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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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PERSEKUTUAN TANAH MELAYU

1962

FEDERATION OF MALAYA

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

Official Report

Fourth Session of the First Dewan Ra'ayat

Saturday, 28th April, 1962

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

PRESENT:

- The Honourable Mr. Speaker, DATO' HAJI MOHAMED NOAH BIN OMAR, S.P.M.J., D.P.M.B., P.I.S., J.P.
- „ the Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M. (Kuala Kedah).
- „ the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Minister of Rural Development, TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ the Minister of Internal Security and Minister of the Interior, DATO' DR. ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Johor Timor).
- „ the Minister of Finance, ENCHE' TAN SIEW SIN, J.P. (Melaka Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, DATO' V. T. SAMBANTHAN, P.M.N. (Sungai Siput).
- „ the Minister of Transport, DATO' SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, DATO' ONG YOKE LIN, P.M.N. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN (Kuala Pilah).
- „ the Minister of Education, ENCHE' ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB (Kuantan).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Rural Development, TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry, ENCHE' CHEAH THEAM SWEE (Bukit Bintang).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Labour, ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).
- „ the Assistant Minister of the Interior, ENCHE' MOHAMED ISMAIL BIN MOHAMED YUSOF (Jerai).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN, P.J.K. (Krian Laut).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN OSMAN (Sungai Patani).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI ABDUL RAOF (Kuala Kangsar).

- The Honourable **TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI MOHD. SALLEH, A.M.N., P.I.S.** (Segamat Utara).
- „ **TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN ABDULLAH** (Kota Bharu Hilir).
- „ **ENCHE' AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N.** (Muar Utara).
- „ **ENCHE' AHMAD BOESTAMAM** (Setapak).
- „ **ENCHE' AHMAD BIN MOHAMED SHAH, S.M.J.** (Johor Bahru Barat).
- „ **TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAAID Seberang Utara).**
- „ **ENCHE' AHMAD BIN HAJI YUSOF, P.J.K.** (Krian Darat).
- „ **TUAN HAJI AZAHARI BIN HAJI IBRAHIM** (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ **ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK** (Muar Dalam).
- „ **DR. BURHANUDDIN BIN MOHD. NOOR** (Besut).
- „ **ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N.** (Kluang Selatan).
- „ **ENCHE' CHAN SIANG SUN** (Bentong).
- „ **ENCHE' CHAN YOON ONN** (Kampar).
- „ **ENCHE' V. DAVID** (Bungsar).
- „ **DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N.** (Jitra-Padang Terap).
- „ **ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT** (Penang Utara).
- „ **ENCHE' HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N.** (Kapar).
- „ **ENCHE' HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N.** (Kulim Utara).
- „ **ENCHE' HARUN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N.** (Baling).
- „ **ENCHE' HARUN BIN PILUS** (Trengganu Tengah).
- „ **TUAN HAJI HASAN ADLI BIN HAJI ARSHAD** (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ **TUAN HAJI HASSAN BIN HAJI AHMAD** (Tumpat).
- „ **ENCHE' HASSAN BIN MANSOR** (Melaka Selatan).
- „ **ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN TO' MUDA HASSAN** (Raub).
- „ **ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, A.M.N., P.J.K.** (Parit).
- „ **TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN** (Kota Bharu Hulu).
- „ **ENCHE' IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN** (Seberang Tengah).
- „ **ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN IDRIS** (Penang Selatan).
- „ **ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN HAJI KASSIM** (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ **ENCHE' KANG KOCK SENG** (Batu Pahat).
- „ **ENCHE' K. KARAM SINGH** (Damansara).
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- „ **ENCHE' KHONG KOK YAT** (Batu Gajah).
- „ **ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN** (Tanjong Malim).
- „ **ENCHE' LEE SIOK YEW, A.M.N.** (Sepang).
- „ **ENCHE' LIM JOO KONG, J.P.** (Alor Star).
- „ **DR. LIM SWEE AUN, J.P.** (Larut Selatan).
- „ **ENCHE' LIU YOONG PENG** (Rawang).
- „ **ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P.** (Port Dickson).
- „ **ENCHE' MOHAMED BIN UJANG** (Jejebu-Jempol).
- „ **ENCHE' MOHAMED ABBAS BIN AHMAD** (Hilir Perak).
- „ **ENCHE' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA** (Pasir Puteh).

- The Honourable ENCHE' MOHAMED NOR BIN MOHD. DAHAN (Ulu Perak).
- „ DATO' MOHAMED HANIFAH BIN HAJI ABDUL GHANI, P.J.K. (Pasir Mas Hulu).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- „ TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).
- „ NIK MAN BIN NIK MOHAMED (Pasir Mas Hilir).
- „ ENCHE' NG ANN TECK (Batu).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Tanah Merah).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- „ ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Barat).
- „ TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID (Rembau-Tampin).
- „ ENCHE' SEAH TENG NGIAB (Muar Pantai).
- „ ENCHE' D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ ENCHE' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM (Menglembu).
- „ TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S. (Batu Pahat Dalam).
- „ TUAN SYED HASHIM BIN SYED AJAM, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Sabak Bernam).
- „ TUAN SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, J.M.N. (Johor Tenggara).
- „ ENCHE' TAJUDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- „ ENCHE' TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- „ ENCHE' TAN PHOCK KIN (Tanjong).
- „ ENCHE' TAN TYE CHEK (Kulim-Bandar Bahru).
- „ TENGKU BESAR INDERA RAJA IBNI ALMARHUM SULTAN IBRAHIM, D.K., P.M.N. (Ulu Kelantan).
- „ DATO' TEOH CHZE CHONG, D.P.M.J., J.P. (Segamat Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' TOO JOON HING (Telok Anson).
- „ ENCHE' V. VEERAPPEN (Seberang Selatan).
- „ WAN SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM, P.J.K. (Kota Star Selatan).
- „ WAN YAHYA BIN WAN MOHAMED (Kemaman).
- „ ENCHE' YAHYA BIN HAJI AHMAD (Bagan Dato).
- „ ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).
- „ ENCHE' YONG WOO MING (Sitiawan).
- „ PUAN HAJJAH ZAIN BINTI SULAIMAN, J.M.N., P.I.S. (Pontian Selatan).
- „ TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN MOHD. TAIB (Langat).
- „ ENCHE' ZULKIFLEE BIN MUHAMMAD (Bachok).

ABSENT:

- The Honourable DATO' SULEIMAN BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Minister without Portfolio) (Muar Selatan) (*On leave*).
- „ the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, ENCHE' ABDUL AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Kuala Langat).
- „ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, ENCHE' MOHAMED KHIR BIN JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Education, ENCHE' ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, J.M.N., J.P. (Batang Padang).

The Honourable ENCHE' CHAN SWEE HO (Ulu Kinta).

„ ENCHE' CHIN SEE YIN (Seremban Timor).

„ ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON (Kluang Utara).

„ ENCHE' LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).

„ ENCHE' MOHAMED DAHARI BIN HAJI MOHD. ALI (Kuala Selangor).

„ ENCHE' MOHAMED SULONG BIN MOHD. ALI, J.M.N. (Lipis).

„ ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).

„ WAN MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ALI (Kelantan Hilir).

IN ATTENDANCE:

The Honourable the Minister of Justice, TUN LEONG YEW KOH, S.M.N.

PRAYERS

(Mr. Speaker *in the Chair*)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Vocational Training for Ex-Leprosy Patients

1. Enche' Ng Ann Teck (Batu) asks the Minister of Health and Social Welfare to state how many types of vocational training are being provided for ex-leprosy patients.

The Minister of Health and Social Welfare (Dato' Ong Yoke Lin): Mr. Speaker, Sir, vocational training is provided for patients requiring and able to undertake such training immediately on their admission into a leprosarium. This training includes carpentry, motor mechanics, plumbing, masonry work, basket making, cloth weaving, dressmaking and also agricultural and horticultural subjects. Vocational training is however not provided for ex-leprosy patients who have been discharged from leprosaria.

Employment of Ex-Leprosy Patients by Government

2. Enche' Ng Ann Teck asks the Minister of Health and Social Welfare to state how many ex-leprosy patients are at the moment being employed by the Government excluding those working in the Leper Settlement.

Dato' Ong Yoke Lin: Mr. Speaker, Sir, information on the exact number of ex-leprosy patients in the employment of Government outside leprosaria is not available. Among other reasons,

such information is not available due to the understandable reluctance on the part of ex-patients to disclose their background. However, a total of 68 ex-patients who have applied through the Medical Superintendent for employment in Government have succeeded in their application.

Chara² Menjalankan Rancangan Pembangunan dalam Kementerian Pertanian

3. Nik Man bin Nik Mohamed bertanya kepada Menteri Pertanian dan Sharikat² Kerjasama ada-kah telah menjadi dasar Kementerian Pertanian bahawa dalam menjalankan rancangan² pembangunan-nya, sa-berapa yang boleh, rancangan² itu di-untokan kepada pemborong² (contractors).

The Minister of Transport (Dato' Sardon bin Haji Jubir): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkenaan dengan pelaksanaan projek² kemajuan di-bawah Kementerian Pertanian dan Sharikat² Kerjasama, maka perkara² yang harus di-pertimbangkan terutama sa-kali ia-lah tentang ekonomi-nya, besar-nya, lama masa pembenaan-nya, dan kedudukan dan kemudahan² tempatan. Bila memikirkan sama ada satu² projek itu akan di-beri kepada pemborong atau jabatan sendiri melaksanakan-nya, maka Kementerian ini akan berpandu dengan pertimbangan² yang di-sebutkan tadi.

