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Thursday
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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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

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OLEH THOR BENG CHONG, A.M.N., PENCHETAK KERAJAAN,
KUALA LUMPUR
1967

Harga: \$1

MALAYSIA

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

Official Report

Third Session of the Second Dewan Ra'ayat

Thursday, 16th June, 1966

The House met at 10.00 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, Minister of Defence, Minister of National and Rural Development, TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ the Minister of Finance, TUAN TAN SIEW SIN, J.P. (Melaka Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, TAN SRI V. T. SAMBANTHAN, P.M.N. (Sungei Siput).
- „ the Minister of Transport, TAN SRI HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ the Minister for Welfare Services, CAPT. HAJI ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, J.M.N., J.P. (Batang Padang).
- „ the Minister of Labour, TUAN V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).
- „ the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, TUAN SENU BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, TUAN HAJI MOHD. GHAZALI BIN HAJI JAWI (Ulu Perak).
- „ the Minister of Lands and Mines, TUAN ABDUL-RAHMAN BIN YA'KUB (Sarawak).
- „ the Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development, TUAN SULAIMAN BIN BULON (Bagan Datoh).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, DATO' ENSKU MUHSEIN BIN ABDUL KADIR, J.M.N., S.M.T., P.J.K. (Trengganu Tengah).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Education, TUAN 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, TUAN IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Seberang Tengah).
- „ the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour, TUAN LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N., (Segamat Selatan).

- The Honourable the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance,
TUAN ALI BIN HAJI AHMAD (Pontian Selatan).
- „ the Parliamentary Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister,
TUAN CHEN WING SUM (Damansara).
- „ TUAN ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- „ TUAN 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, A.B.S.
(Sarawak).
- „ TUAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB, P.J.K. (Kuantan).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDUL RASHID BIN HAJI JAIS (Sabah).
- „ TUAN ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN (Lipis).
- „ TUAN ABDUL SAMAD BIN GUL AHMAD MIANJI
(Pasir Mas Hulu).
- „ DATO' ABDULLAH BIN ABDULRAHMAN, Dato' Bijaya di-Raja
(Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ Y.A.M. TUNKU ABDULLAH IBNI AL-MARHUM TUANKU ABDUL
RAHMAN, P.P.T. (Rawang).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI MOHD. SALLEH,
A.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S. (Segamat Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABU BAKAR BIN HAMZAH (Bachok).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN ABDULLAH (Kelantan Hilir).
- „ TUAN AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N. (Muar Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SA'AID, J.P. (Seberang Utara).
- „ PUAN AJIBAH BINTI ABOL (Sarawak).
- „ O. K. K. DATU ALIUDDIN BIN DATU HARUN, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ DR AWANG BIN HASSAN, S.M.J. (Muar Selatan).
- „ TUAN AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- „ TUAN JONATHAN BANGAU ANAK RENANG, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- „ TUAN CHAN SEONG YOON (Setapak).
- „ TUAN CHAN SIANG SUN, P.J.K. (Bentong).
- „ TUAN CHEW BIOW CHUON (Bruas).
- „ TUAN FRANCIS CHIA NYUK TONG (Sabah).
- „ TUAN CHIN FOON (Ulu Kinta).
- „ TUAN C. V. DEVAN NAIR (Bungsar).
- „ TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S.
(Batu Pahat Dalam).
- „ DATIN HAJAH FATIMAH BINTI HAJI ABDUL MAJID
(Johor Bahru Timor).
- „ TAN SRI FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N.
(Jitra-Padang Terap).
- „ TUAN S. FAZUL RAHMAN, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ TUAN GANING BIN JANGKAT (Sabah).
- „ TUAN GEH CHONG KEAT, K.M.N. (Penang Utara).

The Honourable TUAN HAJI HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Kapar).

- „ TUAN HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N., J.P. (Kulim Utara).
- „ TUAN HANAFIAH BIN HUSSAIN, A.M.N. (Jerai).
- „ TUAN HARUN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N., J.P. (Baling).
- „ WAN HASSAN BIN WAN DAUD (Tumpat).
- „ TUAN STANLEY HO NGUN KHIU, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ TUAN 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 HUSSEIN BIN SULAIMAN (Ulu Kelantan).
- „ TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN (Kota Bharu Hulu).
- „ TUAN IKHWAN ZAINI (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN ISMAIL BIN IDRIS (Penang Selatan).
- „ TAN SRI SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, P.M.N. (Johor Tenggara).
- „ PENGHULU JINGGUT ANAK ATTAN, Q.M.C., A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN KAM WOON WAH, J.P. (Sitiawan).
- „ TUAN KHOO PENG LOONG (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN LEE SECK FUN, K.M.N. (Tanjong Malim).
- „ TUAN AMADEUS MATHEW LEONG, A.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
- „ DATO' LING BENG SIEW, P.N.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- „ DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD (Kota Star Selatan).
- „ TUAN T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).
- „ TUAN JOSEPH DAVID MANJAJI (Sabah).
- „ DATO' DR HAJI MEGAT KHAS, D.P.M.P., J.P., P.J.K. (Kuala Kangsar).
- „ TUAN MOHD. ARIF SALLEH, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ DATO' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA, S.P.M.K. (Pasir Puteh).
- „ ORANG TUA MOHAMMAD DARA BIN LANGPAD (Sabah).
- „ TUAN MOHD. DAUD BIN ABDUL SAMAD (Besut).
- „ TUAN MOHAMED IDRIS BIN MATSIL, J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P. (Jejebu-Jempol).
- „ TUAN MOHD. TAHIR BIN ABDUL MAJID, S.M.S., P.J.K. (Kuala Langat).
- „ TUAN MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- „ TUAN MOHD. ZAHIR BIN HAJI ISMAIL, J.M.N. (Sungei Patani).
- „ WAN MOKHTAR BIN AHMAD (Kemaman).
- „ TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).
- „ TUAN 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).

- The Honourable TUAN MUSTAPHA BIN AHMAD (Tanah Merah).
- „ TUAN NG FAH YAM (Batu Gajah).
- „ TUAN HAJI OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Hilir Perak).
- „ TUAN OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI RAHMAT BIN HAJI DAUD, A.M.N. (Johor Bahru Barat).
- „ TUAN RAMLI BIN OMAR (Krian Darat).
- „ TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID, P.J.K., J.P. (Rembau-Tampin).
- „ RAJA ROME BIN RAJA MA'AMOR, P.J.K., J.P. (Kuala Selangor).
- „ TUAN SEAH TENG NGIAB, P.I.S. (Muar Pantai).
- „ TUAN D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ DATO' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM, D.P.M.P., P.M.P., J.P. (Menglembu).
- „ TUAN SIOW LOONG HIN, P.J.K. (Seremban Barat).
- „ TUAN SENAWI BIN ISMAIL, P.J.K. (Seberang Selatan).
- „ TUAN SOH AH TECK (Batu Pahat).
- „ TUAN SULEIMAN BIN ALI (Dungun).
- „ TUAN SULAIMAN BIN HAJI TALIB (Krian Laut).
- „ PENGIRAN TAHIR PETRA (Sabah).
- „ TUAN TAJUDDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- „ TUAN TAI KUAN YANG (Kulim Bandar Bharu).
- „ TUAN TAMA WENG TINGGANG WAN (Sarawak).
- „ DR TAN CHEE KOON (Batu).
- „ TUAN TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- „ TUAN TAN TOH HONG (Bukit Bintang).
- „ TUAN TIAH ENG BEE (Kluang Utara).
- „ TUAN TOH THEAM HOCK (Kampar).
- „ TUAN YEH PAO TZE, A.M.N. (Sabah).
- „ TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB, P.J.K. (Langat).

ABSENT:

- The Honourable the Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign 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, TUN DR ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, S.S.M., P.M.N. (Johor Timor).
- „ the Minister of Education, TUAN MOHAMED KHIR JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Health, TUAN 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, TUAN KHAW KAI-BOH, P.J.K. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister for Sarawak Affairs, DATO' TEMENGGONG JUGAH ANAK BARIENG, P.M.N., P.D.K. (Sarawak).

- The Honourable the Assistant Minister without Portfolio, TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).
- „ PENGARAH BANYANG ANAK JANTING, P.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN CHIA CHIN SHIN, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN D. A. DAGO ANAK RANDAN *alias* DAGOK ANAK RANDAN (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN EDWIN ANAK TANGKUN (Sarawak).
- „ DATU GANIE GILONG, P.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
- „ TUAN KADAM ANAK KIAI (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN THOMAS KANA (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN EDMUND LANGGU ANAK SAGA (Sarawak).
- „ DR LIM CHONG EU (Tanjong).
- „ TUAN LIM PEE HUNG, P.J.K. (Alor Star).
- „ TUAN PETER LO SU YIN (Sabah).
- „ TUAN C. JOHN ONDU MAJAKIL (Sabah).
- „ TUAN MUSTAPHA BIN DATU HARUN, S.M.N. (Sarawak).
- „ TAN SRI 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).
- „ TUAN ONG KEE HUI (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Timor).
- „ TUAN SANDOM ANAK NYUAK (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN SIM BOON LIANG, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN SNG CHIN JOO (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
- „ TUAN TAN TSAK YU (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN STEPHEN YONG KUET TZE (Sarawak).

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

LEAKAGE OF GOVERNMENT SECRETS—DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS AGAINST GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

1. Tuan C. V. Devan Nair (Bungsar) asks the Prime Minister to state (a) the number of Government servants who have been purged from the Government service for leaking Government secrets since March, 24, 1966, when he ordered the purge; (b) what avenues were opened to such Government servants to defend themselves; and (c) the number of Government servants who have been suspended or face

disciplinary action under the same charge.

The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Haji Abdul Razak): Mr Speaker, Sir, the answer to each part of the question is as follows:

- (a) No Government officers have been dismissed;
- (b) Article 135 (2) of the Constitution and the General Orders provide sufficient safeguards to members of the public service if disciplinary action is taken against them for leaking out Government secrets. Article 135 (2) of the Constitution provides that Government officers shall not be dismissed or reduced in rank without being given a reasonable opportunity of being heard, and the General Orders also provide that when an officer is charged for any disciplinary

offence he is given adequate opportunity by the disciplinary authority to exculpate himself; and

- (c) No Government officers have been suspended or have been asked to face disciplinary action.

Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam (Meng-lembu): In view of the answers given to this question, will the Government consider issuing a statement to the effect that the sweeping allegations made by the Honourable Prime Minister at the last meeting of Parliament were absolutely unfounded in so far as the Lord President's Department is concerned?

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Sir, my colleague the Minister of Justice has already replied to a question in this House that the Government had caused a thorough investigation to be made into the leakage of guarded information from this Department and the investigation has been completed. As this investigation involved a number of officers, it is not in the public interest to publish the report of this investigation; but, as I have said, the investigation has brought out the fact that there has been leakage of guarded Government information from that Department and Government intends to take appropriate action in accordance with the result of that investigation.

Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam: Is it then correct to assume that sooner or later we shall hear of disciplinary action being taken against certain officers?

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: I said that we are taking action in accordance with the result of that investigation. The action to be taken against the officers will depend, of course, on the evidence brought out as a result of that investigation.

KEGUNAAN TENTERA WATANIAH SA-TELAH KONFERANTASI INDONESIA TAMAT

2. Tuan Abu Bakar bin Hamzah (Bachok) bertanya kepada Menteri Pertahanan bagaimana Kerajaan akan

menggunakan Tentera Wataniah apabila konferantasi Indonesia tamat.

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh kerana konferantasi dan dharurat sa-bilangan daripada Pasokan² Askar Wataniah atau Tentera Tempatan telah di-kerah untuk berkhidmat penoh. Dengan tamat-nya konferantasi ini Pasokan² itu akan di-berhentikan daripada perkhidmatan kerahan. Akan tetapi, mereka itu akan di-kehendaki kembali kepada peranan atau tanggung-jawab-nya yang biasa sa-bagai Ahli² Tentera Sukarela dalam masa aman.

Tuan Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussin (Lipis): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidakkah Kerajaan berchadang hendak mengekalkan terus Tentera Wataniah ini sa-bagaimana Kerajaan² lain dalam dunia ini mengadakan Tentera Wanita ini?

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Baik sama ada bagi pihak laki² dan perempuan akan di-kekalkan; yang saya katakan tadi ia-lah dengan tamat dharurat mereka itu tidak di-kehendaki berkhidmat sa-penoh masa atau di-call-up, tetapi bekerja sa-bagai Tentera Sukarela akan di-teruskan.

MENAREK BALEK PERUNTOKAN BAGI MEMBANTU PEMBANGUNAN DALAM NEGERI KELANTAN

3. Tuan Abu Bakar bin Hamzah bertanya kepada Menteri Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar adakah benar bahawa Kementerian-nya telah mengarahkan Parti Perikatan di-Kelantan supaya meminta Kerajaan Pusat menarek balek wang peruntokan bagi membantu pembangunan dalam negeri Kelantan; jika benar, nyatakan sebab Kerajaan Pusat mengambil tindakan yang demikian, dan jika tidak, nyatakan tindakan yang telah di-ambil, yang sedang di-ambil, atau yang akan di-ambil oleh Kerajaan terhadap mana² pihak yang menimbulkan kekeliruan ini.

Menteri Muda Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar (Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benarnya, saya tidak tahu atas ada-nya

arahan yang seperti itu daripada Kementerian saya.

Tuan Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Soalan tambahan. Jika saya dapat mengemukakan bukti² yang boleh diperchayai tentang kerja² yang bagini dapat-kah Yang Berhormat Menteri kita itu memberi jaminan bahawa ada tindakan yang akan di-ambil terhadap orang² yang menimbulkan kekeliruan yang sa-macham itu?

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau sa-kira-nya di-beri bukti kita akan memikirkan perkara itu.

Tuan Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa ma'ana memikirkan perkara itu kalau bukti sudah ada?

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Tidak ada bukti yang nyata dengan sebab itu tidak ada apa urusan atau tindakan yang boleh di-perbuat sa-belum-nya.

Mr Speaker: Barangkali di-timbang-kan perkara itu.

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Di-timbangkan.

PERTUBOHAN BANK BUMI-PUTRA DI-SARAWAK

4. Tuan Haji Muhammad Su'at bin Hj. Muhd. Tahir (Sarawak) bertanya kepada Menteri Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar bila-kah Bank Bumi-putra akan di-tubuhkan di-Sarawak.

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Lembaga Pengurus Bank Bumiputra ada-lah sedang membuat penyiasatan di-atas kemungkinan menubuhkan chawangan² Bank itu di-seluruh Malaysia. Chawangan Bank itu harus dapat di-buka di-Sarawak dalam masa yang tidak berapa lama lagi.

PERTUBOHAN SA-BUAH SHARIKAT PENGANGKUTAN DI-SARAWAK

5. Tuan Haji Muhammad Su'at bin Hj. Muhd. Tahir [S.O. 24 (2)] bertanya kepada Menteri Pembangunan Negara

dan Luar Bandar sama ada atau tidak MARA akan menolong bumiputra² untuk menubuhkan sa-buah Sharikat Pengangkutan di-Sarawak.

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, memang-lah dasar MARA ia-lah membentok dan menjalankan perkhidmatan bas dan penyertaan bumiputra di-tempat² yang berkenaan dengan tujuan hendak menolong perkhidmatan² itu kepada mereka apabila perkhidmatan² itu telah berjalan dengan lichin dan maju.

PERUSAHAAN BATEK DI-TANAH MELAYU

6. Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah (Kelantan Hilir) bertanya kepada Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan:

- (a) berapa buah kilang² kain batek yang berjentera moden yang telah di-bena di-Tanah Melayu dalam tahun 1963, 1964, 1965 dan 1966;
- (b) berapa banyak-kah wang pinjaman yang telah di-beri kepada mereka oleh MIDFL; dan
- (c) berapa banyak hasil pengeluaran kain batek mengikut hitungan ela oleh tiap² kilang itu pada sa-tahun.

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, (a) tidak ada pada masa sekarang ini; (b) dan (c) tidak berbangkit.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soalan tambahan. Yang Berhormat Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan sendiri telah mengeluarkan satu kenyataan di-dalam masa kempen Pilihan Raya-kecil di-Krian Laut bahawa sa-buah kilang kain batek telah pun terdiri di-Bukit Mertajam dan perbadanan Malayan Industrial Development Fund Loan pun telah memberi sa-banyak \$400,000 hutang kepada kilang tersebut untuk mengeluarkan kain batek sa-banyak 10 juta ela pada tiap² tahun. Ada-kah benar atau tidak?

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak tahu kesah ini. Boleh jadi dalam kempen Pilihan Raya. Tetapi, kalau sa-kira-nya betul

boleh-lah kita uruskan perkara itu dengan melalui Menteri.

Tuan Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Soalan tambahan. Ada-kah dalam kempen Pilihan Raya itu Menteri akan mengeluarkan satu kenyataan yang tidak berasas, berbeza dengan tanggung-jawab-nya sendiri?

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, boleh jadi perkara itu keluar atau pun tidak; itu sa-mata² ada-lah dalam kempen Pilihan Raya, boleh jadi dalam surat-khabar begitu sahaja. Sila-lah berurus dengan Kementerian yang berkenaan.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Soalan tambahan. Pada 12hb Mei, Pengarah MARA sendiri telah mengeluarkan satu jawapan yang panjang di-dalam *Utusan Melayu* yang berkata kain² batek yang di-keluarkan oleh kilang² kain yang sudah terdiri di-dalam negeri kita, akhir-nya, kata-nya kain batek mereka yang di-chap dengan jentera tentu-lah boleh di-jual dengan harga yang lebih murah daripada harga kain batek buatan tangan. Ada-kah kenyataan itu benar atau tidak.

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu ia-lah MARA bukan-nya Kementerian Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, jadi perkara ini tidak berbangkit-lah dalam soalan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Saya bukan bangkitkan MARA, saya bangkitkan di-atas kenyataan-nya yang bahawa sa-nya kilang kain batek yang menjalankan perusahaan-nya dengan jentera telah terdiri. Ini soalan saya dan ada-kah kenyataan ini benar atau tidak.

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, boleh-kah Menteri Yang Berhormat bertanggung-jawab ka-atas jawapan-nya.

Mr Speaker: Dia bertanggung-jawab bila dia menjawab sendiri. (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Jika Yang Berhormat Menteri kita itu sedia menerima saya boleh menamakan orang yang mendirikan kilang ini sekarang.

Mr Speaker: Itu sudah keluar dari-pada batasan soal.

ESTABLISHMENT OF BRANCH OF ANTI-CORRUPTION DEPARTMENT IN SABAH

7. **Tuan J. D. Manjaji (Sabah)** asks the Minister of Home Affairs whether he would consider setting up a branch of the Anti-Corruption Department or its equivalent in Sabah in view of the existence of large Government and non-Government Development Projects involving the control and expenditure of large sums of money by a small select number of individuals.

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Mr Speaker Sir, on the 21st April the Cabinet had approved the establishment of a Ministerial Committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Home Affairs to review the work of the Anti-Corruption Agency; and one of the matters to be considered by this Committee is the extension of the work of the Agency to Sabah and Sarawak.

TAHANAN ENCHE' JALONG JOK

8. **Tuan Tama Weng Tinggang Wan (Sarawak)** bertanya kepada Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri:

- (a) sebab²-nya bagi penangkapan dan penahanan yang tiada berkebenaran terhadap Enche' Jalong Jok oleh Polis Sarawak di-Ulu Baram pada 8hb Januari tahun ini;
- (b) kenapa Polis Sarawak menyatakan ia-itu Enche' Jalong Jok telah di-tangkap kerana ia-nya tiada mempunyai surat kebenaran wal-hal ia-nya telah pun mempunyai surat kebenaran yang sah bertarikh 17hb November, 1965, yang akan mati pada 17hb Mei, 1966;
- (c) apa-kah langkah yang akan diambil terhadap sa-siapa yang didapati bertanggung-jawab terhadap penangkapan dan penahanan

Enche' Jok yang tiada bersalah itu; dan

- (d) bilangan penangkapan dan penahanan yang sa-demikian yang di-lakukan di-Sarawak dan apa tindakan yang akan di-ambil untuk menchegeh berlaku-nya lagi perkara saperti ini, supaya dapat di-adakan keperchayaan penoh orang ramai terhadap pehak polis.

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Jalong Jok ia-lah sa-orang Indonesia yang telah di-benarkan dudok di-Sarawak di-atas visit-pass. Ia telah di-tangkap oleh Polis Sarawak pada 8hb Januari, 1966, sebab di-shakkan ia-itu sa-orang illegal immigrant masuk dengan tidak ada kebenaran, dan ia telah tidak dapat membaharuikan visit-pass yang telah mati atau tamat tempoh-nya pada 30hb September, 1965. Jadi perkara ini ia-lah di-terangkan juga oleh sebab pass yang ada pada-nya itu tidak ada menunjokkan yang pass itu telah di-baharu. Dan Jalong Jok sendiri telah membuat satu kenyataan dengan bertanda-tangan kapada Polis bahawa dia telah tidak membaharu pass-nya itu, akan tetapi apabila telah di-siasat oleh Polis maka telah di-dapati yang tuan—employer—kapada Jalong Jok ini telah membaharu pass-nya itu pada tempoh enam bulan daripada 17hb September, 1965, dan Jalong Jok sendiri tidak tahu hal itu. Jadi bila sudah dapat ketahu ini pehak Polis telah melepaskan dia daripada tahanan, dia di-tahan hanya empat hari sahaja. Tidak ada apa² tindakan di-ambil kapada Pegawai Polis yang berkenaan dengan hal ini kerana tidak ada sebab-nya hendak di-ambil apa² tindakan kerana pehak Polis ada keterangan yang mengatakan yang Jalong Jok ini tidak membaharu pass-nya dan dia dudok di-Sarawak pada masa itu sebab pass tidak dapat di-baharu sa-bagai illegal immigrant. Tidak ada orang yang di-tangkap dengan sa-macham ini kesalahan-nya di-Sarawak sa-belum daripada itu.

Saya suka menegaskan di-sini bahawa tiap² tangkapan yang di-buat oleh Polis itu biasa di-perbuat sa-lepas perkara telah di-siasat dengan halus.

Tuan Tama Weng Tinggang Wan:

Saya mahu menambah kata, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini Enche' Jalong Jok orang Indonesia, betul dia orang Indonesia tetapi dia memang Kenyah juga saudara kami. Masa dia kena tangkap ini dia diam di-kebun saya dari sebab itu-lah saya rasa hati tidak senang. Polis menangkap dia waktu itu saya ada di-Merudi. Polis itu mengudit dari Merudi, saya bertanya pergi mana, dia bilang pulang dia punya rumah sendiri, itu Polis, itu saya pesan apa², maka dia pergi tangkap Jalong Jok ini tempat dia punya kebun tidak memberi tahu kapada saya. Bila dia pulang saya pun tidak tahu Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada saudara dia kerja kayu balak di-Logan Jarong kedua hari baharu dia datang di-Marudi, dia bertanya saya mana saya punya bapa. Dia ada di-kebun. Eh ada orang bilang dia sudah Polis tangkap. Eh mana saya tahu dia bilang. Itu-lah sebab saya tidak senang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Orang ada salah diam tempat saya, saya pun tidak suka, bukan saya mahu menyimpan orang salah, maka ini Jalong Jok kena tangkap, kena tahan dua malam dalam jail baharu saya pergi jumpa. Saya tanya, betul-lah dia keluar, bila dia keluar esok pagi lagi dia bawa pergi Miri. Masa dia berchakap itu Jalong Jok memang dia punya surat pass ada, dia punya surat pass ada, dari 17hb November, 1965, mati kapada 17hb Mei 1966 ini, itu dia punya surat pass. Tetapi Polis bilang kapada saya dia tidak ada bawa. Tiap² satu orang, jangan orang dari Indonesia, orang Sarawak pun bila berjalan mesti sedia sama passport, surat pass ini. Jalong Jok bilang dia ada, dia tengok. Itu-lah sebab nampak ini Polis sengaja mahu kachau dia, dari itu-lah saya tidak suka kapada Polis yang membuat begitu bukan dia tidak suka kapada Polis tidak suka kapada undang², paksa tangkap orang ada pass dari perintah pun dia tidak peduli perintah punya pass, dia mahu pakai dia punya kuat sahaja. Ini Polis ada senapang dari perintah menjaga tanah-ayer kita, itu Polis bawa senapang jaga ra'ayat dalam tanah-ayer kita. Dari itu saya tidak setuju ini ada, nampak ini macham kurang-lah perchaya ra'ayat kapada Polis kerana ini

macham rupa gadoh selalu, surat pun ada dia bilang tidak ada. Siapa lagi perchaya lagi memang kita ada Polis kerana kita perchaya dia menjaga keselamatan kita, dari itu saya perchaya lain yang kena tangkap, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, siapa yang kena tahan ini-lah kerana dia kuasa, bukan ada salah Jalong Jok ini saya satu tauladan saya sendiri yang tengok.

