beri.

Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Pengerusi, orang PAS ini hendak menjadikan Dewan ini macam kedai kopi sahaja nampak-nya. Tuan Pengerusi, ini-lah akibat yang akan timbul daripada itu. Jadi kerana itu-lah kita mempunyai dasar, mempunyai chara, hendak memperkembangkan, hendak memperluaskan pertahanan kita ini sa-langkah demi sa-langkah, sesuai dengan perkembangan ekonomi negeri ini. Erti-nya, kalau sa-kira-nya kita dapat wang yang banyak daripada anggaran yang kita tetapkan pada

tiap² tahun, kita boleh menambah kekuatan kita sesuai dengan perimbangan wang yang masuk ka-dalam negara kita. Tetapi, kalau sa-kira-nya kedudukan ekonomi kita ini merusut, harga getah jatuh, harga bijeh timah jatuh, dan yang lain² jatuh, berma'ana kalau kita hendak membesarkan juga tentera kita, terpaksa-lah kita ini makin lama makin kurang kedudukan dan harga nilai mata wang kita sendiri. Di-samping kita hendak mempertahankan negara, kita harus mempertahankan perut ra'ayat dan mempertahankan kedudukan ekonomi yang kuat di-dalam negeri ini, sa-bagaimana yang telah saya katakan tadi, Tuan Pengerusi, kuat sahaja tentera, gagah sahaja tentera, pun tidak akan berfaedah!

Tuan Pengerusi, kalau kita menengok kepada pertahanan kita dan melihat kepada pembangunan kepada pertahanan kita, kita mempunyai harapan yang chemerlang di-masa hadapan. Chemerlang saya katakan, kerana kita akan membesarkan lagi pertahanan negara kita dari satu masa ka-satu masa. Bila Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bachok mencheritakan soal kapal kita ini sudah lapok, kapal kita ini sudah burok, saya teringat-lah cerita bagaimana ahli² daripada Singapura dahulu mencheritakan dalam Dewan ini bahawa kapal perang kita sama macham kapal² penchari ikan di-tengah laut Selat Melaka. Erti-nya, kapal perang kita *Hang Tuah*, Seri itu, Seri ini, tidak lebih dan tidak kurang sa-besar kapal penangkap ikan sahaja kata dia. Sekarang Singapura sudah merdeka, Singapura sudah mempunyai kekuatan sendiri, beli-lah kapal perang yang besar², chuba tengok. Buat-lah tentera beratus² ribu macham Indonesia, kalau tidak tergadai Singapura itu nanti. Jadi, ini-lah, Tuan Pengerusi, soal-nya, soal chakap, soal teori, tetapi kita daripada Kerajaan Perikatan bukan berpegang kepada teori sahaja, tetapi kita mengamalkan, kita melihat dan kita menengok, kita merasakan sa-berat² mata memandang, berat lagi bahu yang memikul. Dia berat mata memandang; kita tidak chukup, kapal kita tidak elok, askar kita tidak chukup; kapal terbang, peluru kita

tidak chukup; itu chakap senang, tetapi untuk membiayai kapal perang, untuk membiayai kapal terbang, untuk membiayai kapal selam, untuk membeli peluru berpandu, untuk membeli jet—kapal terbang jet—ini saya rasa hanya akan dapat kita lakukan manakala kedudukan perekonomian negara dan perindustrian negara ini bertambah daripada satu masa ka-satu masa. Pepatah orang tua² ada berkata bahawa kota Rome tidak di-benak dalam satu hari sahaja.

Tuan Pengerusi, bukan-lah bermahana di-sini bahawa kita tidak yakin dengan kekuatan yang ada pada kita, bukan kita tidak yakin bahawa bangsa kita, bahawa ra'ayat Malaysia ini mempunyai semangat yang kuat bagi mempertahankan negara kita. Kalau sa-kira-nya semangat ini tidak ada, tidak akan hapus-lah tentera Indonesia yang mendarat di-Pontian yang samata² dengan kerjasama daripada ra'ayat yang ta'at setia, kalau tidak kerana semangat ini, tidak ada seorang anak kecil yang pergi mengadu kepada pehak polis menyatakan pendaratan askar² Indonesia di-pantai Pontian, Kukup, tetapi malang-nya anak ini tidak mendapat bintang Hang Tuah kerana agak-nya di-pandang bahawa ini bukan satu perwira, bukan-lah satu pahlawan.

Tetapi bagi saya sendiri, bagi kita sendiri, memandang ini-lah semangat—semangat *Hang Tuah*—yang tidak akan kunjong padam di-dalam semangat orang yang menchintai negara ini. Ini-lah satu bukti yang terang kepada kita bahawa ra'ayat negeri ini sedia berkorban, sedia bekerja, sedia berusaha, sedia berperang, seperti Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Dato Kramat mengatakan kebanyakan daripada tentera kita di-Borneo itu tidak masuk hutan, tidak ada di-border, tidak ada di-perbatasan, di-garis hadapan—ta' ada. Dari mana dia dapat tahu cerita ini? Dari mana dia dapat tahu yang mengatakan bahawa tentera kita tidak ada di-garis hadapan? Ada-kah dia mendapat ilham daripada pasokan² kominis di-Indonesia; atau pun macham mana? Kalau sa-kira-nya dia tidak mendapat information ini daripada pehak musuh, bagaimana dia

dapat tahu bahawa tentera kita tidak ada di-garis depan. Apa yang saya tahu, tentera kita itu berada di-garis hadapan dan ada mereka berkata bahawa tentera, kita melihat apa yang di-lakukan oleh tentera di-seberang sempadan itu. Ini menunjukkan bahawa Ahli daripada parti Pembangkang atau Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Datok Keramat hanya tahu menceritakan sa-suatu yang tidak patut. Tudohan yang tidak baik terhadap Pertahanan Negara kita ini sa-akan² satu pembochoran terhadap pertahanan negara kita kepada musuh.

Tuan Pengerusi, ini-lah yang saya minta perhatian, kalau sa-kira-nya kita di-dalam pertahanan ini memandang sa-suatu yang maha penting dan menjaga keutuhan negara di-dalam menjaga kekaln kemerdekaan, maka tanggung-jawab bersama di-antara pehak pembangkang dengan pehak Kerajaan mesti-lah wujud, mesti-lah ada, bukan memperkecil²kan samangkat keperwiraan yang ada pada ra'ayat negara ini.

Berbalek kepada masaalah yang disentuh oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat tadi, saya tertarik hati benar menunjukkan kata dia betapa kita bergantung kepada nasib Kerajaan British manakala konfrantasi ini lahir dan British chuba hendak menyelesaikan, champor tangan hendak menyelesaikan dan hendak menyelesaikan masaalah konfrantasi dengan Indonesia pada bila² masa sahaja. Tuan Pengerusi, masaalah champor tangan British di-dalam perkara konfrantasi yang di-bangkitkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada pehak Pembangkang tadi, telah di-terangkan dengan bagitu jelas oleh Perdana Menteri kita bahawa masaalah Konfrantasi Indonesia dengan Malaysia ada-lah masaalah dua negeri ini, tidak ada masaalah orang² luar; hatta British, hatta Britain sendiri tidak boleh menchampori hak politik yang ada pada kita. Apa yang ada perjanjian kita dengan British ia-lah Perjanjian Pertahanan yang kalau kita meminta waktu itu, baharu-lah mereka memberikan bantuan kepada kita. Ada pun masaalah dalam negeri, masaalah luar negeri, masaalah dasar kita, British tidak mempunyai hak untuk

champor tangan dalam masaalah² yang saperti ini dan tidak boleh merupakan sa-bagai batu penghalang untuk mengembalikan pertalian persahabatan di-antara kita dengan negara yang telah terputus hubungan-nya dengan kita. Saya menyatakan di-sini bahawa langkah yang di-buat oleh Setia-usaha Luar British ada-lah satu langkah yang tersilap dan tersalah yang telah menchuba, hendak menunjukkan image Malaysia ini ka-luar negeri, suatu bentok yang membetulkan apa yang di-sebut oleh Indonesia neo-colonialist.

Tuan Pengerusi, kalau ini-lah yang telah di-buat oleh Setia-usaha Luar British terhadap pembentokan atau image dari luar negeri, maka kita mempunyai dasar² dan daya sendiri untuk membersekan kedudukan kita itu dengan menyatakan dengan terang saperti mana yang pernah di-lakukan oleh rombongan² kita keluar negeri, ka-Afrika, menyatakan hakikat kedudukan ini sa-benar-nya, tetapi, Tuan Pengerusi, sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi walau pun sudah hampir tiga tahun, kita menghadapi konfrantasi tentera ini dari Indonesia—banyak perubahan telah berlaku, baik di-Filipina mahu pun di-Indonesia. Perhubungan kita dengan Filipina dengan ada-nya lawatan Menteri Tan Siew Sin—kita mempunyai harapan baik pada tahun hadapan perhubungan kita akan terikat kembali.

Dengan ada-nya peristiwa² 30 September di-Indonesia, orang akan kenal juga bahawa kita bukan neo-colonialist lagi, tetapi yang di-sebut² oleh mereka itu sa-bagai neo-colonialist ia-lah daripada mulut Aidit sendiri dan di-sambong oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada Batu, daripada Socialist Front dan PAS sa-bagai ejen Aidit di-dalam negeri ini. Tuan Pengerusi, kita terpaksa mengawasi kedudukan yang saperti ini, walau pun kita berkehendakkan dan hendak memustahakkan, memerlukan di-dalam Dewan ini Pembangkang², tetapi kita mahu Pembangkang yang sihat, Pembangkang yang tidak mahu mengizinkan diri-nya sa-bagai ejen daripada musuh luar negeri. Kalau Pembangkang yang saperti ini berada di-dalam

Dewan ini dan di-dalam negara kita, saya rasa, kita tidak akan di-kutok oleh anak chuchu kita, kalau kita mematahkan tengkok mereka itu sa-belum mereka mematahkan tengkok kita.

Tuan Pengerusi, soal² pertahanan yang saya sebutkan tadi, saya menyatakan ucapan sa-tinggi² shukor kapada Tuhan bahawa kita maseh mempunyai daya di-dalam pertahanan negara kita, maseh mempunyai usaha, maseh mempunyai pelan untuk mempertahankan negara kita di-masa hadapan.

Di-samping itu, saya berbangga dengan pengishtihaman yang di-buat oleh Menteri Pertahanan bahawa gaji askar² kita akan di-semak sa-mula, akan di-selideki sa-mula dan akan diberikan layanan² yang baik kapada askar² kita. Sa-bagaimana Menteri Pertahanan Yang Berhormat telah menyatakan bahawa layanan kapada askar kita, kalau di-bandingkan dengan askar² atau tentera² di-Asia ini, kita tidak tertinggal, erti-nya layanan terhadap tentera kita ini mendapat tempat yang istimewa di-bandingkan dengan tentera² di-Asia, di-negara² di-Asia ini sendiri, erti-nya dengan gaji yang mereka dapat, mereka boleh berbangga dan boleh bersuka dengan apa yang dia dapat daripada gaji-nya itu, tetapi walau demikian pun Kerajaan kita, Menteri Pertahanan kita maseh memandang berat di-atas layanan yang patut akan di-berikan, daripada suatu masa ka-suatu masa, kapada askar² kita yang berjasa kapada negara ini, kapada askar² kita yang mati, yang shahid, yang berkorban untuk mempertahankan kemerdekaan negara ini saya harap pehak Pembangkang jangan-lah memperkechilkan hati mereka itu. Saya takut monchong senapang mereka akan menghadapi mereka itu.

Tuan Pengerusi, akhir-nya di-dalam perbahathan ini, saya suka-lah menyatakan sa-lain daripada askar² yang patut di-ambil perhatian dan di-kaji sa-mula tentang gaji mereka itu dari satu ka-satu masa, maka ada baik-nya juga kita memandangkan nasib guru² ugama yang ada berkhidmat di-dalam pasokan² askar kita yang ada sekarang ini. Nasib guru² ugama kita sama ada

laki², atau perempuan yang mendapat gaji permulaan sa-banyak \$160 sa-bulan sa-bagai guru ugama rendah atau \$130 sa-bulan dan bagi wanita \$128 sa-bulan, pada faham saya, mereka ini pun tugas yang di-lakukan oleh guru² ugama, baik laki² atau perempuan, di-dalam pasokan² askar kita—tugas-nya tidak kurang penting-nya daripada tugas askar itu sendiri, kerana guru² ugama ini-lah yang telah memasukkan semangat perwira, semangat iman, semangat kepercha-yaan, semangat berkorban kapada hati askar² kita itu, dan jikalau mereka itu pergi ka-garisan hadapan, guru² ugama ini akan turut serta bersama² dengan batalion-nya untuk sa-lama-nya memberikan pengajian, pelajaran dan suntukan² rohani. Maka kapada guru² ugama laki² atau peremp-uan ini, saya rasa patut-lah di-ambil perhatian dan di-semak sa-mula gaji mereka itu, kalau mereka itu tidak mendapat penchen, kalau dia berhenti kerja, maka patut-lah pensionable kapada mereka ini di-timbangkan supaya semangat mereka itu ber-tambah kokoh—sa-lain daripada tugas-nya sa-bagai orang berpengetahuan ugama, maka tugas-nya juga terhadap negara tidak di-sia²kan.

Tuan Pengerusi, ke-sudahan-nya sa-kali, sa-kali lagi saya katakan bahawa jangan-lah kita mudah di-peralat oleh cherita² dengan dongengan² yang akhir-nya akan menyusahkan negara kita sendiri. Dengan itu, saya sokong peruntukan yang di-berikan kapada Kementerian Pertahanan.

Mr Chairman: Persidangan ini di-tamponkan sa-lama 15 minit.

Sitting resumed at 12.30 p.m.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

Debate resumed.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon (Batu): Mr Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak on the estimates for the Ministry of Defence, and I wish to draw the attention of this House to Head S. 17, page 153, the token vote of \$10 for the Minister of Defence. Now Mr Chairman, Sir, the portfolio of Defence is a new concept. Until very recently, until even a few

years after World War II, all countries had Ministers of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, but in this nuclear age it was felt that Defence should not be left in the hands of these three Departments which may well lead to squabbling, and hence you have all these three Departments united into one portfolio of Defence.

Mr Chairman, Sir, in most countries in peace time the portfolio of Defence is a very important one. It will be true to say that Defence in the Govern-ment heirarchy ranks third—that is, after the Prime Minister and the Minister for Finance you come to the Minister for Defence. Now, when a country is at war, as we are supposed to be at war, or in a state of war with Indonesia, then there is no doubt that Defence takes priority over Finance. Consequently, the portfolio of Defence, Sir, is the second most important port-folio in the Government's heirachy. Hence, it is, Mr Chairman, Sir, I wish to draw the attention of this House to this token vote of \$10 which shows, with due respect to the substantive holder of the portfolio, that in this country at least Defence is treated by him as a side-line. He is in addition, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister for National and Rural Development. As you know, Mr Chair-man, Sir, we are supposed to be in a state of war with Indonesia and we never know when they will land here in Pontian, or the East Cost, or anywhere along the long border between us and Indonesia in Borneo. Consequently, it would be true to say that the Minister of Defence should be on duty almost 24 hours a day, and as such I am really alarmed that we have a Minis-ter, or this country tolerates a Minister, who treats Defence as a side-line. In saying this, Mr Chairman, Sir, I do not for one moment say that the pre-sent holder is not equal to his task. I only wish to say that the time may well come when he may find that the three important posts that he is holding are far too taxing and he may well break down with disastrous conse-quences to this country.

Mr Chairman, Sir, I wish to correct one slight mistake my Honourable

colleague, the Member for Dato Kramat, made just now. He pointed out that on page 169 Secret Services has disappeared, but actually this vote has not disappeared—if I may read the Estimates, “Sekarang di-bawah peruntokan Head S. 24—Treasury General Services” Mr Chairman, Sir, this vote has been built into the Secret Services vote of the Minister of Finance and that is to be found on page 243. Now, Mr Chairman, Sir, this is a very odd way of treating a very important aspect of defence in this country. We know that elsewhere counter espionage is a very important armour of defence. I need hardly say that the United States spends millions and billions of dollars on the C.I.A. trying to pass off baksheesh here and there. I do not for one moment suggest that we should adopt the same thing, but this House has just approved a paltry sum of \$290,000 by way of supplementary vote for this year, and in next year’s Estimates, Sir, Secret Services are built into the Treasury Secret Services. I maintain that that is an odd way of doing things and, indeed, if foreign countries see our Secret Services vote being built into the Treasury vote, we will certainly be the laughing stock of any country, and certainly of Indonesia. But I do hope, and I think the government must be aware, that in time of distress like this, Sir, items like Secret Services vote and all are usually built into somewhere, and you do not tell people where you build your vote of this nature, because the extent of your vote on Secret Services that you spend on counter espionage and on espionage is a thing that you do not like your enemy to know. I have no doubt that the backroom boys sitting behind the Ministerial benches, and the intelligence chiefs who may be present here today, know full well that any small indication of this nature will be of immense value to the enemy.

Mr Chairman, Sir, it has been alleged that we, in the Opposition, are wanting or egging on the Government to build a very big defence force—far from it. Mr Chairman, Sir, I think my colleague, the Member for Dato Kramat, just now stated that there

were two alternatives or solutions to our trouble with Indonesia. One is a political solution and that is by far the easiest and the cheapest way of doing so. The other, of course, is a military solution. I shudder to think of the consequences of a military solution and so long as we think in terms of military solution, that long we must be in a perpetual state of war, that long will we have to depend on Great Britain and other countries for our defence needs and, perhaps, be a pawn in their hands.

Consequently, Mr Chairman, Sir, I am a little alarmed at this expenditure on military posts that are found not only in pages 156, 161, 164, 165, and 166—all these detail out the expenditure needed for the various military posts, beginning from the top that of a Lieutenant-General, right down to the ordinary private. Now, Mr Chairman, Sir, it is wellknown that in matters of defence, the expenditure on it the sky is the limit. Today, we are asked to approve of the sum of \$237-million plus. This in relation to our total Budget of \$1,600 million, is a very big sum and to me, at least, it is a wasteful sum. But Mr Chairman, Sir, this \$237 million plus is less than “chicken feed” if you think in terms of buying the sophisticated gadgets of destruction. To take but one example, if you want to have a nuclear-powered aircraft-carrier of the type of the “U.S.S. Enterprise” that is now going to sail to—off the shores of Vietnam, it would not take \$237 million it will be many times the \$1,600 million—in other words, Sir, you can multiply \$1,670 million by 10 times perhaps—and you cannot even buy a “U.S.S. Enterprise” not to talk of, if you want to buy them, other gadgets like the B52 that fly from Guam to Vietnam those go in terms of tens of millions of American dollars. Consequently, I do hope, and I am sure the Government is aware, that on matters of defence, we cannot think in terms of having all these sophisticated gadgets of destruction. Even if we have the money, we do not have the manpower with the proper sophistication to use these weapons, Sir. To give but one example,

Mr Chairman, Sir, these allies of ours or so called allies of ours—Australia and New Zealand—their defences are, to say the least, totally inadequate. They are thinking in terms of buying also limited gadgets of destruction. Most of the warships that they have are derelicts of World War II, which are no use in this nuclear age.

If I may come, Mr Chairman, Sir, to this question of *Perbelanjaan Khas* or “Special Expenditure” on page 169: Whatever we may do we cannot afford any of these sophisticated gadgets of destruction. I have already told this House of the money that has to be spent if you want to purchase a nuclear-powered aircraft-carrier like the “U.S.S. Enterprise” and of the other equally expensive gadgets of destruction. Consequently under Special Expenditure, however much we may think in terms of increasing it and however much we may think in terms of increasing the whole defence vote, we can never hope to be self-sufficient in acquiring these gadgets of destruction. Consequently, the Socialist Front feels that all efforts should be made to attain a political settlement with Indonesia.

If I may conclude, Mr Chairman, Sir, with a small item, and that is this country has just seen an industrial showdown between the Armed Forces Civilian Staff Union and the British Government in this country. I do hope that while the British are here to help us to defend this country, they should not exploit the workers of this country by not paying them sufficiently, or making use of this question of redundancy to dismiss local officers and to take on the wives and children of British serving officers in this country to do jobs that can well be carried out by the local officers.