Enche' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda (Pasir Puteh): Soal tambahan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-kira-nya di-dapati bahawa satu projek itu mustahak di-lakukan sa-chara tender bagi contractor, ada-kah tidak Kementerian ini fikir bahawa kemungkinan berlaku-nya

pengangguran dalam negeri ini yang menyebabkan sa-bahagian daripada buruh di-berhentikan kerja?

Dato' Sardon: Soalan itu ada-lah perkara dasar. Saya minta tempoh. Apabila Yang Berhormat Menteri yang berkenaan datang, dia akan menjawab tentang polisi-nya.

MOTION THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

Address of Thanks

Order read for resumption of debate on Question.

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

'Your Majesty,

We, the Speaker and Members of the Dewan Ra'ayat of the Federation of Malaya in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer Your Majesty our humble thanks for the Gracious Speech with which the Fourth Session of the Parliament has been opened.'"
(27th April, 1962).

Mr. Speaker: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, hari ini ada-lah hari yang ketiga berma'ana hari yang akhir pada membahathkan usul ucapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong di-Majlis ini. Pada tepat pukul 6.30 petang ini kita akan mengundi usul ini. Oleh sebab saya tahu ramai daripada Ahli² Yang Berhormat hendak berchakap, saya shorkan supaya sa-belah petang ini di-untokkan kapada pehak Kerajaan sahaja yang akan menjawab atas perkara² yang di-bangkitkan oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat dari semenjak dua tiga hari ini. Jadi, saya merayu-lah kapada Ahli² Yang Berhormat supaya berchakap sa-bberapa pendek dan tidak mengulang² apa yang telah di-chakapkan lebeh dahulu supaya dapat kita memberi peluang kapada ramai lagi daripada Ahli² Yang Berhormat mengambil bahagian dalam perbahathan ucapan ini pada pagi ini.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the House adjourned

yesterday I was trying to demonstrate to this House the inconsistency between the declared policy of the Alliance and their actions. It is unfortunate that members of the Government bench in their efforts to win political support have resorted to all sorts of tactics; though they declared that one of their fundamental objectives is to have a Malayan outlook, yet in their actions and in the statements issued by the Ministers from time to time they place a great deal of emphasis on communal issues. If I may say so, the Minister of Transport in particular is particularly keen to demonstrate that to the electorate in order to win support. As a result of that, members of the Opposition were prompted to introduce issues also of a communal nature in protest rather than anything else. You have the P.M.I.P. wanting more privileges and you have here the P.P.P., who spoke against it. We in the Socialist Front are not confused by such petty issues. We go to the electorate purely on our policy and we appeal to them not on communal lines. We feel, Sir, that if every political party in this country does likewise, then it will pave the way to the genuine emergence of a Malayan outlook.

As I pointed out earlier, we have no quarrel whatsoever with the objectives as enunciated, because the objectives as enunciated have no communal flavour whatsoever.

We must realise that as far as the framers of the Constitution are concerned, the question of Malay privileges is put into the Constitution merely as a means to an end and not merely as an end in itself. It was agreed by all communities that as far as the Malays are concerned, it is essential that they should be accorded privileges for a limited period in order that they will be able to acquire a better economic position, and with that no one disagrees. We in the Socialist Front always maintain that as far as the population are concerned, you cannot have a section which is under-privileged; you must have a population that is satisfied, you must have a population that enjoys a reasonable standard of living, and you can only do so by eliminating all

hardships by giving them a standard of life that is comparable with acceptable standards; and there is no question of race in this issue. We believe that everybody should have a good life, and in view of that, Sir, as far as the Malay privileges are concerned, we will support them in so far as they will result in eliminating poverty in this country. But we are not going to support Malay privileges if it is going to mean enriching the rich Malays, a small section of rich Malays becoming richer, as that will not solve our problems in this country. So, as far as the policy of the Alliance is concerned, it is our contention that the results and their record in the past few years are an eloquent testimony not so much of success in this particular field as an eloquent testimony of enriching a very small section of the population, an eloquent testimony of even making the class structure in this country even more marked than what it was. As far as the population is concerned, in the past one found a great deal of poverty in the East Coast; today it is even more so. Efforts made on rural development, as I have pointed out, have not resulted in eliminating this imbalance. And why is it so? It is due to the very policy of the Government and the very implementation of that policy. In their desire to win votes, they started to preach communalism. They tried to impress on the Malays, who hold quite a big portion of the voting rights in this country, that unless and until they vote for the Alliance Government, their rights cannot be safeguarded. As a result of that they tried, to use a very harsh word, to bribe the electorate by offering them privileges. But I must point out that it is not offered to all; it is only offered to a very small section and today in this country we still find poverty among the Malay peasantry. Licences for taxis, of which the Honourable Minister of Transport is so proud about, have now been given 52 per cent to the Malays, and in transport industry generally he tried to tell us that there is improvement. But what assurance can he give us that the 52 per cent are genuinely operated by the Malays? We have heard a lot of complaints of *Ali Babas* in the transport

industry. What has the Minister done about it? I must point out that the solution to this problem is not so much in giving licences to the Malays as to see to it that those people who obtain such licences are actually operating them. So we in the Socialist Front feel that if our Malay brothers are to be assisted, they should be assisted in a more concrete manner and that such licences and such privileges should be given to Malay co-operatives, as only the co-operatives can ensure that they will be operated by members of the co-operatives. There can be no *Ali Babas* in a co-operative.

After all, there are so many people operating in a co-operative and it will be most ridiculous for a co-operative to sell its licences to somebody else to operate. Those are little things which can be done without any fuss. In putting forward a policy of this nature, it would be even more constructive to say that we give licences only to those who work in the industry, irrespective as to whether they are Malays or other races; and it is obvious that if you analyse the people who are working in the transport industry the majority of them are Malays. And with this very enlightened method of implementation one can achieve one's object without introducing any communal issue.

Similarly, on the question of rural development, the Government is quite aware of it, and by reading the Speech of His Majesty the King, one realises that it is designed along the same lines. It is realised that as far as the rural population is concerned, most of them are Malays, and a policy without mentioning any racial group can result in improving the economic position of the Malays; and I must say that I agree entirely with that line of action. I only appeal to the Government and to the Minister concerned that in their endeavour to win votes, they should not allow their fundamental objective to be defeated; they must stick to that objective.

So, Sir, I must also point out that in other fields, besides the transport industry, the Government, in their endeavour to win votes, have done a

great deal of damage towards the emergence of a Malayan outlook. In commerce and industry, the Minister had seen fit to form an investment company of Malays. And what is even worse, to depart from the usual procedure of Government in allowing civil servants, top civil servants, to become directors of such an organisation. We have pointed out the danger of such an action. With top civil servants in such positions in commerce and industry, what is going to happen? I hope the Government realise the seriousness of such an action and that they will reconsider their decision very carefully and devise ways and means to rescind such action. If civil servants can participate in business, the question of favouritism and the question of corruption will definitely crop up. It may not be direct corruption, it may be indirect. Here again, Sir, I must point out to this House and to the Government as to the purpose such a company would serve. Will it actually help the Malay ra'ayat, which form the bulk of the population in this country, or is it going to benefit only a very small section who have the means to buy shares? We know, and it has been pointed out to us time and again, that as far as the Malay population is concerned, most of them are poor. If that is the case, how are we going to expect them to buy shares in such companies? So, I maintain, Sir, that this is merely designed to assist a very small section of the Malay population—the “haves” rather than the “have-nots”. I feel the “haves” do not require any assistance in this regard because they are already doing very well. If we are really to assist the Malays who are poor, then I feel that the Government should do a lot more in assisting them in various fields. I am afraid they have done nothing of the sort. What they have done in the past few years is really to enrich the rich Malays and not to help the poor Malays. Surely the Government can do something about helping the Malays who are working in the various industries to form co-operatives, so that they, who work in those industries, can have a share in them. The Honourable

the Minister of Agriculture has seen fit to start a urea factory on co-operative lines. One can expect the Government to assist him in this regard. After all, it is a co-operative effort and the farmers are going to have a share in that; and the farmers are going to purchase urea for their own use. It is going to be of utmost importance to the farmers, the majority of whom are Malays. But the Government have adopted an attitude which is going to be deplored—not only are they not going to help him, but they are not even prepared to co-operate. Well, this demonstrates very clearly the attitude of the Government. So, it is very interesting for us to ask: Why is it so? Why should a Government like the Alliance act in such a manner? Why do they proclaim that they are going to help the people and yet from their very action they have not done so? In my analysis, it is due to the very concept of the Alliance. It consists of various groups, and if I may say so, groups dedicated to the perpetuation of the capitalist society, and as a result of that every move is designed along those lines. We must realise that they have stated time and again such calls as “a property-owning democracy”, “private enterprise”—they want private enterprise to thrive in this country. But I must say those are merely means to an end. If they feel that private enterprise, if they feel that a property-owning democracy can bring about the objective which they hope to achieve, then I would say, “Go ahead with it”. But their very action in the last few years have demonstrated very clearly that they cannot succeed, because we must realise that people who believe in property owning, who believe in private enterprise, are people who believe in the profit motive. They merely believe in making profits for themselves. They are not worried about how much Ahmad, the peasant staying in Kota Bharu, is going to earn one month; they are only concerned with how much their company is going to make—how much Printcraft is going to make one month, or how much some companies of theirs are going to make in one month. They are not concerned with the peasants, who are

staying in the East Coast—in Trengganu and Kelantan. So, I maintain that so long as you have that profit motive in front of you, it is very difficult for you to say that you are evolving a society where the standard of living of the people will be improved. When you say that, you are thinking of something else. You are thinking that the standard of living of a small section of the people can be improved. That is the attitude, as I see it, and as demonstrated by events in the last few years.