Mr Speaker: Barangkali kesilapan itu boleh jadi; ada pada tiap² orang membuat kesilapan yang sa-macham itu.

Tuan Tama Weng Tinggang Wan: Saya tidak faham!

Mr Speaker: Saya kata, kesilapan² itu

Tuan Tama Weng Tinggang Wan: Oh! kesilapan. Oleh kesilapan yang bagini bagaimana? (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang ini saya harap kita boleh menyenangkan fikiran ra'ayat. Enche' Jalong Jok ini sa-orang ketua dari Indonesia dan dia kena konfrantasi di-Indonesia bukan dia mahu sengaja mahu tinggal di-sini, dia sa-orang ketua dalam rumah panjang, dia ini tinggal dekat dengan saya. saya sa-orang Ahli Dewan Ra'ayat, di-perchayai oleh ra'ayat. Polis ini menangkap dengan tidak bertanya orang ini. Patut kalau saya tahan dia, baharu dia boleh menjalankan kuasa dia kalau dia menunjukkan kesalahan dia, saya tahan dia, patut dia menjalankan dia punya kuasa, dia takut, di-chari-nya orang itu. Jika saya chari orang itu, dia tidak ada, tentu saya report, "Oh! orang ini lari", saya berkata, maka kena-lah Polis yang menangkap-nya, bukan sahaja kemalangan yang besar. Dari itu saya sekarang kuat berchakap fasal Enche' Jalong Jok. Tetapi satu jalan yang dahulu, saya tidak suka mendengar dia berkata surat bertarikh 14hb Mach, 1966, memberitahu pertanyaan² bagi jawab bertulis dalam meshuarat Dewan Ra'ayat.

"Saya telah di-arahkan merojok dan memberitahu pertanyaan² tuan dan mema'alumkan ia-itu pertanyaan yang berikut telah tidak di-benarkan oleh sebab² saperti dibawah ini:

Pertanyaan² menyalahi peratoran meshuarat".

Itu dia punya jawapan. Apa orang bermeshuarat, mahu menangkap orang yang betul atau yang salah. Itu saya hairan melihat jawapan ini tidak membenarkan saya berchakap hari itu. Meshuarat ini mesti-lah tidak menyalahi kerana dia yang menguruskan kesusahan dalam tanah ayer kita di-Malaysia ini. Ini tidak salah dan memberi tahu tidak membenarkan saya bertanya perkara ini kerana salah mengikut peratoran meshuarat. Apa orang meshuarat, tangkap orang yang betul-kah atau orang yang bersalah? Ada pun saya merepotkan kerana dia tangkap orang yang tidak bersalah. Itu-lah chakapan saya mengenai Enche' Jalong Jok ini. Saya harap dahulu ini dapat berseh supaya senang, sekarang ini bergantung kepada kesusahan dengan tidak ada sebab-nya. Dari itu saya menguchapkan terima kaseh.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AT M.C.A. BRANCH MEETING ON 10-4-1966 AT JOHORE BAHRU RE SICKNESS INSURANCE SCHEME

9. Tuan C. V. Devan Nair asks the Minister of Finance to clarify the statement attributed to him in the press which he made at a meeting of the M.C.A. Branch in Johore Bahru on 10th April, 1966 to the effect that "the proposed sickness insurance scheme is aimed at looking after these workers in smaller firms and factories who might be hit by sickness or disabled as a result of their employment" and whether this meant that workers employed in the tin mining industry, plantations and other larger industries are excluded from this important social security provision.

The Minister of Finance (Tuan Tan Siew Sin): I should state that only a portion of the statement attributed to me is high-lighted in the Honourable Member's question, and as such it does not give a complete picture of what I intended to convey. As I made it clear in that speech, and I believe this was duly reported in the press, the intention of the Alliance Government is to take care of the interests of the many rather than that of the few. At the

same time, we should be realistic enough to know that it is not possible to establish a welfare state in this country in one operation, simply because we just do not have adequate resources to make this possible. As they say, Rome was not built in a day. Britain, with a worldwide empire, was able to complete the process only about twenty years ago. There is, however, no reason why we should not make a modest start, and that is why the Government has decided to cover only the contingencies of invalidity, employment injury, and occupational disease in the first instance.

When I also stated that the proposed scheme would look after workers in the smaller factories and firms, who may be struck down by ill health, or disabled as a result of their employment, the intention was not to convey that other industries would be excluded. I was only highlighting that category of employees, who would benefit more than those employed in larger, and thus better organised industries, who may be getting some form of protection in one way or another. It is hardly necessary to add that employees in small business establishments are at the moment hardly or not protected at all and, hence, are in the greatest need of it.

As regards the exact coverage of the scheme, an expert from India is already in the country to assist us in drafting the required legislation and in implementing it. The final decision in regard to the coverage and other matters normally associated with such a scheme will be decided after the receipt of his final report.

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair: Sir, the Minister referred to a speech which he had made. Is it not true that that particular speech was made after the question was submitted, because one notices, Sir, that the Alliance Ministers are in the habit, of answering questions after the questions have been submitted but before Parliament meets in the papers. I manage to read quite a number of answers to my questions soon after the questions were submitted and before Parliament met.

Tuan Tan Siew Sin: Sir, I regret to say that the Honourable Member, I think, has rather a short memory. If he will recall the date of the speech, I think you will agree that the speech was made long before the meeting of this Parliament was scheduled.

PURCHASE OF CARS BY JUDGES—LIMITATION OF COST

10. Dr Tan Chee Khoo [*under S.O. 24 (2)*] asks the Minister of Finance whether:

- (a) it is true that the Judges are not supposed to buy cars valued at more than \$12,000, and if so, why that limit had been fixed;
- (b) what is the position with regard to cars belonging to the Lord President, the Chief Justices, and Ministers.

Tuan Tan Siew Sin: Mr Speaker, Sir, if part (a) of the question refers to the privilege of being provided with official cars granted to judges since the amendment to the Judges' Remuneration Act, 1963, enacted this year, then the answer is in the affirmative. In this connection, the Treasury has fixed the ceiling price of an official car for a judge at \$10,000 free of tax. However, if there are good reasons to support a request for a slight increase over the ceiling price, the Treasury is prepared to consider it, provided the cost of each car does not exceed \$11,000 free of tax. The fixing of a ceiling price is necessitated by the Government's desire to exercise the strictest economy in the use of public funds. Furthermore, it is considered that a car within this price range, duty free, is adequate for a judge.

In regard to part (b) of the question, it is the intention to fix the ceiling price of official cars used by Cabinet Ministers, the Lord President of the Federal Court, and Chief Justices to \$12,000 free of tax, for a similar reason. I should add that the last car bought by no less a person than the Deputy Prime Minister cost \$12,592.25 free of tax, to give the exact figure. If the Deputy Prime Minister can show such a good

example without any prompting from the Treasury at all, I have no doubt that other members of the Government ranking below him would be happy to follow his example.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, in consonance with the austerity drive, and with what the Minister has just said should not the Honourable Ministers, despite the ceiling that has been fixed by the Governments when their turn comes to buy new cars, show a good example to this country by buying smaller cars.

Tuan Tan Siew Sin: Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not think the cars used by any member of the Government are exceptionally large.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: It is a matter of opinion.

ASSISTANCE BY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MALAYSIA FIVE-YEAR PLAN

11. Tuan Abu Bakar bin Hamzah asks the Minister of Finance to state:

- (a) The European countries which have given assurances to assist Malaysia in the implementation of the Malaysia Five-Year Plan and the amount of financial assistance to be given by each of these countries;
- (b) whether Government intends to request assistance from neutral countries in the implementation of its Five-Year Plan; and
- (c) whether it is a fact that the Malaysian Government intends to increase the present rate of taxes and to impose taxes on commodities hitherto exempted from tax, in order to procure funds to implement the Malaysia Five-Year Plan, and if so, to state the commodities affected by the new tax proposal.

Tuan Tan Siew Sin: Mr Speaker, Sir: All the European countries, except Britain, which are members of the Consultative Group on Aid to Malaysia, and which were visited prior to the

meeting of this Group in London on 17th and 18th May, 1966, have indicated that there would be a positive response to Malaysia's request for external financial and technical assistance in the context of the First Malaysia Five-Year Plan. These European countries are Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

At the London meeting held subsequently, those member countries which agreed that they would give sympathetic consideration to the aid requests presented by Malaysia also stated that to this end we should conduct direct but separate negotiations with their respective Governments. Some of these bilateral negotiations had already begun during my recent visit to the European countries referred to in the earlier part of my reply. It is our intention to initiate such negotiations, where they have not already begun, as soon as possible, and I hope that they can be conducted and successfully concluded in Kuala Lumpur itself with the countries which are represented here by their foreign missions, and fortunately for us, all the likely donor countries are.

I should add that I have had preliminary discussions with a number of Ambassadors already, and they are as anxious as we are to conduct such negotiations in order to follow up the talks which I had in Europe with their respective Governments. Under the circumstances, it would certainly be embarrassing to the potential donor countries—apart from Japan which has already publicly announced its intention to provide a line of credit amounting to US\$50 million—to disclose the amounts of aid that may be forthcoming until the negotiations have been concluded and such agreements have been ratified by the Governments concerned.

I am also glad to be able to tell this House that I have just been authorised to announce that the French Government has offered us a line of credit amounting to M\$100 million (*Applause*) to start with, subject to agreement between the two governments on

the terms and conditions of such credit. This means that if agreement is reached on the terms and conditions of such credit and such credit is fully utilised before the end of the Plan period a further line of credit will be considered.

I do not, therefore, think I am being unduly optimistic, when I say that I have every confidence that the foreign exchange costs of economic projects will probably be covered in full by the time the agreements are concluded. In other words, I do not foresee any difficulty in closing the gap in so far as the foreign exchange costs of economic projects are concerned. I feel that this is the minimum that we will achieve, but I hope that we will be able to go rather further than this, and secure foreign aid for not only some part of the local costs of economic projects but also for a number of highly desirable social projects as well.

(b) As to whether or not the Government intends to ask for assistance from neutral countries, I do not quite know what the Honourable Member means by the term "neutral". It is an imprecise adjective, and can be interpreted in different ways by different people. It is, however, the present intention to work within the context of the Consultative Group on Aid to Malaysia, which is sponsored by the World Bank, and hence is that much more meaningful, but the Government would not preclude the possibility of seeking assistance from other sources if such assistance is likely to be forthcoming. The Honourable Member will, however, appreciate that there is no point in seeking assistance outside the Group for the time being when the indications are that a large part of the gap can be closed by assistance from within the Group itself. In any case, it will not be possible to know what the final gap will be, until we have concluded negotiations with the individual members of this Group. If, then, a gap still remains, that would be the time to consider the other courses open to us.

(c) It is not possible, and indeed it would be highly improper, for me to disclose my revenue proposals in advance, even if I am considering new

measures at the moment. On this score, I am afraid that I shall have to ask the Honourable Member to wait for the next Budget. (*Applause*).

Tuan Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soalan tambahan. Kalau sa-kira-nya Yang Berhormat Menteri kita itu tidak mahu mencheritakan terlebih dahulu berkenaan dengan hendak mengadakan chukai baharu atau pun tidak, dapat-kah Menteri kita itu menerangkan perkataan-nya, bahawa Kerajaan nampak cherah untuk mendapatkan kewangan itu berdasarkan *export dan foreign exchange*. Dan mengikut Bank Negara, banyak yang di-kemukakan ini, export kita sa-makin kurang. Jadi, bagaimana-kah Menteri Kewangan kita berharap masa depannya maseh cherah jikalau tidak di-naikkan chukai.

Tuan Tan Siew Sin: Mr Speaker, Sir, I think there is a slight confusion in the Honourable Member's mind. He refers to the reduction, or the likely reduction, of export receipts as a result, presumably of declining prices of our major export commodities. Our trouble today is really a budgetary one and the two are rather different.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, boleh-kah Menteri Yang Berhormat menerangkan sebab-nya maka Kerajaan Inggeris tidak mahu menolong Kerajaan Malaysia untuk melancarkan Rancangan Lima Tahun Yang Pertama—apa-kah sebab-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Itu soalan lain—bukan?

Tuan Tan Siew Sin: Mr Speaker, Sir, there is a question on the Order Paper some time next week: I shall then give, I hope, an adequate reply.

KECHURIAN² DAWAI TEMBAGA TALIPON

12. **Tuan Ahmad bin Arshad** bertanya kepada Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Talikom berapa-kah jumlah kejadian churi dawai tembaga talipon semenjak Merdeka, dan kerugian yang di-anggarkan mengikut ukuran pikul yang disebabkan oleh kechurian² itu, dan tindakan yang di-ambil atas perkara itu.

Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Talikom (Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak-lah dapat saya hendak menyatakan di-dalam masa yang di-berikan kepada saya berapakah jumlah kejadian² kechurian dawai tembaga talipon semenjak merdeka. Pada 'am-nya kechurian dawai tembaga di-negeri² di-Tanah Melayu tidak-lah banyak sa-belum tahun 1965. Di-antara bulan Januari 1965 sampai bulan April 1966, jumlah kechurian itu di-negeri² Tanah Melayu ada-lah 452, dan jumlah berat dawai yang telah hilang itu ada-lah 656 pikul. Tiap² kechurian itu telah di-reportkan kepada polis, dan semenjak bulan Januari, 1965, penangkapan² saperti berikut telah di-buat:

- di-Negeri Johor, 4
- di-Negeri Selangor, 1
- di-Negeri Sembilan dan Melaka, 1
- di-Negeri Perak, 2 dan
- di-Negeri Kedah 5.

Tuan Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ta' adakah kejadian kechurian² dawai ini berlaku di-Kelantan umpama-nya?

Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan: Tidak ada di-dalam rekod (*Ketawa*). Minta ma'af, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, penangkapan tidak ada di-dalam rekod dengan sebab orang yang menchuri di-dalam Kelantan barangkali pandai (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Ahmad bin Arshad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soalan tambahan. Daripada gerakan menchuri, bagaimana yang di-terangkan

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Soalan tambahan soal mana?

Tuan Ahmad bin Arshad: yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Pos dan Talikom—dari jawapan dia. Dapat-kah Yang Berhormat Kementerian ini memberi tahu Dewan ini, dengan di-fahamkan bahawa kechurian yang sa-banyak itu memang di-kehendaki oleh satu kumpulan, yang menghendakkan dawai² tembaga itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Itu soalan lain-lah. Ta' ada kena mengena dengan ini.

SUBSIDIES TO FLYING CLUBS AND TRAINING OF PILOTS

13. Tunku Abdullah ibni Almarhum Tuanku Abdul Rahman asks the Minister of Transport to state what financial subsidy has been given by Government to the following flying clubs since Independence Day:

- Kuala Lumpur Flying Club
- Perak Flying Club
- Penang Flying Club.

The Minister of Transport (Tan Sri Haji Sardon): Mr Speaker, Sir, a scheme to subsidise training of young Malaysians to fly was formulated in 1962, when Government re-conditioned Chipmunk aircrafts, which were surplus to the R.M.A.F. requirements, and handed these Chipmunks to those Flying Clubs that had the facilities to maintain the aircrafts.

The Kuala Lumpur Flying Club has so far trained 13 student pilots and pilots and the Penang Flying Club is training 3. Subsidy has been paid. A club to obtain the subsidy has first to submit names of young Malaysians for approval. Details of subsidy schemes are available and I shall be glad to provide them to the Honourable Member if he so desires.

The Government is at present studying other ways and means of assisting the Flying Clubs, so that they can contribute towards the training of young Malaysians to become pilots.

Tunku Abdullah: Mr Speaker, Sir, that probably might be the answer to my question No. 14 which reads:

"To ask the Minister of Transport whether Government is aware that very little has been done with a view to encourage youth in Malaysia to learn to become pilots of aeroplanes, and if so, whether it is the intention of Government to assist the various flying clubs existing in Malaysia through generous financial subsidy so that more young people can be trained to be pilots." My question, No. 13, is about the money given to the Flying Clubs (*Laughter*).

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: I am also replying to question No. 14. I am elaborating Sir.

Tunku Abdullah: Will the Minister tell us the amount of financial subsidy given to each of the Flying Clubs that I have mentioned in the question.

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: I am replying now, Sir (*Laughter*). A scheme to assist the Flying Clubs was established in 1962, and under this scheme the Kuala Lumpur Flying Club was paid in that year a cash grant of \$35,000. Chipmunk aircraft which were surplus to R.M.A.F. requirements were modified and distributed as follows:

3 to the Kuala Lumpur Flying Club in 1963

1 to the Perak Flying Club in 1964.

The Penang Flying Club was unable to accept this offer owing to financial burden involved in maintenance.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Sir, the Minister has talked of \$35,000 and a few Chipmunks which are probably obsolete and dangerous planes having been allocated to these Flying Clubs. Is the Honourable Minister aware that the training of pilots is a very expensive business, and if we more than double the assistance given to these Flying Clubs, perhaps, we can have a large reservoir of young Malaysians trained in flying ready to go into the Armed Forces if and when necessary, or into the commercial firms?

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: I cannot understand what question he wants me to answer, Sir. (*Laughter*). He is just giving a statement. Can you ask me again what you want?

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Perhaps, my English is very bad, Mr Speaker, Sir.

Mr Speaker: Will the Honourable confine the subsidiary question to a few words please?

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: I shall be as brief as possible, Mr Speaker, Sir. Is the Honourable Minister aware that the assistance that he has spoken of is less than chicken feed, and will he consider much more assistance to the Flying Clubs as stated in the question by the Honourable Member for Rawang?

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: The Honourable Member for Batu has heard me.

The Ministry is looking into more details to see how best we can help them. But the Flying Clubs must come forward with a scheme. We cannot contribute to the Flying Clubs for the benefit of non-Malaysians. We are very very jealous about giving help to the Malaysians. (*Applause*). This is the policy of the Alliance Government.

Mr Speaker: Yang Berhormat Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Soalan 14 belum di-jawab lagi. (*Laughter*).

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: Mr Speaker, Sir, questions 13 and 14 are inter-linked with one another. I did mention just now that I was replying to the second one—question No. 14. I think the Honourable Member has heard that.

Tunku Abdullah: Mr Speaker, Sir, in regard to the financial subsidy—that the Government is now thinking of giving to the Flying Clubs, would the Government consider giving special scholarships to those who are able, or capable, after having obtained special qualifications in the schools? Will scholarships be given to these boys and, perhaps, girls to be trained as pilots?

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: Sir, I have explained just now that any Flying Club can submit names of Malaysians who want to study flying, and if we consider it as justifiable cases we subsidise them—the more applied, the more will be given. But going further to flying commercial pilots and R.A.F. Senior pilots and what not, I do not think the Ministry is undertaking that sort of training, Sir. There are scholarships and I am sure the Malaysian Airways advertise off and on; and these pilots who have been trained in the Flying Clubs are private flying pilots—they can apply. If they are good, they may be considered and sent abroad for further training. I have already explained just now that the Ministry is now in consultation with all the Flying Clubs to consider how best we can help more Malaysians, young men and women, to fly and to be given subsidies, if they are justified and they are in need of financial support.

**PENTADBIRAN KERETAPI
TANAH MELAYU—KERU-
GIAN PADA TAHUN 1961-
1965 DAN BILANGAN GERA-
BAK B.F.L.**

15. Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah bertanya kepada Menteri Pengangkutan:

- (a) berapa banyak-kah kerugian yang telah di-alami oleh Pentadbiran Keretapi bagi tahun² 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964 dan 1965 masing²-nya dan apa-kah sebab²-nya;
- (b) berapa banyak gerabak keretapi berjenis B.F.L. yang di-pakai tiap² hari untuk mengangkut kayu balak dari steshen² Gua Musang, Manek Urai dan Kuala Krai ka-Singapura; dan
- (c) berapa-kah tambang yang di-kenakan bagi tiap² gerabak B.F.L. yang di-gunakan untuk mengangkut kayu² balak dari steshen² yang tersebut itu ka-Singapura.

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Pentadbiran Keretapi Tanah Melayu tidak mengalami kerugian bahkan mendapat keuntungan sa-banyak \$1,740,000 dalam tahun 1961, tetapi semenjak tahun 1962 pentadbiran itu telah mengalami kerugian dalam tahun itu, Kerugian yang di-alami ia-lah \$200,000 tahun 1963 \$1,430,000 tahun 1964 \$4,006,000 tahun 1965 meski pun kira² belum di-tutup, kerugian ada-lah di-anggarkan \$5,730,000.

Sebab²-nya yang besar tentang kerugian itu boleh-lah di-bahagikan kepada dua bahagian yang besar. Dari segi hasil pendapatan, ia-lah kehilangan hari kerja yang di-sebabkan oleh mogok yang di-lancarkan oleh Kesatuan Pekerja² Keretapi Tanah Melayu dari 23hb Disember, 1962 hingga 15hb Januari, 1963. Pentadbiran Keretapi mentaksirkan bahawa hasil pendapatan yang telah hilang dalam masa mogok itu ia-lah \$2,670,000. Tahun 1962 dan tahun 1963 jumlah semua sa-kali lebih kurang \$5,320,000 tetapi saya suka menerangkan kepada Dewan ini apabila telah ada mogok yang jadi satu tawarikh dan telah di-selesaikan dan apabila di-selesaikan gaji² pun telah

naik kerana tambahan² gaji² tiap² tahun itu sudah memanjat hampir dua tiga melion ringgit jadi apabila perbelanjaan lebih daripada pendapatan tentu-lah tidak dapat untong bahkan yang sudah rugi bertambah rugi lagi. Saya harap sedang di-susun keadaan²-nya akan bertambah lagi maju kerana ada banyak industri² yang di-tubuhkan di-Tanah Melayu ini.

Yang kedua ia-lah perlawanan yang hebat dengan Road Transport, lori² ini, kerana dalam negeri kita ini sistem jalan² terlampau baik dan sa-tengah jalan itu bersamaan dengan keretapi kita hendak stop ta' keluaran lesen² lori ini pun ta' boleh, kerana ada-nya industri² yang berkehendakkan lori. Jadi ini satu juga daripada sebab²-nya. Ketiga-nya dahulu kita untong sebab bijeh² besi banyak menggunakan keretapi tetapi kebanyakan bijeh² besi itu pun telah habis, bijeh-nya telah di-tutup. Kita harap banyak lagi akan jumpa bijeh besi dan banyak lagi akan menggunakan keretapi, insha' Allah kita dapat untong pada masa hadapan nanti.

Dan lagi saya sudah terangkan tadi berkenaan dengan kenaikan gaji, elaun yang banyak bagi kakitangan keretapi, bertambah wang faedah yang di-bayar kepada Kerajaan kerana pinjaman. Ini juga menyebabkan banyak perbelanjaan, begitu juga bertambah-nya tanggungan dengan kenaikan penchen² dan pembayaran dan kenaikan oleh Majlis Tempatan—ini berkenaan dengan assessment, taksiran harta² keretapi begitu juga berkenaan dengan pihak Polis. Bagi menjawab pertanyaan berapa banyak, ini pertanyaan berapa banyak, ini pertanyaan berapa gerabak keretapi B.F.L. yang di-gunakan untuk Kuala Krai dan lain² lagi. Kuala Krai empat gerabak tiap² tiga hari, Manek Urai tiga buah gerabak sa-hari dan Gua Musang sembilan gerabak sa-hari.