Finally, Mr Chairman, Sir, I come to page 167, Head S. 17, Industrial and Manual Group of Employees. I notice that there is a token vote for this. Mr Chairman, Sir, this important group, the I.M.G. workers in this country, they are perhaps the worst paid in this country. This House knows full well that they feel that they are even outside of Division IV and the

paltry sum of \$5 that has been offered by the Government to them is, may I repeat again, less than “chicken feed”. How on earth can the Government expect any ordinary worker, who is earning about \$70 with a wife and, perhaps, three or four children, to feed and clothe their children with an extra \$5. I leave it to the Government to decide. I do hope that before industrial action is taken by this important category of workers, that is the I.M.G. the Government must seriously consider their request for an increase of \$27.00 a month—that works out to \$1.00 per working day. Thank you.

Enche' Tai Kuan Yang (Kulim Bandar Bharu): Mr Chairman, Sir, I am touching on page 168, Sub-head 28 “Ammunition”. Sir, the security for our country demands that our defence forces be further expanded. We may have the manpower, but for arms we have to buy abroad each and every bullet. In other words, we shall be depending more and more from friendly foreign countries for our supply of arms and ammunitions.

I now ask, what will happen if such vital sources were cut off? Sir, the present climate of international politics is lamentably unpredictable. Today, they are our friends; tomorrow, they can break off diplomatic relations on the flimsiest of excuses. Therefore, I think, it is high time our Government start producing our own guns and ammunitions now. This, and only this, can assure for always a continual and adequate supply. No army, even Sandhurst trained, can fight without guns and ammunitions. Sir, even in normal time we have to spend a substantial amount on arms and ammunition for peace keeping and against the Communist menace in our border areas with Thailand. I am afraid this latter menace will continue to grow worse with Communist China getting more and more powerful.

In conclusion, I suggest that our Government should start an ammunition factory at once, producing first small arms, bullets, hand grenades, etc., for our defence forces. Sir, I

fully support this Defence Bill considering that Indonesia is spending more than two-thirds of her national income on her armed forces. Thank you, Sir.

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad (Tanah Merah): Tuan Pengerusi, sukachita juga saya berchakap sadikit berkenaan dengan Head S. 17—Ministry of Defence. Di-dalam peruntukan perbelanjaan kita bagi tahun 1966 ini, pertahanan ada-lah termasuk perbelanjaan yang kedua banyak-nya sa-lepas daripada Menteri Pelajaran. Nampak-nya, Tuan Pengerusi, dua tahun yang terakhir ini kedudukan negara kita di-Asia ini tidak begitu menguntongkan. Konfrantasi dengan Indonesia bersambung pula perhubungan kita putus dengan Filipina, dengan Pakistan dan akhir² sa-kali Malaysia kita berpechah dengan Singapura. Masaalah² ini, Tuan Pengerusi, terdedah kedudukan kita dalam satu keadaan yang membimbangkan. Kedudukan negara dan khusus-nya mengenai pertahanan di-pengarohi oleh suasana² yang terjadi di-masa yang akhir² ini.

Pagi tadi, Tuan Pengerusi, nampak-nya dalam Dewan kita ini ada Ahli² yang berchakap terlampau serious dan ada juga yang berchakap agak lucu. Ada orang² yang mahu menunjukkan diri-nya Ahli dan expert tentang Indonesia dan lain² lagi. Saya sendiri tidak mahu-lah berchakap tentang Indonesia dan lain² lagi, tetapi sa-patut-nya saya, atau pun Yang Berhormat Menteri Penerangan patut berchakap banyak tentang Indonesia, sebab saya dudok di-Indonesia lebeh daripada 4 tahun, Tuan Pengerusi, dan saya tahu tentang Indonesia, bukan erti-nya saya menyokong Indonesia.

Masaalah-nya, Tuan Pengerusi, kejadian konfrantasi mengakibatkan meningkat-nya perbelanjaan dalam pertahanan kita ia-lah timbul daripada projek Malaysia. Kita mempertahankan Malaysia ini ada-lah sa-chara politik dan perkara konfrantasi Indonesia pun, saya perchaya, harus diselesaikan dengan chara politik juga. Kita tentu sahaja tidak sanggup membekali terlampau banyak untuk ketenteraan kita di-dalam masaalah per-

tahanan. Pehak Kerajaan dan Ahli² daripada pehak Kerajaan sendiri telah menyuarakan tidak mahu memberi uniform kapada askar² sahaja, kita juga mahu memberi makanan, pelajaran dan lain² lagi. Sebab itu, saya perchaya sama sa-kali kita tidak dapat menentang Indonesia dalam kekuatan tentera, bukan sahaja Indonesia dapat membekali askar²-nya, kelengkapan² askar-nya datang daripada bantuan pehak kominis atau China Komunis, tetapi nampak-nya lebeh banyak daripada block² Barat terutama daripada Amerika sendiri, Tuan Pengerusi. Peristiwa² demikian mungkin bagi Indonesia ada-lah benar dalam pandangan Indonesia sendiri. Bagi Malaysia, kita rasa, tidak benar dalam pandangan kacha mata kita sendiri. Tetapi, kalau kita jujur, kalau kita pandai main politik luar negeri, kita benar² berdaulat, mungkin keadaan yang tidak menguntongkan di-masa dua tahun yang telah lalu itu dapat di-baiki di-masa hadapan. Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Dato Kramat tadi telah mengatak-kan

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid (Seberang Utara): Ada-kah Yang Berhormat itu tahu dan sadar juga penyelesaian politik sudah pun di-ikhtiarkan dan di-ranchangkan di-Manila, di-Bangkok dan di-Tokyo? Ada-kah Yang Berhormat itu sadar, bahawa langkah itu telah pun di-ambil tetapi maseh lagi Indonesia berdegil tidak mahu menyelesaikan masaalah ini dari segi politik?

Enche' Mustapha bin Ahmad: Terima kaseh, Tuan Pengerusi, saya sadar masaalah-nya, tetapi saya mengharapkan lebeh intensive dan extensive lagi menchari penyelesaian masaalah—mungkin ada satu masaalah lain yang terbentok di-tengah jalan. Mungkin ada perkara² lain yang dapat melibatkan kedudukan antara satu sama lain yang tidak menguntongkan. Dan saya perchaya maseh optimist keadaan kita dapat di-selesaikan dalam waktu yang dekat. Tuan Pengerusi, saperti mana Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Dato Kramat mengatakan bahawa sa-nya Finland, Switzerland, Sweden, Netherlands—Belanda, ada-lah negara²

kecil di-bandingkan dengan negara² kita tetapi mereka dapat hidup dengan aman, penuh dengan daulat dan dihormati oleh orang² lain. Sebab tentunya ada masalah² yang dapat mereka itu menjaga diri mereka itu sendiri. Oleh itu, Tuan Pengerusi, saya tidaklah memanjangkan masalah ini dan saya mengharapkan Kerajaan kita, sebelum lebih banyak kita di-rasakan jemu oleh orang² yang menolong kita seperti mana statement yang dikeluarkan oleh Setia-usaha Luar British baharu² ini mengenai Malaysia sa-olah² kita ini satu project daripada Inggeris sendiri dan dia mahu menyuarakan pendapat-nya dengan Indonesia itu menchari satu pendamaian tanpa kita. Pada hal, ini ada-lah masalah kita. Sa-belum mereka itu lebih banyak jemu dengan kita sa-hingga perkara ini akan kita pikul sendiri, chari-lah penyelesaian yang baik, kami bahkan akan menyokong penyelesaian politik itu. Kami tidak berkeras kepala, kami tidak berdegil. Right or wrong is our country—itu-lah pendirian kami. Jadi di-dalam perkara ini-lah saya merasa semua Ahli² Yang Berhormat dan Kerajaan sendiri akan mengambil perhatian sa-penohnya muga² dengan chara dan projek mana sahaja, entah chara Maphilindo, entah chara pertukaran daripada kedudukan² di-Filipina, akan memungkinkan kedudukan itu dengan segera dapat di-selesaikan.

Saya berchakap mengenai Butiran (26), (45) dan (63) ia-itu Nazir Ugama dan Guru² Ugama di-dalam tentera. Tuan Pengerusi, sa-lain daripada kelengkapan askar yang baik tentera memerlukan semangat perjuangan yang kebal. Sebab sejarah menunjukkan ketika Allied troops pergi ka-pulau Jepun menguasai negeri Jepun pada waktu itu, maka General MacArthur membuat syarat yang pertama bagi orang² askar² Jepun waktu itu tidak di-benarkan mengajar ugama chara-nya kepada askar² Jepun. Jadi kita perchaya kalau-lah Guru² ugama battlion terdiri daripada orang² yang betul² progressive—orang yang benar² bersemangat, orang² yang benar² mengerti dalam masalah ugama, mengerti dalam soal theology, akan lebih berkesan lagi kepada

kedudukan tentera kita pada hari ini. Sebab itu, saya mengeshorkan supaya guru² ugama yang ada di-dalam askar hari ini hendak-lah terdiri daripada orang askar itu sendiri, tidak daripada orang civilian dan di-beri latehan kepada mereka dan di-berikan biasiswa kepada mereka, biar-lah mereka itu sampai kepada tingkat University. Jangan kita mengajar ugama sa-bagai alasan—sa-bagai satu 'adat dan sa-bagai kebiasaan orang² Melayu dengan ugama Islam-nya, orang lain dengan ugama-nya, tetapi biar-lah kesedaran ugama itu mendalam tertanam di-dalam jiwa mereka sa-hingga kekuatan daripada semangat itu akan menimbulkan pula kekuatan di-dalam perjuangan.

Pechahan-kepala 9, 10 dan 11 dalam Perbelanjaan Berulang² itu ia-itu Latehan Askar². Sa-patut-nya di-dalam latehan² ini sa-telah kita mendapat latehan asas di-tanah ayer kita sendiri, jangan-lah kita menumpukan latehan² askar kita itu hanya kepada England sahaja. Kerana politik dunia hari ini mungkin telah berputar daripada England ka-tempat lain, mungkin Afrika, mungkin akan pergi ka-Asia Afrika dan mungkin lain² lagi. Lebih baik-lah salah satu daripada penyelesaian politik, latehan² askar kita ini juga kita hantar ka-Asia Afrika dan negara² Timor Tengah yang dapat bekerjasama dengan kita, kerana itu tidak-lah merugikan bahkan meluaskan lagi pengajaran dalam bidang latehan pada askar² kita. Dan saya juga mengharapkan dalam soal ini, pihak Kerajaan menyediakan study tour bagi askar² kita untuk melawat negara² yang ada di-Asia dan Afrika sa-hingga ikatan kita di-dalam ketenteraan, sa-lain daripada ikatan dalam masalah perdagangan dan lain², akan lebih kuat lagi.

Mengenai Butiran (22) ia-itu Pegawai Berek. Saya dapati dan saya di-fahamkan bahawa sa-nya barek² askar kita tidak-lah begitu memuaskan, terutama di-Kuala Lumpur ini. Ini ada-lah salah satu daripada faktor yang dapat membimbangkan kedudukan askar² itu sendiri. Sebab sa-bagaimana yang telah di-suarakan, kalau kedudukan askar² ini tidak dapat di-selesaikan dalam hal perumahan dan lain² lagi, boleh jadi

mereka ini akan merasa kecil hati dan boleh jadi perasaan mereka itu akan termasuk² dalam masalah² politik dan lain² lagi yang membimbangkan Kerajaan pada keseluruhan-nya. Sebab kita tahu, nampak-nya ada sudah pehak di-Kuala Lumpur ini sendiri dari askar sedang membuat rumah² haram atau ta' haram di-luar daripada kawasan mereka itu sendiri yang mana ini ada-lah berekor daripada barek tidak chukup di-tempat mereka duduk.

Itu-lah sahaja, Tuan Pengerusi, yang dapat saya chakapkan dalam masalah ini dan saya harapkan seperti mana yang telah saya katakan tadi satu, kita menchari penyelesaian politik mengenai konfrantasi bagi menyelesaikan kesusahan di-dalam pertahanan kita. Yang kedua, kita jaga hati daripada askar² kita jangan sampai timbul satu masalah yang tidak senang seperti di-Indonesia dan tempat² lain lagi yang banyak askar²-nya dan yang ketiga-nya, saya harap askar² kita di-beri latehan study tour tidak sahaja ka-Britain, tetapi juga ka-negara Asia dan Afrika. Sekian, Tuan Pengerusi, terima kaseh.

Mr Chairman: Persidangan ini ditempohkan sa-hingga pukul 4 petang ini.

Sitting suspended at 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 4 p.m.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

House resolved itself into Committee of Supply.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

Head S. 17—

Debate resumed.

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad (Kota Star Selatan): Mr Chairman, Sir, I am glad to note that a substantial portion of our national Budget is devoted to Defence requirements. The absolute figures are unimportant. If a country like Luxembourg, for example, were to be at war with Germany, even if the total national Budget of that country were to be allocated to Defence, it would still be an inadequate sum, and would still be laughable. But the percentage of a country's national Budget

devoted to Defence is a measure of that country's determination to resist aggression.

I say this because the Opposition is so fond of ridiculing our efforts and likes to talk of how much an aircraft carrier or a jet plane would cost. They know very well that Malaysia is in no position to build a truly effective defence system against Indonesia. They know that, and yet they say we must. They criticize the fact that we have alliances with more powerful nations in the interest of our safety.

Mr Chairman, Sir, no self-respecting independent nation likes to rely on others to survive. But facts must be faced, and what reason dictates we must follow. The fact is that we are being aggressively confronted by a very powerful neighbour. This neighbour does not, for various reasons which are only acceptable to themselves, play the game according to the rules. From the very beginning that neighbour has been very unpredictable. What does a small nation like ours do when faced with a situation like this? Quite obviously the urge to survive must dominate. Pride and self-respect is important, of course, but survival must come first and, having survived, we can then turn to questions of an honourable settlement of our problems. Hence, the resort to aid from countries most readily available to us. If it happens to be the Western countries that we are allied with just now in the interest of our own survival, it is simply because they are most handy. Had the Afro-Asian countries rushed to our aid at the moment that confrontation started, I have no doubt that our country would be very closely associated with Afro-Asian people right now. These are the facts and we must face them as realists. I would be the first to condemn the Government for seeking British aid, if I can honestly say that we could survive without this aid, or that we could seek aid elsewhere. But I know that we cannot and, therefore, I must face the facts.

Mr Chairman, Sir, for a country with a relatively small national Budget of \$1,800 million, \$237 million represents a great effort in the field of

defence. It is also an amount that is sensible for, quite obviously, defence needs have been weighed against the needs of social services and administration with the tempo of confrontation in the background. We could have been stampeded into excessive spending on defence, if we were to follow the line of argument advanced by the Opposition parties; and we could also spend less, if we were to be rendered complacent by the turn of events in Indonesia. But we have done neither. We have kept our sense of proportion, and I for one am appreciative of the Government's efforts.

Mr Chairman, Sir, I would like to talk about the question of military and political settlements about which there has been so much talk by the Opposition Members. When Members of the Opposition speak of these two methods of settlement, they seem to think that these two methods are independent of each other. This is rather naive. Confrontation began primarily as a political problem, but Indonesian military action has made it a military problem, and no military problems could be solved purely by military means. A good example is the last World War. Had it been a purely military problem, then those who won the war would have settled all the problems that came after the war, but we knew even before the war was won, the political aspects of the postwar period had to be solved—and even now we have not finished solving the political aspects of the postwar period. Hence, since confrontation is a military problem, we must think of it also in terms of a military solution as well as a political solution. The fact is that we are now following both lines. We are preparing ourselves for military defence to the extent that we can, and to seek military aid from whatever source that is available to us, but at the same time we have, no doubt, stepped up our political efforts to solve the problem. If we were to think in terms of the Indonesian force being many, many times bigger than ours, and therefore, we would stop thinking in terms of a military solution and go all out for a political solution, we would, in fact, have to negotiate for

a political solution with a gun pointing at us, and this would certainly result in a very bad bargain in the end. Hence, our effort now is directed towards preparing ourselves for a military defence to the utmost possible extent, but at the same time we have been trying to woo people who would be in a position to influence Indonesian opinion, and should we, after all our efforts, reach a point where Indonesia is more or less isolated in her confrontation, then we will be in a better position to negotiate for an honourable settlement of our confrontation problem without necessarily bowing to all the demands that Indonesia would necessarily make should we negotiate from a position of weakness, and if we were to assess our position purely from the military angle. Hence, I would certainly congratulate the Government on this very considerable sum which the Government intends to spend in the defence of this country which sum, I believe, is very well balanced, and does in fact show the sense of responsibility that the Alliance Government has in facing up to the needs of the country at this juncture. Thank you.

Enche' Tan Cheng Bee (Bagan):
Rises.

Mr Chairman: How long you will take?

Enche' Tan Cheng Bee: Mr Chairman, Sir, I would like to join

Mr Chairman: I asked just now how long you will take, because we have already put on your table the closure times.

Enche' Tan Cheng Bee: 10 minutes, Sir.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: On a point of clarification with regard to the timetable. Is it the practice that if a timetable is fixed that the Opposition should be given an opportunity to see on which items we want a longer debate? It would seem that we have spent a lot of time over Culture, Youths and Sport and Agriculture and there is very short time for Defence and Education.

Mr Chairman: I am afraid I do not know of any such practice.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Usually, Mr Chairman, Sir, on the question of debates one does have informal discussions.

Mr Chairman: I have given a lot of opportunities to the Opposition in particular, and if the Honourable Member does not happen to be the Opposition Member who speaks, I cannot help that.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Perhaps we can adjust it. Is this subject to readjustment?

Mr Chairman: No!

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Not at all?

Mr Chairman: No. I will stick to it as closely as I can. This afternoon we have three Heads to go through and I consider the three hours you have will be all that you want, because one hour must be reserved for the Minister to make his reply.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: But, Mr Chairman, Sir, I am not arguing here, but the point is that our Opposition is very small in number and if we have discussions perhaps we can adjust it.

Mr Chairman: I am quite aware of that. That is why I give plenty of scope for the Opposition to voice their views.

Enche' Tan Cheng Bee: Mr Chairman, Sir, I would like to join my colleagues on this side of the House in giving my support to these estimates under Head S. 17. We were wondering, at first, whether this amount would be adequate in view of the confrontation that is facing us today, but since this is the sum asked for by the Minister of Defence we feel that he is well capable of handling the position better than we do.

Sir, I would like to touch on page 169, item 39, Secret Service. Sir, I spoke about this Secret Service last year and I was given an assurance by the Minister that this Secret Service is well in hand. I cannot understand, Sir, why this item has come now under Treasury General Services—but, then, I feel it is probably because of security reasons that this is being transferred

to the Treasury. Sir, in the case of a country like ours which has newly gained its independence, I feel that it is very essential that we have a very efficient Secret Service. The personnel of this Secret Service must be well educated and well trained men, who can do espionage and intelligence work in the secret service. We know, Sir, that due to the good work of the intelligence in the Secret Service many of the unhappy events have been nibbled in the bud and many tragedies and disasters have been prevented. Sir, I do not expect that our Secret Service should be as dramatic and as sensational as the James Bond that we read about, but we know, Sir, that it is a very important adjunct to the defence work of any newly independent country like ours. It is very essential, Sir, that we should send our young men, who are taken on into the service, to be trained in foreign countries to see how the Secret Service of other foreign countries, like America and Russia, do their espionage work and counter-espionage work. This is what I wish to say, Sir.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister (Enche' Chen Wing Sum): Mr Chairman, Sir, we have heard a full debate and the time has come for me to answer a few questions raised by various Members. In fact, some of the answers have been given by my colleagues, the Honourable Members for Hilir Perak, and Kota Star Selatan.

Mr Chairman, Sir, our military position must be adequate to resist any aggression, so that we may have a gleam of hope to obtain a peaceful solution. Diplomacy and defence are no longer distinct alternatives, one to be used where the other fails. Each must complement the other. For the last two years, Mr Chairman, Sir, we have learnt a great deal. Our Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister had gone to Tokyo, Manila and Bangkok and they are still prepared to go anywhere, at any time, to seek peace, if peace can be sought.

We have also made every possible effort to make friends with the Afro-Asian countries. Honourable Members

are well aware that two respective missions were sent to the various Afro-Asian countries—one was led by the former loyal Opposition leader, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, who is now the Honourable Prime Minister of Singapore and the other by our Deputy Prime Minister.