It is rather unfortunate that the Alliance Government can continue to mislead the people for so long, and I feel sure that when the time comes for an election, the people will realise the fallacy of their policy, the fallacy of their utterances as demonstrated by what happened in the last few years. Looking at the Speech, as I have pointed out, do the Alliance sincerely believe that they can bring about a higher standard of living, and that they can rectify the imbalance in the living standards as between the urban and rural people, merely by the few methods suggested by them in this White Paper, in this Speech? What is the Alliance Government going to do with regard to the great imbalance? If you are merely going to increase productivity, if you are merely going to give them greater diversification in production, if you are merely going to give them expanded facilities, do you sincerely believe that the imbalance between the rural and urban people can be remedied?

Sir, perhaps, I can illustrate what I am trying to put over by giving a concrete example. Let us say that our national product is a piece of cake. So it is very important, as far as determining the standard of living is concerned, how this piece of cake is going to be distributed. At the present moment, according to the Government, a big proportion of this cake is distributed to the people in the urban area and a small proportion to, perhaps, an equal population in the rural area. So, as a result the rural folks are having a very low standard of living. But one must realise that

even the cake, which is distributed in the urban area is distributed in a very unequal manner—a small section of the population is getting the bulk of it, while a very big section is getting only a small fraction. So, this picture can also be applied to the rural area. In the rural area we have a very small slice of cake distributed, but still there are landlords in the rural area who are enjoying the bulk of it. So, as a result we find, as far as this country is concerned, a very big section of the population both in the rural and urban areas enjoying a very small slice of cake. Therefore, the important factor in improving their standard of living lies not so much in increasing the size of the cake, if indeed the size of the cake can be increased. But if the distribution is going to be in the same manner as envisaged by the Government, I am afraid that that increase which is envisaged within the next few years will not result in any substantial improvement in the standard of living of the rural folks. So, the fundamental solution is being left out entirely from the Speech of His Majesty. Is it because the Government is so ignorant that the distribution of the cake, or the distribution of the national output is a very important factor in determining the standard of living of the people? Or is it because they are so shrewd and so calculating that they do not want the people to know what is behind the idea, and that they are only concerned with shouting slogans that the rural development is going to check this imbalance. I must say here that unless and until the Government does something on this question of the distribution of our national income, then only will it be able to achieve this objective in any substantial manner.

It is unfortunate that we in the Socialist Front have not the opportunity of being in a position to implement measures to carry out those objectives. Had we been in a position, we would have been able to do it without any thought of communalism. We can do it without antagonising anybody. (*Laughter*). It is a matter of time and I feel sure that the people of this country, once they appreciate the

position, once they appreciate what the Front is setting out to do, will definitely give us the opportunity. I must point out here, Sir, that we sincerely hope that the Government will give very earnest consideration to what I have said and to refrain as far as possible from making communal appeals.

Sir, another matter which I would like to touch on in the King's Speech, is the question of the rubber price. Yesterday, I have pointed out the precarious position which this country is going to face, and I must say that it is most unfortunate that the Government has not given any consideration to this very important matter. In the past we have heard of talks, of hopes, that the American Government is going to assist Malaya by not releasing stockpiles and other matters, and I have spoken at some length during the Budget debate on the necessity of our Government adopting a more dynamic policy. On this question of rubber, we have been enjoying a period of prosperity for some time, and it is rather unfortunate that during that period of prosperity, nothing has been done by Government to conserve funds in the rubber industry for this recession.

Mr. Speaker: I notice that you have been repeating the same thing.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am merely introducing the subject. I have suggested to the Government during the last Budget debate that in the interest of stability in the rubber industry, it should have a marketing board for the industry. The idea of a marketing board is by no means revolutionary, it is by no means a method adopted by communist countries, because marketing boards are in existence in various countries which are very friendly with our Government—in Australia and in other places. The marketing board for rubber will be able to exercise some element of stability in this industry. The board can be constituted to purchase all the rubber that is produced in this country and the board will be the sole authority to sell rubber in the international markets. With the existence of the board, a price can be agreed upon

whereby the board will purchase rubber; and this price need not necessarily be the current price at which rubber can be sold in international markets. It will have to be a price that is economic for rubber producers to produce with a reasonable margin of profit. As a result of this measure, the board will be making profits on the rubber sold in times of prosperity and in times of recession the board will be able still to purchase rubber at above the existing market value. This is merely an idea which I put forward in the hope that Government will consider it in the interests of stability in this country. The idea can be put not only to rubber but also to other primary products. Time and again we have heard complaints made by various Members of this House of the instability in the price not only of rubber but also of other produce. Whenever you produce in abundance a certain commodity, as is bound to happen as far as agriculture is concerned, because it is so dependent on the weather, I feel it is essential if you are to have stability in price to devise some form of marketing board for various primary commodities, and this is a matter which I hope the Minister concerned will take into serious consideration.

I have this morning criticised the Government on certain matters and I have put forward specific proposals in the hope that they will be of assistance to the Government. However, being in this House for quite some years, I have seen various actions, various utterances of the Government which put forward the impression that they do not seem to worry very much what the Opposition says, whether it is constructive or otherwise, and that they will act in any manner they like. One very good example is the reply of the Honourable Minister of Internal Security to my supplementary question whether he agrees that in view of "Operation Service" his police officers should have acted in that manner. He had no hesitation; he stood up without hesitation and told me that he agreed that that should be the attitude.

The Minister of Internal Security (Dato' Dr. Ismail): On a point of

information. He asked that question in a different context, not what he quoted now. I think the question that he asked was at yesterday's meeting of the House and—he asked me whether I was satisfied with the action of the Police—I said I was satisfied. But I never said that in this context. If the Honourable Member will quote in what part of the proceedings of this House that I said so, then I will be very glad and will be very grateful to him.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: I am grateful for that clarification, but I for one cannot see what the context has to do with it. What I am trying to demonstrate is the attitude of the person; the context is immaterial (*Laughter*). It is quite clear from the proceedings of this House, that the attitude of the Government is such that unless they are prepared to change it quite radically, they are bound to meet with doom in the next elections and it is this appeal that I would like the members of the Government bench in the course of the debate to think very carefully about. They were not only concerned in the past of adopting the attitude which I mentioned just now but also with evading issues. We in the Opposition have brought up time and again various crucial points for discussion in this House; and in the course of replying to us they either were unable, or refused, to give specific replies to the issues raised in the course of the debate. So, if that is going to be the case, then they are making parliamentary democracy merely a farce. So, in conclusion, I am merely making this appeal to them not to be dogmatic and also to take the trouble to reply to queries raised by members of the Opposition.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar (Johore Tenggara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak dapat menguzurkan diri daripada mengambil bahagian dalam chadangan yang ada di-hadapan Dewan ini. Tidak-lah ada banyak perkara yang saya hendak buat ulasan berkenaan dengan ucapan titah di-Raja ini kerana ucapan yang telah dititahkan itu chukup lengkap dan sempurna dan chukup jelas dan terang, tidak perlu di-suloh lagi. Kalau ada

segi² gelap atau tempat² yang samar² dalam ucapan titah di-Raja itu maka gelap-nya itu datang bukan daripada ucapan itu sendiri, akan tetapi dari mata yang memandang kapada ucapan itu.

Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada beberapa perkara yang di-ucapkan oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada gulongan pembangkang yang patut tidak boleh di-biarkan berlalu dengan tidak mendapat ulasan daripada pehak kami di-sebelah sini. Salah satu perkara yang saya suka hendak sebutkan di-sini ia-lah perhatian daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Besut berkenaan dengan soal Malaysia ia-itu kata-nya Malaysia mengikut konsep yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri Persekutuan itu ada-lah konsep yang sempit dan tidak chukup luas. Jadi, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu berkehendakkan supaya Malaysia itu meliputi Indonesia dan Philippine. Perkara ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka hendak berchakap panjang jua tetapi memandangkan bahawa perkara Malaysia itu ada di-bentangkan dalam chadangan-nya yang akan di-kemukakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu sendiri ka-dalam Dewan ini jika ada chukup masa persidangan kali ini, maka molek-lah saya tunggu dia di-sana. (*Ketawa*). Biar-lah saya simpan point² dan hujah² saya sa-hingga chadangan itu datang dalam Dewan ini baharu-lah kami di-sebelah sini akan memperdengarkan hujah² menentang chadangan-nya itu. Chadangan-nya hendak meluaskan Malaysia itu sa-hingga meliputi Indonesia dan juga Philippine ada-lah satu chadangan yang pada pandangan saya menjemput atau mempelawa problem dan trouble daripada hendak membawa keuntungan dan faedah kapada negara² yang di-chadangkan berchantom itu.