Pertanyaan (c), tambang²-nya ia-lah di-kenakan ada-lah saperti berikut: Perai—Singapura \$200 satu gerabak, dua kali ganda jika di-gunakan B.F.L. Manek Urai ka-Singapura \$190, Gua Musang-Singapura \$130.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Soalan tambahan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nampak-nya daripada jawapan Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan bahawa pentadbiran keretapi telah mendapat kerugian semenjak tahun 1962 hingga sampai sekarang, bahkan kerugian itu sa-makin bertambah. Soalan yang kedua, ada-lah bilangan gerabak yang di-namakan B.F.L. untuk mengangkut kayu² balak—tiga di-Kuala Krai dan sembilan di-Gua Musang dan tiga di-Manek Urai. Jadi 16 semua-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang menjadikan sebab yang saya menyoalkan ini kerana saya ada naik keretapi daripada Kota Bharu pergi ka-Kuala Lumpur, saya melihat dengan mata saya sendiri beratus² tan kayu balak di-dekat² dengan seteshen² keretapi tidak dapat di-kirinkan dengan wagon ka-Singapura. Sebab²-nya kata mereka itu ia-lah kekurangan wagon, tetapi keterangan yang di-jelaskan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri kata-nya wagon ada, bahkan kerana sebab yang mendatang kerugian kerana bijeh pengangkutan atau pun pekerjaan pengangkutan itu sudah kurang kerana bijeh besi pun sudah kurang.

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: Saya tidak kata tempat bawa bijeh ada lain dengan gerabak² bawa balak yang di-katakan L.W. ini Owe Willar Lock Wagon dia pakai kayu² panchang sahaja begitu, jadi, saya pun tidak berchakap kita ada banyak gerabak ini, kita sudah odar, akan sampai—jangan kelirukan perkara itu.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Soalan saya belum habis lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Aduan daripada pembalak² ini ia-lah kerana Pejabat Keretapi tidak mahu memberi Wagon kapada mereka itu. Bahkan ada pembalak² yang bersedia untuk hendak membeli wagon ini dengan wang ringgit mereka itu supaya dapat mereka itu kirim dan hantar kayu balak mereka itu ka-Singapura, tetapi tidak di-benarkan pula oleh Pejabat Keretapi. Ini perkara yang menyedehkan kerana peluang sangat baik bagi Pejabat Keretapi untuk menjalankan kerja-nya supaya dapat di-tambus

kerugian² yang begitu besar tidak di-jalankan.

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: Tuan Speaker, kalau Yang Berhormat dari pada Kelantan Hilir ini bertanya saya ada-kah pehak Keretapi ini sudah menempah gerabak², memang ada kita hendak chari duit, tetapi benda ini bukan-lah boleh di-tempah dengan segera sampai ka-mari. Ada gerabak² yang di-tempah dan insha' Allah saya rasa akan banyak lagi gerabak² akan sampai.

Dato' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda (Pasir Puteh): Soalan tambahan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, semenjak pentadbiran keretapi mengalami kerugian daripada tahun 1962 sampai-lah 1965 ada-kah ikhtiar² telah di-lakukan bagi mengatasi kerugian itu dan apa-kah hasil² daripada ikhtiar itu.

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: Yang Berhormat Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat barangkali faham tiap² sabulan, kedua bulan Majlis Lembaga Keretapi berunding ikhtiar², banyak telah pun di-adakan sa-bahagian daripadanya hari ini telah menyiapkan kepala² keretapi yang besar ini supaya boleh menarik banyak lagi gerabak² yang 15 ribu juta paun. Barangkali Yang Berhormat pernah menengok dekat sa-batu panjang-nya. Sa-lain daripada itu berkenaan dengan hendak berlawan dengan bas² ini Yang Berhormat pun telah faham dan tahu kita telah pun menerima 15 buah rail car—rail car ini saya sendiri pun telah chuba hari Ahad yang lalu daripada Prai sampai ka-Padang Besar dan sangat popular, dan kita harap dengan beransor chara² yang memodernisekan dan membanyakkan orang naik keretapi lebeh selamat daripada jalan raya insha' Allah kita akan dapat menambahkan daripada satu masa ka-satu masa.

Dan juga banyak berkenaan dengan factory telah memohon berkenaan dengan siding dan ini pun sudah pun di-jalankan dan telah di-bena dan Yang Berhormat faham juga \$5 juta walau pun Pulau Singapura telah sendiri tetapi di-sana juga keretapi telah

membelanjakan \$5 juta untuk menampung segala cargo² yang banyak di-Jurong Industry Area. Jadi, ini semua akan banyak mendatangkan hasil tetapi tidak ada mengatakan itu. Terima kaseh.

Dato' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda:

Sadikit lagi soalan tambahan. Yang di-cheritakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri tadi daripada satu tempat yang ada perlawanan dengan kenderaan lori atau bas dan sa-bagai-nya—tetapi banyak juga tempat² yang tidak ada perlawanan ia-ini monopoli jalan keretapi sahaja tetapi saperti daripada Gua Musang sampai ka-Kuala Krai tidak ada jalan motorkar, tidak ada jalan bas, erti-nya lori² tidak dapat-lah memainkan peranan mengangkut barang² dan penumpang² pun tidak dapat. Maka keretapi sahaja-lah yang membuat peranan yang penting. Ada-kah Yang Berhormat Menteri berchadang bahawa yang di-namakan rail car sampai datang dengan banyaknya akan di-gunakan juga di-tempat yang tidak ada perlawanan ini?

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: Rail car mahal harga-nya, \$245,000 sa-buah, tetapi akan sampai juga ka-Pantai Timor kira-nya banyak yang akan di-gunakan. Saya suka menambah juga ia-itu Yang Berhormat sendiri tahu di-negeri Kelantan kita telah belanjakan berapa banyak duit keretapi steshen yang baru di-situ-lah juga kita akan menampung lebih banyak daripada barang² ka-Pantai Timor. Terima kaseh.

Tuan Abu Bakar bin Hamzah (Bachok): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu sahaja lagi, ia-itu memandang kapada tiap² tahun kenyataan ini—Jabatan Keretapi ini—tidak rugi tetapi belanjanya lebih banyak daripada pendapatan pada tiap² tahun begitu jadi oleh kerana memandang kapada berat dan besar-nya tugas Yang Berhormat Menteri kita ini—di-laut dia jaga dan di-darat pun dia jaga, di-udara pun dia jaga—ada-kah Menteri kita itu memikirkan dan menimbangkan bahawa dia patut berhenti daripada kerja ini di-gantikan dengan orang lain (*Ketawa*).

Tan Sri Haji Sardon: Rasa saya soal Perdana Menteri dan Kerajaan Peri-

katan memang hendak menyelamatkan, sebab itu sa-orang Menteri bertanggong-jawab atas langit, laut—semua sa-kali—tetapi patut pehak pembangkang berterima kaseh tentang kita hendak menyelamatkan wang dan melekaskan kerja kita.

MUKAH AIRFIELD, SARAWAK

16. Tuan Sim Boon Liang asks the Minister of Transport whether he is aware of the inadequate facilities in the Mukah Air Field, 3rd Division, Sarawak, and whether his Ministry would consider to enlarge the Airfield and bring the airfield up to standard.

Tan Sri Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir: The dimensions and facilities at Mukah Aerodrome are more than adequate for the type of aircraft likely to operate into this aerodrome in the foreseeable future.

STUDENTS FROM SARAWAK IN UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA (SUBSIDY)

17. Tuan Sim Boon Liang asks the Minister of Education to state whether the Central Government is prepared to subsidise students from Sarawak who are studying at the University of Malaya, and what is the total number of Sarawak Students who are now studying at the University.

The Minister of Education (Tuan Mohamed Khir Johari): It is not clear what form of subsidy the Honourable Member has in mind as every student in the University of Malaya is already heavily subsidised by Government. Besides, scholarships are also offered to Sarawak students.

There are at present 59 Sarawak students at the University of Malaya.

FAILED STUDENTS OF THE SIXTH YEAR (PRIMARY SCHOOL) IN SARAWAK TO REMAIN IN SCHOOL FOR ANOTHER YEAR

18. Tuan Sim Boon Liang asks the Minister of Education whether he would consider permitting the students who have failed to pass the common entrance examination at the end of 6th

year in a primary school to remain in the same school for one more year's study.

Tuan Mohamed Khir Johari: The policy of the State Government is to provide a primary school place for every child of primary school age by 1968 to follow a six-year course. If all children not selected for Government or aided secondary schools were to be allowed to follow a seven year course it is likely that the goal of universal primary education by 1968 would not be achieved. However, the Honourable Member might like to know that over 67% of the pupils in primary six in 1965 are still continuing their education; over 14% being repeaters in primary 6. These repeaters are mostly natives in rural areas.

ABOLITION OF PRIMARY COMMON EXAMINATION IN SARAWAK

19. Tuan Chia Chin Shin asks the Minister of Education if Government will consider the abolishment of Primary Common Examination in Sarawak so as to enable pupils to continue their study in Secondary Continuation School, thereby providing a two-year Course to raise school leaving age to 15.

Tuan Mohamed Khir Johari: Under the Malaysia Agreement the policy and system of administration of education in Sarawak should be undisturbed until otherwise agreed by the State Government. The proposal, contained in the question, represents a departure from the present educational policy in Sarawak and before any such change takes place it is essential that there be agreement between the State and Central Governments.

CONVERSION OF UNAIDED NATIONAL SCHOOLS TO GOVERNMENT NATIONAL SCHOOLS IN KELANTAN

20. Tuan Hussein bin Sulaiman asks the Minister of Education to state: (a) the number to date of Unaided National Schools and those that have been converted to Government National

Schools in the State of Kelantan respectively; (b) when the remaining Unaided schools will be converted to Government Schools and the conditions imposed on them.

Tuan Mohamed Khir Johari:

- (a) In Kelantan, there are at present 65 partially assisted national schools. To date, 109 of such former Ra'ayat Schools have been converted to fully assisted government national schools.
- (b) It is proposed to convert another 26 of the remaining schools to fully assisted schools this year, and more for the next two years, so that, by 1968, all of them would have been converted to fully assisted schools status. The conditions for conversion are (i) both the standard of instruction and teaching staff are satisfactory (ii) existing buildings are in good condition; and (iii) title to the site of the school is transferred to Federal Government.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOL ACTING HEAD TEACHERS OF LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOLS—PROMOTION

21. Tuan Hussein bin Sulaiman asks the Minister of Education to state what future there is for Government School teachers who have been assigned as Head Teachers of Lower Secondary Schools, without being paid any allowances, and are likely to be superseded soon by graduate teachers.

Tuan Mohamed Khir Johari: Government School teachers who have been assigned as Head Teachers of Lower Secondary Schools, without being paid any allowances, are eligible to opt into the Unified Teaching Service and may accordingly apply for promotion posts in that service in competition with others, including graduate teachers, whenever a vacancy arises. Otherwise, they are only eligible, subject to availability of vacancies, for promotion to higher grade under their existing terms of service to fill limited Government posts in the Education Service.

REBUILDING AND REPAIR OF OLD SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN KELANTAN

22. Tuan Hussein bin Sulaiman asks the Minister of Education whether he is aware that schools built during the colonial days in Kelantan, are now almost in a state of collapse, and if so, to state what action has been taken to meet this situation by way of repair or rebuilding them.

Tuan Mohamed Khir Johari: My Ministry is aware that a good number of schools in Kelantan, particularly the primary schools situated in the rural areas, are in a state of disrepair and appropriate action has been and is being taken by my Ministry to deal with this problem. According to records in my Ministry, a total of 58 schools were replaced during the last 5 years, apart from many more to which major repairs and renovation have already been carried out.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FARM SCHOOLS IN SARAWAK

23. Tuan Edmund Langgu anak Saga asks the Minister of Education whether the Central Government plans to establish Farm Schools in Sarawak.

Tuan Mohamed Khir Johari: This is a matter under the control of the State Government. I have, however, been informed that the Agriculture Department has already established 7 Farmers' Training Centres and that there are plans to open 5 more.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT POLICY ON RUBBER STOCKPILE

24. Tuan Ahmad bin Arshad asks the Minister of Commerce and Industry to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that his Ministry has sent a protest note to the American Government and requested for a clarification of its policy on its rubber stockpile, and if so, to state the details of the reply received;
- (b) whether the Malaysian Government is notified about changes in American stockpile policy; and

(c) the details of agreement signed by both the Governments of America and Malaysia regarding the marketing of rubber.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Dr Lim Swee Aun):

- (a) Yes, Malaysia did send a protest Note to the United States and at the same time requested for a meeting of the Natural Rubber Committee which comprises all the main producers of natural rubber, to discuss the matter. This resulted in consultations between the U.S. Government and the Committee in London in May this year. I regret that in the national interest I am not in a position to disclose the details of the consultations and the reply of the U.S. Government.
- (b) Our Embassy in Washington was informed by the U.S. Government, in broad terms, its intention to modify the sales programme of its rubber stockpile. But no consultation was proposed then.
- (c) Agreement reached between the U.S. and Producing Countries was in the form of a Gentleman's Agreement. There was no signed agreement.

MALAYAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT FINANCE LTD—ESTABLISHMENT OF BRANCH IN SARAWAK

25. Tuan Haji Muhammad Su'at bin Haji Muhd. Tahir (Sarawak) asks the Minister of Commerce and Industry whether Government intends to open a branch of the Malaysian Industrial Development Finance Ltd (MIDFL) in Sarawak, and if so, when.

Dr Lim Swee Aun: I refer to the question by the Honourable Member for Sarawak, as to the Government's intention to require Malaysian Industrial Development Finance Limited to establish a branch in Sarawak.

In replying, I may say that MIDFL, as the country's leading development finance institution in the private sector,

is very much aware of the role it has to play in promoting industrial growth throughout all the regions of Malaysia. Unfortunately, so far, the response from the business community in Eastern Malaysia has not been sufficient to justify the establishment of a branch in these territories.

However, following the recent visit of the Company's General Manager to Sabah and Sarawak, there have been encouraging signs of an increasing number of suggestions for specific industrial venture which warrant further investigation, and which could well be developed into sound projects. Another mission is planned for later this month in order to follow up various industrial proposals and to discuss with the respective State Governments various matters and problems affecting industrial growth.

Although it is not the normal practice for development banks to operate through branches, recognising the particular needs of Eastern Malaysia MIDFL would be quite willing to consider this at the appropriate time.

ESTABLISHMENT OF LOW COST HOUSING SCHEME OFFICE IN SARAWAK

26. Tuan Haji Muhammad Su'at bin Haji Muhd. Tahir asks the Minister for Local Government and Housing to state whether Government intends to set up an office of the Low Cost Housing Scheme in Sarawak.

The Minister of Local Government and Housing (Tuan Khaw Kai-Boh): It is not the intention of the Minister for Local Government and Housing to set up an office in Sarawak to deal with low cost housing projects.

Low cost housing projects are undertaken by State Governments themselves with supervision and assistance from officials of the Housing Trust as well as the Ministry. The Ministry provides loan funds to State Governments for low cost housing projects and under the terms of the Loan Agreement, the Housing Trust supervises the construction of the projects until completed. The Ministry will consider the

establishment of a branch office of the Housing Trust in Sarawak, if there is an increase in low cost housing activity which will justify the existence of the branch office. Until then it would be sufficient for the Housing Trust to exercise supervision and control and also preparation of design from the Central Office in Kuala Lumpur.

TELEVISION FACILITIES IN EASTERN MALAYSIA

27. Tuan J. D. Manjaji asks the Minister of Broadcasting and Information whether he has considered trying to fulfil the promise he made in 1964 that he would provide the people of Eastern Malaysia with Television facilities "soon".

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Tuan Senu bin Abdul Rahman): Ever since the introduction of television in Malaysia it has always been the aim to spread it out as much as possible. I am quite aware of what I said in 1964, but I did not promise any definite date and only stressed that it is my aim to have television in Eastern Malaysia soon.

It is not possible to predict the exact date but you can be assured that everything is being done by my Ministry to proceed with the necessary preparations subject to our ability to overcome certain financial and technical difficulties, we may be able to have Television there in not too distant future.

BILANGAN SHARIKAT KERJASAMA DI-MALAYSIA YANG ENGGAN MENJELASKAN HUTANG-NYA

28. Tuan Ahmad bin Arshad bertanya kepada Menteri Pertanian dan Shari-
kat Kerjasama :

- (a) berapa-kah semua-nya bilangan Sharikat Kerjasama di-Malaysia sa-takat ini yang telah di-da'awa di-mahkamah kerana enggan menjelaskan hutang;
- (b) bilangan sharikat² yang berhutang kepada Bank Agong;
- (c) jumlah ahli² yang maseh berhutang kepada sharikat² itu, dan

- (d) ada-kah Menteri itu mengaku bahawa pada masa yang lalu tindakan guaman yang telah diambil dengan teragak² terhadap orang² atau sharikat² yang engkar dan jika ya, ada-kah amalan ini akan di-teruskan.

The Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives (Tuan Haji Mohamed Ghazali bin Haji Jawi):

- (a) Sharikat² Kerjasama yang engkar membayar hutang-nya tidak di-da'awa di-mahkamah tetapi di-bawa ka-perbicharaan Orang Tengah mengikut Undang² Kerjasama No 33/1948. Hingga masa ini sa-banyak lebih kurang 150 buah sharikat² kerjasama telah di-bicharkan oleh orang tengah.

- (b) Bank Agong tidak memberi pinjaman² terus kepada sharikat², kechuali bagi tujuan² yang tertentu sahaja, tetapi memberi pinjaman² kepada Persatuan² Sharikat Kerjasama yang mengeluarkan pinjaman² itu kepada sharikat². Bilangan Persatuan² Sharikat Kerjasama dan Sharikat² yang berhutang kepada Bank Agong ada-lah saperti di-bawah ini:

Bank ² Persatuan	...	18	buah
Persatuan ² Sharikat ²			
Kilang Padi	...	6	"
Persatuan Sharikat ²			
Nelayan	...	1	"
Sharikat ² (bagi tujuan yang tertentu)		23	"

Bilangan sharikat² yang bergantung dengan Persatuan² itu berjumlah 1680. Kira² 80% dari sharikat² itu ada berhutang dengan Persatuan² itu.

- (c) Tidak dapat di-nyatakan dengan tepat-nya berapa-kah jumlah ahli² yang maseh berhutang kepada sharikat² kerana keterangan itu di-simpan di-sharikat² itu. Jika keterangan itu di-kehendaki juga akan mengambil masa yang agak lama untuk mengumpolkannya. Bagaimana pun antara 50,000—55,000 ahli² yang maseh berhutang dengan sharikat².

- (d) Saya tidak bersetuju dengan anggapan itu. Jika ada pun Persatuan² atau sharikat² yang teragak² mengambil tindakan guaman terhadap anggota²-nya yang engkar, saya dan pegawai² yang berkenaan di-Kementerian saya tidak akan membiarkan-nya tetapi akan mendesak supaya tindakan sa-wajar-nya di-jalankan. Tindakan tuntutan menuntut atau tindakan guaman ada-lah di-amal sechara langsung oleh ahli² jawatan-kuasa² sharikat² dan Persatuan².

COMPLAINT AGAINST STAFF OF THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT IN CHARGE OF RUBBER REPLANTING SCHEME "A"

- 29. Tuan Edmund Langgu anak Saga** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives whether he is aware that there are numerous complaints made by many Scheme A Rubber Holders against some staff of the Agriculture Department in the Rubber Section who do not keep their norms as they should.

Tuan Haji Mohd. Ghazali bin Haji Jawi): It is true that complaints are sometimes received from smallholders making allegations against members of the staff of the Agriculture Department, whose duties require that they carry out the inspection of rubber planted under the provisions of the Rubber Planting Scheme "A" for smallholders.

Each complaint is investigated. It is usually found that the rubber garden involved is in a poor state of maintenance and in consequence action is taken to assert pressure on the smallholder to bring the rubber garden into a proper state of cultivation or to cancel him from the subsidy scheme if he fails to do so. It is realised that any action taken to withhold cash subsidy payments and other benefits under the Rubber Planting Scheme must inevitably be unpopular. Nevertheless the Honourable Member will realise that it is the duty of Government officers to ensure that public money is properly spent in accordance with purposes for which expenditure was approved by Parliament.

I assure the Honourable Member that complaints by farmers are few in relation to the very large sums of money being provided in subsidy schemes for the development of agriculture in Sarawak.

INTRODUCTION OF WATER IRRIGATION SCHEMES IN SARAWAK

30. **Tuan Chia Chin Shin** asks the Minister of Agriculture to state if Government will look into the possibility of introducing water irrigation schemes to help promote double cropping padi plantation in Sarawak on the whole so that each Division will become self-sufficient in future.

Tuan Haji Mohd. Ghazali bin Haji Jawi): The introduction of water irrigation schemes to promote double cropping of padi might be possible in certain areas at considerable expense but the chances of its successful introduction on any scale in the foreseeable future are very doubtful for the following reasons:

- (a) It is necessary to dry out the soil thoroughly each year if it is to be used even once a year for wet padi. With a drainage system this can be satisfactorily done during the usual off-season but it would be very difficult to do so in the very limited period allowed with double cropping in view of the very high rain-fall and the generally low-lying nature of the land. (Both Sabah and the States of Malaya have a marked dry season about the time of the main padi harvest and a rain-fall 50-60 inches annually less than ours).
- (b) Most of the large areas of existing and potential wet padi land lie in the coastal areas where the river water is brackish. During the "Landas" there is usually sufficient rain water to permit the growth of wet padi or the salinity of river water is within acceptable limits but rainfall in the "Kamarau" is inadequate and there would generally be diffi-

culty in obtaining suitable irrigation water. Double cropping on a small scale only makes the crop extremely vulnerable to bird damage.

- (c) In certain areas off-season cropping of soya-bean, ground-nuts, maize etc. is possible and has the advantage that the concomitant drying-out of the soil has a beneficial effect on the soil for the succeeding crop of padi. The possibility of using a high-yielding padi variety which also ratoons well is being investigated for use in areas which are slow in drying-out and therefore cannot be cultivated to other crops. These two practices hold out more promise than double cropping.
- (d) A further point is that among the wet padi planting community there is very little shortage of land and they can grow enough for their needs in one good crop. For their own good, they are better advised to devote their remaining resources to developing or maintaining other crops (e.g. coconuts, rubber, off-season crops, etc.) which will give them a better return and chance to improve their standard of living.
- (e) The shortage or non-existence of draught buffaloes for cultivating padi in Sarawak is a major factor why it is difficult to achieve self sufficiency of padi.

In conclusion and because of the above difficulties it is thought better to use the available resources for the construction of drainage and bunding schemes rather than drainage and irrigation schemes.

ROYAL FEDERATION OF MALAYA POLICE CO-OPERATIVE THRIFT AND LOAN SOCIETY LIMITED—BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31-12-1964

Alleged Improper Sale of Investments

31. **Dr Tan Chee Khoon** asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, with reference to the report on

the balance sheet of the Royal Federation of Malaya Police Co-operative Thrift and Loan Society Ltd. as at 31-12-1964 wherein the auditors of the Society, Messrs Cooper Brothers, disclosed that they had not been able to verify investments to the extent of 3,300 Esso Standard 7% Redeemable Debenture Stock and 800 Malaya Borneo Building Society Ordinary Stock, and that they had seen no minutes of the Committee or other authority for the change of investments, nor had they seen the appropriate authority of the Director of Co-operatives as required under section 33 of the Ordinance, whether he is aware that this Sale of investments has resulted in a loss of \$239,377.49; and if so, whether he has called for an explanation for the sale of investments in flagrant contravention of section 33 of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance.

Tuan Haji Mohd. Ghazali bin Haji Jawi: Kementerian ini ada-lah mengetahui ia-itu pertukaran perniagaan wang (Investment) yang di-lakukan oleh Sharikat itu telah mengakibatkan kerugian wang sebanyak \$239,377.49 dan berpuas hati ia-itu kerugian ini akan dapat di-hapuskan di-dalam masa lebeh kurang 4 tahun. Perniagaan wang (investment) yang baru itu adalah lebeh baik dan boleh mendatangkan faedah yang lebeh besar lagi daripada perniagaan wang yang sudah di-jual itu. Dengan pertukaran perniagaan wang ini, Sharikat itu sa-lepas 4 tahun di-jangka akan mendapat keuntungan lebeh kurang \$60,000 sa-telah kerugian itu di-hapuskan.

Kementerian ini mempunyai kepercayaan ia-itu Jawatan-kuasa Sharikat sudah pun mengesahkan pertukaran perniagaan want itu di-dalam satu Meshuarat Jawatan-kuasa.

Penjualan perniagaan wang (investment) yang di-punyai oleh Sharikat itu tidak-lah memerlukan kebenaran Pendaftar Sharikat Kerjasama dibawah Bab 33 Undang² Sharikat Kerjasama.