Mr Chairman, Sir, our military position today is adequate with the help of our Commonwealth friends. However, positive action must be taken, if we wish to have that kind of forces we will need for our security. Our preparation against danger today is our hope for safety. Mr Chairman, Sir, apart from the courage shown by our soldiers and assistance given by our Commonwealth friends, as mentioned by the Honourable Minister of Defence this morning, the public, the loyal citizens of this country, have been also very co-operative, and their information and assistance have contributed a great part to the success of our defence against the Indonesian aggression.

Mr Chairman, Sir, I come now to the question put up by the Honourable Member for Batu this morning. He spoke of the lack of publicity and information given to the public and alleged that the response from the public was very poor to our military call. That allegation is not true. According to our records, whenever there is any military vacancy, we have always ten times more applicants than we need.

The Honourable Member for Bachok also suggested that the Minister of Defence should be a military man, should be a military expert. Sir, as we are living in a democratic country, it is not desirable that the Minister of Defence should be a military man—and we are not in a military state. The Minister of Defence is not concerned with military strategy. He is only concerned with the defence policy and is advised by military experts and all problems are settled with the right perspective.

Sir, in Malaysia and other Commonwealth countries, the next rank below that of the Major-General is Brigadier and not Brigadier-General, as stated by

the Honourable Member for Bachok. Perhaps, he has been too long in the Indonesian army and has forgotten that there are different posts, different names given to other military set-up.

Mr Chairman, Sir, the Honourable Member also stated that the pay to new recruits of \$54.05 per month is too low. Honourable Members are aware that this \$54.05 is only pocket money for the recruits. They are also given food, lodging and clothes. On the completion of their training, they will be paid, as a soldier at the rate of between \$63.60 and \$152.50 per month plus the other allowances including ration, marriage and trade.

The Honourable Member has also suggested that the maintenance cost for ships is high because of the second class ships given by the British. Sir, it is not true that the British have given us old ships. The British have given us grants-in-aid for the expansion of our Armed Forces and we have used part of the funds for the purchase of ships. In cases of urgent need, when we cannot get the ships ready in market, we have bought a few ships from the British Navy including the inshore coastal mine-sweepers, and these ships are still good and very serviceable and can meet our requirements. In addition, most of the ships that we have bought are new and constructed by private dockyards in accordance with our own designs. Maintenance costs have been increased not because of the reason given by the Honourable Member, but because these ships require regular servicing and general overhaul after a certain specified period of usage. As a result of confrontation, more and more use of these ships is required and, therefore, the cost of servicing has to be increased. This increase has also taken into account the increase in the number of ships next year. Similarly, the cost of maintenance for aircraft will also be increased for the same reason—certainly not because the aircraft are old as they are all bought new.

Sir, the Honourable Member has also alleged that the ammunitions that we have are old and out-of-date. It is the policy of the Ministry to obtain the latest and best ammunition. It is also

true of arms. We would give the best available to our soldiers in the execution of their duties.

The Honourable Member said that the Federation Military College at Sungei Besi has more foreign instructors than our own. Sir, most of the instructors in this College, in fact, are Malaysians. Our officers, however, are required to command and control other units and the number available for training duties is limited. We have had, therefore, to resort to the secondment of officers from our Commonwealth friends.

The Honourable Member also questioned, why there were so few Malay pilots in the Royal Malaysian Air Force. Sir, it is because the number of Malay youths who have come forward has been rather limited. A cadet pilot requires mathematics and physics and the number of Malays with such qualifications is scarce. The Honourable Member may be useful if he can persuade more Malay boys to study mathematics and physics, so that in time to come there will be more Malay pilots.

Now we come to the questions and observations made by the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat. We agree with the Honourable Member that we are not Americans and we are fully aware of our lack of resources and, therefore, we have no alternative but to enter into a Defence Treaty with the British, so that we do not have to spend so much money on defence. However, I do not think that the Honourable Member would like us to depend entirely on the British and other allies. We ourselves must at least have a force

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: On a point of clarification, I do not think the Honourable Parliamentary Secretary understood me clearly. I agree with him that we should try to depend as little as possible on foreign arms, but I also suggested a political solution—not that I did not give an alternative.

Enche' Chen Wing Sum: We agree to that political solution and, in fact, I have said so. But, Sir, we ourselves

must at least have a force for the maintenance of our defence and take the first onslaught of the enemy. It is not true that only the foreign soldiers are at the frontline of our defence. In Borneo, Sir, we have taken our share and, as a matter of fact, we are fully responsible for one brigade area. In Malaya we are almost fully responsible for crushing the Indonesian landings. With regard to Singapore, we have only provided the estimates for the Malaysian posts in the Fourth Malaysian Infantry Brigade and for the Malaysian units located in Singapore. Singapore is providing for the maintenance of the Singapore military forces. The question of Singapore's contribution to defence is a matter now under discussion between the two Governments.

With regard to the question of efficient army mobile units, able to work behind the line, etc., it seems to me that the Honourable Member talks like a military expert. It would certainly be very useful if the Honourable Member would join the army and see that he really is. However, Sir, the number of military experts, who are trained and experienced in the art of war up-to-date in the defence of Malaysia speaks for itself.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: On a point of clarification, is it or is it not true that New Zealand troops were involved in the landings in Malaysia. If it is not true, then the evidence given on oath in the trial in Muar was wrong—that it was the New Zealand troops that went and mopped up and arrested Soetikno.

Enche' Chen Wing Sum: Sir, what I said just now was, we are almost fully responsible. I did not say we are absolutely fully responsible. If the Honourable Member would not be so excitable, probably he would get what I am trying to say.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: If you do not stumble so much.

Mr Chairman: I would ask the Honourable Member to have less of these back-chats (*Laughter*).

Enche' Chen Wing Sum: As to the suggestion that we should have an army

of the people, I would like to clarify that the Malaysian Armed Forces do not consist wholly of regular soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have a large element of volunteers, in fact larger than the regulars in the form of the Territorial Army and the Local Defence Corps and also the R.M.N.V.R.—Is that clear to you?

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Can you say it in full?

Enche' Chen Wing Sum: That is the Royal Malaysian Navy Volunteer Reserves—I thought the Honourable Member would be more experienced than me in the military set up; and we also have the R.M.A.F.V.R. In addition, we are training a number of national servicemen, who have been engaged in this work. I do hope that they will ignore the allegations made by the Honourable Member.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Mr Chairman, Sir, on a point of order—I know the rules say that we should not read our speeches, but it has been permitted that we may read—so, at least read properly. The Assistant Minister cannot even read properly.

Enche' Chen Wing Sum: Sir, on a point of information—I am not the Assistant Minister. I hope the Honourable Member would come here more and would at least try to understand what is the set-up of the Government, so that his people would not be disappointed. I am only a Parliamentary Secretary.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Thank you for that information.

Enche' Chen Wing Sum: I am sorry you made the flattery at the wrong time to the wrong person (*Laughter*). It is typical that the Socialist Front Member always makes whatever statement which would suit him. On the one hand, the Honourable Member pretends to look after the interests of the poor, and on the other, he criticizes the Government of spending too much money on the married allowances, etc.

Mr Chairman, Sir, the Honourable Member from Hilir Perak suggested the

religious teachers should be paid more. We appreciate the important duties of the religious teachers, and at the moment the Ministry is examining their terms and conditions of service, with a view to making any reasonable improvements.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanah Merah suggested that religious teachers should be trained soldiers and not civilians. I hope the Honourable Member is not suggesting that civilian religious teachers are not doing a good job. In fact, they are carrying out their work efficiently. They go to the frontline with the Army. I would also like to express our appreciation for their wonderful work in maintaining the morale of the Armed Forces in the battlefields.

Sir, I come now to the observation made by the Honourable Member for Batu. I cannot agree more with the Honourable Member for Batu that the portfolio of Minister of Defence is next in importance to that of a Prime Minister and, therefore, the Deputy Prime Minister has shouldered that important responsibility. The fact that the Deputy Prime Minister takes charge of the portfolio without pay shows that the Alliance Ministers are willing to work for no additional pay. Sir, the present system of providing for Secret Service under the Treasury is not without precedent. It is, in fact, the practice in the United Kingdom. The object is to put into one vote all that is required for Secret Service, so as not to indicate which Ministry is using the money. I hope I have also answered the question put up by the Honourable Member for Bagan. The suggestion that they (the estimates) should be hidden is a commendable one. However, this has been examined by the Ministry. We hope that we would be able to find a suitable heading, provided the Opposition would not dig it out.

We are fully aware that we can never hope to enter into an arms race with our neighbour and have such hazards of destruction as mentioned by the Honourable Member for Batu. But the Honourable Member should agree that we have to draw a line and decide upon

a figure, or a force of a shape and size commensurate with our economic resources and the threats that we have to face.

The Honourable Member spoke of the Industrial and Manual Group employees and mentioned that the vote of \$10.00 was not adequate. If the Honourable Member would read carefully, the \$10.00 is only a token vote in respect of pension contribution. The amount provided for is, in fact, \$5,654,516—that is, an increase of \$1,000,000.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Kulim Bandar Bahru suggested that we should produce our own ammunition. The Government has in fact, intended to allow private enterprise to set up such a factory. A number of firms have already submitted their proposals for the Ministry's consideration.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanah Merah also stated that barracks provided for the soldiers are not satisfactory. We have old as well as new barracks. The new ones are naturally more modern than the old ones. However, the old ones are being gradually modernised. It is true that we do not have enough barracks to house our personnel, but we hope remedy can be made in due course. This will take some time, indicated by the availability of funds.

Sir, before I forget, I would refer back to the observation made by the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat. This morning the Honourable Member alleged a few incidents, such as the reports from Telok Anson, Upper Perak, etc., in order to ridicule our intelligence agents and spoke of the lack of intelligence. However, later on, we heard an explanation given by his colleague, the Honourable Member for Batu, that he had made a mistake under that Head of Secret Service. He asked why the sum of \$290,000 was spent on Secret Service in the year 1965 and nothing in 1966. That shows our intelligence agents are intelligent men, have more intelligence than the Honourable Member. Everything was put

on paper and he as a lawyer cannot even read it.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: On a point of clarification, Mr Chairman, Sir—I do not know if the Honourable Parliamentary Secretary is sufficiently qualified to pass such remarks. If he does not quite understand what I said, then I am afraid that he should apply remarks like that to himself. I said that this intelligence item of expenditure had been taken out of the Defence portfolio and put into the Treasury. He can explain why it is put into the Treasury as he had explained, Mr Chairman, Sir. If he does not understand what I was trying to explain, then he has no business to pass remarks like that; and, furthermore, my statements were rhetorical. I made use of the Secret Service and talked of parachutes. In fact, the Honourable Minister of Defence himself clarified it and said that that was an error but it was being clarified after the elections—not before the elections. If he has to take me in my metaphorical statement so literally, then I must assume that he could not have passed his primary school. (*Laughter*).

Enche' Chen Wing Sum: Well, Sir, that observation was not made by me. It was made, in fact, by his Honourable colleague, the Honourable Member for Batu. In fact, this morning he made some sort of an apology to this House that his colleague had made a mistake by mentioning that no fund was put in for 1966. If any compliment should be given, it should be given to the Honourable Member for Batu. I did not make that observation myself. I just state it as a matter of fact.

Now, Sir, so much has been said, let us hope that with the help of God, this confrontation would be ended as soon as possible and all the money we have can be more usefully spent; and also let us hope that the Members of certain political parties will be more co-operative so that our enemies from within will have no foot to stand in carrying out their subversive activities. With this prayer, Sir, I beg to move.

Question put, and agreed to.

The sum of \$237,453 for Head S. 17 ordered to stand part of the Schedule.

Heads S. 18, S. 19 and S. 20—

The Minister of Education (Enche' Mohamed Khir Johari): Tuan Pengerusi, dengan kebenaran Tuan, saya ingin mengemukakan ketiga² Kepala Peruntokan ia-itu 18, 19 dan 20 sa-kali, dan oleh yang demikian saya mohon menandatangani supaya jumlah wang sa-banyak \$51,288,474 yang di-untokkan di-bawah Kepala Peruntokan 18—Kementerian Pelajaran; \$262,612,668 yang di-untokkan di-bawah Kepala Peruntokan 19—Bantuan dan Pemberian Bantuan Pelajaran, dan wang sa-banyak \$38,878,248 yang di-untokkan di-bawah Kepala Peruntokan 20—Jabatan Pelajaran, Negeri² Borneo menjadi sa-bahagian daripada Jadual. Ketiga² Kepala Peruntokan ini, jika di-satukan, ada-lah seluruh Belanjawan Berulang Tiap² Tahun Kementerian saya bagi tahun 1966 dan oleh kerana itu ada-lah mudah jika ketiga²-nya di-timbangkan sa-kali gus.

Tuan Pengerusi, wang yang di-untokkan di-bawah ketiga² Kepala Peruntokan itu berjumlah \$352,779,390. Jumlah ini ada-lah merupakan hanya tambahan sa-banyak kira² \$32.5 juta atau pun 10% sahaja lebih daripada jumlah sa-banyak \$320,313,351 yang telah di-untokkan kepada Kementerian ini bagi tahun 1965. Ada-lah di-anggarkan sekarang bahawa peruntokan bagi tahun 1965 pun tidak menchukupi dan oleh itu peruntokan tambahan sa-banyak \$15 juta ada-lah di-kehendaki. Jika di-champorkan tambahan ini kepada peruntokan yang di-luluskan bagi tahun 1965 maka jumlah yang di-kehendaki bagi tahun 1966 itu akan merupakan satu tambahan sa-banyak 5% sahaja daripada jumlah bagi tahun ini. Oleh yang demikian, perlu-lah saya menerangkan sekarang juga bahawa tambahan yang hanya sa-banyak 5% itu ada-lah jauh daripada menchukupi dan terpaksa-lah saya kembali ka-Dewan ini untuk mendapatkan peruntokan tambahan pada penghujung tahun 1966.

Sebab²-nya ada-lah jelas. Dalam Negeri² di-Tanah Melayu sahaja,

jumlah bilangan murid² sekolah rendah ada-lah di-jangka bertambah dari 1,217,309 pada tahun 1965 jadi 1,272,700 pada tahun 1966 dan jumlah murid² sekolah menengah dari 276,892 pada tahun 1965 jadi 359,160 pada tahun 1966 yang merupakan, pada keselurohan-nya, tambahan sa-banyak 9%. Di-Negeri Sabah dan Sarawak pula, jumlah murid² sekolah rendah dan menengah ada-lah di-jangka bertambah dari 230,900 pada tahun 1965 jadi kira² 252,700 pada tahun 1966 yang merupakan tambahan sa-banyak 9.5%. Oleh itu, pada keselurohan-nya, jumlah murid² sekolah di-semua negeri dalam Malaysia ada-lah di-jangka bertambah dari 1,725,100 pada tahun 1965 jadi lebih kurang 1,884,600 pada tahun 1966 yang merupakan tambahan lebih sedikit daripada 9%. Dengan mengikuti angka² yang bertambah ini sahaja akan jelas kelihatan bahawa tambahan 5% di-dalam jumlah yang di-untokkan bagi Perbelanjaan Berulang² Tiap² Tahun bagi Kementerian Pelajaran ada-lah tidak menchukupi; tetapi sa-lain daripada itu, ada dua lagi faktor yang penting yang mungkin menambahkan perbelanjaan pelajaran lebih daripada tambahan bilangan murid².

Faktor yang pertama ia-lah sa-bilangan guru² pada masa sekarang tidak mempunyai kelayakan sa-chukup-nya (under-qualified) atau pun guru² sementara yang belum menerima sa-barang lataan perguruan. Banyak di-antara guru² ini akan tamat lataan mereka pada tahun ini, dan ada pula guru² yang akan menerima kelayakan akademik yang lebih tinggi dengan perbelanjaan sendiri atau dengan bantuan daripada Kerajaan. Ini ada-lah bermakna bahawa gaji guru² yang berkenaan itu terpaksa-lah di-naikkan supaya sesuai dengan kelulusan akademik atau pun kelayakan perguruan yang baharu mereka dapati. Walau pun ini akan menghasilkan pengajaran yang lebih baik di-sekolah², tetapi malang-nya ini juga menambahkan perbelanjaan memberi pelajaran untuk tiap² sa-orang murid.

Faktor yang kedua ia-lah mengadakan kemudahan mengajar yang lebih baik seperti alat² mengajar dan menyelesaikan kursus² dalam perkhidmatan

(inservice courses) untuk guru² yang berkelayakan bagi mengajar tentang kaedah² mengajar yang paling baharu dan yang mengikut dasar dan sistem pentadbiran pelajaran yang baharu. Mithal-nya, dalam tahun ini sahaja, tidak kurang daripada 30 jenis kursus dalam perkhidmatan telah di-kelolakan untuk guru², dari kursus² pentadbiran sekolah hingga kursus bimbingan pelajaran (guidance counselling) dan kaedah mengajar mata pelajaran. Bagi pertama kali-nya guru² ugama Islam telah di-beri panduan tentang kaedah mengajar pada tahun ini. Kursus² seperti itu ada-lah juga di-ranchangkan untuk tahun hadapan. Sa-lain daripada itu, untuk membantu Kementerian dalam usaha-nya melaksanakan sistem sekolah menengah yang telah di-susun sa-mula, mengikut sistem pelajaran anika jurusan dengan sempurna dan chekap, maka lapan "test developers", enam pegawai bimbingan pendidekan daerah, enam pengelola pelajaran teknik daerah, tiga pengelola pelajaran pertanian daerah dan sa-orang pembantu perpustakaan filem akan di-lantek pada tahun 1966. Pegawai² ini ada-lah di-kehendaki untuk membaiki lagi darjah dan mutu pelajaran kita sa-rentak dengan perkembangan² pelajaran sa-lama ini.

Oleh itu ada-lah jelas bahawa tam-bahan Perbelanjaan Pelajaran Berulang Tiap² Tahun ini ada-lah di-sebabkan oleh tiga faktor ia-itu meningkat-nya bilangan murid² sekolah, bertambah-nya bilangan guru² yang berkelayakan dan bermula-nya chara² membaiki lagi kaedah mengajar serta kemudahan² pelajaran. Apabila sahaja kita sampai pada peringkat di-mana semua guru telah terlatah dan berkelayakan dengan sa-penoh-nya dan jumlah bilangan murid² sekolah pula tidak meningkat naik dengan pesat-nya, maka sistem pelajaran negeri ini akan sampai-lah kapada peringkat kemajuan dan dari situ apa yang di-kehendaki hanya-lah menyatu padukan apa yang telah ter-chapai dan memberi kemudahan² kapada tiap² kanak² sekolah yang bilangan-nya telah bertambah lebih kurang 3% sa-tahun.

Sa-lepas kata² permulaan yang rengkas ini, Tuan Pengerusi, saya akan menerangkan pula dengan ringkas-nya

tentang beberapa kejayaan yang telah terchapai dalam tahun 1965 dan ranchangan² pelajaran yang penting yang akan di-laksanakan di-semua Negeri Malaysia pada tahun 1966. Saya tidak akan menerangkan dengan lanjut-nya akan butir² ranchangan itu atau pun mengulang perkara² yang telah diterangkan di-dalam ucapan belanjawan saya yang telah lalu, atau pun ucapan belanjawan Menteri Pelajaran yang terdahulu daripada saya. Tetapi, saya akan menhuba dengan sa-bepara boleh menjawab sa-barang soalan yang mungkin di-timbulkan oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat dalam perbahathan sa-lepas ini nanti.

Tuan Pengerusi, Kepala Peruntukan 18 dan 19 ada-lah pada asas-nya mengenai peruntukan bagi kemudahan² pelajaran di-Negeri² di-Tanah Melayu. Sa-bagaimana Ahli² Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum, perkembangan yang paling penting di-Tanah Melayu baharu² ini ia-lah permulaan Sistem Pelajaran Anika Jurusan mulai daripada awal tahun ini. Oleh itu, ini-lah tahun pertama murid² di-ambil masuk ka-sekolah² menengah rendah di-bawah sistem baharu itu. Tahun hadapan ada-lah tahun kedua murid² masuk ka-sistem itu dan pada tahun ketiga nanti, ia-itu tahun 1967, hasil utama sistem itu di-sekolah² menengah rendah akan dapat di-ketahui. Pada kedua² tahun 1966 dan 1967 itu nanti, kita akanapati murid² dalam sekolah menengah akan meningkat tinggi. Sa-bahagian daripada masaalah² yang besar telah pun di-atasi dengan memuaskan. Masaalah mengadakan tempat di-sekolah² telah hampir selesai sekarang dan Kementerian saya sedang berusaha dengan sa-daya upaya untuk mengatasi kekurangan guru² di-peringkat permulaan.