Berpaling saya kapada Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bachok, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ada menyebutkan berkenaan dengan pelajaran tinggi Islam dalam negeri ini. Dalam ucapan-nya itu beliau telah beria² benar men-chadangkan supaya sa-buah University Islam di-adakan dalam negeri ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, barangkali tidak ada sa-orang pun dalam negeri ini

yang hendak membangkang atau menentang soal meninggikan pelajaran Islam. Tetapi soal yang saya hendak sentoh untuk perhatian Ahli Yang Berhormat ini ia-lah soal hendak menahan beliau daripada menggunakan soal pelajaran tinggi itu sa-bagai modal kempen-nya di-mana² dia pergi, dan juga soal didekan dan ajaran Islam itu sendiri. Pada pandangan dan pendapat saya soal pelajaran tinggi itu tidak menjadi masalah kepada orang² Islam. Yang menjadi soal di-dalam perkara ini ia-lah soal pendidekan rohani orang² Islam. Boleh jadi satu² kesilapan itu, satu² kesalahan dan dosa yang besar itu bukan di-lakukan oleh orang² yang jahil tetapi kadang² dosa besar yang boleh menggonchang tiang 'Arash datang-nya daripada sa-orang alim yang besar, Jadi, kita tidak perlu hendak mengadakan ulama yang besar², yang luas pengetahuan-nya tetapi kita berkehendakkan sa-orang Islam yang jiwa dan semangat-nya penoh dengan keislaman, penoh akhlak yang baik, itu yang menjadi soal dalam pendidekan ugama bukan hendak ada University Islam di-negeri kita ini, tetapi orang yang keluar daripada University itu menyembunyikan segala dosa dalam lipatan baju² yang lebar² dan yang besar² itu (*Ketawa*).

Lagi sa-perkara yang di-sebutkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Bachok itu ia-lah berkenaan dengan soal Irian Barat. Lagi² Irian Barat, mundur mandir, ka-sana ka-mari Irian Barat. Minta Kerajaan kita ini tegas dalam soal Irian Barat. Tuan Yang di-Pertua kalau Ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada pehak PAS sana dan lain²-nya juga suka hendak memenatkan diri dan memerhatikan kejadian² yang berlaku dalam negeri dan di-luar negeri barangkali orang² ini akan terpendang bahawa tidak ada sa-orang Perdana Menteri dalam dunia ini yang telah mengambil daya utama untuk menyelesaikan soal Irian Barat melainkan Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj (*Tepok*). Chuba tuan² tunjukkan mana satu Perdana Menteri dalam dunia ini yang konon-nya menyokong perjuangan Indonesia di-Irian Barat, yang telah menjalan-

kan ikhtiar hendak menyelesaikan soal Irian Barat sa-bagaimana yang di-jalankan dan di-chuba oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu itu. Kalau usaha-nya itu gagal, kalau usaha-nya itu tidak berjaya, itu bukan salah-nya, itu salah kedua belah pehak yang berkenaan. Kegagalan itu tidak-lah boleh di-pupukkan ka-atas Perdana Menteri atau Kerajaan Persekutuan. Sikap yang mana lagi yang lebeh terang daripada sikap yang di-tunjokkan oleh Perdana Menteri dalam usaha-nya pada tahun yang lepas ketika dia menjadi mediator dalam soal Irian Barat itu.

Dan daripada kenyataan² yang baharu² ini nampak-nya soal Irian Barat sedang di-chuba untuk di-selesaikan oleh sa-orang mediator yang lain, dan mengikut pula konsep yang di-gunakan atau yang di-susun oleh Perdana Menteri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sendiri. Jadi, di-sini soal membangkit²kan Irian Barat itu dan mengatakan kita ini berpelok tuboh dan mendiamkan diri, tidak tegas, ini ada-lah tuduhan yang sa-mata² tidak berasas yang datang-nya daripada orang² yang sengaja memejamkan mata-nya daripada memerhatikan kejadian yang berlaku dalam dan luar negeri.

Berbalek pula saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Dungun, dia nampak-nya—di-dalam ucapan-nya telah mengusek² saya berkenaan dengan satu hukum. Tetapi saya tidak mahu menjawab sebab dia bukan faham berkenaan hukum Islam. Kalau dia bertanya kepada tuan² guru yang dua orang di-sebelah-nya tentu dia tidak mahu berchakap dan mengusek² saya dalam soal itu kerana guru² itu lebeh mengerti daripada

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek (Dungun) rises

Mr. Speaker: Dia minta jalan.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Silakan.

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bukan berdiri dalam Dewan ini untuk

mengusek sa-siapa tetapi ucapan yang telah di-keluarkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu, maka saya memberikan pandangan saya terhadap ucapan-nya. Memang saya tidak tahu hukum itu tetapi saya mengetahui yang beliau itu memang tahu kalau tidak bagus tetapi sa-bahagian besar-nya beliau tahu hukum² Islam. Jadi, tidak patut kata²-nya itu di-keluarkan daripada sa-orang

Mr. Speaker: Please proceed.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Ta' apa-lah, kalau dia tidak usek saya. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Dungun juga menyertai rakan²-nya yang lain menyuarakan soal Irian Barat. Kalau saya dengar perkara itu daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Besut atau dari Bachok, saya tidak hairan. Yang saya hairankan mendengar perkara ini terbit-nya dari Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Dungun yang hendak menyokong perjuangan Indonesia. Sebab saya tahu waktu Indonesia (*Ketawa*) bermatian² berjuang hendak menghambat Belanda keluar, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu telah lari ka-Malaya menchari tempat (*Ketawa*).

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta sedikit berchakap.

Mr. Speaker: Dia minta jalan.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Terima kaseh atas kebaikan hati Ahli Yang Berhormat itu.

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun meminta memberi penerangan sedikit.

Mr. Speaker: Jangan panjang sangat (*Ketawa*).

Che' Khadijah binti Mohd. Sidek: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, terima kaseh di atas kebaikan hati Yang Berhormat itu. Kalau sa-kira-nya sekarang Ahli Yang Berhormat itu hairan kerana saya mengambil bahagian ini dalam soal Irian Barat telah pun di-tudoh-nya saya lari dari Indonesia maka beliau juga lari lebih dahulu daripada saya dari Indonesia, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan pada masa sekarang sudah mendapat jawatan yang tinggi bertindak

sa-bagai kachang lupakan kulit, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, (*Ketawa*).

Mr. Speaker: Itu bukan penerangan (*Ketawa*). Tinggalkan sahaja perkara itu.

Proceed!

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Soal Irian Barat ada-lah soal penting, ini-lah yang menyusahkan kapala kita. Orang yang macham ini pada hari ini menepok dada menyokong Indonesia pada hal waktu Indonesia perlukan tenaga-nya dan semangat perjuangan-nya ia tinggalkan Indonesia menchari tempat yang sejok dan dingin. (*Di-sampok*), (*Ketawa*).

Mr. Speaker: Order! Saya harap jangan mengganggu waktu orang berchakap.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berbalek saya kapada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh, ia telah berchakap dengan panjang dan lebar dalam Dewan ini dan saya perchaya dia telah menggunakan skill atau kemahiran-nya dalam ilmu Undang² untok memutar belitkan dan memesongkan kenyataan² daripada tempat yang sa-benar-nya. Ucapan yang di-ucapkan oleh beliau dalam Dewan ini ada-lah suatu ucapan yang paling merbahaya kerana telah menyentuh beberapa perkara yang boleh menaikkan sentimen dan rasa perkauman

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of order—Standing Order 36 (6):

"No member shall impute improper motives to any other member."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I submit that the Honourable Member is imputing that I had violated Standing Order by raising communal feeling in this House. If I had done so, you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, would have ruled me out of order.

Mr. Speaker: Saya hendak mengingatkan berkenaan dengan sa-saorang yang berchakap membangunkan perasaan perkauman antara satu kaum dengan satu kaum tentu-lah saya akan tahan daripada berchakap. Ada-lah salah peratoran-nya jika sa-saorang itu ber-

chakap mengatakan sa-saorang Ahli Yang Berhormat itu dengan sangkaan yang jahat atas Ahli Yang Berhormat yang lain. Jaga baik² kalau berchakap lagi begitu saya akan tahan.

Please proceed.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar:

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada sangkaan yang jahat, tetapi saya hanya menyuarakan apa yang saya faham daripada ucapan-nya itu. Ini fahaman saya daripada ucapan-nya, tidak meletakkan improper motives. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh telah menegaskan dalam ucapan-nya bahawa ia akan memperjuangkan berbilang bahasa dan akan memperjuangkan untuk menghapuskan hak² istimewa orang² Melayu dan dia akan berjuang untuk hendak menghancurkan dasar pelajaran yang ada pada hari ini. Ini fahaman saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berchakap berkenaan dengan soal dasar pelajaran dan soal berbilang bahasa dalam negeri ini saya ingin hendak menyebutkan, ia-itu kita orang² negeri ini, penduduk² negeri ini, dan ra'ayat negeri ini yang mempunyai semangat kebangsaan yang tulin telah berjuang bermati²an menghalau penjajah dari negeri ini, kerana kita hendak menengok negeri kita ini merdeka dan anak negeri-nya yang tersusun daripada berbagai² keturunan itu menjadi satu bangsa Malayan. Kita mengucapkan alhamdu lillah sebab ra'ayat Tanah Melayu ini hidup dalam aman damai. Kita chukup puas hati dengan kemerdekaan kita sekarang, tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mendengarkan ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh sa-malam, saya nampak penjajahan hendak kembali sa-mula ka-Tanah Melayu ini dalam rupa yang lain. Bukan penjajahan kulit puteh, tetapi penjajahan yang dibawa oleh orang yang berkulit hitam, yang berasal dangang daripada luar negeri, dan yang negeri ini telah bermurah hati memberikan kera'ayatan kepada mereka. Dengan ucapan-nya menimbulkan soal berbilang bahasa dan hendak mengembalikan dasar pelajaran kepada chorak-nya yang lama maka sa-olah² dia hendak memulangkan penjajahan dan pemerentahan penjajahan