Depletion of Reserves

32. Dr Tan Chee Khoon asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives if he is aware that the balance sheet as at 1963 and 1964 of the Royal Federation of Malaya Police Co-operative Thrift and Loan Society Ltd. showed:

	1963	1964
Investments depreciation reserve ...	\$55,554.94	\$2,000.00
Doubtful debts reserve ...	13,172.67	1,000.00
Machinery repairs and replacements ...	90,000.00	1,000.00

If so, whether he has called for an explanation on why these reserves have been depleted so drastically, as it has been alleged that these funds were used to declare as dividend for 1964.

Tuan Haji Mohd. Ghazali bin Haji Jawi: Kekurangan berlaku kerana angka² simpanan di-atas ini telah di-pindahkan balek ka-kira² Membahagi² Keuntungan Sharikat dan sebahagian daripadanya memang telah di-keluarkan sebagai "dividend" kepada ahli². Perbuatan ini ada-lah dalam kuasa ahli² jawatan-kuasa Sharikat melakukan-nya dan pembayaran keuntungan daripada simpanan² tersebut tidak-lah melanggar undang² Sharikat Kerjasama.

Alleged suppression of Discussion on Land No. 4729 at the Annual General Meeting of the F.O.M. Police Co-operative Thrift and Loan Society Ltd, held in December, 1965

33. Dr Tan Chee Khoon asks the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives if he is aware that:

- (a) NG CHOO KIAT Construction Ltd, bought from Ampat Tin Dredging Ltd, a piece of land No. 4729 area 115 acres, 3 roads, 30 poles, at \$8,000 an acre on 21st April, 1964.
- (b) NG CHOO KIAT Construction Ltd, sold it to Puteh Mariah binti Ibrahim Rashid for \$1,402,843.75 on 13th September, 1965.
- (c) Puteh Mariah binti Ibrahim Rashid sold it to the Royal Federation of Malaya Police Co-operative Thrift and Loan

Society Ltd, for \$2,434,687.50 on 13th September, 1965.

- (d) Puteh Mariah binti Ibrahim Rashid is the mother of the legal adviser to the Royal Federation of Malaya Police Co-operative Thrift and Loan Society Ltd.

If so, whether he will cause an investigation into the reasons why discussion on the purchase of the said land was suppressed at the last annual general meeting of the Royal Federation of Malaya Police Co-operative Thrift and Loan Society held in December 1965.

Tuan Haji Mohd. Ghazali bin Haji Jawi): Kementerian ini tidak-lah tahu di-atas pembelian tanah No. 4729 oleh Sharikat Polis Di-Raja Malaya Jimat Chermat dan Pinjam Meminjam Berhad melainkan chuma beberapa hari sahaja sa-belum Meshuarat Agong Sharikat itu yang di-adakan pada 18hb Disember, 1965. Sharikat tidak-lah mendapat kebenaran terlebih dahulu untuk membeli tanah itu daripada Pendaftar Sharikat² Kerjasama.

Soal membeli tanah itu telah pun di-bangkitkan oleh beberapa orang ahli di-dalam Meshuarat Agong Sharikat pada 18hb Disember, 1965. Kementerian ini mempunyai keperchayaan ia-itu soal pembelian tanah itu telah di-binchangkan di-dalam meshuarat itu dan ahli²-yang membangkitkan soalan itu nampak-nya puas hati di-atas penerangan² yang di-beri oleh Pengerusi meshuarat. Oleh yang demikian tidak-lah di-dapati perbinchangan berkenaan dengan soal ini telah pun di-tahan atau tidak di-benarkan di-dalam meshuarat yang tersebut.

Mining of Mineral Deposits in Sarawak

34. Tuan Chia Chin Shin asks the Minister of Lands and Mines to state whether, apart from the existing mining operations in Sarawak, there are any other mineral deposits which the Government would consider worthwhile for people to work on for developing bulk exports in Sarawak and whether Government has any plan to look into the prospecting of mineral in Sarawak generally.

The Minister of Lands and Mines (Tuan Abdul-Rahman bin Ya'kub): The Geological Survey, Borneo Region, has for several years been investigating the mineral possibilities of Sarawak and I would refer the Hon. Member to that department's publications and maps. At the present time, the Geological Survey is investigating the quantity and quality of coal in the Bintulu Coalfield and the mineral prospects in the southern part of the Bau Goldfield. Other prospects being considered by public and private companies include bauxite near Lundu, glass sand near Lundu, Bintulu, and Marudi, kaolinitic clay near Balai Ringin, coal at Silantek and oil in the continental shelf area.

MOTION

THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

ADDRESS OF THANKS

Order read for resumption of Debate on Questions:

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

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

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad (Kota Star Selatan): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, petang sa-malam saya telah menerangkan bahawa perusahaan surat-khabar ini bukan-lah perniagaan biasa tetapi ia-lah satu kuasa politik yang besar di-dalam negeri ini, dan bagaimana juga kita tidak membenarkan orang yang bukan warga-negara dalam negeri ini berchampur tangan di-dalam politik di-dalam negeri ini begitu-lah kita tidak patut benarkan orang² yang bukan warga-negara berchampur di-dalam perusahaan surat-khabar. Ini ia-lah soal perinsip, dan berkenaan dengan soalan perinsip, kita tidak boleh bertolak ansor. Dari itu, saya

berseru kepada Kerajaan supaya dengan terang² mengambil alih Straits Times Press ini daripada orang yang bukan warga-negara dan memberinya kepada warga-negara dengan chara supaya usaha surat-khabar Inggeris tidak-lah satu sahaja dan lain² surat-khabar baharu boleh di-tubuhkan. Upama-nya, *Straits Times* patut diasingkan daripada *Malay Mail*, dan *Berita Harian* di-mileki oleh kampeni yang lain yang tidak bersangkut dengan Straits Times Press. Dengan chara ini maka berpeluang-lah kaki-tangan surat-khabar memileh tempat kerja dan mengadakan kesatuan sakerja yang kuat dan boleh berunding dengan majikan² yang bertanding menchari pekerja² yang baik. Dengan chara ini kebebasan surat-khabar maseh terpelihara, pekerja mendapat layanan yang berpatutan, dan kedaulatan negara akan terjamin. Kita tidak mahu lihat satu surat-khabar yang berani berkata yang ia-nya surat-khabar *national*, dan chuba pula menjadi alat kepada negara yang anti-Malaysia sa-masa mengangong²kan kuasa penjajah yang lama.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berharap chontoh² monopoli yang saya terangkan ini dapat membuktikan betapa burok-nya keadaan ini bagi negara kita; di-mana² negeri juga monopoli yang saperti ini tidak di-benarkan. Saya fikir masa telah tiba untuk kita membentok satu anti-trust law yang akan mengawal keadaan ini. Saya tidak shak yang Kerajaan Perikatan yang selalu mengambil berat berkenaan dengan taraf kehidupan ra'ayat, sunggoh pun terlalu sebak, akan mengambil berat atas perkara ini.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, untuk penjelasan. Yang Berhormat dari Kota Star Selatan minta Kerajaan mengadakan anti-trust law tentang sharikat² surat-khabar. Boleh-kah dia menyuruh Kerajaan Pusat mengadakan anti-trust law tentang perniagaan² yang paling besar di-tanah ayer kita?

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli dari Batu tidak hadir di-sini pada petang kelmarin

masa saya berchakap, dia tidak tahu bahawa chontoh ini chuma chontoh² sahaja, dan saya telah pileh chontoh monopoli dalam film industry dan juga dalam surat-khabar, dan anti-trust law ini bukan-lah di-hadkan kepada surat-khabar sahaja, tetapi patut-lah dilangsungkan kepada lain² monopoli dalam negeri ini (*Tepok*).

Mr Speaker Sir, with your kind permission I would like to continue in English.

Mr Speaker, Sir, before going on to comment on the other parts of the King's Speech, I would like to say a few words about the lack of parliamentary democracy and failure to uphold the U.N. Charter, which the Honourable Member for Ipoh has alleged. The Honourable Member for Ipoh is a lawyer of some standing, I believe, and I am quite sure he knows that the laws of man, unlike the laws of God, are far from perfect. How many times has he found legal loopholes through which he has snatched his clients to safety—with considerable gains to himself. Laws can be circumvented for a variety of reasons and in a variety of ways. And judges are not infallible. Innocent people have been hanged because a judge

Tuan Lim Kean Siew: Mr Speaker, Sir, with your permission, I think my honourable friend has

Mr Speaker: Are you interrupting on a point of order or clarification?

Tuan Lim Kean Siew: Yes, Sir, to clarify on what he has said—to clarify on the legality of constitutional freedom. I think the Honourable Member for Ipoh talked of democratic freedom not on the question of law as practised in the law courts. That is the distinction. The question of democratic freedom has nothing to do. It is the question of law in the law courts with regard to private individuals.

Mr Speaker: I don't think you need interrupt him; you can make your speech afterwards.

Tuan Lim Kean Siew: That's why I asked for permission, if he will allow me to clarify.

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamed: Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member was also not present when the Member for Ipoh spoke yesterday; and the Member for Ipoh, when he spoke yesterday, did mention that if the laws are not perfect we can always make them perfect. We can always amend the laws, so that they are effective. That is what I am referring to, and I wish the Member for Dato Kramat would take the trouble to attend parliamentary meetings more often.

Laws, as I said, can be circumvented in a variety of ways and for a variety of reasons, and judges are not infallible. Innocent people have been hanged because judges have erred, and God knows how many murderers have escaped the gallows for the same reason. Mr Speaker, Sir, we uphold the U.N. Charter; but because laws are imperfect, because judges are not infallible, and because the safety of the majority demands it, certain necessary legislation has to be made so that those who seek to use the protection that imperfect laws afford, in order to destroy the basis of lawful society, are prevented from doing so. The law relating to preventive detention, though seemingly a negation of the principles of the U.N. Charter, are in fact the very laws that uphold it. Without them it is possible that the criminal power mad, undemocratic politicians will gain control of the machinery of government and then go on to deprive the vast majority of the people of the rights that the U.N. Charter, which our Government upholds, enunciates.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I am proud of the type of parliamentary democracy that we practise here. The Honourable Member for Ipoh might try his brand of politics in some of the other parliamentary democracies, and he will be glad to cry for the Alliance Government to retrieve him from the protective custody that he will find himself. As to the behaviour of the Honourable Members of this House, I think it is exemplary. I know of many instances when worse things happened in other parliaments.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh has again thought fit to talk of the case in which he and the former Minister of Education was involved. Not so long ago, the Honourable the Prime Minister compared his persistence to Shylock wanting to exact his pound of flesh. Mr Speaker, Sir, he can have his pound of flesh. If the decision of the courts has made the Honourable Member for Kuantan so detestable in the eyes of his electorate, then I am sure the exemplary behaviour of the Member for Ipoh will win him the overwhelming support of the electorate. I would invite him, Sir, to vacate his seat in Ipoh and contest a by-election in Kuantan (HEAR, HEAR!). The Honourable Member for Kuantan will resign in order to prove the popularity of the Member for Ipoh.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I will not join in what the apologists for the British described as a tirade against Britain for her failure to help us in our Five-Year Plan. I understand the attitude of Britain very well. In some ways it resembles the postures of Bung Karno. Britain, Sir, is near bankrupt. The pound is tottering, the strike of seamen is crippling, the Empire, the blissful source of booty, is now disappearing. Even the "Beatles" are not raking in enough American dollars. But Britain, like the life-time President is used to good living in the imperial style. And so for lack of anything else, the old lion must try and play metropolitan power with us. She wants to exert pressure and to assert herself.

Mr Speaker, Sir, as I said, I understand Britain's problem. I would like to help her. The millions that they are spending East of Suez are not really in defence of us. We are incidental. They are defending the source of wealth. Now, if we could reduce this wealth here, it follows that their worry would be lessened. In this country the British are privileged among the Western nations. We have not touched one bit of their commercial organisation since independence. Indeed, we even allow retired British M.C.S. officers and policemen to come back here and use their contacts to their advantage. This is like retired American generals going

into business—only the Americans at least have the courtesy to do it in their own country. Now, that we are taking over defence, we might as well see that what we defend is ourselves mainly. A programme of gradual nationalisation of the import/export business could do for a start. We can think of other things later. This way, Sir, we will be helping Britain in gratefulness for the troubles that her sweet tongue has brought us.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I am happy to read in the Appendix to the King's Speech the steps taken to contain corruption more effectively. However, Sir, I would like to comment on one aspect of the law in this country which I think is of extreme importance in the waging of the war against corruption. Sir, I have read in press reports of failures to obtain conviction in various cases of bribery and corruption. Evidence has never been conclusive and witnesses are often vague, indecisive and ineffective. It is all very well to talk of lack of public spiritedness. We can condemn all those people who talk of corruption, but it will not help to put an end to it. We can castigate those who make vague and general accusations. But where will our righteousness lead us? Nowhere. That there is fairly widespread corruption is something which no one will deny. If we cannot depend on evidence by the victims and the public, we must think of other ways and means to stop corruption. It is with this that I am concerned.

As the law stands, evidence adduced by means of baited trap is inadmissible in court. In other words, if the Police, suspecting an official of accepting illegal gratification, traps that official into compromising himself, the evidence so gathered will not convict the official. We may, of course, argue that the official has been unfairly trapped; we may say that he is basically honest but it is the Police who have made a dishonest person of him. We may say all this. But the fact still remains that an officer must resist the temptation to accept gratification from whatever source. In fact, Sir, his duty should

be to immediately report any offers of bribe. It must be clear to everyone, Sir, that the conviction secured through such a baited Police trap will have a salutary effect on the other officers. It will not abolish corruption entirely, but it will certainly make officers so nervous that they will not allow themselves to be placed in any compromising position. It will also deter the public from offering bribes because the reaction of officers will be quite unpredictable. Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to make a plea that the laws be changed, if change is necessary so that easier conviction can be obtained in cases of graft. The need is urgent, for once graft sets in, it will involve a lot of people, influential people, and then eradication will be impossible.

I would like now to turn to a related subject, Mr Speaker, Sir. This concerns the official attitude to various complaints. Basically, the attitude is correct. But it has been carried to an absurd limit as to defeat the purpose. I refer to the off hand rejection of all complaints on the grounds that those who complain give insufficient details. Even when the complaint is logical and of common knowledge, the official reply is invariably that it is not a specific complaint. Recently, when new taxes were imposed many traders raised their prices out of all proportion to the taxes. The public was told to report instances of over-pricing so that the Ministry concerned can take action. No one reports, of course, because the trouble is not worth the extra money asked for. We then say that if the public cannot be bothered, then they deserve what they get. We are told *ad nauseam* that they should be more civic conscious. The truth is that whoever says this would act in the same way given the same situation. There are many cases like this. Padi planters complain that millers deduct 20 katis for moisture; passengers complain that taxis over-charge; motor car drivers complain of being annoyed by *jaga kereta*; patients complain of rude treatment at hospitals. All these complaints are made by ordinary people. It is not the habit of people to

note the time, the place, the colour of the eyes, etc., when they are involved in such incidents. But such complaints are usually dismissed for lack of details. At the most, Sir, a lukewarm enquiry is initiated. I would like, however, to congratulate the Kuala Lumpur Traffic Police, who is doing so much in the execution of their duties. The Kuala Lumpur Traffic Police does not wait for the civic minded citizens to report lorries with foul smoke stacks, motor cycle speedsters, etc. They initiated their own campaign and the result of this has been very good. I am sure that, if they were to sit in their office or station and await reports, all those offenders would have got away with impunity. I commend this attitude and initiative to other police circles and departments, and indeed to all law enforcement officers.

Mr Speaker, Sir, as a further step, I would like to suggest to the Government that there should be an independent staff to investigate legitimate, though poorly substantiated complaints. If there is a complaint about taxi fares, these people should go out and take a ride. If the prices in shops are high, they should go out in plain clothes to buy. In other words, they should place themselves literally in the position of the complainants in seeking to verify the complaints. I know that this sort of thing itself is open to abuse, but if we choose our investigators with care and if we have certain systems of cross-checking, the method can be most effective. Again, the law must be amended if necessary to make this type of investigation worthwhile.

Mr Speaker, Sir, graft, disregard for law and plain rudeness seem to be growing daily. We can, if we want to, blame the layman for his lack of civic sense and continually exhort people to have some civic consciousness, but I think we should be failing in our duty if we do this. We must think of newer and more effective ways to make Malaysia a law abiding country. I suggest, Sir, that what I have just outlined represents new

thinking and a newer way to achieve this.

Finally, Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to comment on this process of debating the King's Speech and indeed on the ceremonies that took place on Tuesday. There are some who feel that these ceremonies are not worthy of their presence. They think that the occasion is only opportune for deriding the achievements of the Government. They, therefore, stayed away from the ceremonies, but now they are here to debate, taking full advantage of the democracy that they say does not exist. But, Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to say this: the ceremonies and the debate are not merely a useful custom. They are also expressions that this House accepts and believes in certain established practices and institutions.

In moving the Motion to thank His Majesty for his Gracious Speech, the Mover, Sir, is not merely observing formality, but he is in fact expressing loyalty—loyalty not merely to the King but to established practice. Now, this expression of loyalty is very important, because as this debate progresses we are going to hear a lot of protestations of loyalty. We will hear both Government supporters and Opposition Members voicing their loyalty to this country; and as they talk of being loyal some will say things and support actions and even act in a manner which makes the meaning of loyalty to Malaysia something that defy definition. In the end, Sir, we will all be left wondering what is this loyalty to Malaysia that quite a number of Members speak of. We had this same exhibition last year. We heard in this House the so-called Loyal Opposition openly condoning and even supporting the actions of our declared enemy. Yet, they insisted—that they were loyal. We heard people whose words and actions led eventually to the excision of a vital part of Malaysia. Yet they too talked of loyalty to the country and the King. We heard people openly outside this House condemning the institution of kingship and yet they claimed to be loyal; and we heard people whose aim

was and still is to tear the Constitution, the very basis of our democracy, and they too claimed to be loyal.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I think it is time that we seek to define loyalty—loyalty to Malaysia. We must do it now before the term becomes more vague. We must do it now, while there are still a majority of people whose actions and words can be taken as a yardstick and help define loyalty. We have a need to do this, or the citizens called “Malaysians” will mean nothing.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the simplest test of loyalty is the test of patriotism. The citizen, who voluntarily comes forward to lay down his life in defence of the nation, he is a patriot and he is loyal. The citizen who says, “My country, may she always be right; but my country, right or wrong”, he is loyal. But, Sir, we cannot apply this test to everyone. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for evidence of loyalty, evidence which are less tangible but nevertheless acceptable; evidence which are easily come by, not only in war but also in peace. Mr Speaker, Sir, I seek evidence, because I do not believe in protestations of loyalty. Anyone can say he is loyal to this country or that country. A bird of passage may claim loyalty, if it pays him to do so. Even an enemy may say that he is loyal to this country, but we all know that these are but empty words. We need more than that to convince ourselves. There are some Members in this House, who proudly point out that they have been born here, have worked here, have property here, and obviously have the intention to die here. It follows, they say, that they are loyal. But is the mere fact of birth and residence enough? To be loyal to your vested interest in this country is not the same as being loyal to this country. I have heard some of these people protest over Malaysia's support of India against China, because they claim that it is not fair that they should contribute money for Indians to kill Chinese, who might be related to them. The fact that they merely supported India, because it represents a democracy fighting against dictatorship makes no difference.

Equally bad is that sentiment that as Malaysians of Indian origin support for India is natural.

Sir, during the last War, General Eisenhower led the Allied Armies against Germany. He, more than anyone else, was responsible for the defeat and humiliation of Germany. He, more than anyone else, was responsible for the most number of Germans killed. And General Eisenhower is an American of German origin. Is it any wonder, Sir, that he became the first American President of German stock? Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not expect that a General Eisenhower will sprout from our midst, but I do expect that we try and follow certain criteria that are accepted as evidence of loyalty.

With your permission, Sir, I would like to enunciate some of the criteria that we can reasonably expect of our citizens. Loyalty and deference to the Agong, Sir, is a valid expectation. I know of at least one leader who more or less walked out of a party given by our constitutional monarch. Happily, Sir, he is now a foreigner. Respect for the National Anthem is expected of the more educated. Only the grossly ignorant will remain seated when the Anthem is played, and we can ignore them. Respect for the flag is another criterion. Pride in being a Malaysian—this, Sir, is very important.

Finally, Sir, support of the Constitution is everywhere regarded as a mark of loyalty. The Constitution may be altered in minor details, but there are basic fundamentals, which must be upheld always if the Constitution is to have any meaning. We on this side of the House have always done so. But the Opposition, Sir, especially the racist Opposition, have made it abundantly clear that they have no respect for the Constitution, that they intend to tear it to shreds the moment they achieve power.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I feel sure the Opposition will say that one should not impose conditions on our citizens. Expressions of loyalty must be spontaneous—and I cannot agree with them more. I too feel that the citizens should act spontaneously, and I can

reasonably expect that left to themselves they would do so. But, Sir, the citizens are being confused by the Opposition. They are being told constantly that nothing that they do should or could be construed by the Government as disloyal; so long as they preface or append to their statements or actions protestations of loyalty, that should be enough. And so, Sir, we hear in this House and outside that those who wish to crush us have every right to do so. Indeed there are those who actually try to hold rallies in opposition to the nation's measures to defend the country like organising vigilante corps, and these people must not be suspected of being disloyal. There are others too, who want to forget that it was a condition of the extension of citizenship rights that certain safeguards be written into the Constitution. They carry out a venomous campaign against those who uphold the Constitution. They do this and many other acts likely to create instability in this country, but they insist that they cannot be accused of being disloyal.

Sir, if nothing a citizen does, and this includes fighting on the side of the declared enemy of the nation, can be construed as disloyal, what then is the meaning of citizenship of this country? What then is the difference between "citizens" and "aliens"? Why do we call ourselves Malaysians, if the term is so nebulous as to defy description? I pose these questions, because I feel that it is time we decide. Are we going to be Malaysians or are we going to be Chinese, Indians or Malays? If we are going to be Malaysians, are we prepared to observe the criteria regarded as essential throughout the world? Are we prepared to do this here and now? Or, as is more likely with the Opposition, are we only prepared to have our cake and eat it as well? Mr Speaker, Sir, I thank you for your indulgence (Applause).

Mr Speaker: Persidangan ini ditempohkan sa-lima lima belas minit.

Suspended at 11.40 a.m.

Sitting resumed at 12.10 p.m.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

EARLIER ADJOURNMENT

(MOTION)

Tan Sri Haji Sardon bin Hj. Jubir: Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move,

That notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 12 (1) the House shall stand adjourned this evening at 6.30 instead 8 p.m.

Tuan Hj. Abdul Hamid Khan: Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 12 (1) the House shall stand adjourned this evening at 6.30 instead 8 p.m.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon (Batu): Mr Speaker, Sir, there is no doubt that the two most important events of the past year have been the Bangkok Accord and the eviction of Singapore on 9th August, 1965.

I shall take the Bangkok Accord first.

Time and again in this House I have advocated that this country should negotiate an honourable peace with Indonesia. I well remember that in May, 1964 when I propounded my party's FIVE POINT PLAN FOR PEACE I was almost hounded out of this House. The war hawks in the Alliance benches and in the PAP accused me of being a traitor, Voice of Jakarta, Suara Indonesia, etc. But the events of the past few weeks have vindicated the stand that my party has consistently taken which is that we should leave no stone unturned to find a peaceful solution to our quarrel with Indonesia.

Now that some kind of accord has been reached with Indonesia, let me congratulate the Alliance Government for seeking a peaceful solution. The communique issued at the end of the Malik-Razak talks is vague on a number of issues, perhaps deliberately so. It is no secret that there has been a number of unresolved issues e.g. self-determination for the people of

Sabah and Sarawak, and the presence of British and Commonwealth bases and troops on our soil. Unless these issues are resolved and the full text of the accord is made public, it would be premature to say that the Bangkok Accord will bring peace to our generation in S.E.A. But there is no doubt that it can mark the dawn of a new era in S.E.A. and let us hope that given patience and goodwill all round peace and harmony will return to this troubled part of the world.

Now that confrontation is stated to have ceased the Government must immediately review all aspects of the measures taken by the country to confront confrontation.