Berhubung dengan perkara menambahkan bilangan guru² terlatah ini, sa-buah Maktab Latehan bagi Guru² Sekolah Menengah telah di-buka di-Johor Bahru pada awal tahun 1965 untuk menggantikan Maktab Latehan kita di-United Kingdom yang telah ditutup pada akhir tahun 1964. Dengan ini maka, buat pertama kali-nya, seluruh ranchangan latehan guru ada-lah di-adakan di-Malaysia. Semua

Maktab² Perguruan bagi Sekolah Menengah telah di-susun sa-mula dan di-satukan supaya bersesuaian dengan ranchangan kebangsaan latehan guru. Ini ada-lah dengan tujuan supaya latehan itu dapat di-arahkan dengan lebih berkesan lagi kepada kehendak² sekolah² di-negeri ini dan juga untuk mengurangkan jumlah kaki-tangan yang di-kehendaki di-tiap² maktab perguruan. Hasil daripada penyusunan sa-mula ini ia-lah semua maktab² perguruan bagi sekolah menengah ada-lah berjalan sa-bagai maktab perguruan ilmu khas dan tidak lagi sa-bagai maktab perguruan umum, dan maktab² itu bukan sahaja untuk melateh guru² baharu bahkan juga untuk memberi latehan tambahan kepada guru² yang sedang berkhidmat di-sekolah² bagi membantu mengatasi kekurangan guru² ilmu khas di-peringkat menengah atas. Oleh itu ranchangan telah pun di-susun pada tahun ini untuk menjadikan Maktab Perguruan Ilmu Khas di-Jalan Cheras Kuala Lumpur sa-bagai sa-buah Maktab Perguruan Sekolah Menengah ia-itu sama saperti lima buah Maktab Perguruan yang lain di-negeri ini.

Tuan Pengerusi, oleh kerana maktab² latehan guru yang ada sekarang tidak cukup untuk menempatkan guru² yang sangat ramai di-kehendaki bagi melaksanakan sistem pelajaran anika jurusan di-Sekolah² Menengah Rendah, maka sa-banyak 22 buah Pusat Latehan Daerah telah di-tubuhkan di-Sekolah² Menengah untuk memberi latehan di-hujung minggu kepada lebih kurang 3,500 guru² pelateh yang di-ambil dalam bidang meluaskan Ranchangan Sekolah Menengah Rendah. Di-Pusat² Latehan Daerah ini, mereka di-lateh dan di-ajar oleh pensharah² sambilan yang di-ambil daripada guru² sekolah² yang di-bantu. Dengan chara itu maka dapat-lah Kementerian mengadakan guru² untuk Tingkatan I dan Kelas² Peralehan baharu yang telah di-mulakan tahun ini bagi murid² dari Sekolah Rendah. Ranchangan Pusat Latehan Daerah itu ada-lah di-ranchangkan untuk mengatasi, buat sementara waktu, masalah yang sedang dihadapi ia-itu melateh lebih ramai lagi guru². Dengan pengambilan guru² pelateh baharu bagi tahun kedua

Pelajaran Anika Jurusan di-negeri ini pada tahun 1966, ada-lah di-chadangkan untuk membuka lebih banyak Pusat Latehan Daerah dan ramai lagi pensharah sambilan di-ambil untuk menghadapi perkembangan ranchangan latehan itu.

Sa-masa perubahan² besar ini berlaku di-dalam lapangan pelajaran menengah, keadaan di-bidang pelajaran rendah pula juga memuaskan. Keadaan yang dahulu bukan sahaja telah dapat di-jalankan dengan memuaskan tetapi bertambah baik, terutama sa-kali di-lapangan bilangan guru² yang di-kehendaki. Sungguh pun kelayakan asas untuk masuk ka-Maktab² dan Pusat² Perguruan Sekolah Rendah ia-lah Sijil Rendah Persekutuan (S.R.P.) tetapi apa yang sangat menggemirakan ia-lah bertambah ramai lagi pemegang² Sijil Persekolahan yang mengikuti latehan ini. Sa-lain daripada ini, patut di-sebutkan di-sini bahawa peratus guru² terlateh dan tidak terlateh di-sekolah² rendah telah bertambah baik meski pun bilangan murid² di-sekolah rendah telah bertambah dan dengan yang demikian menambahkan lagi bilangan guru² yang di-perlukan. Ini ada-lah sangat penting, oleh kerana segala usaha kita untuk menyusun sa-mula dan mengokohkan mutu pelajaran di-peringkat menengah ada-lah sia² sahaja jika batu asas-nya tidak di-dirikan dengan kokoh di-peringkat rendah.

Tuan Pengerusi, di-sini patut saya sebutkan bahawa Kementerian saya sedang mengkaji kemudahan² pelajaran yang di-sediakan di-peringkat menengah atas sa-bagai tindakan lanjutan dari sistem pelajaran anika jurusan di-peringkat menengah rendah yang telah di-mulakan itu dan juga mengarahkan seluruh sistem pelajaran supaya dapat memenuhi keperluan negara di-bidang tenaga terlateh di-semua peringkat. Kajian ini, beserta dengan meningkat-nya bilangan murid² di-sekolah menengah atas, telah menambahkan lagi penting-nya di-adakan lebih ramai guru² siswazah di-dalam semua mata pelajaran, terutama sa-kali mata pelajaran sains dan teknologi. Untuk mengadakan guru² siswazah bagi sementara waktu dan mengatasi kekurangan guru²

siswazah yang amat sangat itu, Kerajaan telah bersetuju mengambil lebih kurang 200 orang siswazah dari seberang laut dengan chara konterek pada tahun 1966. Untuk menyelesaikan masalah itu sa-lama²-nya, sa-bilangan besar biasiswa dan dermasiswa perguruan terus menerus di-beri kepada penuntut² bagi mengikuti pengajian "arts" dan sains di-Universiti Malaya dan Singapura serta universiti² di-seberang laut. Pada tahun 1965 sahaja, sa-jumlah 179 biasiswa dan dermasiswa telah di-keluarkan. Dengan bermula-nya sistem pelajaran anika jurusan, lebih ramai lagi guru² terlatah dalam beberapa mata pelajaran teknik, seperti Kejuruteraan Letrik, Jentera dan Awam, Sains Rumah-tangga, Perdagangan, Seni Musik, Seni Lukis dan Rekabentuk, ada-lah di-kehendaki, maka beberapa biasiswa telah di-keluarkan dalam mata² pelajaran ini. Kementerian saya berchadag untuk melantek penuntut² ini menjadi pen-sarah² di-Maktab Teknik, Maktab² Perguruan sa-lain daripada menjadi Guru² Siswazah di-Sekolah² Menengah apabila mereka balek kelak. Sa-lain daripada ini, Kementerian juga ada mengeluarkan hadiah² latehan untuk mengikuti pengajian ilmu khas dalam ilmu pendidekan di-peringkat post-graduate supaya pada suatu masa kelak Malaysia akan mempunyai pakar²-nya sendiri di-dalam lapangan seperti ilmu jiwa pendidekan, perkembangan bidang pelajaran, Ujian, Peranchang Pelajaran, dan lain² lagi.

Kementerian saya juga telah berusaha dengan bersungguh² melaksanakan dasar Kerajaan mengenai bahasa kebangsaan. Seperti mana yang di-bayangkan pada tahun lalu, kumpulan yang pertama penuntut² dari aliran bahasa Melayu telah memasoki Universiti Malaya pada bulan Mei, 1965. Memandangkan kepada perkembangan pesat yang berlaku dalam lapangan pelajaran di-aliran ini sekarang, maka mungkin mustahak di-mulakan satu peperiksaan masuk Tingkatan Enam yang menggunakan bahasa Melayu di-dalam mata pelajaran "Arts" pada tahun 1966. Suatu peperiksaan Sijil Tinggi Persekolahan seperti H.S.C. yang menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan

akan di-adakan, buat pertama kali, pada tahun 1966 dan buat permulaan, chalun² boleh mengambil Kertas 'Am, Bahasa Melayu, Ilmu Hisab, Seni Lukis, Pengajian Uagama Islam dan Bahasa Arab Kelasik. Lebih banyak lagi kelas² Tingkatan Enam yang menggunakan Bahasa Melayu akan di-tubuhkan pada tahun hadapan untuk menempatkan penuntut² yang lulus Tingkatan V yang bertambah ramai bilangan-nya. Bilangan buku² teks dalam bahasa kebangsaan untuk peringkat menengah rendah dan peringkat menengah atas, maseh menjadi masalah besar. Berhubung dengan perkara ini Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka bersama² dengan Universiti Malaya sedang menguruskan terjemahan buku² teks yang di-kehendaki bagi Tingkatan Enam dan tahun pertama Universiti Malaya. Kita berharap lama kelamaan kita akan dapat mengatasi masalah ini untuk membolehkan penuntut² yang menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan itu mendalam serta meluaskan lagi pengajian mereka. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka terus menerus menjadi sumber pengeluaran buku² teks dalam bahasa kebangsaan. Dalam tahun ini, sa-banyak 85 buku² baharu telah di-terbitkan dan 66 buku² lama telah di-chetak sa-mula. Buku² ini kebanyakan-nya ada-lah untuk sekolah² rendah, sekolah² menengah rendah dan juga sekolah² menengah atas.

Tuan Pengerusi, berhubung dengan pelajaran universiti, sa-banyak 1,208 orang penuntut telah memasoki Universiti Malaya pada tahun 1965 ya'ani 30% lebih banyak daripada angka pada tahun 1964 ia-itu 898 penuntut. Sa-bagaimana Ahli² Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum, penuntut² baharu pada tahun ini termasuk 31 orang dari Sekolah Alam Shah, ia-itu mereka yang telah mendapat pelajaran mereka seluroh-nya dalam bahasa kebangsaan. Bilangan itu di-jangka akan bertambah pada penggal universiti tahun 1966/67. Jumlah bilangan penuntut² Universiti tahun ini ia-lah 2,800. Di-dalam ranchangan pembangunan Universiti itu mustahak-lah di-ambil ingatan tentang desakan untuk mengadakan tempat² di-universiti di-semua lapangan pengajian. Universiti itu juga telah mula meranchangkan kursus² baharu yang akan

menitik-beratkan kehendak² negeri ini bagi perkembangan ekonomi dan masyarakat-nya dan mengadakan lebih banyak lagi mata pelajaran bagi dipilih oleh penuntut². Salah satu perkembangan yang paling penting sa-kali ia-lah penubohan sa-buah Fakulti Ekonomik dan Pentadbiran Awam pada tahun 1966. Ada-lah di-harapkan fakulti baharu ini akan berjaya memenuhi kekurangan pentadbir² awam di-negeri ini.

Untuk menggalakkan lebih ramai lagi murid² Melayu, terutama sa-kali murid² yang tinggal di-kawasan² luar bandar di-mana tiada kemudahan² pelajaran menengah hingga ka-Tingkatan VI dan sa-terus-nya ka-Universiti, Kementerian ini telah di-untukkan wang sa-banyak \$700,000 bagi tahun 1965 untuk biasiswa. Dengan ada-nya kelas² Tingkatan VI di-Sekolah Alam Shah yang menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan sa-bagai bahasa pengantar-nya, maka bilangan murid² Melayu di-dalam Tingkatan VI bertambah daripada yang di-jangkakan sa-hingga peruntukan tahun 1965 itu tidak mencukupi. Peruntukan bagi tahun 1966 ia-lah \$900,000. Oleh kerana bilangan murid² telah berlipat ganda di-dalam Tingkatan VI maka jumlah peruntukan itu mungkin tidak mencukupi juga.

Tuan Pengerusi, bagi Negeri² Sabah dan Sarawak, sa-bagaimana Ahli² Yang Berhormat sedia mengetahui, jumlah peruntukan yang telah di-buat bagi kedua² negeri ini untuk tahun 1966 ia-lah \$38,878,248 berbanding dengan \$32,326,246 dalam Anggaran tahun 1965 yang telah di-luluskan itu. Ini bermakna bahawa peruntukan tahun 1966 ada-lah 20% lebih daripada peruntukan tahun 1965 berbanding dengan 10% bagi semua Negeri di-Tanah Melayu. Sa-bahagian daripada tambahan ini ada-lah terbit daripada pemansokan yuran atau pun school fees, sekolah rendah di-kedua² buah Negeri itu mula² daripada awal tahun hadapan dan yang lagi satu ia-lah kerana bilangan murid² yang bertambah dengan pesat-nya. Sa-bagaimana yang telah di-terangkan tadi, jumlah murid² sekolah di-kedua² buah Negeri itu, di-satukan, ada-lah di-

jangka bertambah lebih kurang 10% pada tahun hadapan terbit daripada dasar Kerajaan untuk mengadakan tempat bagi tiap² orang kanak² di-sekolah rendah dan meluaskan kemudahan² yang di-adakan di-peringkat sekolah menengah.

Tuan Pengerusi, biar-lah saya nyatakan di-sini bahawa Kementerian saya sa-lama ini telah mengikuti dengan patoh kepada Perjanjian Antara Kerajaan yang telah di-buat pada tahun 1963 ia-itu dasar dan sistem pentadbiran pelajaran di-kedua² buah Negeri itu hendak-lah di-teruskan seperti sa-belum Malaysia di-tubuhkan. Walau bagaimana pun, untuk menjamin kemajuan dan, lama kelamaan, penyamaan di-dalam mengadakan kemudahan² pelajaran di-semua Negeri di-Malaysia, maka Kementerian saya sentiasa berunding dengan Kerajaan kedua² buah Negeri itu untuk menentukan di-mana dan bagaimana pembaharuan patut di-buat di-dalam sistem sekarang yang boleh di-terima oleh Kerajaan Negeri yang berkenaan dan juga oleh Kerajaan Pusat. Saya sukacita melaporkan bahawa hasil daripada perundingan ini, Kerajaan Pusat telah bersetuju bahawa sa-bagai salah satu langkah ka-araf matlamat ini, maka yuran sekolah rendah hendak-lah di-hapuskan di-kedua² buah Negeri mula² daripada awal tahun hadapan. Juga bagi pertama kali-nya, sa-orang anak Malaysia telah di-lantek sa-bagai Pengarah Pelajaran di-Sabah. Ini adalah merupakan langkah² mara kahadapan yang penting dan yang telah di-jalankan semenjak penubohan Malaysia dan saya berharap langkah² ini akan menjadi asas kerjasama yang lebih berhasil antara Kerajaan² Negeri itu dan Kerajaan Pusat pada tahun² yang akan datang.

Tuan Pengerusi, saya mohon menhadangkan.

Dr Lim Chong Eu (Tanjong): Mr Chairman, Sir, although I had sent in a notice of amendment to be moved in the Committee of Supply three days ago, I had come to this debate prepared to withdraw my amendment if during the course of his introduction of the Estimates the Honourable Minister of Education could show this House

and the country that in fact the Government is now instilled with a new spirit in the educational policy and system. However, Sir, after listening very carefully and reading rapidly through the speech of the Honourable Minister, I feel that it is necessary for me to carry on with this proposed amendment.

Sir, at the very outset I must clearly indicate that the amendment, which I am moving under Standing Order 66 (7) not only seeks to reduce the sum to be allocated for Head S. 19 by \$10 in respect of Sub-head 8, Grants to Secondary Schools applying for conversion to full assistance, but in actual purpose the amendment seeks to reduce the entire allocation for the Ministry of Education from a sum of \$352,779,390 to \$352,779,380.

Sir, it was after very careful consideration and deliberation that I decided to move this amendment as a gesture to indicate our most vehement opposition to the Government's educational policy and the present system of education in our country today. During the general debate on the 1966 Budget, I had already indicated our opinion towards the existing educational policy and system when I referred to the move to raise the school leaving age by another three years, that is to say the comprehensive school system, and I referred to the move in relation to the overall problem of unemployment. With your forebearance, Sir, I would like to reiterate why I said then: "What can this measure, this comprehensive school system, achieve if the present system of education continues to prevail unchanged. Even if the Alliance Government were to review its educational policy and system, how are we to overcome the problem of unemployment when there are not enough jobs available. Furthermore, the employment opportunities for our boys and girls remain inequitable so long as the Government persists with its obnoxious and iniquitous policy of denying the pupils from the different media schools the proper scholastic assessment of sitting for their examinations in the principal medium of instruction. This imbalance between diverse educational facilities and un-

equal employment opportunities has created economic and social tensions which the Alliance Government has allowed to go on festering because of its own internal conflicts and I urge the Government to resolve this problem quickly before the tensions become politically volatile and explosive."

Sir, I went on to say that, "From this point of view the employment prospects of the next generation will certainly be dimmer. Can we blame the people then for holding the Alliance policies on education, language, and employment as being unequal and unjust? The Alliance Government must be held directly responsible for the dissatisfaction of the people and the consequences thereon."

I am convinced, Sir, that if every Member in this House were to search his or her heart sincerely and honestly, then we must all agree that large sections of our people, all of them true and loyal Malaysians, are deeply dissatisfied with the existing educational policy and system. Daily this dissatisfaction grows in intensity as well as in scope, because as has been clearly brought out to all of us by the Honourable Minister of Finance, the problems of education, vexing as they are themselves, are further aggravated, because they are interlocked with the problems of language and of employment, and everyone must have felt somewhat cynical when we were offered family planning, as recommended by the very high level committee, headed by the Minister of Education, as the penultimate solution of our problem.

It was very apt for the Minister of Finance to interrupt me during the general debate to interpolate that the Government's intention of providing a further period of three years schooling was in order to augment the skills of our children. But surely, Sir, this problem must have been envisaged by the Alliance Party in power long before Merdeka? The Report of the first World Bank Mission to Malaya had already forecast it—the explosive nature of our population increase. But in the early days the Government was able to meet this in the spirit of

challenge, and the population increase was accepted as a vast potential source of manpower, which would mould our young nation into the prosperous and happy society of our dreams.

But the eight years after Merdeka were frittered away. Education which was to be the instrument to unify and to integrate our people together became a persistent subject of political controversy. Education which was to provide our new generations with a sense of national pride and unity has become a basic issue dividing our people. Education which was to teach our people new skills to meet the growing needs of our nation, as it progresses towards industrialization, is now bogged down by conflicting objectives.

Sir, the entire Nation is concerned, deeply concerned, over what will happen to our children—tomorrow's Malaysians, because of the failure of our education policy and system. With the creation of Malaysia the present system cannot even be called a truly integrated, or a truly national system. What is good for some of the States of Malaya may not be equally good for the others, and certainly it may not be acceptable to the people in the States of Sabah and Sarawak.

It would have been impossible in the course of this Budget debate, especially in committee stage, to deal with the manifold issues of our education policy and system. But I think it is pertinent to state here and to state it clearly, that no one is satisfied with the present situation. So deep and so widespread is this sense of dissatisfaction that we can say, with fair assertion, that the parents are dissatisfied, the children are dissatisfied, the teachers are dissatisfied, and the Boards of Governors are dissatisfied; and when the next examination results come out, we will find out how much the people are dissatisfied.

Even within the confines of this House, Sir, this dissatisfaction pervades every corner and sector on either side of this House. Surely the Members from the P.M.I.P. are dissatisfied with the present education policy and system. The Members from the P.P.P. are

dissatisfied. The Members from the S.U.P.P. are dissatisfied. The Members of the Socialist Front, I am sure, are dissatisfied, and the Member from Bungsar of the yet to be registered D.A.P., I am sure, is dissatisfied. Sir, if the Members of the Alliance benches had the guts to say in this House what they say behind closed doors, or unofficially to their intimates, we shall find that they too are dissatisfied. The Alliance Government is aware of this deep and widespread sense of dissatisfaction over the present education policy and system. That is why they have to fall back upon their last trump card and ask the Tunku, Bapa Malaysia, to make the statement that he had a plan to solve this multifarious problem by making concessions, and so on. Sir, it is a tribute to the unique qualities of the Honourable the Prime Minister that he has to be brought in to lessen the tensions that are building up over the question of education and language. That these tensions can become politically volatile and explosive is a factor in the political development of Malaysia which we must face up to realistically.