ka-dalam negeri ini. Penjajahan di-mana² juga ia ada maka tidaklah lain kerja-nya dan usaha-nya melainkan menchari jalan memecah-belahkan ra'ayat dalam negeri yang di-jajah-nya supaya dapat ia mengekalkan penjajahan-nya memeras kekayaan negeri itu bagi muslihat diri-nya. Dan pada hari ini Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh dan dari Menglembu sedang menjalankan usaha untuk memecah-belahkan penduduk² negeri ini. Mereka berkehendakkan supaya orang² China dalam negeri ini hidup penoh dengan semangat kechinaan-nya dan orang² India penoh dengan semangat keindiaan-nya, mereka berdua itu hendak meletakkan masing² kaum itu hidup dalam petak dan kotak masing². Kita lihat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia hendak menchari keuntongan daripada keadaan pechah-belah yang sa-umpama itu. Sa-sunggoh-nya dia hendak menchari keuntongan kerana dia ada-lah sa-orang yang telah bengkerap politik dan tidak ada modal lagi, dia tidak ada satu pun untuk menarek orang² menyokong-nya melainkan menggunakan sentimen perkauman, soal pelajaran, soal berbilang bahasa, hak istimewa orang² Melayu. Orang² yang menggunakan perkara² ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada pandangan saya adalah orang yang tidak ada modal dan lebeh baik pulang ka-negeri asal-nya (*Tepok*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak memberi amaran! Tatkala beliau menyebutkan soal hak istimewa orang² Melayu dia telah menggambarkan dengan chukup bijak sa-olah² orang Melayu dengan hak istimewanya itu hidup dalam Shurga dan sa-olah² orang China di-Kampong² Baharu itu hidup dalam Nuraka. Ini gambaran yang kita nampak daripada ucapan yang di-berikan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh. Membangkitkan soal hak istimewa ini, saya suka bertanya siapa yang telah rugi, siapa yang telah kehilangan harta, siapa yang telah luput kekayaan-nya kerana hendak menjaga hak istimewa orang Melayu itu, chuba terangkan kepada kita dalam Dewan ini, berapa banyak orang India dan orang China

yang telah jadi papa dan miskin kerana hendak memelihara hak istimewa orang Melayu itu. Tidak ada sa-orang pun yang miskin

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of clarification, because I have been asked to say how many Indians and how many Chinese have lost their properties due to the question of Malay special rights. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I give this answer—and I give this warning—that there is an attempt now to make Chinese bus companies to lose some of their profits which they have made with hard work, with their sweat and blood; and the Minister of Transport will explain that in a few minutes. There are attempts to try to force—I say force—by suggestions, which if not accepted can result in danger to these owners; that is, “If you do not employ so many per cent of our Malay brothers in your companies, then look out for your future”. In that manner, the Chinese and Indians are going to lose their properties unless we stand up and do something about it in this Parliament.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jangan di-chuba gertak saya, saya sa-orang yang ta' makan gertak (*Tepok*). Kalau hendak bertangan pun berani (*Ketawa*).

Mr. Speaker: Order! Order! Saya harap kehormatan Majlis ini akan dijaga oleh tiap² Ahli Yang Berhormat dalam Majlis ini.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa yang saya tanya berapa banyak yang telah hilang. Ia berchakap mengikut angan² atas yang akan hilang, angan² yang di-ilhamkan oleh nafsu sentimen-nya. Orang ini-lah yang hendak mencari sokongan daripada sa-golongan ra'ayat yang mengupahnya. Apa yang saya tanya, berapa yang sudah hilang, bukan berapa yang akan hilang. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin memberi amaran kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of order, I ask

the Speaker to rule whether it is in order for one Member to warn another Member by pointing at him.

Mr. Speaker: (*Kapada Tuan Syed Ja'afar*) Dudok dahulu saya berchakap. Itu salah kalau menggunakan perkataan biadab dalam Majlis ini mengikut Peratoran 36 (4). Ada-lah salah pada peratoran meshuarat bagi sa-saorang ahli menggunakan bahasa biadab. Tetapi ta' ada di-sebutkan sini berkenaan dengan kalau sa-saorang itu chuba memberi amaran kepada sa-saorang lain dengan tangan atau mata, itu ta' ada dalam peratoran Majlis ini, sunggoh pun bagitu oleh sebab memelihara kehormatan Majlis ini, tolong-lah jaga sedikit jangan melebehi kerana saya ada kuasa hak saya sendiri boleh menahan. Tolong-lah jaga sedikit.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar: Memberi amaran dengan tunjuk tangan, ta' boleh, tetapi ketok meja boleh (*Ketawa*). Ia sana ketok meja sambil memberi amaran kepada saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Mr. Speaker: Ketok meja pun ta' boleh.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin hendak memberi amaran dengan rasa penoh tulus ikhlas dan rasa kaseh sayang hendak memelihara ketenteraman dan perhubungan berbaik² antara kaum dalam negeri ini. Saya ingin hendak memberi amaran ia-itu kira-nya Ahli dari Ipoh atau Ahli parti-nya mengulang²kan sentimen yang telah di-sebutkan dalam Dewan ini pada hari semalam, maka di-sini saya hendak memberitahu kapada-nya bahawa besok ia tidak akan menghadapi UMNO, ia tidak akan menghadapi PAS, ia tidak akan menghadapi Parti Negara, tetapi ia akan menghadapi umat Melayu seluruhnya dalam negeri ini—umat Melayu yang bersatu padu yang sudah kukuh kuat untuk menentang segala anasir yang chuba hendak meragut saki-baki yang ada dalam tangan mereka.

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of order, Order 36 (10). “It shall be out of order

to use—words which are likely to promote feelings of ill-will or hostility between different communities in the Federation". My submission is that to say that the Malays will rise in arms to murder the members of the PPP (*Interruption*) is creating ill-will.

Mr. Speaker: Saya beri rule out of order berkenaan dengan menaikkan perasaan² yang boleh menjadi pergaduhan di-atas satu bangsa dengan satu bangsa yang lain. Saya bachakan lagi pada Standing Order 36 (10)—Ada-lah salah pada peratoran menggunakan perkataan² yang harus menaikkan perasaan bersakit² hati atau bermusoh²an di-antara satu kaum dengan satu kaum dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Ini peratoran baharu sahaja di-pinda dan di-adakan, tetapi dengan kalimah yang ada di-sini sangat luas. Saya bachakan orang puteh-nya: ill-feeling sunggoh pun saya sendiri ta' setuju dengan kalimah itu, tetapi sudah ada dalam peratoran ini—ill-feeling ma'ana-nya banyak luas. Jadi saya boleh menahan sa-saorang itu kalau ia hendak menaikkan perasaan membangkitkan pergaduhan di-antara satu kaum dengan satu kaum. Saya ingatkan kalimah ill-feeling itu banyak luas.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bawa chakap ini bagaimana yang saya telah katakan dahulu ia-lah kerana hendak memelihara perhubungan berbaik² dan supaya jangan timbul ill-feeling di-antara kaum dalam negeri ini dengan chara² ucapan yang di-berikan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh itu. Nampak-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kotor yang ada di-atas muka-nya itu hendak di-sapukan ka-muka saya, konon-nya saya-lah yang hendak menerbitkan ill-feeling. Saya sengaja hendak beritahu bahawa sa-kira-nya perkara ini di-ongkit²kan-nya dengan gaya, dengan rupa, dengan chara ia membentangkan dalam Dewan dan di-luar Dewan ini, dan orang² Melayu dapat di-yakinkan bahawa ada gulungan dalam negeri ini yang hendak merosakkan kedudukan mereka maka orang² Melayu akan bangkit. Ini hendak memberi ingat kepada dia, bukan dia hendak memberi ingat kepada

saya—ini yang saya hendak beri amaran kepada dia.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu perkara lagi, saya fikir Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh akan mengambil pengajaran dari apa yang saya katakan tadi dan hendak-lah ia bertubat sa-belum terlambat. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh itu telah menyebutkan berkenaan dengan political stability. Kata-nya ta' ada political stability dalam negeri ini, kerana ada sa-tengah gulungan orang yang ta' puas dengan ini, ta' puas dengan itu. Jadi itu menunjukkan ta' ada-lah political stability dan ada juga Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh menyebutkan sa-akan² itu juga, tetapi chontoh-nya berlainan. Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ta' mahu hendak argue dengan manusia ini tentang soal political stability ini kerana yang saya tahu modal² luar dalam bilangan million ringgit menchurah² datang ka-Tanah Melayu, kalau ta' ada political stability dalam negeri ini, saya ta' fikir ada sa-sen pun yang hendak masuk ka-dalam negeri ini untuk di-perlabakan, untuk di-invest dalam negeri ini. Jadi hujah yang mengatakan satu gulungan yang ta' puas hati, dan satu gulungan yang ta' senang dengan policy Kerajaan, maka itu menunjukkan political stability ta' ada dalam negeri ini, kalau kita hendak pakai hujah sa-macham itu, saya boleh juga berkata bahawa dalam Parti Ahli Yang Berhormat itu stability ta' ada political stability, sebab saya sendiri tahu bahawa Ahli² parti-nya sendiri ada yang ta' puas hati, ada yang ta' bersetuju dengan chara² parti itu di-kendalikan. Bahkan dalam parti-nya sendiri ada chara dektator dan kuku besi. Oleh sebab itu dalam sebarang perbahathan hanya Ahli dari Ipoh dan Menglembu yang berchakap, pada hal bukan ta' ada orang China yang boleh berchakap.