Defence

Our defence needs must need to be reviewed immediately. It is no secret that Britain is desperately anxious to get out of South East Asia, if not pull out of East of Suez altogether. Here let me say that it is regrettable that the Minister of Finance should make such a disparaging remark of Great Britain as being "a tired and dispirited nation which has perhaps lost the will to govern itself". I wonder if it is a question of sour grapes, or his failure to get aid from Great Britain to the tune of \$630 million that has turned our Minister of Finance sour. Here I notice also that the Hon'ble Member for Kota Star Selatan also has chosen to make not only disparaging remarks but I think unfair remarks on Great Britain and yet, Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to make it quite clear that I am no apologist for any imperial power, or past imperial power. However, my sense of fair play makes me protest against such remarks.

We are spending close on \$2 million a day on defence. With the end of confrontation we obviously must put a stop to this drain on our resources. I do not for one moment advocate that there should be a run down on our defence needs straightaway. Rather we should immediately review our long term goals and short term needs of our defence forces. We

should be quite clear in our minds of the strategic role of our defence forces. If we can find a solution to all our differences with Indonesia and peace and harmony return to S.E.A. whom should our defence forces guard against, may I ask? Thailand? But we are on the best of terms with her and she has been mainly responsible for the Bangkok Accord. Indonesia again? But we hope that we can live in peace and harmony with her.

Who else can pose a threat to the security of our country? The Minister of Finance is reported to have stated that we need to build up our armed forces to guard against the danger of the Peoples' Republic of China. This is the sort of thinking that will cause us to be drawn into the cold war between the East and the West and perhaps turn us into yet another Vietnam as the Honourable Member for Sitiawan has warned us against yesterday. And this is the sort of thinking that Australia and New Zealand encouraged, for they have publicly stated that their northern border lies in Malaysia. In other words, Malaysia should be turned into a battleground in their defence. I do not believe that the Peoples' Republic of China wants to swallow up the rest of Asia or that the Red Juggernaut will roll south. China has enough problems of her own, not the least being a population explosion, to want to gobble up other nations.

I agree that we should build up our armed forces to defend our territories and sovereignty. Two years ago in this House when I proposed that the Tunku should give a promise of a phased withdrawal of foreign troops and bases in this country, I was nearly howled down. Today I see that there is a sizeable opinion in UMNO itself that thinks this should be so. In any case, as I have stated before even if we do not ask Britain to withdraw her troops, Britain will pull out her troops anyway. To sum up we should be quite clear in our minds to the role our armed forces should and can play in our defence in the sixties and seventies and we should not be led up the garden path by foreign powers.

Our armed forces should not be too large otherwise they may have strange ideas and this country may be the scene of military *coup d'état*. We must guard against such an eventuality.

Foreign Policy

Mr Speaker, Sir, the ordinary citizens in this country and perhaps the diplomats sitting behind me may well wonder reading the speeches made in this House and in the Upper House yesterday, what has come to our foreign policy. Does it mean that the right hand of the Government does not know what the left hand is doing? Let me quote, Mr Speaker, Sir, "Two diametrically opposite views were expressed in Parliament today by two Alliance leaders concerning the Government's foreign policy. On the one hand, the Member for Sitiawan—presumably he speaks on behalf of the Government—says that the Government should follow a truly non-aligned, neutral and independent foreign policy. On the other hand, the Alliance Secretary-General, Tan Sri T. H. Tan has warned the Government that a non-aligned policy will not save us any more than it has saved India. "And of course the worthy Tan Sri has gone on to say that we must be "anti-communist. That has become a phobia with quite a number of people in this country. Mr Speaker, Sir, we must also review our foreign policy in the light of rapidly changing events in S.E. Asia. At two previous sessions, Sir, of the Dewan Ra'ayat, I have initiated debates on our foreign policy. I have mentioned that we have not accepted a neutral non-aligned foreign policy. Our support of American action in Vietnam has clearly showed that we are in danger of being dubbed a lackey of American imperialism.

The neynote of our foreign policy is that we should be friends to all who regard us as equal and be the enemy of none. If we should adopt such a policy it will gain us a whole heap of new friends and our trade will benefit enormously. One has only to see the number of trade missions that have arrived south of the causeway to see that this is so.

His Majesty in his speech has stated: "My Government will establish diplomatic relations in as many countries as possible irrespective of whatever form of Government they may have". This is indeed very encouraging, but as I have indicated before this is at variance with the Government's outright condemnation of certain communist countries, especially the Peoples' Republic of China. We have gone out of our way to antagonize her and this despite the fact that she buys substantial amounts of rubber from us. This country may be rigidly opposed to Communism at home but there is no reason why we should taunt communist powers with Communist baiting speeches. If we continue to do so, it is no wonder that we should continue to spend enormous sums on our armed forces and thus invite instability to this region.

We should advocate the admission of the Peoples' Republic of China to the United Nations without pre-conditions as our nearest neighbour Singapore has done. Our Government itself has admitted that it is desirable that the Peoples' Republic of China should be admitted into the United Nations. But we have unfortunately hedged our support with all sorts of conditions which we know will not be accepted by the Peoples' Republic of China. Except for the U.S.A. and her lackeys, all are agreed that the Peoples' Republic of China should be admitted to the United Nations so that she can be subjected to a code of behaviour applicable to all nations.

Vietnam

There is no doubt that Vietnam is the power keg of the East that threatens to break out into a conflagration that will consume us all. Any support of American action there is not likely to contribute to a peaceful solution to the war in Vietnam. We must remember that Vietnam for more than a quarter of a century since 1941 has been a wartorn country. It is true to say that the Vietnamese both north and south are war weary and want peace above all things.

We should bend all our efforts towards achieving a peaceful solution to the war in Vietnam. But we cannot achieve this by supporting all American actions in Vietnam. We should tell the Americans that Asians have rid themselves of being the White man's burden, that Asians are tired of being asked to slit each others' throats, and that if left to themselves, Asians know how to settle their quarrels amongst themselves.

Finance and the end of Confrontation

The Minister for Finance should call for an immediate review of all aspects of Government to see that all expenditure spent on confrontation confronting confrontation, should be stopped. I have already touched on money spent on the armed forces. The money thus saved will mean that we need not borrow so much externally and we may from henceforth hope that we will build more houses and hospitals instead of barracks, make shirts and clothes for our people instead of uniforms, and give our people more rice and bread instead of bullets.

Now that confrontation is ended the Labour Party of Malaya calls on the Alliance Government to repeal the emergency regulations, and all other repressive legislation in the holy name or unholy name of the security of this nation. Mr Speaker, Sir, Members of this House will, I hope, remember that the Alliance Government solemnly promised that the Emergency Regulations will be repealed as soon as confrontation is ended. I now call on the Alliance Government to restore local council elections in accordance with the promise made by the Prime Minister to this House in March last year. If the Government refuses to do so on the grounds that there is a Royal Commission investigating this matter, then we must all conclude that the Alliance Party has a vested interest in keeping confrontation alive and in suppressing democratic freedom in this country. Here, Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to remind the Government that the M.T.U.C. has come out in no uncertain terms against this ban on strikes and yesterday this House has listened to the Member for Ipoh describing the ban on processions

and on rallies in this country. With the end of confrontation I hope that these repressive measures will be removed and repealed.

I also call on the Alliance Government to release all political prisoners particularly those who are alleged to have plotted with the Indonesians against this country. This country has seen a high government official giving a big bear hug to Indonesians at the International Airport at Subang. For allegedly doing far less, these prisoners of conscience have been kept behind bars. I suppose Major-General Jatikusumo is no longer the arch enemy of this country and that it is perfectly in order to befriend him. Hence the Labour Party of Malaya calls on the Alliance Government to free all political prisoners without conditions and to commute all sentences of death passed on prisoners for endangering the security of this country.

Before I leave the subject of confrontation I would be failing in my duty if I do not comment on the statement made by certain Ministers sitting opposite me against vicious and dangerous propaganda by "certain quarters" that Malaysia's reapproachment with Indonesia bodes ill for the Chinese. There is no doubt that there is uneasiness amongst the non-Malays about this and this has been heightened by the statements of certain Ministers that we are blood brothers of Indonesians having the same religion. From this it is but one step away from SATU BANGSA, SATU BAHASA, DAN SATU UGAMA.

Added to this there is the cry for the revival of Maphilindo. These then are the causes of the uneasiness amongst the non-Malays and it is up to the Government, particularly the Ministers sitting opposite me to assuage the fears of the non-Malays. I am glad that the Tunku has come out categorically against Maphilindo as being based on racial lines, and anything that smacks of racialism the Labour Party of Malaya will not support.

His Majesty in his speech has mentioned the transfer of disciplinary powers to Heads of Departments. It is

regrettable that the Government seems bent on implementing "in toto" the recommendations of the Montgomery and Esman Report. I notice, Mr Speaker, Sir, that the attacks on the Civil Service has taken on a new turn. Member for Sitiawan yesterday in his speech (and presumably this is the Government's stand) accused that some of our civil servants are corrupt, lazy, arrogant and publicity conscious. Mr Speaker, Sir, I say that this is a shameless stab in the back of our civil servants. Time and again in the past the Ministers sitting opposite me have praised the integrity, the self-sacrifice and the hard work put in by our civil servants. Just because the civil servants have doubts about the wisdom of divesting the Public Services Commission of disciplinary powers, now the Government is stabbing the civil servants in the back and mounting a smear campaign on the civil servants. I notice, Mr Speaker, Sir, there are lots of civil servants sitting opposite me. Let them know that the Government "hatchet" men with their "kapak kechil" are on the war path.

Sarawak Muddle

The Alliance Government in Sarawak is riddled with crises. This is only to be expected as the Government there does not really reflect the will of the people. The tertiary form of government is a typical imperialist device by the British designed to leave the power in the right hands. Even then as I have mentioned in my speech in 1964 in this House, the Alliance Party gained power only through buying over an independent.

Since then the State Government has been riddled with internecine power struggles. Their leaders have made many pilgrimages to Kuala Lumpur not only to hear their Masters' voice but also to receive the Imperial Edicts from their masters in Kuala Lumpur. Are the leaders of Sarawak children that they should come running to Kuala Lumpur ever so often to receive tuition from their masters here, or do their masters here have such a stranglehold on them that they cannot make a move without approval from Kuala Lumpur?

This time they have come to consult the Oracle of Delphi and this time the Oracle has spoken, "Dato' Stephen Kalong Ningkan Must Go"! His head must roll! What sort of Merdeka have the Sarawakians brought on themselves that they cannot decide their fate for themselves without interference from Kuala Lumpur?

Mr Speaker, Sir, elsewhere palace revolutions take place in the capitals of the countries. This country has seen a palace revolution taking place in Kuala Lumpur for Kuching. So much for this question of parliamentary democracy. If Dato' Stephen Kalong Ningkan is to be toppled—and I do not hold any brief for one side or the other—then surely this must be decided by the Pesaka, the Berjasa, the Snap, the Panas and by the SCA in Sarawak. Why should the people in Kuala Lumpur manipulate this idea that Dato' Stephen Kalong Ningkan's head must roll? The big wigs sitting opposite me—most of them are not here—have flown to Kuching to execute their plan. If we are to follow parliamentary democracy, then surely the Alliance Party in Sarawak should convene a meeting of the Council Negeri and there democratically vote him down, as is the request of Dato' Stephen Kalong Ningkan. I call on the Alliance Government to help the Sarawakians to hold direct elections so that the people there can have a Government that enjoys popular support.

Our Relations with Singapore

Next to confrontation, the most important event of the past year has been the eviction of Singapore. The Tunku has thought that all his troubles would be over with the eviction of Singapore. Little did the Alliance leaders realise that it was only just starting. And so the peoples of Malaysia and Singapore were treated to the unedifying spectacle of the squabbles between the leaders of both countries.

Divide et impera is a wellknown imperialist maxim and since the dawn of time imperialists the world over have sought first to divide and then rule their subject people. The imperialists have both joined and separated

different ethno-socio-religious groups for their own convenience and economic gains. It is regrettable that the leaders of these two newly emergent countries should fall into this wellknown imperialist trap.

It is an undeniable fact that the separation has been the act of political leaders of both countries with the common man having no say at all. Mr Speaker, Sir, no two people worked harder for the formation of Malaysia than the Tunku and Enche' Lee Kuan Yew. They were the greatest protagonists of Malaysia, but when thieves fall out they are not content to leave each other alone; rather they continue to get at each other's throat.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the leaders of both nations realise that their very survival depends on the friendly co-operation of both parties, and in public they spout such pious platitudes as mutual co-operation, friendly relations, etc. and then promptly start to hurl polemics at each other. This is indeed incomprehensible to the common man in both territories. It is no wonder that we sometimes think that "Those whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad". Yes, from the antics of the leaders of both nations the common man cannot be blamed if he wonders whether his leaders have lost their sanity and are deliberately leading him to self destruction. The tragedy of these series of recriminations and counter-recriminations is that the peoples of both territories do not have any part in the quarrels between their leaders and they are the ones who have to bear the tragic consequences of the stupidity of their leaders, as I shall presently show.

At the Alliance National Council meeting in December, 1965 the Tunku announced the recommendation that the Government would withdraw its overseas facilities from students from Singapore. This announcement came like a bolt from the blue to the students both locally and abroad. In a letter sent to the Tunku, nine of the principal student unions in Britain and Ireland implored the Tunku "Do not Split Us". The letter went on to say—

"We have read with immense disappointment a recent report that the Malaysian

Alliance Council has recommended that the Government should withdraw its overseas facilities from the students of Singapore. It is our deep belief that the future of our peoples must lie in the re-unification of our two territories and we cannot therefore support any move that seeks to separate students from the two territories."

"We, the undersigned, representing students' organizations in Britain, earnestly hope that your Government will not accept and implement the decision of the Malaysian Alliance Council as it can only create distinction where none in fact exists."

The letter concludes—

"We know that we speak for all students in Britain and Ireland when we say that we shall always deplore and resent any move from any quarter which might tend, deliberately or otherwise, to divide and distinguish Malaysian and Singapore students."

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is most encouraging to see that students of both territories, both locally and abroad, have much more horse sense than our leaders. Moreover, it is most gratifying to see that they are courageous enough to speak up their minds when they think that any governmental measure is not in their interest or that of the nation.

Mr Speaker, Sir, equally stupid is the move by the Singapore Government to charge the children of non-citizens, and these are mainly from Malaysia, an unsubsidised school fees of \$15 a month for primary school and \$30 a month for secondary school. I really do not know how the Singapore Government can benefit with this move as it is estimated that there are just over 2,000 students from Malaysia in Singapore schools, so that the saving to the Singapore Government on its education bill (standing at \$130 million) is negligible. The hardship for the individual families affected, however, can be very real, while the ill-will generated is possibly incalculable. While legally the Singapore Government may have the right to discriminate against children of non-citizens, I fail to see how it can be justified on moral grounds. Let us hope that the Singapore Government, in the light of the ending of confrontation, and perhaps a rapprochement between Singapore and Malaysia, will withdraw this unjustified levy on

Malaysian students studying in Singapore.

Mr Speaker, Sir, of all the aspects of the Malaysia-Singapore rift, none is more regrettable than that concerning the treatment of students. To sow the divisive seeds among the young is to be culpably criminal, for it lays the ground for permanent separation—the very opposite of what both Governments profess to want. Hence I say to the leaders of both the countries of Malaysia and Singapore—if you must quarrel by all means do so, but do not penalise the youth of both the nations who are the innocent victims of your stupidity.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the bickering took a serious turn when the Minister of Finance on 24th January, 1966, in an interview with Mr Patrick Killen of the U.P.I., uttered this threat: If it came to the push, I think we can stop every pound of rubber from going to Singapore. It is perfectly practicable and a few other things too. A customs order on one sheet of paper would do the trick". It is as simple as that, Mr Speaker, Sir.

The next day, in view of the adverse repercussions from the business community and on the stock exchange, Enche' Tan Siew Sin tried to white-wash things. He categorically denied that there was any intention on the part of the Malaysian Government to hurt the economy of Singapore. "Far from it, we will not hurt Singapore and we still want to co-operate with Singapore". Such pious solicitude for Singapore was most touching but the damage had been done for the threat had reverberated round the world before Enche' Tan Siew Sin could paper things up.

It is incredible that the Minister of Finance could say such things. It is true that he can divert every pound of rubber to the ports of Port Swettenham and Penang. But at what price? Mr Speaker, Sir, everyone knows, and this includes the Minister of Finance, that international trade connections and port facilities are not built overnight.

In some cases it takes more than a generation to do so. So if the Minister carries out his threat he will find that the extra shipping costs and lack of trading connections will drive our rubber customers away from Malaysia. Is he wanting to cut his nose to spite his face, may I ask?

Even more serious than this threat of a customs order has been the erection of the *Johore Wall* against Singapore citizens in the holy name of the preservation of security of this country. The Minister of Home Affairs has justified these acts on the grounds that the recognition of Singapore by Indonesia and the entry of Indonesian diplomats will endanger the security of this country. Yesterday we heard the Minister of Home Affairs state that this *Johore Wall*, or the Immigration Office, will go up still despite the thawing of tension in this region of Asia.

The only sour note in the Bangkok Accord has been the absence of Singapore. The Prime Minister has publicly stated that in any talks with Indonesia, Singapore would be invited to attend. Instead there was this petulant remark by the Deputy Prime Minister that since Singapore did not inform us of her talks with Indonesia, why should we invite her to the Bangkok Talks? Two wrongs do not make a right, and such childish utterances are unworthy to the Deputy Prime Minister of any country.

Happily the civil servants of both countries are trying to iron out the difficulties that the political leaders of both countries have created. Let us hope that they will succeed.

Before I leave the subject of Singapore, I should like to call on the leaders of both countries:

- Stop your bickering and squabbles, for they damage us locally and internationally;
- Stop your internecine quarrels and do not victimise students;
- Stop your collision course, your confrontation and your brinkmanship that may well destroy both nations;
- Stop bickering with the lives and livelihood of the peoples of both territories;

Stop inflicting unnecessary hardship on the people by your senseless feuds; and Let good sense and sanity prevail, so that the peoples of both territories can live in peace and harmony together.

Language and Education Issues

Now that confrontation is said to be over, let us examine the two issues of language and education which are the two most critical issues that face the country today. There is no doubt that if they are not properly handled they will break out into a conflagration that will consume the whole nation. Unfortunately the Government seems to act like an ostrich burying its head in the sand where these two issues are concerned. The Deputy Prime Minister has stated that these two issues pose no problem—all that we need to do is to look up the Constitution and in that book of words the solution is all spelt out.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya telah berkata di-Rumah Yang Berhormat ini, apabila di-kehendaki oleh Kerajaan Pusat, buku ini, Perlembagaan² kita, ia-lah buku yang paling suchi. Tetapi kita telah melihat Kerajaan Pusat mengoyak dan membuang buku ini ka-dalam longkang apabila Kerajaan Pusat menendang Singapura dari Malaysia.

Mr Speaker, Sir, stating that we must go back to the Constitution and thereby piously hoping that these complex problems will sort themselves out will not solve matters. The Government is fully aware of the immensity of the problems but as yet has not taken the bull by the horns and taken the nation into its confidence.

The Labour Party of Malaya calls on the Government to enumerate its intentions and timetable regarding the National language and education in the form of a White Paper which can then be discussed in the country and debated in this House. In making this request, I am not trying to initiate a debate on these two issues, but I would be failing in my duty if I were not to warn the Government of the dangers that lie ahead if the Government were to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude, or "let sleeping dogs lie" attitude.

On the question of language, may I remind the Government that in Belgium this problem has plagued that country for more than a century and even now threatens to bring down the Government and tear the country asunder. In 1958 in the lovely island of Ceylon the Sinhalese and the Tamils broke out into open conflict over the language issue. Looting, plundering, raping, murdering mobs took to the streets, providing one of the bloodiest episodes that that nation has ever known. The Tamil-speaking people were permanently embittered, but tension has eased a great deal since Dudley Senanayake decided to provide regulations under the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act, to permit the use of Tamil in the country's north and eastern provinces, traditional homeland of the Tamil-speaking people, who constitute a fifth of the population. It is only by giving recognition to the status of Tamil and its use by Government that further bloodshed has been avoided.

Then I need hardly remind this House of the language riots that occurred in Madras last year. These riots subsided only after Shastri had backed down on the use of Hindi as the sole official language and permitted the use of Tamil as well. The latest in the matter of language riots have recently occurred in the Punjab. There, many people have been roasted alive over the language issue.

In view of the foregoing, it cannot be said that the Central Government has not been forewarned of the disastrous consequences of a wrong decision on the National language issue.

Speaking at the opening of the National Language Month Conference in Kuala Lumpur on 24th February, 1966, the Minister of Education said:

"National language policy must be carried out with tact and tolerance. It cannot be implemented in the same way as we carry out our development programmes. If we frighten any individual, then he will move further from us, and if we chide him he will all the more be angered. It is quite possible to implement the language as the Official language of the country when 80 per cent or 90 per cent of the population has mastered it."

In the conduct of the implementation of the National language, I for one am glad that a responsible Minister of the Crown is aware of the practical difficulties of implementing the National language. Have 80 per cent or 90 per cent of the population mastered the National language? I can say without fear of contradiction that the answer is a categorical "No". That being so, is it wise to implement the National language as the sole Official language of the business of Government?

It is true to say that, where it takes an officer two hours to clear a tray of files written in English, it will probably take him four hours or more to clear the same tray of files, if it is written in the National language. That being so, it is obvious that the whole business of Government will be bogged down, if the National language policy is implemented next year. Is it wise to cut one's nose to spite one's face?

Despite what the Ministers sitting opposite me have stated, it is obvious that there is a lack of a correct policy and programme of implementation. The man-in-the-street, and the Government servants in particular, cannot be blamed if they are apprehensive over this lack of policy.

Mr Speaker, Sir, 1967 is just around the corner, and it is imperative that the Central Government should spell out in detail what are its intentions regarding the National Language issue. In view of the explosive nature of this problem, and I have pointed out the language riots elsewhere, and the practical difficulties involved, I wish to ask the Government to hasten slowly—*festina lente*, as the saying in Latin goes—over the implementation of the National Language policy.

Another equally complex and potentially explosive issue is that concerning education. Here, again, the Government says that there is nothing to worry about, as everything is provided for in the Constitution and in the Rahman Talib Report. Mr Speaker, Sir, the Government must be aware that what was acceptable at the time of the publication of the Rahman Talib

Report in 1960 is no longer true today. Education is a vital and live issue and must of necessity cannot remain static. The Central Government has recognised this truism by re-examining the Razak Report of 1956 a few years after its publication and bringing out the Rahman Talib Report. Since then many moons have gone by, and the time has come to re-examine the education policy of this country.

The bulk of the non-Malays too are not satisfied with the present education policy as enumerated by the Rahman Talib Report.

The two points at issue are:

1. There should be Chinese and Tamil Comprehensive Secondary Schools using Chinese and Tamil as the medium of instruction.
2. Examination in the Comprehensive Secondary School should be conducted in the medium of instruction but that the National language should be a compulsory subject.

The Government should not make the mistake of lightly dismissing these two natural aspirations of the non-Malays. The stand of the Labour Party of Malaya on language and education is simple. It is based upon two fundamental principles—the socialist principle of equality and the need to have a common language to suit national needs.

No true socialist will deny that the need for equality of peoples which must include languages, and no non-racialist can deny the need of a common national language for needs. In a multi-racial society such as Malaysia, it is even more necessary to have a common language whilst, at the same time fulfilling the demands of different races for equality.

As there has been in some quarters attempts to distort the policy of the Labour Party of Malaya on the National Language and education issues may I take this opportunity to re-state our policy on these two issues

once again. The main planks of our policy are:

- (1) Malay shall be our national and common language but it shall not be used to suppress the development of other languages.
- (2) Our National Language and Literature shall be compulsorily taught to all schools to the same common standard. It should not be used to suppress or prevent the use of other languages, such as English, Chinese and Tamil as the media of instruction in all schools.
- (3) English, Chinese and Tamil languages shall be used in all schools as the media of instruction and examination if so required. Thus, all school students shall at least know our National Language as well as a second language which is their medium of instruction.
- (4) All schools desiring to be taken into the national structure shall be taken into the national structure as they are, without change in their basic medium of instruction. Thus a national system of education would be established to fulfil both the national and the various other languages of our country.
- (5) No student shall be forced to take his examination in his "official" language but shall do so in his language of instruction.
- (6) Details of our educational programme shall be decided upon only after the fullest discussions and at a conference of our educationalists and experts.