Two recent instances accentuate the gravity of this factor. The first was the fact that the Honourable Minister for Home Affairs had to warn into silence the Education Committee of the Associated Guilds and Association which was formed to represent the views of a considerable section of our people on the issue of official language and education. Whether or not this silence is ominous or beneficial remains to be seen.

The second instance, Sir, was an intra-Alliance affair which, until a tight censorship was imposed by the Honourable Minister of Education in his other capacity, reached prominence in the public press. In this frank exposure of the inner tensions of the Party in power, the public was given an insight into the inherent conflicts within the Alliance Party. Naturally, the citizens of our country are greatly perturbed by the fact that after so many years the Party in power still sustains the elements of political racial discord. So deeply ingrained are these chauvinistic

stigmas that when a section of the M.C.A. youth expressed their views and concern over the question of a sole official language in 1967, corresponding sections of the UMNO youth threatened to revise the citizenship laws of this country.

Therefore, Sir, we have to accept that the tensions created by the issue of education and language do exist and we may well ask ourselves earnestly why they have remained unresolved. Although the overall problems are complicated enough, the basic and fundamental reason why these tensions prevail is because our multi-racial society, with its manifold needs and aspirations, cannot be properly looked after by a unilateral type of approach, especially in education; and so long as the Alliance Party remains an unequal combination of communal or communally-orientated organizations, so long will its approach to education and language remain unilateral.

Thus, the two instances to which I have referred demonstrate clearly to all of us that these tensions do not only build up between the people and the administration but that they are also self-generating within the Party in power itself. To this extent the failure of the Alliance Government to resolve these issues is because the present education policy and system of the Alliance Party is somewhat like trying to open a many bevelled lock with the point of a knife. It cannot be done.

Sir, lest I be misinterpreted, I would like to say that the education and language issues are interlocked problems because of the decision made by the Government, based upon the Rahman Talib Report of 1960, to conduct all public examinations in the official languages. This recommendation was made and accepted by the Government, in spite of the Report itself admitting that it was academically unsound to make a pupil sit for examinations except in the main medium whereby he received instruction. Sir, the actual words of the Report which appear in page 30 are very interesting. "It has been strongly represented," the Report reads, "to us, from many

quarters that public examinations should be conducted in the language medium of the secondary schools." The Committee says: "We agree with the principle underlying this representation." Again the Committee says: "It is not reasonable to teach a child in one language and examine him in another." Sir, in this light, the pupils in the English medium schools, and their parents also, must view the language issues of 1967 with increasing concern and dismay. To round off my arguments, Sir, these two issues of education and language are further interlocked with the problem of employment opportunities, because such opportunities are still dependent, to a very large extent, upon the examination certificates which the students qualify.

The reason why I have deliberately proposed the reduction of the \$10 token vote in Sub-head 8 of S. 19 is fortuitous. But everyone who is conversant with the political controversies of the past decade over education realises that it was through the means of grants to secondary schools applying for conversion to full assistance that the Alliance Government destroyed the structure of private schools, and in particular of Chinese medium schools, which had played a valuable part in the educational development of our country. Sir, it was also by way of the provision of Sub-head 8 that the present Education budget has swollen up to its present proportions. Instead of fulfilling the hopes of the Malays of providing full facilities of education in the medium of the National Language in the existing Government-built and Government-owned schools up to the secondary and even the University levels, the Party in power had embarked upon the scheme of absorption of the private schools. And this has increased the prevailing discontent. I also have the lurking suspicion that the present token vote may perhaps be used as the instrument to lure the schools in Sabah and Sarawak into the present Malayan system rather than into a truly national Malaysian system. Furthermore, Sir, by choosing a sub-head for my amendment I wanted to indicate that my opposition is not directed towards the Ministry or

the Minister concerned but rather towards the policy and the system which he has to implement; and I think in the course of his speech he has clearly indicated that this is thrown back to his predecessors.

Sir, education is such an important matter in our young nation that we truly cannot afford to permit partisan controversies to sap away its potentialities. At the same time, Sir, the public expenditure on Education is the second largest item in our Budget, actually, by itself, it is the single largest budget item, and therefore we cannot permit a system which has outlived its usefulness to mar the prospects of future generations of Malaysians. Certainly, with the formation of Malaysia, and in the Malaysian context, the old policy which had some application in the Federation of Malaya in the years immediately prior to and following the attainment of Merdeka, cannot be entirely consonant with the changed conditions in the context of a Malaysia including the States of Sabah and Sarawak, particularly following the eviction of the State of Singapore.

As I had outlined in brief earlier, Sir, the problems of Education are complex and the dissatisfaction over the present policy and system derives from diverse attitudes, diverse emotional intensities. And when these problems are further supplemented by the highly emotional issues of language and by the dire economic issues of survival in terms of employment opportunities, we are confronted with a situation which can only be solved by understanding, tolerance and, above all, by patience and time. In the absence of any one of these three factors—understanding, tolerance and time—the situation can be dangerously volatile.

It is not enough for us to call on Bapa Malaysia, and it is unrealistic for us to hope that the people in the country are going to be assuaged by vague concessions, which at the very best are nebulous and uninformative. Perhaps the Honourable the Prime Minister may buy us some time, but unless the Government decides, and decides soon, that the educational

policy and system should be reviewed in the context of the needs of the people of Malaysia, we will again fritter away what little time is left for us to remove this political time-fuse.

Sir, in opposing the present education policy and system in this manner, that is by way of reducing the allocated sum, it is not my intention to fight the battles of the past. We are more concerned with the future and the dangers of the present time. So it is, Sir, that we propose to the Government to separate the issues of Education from the other issues of Language and Employment opportunities. This can be effected by abandoning the iniquitous recommendations of the Rahman Talib Report and by Government accepting the scholastically sound principle of permitting the pupils to sit for their examinations in the principal medium of instruction with the National Language as a compulsory subject of attainment.

Following this isolation of the Education problem to itself, we would like further to propose that the Government should elevate the issues of Education above the level of political partisan controversy. This the Government can achieve by appointing a Special Committee to Review our National Educational Policy and System which should consist, amongst other persons, representative members from all political parties in this House.

In the meantime, until the Committee so appointed has reported to this House, we would like to suggest a political moratorium over the problems of Education. If these suggestions are accepted in good faith, then perhaps the opposition benches will have contributed something constructive to resolve the long festering ills of the present education system. In the interests of the future generations of Malaysians I appeal to the Government to seriously consider these proposals. We cannot afford to create a situation in the near future, where we will be forced to commit the new lineage of Malaysians either to the limbo of enforced family planning or of mutual self-destruction. The time to act is now.

It is in the light of the possible dire consequences which can befall our nation if we continue to let educational matters slide down the precipitous slopes of racial disaffection, and the realisation that time is rapidly running out for us that has prompted me to move this formal amendment of reducing the total sum allocated for Education by \$10. When we further contemplate that it is not impossible to avert the dangers which confront us, it becomes our bounden duty to protest as vehemently and as vigorously as we can against the educational policy and system as it exists today.

So long as the Government persists with its present unequal and unjust policies in education, language and employment, so long will we oppose it with all the courage and strength which the opposition can rally together.

Nevertheless, Sir, it is my hope that the reasons which I have put forward to support my amendment will have shaken and awakened the Government to the enormity of the dangers which can develop from the education, language and employment problems. We cannot allow these issues to go on festering until bursting point. We owe it to the younger and future generations of Malaysians to resolve these volatile and explosive problems of education with justice and in the spirit of equality.

In no other sector of our national life will we be called upon to act with the same degree of utmost vigour, understanding, tolerance and patience as in the field of Education. It is our absolute duty to ensure that every single cent that we spend in this enormous expenditure on Education shall be well-spent. The measure of how well we have executed this responsibility will not be assessed by the number of schools or the number of pupils and teachers we are providing for, it will be assessed only upon how many Malaysians the educational system will evolve out of our existing multi-racial society.

In effect, Sir, this amendment to reduce the sum under Sub-head 8 of S. 19 by \$10 calls upon the Govern-

ment to review the present education policy and system by the setting up of an all-party Committee of Review. I urge all the members of this House to support the amendment. To those on the Alliance benches I say that here is the opportunity to show your true colours to the people. It is useless to go outside this House and promise the people all sorts of things if you shirk your responsibility when the opportunity is presented to you to fulfill your promises as representatives of the people in Parliament.

To the Government, and especially to the Honourable Minister of Education I make this plea. The processes of parliamentary debate impose upon me to make my views by way of this amendment. Nevertheless, I sincerely hope that the proposals will be accepted with the same goodwill as they were offered. For the sake of Malaysia, in the interests of future generations of Malaysians, we must elevate the problems of Education above the level of political partisanship. And we must do it now; otherwise the future for all of us will be bleak and perilous indeed.

Sir, I beg to move that the sum to be allocated for Head S. 19 be reduced by \$10 in respect of Sub-head 8—Grants to Secondary Schools applying for conversion to full assistance.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah (Bachok): Tuan Pengerusi, saya juga dengan izin tuan, turut berchakap sama dalam masaalah pelajaran. Nam-pak-nya, Tuan Pengerusi, kita telah berpeluang membahathkan sedikit sa-banyak perkara² yang berhubung dengan dasar pelajaran, sa-lain daripada kita hendak membahathkan berkenaan dengan bayaran² yang kita untukkan bagi tiap² satu butir.

Tuan Pengerusi, walau bagaimana sa-kali pun, keadaan yang kita hadapi sekarang sama ada baik, atau pun burok, saya ada satu perkara yang saya dapat menerima kaseh kapada Menteri Pelajaran ini, ia-itu oleh kerana Menteri Pelajaran kita dapat menge-mukakan

Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail: Yang Berhormat itu membahathkan

peruntukan Kementerian Pelajaran, atau kita membincangkan pindaan daripada Ahli dari Tanjong terlebih dahulu?

Mr Chairman: Saya suka hendak mengingatkan kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat, perbahathan ini khas bagi pindaan sahaja—khas bagi pindaan sahaja.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, masaalah pindaan ini, pada pendapat saya, ta' dapat-lah saya hendak menerima, atau pun menolak, melainkan dengan saya dapat membandingkan pendapat saya, kemudian baharu-lah saya dapat memberi conclusion

Mr Chairman: Ta' boleh begitu. Sama ada sokong, atau tidak, mesti tahu dahulu.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, yang saya sebutkan begitu ia-lah saya menyokong bahawa ada rasa ta' puas hati terhadap policy pelajaran ini, tetapi ini pada angle yang lain.

Mr Chairman: Tetapi kalau rasa ta' puas hati sahaja, kemudian bila sampai kepada S. 19 di-buka balek sa-bagai perbahathan biasa, boleh di-chakap lagi. Sekarang ta' payah berchakap, kalau ta' hendak menyokong pada pindaan ini.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Ya, saya sokong pindaan ini.

Mr Chairman: Sokong pindaan?

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Ya. Tuan Pengerusi, dengan menyokong pindaan ini, berpeluang-lah saya berchakap, jikalau tidak, tentu-lah saya tidak boleh berchakap. Tuan Pengerusi

Mr Chairman: Dan saya suka hendak mengingatkan boleh berchakap, tetapi chuma atas pindaan sahaja.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Nampak-nya sempit juga, Tuan Pengerusi. Tuan Pengerusi, benda yang saya kemukakan dalam sokongan saya ini ia-lah berdasarkan kepada Penyata

Jawatan-kuasa Menyemak Dasar Pelajaran tahun 1960. Oleh kerana saya hendak meringkaskan masa, tidak-lah mustahak saya memberi butir² itu kesemua, tetapi saya dapati Penyata Pelajaran ini—Penyata Penyiasatan ini pun memberikan shor, memberikan banyak shor kepada report, atau pun penyata yang telah di-buat yang dinamakan Penyata Rahman Talib dahulu. Jadi, Tuan Pengerusi, kalau-lah ini merupakan satu keputusan, atau pun shor daripada Jawatan-kuasa Menyemak Dasar bagi Pelajaran tahun 1960 pun berkehendakkan beberapa perubahan, maka saya rasa ini-lah yang terkemuka sa-kali.

Saya tidak tahu ada-kah tidak ada Jawatan-kuasa yang terkemudian sa-kali, tetapi yang sampai pada tangan saya ini, ia-lah penyata Jawatan-kuasa yang terakhir sa-kali. Dalam penyata Jawatan-kuasa ini pun mengeshorkan banyak perubahan² baharu. Ini menunjukkan bahawa Jawatan-kuasa itu sendiri pun berasa tidak senang dengan policy pelajaran yang ada ini, sama ada rasa kegelisahan itu tidak senang dengan alasan² yang sama dengan yang di-bawa oleh Ahli dari Tanjong, atau pun sama dengan yang saya bawakan, maka itu ada-lah masaalah lain, tetapi apa yang saya hendak tekankan ia-lah ada rasa tidak puas hati terhadap policy pelajaran itu, maka sebab itu-lah beberapa banyak shor yang membena, di-shorkan dan di-kemukakan. Daripada segi itu-lah maka saya menyokong supaya policy pelajaran itu di-semak sa-mula.

Tuan Pengerusi, mithal-nya, kita kata salah satu yang menjadi masaalah besar sekarang ini ia-lah masaalah buku² sekolah, ia-itu text book dan Menteri kita pun mengaku bahawa masaalah ini ada-lah masaalah besar. Memang di-dalam penyata ini pun sama juga dengan pendapat Menteri kita. Jadi, erti-nya Menteri Pelajaran kita sudah menambahkan lagi satu hujah bahawa policy itu patut di-semak sa-mula dan Dewan Bahasa kita, oleh kerana beberapa hal yang saya tidak tahu, tetapi yang terang kepada saya ia-lah tidak dapat menerbitkan buku² sekolah, atau pun text book sa-hingga-lah pada masa² yang akhir ini pun

maseh tidak chukup lagi, pada hal Dewan Bahasa itu, meski pun dia merupakan satu perbadanan, dia bukan Kerajaan, erti-nya dia bebas boleh membuat sa-suatu, dia suka mengeluarkan buku² novel, atau pun buku² pengetahuan sahaja, tetapi kita hendak-lah ingat bahawa Dewan Bahasa itu di-tubuhkan mengikut Undang² Pelajaran, kalau tidak salah saya, Nombor 25 tahun 1959. Jadi, erti-nya di-tubuhkan Dewan Bahasa itu ia-lah untuk menolong Kementerian Pelajaran, ini pun kalau ta' salah saya, Dewan Bahasa itu di-tubuhkan di-atas shor daripada Penyata Rahman Talib, oleh kerana itu-lah Jawatan-kuasa Penyata Penye-mak Sa-mula pada tahun 1960 mem-beri terima kaseh kepada keadaan yang berlaku, ia-itu tertuboh-nya Dewan Bahasa. Jadi, ini pun Menteri kita mengaku

Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail: Saya merasa usul pindaan daripada Ahli dari Tanjong mengenai penukaran sekolah kepada sekolah bantuan penoh, ia-itu melalui bahasa rasmi, ta' ada kena-mengena dengan buku Dewan Bahasa. Hal itu tidak disentuh-nya. Kalau ta' ada modal dalam hal ini, baik diam sahaja, nanti habis hal itu—chakap kemudian.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi

Mr Chairman: Itu yang saya ingat tadi di-muka 212, di-bawah Pechahan-kepala 8—Pemberian kepada Sekolah Menengah yang meminta tukar menjadi sekolah bantuan penoh—Inggeris-nya, Grant to Secondary Schools applying for conversion to full assistance. Itu yang menjadi usul yang di-bawa oleh Ahli dari Tanjong itu tadi. Jadi kalau berchakap atas itu boleh-lah, kalau tidak, ta' usah-lah dahulu.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, saya berpendapat tadi, ini di-waktu Ahli dari Tanjong ini mengatakan "The present policy", erti-nya policy pelajaran yang ada sekarang ini menimbulkan rasa tidak puas hati dan kesemua orang berasa tidak puas hati dan Menteri sendiri pun maseh tidak puas hati lagi. Sebab

itu di-kemukakan beberapa banyak pindaan dan saya tidak fikir yang bahawa Menteri kita ini—yang saya dudok berchakap sekarang ini dekat dengan satu benda, dan saya tidak mahu specialise berkenaan dengan diri saya, Tuan Pengerusi

Mr Chairman: Itu atoran dan per-atoran perbahathan kita ini. Bila di-bawa pindaan, kena terikat pada pindaan itu sahaja.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Kalau begitu, Tuan Pengerusi, hendak kata saya salah pun tidak betul, ta' silap juga. Saya betul dengan apa yang saya bahathkan, hanya agak-nya ber-lainan daripada apa yang tuan punya tahu. Saya rasa ta' apa-lah sahabat yang lain berchakap lagi dan saya, sa-benar-nya, ta' dapat hendak concentrate di-atas benda yang tertentu itu sa-lagi saya tidak dapat berchakap berkenaan dengan gambaran kesemua-nya itu, dan saya rasa, kalau saya berchakap pun, tentu-lah tidak begitu tegas dalam perkara ini.

Mr Chairman: Beri peluang kepada Ahli² lain yang hendak berchakap.

Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail: Tuan Pengerusi, saya bangun bagi membangkang keras dan sa-penoh-nya di-atas pindaan yang di-datangkan oleh Ahli dari Tanjong tadi bagi menghapuskan peruntukan token \$10 daripada Sub-head 8, S. 19 itu. Saya sendiri dan ramai orang di-Malaysia pada hari ini memikirkan, kalau ada orang yang tidak puas hati dengan dasar pelajaran sekarang, orang yang paling akhir patut tidak puas hati ia-lah Ahli dari Tanjong itu sendiri, kerana dasar pelajaran yang ada ini timbul dari beliau itu sendiri, pada masa beliau menjadi sa-orang anggota yang telah membentok dasar pelajaran ini. Berapa lidah dan berapa otak Ahli ini pakai dalam menghadapi orang ramai? Saya perchaya pada masa Ahli dari Tanjong ini menjadi Yang di-Pertua M.C.A., beliau-lah menjadi penasihat besar kepada Men-teri Pelajaran yang pada masa itu membentok dasar pelajaran kebang-saan menjelang kita merdeka, yang di-namakan Dasar Pelajaran Razak

dan daripada Dasar Pelajaran Razak itu-lah berjalan-nya Dasar Pelajaran Kebangsaan kita sekarang ini. Maka kenapa datang daripada beliau sendiri hari ini mengatakan tidak puas hati? Hairan dan 'ajaib sungguh². Ini-lah orang yang munafik dalam politik, dan umor orang yang munafik dalam politik ini tidak panjang, Tuan Pengerusi. Pada saya, Dasar Pelajaran Kebangsaan yang ada sekarang ini ia-lah sa-baik² dasar yang dapat diterima oleh kebanyakan orang, atau sa-bahagian besar ra'ayat Malaysia kita pada hari ini. Barangkali tidak ada satu benda yang perfect

Dr Lim Chong Eu: Sir, on a point of clarification, I think the Honourable Member has got hold of the wrong end of the stick, because first of all, my connection with the education policy stems back to 1956, and the Rahman Talib Report, which is the basis of the present education policy, was made in 1960—and I had no connection with that. I stressed, in particular, that the reference I made was from paragraph 174, page 30 of the 1960 Report of the Rahman Talib Committee. It comes under Chapter IX and in Chapter IX we see the absolute break away in the educational policy as conceived in 1956 and as it was later reviewed in 1960. That was the first point. The other point which I think the Honourable Member must keep in mind is one which I have brought up: I said that the 1960 policy and the present policy was originally designed for the States of Malaya, i.e., the Federation of Malaya. So, today when we already have Malaysia, a new set of conditions take place. If that is not clear, I do not think that it is either due to mental deficiency or mental delinquency on my part, but it is just probably due to the deficiency in the intelligence quotient in the Honourable Member.

Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail: Tuan Pengerusi, kalau ingatan saya tidak salah, satu fasal yang terpenting dalam Penyata Razak yang Ahli dari Tanjong turut bersama membentok-nya ia-lah menyatakan bahawa tujuan akhir Dasar Pelajaran Kebangsaan itu ia-lah menjadikan bahawa kebangsaan

itu, bahasa pengantar yang utama bagi semua sekolah. Dan barangkali beliau tidak dapat menapikan ini. Dan saya harap perkara ini tidak lagi dapat di-elakkan oleh beliau.