Saya mendapat faham, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa anggota PPP ini tidak di-benarkan berchakap, dengan ini boleh-lah di-katakan tidak ada political stability dalam parti-nya boleh ada terror (keganasan), tidak ada ketenteraman dalam PPP, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang sa-benar-nya, yang tidak ada stability ia-lah dalam parti-nya sendiri,

kerana anggota-nya kena control, kena tekan dan kena tindas, tidak di-benarkan berchakap.

Lagi satu perkara yang saya ingin hendak sebutkan dalam ucapan saya yang pendek ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah kenyataan Yang Berhormat dari Menglembu berkenaan dengan hendak menutup Causeway. Kata-nya, ini satu ugutan kepada orang² Singapura. Saya tidak tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagaimana sa-orang yang mempunyai pengetahuan undang² menganggap kenyataan (statement) sa-umpama itu sa-bagai ugutan? Ini nama-nya bukan satu ugutan. Ini menyatakan keadaan. Kalau benda itu berlaku macham ini, maka akibat-nya macham ini. Tidak ada ugutan—plain statement—straight-forward statement, tetapi saya tidak tahu-lah 'ilmu undang² yang dia belajar itu yang orang lain tidak belajar mengatakan bahawa statement yang sa-macham ini mengandongi ugutan, itu terpulung kepada-nya. Tetapi pada saya, ini-lah kenyataan yang waras, kenyataan yang sihat, kenyataan yang tegas memberitahu orang Singapura apa-kah akibat daripada penolakan perchantuman itu supaya jangan kelak di-tipu oleh ahli politik yang tidak bertanggung-jawab dalam Singapura yang memainkan sentimen perkauman untuk menolak perchantuman diantara Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Sitting suspended for 15 minutes.

Sitting resumed at 11.45 a.m.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

Enche' Kang Kock Seng (Batu Pahat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong termed it his most pleasant duty to deliver his Speech to the fourth session of Parliament; likewise, it was on our part a most pleasant and gratifying experience. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a most pleasant privilege for us in Malaya to assemble in this magnificent hall to witness and participate in the smooth working of parliamentary democracy. Furthermore, it is no sham democracy, nor is it simply sound and fury signifying nothing. On the contrary, it is the real stuff, for Malaya under the

dynamic and realistic leadership of our Prime Minister and the whole of the Alliance Government is practising democracy, and tolerance and reasonableness are never found wanting within the limitations of our multi-racial or plural society. As a direct result, we converted the uncertainty and anxiety which prevailed before Merdeka into unprecedented progress, stability and prosperity, thus creating the happiness that we enjoy today. But some unreasonable elements and characters merely take all these for granted.

In all fairness, the Policy Speech of our beloved Yang di-Pertuan Agong is not only an objective statement of facts on the progress made after Merdeka under the leadership of the democratic and non-communal Alliance Government, but it is progress, stability and harmony all rolled into one. It is also a powerful affirmation of the dynamic correctness of the Alliance formula and means of evolving a democratic, free and prosperous Malayan nation.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we believe in racial harmony and free enterprise with due respect to social justice. It is no mere political claptrap, it is a proven fact historically and concretely in terms of more jobs and higher standard of living and of greater opportunity and social justice. Mr. Speaker, Sir, to those who are not beyond convincing by facts and reasoning, I need only recommend them to go through the Yang di-Pertuan Agong's Speech and its Special Appendix, or alternatively to open their eyes and ears to see the tremendous changes that have taken place or are taking place in the Federation today—a land humming with activity.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to draw attention to and enlarge upon a few salient points in His Majesty's Speech. In the light of the atmosphere of increasing communal feeling and class antagonisms deliberately cultivated by certain Parties and people, I wish to talk the language of political commonsense, not the language of high-sounding Utopian ideology which is foreign to Malayan character and

thinking and hostile to Malayan environments and our way of life. Practical commonsense and the spirit of compromise and accommodation are virtues which will do us a lot of good to cultivate and foster. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we of the Alliance Government are in sympathy with these human qualities; that is why we believe in the sacred tenets of racial harmony, democracy and international co-operation for mutual benefit, such as foreign investment in Malayan industry and commerce for the good of both. However, there are people who are born enemies of these humanitarian policies. They will do all they can just to make a mess of our affairs. Their mentality of strife and class antagonism would spell disaster and suffering where there is no cause for such bitterness in the plentiful and peaceful Malaya of ours. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in Malaya it does not pay to operate on such a psychology, for our country is young, rich and comparatively empty. With a constructive optimism, I would say that opportunities for advancement are unlimited. Why must we fight and scheme against one another when we can co-operate, when we know that the fruit of the former is suffering, and of the latter material advancement and spiritual tranquility?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the right attitude towards a Malayan outlook is of utmost importance, for we are a composite of races trying to become one in loyalty, sentiment and nationality. I dare say that we in the Alliance have always tried hard to mould ourselves into Malaysians. It is from a true Malayan outlook that I cannot agree more with His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong when he says that the Second Five-Year Plan principally aims at a radical upliftment of our Malay peasant brothers, and that it is the pilot of our progress and the compass of our destiny (*Applause*) for the simple social truth is that our country Malaya cannot become free and peaceful if half of her population remains in the lap of rural poverty without any prospect of foreseeable social betterment. Enlightened self-interest and democratic social

justice demand that the poorer sections of our Malayan community—the Malay peasantry—should be given a new and humane deal, which the colonial power had denied them for far too long. Therefore, I wish them every success in relation to the Second Five-Year Plan. However, there are mischievous elements who deliberately misrepresent this Plan as the Alliance's pandering to Malay communalism with a view to consolidate its political strength. They also represent this Plan as an example of the betrayal of the non-Malay urban slum dwellers by the M.C.A. in particular. Sir, all this is false accusation and they know it. But falsehood is ineffectual in stopping these un-Malayan elements doing their utmost to injure our country and people. Sir, the truth is that the Alliance did not neglect the urban non-Malay population. As a matter of fact, the Alliance does simultaneously improve the lot of the urban and rural sections with respective due emphasis—schools, hospitals and many other public facilities are built in rural and urban areas as well. In fact, urban citizens enjoy so many other public facilities that are not being enjoyed by the rural areas—one of the good example is the Government's low cost housing projects.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Second Five-Year Plan is really dynamic and realistic in that it tackles rural diversification and urban industrialisation simultaneously so that a balanced economy will be created in course of time. This Plan is a big step forward towards the attainment of these various objectives, vital to our Malayan national interest and security.

In conclusion, Sir, we have no doubt that the Alliance Government has a solid record of achievement and service behind it, and we have also laid the foundation for parliamentary democracy and that the Second Five-Year Plan will be our chance and weapon to build our house of democracy and racial stability on it. Thank you.

The Minister of Health and Social Welfare (Dato' Ong Yoke Lin): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will reply briefly to the points raised by Honourable Members

during the debate so far as it concerns my Ministry.

Sir, the Honourable Member for Dungun made a complaint against what she described as Government hospitals charging the poor for medicine. Time and again, Sir, I have made it clear that no person who genuinely cannot afford to pay is asked to pay for medicine or treatment at Government hospitals and clinics. No one has been denied his or her medicine merely because he or she is unable to pay. I would like to inform the House that in the year 1955 we spent only \$55 million for the medical and health services of the nation and this year the ordinary expenditure is \$93.5 million. As against these figures, in 1955 hospital revenue totalled \$2.3 million and in 1962 it is expected to bring in only \$3.8 million. I would like to emphasise the fact that a very large percentage of these figures is through payments by patients in the first and second class wards.

The Honourable Member for Dungun also made an appeal that of the three new hospitals we propose to build at Dungun, Tanjong Karang and Changkat Melintang, a larger hospital be built at Dungun than the other two. Now, Sir, the present bed capacity of the existing Dungun Hospital is only 49. The population figures for these three localities are Dungun, 37,000; Tanjong Karang, about 100,000; and Changkat Melintang, about 100,000. Furthermore, the hospital at Tanjong Karang serves a very densely populated rice bowl area in Selangor and the nearest hospitals from that locality are at Teluk Anson, across the river, and another one at Klang, many many miles away. With regard to the proposed new hospital at Changkat Melintang, this area is developing rapidly in view of the Trans-Perak Irrigation Scheme and other land development projects in that area. The nearest hospitals are at Lumut, Batu Gajah and Teluk Anson—again long distances away.

The Honourable Member for Dungun also made reference to the shortage of staff at Dungun Hospital. As from the first of this month, a resident Medical Officer has been posted to

Dungun Hospital. Before this, a Medical Officer from Kemaman was covering the Dungun Hospital. We have experienced some temporary additional shortage due to staff taking their Japanese Occupation leave which will lapse unless they take it before the end of this year. Arrangements have always been made for relief officers from other hospitals to cover up.