In view of the complexities of the issues, one solution would be to form a Royal Commission to re-examine our education policy taking into consideration the natural aspirations of the non-Malays. If the Government takes up this suggestion, it will go a long way assuaging the natural fears of the non-Malays.

In conclusion, Mr Speaker, Sir, let the Central Government not stumble and fumble over the twin issues of

National Language and Education. Let it not be frightened by the war chants and the war cries of the war hawks and *ultras* in their midst. Let the voice of moderation prevail, and let the Government be courageous enough to lead us away from the abyss that yawns before us.

Thank you.

Sitting suspended at 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 4 p.m.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

ADDRESS OF THANKS

Debate resumed.

Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar (Johor Tenggara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin turut serta dalam perbincangan atas usul ucapan terima kasih kepada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Yang di-Pertuan Agong atas ucapan dan titah di-Raja yang di-lafadzkan oleh Baginda kepada Parlimen dua hari yang lepas. Saya fikir ini-lah peluang yang baik sa-kali bagi penyokong² Kerajaan dan juga puak² Pembangkang untuk memberikan pandangan dan pendapat supaya dapat Kerajaan memperoleh gambaran yang terang sa-kali daripada perasaan, chita² dan hasrat ra'ayat yang telah memilih wakil² dan menghantarkan mereka ka-dalam Dewan ini.

Tetapi, malang-nya Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-tengah daripada ahli² Pembangkang yang sa-patut-nya memberikan pandangan², pendapat² yang membena, sa-balek-nya menaborkan fitnah dan pesona yang bukan boleh memperbaiki perjalanan Kerajaan tetapi akan mengkochar-kachirkan keadaan masharakat negeri ini. Dewan ini telah mendengar dengan teliti pada hari samalam ucapan daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Ipoh yang sentiasa mengaku sa-bagai loyal Opposition atau Pembangkang yang ta'at setia tidak berbelah bahagi kepada negeri ini, tetapi daripada ucapan-nya dan pandangan yang di-taborkan-nya dalam

Dewan ini pada hari sa-malam, dia lebih berusaha hendak merachun dan menghanchorkan hidup aman-damai, hidup harmoni, hidup bekerjasama di antara kaum dalam negeri ini. Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Ipoh telah berper² mengatakan bahawa demokerasi dalam negeri ini, dalam Dewan ini, sudah luput dan luchut dan mengemukakan satu dua perkara untuk menguatkan tuduhan-nya itu. Tetapi Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada sa-orang yang siuman dalam negeri ini yang akan bersetuju dengan pendapat Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Ipoh dalam tuduhan-nya menidakkan wujud-nya demokerasi dalam Dewan dan dalam negara ini. Dengan hanya Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku Perdana Menteri memberikan kenyataan bahawa ada pembochoran dalam Pejabat Lord President maka ini kata-nya demokerasi telah habis dalam negeri ini. Saya tidak mengerti chara Ahli Yang Berhormat ini berfikir. Ta'kan-lah dengan hanya Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku Perdana Menteri mengeluarkan tuduhan ini maka demokerasi telah hapus. Ta' boleh-kah sa-orang Perdana Menteri yang bertanggung-jawab mengeluarkan pendapat-nya dan pandangan-nya atas sa-suatu keadaan yang berlaku dalam sa-buah pejabat Kerajaan negeri ini. Ini satu perkara biasa sahaja, dan tidak ada sadikit pun menyentoh demokerasi. Dewan ini menjadi satu dalil dan tanda yang besar sa-kali bahawa demokerasi dalam negeri ini memang berkembang dan bersemarak. Ahli Yang Berhormat itu dengan bebas menegor dengan begitu pedas ka-atas Kerajaan dengan tidak menaroh sadikit pun kebimbangan atas apa pandangan dan fikiran yang di-keluarkan-nya di-dalam Dewan ini. Kira-nya demokerasi tidak ada dalam negeri ini tentu tidak ada sa-orang daripada puak Pembangkang berdepan dengan kita di-sini. Orang² ini kalau benar tidak ada demokerasi dalam negeri ini sudah tentu tempat mereka bukan dalam Dewan ini, tetapi nun dalam penjara yang gelap!

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang yang menudoh tidak ada demokerasi dalam negeri ini, seperti Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh itu, saya fikir manusia ini memang manusia yang tidak kenalkan

budi. Dengan hanya Yang Teramat Mulia mengatakan dalam sa-buah pejabat telah berlaku pembochoran, maka demokerasi telah terkubor. Siapa-kah manusia yang dapat mengikuti chara pemikiran yang sa-umpama itu. Kalau sa-orang Menteri yang bertanggung-jawab tidak dapat menyatakan kepada ra'ayat negeri ini dan kepada Dewan ini pembochoran telah berlaku dalam sa-buah pejabat, maka saya fikir ini sa-mata² satu chara kuku besi yang hendak di-pakai oleh puak Pembangkang untuk menguasai Menteri² supaya tidak berchakap sa-patah pun berkenaan dengan pejabat yang di-bawah tanggong-nya.

Sa-perkara lagi yang saya ingin sebutkan daripada ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh kelmarin berkenaan dengan perhubungan yang mula hendak di-sambong atau hendak di-pulehkan di-antara Malaysia dengan Indonesia. Beliau telah chuba hendak menakut²kan orang² yang bukan Melayu di-dalam negeri ini dengan mengatakan bahawa perhubungan ini perhubungan sa-darah sa-daging yang kita tidak tahu apa-kah akibat-nya atas orang yang bukan Melayu dalam negeri ini. Tentang orang² Melayu sa-darah sa-daging dengan orang Indonesia, ini bukan perkara baharu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang boleh di-gunakan oleh sa-siapa untuk menakutkan sa-siapa dalam negeri ini. Ini perkara telah ada beratus² tahun lama-nya. Dan sunggoh pun persahabatan atau hubungan darah dan daging itu ada wujud di-antara kita orang² Melayu dalam negeri ini dengan saudara kita yang ada di-Indonesia itu, tetapi tidak ada satu penganiayaan terbit daripada perhubungan itu yang di-lakukan ka-atas orang² yang bukan Melayu. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berasa sunggoh hairan sa-patut-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh menguchapkan tahniah dan terima kasih kepada Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri kerana dengan usaha dan ikhtiar-nya dan ikhtiar Kerajaan yang di-pimpin oleh Perikatan, hubungan baik telah mula menampakkan rupanya di-dunia sa-belah sini di-antara kita dengan Indonesia. Barangkali Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh

dan boleh jadi juga akan di-sokong oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar, tidak senang melihat puleh-nya hubungan damai ini, wujud-nya dan timbul-nya angan² dan chita² damai di-dunia sa-belah sini. Biar-lah orang ketahu² barangkali orang² ini orang² yang lapar dan kebuloran hendakkan peperangan, tetapi saya tahu wakil dari Ipoh sendiri dan juga wakil dari Bungsar kalau ada berlaku peperangan, kapal yang pertama-lah dia orang akan naik balek ka-negeri masing² (AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Hear) (*Tepok*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh telah menyebut perpisahan dan sebab² yang menyebabkan perpisahan itu. Beliau telah mengatakan bahawa bahaya yang di-bimbangkan yang kerana-nya Kerajaan memisahkan Singapura daripada Malaysia tidak hilang dengan pemisahan itu. Itu pendapat Ahli Yang Berhormat itu. Saya bersetuju, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana orang² yang suka membangkitkan fitnah seperti Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh dan juga dari Bungsar ada dalam negeri ini untuk menimbulkan fitnah yang serupa itu. Saya fikir Kerajaan patut buka mata, buka telinga dan sedia bertindak terhadap sa-barang anasir, kapada sa-barang manusia yang chuba hendak membangkit²kan fitnah dan chuba hendak melaga²kan kaum dalam negeri ini. Kita telah mendengar ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh sa-malam bagaimana Ahli Yang Berhormat itu chuba menggambarkan kapada Dewan ini betapa tidak 'adil-nya keadaan dan kedudukan orang² yang bukan Melayu yang ada dalam negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benar-nya keadaan yang ada dalam negeri ini bukan Perikatan yang menyebabkannya, bukan Perikatan yang menimbulkan-nya, bukan Perikatan yang menchipta dan mewujudkan-nya. Keadaan tidak sa-imbang dalam masyarakat negeri ini, bukan sahaja dalam lapangan jawatan Kerajaan dan peluang² di-dalam Kerajaan, tetapi keadaan tidak sa-imbang itu meliputi lapangan ekohomi negeri ini, dan

kehidupan ra'ayat negeri ini. Bukan Perikatan yang menchiptakan-nya. Itu ada-lah sisa² daripada penjajah negeri ini dan patut kalau Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Ipoh dan orang² yang sa-umpama-nya saperti wakil daripada Bungsar jujur dan ikhlas kapada negeri ini dan kapada ra'ayat negeri ini mereka mesti mengutok penjajahan yang telah mewujudkan satu masharakat yang tidak sa-imbang di-dalam negeri ini. Tetapi bukan penjajah yang di-hentam-nya, bukan penjajah yang di-salahkan-nya, bukan penjajah yang di-kutok dan di-hentam-nya tetapi Perikatan yang chuba hendak mengadakan satu chara approach kapada problem yang di-tinggalkan oleh penjajah dalam negeri ini untuk hendak menyelesaikan-nya bagi kepuasan hati semua ra'ayat negeri ini daripada semua gulungan, daripada semua keturunan dan daripada semua bangsa. Patut bukan Kerajaan Perikatan yang mesti di-chachi, yang mesti di-kecham kerana keadaan yang tidak sa-imbang dalam negeri ini, tetapi yang mesti di-chachi yang mesti di-hentam, yang mesti di-kutok ia-lah penjajahan yang telah meninggalkan sisa²-nya yang begitu bahaya atas masharakat negeri ini. Dan kita Perikatan patut di-puji kerana usaha dan ikhtiar kita chuba hendak mengsaibangkan kedudukan dalam negeri ini. Tetapi malang-nya tuan² kita mempunyai orang² di-dalam negeri ini dan wakil² ra'ayat yang dudok dalam Dewan ini yang tidak mempunyai kepentingan sa-lain daripada kepentingan hendak menchari undi dan pengaruh, bukan untuk menchari kebaikan dan perdamaian hidup rukun damai di-antara kaum yang ada dalam negeri ini.

Salah satu daripada chara Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Ipoh yang menun-jukkan bahawa beliau sa-orang yang sentiasa memainkan sentimen perkauman ia-lah bila dalam ucapan-nya sa-malam lepas beliau balek daripada Taiwan telah meminta dan mendesak supaya shahadah atau kelulusan daripada University Taiwan di-aku² dalam negeri ini. Tentang Ahli Yang Berhormat itu menuntut supaya mengaku² kelulusan daripada Taiwan, saya ingin bertanya kapada Ahli Yang

Berhormat itu mengapa hanya Taiwan di-sebut, pada hal kita tahu banyak penuntut² kita yang ada di-India yang ada di-Pakistan yang ada di-Timor Tengah, yang kelulusan mereka tidak di-akuī dalam negeri ini. Kenapa hanya bertumpu ka-Taiwan lepas lawatan-nya ka-sana. Itu yang saya tidak dapat hendak mengertikan dan barangkali Ahli² Yang Berhormat dalam Dewan ini dapat melihat satu motive di-belakang chadangan-nya ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin hendak menyebutkan di-sini apa-kala sa-orang seperti Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Ipoh berchakap berkenaan dengan orang² yang bukan Melayu dalam negeri ini, tidak ada sa-orang hendak menegor dan membetulkan dan menarek-nya kepada jalan yang benar dan lurus, tetapi kita di-sini bila kita sebut berkenaan dengan orang² Melayu dan menaikkan taraf orang Melayu, kehidupan orang Melayu, dan chuba hendak memperbaiki keadaan orang² kita Melayu dan bila kita mengajak orang bersatu untuk bekerjasama dengan semua kaum kita terus di-tudoh yang kita ini orang perkauman, kita ultra, kita extremist. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tuduhan sa-umpama ini adalah satu tuduhan yang amat melampau. Apa salah-nya kalau salah sa-orang daripada kita orang Melayu atau Ahli UMNO menuntut daripada Kerajaan supaya memperbaiki keadaan hidup anak negeri ini yang telah begitu tertindas dalam semua lapangan hidup dalam negeri ini, meminta hendak di-naikkan taraf orang ini kita di-kata ultra, kita di-kata extremist. Dalam ucapan² kita baik ucapan kepada public, kepada orang ramai, atau ucapan sa-sama sendiri kita tidak pernah menuntut, kita tidak pernah mendesak Kerajaan supaya segala apa yang ada di-tangan orang bukan Melayu itu mesti di-rampas, mesti di-samun, mesti di-ambil dan di-berikan kepada orang Melayu. Apa yang kita tuntut biar-lah orang itu bersenang lenang menikmati kekayaan negeri ini dan beri-lah peluang kepada orang Melayu yang telah tertindas oleh polisi penjajahan dalam negeri ini dapat di-naikkan taraf hidup mereka. Ada-kah ini extremist, ada-kah ini ultra. Ini-lah

chara-nya manusia yang chuba hendak memburokkan perhubungan di-antara kaum dalam negeri ini. Saya sendiri Tuan Yang di-Pertua terok benar kena tuduhan ultra dan extremist pada hal saya-lah manusia-nya lebeh daripada sa-barang orang dalam Dewan ini dan dalam negeri ini yang telah menjelajah di-merata cherok kampong dalam negeri ini menjual konsep Perikatan, menjual konsep bekerjasama, menjual konsep tolong menolong, konsep ber-baik² antara semua kaum dalam negeri ini. Barangkali tidak ada satu kawasan pilehan raya yang di-tandingi oleh chalun yang bukan Melayu dalam negeri ini daripada semenjak tahun 1955 yang saya tidak pergi berkempen ka-sana untuk meminta orang² kampong Melayu menyokong chalun yang bukan daripada orang Melayu. Ini-lah orang yang di-katakan extremist, ultra, oleh manusia² yang tidak mengang budi (AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Hear! Hear). Saya mempunyai kebolehan untuk membangkitkan semangat orang Melayu menentang orang yang bukan Melayu dan kalau saya lakukan itu, ini akan menimbulkan huru-hara yang amat hebat di-dalam negeri ini, tetapi saya bukan membawa fitnah untuk melaga²kan kaum dalam negeri ini, apa yang saya bawa ka-kampong² ia-lah dasar Perikatan, concept Perikatan ia-itu mahukan hidup rukun damai di-antara semua kaum dalam negeri ini.

Jadi orang² ini yang menudoh orang² daripada UMNO, daripada orang Melayu yang hendak melihat, yang hendak menengok orang² kita Melayu dapat berdiri sama tinggi, dudok sama rendah, dalam lapangan hidup dan ekonomi negeri ini dengan orang² yang bukan Melayu, orang² ini-lah yang di-burok²-kan oleh manusia² yang konon-nya mempunyai dasar Malaysian Malaysia. Sa-olah² orang ini suka hendak menengok satu kaum, satu kumpulan manusia dalam negeri ini tertindas salama²-nya di-dalam pergolakan masa dalam negeri kita ini, tetapi saya berharap orang² ini tidak akan di-biarkan oleh Kerajaan.

Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bungsar dalam ucapan-nya yang di-reportkan oleh *Utusan Melayu* telah

berchakap di-Seremban mengulas berkenaan dengan tanda² perdamaian yang sedang berkembang, bersemarak, di-antara Malaysia dengan Indonesia telah membuat ulasan yang paling burok, yang boleh di-buat oleh sa-orang manusia di-atas muka bumi Allah ini. Sa-olah² dia bukan ra'ayat Malaysia, dia sa-olah² wakil penjajah duduk dalam negeri ini untuk melaga²-kan kaum yang ada dalam negeri ini. Tidak hairan kita menengok wakil daripada Bungsar mengambil sikap yang sa-umpama itu, dia biasa membela Kerajaan Singapura—sa-buah Kerajaan asing—tentang dasar-nya menagadakan Work Permit dan menaikkan bayaran sekolah bagi anak² kita di-sana, dia tukang bela. Ini-kah orang yang ta'at setia kapada negeri ini. Saya harap Kerajaan akan menyiasat balek surat beranak dan tengok manusia ini dari mana datang-nya dan kalau di-dapati orang ini tidak ada tempat di-dalam negeri ini, lebeh baik dia lekas di-hantarkan keluar—dari mana dia datang. Kalau tidak orang² ini-lah yang akan menjadi beneh perpechahan di-dalam negeri ini. Saya yakin orang² ini-lah yang akan menyemai-kan beneh perpechahan dalam negeri ini. Dengan mengungkit² kan di-dalam ucapan-nya soal persaudaraan sa-darah sa-daging antara orang Melayu dan Indonesia dan chuba menakut²kan orang yang bukan Melayu dalam negeri ini. Ini apa tujuan-nya, apa maksud-nya? Mahu-kah kita berperang dengan Indonesia? Mahu-kah dia akan berdiri di-saf depan? Saya tidak fikir, sa-kurang²-nya kalau dia tidak lari jauh, dia akan menyeberang ka-Singapura (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak berchakap berkenaan dengan sentiment perkauman yang di-buat oleh orang² di-sabelah sana daripada PPP, DAP atau PAP berupa DAP—make no different—tidak ada perbezaan tentang nama. Hanya sedikit perubahan daripada P pergi D, dekat sangat. Chara pemikiran, hasrat dan chita² hendak menchari kemenangan, saya nampak. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, DAP hendak menchari kemenangan, hendak men-

chari kekuasaan, walau di-atas bangkai dan tulang belulang manusia yang tidak berdosa, dia orang tidak peduli walau berapa jiwa akan terkurban, walau berapa banyak darah akan mengalir membasahi bumi Malaysia ini, mereka tidak menghiraukan itu semua asalkan dapat kuasa dan kita telah melihat chara² yang telah di-buat di-Singapura waktu PAP hendak datang memegang kuasa di-sana, berapa banyak kekachauan, berapa banyak huru-hara yang berbangkit dalam negeri itu sa-hingga-lah mereka dapat naik ka-atas. Tetapi di-sini saya memberi amaran kepada wakil tunggal DAP dalam Dewan ini, saya memberi amaran bahawa chara² yang sa-umpama itu dalam negeri ini tidak akan berjaya kerana kami di-sini, Ahli² Perikatan, akan berdaya upaya dan berikhtiar supaya chara² burok dan kotor yang sa-umpama itu tidak akan di-lakukan di-dalam negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, biar saya tinggalkan orang² ini untuk sementara waktu dan saya ingin berbalek berkaitan dengan soal yang di-bangkitkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Kota Star Selatan ia-itu berkenaan dengan surat khabar yang boleh menguasai fikiran, perasaan, chita² orang ramai dalam negeri ini. Saya fikir Kerajaan patut benar mengambil perhatian atas perkara ini bukan sahaja modal dan capital surat khabar itu mesti di-jadikan dan di-mileki oleh warga negara Malaysia, tetapi pekerja² yang bekerja di-dalam surat khabar itu mesti-lah daripada warga negara dan ra'ayat Malaysia. Kita dalam negeri ini mempunyai undang² yang tidak membenarkan orang² yang bukan warga negara menchampion politik negeri ini. Kalau Kerajaan tidak menegah dan melarang orang² yang bukan ra'ayat menchampion politik dalam negeri ini, maka larangan dan tegahan ini, undang² ini akan menjadi tertawaan dunia dan tertawaan orang ramai (*Tepok*). Dalam perkara ini saya bersunggo²h meminta Kerajaan supaya mengambil langkah yang segera. Barang siapa yang bukan ra'ayat negeri ini, bukan ra'ayat Malaysia, dia tidak boleh memileki walau satu sen saham pun dalam sa-buah perusahaan akhbar dalam negeri ini atau pun bekerja dalam

akhbar itu untuk mempengaruhi ra'ayat negeri ini, menguasai perasaan dan chita² ra'ayat negeri ini melalui surat khabar (*Tepok*). Saya tidak mahu sa-barang surat khabar, saya tidak peduli apa surat khabar itu, apa rupa-nya, apa jenis-nya, apa bahasa-nya, tetapi asal sahaja surat khabar itu konon-nya mengaku surat khabar kebangsaan yang di-kelilingkan untuk bacaan ra'ayat negeri ini, jangan di-benarkan di-miliki oleh orang² yang bukan ra'ayat negeri ini, dan tidak boleh di-beri atau di-benarkan pekerja² di-dalam surat² khabar itu di-pegang dan di-kuasai oleh orang² yang bukan warga negara negeri ini.

Saya fikir Kerajaan akan membuat satu kebijakan yang besar kira-nya segera menjalankan perkara ini dengan tidak bimbang dan khuatir sa-suatu apa pun. Apa yang di-bimbangkan oleh Kerajaan, apa yang di-takutkan oleh Kerajaan, pengundi² kita bukan-nya di-London, pengundi² kita di-Kampong, ini yang kita mahu beratkan, bukan orang² yang ada di-London yang kita mesti beratkan atau di-mana² di-dalam dunia ini. Jadi untuk terlampau sangat hendak membuat perhitongan membuat undang² ini, saya fikir akan merugikan kita, akan merugikan negara, akan merugikan national interest dalam negeri ini. Jadi saya mendesak Kerajaan supaya menjalankan atau mengadakan undang² ini dengan lebih segera—the sooner the better.

Satu perkara yang saya ingin hendak sebutkan di-sini ia-lah dasar luar Kerajaan kita. Memandangkan perubahan² yang sedang berlaku dengan begitu deras, dengan begitu chepat dalam negeri dan dalam negara² tetangga dan dalam dunia seluroh-nya, maka saya fikir satu pemikiran yang mendalam yang lebih teliti mesti-lah di-buat oleh Kerajaan bagi membentok dasar luar yang lebih² rapat lagi kepada Afro-Asia daripada dasar yang ada pada hari ini.

Sebab, saya tengok pada pandangan saya, pada perhitongan dan penelitian saya, masa depan dunia ini bukan-nya di-Eropah, bukan-nya di-Amerika tetapi akan beraleh ka-Afro-Asia. Jadi,

sa-belum terlambat baik-lah kita mengambil jalan pulang lebih lekas lagi.

Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin mengambil peluang menguchapkan sa-tinggi² tahniah dan sa-tinggi² pujian atas usaha² yang telah di-jalankan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak, yang telah mendekatkan kita kepada Indonesia. Negara saperti Malaysia yang mempunyai penduduk—population—hanya kurang lebih sapuluh juta manusia, tidak terdaya mempunyai jiran yang hostile dengan kita sa-besar Indonesia. Kita bukan hendak perdamaian dengan Indonesia atas alasan kerana sa-daging sa-darah. Waktu kita memusohi Indonesia tempoh hari, dan jawatan-kuasa bertindak yang berkempen mengkebor semangat ra'ayat supaya mengambil sikap yang tegas terhadap konfrantasi, bukan wakil Bungsar!—Tidak! (*Tepok*). Penentangan kita terhadap Indonesia, penentangan yang di-dasarkan atas ideology, bukan atas darah dan keturunan. Kalau kita hendak mendasarkan segala tindak-tandok kita atas darah dan keturunan, kita patut tidak mengambil sikap sa-bagaimana yang kita telah ambil dalam masa yang telah di-paksakan oleh keadaan pada masa itu, oleh kerana regime yang menguasai Jakarta pada masa itu di-kuasai oleh Aidit—barangkali siapa tahu sahabat baik wakil Bungsar! (*Ketawa*). Jadi, jangan ada orang yang salah tafsir, yang salah ma'anakan kesukaan kita, kerianan kita, kegembiraan kita hendak berdamai dengan Indonesia. Semua-nya itu bukan kerana kita sa-darah sa-daging dengan mereka, tetapi kita gembira kerana Indonesia pada hari ini telah dapat berjaya, pada hari ini mengembeleng segala tenaga yang baik dalam negeri itu untuk memusnahkan, dan menghancurkan, dan menghenyakkan, dan mengganyang kominis yang ada dalam negeri itu. Itu-lah, kita sambut kejayaan yang ada dalam Indonesia atas dasar ini, bukan atas dasar yang lain. Berkenaan soal darah dan daging, itu kebetulan sahaja Wakil Bungsar ta' boleh na' tukar darah orang lain jadi darah dia (*Ketawa*). Kalau boleh, dia boleh buat—barangkali dia ada doktor² yang boleh membuat-nya.