Dr Lim Chong Eu: Sir, I don't deny that, never had and never will.

Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail: Jadi, Tuan Pengerusi, keadaan dengan pindaan yang di-bawa oleh Ahli dari Tanjong ini, pada fikiran saya, kalau beliau mengatakan soal ini jika di-benarkan berlanjutan akan sampai kepada bursting point dan orang yang membawa-nya kepada bursting point ia-lah orang² sa-bagai Ahli dari Tanjong itu sendiri, gulungan² opportunist—bangsa yang hanya menanggok keuntungan politik daripada soal bahasa ini sahaja, tidak ada lagi modal yang lain, orang yang sudah bengkerap politik-nya dalam perkara² yang lain. Saya berharap dan segala negara berharap tidak ada lagi-lah perhubungan² sa-bagai ini, perhubungan² hendak mengapi²kan lagi soal bahasa ini yang memang sangat banyak bahaya-nya jika kita api²kan dari sa-masa ka-sa-masa. Apa-kah perkara yang tidak di-puas hatikan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu, tentang penukaran Sekolah Menengah kepada sekolah yang di-bantu dengan syarat yang di-buat hendak-lah menjadikan bahasa pengantar dua bahasa yang rasmi yang ada di-negeri ini. Dalam Sekolah Menengah yang ada sekarang—converted school yang ada sekarang—hampir 1/3 daripada masa pelajaran di-khaskan kepada mengajar segala perkara bersangkut dengan bahasa China kepada sekolah itu di-convert daripada sekolah itu. Dan sa-lepas itu murid² ini akan di-salorkan kepada sekolah² tinggi sampai ada Chair di-universiti. Maka apa-kah lagi soal yang tidak puas hati, hendak menjadikan keseluruhan-nya, tidak lagi berupakan kebangsaan, hanya berupa ka-Chinaa, ini-kah Chauvinist? Ini-kah yang hendak di-bawa oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu? Jangan berselindong² di-sa-balek bahasa, jangan berselindong² di-sa-balek kata² yang endah², tetapi sa-benar-nya hendak membawa faham Chauvinist yang akan menghanchorkan negeri kita ini.

Tuan Pengerusi, apa-kah guna lagi hendak di-adakan Jawatan-kuasa Penyemak daripada semua parti, jika parti yang ada ini sudah dua kali di-pilih oleh ra'ayat dengan dasar pelajaran yang ada ini sa-lepas tahun 1960, sa-lepas Penyata Rahman Talib pun di-pilih dengan majority yang berganda² lebeh? Dan parti Ahli Tanjong itu sendiri, hanya beliau tunggal itu-lah sahaja yang menang dalam Pilihan Raya di-seluruh Tanah Melayu pada tahun 1964. Maka ini merupakan satu mandat, dan apa-kah mandat yang lebeh besar daripada itu? Maka biarlah kita serahkan perkara ini, kita tahu perkara ini explosive dan Perdana Menteri telah mengambil initiative untuk melichinkan penyesuaian-nya. Maka mengapa-kah kita maseh lagi menchuit?—maseh lagi mengamit², maseh lagi mengapi² dan menyala²kan perkara ini dari sa-masa ka-masa? Kalau sa-benar sa-orang patriot yang chintakan negara ini, yang chintakan kesentosaan dan yang chintakan tanah ayer sendiri—tanah ayer yang ada ini, tentu Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tidak sampai membawa perkara sa-bagini berulang² kali dan ini kali yang akhir—sa-takat ini yang beliau telah jalankan. Akan selamat-lah negara Malaysia ini, jikalau Ahli² saperti Yang Berhormat itu, beransor² lenyap daripada arena politik kita. Biar-lah ada ahli² politik yang bertanggung-jawab, yang berani bertanggung-jawab, yang tahu chinta kepada negara kita ini—yang tahu apa-kah perkara dan issue yang merbahaya dan tidak merbahaya kapada negara kita ini kapada masharakat berbilang bangsa ini!

Tuan Pengerusi, sebab itu maka saya tidak nampak jalan langsung hendak menyokong pindaan yang di-datangkan oleh Yang Berhormat itu. Pada masa ini barangkali perkara yang mengechewakan harapan Ahli Yang Berhormat ini yang telah berkempen dari semenjak Penyata Rahman Talib lahir—berkempen kaseluruh Sekolah² China supaya jangan menerima conversion daripada sekolah yang bukan di-bantu penoh kapada sekolah di-bantu penoh tetapi lebeh separoh Sekolah² Menengah China sudah menerima bantuan penoh! Ini

menjadi puncha kekechewaan perjuangan beliau sendiri, menyatakan bahawa orang ramai China, orang yang berpelajaran daripada kaum China kita yang sedarkan dan tahukan tanggung-jawab sa-bagai warga-negara kita, tidak terbawa² oleh di'ayah palsu dan dasar hypocrite yang di-bawa oleh Ahli² Politik sa-bagai Ahli dari Tanjong. Dan saya perchaya, ra'ayat negeri ini tidak sa-kali² akan terpengaruh dengan di'ayah palsu yang di-adakan. Dan sa-kali lagi saya mengatakan saya membangkang keras atas pindaan ini.

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussin (Lipis): Tuan Pengerusi, saya bangun hendak berchakap sadikit tentang usul yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat wakil dari Tanjong yang berkehendakkan supaya di-potong wang sa-banyak \$10 daripada peruntokan dalam Anggaran Perbelanjaan tahun hadapan, ia-itu pemberian wang kapada Sekolah² Menengah yang minta tukar menjadi sekolah bantuan penoh.

Tuan Pengerusi, dengan pindaan ini, maka berma'ana-lah anggaran atau token vote sa-banyak \$10 di-bawah Kepala-kechul 8, tidak ada langsung di-dalam Anggaran Perbelanjaan tahun 1966. Kita tidak tahu, apa-kah yang sa-benar-nya terpendam di-dalam jiwa dan lubok hati Yang Berhormat itu, yang hendak menghapuskan langsung anggaran di-dalam butiran ini, wal-hal token vote itu berada di-situ dalam tahun yang lalu. Berhubung dengan hal ini, maka timbul-lah berbagai² pertanyaan dan persoalan yang mengenai tujuan yang sa-benar-nya yang mendorongkan Yang Berhormat itu mengemukakan usul-nya. Dalam perkara ini, Tuan Pengerusi, kita tidak boleh memberi pentafsiran atau istilah yang luas. Bagi saya sendiri, maka langkah wakil Tanjong itu sa-mata² membuka mata orang ramai kapada tembelang-nya sendiri. Saya katakan tembelang tadi, kerana beliau itu mendedahkan segala² yang dahulu²-nya, beliau itu berpura² memperjuangkan-nya. Apa yang saya maksudkan di-sini ia-lah penghapusan token vote itu berma'ana tamat-nya usaha Kerajaan kita hendak menggalakkan sekolah² yang belum lagi menerima bantuan penoh di-negeri² ini

supaya menerima dan patoh kepada Dasar Pelajaran Kebangsaan kita.

Sa-bagai yang kita ketahui, Tuan Pengerusi, memang maseh banyak Sekolah² Private—Sekolah Bersendirian, yang belum menerima bantuan penoh daripada Kerajaan. Kapada Sekolah² Private ini, penghapusan token vote, itu sudah tentu di-anggap oleh mereka bahawa Kerajaan telah menutup pintu, atau peluang untuk mereka menerima bantuan penoh dan mengikut Dasar Pelajaran Kebangsaan kita. Saya perchaya sekolah² private ini bukan tidak mahu menerima bantuan itu, tetapi kelambatan mereka menerima bantuan penoh itu ada-lah di-sebabkan oleh keraguan dan kebimbangan sa-tengah² ibu bapa terhadap satu² perubahan. Lebeh² lagi, penerangan yang di-beri oleh sa-tengah gulongan yang boleh meragukan dan lebeh membimbangkan ibu bapa itu sendiri. Keraguan sa-saorang manusia itu sudah sa-wajarnya timbul, apabila menghadapi satu² perubahan hidup. Lebeh² lagi ada-nya kemungkinan tekanan politik dari sa-tengah² petualang politik. Sunggoh pun bagitu, saya perchaya dan telah pun di-boktikan ia-itu Sekolah² Private ini sudah mempunyai keyakinan terhadap kejujuran Kerajaan kita dalam masa-alah ini. Masa-nya akan kita, dalam masa keraguan pendukong² Sekolah Private yang jumlah-nya kechil sahaja sekarang ini, akan menerima bantuan penoh serta patoh kepada Dasar Pelajaran Kebangsaan kita. Penerimaan mereka, pada fikiran mereka lebeh chepat jika petualang politik, atau orang yang mengapi²kan perkara yang sa-umpama di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat wakil dari Tanjong tadi, tidak menjadikan masaalah ini, Tuan Pengerusi, sa-bagai sa-olah² modal politik.

Tuan Pengerusi, sa-telah kita mengkaji sejarah perjuangan sahabat kita dari Tanjong itu dari masa beliau dalam Perikatan hingga hari ini, beliau senentiasa menyuarakan, atau menjadi jagoh untuk mempertahankan bahasa dan kebudayaan China. Tetapi, pada hari ini, Tuan Pengerusi, mari-lah kita bertanya kepada diri sendiri. Kenapa pula beliau hendak menghapuskan token vote itu? Pada-hal sekolah² yang

mendapat bantuan daripada Kerajaan sekarang ini, memberi jaminan yang penoh untuk mengekalkan dan menjaga perkembangan bahasa dan kebudayaan China itu. Di-samping mempunyai sa-suatu bahasa, di-samping mempunyai satu bahasa kebangsaan, saya memang tidak sangka yang wakil dari Tanjong itu sanggup mengemukakan perkara ini di-dalam Dewan yang mulia ini, tetapi dugaan saya meleset. Mengikut istilah saya sendiri, Tuan Pengerusi, usul itu ada-lah merupakan langkah yang pertama untuk hendak menyekat segala peluang bagi sekolah² private ini, mendapat bantuan Kerajaan yang berma'ana usul ini, sa-chara tidak langsung, menyekat atau membunuh sumber² perkembangan bahasa dan kebudayaan China di-negeri ini, jikalau sa-kira-nya ini di-persetujukan.

Tuan Pengerusi, dengan usul ini, maka orang ramai dapat menentukan pendirian Yang Berhormat wakil dari Tanjong itu ka-mana dan kenapa, maka usul ini di-kemukakan. Wakil Tanjong menudoh Perikatan hendak menghapuskan kebudayaan China dan bahasa China, tetapi pada pendapat saya, wakil Yang Berhormat itu tidak boleh di-salahkan, dan jika perkembangan bahasa China dalam negeri ini

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Mr Chairman, Sir, on point or order, this is irrelevant, and repeating the argument again.

Mr Chairman: He is getting to the point. Will you please sit and let him speak?

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Hussin: Terima kaseh, Tuan Pengerusi, saya harap dia boleh mendengar chadangan saya dalam masaalah ini. Dan jika kita ikuti kemajuan yang di-chapai oleh sekolah China yang menerima bantuan penoh dari Kerajaan sekarang ini, maka kita dapati perjalanan-nya lebeh baik daripada sa-belum dia menerima dahulu.

Saya katakan bagitu, kerana sekolah² ini mempunyai susunan pelajaran yang sama dengan sekolah² lain dan mempunyai guru² yang terlately. Bukan itu sahaja, Sijil Sekolah China dahulu

tidak dapat mempunyai pengi'tirafan dari Kerajaan. Tetapi pada hari ini, Tuan Pengerusi, dengan ada-nya peperiksaan yang sama, baik dalam peringkat L.C.E. atau Sijil Pelajaran Persekutuan, maka kelulusan mereka di-akui oleh Kerajaan negeri kita. Di-mana-kah salah-nya Kerajaan kita dalam perkara ini yang menyebabkan wakil tersebut sanggup membukakan usul yang begitu rupa?—yang pada pendapat saya merupakan tamat-nya peluang bagi sekolah² private menerima bantuan penoh dari Kerajaan. Ini hanya-lah kenekmatan yang lazim di-rasai oleh sekolah² yang mengambil bantuan penoh dan Dasar Pelajaran Kebangsaan kita.

Apabila peluang Sekolah Private hendak menerima bantuan penoh daripada Kerajaan di-tutup, Tuan Pengerusi, maka sa-chara tidak langsung kita menggalakkan dua jenis persekolahan di-negeri kita ini, ia-itu Sekolah Kerajaan yang mengikut dasar pelajaran kebangsaan kita, dan sekolah yang mengikut dasar private dia itu. Maka sudah tentu-lah kedudukan masyarakat kita akan boleh kelak menjadi pin-chang. Saya katakan begitu, kerana mungkin atau pun sudah tentu, Sekolah Private ini tidak menggunakan susunan pelajaran, dan buku² yang berchorak kebangsaan saperti mana yang di-jalankan dalam sekolah bantuan penoh demikian itu tidak di-pakai sa-bagai-mana di-jalankan di-sekolah² Kerajaan yang menerima bantuan penoh.

Apabila kedua² faktor ini dan susunan pelajaran buku² text ini tidak sesuai dengan kehendak negeri dan negara kita, maka sudah tentu chorak masyarakat yang keluar, yang zahir yang di-asoh dan di-didek dari Sekolah Private ini, nanti berlainan dengan chorak masyarakat yang di-keluarkan atau di-didek di-Sekolah² Kerajaan. Jadi jikalau kedudukan ini berlaku, Tuan Pengerusi, maka sudah tentu-lah ia akan bertentangan dengan jiwa dan Perlembagaan kita. Dan pada asas perjuangan kemerdekaan kita, ia-itu hendak membentok sa-buah masyarakat yang baharu dan bersatu padu serta ta'at setia, yang tidak berbelah bahagi, kapada negara kita ini.

Maka dengan keadaan itu, saya mempunyai satu kesimpulan sahaja, Tuan Pengerusi, mengenai usul wakil dari Tanjong ini ia-itu Yang Berhormat ini berusaha hendak menyekat perkembangan bahasa dan kebudayaan China, sa-sungguh-nya, walau pun beliau itu berpura² menjadi jagoh di-luar, hatta di-dalam, Dewan ini. Dengan itu, Tuan Pengerusi, saya menentang usul ini. Terima kaseh.

Mr Chairman: Persidangan ini di-tempohkan.

Sitting suspended at 6.15 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 6.30 p.m.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

Debate resumed.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Pengerusi, saya hendak membuat satu kenyataan ia-itu waktu saya berchakap tadi berkenaan dengan pindaan tadi, saya mengembalikan perkara itu "in policy". Jadi saya, yang sa-benarnya, tidak nampak butiran itu, jadi saya tidak berchakap dalam perkara itu, erti-nya perchakapan saya ini tadi tidak di-kira berchakap sebab saya tersilap—misunderstand.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat): Mr Chairman, Sir, it is very difficult not to accept the fact, after listening to the last two speakers on the Alliance Bench, that the situation is not explosive. I might not have risen to speak on this motion, if I had not felt that everyone has the right to move any amendment he wants.

With regard to our education policy involving certain sections of our citizens, I was speaking to some other Member of this House outside and he asked us—that is the Socialist Front—if we were clear on this policy and whether we support racialism or not. I stated quite clearly that we do not support racialism, but that grants to secondary schools applying for conversion to full assistance carry with it a policy which we do not, or which we cannot altogether accept. Now, before I go on, Mr Chairman, Sir, I would like to make the situation clear. Firstly,

the mover of this motion said that he was not against Malay as a language to be taught in all schools. Our policy is slightly different. We say that all educational programmes should be divided into three sections, and we have said that since 1959 in our policy statement.

The first section shall be subjects taught in all schools to the same standard in Malay and that this section should be adjustable according to the standard of Malay at any given time in this country, but first we can start with the Malay language and Malay literature, and all schools should teach the Malay language and Malay literature to the same standard—Chinese schools, Indian schools, and English schools. Later on these are to be expanded so that they may be taught in History, and may be in Geography, and the arts, and so on. In other words, the first section should be taught in Malay.

The second section of our educational programme for all schools is that those schools may teach those subjects in the second group in their medium of instruction and may be tested in those subjects in their medium of instruction, so that in Section "B", or the second group, English schools can teach science in English, can teach English literature in English, can teach Chemistry, or whatever it is, in English. Chinese schools should be allowed to teach also those subjects, but in Chinese, and they may be examined in those subjects according to the medium of instruction. This, therefore, will ensure that everybody passing out of all our schools will have the same standard of knowledge in Malay, but they shall all be bilingual. I think it is generally accepted that if we do away with English education altogether it would be wrong. It is also, I think, generally accepted amongst Chinese educated people that they should not do away with Chinese language altogether. That also would be wrong. Therefore, a bi-lingual system is necessary and the bi-lingual system should not discriminate against languages such as Chinese. I do not think that it is racial.

Then, Sir, the third section will be the voluntary, non-compulsory, section. This section shall deal with third languages. In all Chinese schools, they may, if they wish, put in their programme of education in English, under Group "C". In English schools, they may teach Chinese as an optional subject, so that our students must necessarily know two languages, and may, if they wish to, learn three.

I would even go so far as to say, Mr Chairman, Sir—and here I think I should clarify again that my statement is only a suggestion to make people think again; it is not put forward seriously to compel acceptance—that if we can learn English as a second language; if the Chinese can learn Malay as a second language; why cannot the Malays learn Chinese as a second language? After all, we are all Asians. We should not be prejudiced against another Asian language. So, Mr Chairman, Sir, that is how we look at the situation.

Now, coming to this amendment itself, it is perhaps because people were emotionally blinded that they did not understand the effect of this amendment. The effect of this amendment is merely to take away \$10 from a token vote. If there is no amendment, we still get only a \$10 token vote, which means that there will be no conversions in Malaya in any event. So my Honourable friend from Tanjong has merely moved this motion as a symbolic gesture for the purpose of raising an argument. Why can't he argue? He has a right to argue. Just because he argues, we cannot call him a racist, and I can see clearer, because our position in this House as well as outside this House has been very clear since 1959.

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad (Kota Star Selatan): Mr Chairman, it was not so much the fact that he argued that he was called a racist. It was the fact that he argued from a racist point of view that makes him a racist.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Who?

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad: You were pointing to the Member from Tanjong as having a right to argue and

that he was accused of being a racist because he argued. He was not accused of being a racist because he argued, but it is because he argued from a racist point of view.

Enche' Lim Kean Siew: Now, Mr Chairman, Sir, the mover of this amendment talks of a truly integrated national system. We can show him whether or not his policy will work. We can show him whether or not his policy is wrong, but we cannot call him names, just because he argues from what we consider a racist standpoint, and we cannot therefore call him a racist, because this is essentially a racial problem. You cannot deny it. If I say I support Chinese language, you can say I am a racist. If I say I support the Malay language, the Chinese will say I am a traitor. You cannot escape the racial overtone, but in order not to make the situation explosive, we must examine the situation without its emotional overtone.

Mr Chairman, Sir, the conversion of the secondary schools into national type schools in effect means that a lot of the Chinese language schools are learning English—they are not learning Malay, they are not becoming Malay secondary schools, and that is accepted. In fact, the Honourable Minister of Education himself admits that out of a total of 2,800 students enrolled in our University, and out of an intake of 1,208 students entering University in 1965, there were 31 students who went in qualified in Malay, and I have no doubt that 90 per cent of them are doing Malay Studies—I do not know the figures—which would mean that 90 per cent effectively, if not 100 per cent, going in with Malay qualifications, would not be doing science, would not be doing medicine, but Malay language studies. In this country, we need the sciences, we need mathematics and we need culture. There is a shortage, as admitted by the Minister of Defence, of good material, who know mathematics to pilot our planes, good officer calibre pupils, but they do not come from Malay secondary schools—they come from English secondary schools. In 1967 when we

do away with English as an official language, what will the position be of these national-type schools? What will happen to our students in the national-type schools, not the Chinese schools, but the national-type schools? According to our present policy of secondary national-type schools, examination shall be conducted in the official language, not of only one part, as I have suggested, but of all parts—all sections. What will happen to them in 1967 and onwards? According to this present policy, which my Honourable friend has been speaking about, all of them should be learning Malay. Now, let us admit it frankly: my education is in English; my friend's education is in English; many of our Ministers send their children to English schools; many of our people in the Ministries—the Secretaries in the Ministries—send their children to English schools; my friend just now, the Member for Kota Star Selatan himself, is English educated. National-type schools, under the present policy would mean automatically no more English. Do you think we can succeed without English as a second language? By 1967 the conversion comes into its fullness. Everyone, according to Tuan Syed Nasir from the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, should learn Malay. I do not know where he sends his children to. I am sure he sends them to English schools, too, but he says that they shall learn Malay and only Malay. Is that right? That is the purpose of my friend's amendment, as the whole policy of conversion to national type school with its present policy of examination in the official language in 1967 will be changed. Surely a bi-lingual structure is good, and if a bi-lingual structure is good, why cannot you let the people learn Chinese—that is what he was saying—and why cannot we move the first section so that we teach all schools the same standard in Malay? I think I have made the position very clear. Therefore, Mr Chairman, Sir, I support this amendment as a matter of principle.