The Honourable Member also made a request for recruitment of Assistant Nurses and Midwives from the Malay girls with Malay educational qualifications in the kampongs. I would like to assure her once again that it has been the policy of the Ministry to select suitable girls from the kampongs for training as Assistant Nurses and Midwives for services in the kampongs under our Rural Health schemes. This, of course, does not include the students to be trained as Nurses, because, as usual, the requirements with regard to these trainees would be School Certificate. We in the Ministry always seek and obtain the co-operation of District Officers and Penghulus in this matter.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh drew attention to the importance of blood banks in the country. Now, Sir, it has been, I am sure, very widely publicised that my Ministry has been attaching great importance to this matter. We provide doctors, blood bank supervisors, and we have a vote in the Budget to run these blood banks, in many hospitals throughout the country; further an intensive drive has been made for getting more blood donors. Marked improvement has been made over the last few years and the number of donors and the number of pints of blood donated have increased tremendously. But, Sir, although the Government is taking an active role in blood banks, the Government will always welcome the full support of the people, leaders of the community throughout the country, to publicise the importance of blood donation and to emphasise that it is quite harmless for a normally healthy person to give blood and to help to enrol more blood donors to donate blood and to assist in the sessions at the blood banks. I would take the opportunity to appeal

to all leaders and to Honourable Members in this House to give their full support to our blood banks.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh has also complained that the waiting facilities of the Out-patient Department in Ipoh Hospital are inadequate. I would like to point out that the new building of the Out-patient Department in the Ipoh Hospital costing \$50,000 was opened this year. At the same time renovations and extensions are carried out in the former out-patient building with a view to converting it into an Emergency and Casualty Department. The extension and renovation work is expected to be completed by the end of this month and this will further improve the waiting facilities for out-patients generally. When the new Chest Out-patient Clinic is completed this year, the congestion in the Out-Patient Department will be further relieved.

Sir, yesterday the Honourable Member for Menglembu thought it fit to bring up the subject of the allegations made by himself, the Honourable Member for Ipoh and another Honourable Member (I think the Member for Bungsar), allegations that were made at the last meeting of this House. Sir, the Honourable Member thinks that he is "the cock of the walk" and was crowing like a proverbial cock on his dunghill, Sir, let him be not so cocksure that no action of any nature would emerge from what he and the Honourable Member for Ipoh had said outside this House. However, I would like to refresh the Honourable Member's memory that on the 22nd January, 1962, in this House, the Honourable Members for Ipoh and Menglembu had said that they would repeat all—repeat all—that they had said on the subject outside the House. Sir, in their usual sinuous way they merely repeated what was said on the 19th January, 1962, and not on the other days, the disgraceful allegations they had made on the subject during the January sitting of this House.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah (Tanah Merah): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam beberapa Ahli Yang Berhormat mengemukakan pandangan dan pendapat-nya

dalam Dewan yang mulia ini, maka saya bangun di-sini menyertai rakan saya bagi memberi terima kaseh di-atas Titah Uchapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Sa-bagaimana biasa-nya, pada tiap² tahun hanya ini-lah sa-kali kita mendengar Titah Uchapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong yang meng-gambarkan dan membayangkan apa yang telah berlaku dan apa yang akan berlaku dalam negara kita yang muda ini. Sa-patut-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam mengemukakan atau pun di-dalam Titah Uchapan yang telah di-lafadzkan oleh Seri Paduka Baginda itu di-buat dan di-titikberatkan lebeh banyak kepada soal² ra'ayat yang lebeh melarat dalam negeri ini sendiri, tetapi sa-bagai sifat manusia tidak-lah ia lupa daripada kesilapan dan kekurangan, dan tiap² sa-orang manusia itu memandang dari segi yang di-fikirkan-nya mustahak dan penting, maka terbit-lah beberapa perbincangan² yang panas dan hangat dalam Dewan ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada pendapat saya perjuangan kita menentang penjajah ia-itu bagi mencapai satu negara yang merdeka dan ma'amor tertumpu kepada tiga unsur yang besar. Kenapa kita mesti menentang penjajah, kenapa kita mesti menghalau penjajah dari negeri kita? Kerana kita tahu bahawa penjajah membawa tiga chorak atau pun tiga anasir yang berlawanan dengan hasrat ra'ayat itu sendiri. Yang pertama chara pemerintahan yang di-bawa oleh penjajah itu, yang kedua-nya ia-lah chara ekonomi dan yang ketiga-nya ia-lah dasar pelajaran. Ketiga² unsur yang terpenting itu di-tentang oleh ra'ayat negeri ini pada keseluruhan-nya oleh kerana kita mengerti dan faham bahawa chorak yang di-bawa oleh pemerintah penjajah ia-lah untuk merosakkan dan menghancurkan keperibadian negara ini sendiri, sebab itu tidak ada satu umat yang chintakan kemerdekaan yang tidak berdiri menentang penjajah dan menghalau penjajah dari negeri kita ini dengan apa chara dan sikap gulungan itu sendiri asalkan sahaja penjajah itu lenyap dari tanah ayer kita ini.

Alhamdulillah! shukor kita kepada Tuhan, kemerdekaan telah dapat ka-tangan kita dan kita hari ini memerintah dalam negeri kita, dan pemerintahan-nya ada-lah mengikut saloran² yang kita kehendaki ia-itu saloran demokrasi, saloran kekuasaan ra'ayat memilih dan di-pilih. Maka pemerintah kita sekarang ini, baik pemerintah Kerajaan Negeri mahu pun Kerajaan Persekutuan telah di-lantek melalui kehendak dan keinginan ra'ayat negeri ini sendiri melalui pilihan raya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada semua ra'ayat dalam negeri ini telah berpuas hati dengan hasil pilihan raya itu dan tidak akan ada tiap² parti politik itu merasa senang kalau dia kalah dalam pilihan raya. Maka sudah menjadi adat kebiasaan parti pemerintahan atau pun Kerajaan mengemukakan ranchangan dan parti pembangkang membangkang ranchangan² itu mengikut fahaman dan dasar-nya masing². Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan negeri kita sekarang ini telah mencapai kemerdekaan dengan begitu rupa. Satu soal harus-lah kita timbangkan, apakah pemerintah negeri kita sekarang ini telah benar² berchorak demokrasi mengikut kehendak kita sendiri dan jawapan² daripada yang akan dapat kita tengok ada-kah Perlembagaan negara kita sekarang ini suatu Perlembagaan yang di-ingini oleh ra'ayat negeri ini?

Ada gulongan² yang tidak ingin ada-nya beberapa fasal² di-dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Oleh kerana di-dalam-nya di-nyatakan yang di-rasakan-nya ada-lah tidak berdasarkan kepada demokrasi, tidak merupakan persamaan di-dalam hidup ra'ayat di-negeri ini sendiri. Maka di-dalam ucapan titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong pada sa-tahun sa-kali ini-lah mereka mengemukakan pendapat² mereka, pendapat² mereka ada-lah hak bagi mereka.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan kita, Kerajaan yang di-pilih oleh ra'ayat baik pun Kerajaan itu Kerajaan Negeri atau Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang mengakui Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sekarang

ini di-dalam-nya di-chatik bahawa Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong itu mempunyai kekuasaan untuk melindungi hak² orang Melayu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hak orang Melayu dan keistimewaan orang Melayu ini telah banyak benar kita dengar di-bahathkan dalam Dewan yang mulia ini. Dan sa-belum kita membuat sa-suatu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita hendak-lah memikirkan, baik dari segi orang Melayu, baik dari segi orang China, baik dari segi orang India memikirkan dengan fikiran sa-benar² chinta dan ta'at kepada negeri ini dan memandang tiap² ra'ayat negeri ini ada-lah bersaudara, sa-negara dan sa-kurang²-nya bagi mengakui Perlembagaan negeri ini; tentu-lah dia merasa bahawa di-dalam negara kita ini yang telah terbelakang dari semua soal di-dalam semua kehidupan dan lapangan ia-lah orang² Melayu. Hal ini tidak dapat di-nafikan serta di-lupakan atas kelemahan orang² Melayu. Kita orang Melayu tidak akan merasa malu mengakui bahawa kita ini lemah di-dalam semua segi penghidupan, baik dari segi pemerintahan, baik dari segi ekonomi, baik dari segi pelajaran dan dalam segi apa juga maka orang Melayu ini-lah yang terkebelakang. Dan oleh kerana orang Melayu ini telah terkebelakang di-masa penjajahan dahulu maka terbit-lah keinginan membebaskan diri daripada penjajahan dan terchapai-lah kemerdekaan. Dengan harapan supaya kemerdekaan ini pula dapat mengawal kedudukan orang² Melayu yang punya tuan negeri ini misti di-pelihara dan tidak dapat di-biarkan dan juga patut-lah di-beri tambahan hidup, di-galakkan mereka menjadi sa-bagai satu bangsa yang sa-taraf atau sa-ganding dan sa-jajar dengan kemajuan² orang² yang pada mula-nya tidak menjadi ra'ayat negeri ini. Kalau kita menengok kepada Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-patut-nya mereka² yang pada mula-nya tidak menjadi ra'ayat negeri ini patut-lah menchiom² atau pun menyembah Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini kerana dengan Perlembagaan ini-lah mereka dapat berhak berpolitik berekonomi dan di-jamin hidup-nya di-dalam negeri ini sendiri.

Sa-patut-nya dari segi politik, Perlembagaan ini-lah yang patut mereka pandang lebeh mulia daripada bible mereka sendiri. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tetapi malang-nya, entah malang kapada nasib orang² Melayu, entah malang kapada negara ini di-masa yang akan datang, gejala² atau tanda² hendak melenyapkan hak orang Melayu bukan sahaja di-timbulkan di-luar Dewan ini tetapi di-timbulkan di-dalam Dewan ini sendiri. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, akan hampa-lah hati orang² Melayu di-dalam tujuan dan chita² hendak merebut kema'amoran di-dalam negeri ini. Kalau sakira-nya kita di-dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini sa-telah di-berikan hak kera'ayatan bagitu luas dengan kemudahan kapada mereka ini serta mereka dapat kemudahan dan hak itu, di-chuba-nya pula hendak merebut hak² kita sendiri. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benar-nya perkara ini amat-lah mendukachitakan.