Jadi, di-sini, soal perhubungan antara Indonesia dengan Malaysia yang tidak memakai orang perantara—direct contact—perhubungan sa-chara langsung, mencari penyelesaian sa-chara Asia, telah di-smear, di-sindir² dalam satu Press Conference yang di-adakan oleh Premier Singapura. Di-sindir², konon-nya usaha perdamaian ini, usaha na' mencari balek keamanan di-dunia sa-belah sini, sa-bagai satu ikhtiar hendak memencilkan Pulau Singapura dan hendak mengapit Pulau Singapura, dan menghempet Pulau Singapura. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal menghempet, mengepit, soal memencilkan Singapura, itu bukan soal kami, itu bukan soal kami. Ada-kah Singapura akan terpenchil daripada negara² tetangganya ada-lah bergantung kepada sikap yang akan di-'amalkan-nya pada masa depan. Kalau dia lebeh ka-Peking, barangkali di-situ-lah perpisahan yang akhir antara kita dengan Singapura, bagaimana yang telah di-bayangkan oleh Premier Singapura sendiri akan mengadakan hubungan yang rapat dengan Peking. Jadi, ini bukan soal kita, ini soal Singapura sendiri. Tetapi, malang-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini sindiran² dan smear ini telah di-bangkitkan oleh wartawan² British yang ada dalam interview itu. Ta' tahu apa maksud wartawan² British ini—tidak shak lagi ia-lah bagaimana yang di-tempekan—*divide and rule*. Sa-bagai penjajah dia tahu kerja-nya. Dia berhak buat apa yang dia mahu—*divide and rule* atau apa². Tetapi kita, kita, kita tuan punya negeri ini yang chuba hendak di-smear, dan hendak di-burok²kan image kita, hendak di-burok²kan gambaran kita, di-sindir² dengan kata² yang burok sa-umpama ini—apa sikap kita? Jangan tanya apa sikap wartawan British yang barangkali di-upah oleh satu² puak atau satu² kuasa. Tetapi, apa sikap kita memandang orang² yang chuba hendak memburokkan kita di-luar negeri. Kita tidak mahu lagi—pada saya sendiri, saya tidak senang memandang sikap yang terlampau moderate daripada Kerajaan terhadap orang² yang menchemarkan nama baik kita dalam dunia ini. Kita telah pernah di-chemarkan oleh sa-orang

wartawan janggut menulis dalam sa-buah akhbar Australia, dan kita mengambil tulisan-nya itu sa-chara ringan—sa-chara sambil lewa sahaja.

Jadi, saya harap Kerajaan pada kali ini, dan pada masa ini tidak akan mengambil attitude—sikap dan pendirian siapa tampar muka kanan suakan pipi kiri. Kita mahu Kerajaan mengambil sikap, siapa tampar pipi kanan, kita bagi penumbok biar gigi-nya semua runtoh. Dalam dunia international yang penoh dengan putar belit, dan penoh dengan tipu-daya yang kotor, kita tidak boleh mengambil sikap yang sa-umpama ini. Akhirnya kekotoran itu akan di-timpakan ka-atas kita.

Jadi ini-lah dia, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkenaan dengan hal kedudukan Singapura di-dalam lengkungan negara² ini. Jadi kalau Singapura hendak memencilkan diri-nya itu terpulang kepada dia, bukan terpulang kepada kita. Dan satu perkara yang suka saya hendak sebut berkenaan dengan Singapura ini saya sa-benarnya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak dapat hendak memahami, tidak dapat hendak membacha, apa-kah yang ada di-sabalek tujuan Kerajaan menerima Premier Singapura datang ka-Kuala Lumpur untuk berjumpa dengan Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku dan lain² Kabinet Minister. Kenapa kita terima dia dalam masa keadaan yang sa-umpama ini. Pada pandangan saya dia ta' patut di-terima datang ka-mari pada masa dan keadaan yang sa-umpama ini. Saya kuatkan lagi pada masa dan keadaan yang sa-umpama ini, kerana, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, semenjak Singapura di-pisahkan kita tidak pernah mendengar beliau membuat perhubungan dengan Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku waktu Singapura sedang mengadakan rundingan² sulit untuk mendapatkan pengi'tirafan daripada Indonesia tidak sa-patah pun di-beritahu kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku Perdana Menteri. Dia tahu kita sedang berkonfrantasi dengan Indonesia apakala Indonesia mengishtiarkan hendak mengakui Singapura mengalu²kan pengi'tirafan itu dengan tidak rojok ka-Kuala Lumpur

lagi. Tetapi tiba² apakala Jakarta dan Kuala Lumpur dapat direct contact dan dapat memulehkan perhubungan yang damai dan aman tiba² dia bertalipon—saya na' jumpa—na' jumpa itu sa-telah dia menchela nama baik Kerajaan Perikatan di-persidangan Stockholm atau di-mana di-dalam lawatan-nya mengatakan konon-nya orang² China yang ada dalam Malaysia ini tertindas dan teraniaya dan di-dalam "press conference-nya" melalui pertanya² yang telah di-suapkan kepada mulut wartawan² yang hadir dalam persidangan akhbar itu telah mengatakan ia-itu perhubungan antara Jakarta dengan Kuala Lumpur ini hendak menindas satu² puak yang tertentu. Dalam keadaan yang sa-umpama ini, dalam sa'at yang sa-umpama ini, kempen yang mengatakan kita hendak menindas orang yang bukan Melayu, sebab itu-lah kita terbaik² dengan Indonesia. Dalam sa'at sa-rupa itu-lah Premier Singapura datang berjumpa kita di-sini dan kita terima dia. Saya bimbang beliau akan membuat kempen bahawa kedatangan-nya menemui Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku ia-lah untuk mendapat jaminan supaya orang² China dan orang² yang bukan Melayu tidak akan di-tindas sa-telah perhubungan dengan Indonesia di-pulehkan. Dengan chara-nya ini dia juga yang akan untong.

Saya meminta daripada Kerajaan untuk pengetahuan seluruh dunia supaya memberi tahu Dewan ini apa dia perundingan antara Premier Singapura dengan Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku. Biar orang saya tahu kerana apa dia datang kerana saya tahu dia akan membuat kempen kechil² mengatakan saya telah pergi berjumpa Tengku untuk meminta jaminan supaya orang China jangan di-ganggu, ini manusia layak membuat kerja ini. Jadi saya berkehendak daripada Kerajaan supaya membuat kenyataan kerana apa-kah perundingan itu dan kerana apa dia datang berjumpa. Sa-lama ini dia ta' pedulikan kita dan kita ta' marah sebab dia negeri asing dan merdeka tetapi bila datang soal² yang sa-umpama ini dia datang hendak berjumpa untuk membuat satu smear lagi untuk memburokkan kita di-luar

negeri, dan untok hendak menchari muka kepada orang² yang bukan Melayu dalam negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua di-dalam bidang soal luar negeri ini saya suka hendak menyebut perkara hubungan kita dengan Pakistan. Nampak-nya Tuan Yang di-Pertua dalam sa-hari dua ini kenyataan² yang melegakan hati, yang melapangkan perasaan telah berkumandang di-udara. Menteri Luar Pakistan telah menyatakan kesanggupan pehak-nya hendak berkira bichara dan hendak berdamai dengan Malaysia. Kita menguchap sa-ribu shukor kerana tanda hendak terbaik² telah datang daripada Pakistan yang pehak kita pulak daripada sini telah mengalu²kan-nya dan telah menyambut-nya dengan baik. Ini satu tanda yang sangat menyenangkan hati. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin hendak berbalek sedikit jauh ka-belakang kepada kejadian² yang telah membawa putus-nya hubungan Pakistan dengan kita, hubungan diplomatik, hubungan kaseh sayang maseh ada lagi, tetapi hubungan diplomatik putus. Barangkali tidak ada sa-orang yang siuman dalam dunia ini yang akan membenarkan, yang akan mengiakan, yang akan menyokong Pakistan, memutuskan hubungan-nya dengan kita, kerana Pakistan tidak putus hubungan-nya dengan negara yang di-perangi-nya pada masa itu, ia-itu India. Tetapi tiba² dengan kita di-putuskan hubungan-nya. Satu soal yang saya ingin meminta daripada Kerajaan bahawa kejadian ini harus tidak berlaku sa-kira-nya kita di-sini dapat mengambil tindakan pada ketika itu kepada wakil kita yang ada di-U.N.—Wakil Tetap Malaysia yang ada di-U.N. Saya sendiri "confuse" berke-naan dengan kenyataan wakil kita yang ada di-U.N. yang telah membawa putus-nya hubungan kita dengan Pakistan, dan saya sendiri berasa shak, ragu² barangkali oleh kerana pengetahuan saya dalam bahasa Inggeris tidak begitu mendalam barangkali saya tidak dapat hendak memahami apa maksud dan tujuan ucapan wakil kita dalam U.N., dalam Security Council pada ketika itu. Tetapi saya mengambil satu sahaja, ucapan

wakil kita telah menyakitkan Pakistan dan menyeronokkan India, sikap Kerajaan kita dalam soal pertelingkahan Kashmir ini memang satu pendirian yang terpuji tetapi yang menjadi kudiis dalam perkara ini ia-lah ucapan wakil kita *di-Security Council* berkenaan dengan pertikaian ini. Walau apa juga Kerajaan chuba hendak berdaleh, hendak mengalehkan bahawa ucapan wakil kita itu tidak bagaimana yang di-tafsirkan oleh Pakistan tetapi satu perkara yang kita tidak dapat hendak berdaleh ia-itu India sangat² seronok dengan ucapan wakil kita, dia sangat² seronok. Sa-tengah² pemimpin India menyatakan bagaimana yang saya baca dalam surat khabar, katanya kenyataan wakil Malaysia itu patut datang-nya daripada wakil India bukan daripada wakil Malaysia.

Jadi, saya fikir, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Wakil Tetap kita waktu dia beruchap dalam *Security Council* pada masa itu dia terlupa, barangkali dia terlupa, yang dia ra'ayat Malaysia kerana dia pun baru sangat menjadi ra'ayat negeri kita. Patut pada masa itu lekas² kita mengambil langkah dan memanggil balek wakil kita itu dan langkah yang sa-umpama ini akan menyejokkan hati Pakistan. Tetapi benda sudah jadi, kita shukor yang tanda² hendak berdamai telah lahir semula dan saya berdo'a dan Dewan ini akan bersama dengan saya berharap ia-itu hubungan baik di-antara Malaysia dengan Pakistan akan puleh saperti sediakala. Daripada keadaan yang sedang berlaku dalam dunia sa-belah sini dan perkembangan yang akhir di-antara kita dengan Indonesia, saya fikir satu perkara yang amat baik kalau ASA ini sa-bagaimana yang telah di-sebutkan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan di-luaskan dan di-lebarkan supaya meliputi beberapa buah negeri lagi yang ada di-dunia di-sabelah sini. Ini saya fikir, Kerajaan kita patut mengambil tindakan yang segera dan deras supaya perkara ini dapat di-usahakan dan dapat di-jayakan.

Dalam keadaan kita bagini rupa dan dalam keadaan konfrantasi belum habis lagi, Yang Berhormat Menteri

Kewangan kita pergi ka-England untuk berjumpa dan bermeshuarat dengan beberapa buah negeri dalam satu perjumpaan yang di-namakan Club Aid Malaysia. Betul? Aid Malaysia Club. Jadi, sambutan yang telah di-beri oleh sa-tengah negara kepada usaha Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan sangat menyenangkan hati kita, tetapi satu sikap yang paling mengejutkan, yang paling memeranjatkan dan menyebabkan kita mengenal lebeh dalam lagi ia-lah sikap British sendiri yang konon-nya kawan kita, sahabat kita yang kita berikan segala kemudahan dalam negeri ini, dan kita berikan support kepada dia, yang kita berikan ini, berikan itu, kalau saya hendak sebut barangkali satu minggu tidak habis saya bersharah di-sini, atas apa budi, sikap hendak berbaik, sikap peri kemanusiaan yang telah diberikan kepada British tetapi apakala datang Aid Malaysia Club ini British telah buka tangan, kami ta' berdaya, kami banyak commitment, ekonomi kami tidak mengizinkan, kalau Malaysia hendak bantuan lagi memada'i-lah askar² kami yang mempertahankan Malaysia yang ada di-sini yang kami berbelanja bermillion² pound untuk menjaga askar² di-sana dan, dan . . .

Jadi, di-sini saya suka hendak berkata kepada British baik-lah semua persediaan dan kelengkapan perang-nya di-hantar balek ka-sana, jadi belanja dia ringan, bila belanja sudah ringan masok-lah Aid Malaysia Club, tetapi saya fikir ini tidak akan menyelesaikan soal ini kerana askar British yang ada di-sini hanya kebetulan sahaja, walau di-mana juga askar ini berada belanja itu mesti keluar, bukan belanja berpuluh million yang dikeluarkan oleh British di-dunia di-sabelah sini bukan untuk kepentingan ekonomi-nya yang ada di-Malaya sahaja tetapi kepentingan-nya yang ada di-Tenggara Asia, di-Timor Jauh seluroh-nya. Di-sini hanya di-jadikan-nya puncha dan pengkalan tempat dia bertapak. Jadi, saya hairan benar melihat sikap dan kejujoran British terhadap kepada kita. British pada hari ini di-perintah oleh Labour Party ini yang menjadikan saya terkenang satu perkara ia-itu Malayan Union

dahulu pun di-datangkan ka-atas Tanah Melayu ini waktu Labour Party berkuasa di-England, saya tidak tahu apa connection antara dua ini.

Jadi, di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa yang British mahu kita buat? Kita banyak perkara yang kita boleh buat, memang boleh sangat². Kalau Kerajaan kita mahu buat yang akan menyusahkan Britain. Siapa yang tidak tahu dalam dunia ini bahawa Malaysia-lah dollar earner yang paling besar sa-kali untok Britain kita ta' usah buat apa², segala reserve yang ada disimpan dalam sterling pindahan ka-lain tempat, ambilkan wang yang lebeh tegoh, mata wang yang lebeh tegoh, yang lebeh kukoh daripada mata wang sterling. Kalau bagini Malaysia buat, apa akan jadi kepada Britain, porak-peranda pound sterling yang begitu gagah di-dokong dan disokong oleh hasil pengeluaran daripada Malaysia ini dan daripada Malaya khas-nya.

Jadi, di-sini saya harap British jangan menganggap kita budak² dalam international politik—we can do harm—dan saya harap Kerajaan bersungguh² akan mengamalkan apa yang di-bayangkan oleh Pemangku Menteri Luar, Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Dr Ismail kelmarin apakala dia mengatakan kita akan chuba adjust chara pemikiran kita dalam soal ini. Saya harap Kerajaan bukan sahaja chuba mengubah chara pemikiran-nya, tetapi bertindak-nya yang penting. Saya berkehendakkan Kerajaan bertindak bukan sahaja berfikir, fikir terus bertindak jangan lambat. Ini-kah yang British mahu dari kita? Kalau British mahukan ini daripada kita biar-lah berterus terang. Kata orang tua²: bunga bukan sa-kuntom—(AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: kumbang bukan sa-ekor)—kumbang bukan sa-ekor (*Ketawa*). British nampak-nya mengambil sikap terhadap kepada kita, take it for granted, Malaya ini baik-lah, sampai berapa lama hendak di-buat-nya baik macham ini? Kita makin dewasa dan kita tahu apa permainan kawan² kita dan apa tipu daya lawan² kita. Kita tahu, kita mengerti dan akan sampai satu masa kita akan bertindak,

dan pada masa itu British jangan kesalkan, melainkan perbuatan tangan-nya sendiri.

Saya ingin memberi ingat kepada British bahawa keengganan-nya dan chara²-nya melayan harapan Malaysia terhadap British, ini ada-lah satu blunder yang sama berat-nya dengan blunder yang di-buat oleh Aden waktu menyerang Suez Canal. Kalau tidak perchaya teruskan-lah polisi ini. Tengok apa jadi besok. British kena ingat bahawa kominis tidak jauh daripada Malaysia hanya satu dua jam sahaja terbang dengan kapal terbang dari Vietnam, tidak jauh, kira-nya keadaan burok dalam negeri ini bertambah burok kerana ranchangan Malaysia tidak dapat di-jalankan oleh kerana tidak kechukupan wang, maka pada masa itu bukan British sahaja akan gulung tikar daripada dunia sabelah sini, tetapi Amerika yang menjadi sahabat-nya juga terpaksa menggulung tikar daripada negeri ini. Saya memberi ingat kepada kawan² kita—saya panggil kawan² kita sa-takat hari ini (*Ketawa*) supaya chuba mengertikan dan fahamkan perasaan yang sedang menggelegak di-kalangan ra'ayat negeri ini. Kena ingat bahawa perasaan yang patut di-perhetongkan dalam negeri ini ia-lah perasaan pemuda² yang sedang naik dan perasaan pemuda² yang sedang naik sama sa-kali tidak senang Amerika atau British lebeh lama dudok bermaharajalela dalam negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sudah tersebut perkara Amerika ini saya pun fikir patut kita memberitahu kepada Amerika dengan terus terang berkenaan dengan hal peperangan di-Vietnam. Kita sokong Amerika menentang kominis. Itu saya dapat tegaskan, tetapi kita tidak sokong Amerika membawa peperangan menentang kominis di-negeri orang. Kalau berani hendak lanyak kominis pergi negeri China. Jangan korbankan Vietnam, kasehan tidak berdosa dengan alasan konon hendak menentang kominis. Sayang! Saya harap saudara² kita di-Vietnam dapat memikirkan balek negeri-nya dan jangan

menjadikan negeri mereka tempat per-torangan di-antara komunis dengan so-called Western Democracy ini. Kalau betul² hendak menentang komi-nis pergi chari perdu-nya. Jangan kita di-jadikan korban. Jangan negeri kita di-jadikan mangsa. Jadi, di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berharap supaya saudara² kita di-Vietnam lekas sedarkan hakikat ini dan dapat mengikis-kan pengaruh komunis dan pengaruh Amerika yang sedang berkembang biak dalam negeri itu untuk kesela-matan ra'ayat Vietnam sendiri.

Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin hendak menyebutkan dalam Titah di-Raja ini, ada satu perkara yang sangat menarek hati saya. Ini berkenaan dengan satu undang² hendak menyatukan undang² ber-kenaan dengan Income Tax. Saya seronok dengan ini dan saya mahu Kerajaan melangkah lebih jauh lagi supaya segala perasaan berasingan di-antara Sabah, Sarawak dengan kita di-hapuskan, bukan sahaja tentang soal chukai ini. Saya harap saudara² saya dari Sabah dan Sarawak dapat menerima pendapat ini. Kita ta' suka orang berkata saya Sabahian dan saya Sarawakian. Kira-nya kita biarkan semangat bernegeri² ini maka di-situ-lah dapat seteru² kita memainkan jarum-nya dan chuba hendak memechah-belahkan balek sa-mula. Jadi, saya berharap Kerajaan akan melangkahkan lebih jauh supaya dapat mengikis segala perbezaan² yang ada di-dalam Perlembagaan pada hari ini yang menjadi dua identity, bukan satu identity. Saya hendak pergi ka-Sarawak, ka-Sabah, hendak pakai paspot sa-olah² saya ini orang asing datang daripada luar. Oh, saya tahu Kerajaan nanti berkata hendak menye-berang international water, hendak kena ada paspot, hendak ada kertas itu dan ini, tetapi persaudaraan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak kenal inter-national water, dan kalau kita betul² hendak membena bangsa Malaysia yang sa-benar-nya, kita kena menilek sa-mula kepada Perlembagaan Malay-sia yang ada pada hari ini supaya kita dapat betul² mewujudkan satu Malay-sia yang padu dan satu, bukan sahaja

dalam soal Income Tax ini. Dan saya berharap saudara saya dari Sabah dan Sarawak sendiri akan menuntut per-kara ini, bukan kami dari Malaya yang menuntut. Saya fikir saudara kita di-Sabah dan Sarawak telah menengok betapa ikhlas-nya kita, betapa jujur-nya kita yang ada di-Malaya ini. Kita tidak mempunyai sa-barang niat, me-lainkan hendak bersaudara dan hendak bersatu padu dengan saudara² kita yang ada di-Sabah dan Sarawak itu. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini satu perkara yang sangat² melegakan hati.

Lagi satu perkara dalam Titah di-Raja ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah di-sebutkan bahawa ada sa-orang dua pakar dari Amerika untuk hendak menyemak pentadbiran Kerajaan negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah ada satu chadangan supaya kuasa yang ada di-dalam tangan P.S.C. ini berkenaan dengan kenaikan pangkat dan sa-bagai-nya di-pindahkan kepada ketua pejabat. Dan Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri telah menjelaskan sebab²-nya mengapa langkah yang sa-umpama ini perlu di-adakan. Jadi saya berharap supaya kita penyokong² Kerajaan akan di-beri lebih banyak peluang untuk menyemak per-kara pengambilan kuasa ini daripada P.S.C. untuk di-serahkan kepada ketua² pejabat. Saya berharap Kerajaan akan memikirkan jalan yang sa-baik²-nya supaya mechinery Kerajaan itu lebih effective, lebih berkesan, dan lebih chergas daripada yang ada pada hari ini.

Ada dalam sa-tengah² pejabat Kerajaan maseh ada sa-tengah² pegawai atau sa-tengah² kaki-tangan yang tidak begitu familiar, yang tidak begitu biasa dengan keadaan dan perubahan yang berlaku di-dalam negeri kita ini. Oleh sebab itu kadang² kerana silap faham dan salah faham berlaku per-tengkaran di-antara Wakil Ra'ayat dengan pegawai² Kerajaan. Saya sendiri tidak pernah. Saya chukup puas hati bagi pehak diri saya sendiri. Tetapi ini saya mencheritakan penga-laman kawan² saya Wakil² Ra'ayat

kadang kala-nya bertengkar dan berselisih faham dengan pegawai² Kerajaan. Jadi saya fikir perkara ini tidak hanya memadai dengan mengambil kuasa daripada P.S.C. dan di-serahkan kepada ketua pejabat, satu overhaul yang bersungguh² perlu di-adakan di-dalam semua machinery Kerajaan supaya dia lebeh berkesan, lebeh effective dan lebeh memuaskan hati ra'ayat dan kita berkehendakkan supaya tiap² pegawai Kerajaan mempunyai perasaan bahawa dia bukan berkhidmat kepada Perikatan tetapi dia berkhidmat kepada ra'ayat dan kebetulan Perikatan pada hari ini memerintah, maka terpaksa-lah mereka menjalankan polisi² yang di-bentuk dan di-buat oleh Perikatan. Jadi saya fikir kalau saya hendak menchari kekurangan², kelemahan² dalam jentera Kerajaan saya akan bawa berguni² di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat ini. Tetapi saya sendiri dalam urusan saya sa-bagai Wakil Ra'ayat tidak pernah terganggu oleh sa-barang pegawai Kerajaan. Saya mendapat kerjasama yang sa-penoh-nya dan layanan yang sa-penoh-nya daripada pegawai² Kerajaan dan saya banyak² terima kaseh, tetapi soal-nya bukan soal diri—soal negeri, soal ra'ayat yang telah menghantar wakil²-nya dudok mewakili kepentingan mereka. Jadi ini-lah dia barangkali course perlu di-adakan, kursus, untok Wakil² Ra'ayat patut di-adakan dan juga pegawai² Kerajaan di-adakan course bagaimana hendak mengadap masa yang baharu ini sebab dahulu kita dudok di-bawah pemerintahan penjajah. Ra'ayat datang, pegawai kata aku tidak senang besok balek, dia tidak peduli dia datang sa-ratus batu, lima puluh batu, dia tidak peduli, ra'ayat itu terpaksa balek kampong berhutang bergolok, bergadai hendak menchari tambang bas dia atau perahu dia, kalau di-tempat saya dia chari tambang perahu kerana di-kawasan saya belum banyak perjalanan darat. Jadi saya harap-lah perkara ini sungguh² akan dapat di-adakan overhaul dan Kerajaan patut mengambil nasehat² daripada pegawai² yang ada berpengalaman dalam jabatan² Kerajaan supaya sama² me-

nolong Cabinet Minister memikirkan hal ini dan menchari jalan yang sa-baik²-nya bagaimana perkara ini dapat di-perbaiki, bukan untok kepentingan parti Perikatan tetapi untok kepentingan ra'ayat yang telah memilih wakil² yang ada dalam Dewan ini dan yang ada dalam Dewan² Negeri dan yang ada dalam Town² Council dan City² Council.