Enche' Ong Kee Hui (Sarawak): Mr Chairman, Sir, I rise also to support the motion moved by the Honourable

Member for Tanjong. I do so, Sir, not because I wish to get myself involved in the language controversy, which does not at the moment concern us in Sarawak, but I do so because the Honourable Member for Tanjong has explained in moving his motion that he did so in order to express dissatisfaction with the present policy and the present system of education. As I know, Sir, the present system of education in so far as it concerns Sarawak has given rise to considerable doubts, considerable dissatisfaction. I feel that I will be failing in my duty, if I do not draw the attention of the Honourable Minister and this House to the situation that now prevails in Sarawak. This dissatisfaction, Sir, stems largely from the unequal treatment given to our school children up to now under Grants to Schools, and also from the urgent attention which we feel the Minister ought to give to various aspects of the education problem so far as it concerns the State of Sarawak.

At the Budget session last year, Sir, I made representations on the fact that whereas Malaysian children in the States of Malaya are enjoying free primary education—and this facility is moreover to be extended for a further three years of post-primary education under the comprehensive system—children in Sarawak, and for that matter also in Sabah, were not even given free primary education. I repeated this on several subsequent sessions of the House, but each time the Honourable Minister retorted that Sarawak children will be given the same facilities and treatment, if we accept the national system of education. The Honourable the Minister, however, did not tell us what adjustments need be made in the Sarawak system to fall into line with the national system, particularly in view of the fact that special safeguards had been given to Sarawak under the Inter-Governmental Agreement, and it was very difficult for us, Sir, to reconcile these remarks with what is contained in that Agreement. We, therefore, have to assume that we can have free primary education, if we give up these special conditions for Sarawak's entry into

Malaysia and Sarawak children were therefore treated, because we had not complied with the national system on a different and less favourable basis up to now—two years after Malaysia.

Sir, I have also said, on a previous occasion that, perhaps, the Honourable the Minister of Education may realise the justness of our claims for equal treatment in education, and we were hoping that free primary education might be delivered to Sarawak as an Easter egg in April or, as a gesture of goodwill, on Gawai Tahun in June this year. It finally came, Sir, in fact as a post-dated cheque for 1966, delivered by the Honourable Minister of Education himself at the Kuching Airport, when he was passing through quite recently. Although the discontent will now be mollified by the fact that in Head 20, Sub-head 10, of the Ministry of Education's estimates for 1966, an increase is shown under Grants to Schools of \$3.2 million, there still remain areas of dissatisfaction, and I rise to draw the Minister's attention in this debate to these areas of dissatisfaction.

Sir, in doing so, I must say that we appreciate the gesture which has been made by the Minister in increasing these grants to schools and we, in Sarawak, accept it in the spirit that it is better late than never. However, it should be noted that what is to be given, if I am not mistaken, is not full free primary education but exemption from payment of school fees. Parents will still have to meet the cost of books and other expenses for their children in schools. We say this, Sir, not because we do not appreciate the substantial additional expenditure involved, but because we are really concerned over the hardships experienced by many of our people, particularly those who live in the rural areas, over the cost of them of sending their children to schools. Quite apart from the financial aspect, we are also very concerned over the aim and result of our present educational system. As I see it, Sir, the aim as far as Sarawak is concerned, is primary education for six years for every child and secondary education up to Form III for about 30 per cent

of primary school leavers, and from that stage upwards even less than that proportion are able to carry on up to Form IV. The operation of this system means, Sir, that 70 per cent of those who go to primary schools have to leave school at the age of 12 to 13 years.

Enche' Mohamed Yusof bin Mahmud (Temerloh): On a point of order, 36. Ini saya rasa tidak ada kena-mengena dengan motion ini.

Mr Chairman: Saya tengah memikirkan macham mana ini ada kena-mengena dengan pindaan ini. You have to touch on the amendment which you have not touched for the last five minutes.

Enche' Ong Kee Hui: Yes, Sir, because the mover, in proposing the amendment, did say that the purpose of the amendment is to spotlight dissatisfaction with the system of education at present.

Mr Chairman: Secondary schools—I not primary schools.

Enche' Ong Kee Hui: Secondary schools—I am coming to that now.

Mr Chairman: You have introduced all sorts of subjects into it.

Enche' Ong Kee Hui: Sir, I was going to come to that. As far as secondary education is concerned, only 30 per cent of the primary school-leavers in Sarawak are able to continue and these have given rise to a good deal of dissatisfaction, in that parents are very worried as to what happens to this 70 per cent of the school-leavers, who have to leave the school at the age of 12 to 13 and are unable to find work because they are not employable at that age. Furthermore, Sir, the curriculum in secondary schools, particularly those in aided schools, are now given a fixed curriculum. But textbooks are not being given to them and this of course, has also given rise to a good deal of concern and dissatisfaction. Furthermore, Sir, the orientation of secondary schools in Sarawak does not seem to fit in with the nature of the economy of our country and it is generally felt that the Minister ought

to look into this and do something about it. But the main cause for dissatisfaction, Sir, is the fact, as I have mentioned earlier on, that the primary system does not seem to lead to anything and those pupils who leave schools do not seem to be able to fit themselves with the existing economy of the country. For that reason, Sir, and in view of the fact that we are concerned now with a good deal of development, and quite a good deal of skilled technicians are required, our secondary school system does not seem to fill the need and I would therefore, urge the Minister to give very serious consideration to the necessity for more trade schools and, perhaps, to seriously consider, at this stage, whether the Borneo States could not be served by a university.

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussin (Lipis): Tuan Pengerusi, Yang Berhormat tidak menyentoh ucapan atau dasar pindaan ini. Dia berchakap lain daripada pindaan ini. Saya mohon menarek perhatian kapada Standing Order 36 (1).

Mr Chairman: Saya tahu, saya tahu.

Enche' Ong Kee Hui: Mr Chairman, Sir, I have finished in fact what I have to say. It is for that reason, Sir, there is all this dissatisfaction over the present educational system which has given rise to a good deal of discontent and for that reason, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by the Honourable Member for Tanjong.

Dato' Dr Haji Megat Khas (Kuala Kangsar): Tuan Pengerusi, saya minta izin sedikit sahaja hendak berchakap di-dalam perkara ini.

Mr Chairman: Masa kita ini tengah di-dalam atoran

Dato' Dr Megat Khas: Untuk pindaan yang di-bawa oleh Yang Berhormat Ahli dari Tanjong.

Mr Chairman: Baik-lah; . kalau begitu, berapa lama hendak berchakap?

Dato' Dr Haji Megat Khas: Tiga minit, barangkali.

Mr Chairman: Tiga minit.

Dato' Dr Haji Megat Khas: May I speak in English, Sir, because I think my Honourable friend across the floor probably understands what I have to say much better in the English language.

The amendment that has been brought in has brought into sharp focus, as far as I can see, four points: (i) the point of the official language in 1967; (ii) the examination of school subjects in the Bahasa Kebangsaan; (iii) the teaching of various languages in the schools; and (iv) the question of racialism.

I think I must say here that the question of the bahasa kebangsaan being the official language in 1967 is a constitutional matter, and it has been accepted by all layers of society in Malaysia today, and has been for some years, and I think it is unfair to reopen that question in this House.

The second question is the examinations in various subjects in schools in the bahasa kebangsaan. The Member for Tanjong has said that it is illogical to carry on the examinations in the Malay language, of subjects taught in other languages. But since the bahasa kebangsaan has been taught now for some years with the object of making the school children bilingual in the true sense of the word, we have to be able to test and make our assessment of the ability to answer the questions set in the examinations in the bahasa kebangsaan when the time comes. Whether we shall be able to achieve it, or not, is certainly a moot point, and we should be prepared to be flexible in the matter of its implementation. But, unless we make an attempt to get it going, we shall certainly not get going at all, and although the advice here is that we have got to make haste slowly, still we must have a deadline when we should be able to implement some of our objectives in this way.

Then, the Member for Dato Kramat has said that since people of various racial origins have been asked to learn the national language, why not some of the Malays go to Chinese schools and learn Chinese and be proficient in Chinese. Here, I like to say that many

Malays are in Chinese schools and even up to university level today. We are appreciating the Chinese language as much as the Chinese themselves are doing, as a language, as a subject matter, and I am sure that the Alliance Government has made it very clear that the question of teaching of languages has never been barred. You can learn any language that you like—your Chinese, your Tamil, your English, your Malay, but with the object—and of course, that has been provided by the Constitution—that the Malay language will become the official language in 1967. There is no harm in using any language that you like in your homes and anywhere else, but the official language will have to be Malay.

That is all, Mr Chairman, Sir.

The Minister of Education (Enche' Mohamed Khir Johari): Mr Chairman, Sir, I have to oppose this motion by the Honourable Member for Tanjong to reduce Sub-head 8, Head S. 19 by \$10 but I would like to make it clear though that, although during the course of the debate some members from the Alliance Bench did say something hard and strong, perhaps, against the Honourable Member, it is not because that they want to oppose or as has been said by the Honourable Member from Dato Kramat, that they do not respect the right of the Honourable Members of the Opposition to bring up any motion before the House. Only one thing I would like to make clear—I hope that the Honourable Members of the Opposition will not expect the Government Bench or the Members of the Government Bench to pass their motion for them.

I have to oppose this motion, because Sub-head 8, Head S. 19 is actually intended to provide funds to enable private secondary schools, including Chinese secondary schools, to conform to Government's education policy and thereby enjoy the full benefits of full assistance from the Government. There are a very small number of Chinese secondary schools which have yet to conform to this policy. I think it is only a matter of time when they will

realise that it is to the benefit of their schools and of Chinese education as a whole that they conform to the policy. As a matter of fact, at this moment I have one application still being actively considered by the Ministry from a Chinese secondary school in Kedah for conforming to the policy, and if this motion is agreed to, it will mean that I will have to deny this privilege to a Chinese school which has taken a bit of time to consider and to accept the policy. It is perhaps they have come to realise things and have now decided to come in. As I have said, in all cases, they have come in with their eyes open. As I see it during the years, even though I left the Education Ministry for some time, I have been in touch with Chinese school authorities they have come to understand fully why it is necessary for them to conform to the policy and how much they have gained from the point of view of educational standards, from the point of view of finance and others that is to say, they have got so much benefit from the Alliance educational policy. Of course, we cannot make everybody happy. The essence of the present educational policy is that it is based on give and take. It is geared to the special conditions prevailing in our country.

Now, the Honourable Member for Tanjong has touched, if I am not mistaken, on four issues. One is on the question of the medium of examination and medium of teaching. For his information, and for the information of this House too, that is the essence, in fact, of the present policy. The medium of examination is actually the medium of teaching in the schools. In the primary schools, the medium of teaching may be Chinese, may be the national language, or may be English or may be Tamil, but the examinations conducted in those schools are in the medium of teaching. When we get to the secondary level, the mediums of examination also conform to the medium of teaching. The main medium of language of teaching in the secondary schools is either one of the official languages, i.e., either the national language or

English. So, if you go to a national-type secondary English school, you will take the examination in English. If you go to a national secondary school, you will take the examination in the National language. I thought that is a very fair compromise. And in addition to this, even though you take the examination in the national language or in the English language, you are able to take your own particular language as a subject and the medium of examination in that particular subject, for example, in Chinese language and literature, is in the medium of teaching. So, I thought there is no case for argument and much less for any further examination or review of the present policy. Now, as one who has been going round the country so much during these few months, meeting the parents, Chinese parents, from all types of schools I know exactly what the people want, and I know that we have not deviated from the principles that we have accepted in this House. I know that the Honourable Member for Tanjong probably has less opportunity to meet the people in Trengganu, for example, where there is no branch of U.D.P. and in Kelantan, for example. But I go to all these places and I take the trouble to find out from them what their worries are over educational matters and I try to the best of my ability to work out any compromise in order to bring satisfaction and happiness to everyone.

The Honourable Member for Tanjong also touched on the question of employment opportunities. I ask you, Sir, when the Chinese secondary schools existed in those days, what were the employment opportunities that existed for them in those days? If they graduated from the Chinese-medium schools where the medium of teaching was 100% in Chinese, what could they do? Other than being shopkeepers, what could they do? Employment opportunities were limited for them in those days, but now through the educational policy that we have, employment opportunities for them are open as much to them as to anybody else. Not only employment opportunities but also more opportunities for them to go abroad to

become doctors, like the Honourable Member for Tanjong, to become engineers, to become scientists and so on. That to my mind is the essence of the present policy. So, what is wrong with that? Do you want our Chinese young men and women merely to become shopkeepers? I say, I shall be guilty if I call myself a Malaysian; I say I shall be guilty if I carry out any policy that will limit the opportunities of our Chinese young men and women of today and of tomorrow.

Now, the Honourable Member also talks about employment opportunities for the young in the context of the present development in our country. I say it is for this reason that we must give more emphasis not merely on academic education as in the past, but more on vocational and on technical education and on the study of science, and that is exactly what we are doing today.

Sir, I have just come back from a meeting of Asian Ministers of Education and during the 10 days that we were there we compared notes. We tried to find out what the other countries are doing in regard to education, and I must say that our country has been placed amongst the most progressive group in Asia in regard to education (*applause*). I am not trying to boast. There is nothing to boast. But I feel that the more we study, the more we find out and I feel that we are along the right path. What we need today is not chauvinistic talk but goodwill and a real sense of responsibility to our young men and women of the country.

Sir, the Honourable Member also touched on the question of family planning. Well, I would say that by adopting family planning as part of our national policy we are not in any way adopting a defeatist attitude but rather we are adopting what I might call a practical attitude to life. Now, at the last conference that I attended in Bangkok, it was pointed out that this matter of rapid birth-rate in the Asian countries has become a real major problem amongst us. How are we going to meet this problem unless we volun-

tarily do something about it? I am sure that the Honourable Member for Tanjong himself must be practising some sort of family planning—I am sure of that. How he does it, well that is not a matter for us to find out. (*Laughter*) However, I would say, let us look at the example of Japan—Japan's birth-rate in those days was more or less like ours now—3 per cent to 3.2 per cent—but now it has gone down to 0.9 per cent. Why? Because the level of education has gone up, and because of that the standard of living of the people has gone up and they can now stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Western countries. We are proud of them. But, there is something that we can learn from them, and if we can learn from them we can practise them slowly—not compulsorily but slowly—and I think, it will bring some good for us and for the future generations of this country.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Tanjong has not brought to light any new points, and for that reason I am not able to support him, but should he at any other time find some new points—not those points that have been repeated over and over again not only by him but also by the previous Member of U.D.P. here, the Honourable Mr Too Joon Hing who over the years had been repeating all these things, I would be the first one to consider those points, because I feel that education is a sacred matter—it is not a matter that should be a subject for party politics. It is a sacred thing because it concerns the very life of the nation, the very future of our country. So, it should not be played about like a ball. Therefore, the less politics in education the better it will be. I, myself, in the appointment of members to the various boards and other things—in most matters, in all matters in education—I have tried to avoid looking at it merely from the political angle. I feel that if I got to do something that I am convinced is for the good of the country, I will do it, because, as I said, education is a sacred subject.

Another Honourable Member suggested that we should form an ALL-PARTY Committee to review the

education policy. I say, Sir, that the Labour Party now in power in the United Kingdom has only a majority of one. In spite of that, in spite of the fact that the Opposition there try to duel with them, they have never yet surrendered their authority to the Opposition—and we here have got more than two-thirds majority, Sir (*Laughter*). So, be that as it may, even though we have got such a handsome majority, it does not make any difference to us. If we find that the Opposition has got something worthwhile, something good, for the country, we will accept it—there is nothing to worry, but if it is no good, it is also our duty to throw it into the L.B.W. tray—“Let the burgher wait tray”. (*Laughter*) I say that it is not the intention of the Alliance Government to surrender its responsibility to the Opposition. We have been put into power, voted into power, by the people with a clear mandate in regard to education, in regard to all matters connected with our country, and we would be unfair to them if we were to concede this responsibility to the Opposition. So, Sir, I do not propose to reply much more, even to the Honourable Member from Sarawak, because the Honourable Member from Sarawak very well knows as much as I do, that I have no full responsibility as regards education in Sarawak. However, the moment I have got full responsibility, I can promise him, here and now, that I will do as what we have done here; we will try to give our children in Sarawak what we have here, because they are not only children of Sarawak, but also they are children of Malaysia: and the moment they accept, they become a member of our family in regard to education. I say, all the facilities that we have given to our children here will automatically be given to them. But in this world you cannot have the cake and eat it. Therefore, I do hope that the Honourable Member from Sarawak will use all his influence, so that we will try to come as near together as possible for the common good of us and also for the common good of Malaysia as a whole. Thank you, Sir. (*Applause*).

Amendment put, and negatived.

Mr Chairman: The debate will now go on to the original question, that is, on Heads S. 18, S. 19 and S. 20.

Enche' Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Tuan Pengerusi, saya mengambil bahagian sedikit sahaja dalam masalah pelajaran ini, ia-itu dalam masalah pelajaran bagi anak² kita, khas-nya anak² Melayu. Saya perchaya dan sedar Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran ini tahu dan berikhtiar bagi meninggikan taraf anak² Melayu dalam pelajaran ini. Ta' payah-lah kita cheritakan dalam Dewan ini, bagaimana lemah dan mundur-nya anak² kita dalam sekolah², kerana ini semua terang² telah di-ketahui oleh orang² dan oleh kita semua. Tuan Pengerusi, dalam masalah anak² Melayu dalam pelajaran ini, sudah banyak kita cherita dalam Dewan ini sudah banyak orang lain cheritakan Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran sendiri pun tahu. Saya meminta supaya masalah bahasa Melayu, atau pun anak² Melayu yang sedang belajar, hendak-lah Kementerian ini memberi keutamaan, saya perchaya keutamaan itu memang ada, tetapi saya minta biar-lah keutamaan ini di-beri lebih saperti anak² Melayu dalam lapangan pelajaran rendah dan pelajaran tinggi di-luar negeri.

Tuan Pengerusi, dalam masalah yang kedua, ia-itu Pechahan-kepala 18, Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan. Pada tahun 1965 belanja sa-banyak \$88,700 dan pada tahun ini—tahun 1966 \$75,700. Saya tidak tahu kurang-nya belanja ini, oleh kerana di-desak oleh sa-suatu pihak, atau pun oleh kerana apa² sebab Yang Berhormat Menteri itu sendiri yang tahu. Tetapi saya mengatakan masalah bahasa kebangsaan, ini Tuan Pengerusi, ia-lah satu masalah yang penting. Masalah yang hari² kebelakangan ini banyak benar di-suarkan oleh pihak² yang tertentu. Ada pihak yang di-hadapan kita menyokong, tetapi di-belakang kita mereka menentang bahasa kebangsaan ini supaya di-jadikan Bahasa Melayu, di-jadikan bahasa kebangsaan menjelang-nya tahun 1967.

Tuan Pengerusi, kalau daripada parti² Pembangkang ini, mithal-nya, U.D.P.

atau pun Bebas atau pun S.U.P.P., Front Socialist, atau pun P.P.R. yang menuntut masalah bahasa² mereka ini di-jadikan bahasa rasmi, tidak-lah saya gaduh sangat, kerana memang mereka ini orang Pembangkang. Tetapi masalah yang saya hendak membangkitkan di-sini ia-lah masalah parti² dalam Kerajaan sendiri, seperti, M.C.A. dan M.I.C. Kita tahu bagaimana krisis yang berlaku dalam pertubuhan M.C.A. sa-hingga Ketua Pemuda Agong-nya pernah meletakkan jawatan dan menerima balek jawatan itu dengan sebab tuntutan² daripada pihak M.C.A. supaya bahasa China juga di-jadikan bahasa rasmi dalam Tanah Melayu ini.