Jadi, di-sini Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nyawa sa-sabuah Kerajaan bergantung kepada machinery Kerajaan. Kalau machinery itu di-letakkan dalam tangan yang tidak tahu menjalankannya binasa-lah negeri ini dan ra'ayat yang akan suffer, ra'ayat yang akan menderita, ra'ayat yang akan menanggung beban-nya.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya fikir saya hendak menamatkan ucapan saya dengan menyebutkan satu perkara yang amat penting ia-itu soal bahasa kebangsaan yang telah disebutkan di-dalam ucapan Titah di-Raja ini yang akan di-laksanakan pada tahun hadapan. Satu kebimbangan di-kalangan orang² yang bukan Melayu berkenaan dengan nasib bahasa kaum masing². Jadi di-sini Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin memberi tahu rakan² kita orang² yang bukan Melayu dalam negeri ini bahawa kebimbangan yang sa-umpama itu barangkali tidak bertempat. Saya fikir orang² dan pemimpin² UNMO yang beragama Islam chukup mempunyai tolerance kerana ugama yang kami anut ugama tolerance, tidak usah bimbang. Boleh balek kepada sejarah. Tidak ada satu negeri yang di-perintah oleh orang Islam yang ra'ayat bukan Islam menderita dan di-aniaya dalam negeri itu. Boleh pulang kepada sejarah daripada awal manusia ada sampai hari ini tunjukkan di-mana ra'ayat yang bukan Islam teraniaya dalam sa-sabuah negeri Islam kerana ugama-nya, tidak ada. Negeri dan manusia yang paling tolerance dalam dunia ini ia-lah kita orang² Islam dan kita orang Melayu berbangga dan megah yang kita ber-ugama Islam yang telah mengajar kita ini daripada kechil supaya mempunyai sifat tolerance, sifat suka mengambil dan memberi.

Jadi dalam soal bahasa ini, bagaimana yang telah di-tetapkan, yang telah di-tentukan, yang telah di-metrikkan dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan, tidak patut menimbulkan shak wasangka, khuatir dan bimbang daripada orang² saperti Wakil Batu. Dia telah menyatakan rasa bimbang-nya dalam ucapan-nya tadi dalam soal bahasa, tetapi di-sini saya fikir kebimbangan itu tidak bertempat. Orang² kita daripada orang² China boleh dibenarkan mempelajari bahasa mereka dengan perbelanjaan Kerajaan kapada sa-tinggi² darjah. Apa yang kita mahu daripada orang² yang bukan Melayu ialah sambil mengetahui bahasa ibunda masing² mengetahui bahasa kebangsaan dan ini satu permintaan yang patut, kerana tidak ada maana satu negeri tidak mempunyai satu bahasa kebangsaan yang sama antara ra'ayat-nya dan tidak dapat mengerti antara satu dengan lain, tidak dapat bersefahaman antara satu dengan lain bagaimana keadaan-nya hari ini, umpama-nya Wakil Bungsar barangkali tidak dapat mengikuti ucapan saya kerana dia belum mahir lagi, tetapi kita harap dia akan belajar, dan saya sanggup beri satu jam satu minggu kapada dia tidak payah bayar, kalau dia ada selalu di-Kuala Lumpur, tetapi saya tahu dia ada rumah di-Singapura, jadi dia gunakan ini tempat bersinggah, entah apa dia buat waktu di-Kuala Lumpur saya pun tidak tahu. Terima kaseh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair (Bungsar): Mr Speaker, Sir, I had thought that the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara had decided some time ago somewhat in the fashion of President Soekarno himself to shut up in a thousand languages (*Laughter*). I think it is most interesting to discover that he has decided to break his vow of silence in a very loud manner indeed and I notice that the same skill, the old skill, has not been lost, but the skill, I am afraid, not for a capable parliamentary performance but a skill at an inimitable *demagoguery*, the kind of demagoguery which can weave webs of doubt and confusion and hatred. Personally, Mr Speaker, Sir, I am glad

to note that the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara sits there. I will be really alarmed should he move from there to the Government front benches there (*Laughter*) because that, Sir, would be the beginning (*interruption*).

It would be the end of everybody on your side of the bench as well.

Mr Speaker: The sitting is suspended for ten minutes.

Sitting suspended at 5.32 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 5.50 p.m.

(Mr Deputy Speaker in the Chair)

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair: As I was saying that, Mr Speaker, Sir—but unfortunately the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara is not here, he is recuperating from his efforts of the last one and a half hours in the tea room and I can't grudge him that inspiration from tea—but as I was saying, Mr Speaker, Sir, I think many people in this House and the nation would be happy if demagogues like our friend remained where they are at the moment and did not come on to our Government front benches, because then this nation, Sir, would be ruled not by Statesmen but by demagogues, and we don't have very far to look, Sir. Across the Straits of Malacca, there is a nation, the Republic of Indonesia, which for 17 years was ruled by a man whose only genius lay in the capacity and the genius for spellbinding with words, and if we had to depend less on statesmen and more on spellbinders in the conduct of the affairs of this nation, then, I fear, that we also would go the same way which the Republic of Indonesia had the misfortune to go through in the last 17 years. Sir, the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara referred to a speech which I made in Seremban. I doubt whether he has read the full transcript. People like him are not interested in reading full transcripts, but in picking out and treating out of context, statements in the speech and then painting in a demagogic fashion; people who had expressed views which

were more intelligently loyal to Malaysia than he is ever capable of, distorting things out of context and painting me as a disloyal chap who owes his loyalty outside this country and so on. Sir, I may say this for his edification; my ancestors may have come from Kerala; his came from Saudi Arabia. (Laughter). Sir, I have never been to Kerala. I don't know what it looks like, apart from the postcards and Kerala is more of a fiction to me than Saudi Arabia is to the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara. Let me quote, Sir, for his edification, some of the things which I said in Seremban:

"In the final analysis, the nation's safest investment lies in the loyalty and allegiance of a multiracial people. This loyalty and allegiance can only be secured by consent and by giving all the racial components in our population a firm stake in the country, a vested interest in the success of the Malaysian nation. Our Constitution guarantees equal political rights to all Malaysians, regardless of racial origin, colour or creed. Let the spirit of the Constitution be translated into practice. This is the only way to ensure that Malaysian citizens, whether they be Malays, Chinese or Indians, are closer to each other than they are to their so-called blood brothers in Indonesia, China or India."

What is there un-Malaysian about that? Here is a man saying that Malaysian citizens should find themselves closer to each other, in more intimate contact with each other than they will ever be to people of other nations. Is that un-Malaysian? Some more, Sir, for his edification.

Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Boleh saya interrupt sadikit?

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair: Boleh!

Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar Dia baca paragraph yang dia suka baca. Kasi satu kopi itu biar saya pegang biar saya tahu apa isi dia. Saya ta' boleh perchaya orang ini.

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair: Sir, I will give him a thousand copies for distribution in his constituency—the full one, the complete one. Incidentally I believe, Sir, that the *Utusan Melayu* has published the whole lot, and if he will have some patience, which demagogues find themselves incapable of, but if he will have some patience,

he will get the burthen of my contentions. "The kind of country we build up, for instance, the social, economic and cultural objectives we set for ourselves, in short, the kind of Malaysia we want, is very much the concern of all Malaysian citizens. We cannot afford to be passive or indifferent to these considerations. The most obvious aid to the survival of a nation is the coherence and unity which it possesses as a nation. The greater our success in imbuing our multi-racial people with the sense of a common national identity, the more effectively do we insure ourselves against the risks of the future."

A strong sense of national identity, purpose and destiny commonly shared can be established in a multi-racial nation like ourselves if gentlemen like the Honourable Member were less present around.

"We have the examples of other multi-racial nations before us. Indeed, given the will, the vision and the courage, Malaysia may yet be able to boast of the proudest achievement in this respect.

"Sir, the immediate advantages are with Malaysia. The major nations which could possibly seek to view with Malaysia for the loyalty of our people are Indonesia, China and India. Malaysia is in fact a confluence of these three great civilizations but neither Indonesia, China nor India can at present nor in the foreseeable future offer their citizens the social and economic advantages and opportunities which are even remotely comparable to those which Malaysia offers today. Malaysia provides all her people with a standard of living higher than the standards which obtain in Indonesia, India or China".

But we live on borrowed time. Indonesia, India or China will not always remain as they are today. They also can make social and economic progress. If and when their standards do catch up with ours, and if in the meantime we have not consolidated our national identity, then this nation could easily be disintegrated

through subversion by non-Malaysian loyalties and attractions. "The obvious task of a responsible and intelligent political leadership in Malaysia must be to exploit Malaysia's present advantage to the fullest and to utilise the time available in order to consolidate our national existence by giving our multi-racial people the firm sense of a common national identity, purpose and destiny".

Sir, in the course of my speech, I had referred to an editorial of *Utusan Melayu*. I have sent a reply to the *Utusan Melayu* and I hope the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara will persuade his friends in the editorial board of the *Utusan Melayu* to publish it in full, but the answer to what he raised Sir, is here:

"Among other things, your editorial of May 5th states "Peace between Indonesia and Malaysia is not mere peace between two friends who are at enmity. The peace between us is more than that. It means peace between an elder brother and a younger brother who are of the same parents. We accept Indonesia like the betel leaf accept its stalk, and Indonesia accepts us like the betel nut accepts its corolla. Our blood is Indonesia's blood and our flesh is Indonesia's flesh. (Meanwhile, Sir, Malaysian citizens like me get a bit worried). How can flesh and blood be separated unless we reach the tomb? Based on recent developments, it seems clear that the rolls of the waves in the Malacca Straits are singing the song of longing hearts between two similar nations. What Indonesia is longing for, we also long for. Indonesia's frustration is our frustration." That is from the editorial of May 5th. This is part of my reply. "Your June 14th editorial asked what was wrong with such ecstatic oratory, as such blood relationship also existed between Mr Devan Nair and the people of Madras, or between Minister Tan Siew Sin and the people who live in Peking."

Sir, am I to believe that if the *Nanyang Siang Pau* or the *Sin Chew Jit Poh* had in the same ecstatic language exhorted the Malaysian Chinese never to forget that their flesh is the flesh of the 700 million Chinese in China, that their blood is the blood of the 700 million Chinese in China, and that the Malaysian Chinese can never be separated from the 700 million Chinese in China until death intervenes, are we to believe that the *Utusan Melayu* and the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara would

applaud in approval and delight or seek to justify it in this House; or are we to believe, Sir, that if the *Tamil Murasu* or the *Tamil Nesan* had editorialised on the indissoluble blood and flesh relations between the Malaysian Indians and the 450 million Indians in India—which can only be broken when they die—that the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara or the *Utusan Melayu* would have cheered such sentiments as a vital contribution to the evolution of a distinct Malaysian national identity and purpose? That was the whole burden of the point I was making, and here I am told that I am a disloyal chap.

Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar Albar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau boleh Ahli Yang Berhormat bachakan editorial *Utusan Melayu* dalam bahasa Melayu lebeh tegas, fasal takut dia punya translation tidak betul.

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair: Sir, I admire the cunning of the Honourable Member (*Laughter*). Bahasa Kebangsaan saya tidak berapa halus.

Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar Albar: Editorial *Utusan Melayu*?

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair: *Utusan Melayu* tidak di-sini, ada kopi di-poket awak? (*Interruption*). This is what the Honourable Member says—it comes from a disloyal chap. Sir, I do not want to give too much prominence to the Honourable Member for Johor Tenggara. I believe that it would be better for all of us if he remained less prominent, and I shall go on, Sir, with my address on His Majesty's Speech. He can sit back and rest. (*Laughter*).

I regret, Sir, that I shall feel obliged to cast my vote, for what it is worth, and it is worth only one vote in this House but for what it is worth, against the Motion of Thanks to His Majesty for his Gracious Address to this House yesterday. I am afraid, Sir, that I cannot with the best will in the world extend the same deference and respect which I have for His Majesty to His Majesty's Government.

Malaysia is going through an extremely crucial phase of her existence. What the future holds for us and for our children is anybody's guess. Indonesian confrontation shall end soon. The British public increasingly demand military disengagement East of Suez, in spite of the temporary respite which Mr Wilson is reported to have achieved yesterday. But sooner or later this must take place and probably sooner than later. A military vacuum in South-East Asia would then be created. How Malaysia can or should manoeuvre in this situation in order to defend her sovereignty and territorial integrity against the incalculable risks of the future does not seem, unfortunately to have bothered His Majesty's Government at all.

The Royal Speech, Sir, also conspicuously omits to mention the shape and direction of internal political policy after the end of confrontation. I refer in particular to the whole lot of restrictive laws and regulations which were introduced in the name of security against Indonesian confrontation. There is no indication whatsoever that any of these restrictive laws and regulations will be repealed. If anything the indications are that restrictions on democratic activity will increase rather than decrease.

There is a third striking omission in His Majesty's Gracious Address. The Appendix to the Royal Speech refers to the possibility of the resumption of armed insurrection by the Communist Party of Malaya. This House and the nation at large would have expected to learn from His Majesty's Speech as to what political, social and economic counters the Government has in mind to meet the communist challenge to the security and to the unity of Malaysia and it surely does reflect poorly on the Government that it has neither asked nor answered certain basic and fundamental questions which must be agitating the minds of thoughtful Malaysians throughout the country. Instead of being given a sober and dispassionate analysis of the total situation facing the country, the

intelligence of this House—and I submit, Sir, the intelligence of the nation as a whole—has been insulted by a whole lot of barren platitudes which was all that His Majesty's Government was capable of offering His Majesty for his Royal Address.

I had hoped, Sir, that the Government backbencher who moved the Motion of Thanks might fill in some of the gaping voids in His Majesty's Address. He did not. What he did was to inflict on us a wholly facetious and rather juvenile address, more appropriate to a comic opera performance than to this august House of Representatives of the Malaysian people. The Alliance Government, we are led to believe, has suddenly turned anti-British and anti-American. The heroic Alliance was seen twisting the tail of the aged and almost toothless British lion (*Laughter*), while the Government benches rattled to what struck me as synthetic applause. Perhaps, Sir, this performance was directed to the diplomatic gallery, but I suspect that the reactions evoked there were largely reactions of amusement or bewilderment, or both perhaps, for the brute fact, Sir, is that Malaysia as a small nation seeking to survive in a shark-infested South-East Asian Sea should require and should seek as many friends as possible in order to underwrite her sovereignty and territorial integrity. The last thing that one would expect of a nation in our circumstances is that its leaders should show petulance or peevishness in the pursuit of this aim.

Let us take first of all the tail-twisting of the toothless British lion. It does not require much courage to do so, for Mr Wilson's tail is already being twisted with far more vigour and possibly to much greater effect by British public opinion. Large and influential sections of both the British Labour and Conservative Parties have made it their business to seek British military disengagement East of Suez. A study of the British press should be enough to convince anyone of this fact.

Let me quote from a comment by the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* dated June the 9th: "Britain's armed forces in the Far East" now spend—and I would like to qualify, Sir, that I am not putting myself as judging the merits or demerits of these comments—"Britain's armed forces in the Far East now spend as much foreign exchange in a year as the shipbuilding industry can earn in three. To maintain our military presence we are spending £95 millions in foreign exchange this year and £140 million in sterling. And the cost is rising—while Britain is supposed to be facing up to another balance of payments crisis. Whatever our commitments to the people of Malaysia and Singapore this situation cannot continue. We are trying to defend them on a scale which is obviously beyond our means. A country which owes £997 millions to overseas bankers cannot afford imperial gestures. Grandeur is all very well, but only so long as you can pay for it. Most of our defence arrangements redound to our loss".

Another article, Sir, in the same paper, also directed against British military presence in Malaysia has this to say: "The foreign exchange cost of Britain's military presence in Malaysia has increased by 23.4 per cent since Labour came to power. Only a fraction of this increase—about 4d. in the pound—is attributable to the Indonesian confrontation. These figures explain the mounting annoyance of Labour back-benchers at the Government's East-of-Suez policy. Although they were not given (as far as is known) when Mr Healey met the back-benchers on May 25, the suspicion is widespread among them that expenditure in the Far East has been growing almost as quickly under a Labour Government as it did under the Conservatives. Their misgivings represent a considerable threat to the Government's reputation among its own back-benchers. They have promised to return to the attack as soon as possible after Parliament re-assembles".

The mood against Britain's east-of-Suez military presence is not confined

only to the *Manchester Guardian*. It represents a general British public reaction. Napoleon rightly described the British as a nation of shopkeepers, for the good reason that whatever they do is determined by a careful study of their profit and loss accounts. And if such a study proves to the British that what they get from South-East Asia is less than what they put in, then their own self-interest as congenital shopkeepers will oblige them to look elsewhere, as indeed they are looking now towards the European Common Market. The truth is that Britain is no longer a great power. She is not even a third-rate power. Her *per capita* income is below that of West Germany. France and lately I understand has dropped even below the *per capita* income of Holland. One may wonder whether it is just courage, idealism or some painful arm-twisting by the Americans which makes the British Government to continue to insist at least Mr Wilson to continue to insist, in the face of mounting public pressure, on Britain's continued military presence in South-East Asia, in fulfilment of her treaty obligations. But one cannot doubt that the immediate withdrawal of the British military presence in this part of the world, before Malaysia has had time to work out other suitable defence arrangements, will be more to our discomfiture than to Britain's. Malaysia has need to be as conscious of her own self-interest in these matters as Britain or any other power. In the circumstances, it will be most unfortunate all round if the Malaysian Government were to discover that its tail-twisting act might prove to have a boomerang effect. We might discover, Sir, in the end that we have been merely twisting our own tails. Such a possibility is on the cards if we insist on twisting a tail which is already very sore with twisting by British public opinion itself.

Our own self-interest, Sir, must be the only criterion to justify the international postures we strike up. We have gone through, and survived, enough dangers and threats to our sovereignty and to our territorial

integrity in the last two years to appreciate the harsh realities of our existence in a very disturbed and turbulent South-East Asia. We cannot defend ourselves. The Honourable the Minister of Finance's reported contention that it is necessary to develop our defences in order to meet the threat from China must have raised derisive smiles in many foreign capitals. Let us face the stark facts of life. Until the dust has settled in South-East Asia, and until such time as the relations between the non-communist nations of South-East Asia are firmly stabilised on a firm basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and independence, we shall continue to remain vulnerable in an extremely predatory world. Even the so-called blood brothers can turn out to be bloody-minded if occasion arose as indeed they had been for the last three years until the recent Bangkok talks.

I hope that the recent anti-British postures adopted by the Government have nothing to do with the rumoured existence of a Formosa Lobby within the MCA, who would be quite happy to replace the British military presence in this part of the world with an American military presence. In that event, Sir, we can all be quite certain that the Tunku's "Happy Malaysia" would degenerate, practically overnight, into an image of America's most distinctive contribution to South-East Asia—the appalling confusion and chaos and agonies of South Vietnam. Would it not be in Malaysia's self-interest to settle for and look with more favour perhaps at the toothless and relatively innocuous British lion, rather than for the rash and brash and politically disastrous Americans?

Let us now move from Malaysia's defence considerations to internal political and social policies. We all recall, Sir, that the Government had used Indonesian confrontation to justify a number of restrictive acts. Local government elections were abolished. The Essential (Trade Disputes in the Essential Services) Regulations, were introduced to prohibit strikes in essential services. There

was the Essential (Control of Publications and Safeguarding of Information) Regulations directed against the Press. Finally there were the causeway measures requiring Singapore citizens to register at police stations.

But His Majesty's address, Sir, did not contain any indication that these restrictions which were introduced on the plea of Indonesian confrontation, among other reasons, would be repealed, now that confrontation is to end soon. On the contrary, the indications are that these restrictions are not only to remain, but to be further intensified. We all remember that the causeway restrictions, for example, were justified on the grounds that Indonesia's recognition of Singapore posed a security threat to Malaysia. But yesterday, Sir, in this House, the Honourable the Minister for Home Affairs informed us, without batting an eyelid, that full immigration controls will be imposed at the causeway. Confrontation has ended, mind you, Sir, but nonetheless immigration controls which never existed during confrontation, are to be introduced.

Next, new emergency regulations against the holding of processions and rallies have been announced, just a few days ago.

There is no indication that the Essential Emergency Regulations, prohibiting strikes in essential industries will be repealed or even relaxed. On the contrary, Sir, we heard an anti-trade union tirade from the Honourable government back-bencher who moved the Motion of Thanks. Not a single word about anti-trade union employers or about the exploitation of labour, but a whole lot of vitriolic vituperation against trade unions. This is only to be expected, Sir, perhaps from a House in which the interests of capital are profusely represented, but where labour does not have any representation to voice the aspirations and views of workers and thereby, Sir, I should think, hangs a lesson for the Malaysian trade union movement. The Malaysian Trades Union Congress must learn that all the

clap-trap about the political non-commitment of the trade union movement, which is boasted about so loudly have had the most corrosive effect on trade union rights in this country. If the trade union movement continues with its non-political commitment, then it can only expect anti-trade union politicians to secure election to this House and ride rough-shod over trade union aspirations and rights and if Malaysian labour, Sir, does not learn its lesson now, then, I am afraid, it will never learn its lesson at all.

We, also heard a tirade against the Civil Service. Allegations of corruption and inefficiency were made. No mention was made, of course, about the existence, the possible existence, of the same vices at higher levels of the administration. The Constitution, we have been told, is to be amended in order to vest powers of promotion and discipline in heads of departments, and in every respect, Sir, it seems to me that the Government has taken the line of least resistance, the easiest way to disaster. An efficient Civil Service can only be created by consent, security of tenure, and by a fair deal for the public service. But this is not to be. What is really attempted is the creation of efficiency through terror, for that is what the vesting of disciplinary powers in heads of departments will mean. It will not be the efficient civil servant who will make his way to the top in those circumstances, but, Sir, the people who will make their way to the top will be the sycophants and the inveterate yes-men. The net result will be not an efficient civil service, but a demoralised one, working fearfully and fitfully under a whole lot of petty departmental despots. It will no doubt be a sycophantic civil service, but certainly not an efficient one.

The Honourable Member for Kota Star Selatan unleashed an attack on the *Straits Times*. With some of the points he made I was in sympathy. But, Sir, I had intended to say some very rude things about the *Straits Times* myself, for it appears to me that even if Malaysian citizens, as the Honourable Member for Kota Star Selatan wants,

were nominated to the *Straits Times* editorial staff, of the *Straits Times* by the Government itself, or by an Alliance coterie, even they could not have been guilty of the abject and servile sycophancy displayed by the *Straits Times* in its news coverage and in its editorials (*Interruption*).

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamed (Kota Star Selatan): Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification. I did not describe the *Straits Times* alone. I was talking about the Straits Times Press, which controls so many newspapers and all these newspapers have to toe the *Straits Times* line. What I intended was that all these various newspapers should be split up into different newspapers run by different people, so that at least speeches like I made yesterday and today could have a change of appearing. I can see that after I made my speech against the *Straits Times*, the *Straits Times* can easily boycott, probably after an order from London (*Laughter*).

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair: Sir, I am responsible for all the evils in this country, according to our friend (*Laughter*). But, Sir, I will stand corrected as I have indicated I was in sympathy with some of the points that the Honourable Member made. But every comma, Sir, this is contrary to what they claim, every comma in a Ministerial speech, every stupidity uttered by an Alliance leader, is given full play in this paper. But speeches and statements of Opposition leaders are mercilessly slashed, massacred. I will be lucky, Sir, if tomorrow the *Straits Times* carries a small paragraph saying, "Devan Nair, M.P. for Bungsar also spoke" (*Laughter*). Sir, it would appear that the *Straits Times* has bent over backwards to please the Government and I had intended, in fact, to ask what special techniques of intimidation the Government, the Honourable Minister for Information and Broadcasting, had employed to render into abject submission, the otherwise decent and intelligent men who sit in the editorial offices of the *Straits Times*. But this is the point I would

like to make. It is an alarming commentary on the illiberality of our times that even such an obligingly servile organisation like the *Straits Times* should come in for a severe drubbing from the Government side.

Mr Deputy Speaker: Order, order, the time is up. The meeting is adjourned till 9.30 a.m. tomorrow.

Sitting adjourned at 6.30 p.m.