Dan tiga hari yang lepas, pada hari Ahad dalam Konggres M.I.C. diseluruh Malaysia yang di-adakan di-Kuala Lumpur ini, keputusan yang pertama yang di-buat-nya ia-lah menyokong bahasa kebangsaan di-jadikan bahasa rasmi, bahasa Melayu di-jadikan bahasa kebangsaan yang rasmi dan keputusan yang kedua ia-lah menuntut supaya bahasa Tamil di-akui sa-bagai bahasa yang sama taraf-nya dengan bahasa kebangsaan. Bahagian kedua, meminta supaya Kerajaan memberi pengakuan kepada bahasa Tamil. Yang ke-empat bahasa Tamil hendak-lah dijalankan pepereksaan dalam semua jabatan² Kerajaan. Ini-lah dua parti politik yang terang² telah menunjukkan sifat munatik-nya dalam masalah kebangsaan ini.

Tuan Pengerusi, tidak usah-lah kita cheritakan bagaimana kejayaan² dalam lapangan lain yang sudah mereka peroleh. Satu daripada-nya ia-lah menjelang-nya tahun hadapan ini bahasa China dan bahasa Tamil akan di-ajar dalam semua sekolah² yang murid-nya ada sa-ramai 15 orang daripada mereka itu. Ini masalah, bagi PAS, walau pun tuan² mengatakan ini perkauman, apa yang di-ucapkan oleh PAS ini perkauman, tetapi kami perchaya tidak ada sa-buah negara pun dalam dunia ini yang mengamalkan dasar pelajaran seperti Malaysia ini, menghidupkan satu bangsa, satu bahasa, dengan memberi galakan kepada bahasa² lain mengembangkan pengaruh-nya. Tuan Pengerusi, kita tahu bangsa² lain dalam

lapangan lain, dalam ekonomi, mereka sudah 100%—ini tidak dapat di-nafikan oleh sa-siapa pun. Dalam lapangan politik, mereka sudah sama dengan kita. Dalam lapangan² lain semua-nya mereka lebih daripada kita. Yang tinggal kepada orang Melayu ia-lah bahasa kebangsaan ini satu. Ini-lah kalau mahu di-katakan kedaulatan-nya maseh ada kepada orang Melayu yang ini-lah satu dan kalau ini pun mahu di-sentuh, saya tidak tahu apa yang akan berlaku kepada jenerasi² kita yang akan datang.

Tuan Pengerusi, Yang di-Pertua M.C.A. yang berbetulan dudok dalam Kabinet Kerajaan Malaysia ini sa-bagai Menteri Kewangan, sa-patut-nya memberi nasihat kepada orang²-nya atau pun pengikut²-nya supaya jangan menuntut benda² yang terlampau menaikkan perasaan orang Melayu ini yang memang sudah termundor dalam segala lapangan, jangan menaikkan perasaan orang Melayu, orang Melayu sudah miskin, sudah tidak ada pelajaran, sudah kurang dan lagi orang yang miskin dan bagi orang yang tidak ada pelajaran ini, dia tidak takut mati, kerana dia tidak sayang hidup atas dunia ini, kerana tidak ada satu benda yang hendak di-pertahankan dia lebih baik mati. Sa-patut-nya memberi nasihat kepada pengikut² M.C.A. ini supaya jangan buat macham itu, jangan tuntutan yang sudah dapat daripada sedekah orang UMNO itu pun sudah cukup, jangan minta yang lebih. Itu sa-patut-nya di-nasihatkan kepada pengikut², tetapi bukan. Yang Berhormat atau pun Yang Berhormat Yang di-Pertua M.C.A. memberi jaminan kepada pengikut² M.C.A., kalau perlu masalah bahasa kebangsaan ini akan di-bawa ka-dalam Kabinet.

Jadi, di-hadapan kita orang UMNO atau pun di-hadapan ra'ayat biasa ini, mereka mengatakan kita sokong bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa kebangsaan, tetapi dari pintu belakang masalah bahasa China dan bahasa Tamil ini di-bawa masuk sa-hingga ka-dalam Kabinet.

Tuan Pengerusi, bahasa Tamil bukan sahaja di-Tanah Melayu ini, di-India pun tidak mendapat tempat. Di-negeri

tumpah darah bahasa Tamil ini pun tidak mendapat tempat, tetapi di-Malaysia ini, hendak di-jadikan bahasa rasmi. Ini-lah satu benda yang patut Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran ini mengikhtiarkan supaya jangan ada lagi tuntutan² dari pihak Parti Perikatan sendiri.

Tuan Pengerusi, Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri pernah mengatakan orang² yang berjuang yang hendak mendaulatkan bahasa kebangsaan itu ia-lah puak² pelampau. Ini ada-lah satu ucapan, satu tuduhan yang tidak patut di-keluarkan oleh Perdana Menteri kita terhadap pejuang² bahasa kebangsaan ini. Dan kalau di-antara kita ini ada pejuang² kebangsaan yang sudah di-chap sa-bagai puak² pelampau, berma'ana-lah ini memberi tali dan memberi senjata yang paling tajam kepada pihak² yang memang sentiasa menanti peluang untuk menentang bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa kebangsaan. Tuan Pengerusi, bagi saya, saya mengatakan kalau betul pihak² yang menuntut bahasa mereka di-jadikan bahasa rasmi ini ta'at setia kepada Tanah Melayu ini, atau pun kepada Malaysia ini, mereka tidak akan menuntut benda yang lebih², seperti bahasa kebangsaan yang hanya ini-lah tinggal kepada orang² Melayu.

Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri dan Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran sendiri telah memberi jawapan bahawa kita tidak akan menggunakan kekerasan dalam masalah bahasa kebangsaan ini. Ya, saya bersetuju, tidak ada guna-nya kita menggunakan kekerasan dan kalau kekerasan di-gunakan, maka kita pun tidak berjaya dan dia orang pun tidak berjaya, akhir-nya musnah. Tetapi tidak bolehkah sa-bagai parti yang terbesar dalam Perikatan ini, ia-itu UMNO mithal-nya, dalam meshuarat² Parti Perikatan ini memberi tahu kepada kawan²-nya daripada M.C.A. dan M.I.C. ini supaya jangan masalah bahasa ini di-timbulkan, sudah chukup-lah apa yang kamu dapat dan masalah bahasa ini biarlah bahasa Melayu itu tetap menjadi bahasa kebangsaan. Saya pernah mengusulkan dalam Dewan Ra'ayat ini pada Budget yang dahulu—bantuan ka-

sekolah² China dan Tamil hendak-lah di-berhentikan, jangan beri langsung bantuan², dan pernah Yang Berhormat daripada Pulau Pinang memberi tahu dalam Dewan ini supaya Kerajaan mesti membuat sa-suatu supaya PAS ini jangan menjadi Parti yang memerintah—memang-lah dia orang itu takut, kalau PAS memerintah, dan memang kalau PAS memerintah, kita tidak beri peluang bahasa China di-jadikan bahasa sekolah² kalau orang hendak tumpang dudok, dan kami terima dan orang ini dudok dengan syarat ta'at kepada apa yang terkandung dalam Perlembagaan, dan dalam Perlembagaan mengatakan bahasa Melayu mesti menjadi bahasa kebangsaan.

Kalau tidak mengikut itu berma'anya sudah melanggar Perlembagaan, tidak ada beza-nya Sukarno menyanyi lagu Negara Ku dengan berupa rentak asal-nya ia-itu lagu Terang Bulan, dengan apa yang di-lakukan oleh orang M.C.A. dan M.I.C. melanggar Perlembagaan dengan menuntut bahasa lain menjadikan bahasa rasmi—ta' ada beza-nya, Tuan Pengerusi.

Tuan Pengerusi, Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran kita pernah berucap bahawa Kerajaan akan bersikap liberal dalam masalah bahasa ini. Kita sudah nampak bagaimana 'azab-nya orang Melayu di-dalam masalah ekonomi liberal, bagaimana seksa-nya orang Melayu dalam masalah ekonomi ini, begitu-lah juga akan terseksa-nya orang Melayu dalam masalah bahasa kebangsaan ini, dan saya perchaya bagaimana mereka sudah berjaya dalam lapangan² politik dan ekonomi, mereka akan berjaya dalam lapangan pelajaran ini, kalau tidak dari sekarang, kita rentikan tuntutan² yang tidak munasabah ini. Tuan Pengerusi, dalam masalah bahasa ini, kita sudah bagi tahu tidak ada tolak ansor. Kalau Tunku, kalau Perdana Menteri Malaysia ini, mahu bertolak ansor, Perdana Menteri itu wajib kita gulingkan. Dalam masalah bahasa kebangsaan ini, tidak ada bermanis muka dan tidak ada tolak ansor. Kalau ini pun mahu di-tolak ansor, maka saya perchaya, chita² mahu mewujudkan satu bangsa baharu di-Malaysia ini tidak

akan berjaya, chita² "to build a new nation" akan menemui kehancoran, sa-belum dia-nya sempat di-dirikan. Chita² ini akan menjadi impian dan khayalan yang akan tinggal dalam sejarah. Orang² PAS sa-ramai 350,000 orang pengundi² PAS baharu² ini akan bersatu dengan orang² UMNO—dalam masaalah bahasa kebangsaan ini, kami sanggup melupakan PAS kami dan saya perchaya orang² UMNO pun sanggup melupakan UMNO-nya demi mempertahankan masaalah bahasa kebangsaan ini, dan bila kedua² gulungan ini bersatu—tidak ada kuasa di-bawah langit ini yang dapat memberhentikan sa-suatu daripada timbul, daripada apa yang di-timbulkan oleh dua gulungan yang bersatu ini.

Tuan Pengerusi, saya harap Kerajaan Perikatan dan khas-nya Yang Berhormat Menteri ini sendiri supaya betul² tegas dalam masaalah bahasa kebangsaan ini, kalau mahu melihat Malaysia ini aman, ma'amor dan damai sa-bagaimana yang di-janjikan kepada ra'ayat, kalau tidak Malaysia pasti akan hancor.

Enche' Amadeus Mathew Leong (Sabah): Mr Chairman, Sir, in giving my support to the Estimates, I wish to touch on item (53) under Supply Head S. 20, on page 220, concerning Grants to Aided Secondary Schools and also items (57) to (63) concerning Trade Schools. I am aware of the increase in the allocation, Mr Chairman, Sir, but I consider that the sum should further be increased. Being aware of the progress achieved in respect of education in Sabah, I feel that much more has to be expanded if the plight and problems of the people are to be attended to, so that the children will not put all the blame on us in future.

Mr Chairman, Sir, each year a considerably increased number of children, after having successfully completed their primary education, seek admission into higher schools with the intention of furthering their studies but the problem of not being able to accommodate them all always arises. Some with high intelligence, besides those of wealthy parents, could possibly obtain

places locally or elsewhere, but quite a number who actually have the scope for higher learning have to be overlooked and ignored. What are we going to do with these under-age offsprings? Ignore them and let them be whatever they may turn out to be? We must admit that we cannot afford to see more juvenile delinquents and gangsters in the beloved country of ours. Moreover, it would be contrary to the expectations of the parents concerned and of the Government as well, who look forward to see that our children will grow up to be next years sole citizens of this country.

Therefore, Mr Chairman, Sir, although the Honourable Minister concerned might already have in mind some solution to overcome this defect and shortcoming, I consider that this matter especially requires immediate consideration and attention. If I may suggest, Mr Chairman, Sir, more grants should be made available for Aided Secondary Schools and the provision of another Trade School or another form of school of comprehensive system in Sabah should be seriously considered in addition to the present existing Trade School in Jesselton, so that improvements to meet the demand of the more unfortunate ones could be seen, or else it will not only be a blot on the leaders of Sabah but also on the Federal Government in particular.

Mr Chairman, Sir, touching on Sub-head 47 on page 220, I also like to draw the attention of the Honourable Minister concerned that inspite of the facilities and privileges enjoyed by children in most parts of Malaysia, such as the provisions of free primary education, free textbooks, etc., there are many in certain parts of Sabah who were born in remote areas and who do not even know what schooling is. I have informed this House early this year that parents, who were anxious to have their children at schools were unable to do so due to difficult access to and being far away from any existing school. They have even ventured to put up school houses in their respective kampongs on basis of *gotong royong* in the hope that the Government will

provide them with a teacher after having done so. But to their utter disappointment later, they were told by the Education Officer that the Department concerned could not meet their request as it is a Federal matter and required approval before any definite answer could be given, in spite of the strong recommendation usually submitted by the Local Education Committee concerned, who sometimes feel that their comments and recommendations are uncalled for and disregarded. Could then the Honourable Minister regard this case as deserving and worthy of favourable consideration? After all, these unfortunate people deserve to be given their share of the development and progress of Malaysia and what they want now is only a teacher for their children.

Mr Chairman, Sir, touching on item 54, on the same page 220, I wish also to express my dissatisfaction over this sum in spite of the increase provided. Permit me to say, Sir, that it is only natural that, due to growing progress and the prosperity of the country and the well-being of its people that an increasing demand of school places in Sabah, by the coming into school-age children especially, should follow. It is, therefore, regrettable to say that in the Annual Estimates the provision drafted for the existing schools for the purpose of meeting this demand is far from being in line with the recommended estimates given by the Local Education Committee concerned. Mr Chairman, Sir, on behalf of our future generation, I appeal to the Minister concerned to take steps to look into this matter so as to recommend a review of the present policy.

Mr Chairman, Sir, touching on Sub-head 3, under O.C.A.R., concerning adult education for Sarawak, I wish to take this opportunity to express my opinion in connection with this item and, that is, adult education in Sabah should also be under the portfolio of the Minister concerned as it has been carried out in Sarawak. The reasons for my suggestion are:

- (i) it concerns education much more than any other subjects;

- (ii) the Education Department has the necessary and available staff to exploit this provision;
- (iii) unnecessary equipment and unnecessary engagement of officials, such as inexperienced Supervisors and the provision of buildings in some areas could be avoided;
- (iv) as a result of this, eradication of non-essential expenditure, opportunity could be extended to people of other remote areas; and
- (v) the co-operation of the Local Education Committee concerned will automatically come in.

Mr Chairman, Sir, with a view of promoting the well-being of the people and the future interests of the country as a whole, I have expressed these views of mine and trust that the Honourable Ministers concerned will take this matter up for consideration. Thank you, Sir.

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali (Larut Utara): (*rises*).

Mr Chairman: Berapa lama agak-nya Yang Berhormat hendak berchakap, kalau pendek saya boleh benarkan, jangan panjangkan sangat!

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali: Terima kasih, Dato' Pengerusi. Saya wakil daripada kawasan Larut Utara mengambil peluang menguchapkan satinggi² tahniah kepada Menteri Pelajaran di atas progress dan kejayaan beliau menjalankan dasar pelajaran, khas-nya dalam kawasan saya dan 'am-nya dalam Malaysia kita ini. Di-samping itu, Dato' Pengerusi, saya hendak berchakap di-dalam Head S. 18 muka 185—Lembaga Pepereksaan, Butiran (238) sampai (262) berjumlah \$451,052.

Dato' Pengerusi, sa-belum perang dahulu, jarang² kita dengar kertas pepereksaan bochor—jarang sangat, terutama sa-kali macham kertas pepereksaan School Certificate. Tetapi sa-lepas kita mendapat kemerdekaan ini, selalu sangat kita dengar, ia-itu kertas pepereksaan bochor. Ini tidak baik. Jadi, saya harap dan minta-lah kepada Menteri yang berkenaan itu, sunggoh

pun saya tahu satu bangunan yang lengkap dan di-jaga dengan rapi di-Kuala Lumpur kita ini, tetapi kadang² kita ada dengar, ia-itu baharu² ini seperti di-Johor; betul tidak betul, saya harap Menteri kalau tidak betul perchakapan saya ini, saya harap Menteri akan betulkan, ia-itu di-Johor ada bunyi-nya kertas peperiksaan L.C.E. bochor. Jadi, di-atas perkara ini, Dato' Pengerusi, saya harap sangat-lah kertas peperiksaan ini di-jaga sungguh² dan jangan ada kebochoran langsung.

Peperiksaan School Certificate ini, Dato' Pengerusi, saya sudah puas hati, kalau sa-kira-nya Federation Certificate of Education boleh di-adakan peperiksaan di-sini, mengapa tidak School Certificate di-adakan soalan²-nya di-sini dan di-jalankan di-sini, kerana ini mengurangkan perbelanjaan kita. Kita sudah merdeka, mengapa di-harapkan England lagi, kalau-lah ada, kurang² satu dua orang pegawai, kita boleh bawa daripada England—import dan jangan-lah bergantung kepada England sana, di-Cambridge.

Saya sekarang masuk muka 203 Head S. 18, Dato' Pengerusi, ia-itu Fees for Part-time Lecturers. Jadi di-sini, Dato' Pengerusi, saya tengok anak² Melayu kita tertinggal sangat dalam lapangan pelajaran ini dan jarang² anak² Melayu kita hari ini dapat sampai boleh dapat certificate yang pertama atau pun dapat School Certificate atau pun dapat certificate dengan subject²-nya yang cukup untuk mereka itu masuk H.S.C. Jadi, di-sini saya shor-kan kepada pihak Menteri supaya adakan kelas² yang lebih sedikit, khas-nya kepada anak kita Melayu menyiapkan budak² ini untuk memasuki Universiti.

Berkenaan dengan muka 213, Biasiswa, Butiran (20) dan (27) ini saya harap boleh-lah di-tambah banyak kepada anak² kita Melayu sebab anak² Melayu yang berjaya pun menerusi biasiswa. Jadi kalau tidak ada biasiswa, anak Melayu kita payah-lah hendak meneruskan pelajaran mereka itu daripada bawah sampai ka-Universiti. Kapada Universiti pula, saya memandang satu perbelanjaan yang bagini banyak sampai \$12 juta lebih, dan saya sangat kesal terutama sa-kali

langkah² yang telah di-ambil oleh budak² Melayu kita mendapat biasiswa daripada Kerajaan membuat bantahan atau anak² ini, terutama sa-kali, berchampur gaul dalam lapangan politik. Ini saya tidak gemar sa-kali. Kalau hendak champor, sa-kira-nya mereka itu dapat Scholarship kita, hantar balek Scholarship kita dan champor-lah dalam lapangan politik—kalau tidak, jangan! Itu-lah harapan kita, kalau dia mahu champor dalam lapangan politik, saya perchaya harapan kita kepada mereka itu tipis untuk mereka itu dapat kejayaan dalam lapangan pelajaran mereka yang kita harap² sangat di-peringkat Universiti.

Muka 217, Dato' Pengerusi, yang akhir sa-kali ia-lah saya suka menarek perhatian kepada Yang Berhormat Menteri, khas-nya kepada Trade School, Ipoh. Sekolah ini saya dapat cerita yang boleh di-perchaya, guru²-nya menekan anak² kita Melayu. Anak² Melayu tidak di-benarkan langsung masuk jurusan electrical. Jadi boleh di-katakan semua-nya di-salurkan kepada tempat yang kurang baik, ia-itu jurusan pertukangan kayu dan sa-bagai-nya. Saya tidak puas hati dan harap Menteri buat siasatan, bukan sahaja di-Ipoh ini bahkan di-lain² sekolah Trade School ini supaya memberi peluang lebih banyak lagi kepada anak² Melayu kita mengambil jurusan electrical dan jurusan lain juga. Sekian, terima kasih.

Enche' Abdul Karim bin Abu (Melaka Selatan): Dato' Pengerusi, dalam mengalu²kan Estimate Kementerian Pelajaran ini, saya berchakap muka 173, Menteri

Mr Chairman: Masa sudah sampai, sambong esok-lah.

House resumed.

Mr Speaker: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, saya hendak menyatakan ada-lah Committee of Supply berkenaan dengan Supply Bill, 1966, yang maseh lagi membahathkan Head S. 18, S. 19, dan S. 20 jadi Jadual-nya.

Meshuarat di-tanggohkan hingga pukul 9.30 esok.

Adjourned at 8.02 p.m.