Hanya perkara taxi 52 peratus itu sahaja sudah di-bangkit-kan hak istimewa orang Melayu. Chuba kita fikir, saya minta kapada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh atau daripada Menglembu atau siapa juga di-dalam Dewan ini tengok-lah dengan mata kepala sendiri di-bandar Kuala Lumpur ini sahaja berapa peratus sahaja orang Melayu dudok di-bandar² Kuala Lumpur ini. Di-mana letak-nya orang² Melayu, tuan tahu, ia-lah di-kampung² Melayu, dan ada satu kampung Melayu yang di-namakan Kampong Congo. Kampong Kongo; entah-lah Yang Berhormat Menteri tahu atau tidak, mereka telah membuat rumah dengan tidak mendapat kebenaran, kampung itu dekat dengan Lady Templer Hospital. Ini-lah nasib orang Melayu di-tanah ayer-nya, ini-lah nasib orang Melayu di-dalam ibu Kota Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini. Tahu-kah mereka itu bahawa orang Melayu yang dudok di-tepi², sungai di-belakang gedong² yang tinggi di-Gombak Lane, di-tepi² sungai yang berbahu busok itu-lah tempat orang Melayu. Ada-kah mereka ini insaf, ada-kah mereka ini tahu bahawa orang Melayu-lah yang punya negeri ini pada asal-nya kemudian nasib mereka itu

terbiar tidak terjamin, mujor ada-lah Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini yang menjaga hak² orang Melayu. Hendak menjaga hak² orang Melayu itu sendiri nampak-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, susah kita hendak menyebutkan, taxi baharu-lah orang Melayu konon-nya dapat 52 peratus. Kalau di-kaji lebeh jauh benar-kah 52 peratus itu, ada-kah Ali Baba di-dalam-nya ini maseh umum dapat kita ketahui. Jangan kita tengok taxi yang beroda empat itu sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tetapi kita tengok bas² dalam negeri ini sendiri berapa peratus-kah di-punya² oleh orang Melayu. Ada-kah orang Melayu memekek² dalam Dewan ini supaya bas itu di-berikan kapada kami. Kita tidak memekek² dengan hak mereka itu tetapi kita mahu hak kita diperliharakan. Kita tidak mahu minta mithal-nya lombong di-Ipoh itu diberikan kapada kita, kita tidak minta. Tetapi kita minta di-berikan galakan kapada orang Melayu dari segi melombong. Kita tidak minta hak orang lain tetapi kita minta biar-lah di-berikan keutamaan di-mana² pun dan hak kita itu di-perlindongi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu telah diberikan kapada mereka² ini menjadi ra'ayat tetapi ra'ayat yang kita mahu dalam negeri ini biar-lah ra'ayat yang sama memikirkan semua gulongan bukan hanya satu gulongan sahaja tetapi semua gulongan yang di-namakan ra'ayat. Kita telah berkali² berchakap di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa Kerajaan terlalu murah hati bersedekah membuka pintu menjadi ra'ayat negeri ini dengan tidak dipereksa ta'at setia-nya kapada negeri ini. Telah berkali² kami menyatakan kekesalan kami di-atas sikap Kerajaan itu tetapi Kerajaan tidak ambil indah takut kalau mereka itu memerontak mithal-nya, jadi serba salah kedudukan kita. Bagaimana tidak serba salah, tidak di-beri mereka marah, di-beri di-lawan-nya kita di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat ini, jadi susah kita hendak sebutkan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-lah akibat-nya yang kita tidak memikirkan panjang². Tuan Yang di-Pertua, chorak

pemerintahan yang ada pada kita sekarang ini bertambah banyak pati politik dalam negeri ini yang dengan sendiri-nya bertujuan hendak berkuasa dalam negeri ini mengikut saloran² demokrasi akan bertambah mariah-lah negeri ini di-dalam pilehan² raya di-masa yang akan datang.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin menyebutkan dalam perjuangan kita menuntut kemerdekaan kita, kita tidak mahu berada di-zaman penjajah, kita tidak mahu bentuk ekonomi penjajah kerana bentuk ekonomi penjajah itu ada-lah satu bentuk memeras tenaga ra'ayat dan kekayaan negeri ini untuk kepentingan mereka di-luar negeri. Dengan di-masokkan-nya modal sa-banyak²-nya ka-dalam negeri ini dengan di-berikan tempat² yang lumayan, yang baik² dengan pegawai² mereka dan di-jadikan ra'ayat negeri ini hanya ra'ayat kelas tiga bekerja sa-bagai buroh mendapat gaji yang tidak begitu memuaskan hati.

Kita tentang penjajahan dengan dasar ekonomi, kita mahu bertanya sudah-kah dasar ekonomi penjajahan itu telah lenyap di-dalam sa-buah negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam ucapan titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong itu telah membayangkan akan dasar Kerajaan kita hendak menambah dan hendak menengok sa-jauh mana kemajuan per-ekonomian negara dalam negeri ini dan ingin hendak menarek sa-berapa banyak pembangunan² ekonomi di-dalam negeri ini daripada luar. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada juga agak baik-nya dasar yang saperti itu ia-itu negeri kita hendak menjadi negeri yang ternama dan terutama di-Tenggara Asia ini bangunan yang tinggi, kelang yang melangit tinggi-nya dan di-dalam-nya di-punyai oleh modal asing, ra'ayat negeri ini menjadi buroh di-dalam per-usahaan itu. Dasar ini telah lama berlaku sejak zaman penjajahan lagi sampai-lah zaman kita merdeka dan kita tengok kalau perbezaan per-ekonomian negara yang merdeka maseh belum ada berbanding sa-jauh mana burok-nya di-zaman penjajahan dan sa-jauh mana baik-nya sa-sudah merdeka. Sa-patut-nya di-dalam sa-buah negara

yang muda saperti itu di-mana ra'ayat negeri ini hidup kais pagi makan pagi dan kais petang makan petang, ter-utama orang² kita Melayu hendak-lah dasar atau pun chorak dan dasar Kerajaan dalam soal ekonomi di-titek beratkan untuk mengembalikan ke-kuatan ekonomi nasional. Ini tidak akan dapat di-lahirkan kalau tidak melalui suatu usaha yang tegas, melalui Sharikat Kerjasama. Sharikat Kerja-sama-lah yang mempunyai tugas yang berat dan yang besar bagi mengembalikan per-ekonomian ra'ayat supaya tidak terancham oleh per-ekonomian sa-chara penjajahan dan terbit-lah masaalah baharu, terutama-nya masaalah daripada Kementerian Pertanian untuk melaksanakan suatu project masaalah yang di-sebut² dalam Dewan ini ia-itu perkara dan harapan bahawa project kilang uria itu dapat di-lahirkan dan dapat di-punyai oleh ra'ayat negeri ini, ra'ayat yang kecil, ra'ayat yang kais pagi makan pagi dan kais petang makan petang, ra'ayat daripada kaum tani dan peladang untuk memerlukan baja² uria untuk menambahkan hasil padi dan hasil perusahaan yang lain.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa untuk hendak melawan dasar per-ekonomian ra'ayat atau usaha yang saperti itu sa-patut-nya mendapat dokongan dan sokongan daripada Kerajaan, tetapi apa yang kita tahu, apa yang kita nampak Kerajaan mem-bisu tidak ada yang lebih daripada itu, chuba Kerajaan menyokong Ran-changan Uria, sokong-lah Kementerian Pertanian dalam hendak membangun-kan Uria, Kilang Uria

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Saya minta memberi penjelasan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Masa sedikit sangat (*Ketawa*). Kalau sa-kira-nya Kerajaan dapat memberikan tenaga dengan sa-penoh hati. Kerana kita tidak mahu bahawa modal daripada project Uria ini datang-nya dari luar melalui agent² mereka yang tertentu dan kita mahu membangunkan kilang baja Uria di-negeri ini, tetapi kalau uria itu di-usahakan oleh ra'ayat dalam negeri ini maka keuntungan itu direct terus kapada ra'ayat yang mempunyai saham

dalam negeri ini. Tetapi kenapa Kerajaan tidak memberikan green light, saya tidak tahu-lah. Ada-kah itu dasar ekonomi penjajahan maseh berjalan dalam negeri ini sama²-lah kita tengok. Ini-lah sebab-nya saya menchabar bahawa sistem ekonomi kita ini maseh mengikut sistem ekonomi penjajahan...

Mr. Speaker: Jangan di-ulang²kan perkara itu.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Baik-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya terus-kan sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin hendak bertanya ada-kah sistem chara pelajaran penjajahan telah lenyap dalam negeri ini yang telah di-bangga²-kan dengan satu sistem Pelajaran Kebangsaan. Di-zaman penjajahan dahulu kalau dalam bandar di-dirikan sekolah² batu dan di-kampong² di-dirikan sekolah² buloh, kita tentang itu, kita tidak mahu begitu, kita mahu sistem kita sendiri. Ini bukan sentimen politik, mari kita bahath di-zaman penjajahan di-dalam bandar lain dan di-luar bandar lain dan zaman sekarang bagaimana pula? Zaman sekarang di-kampong² maseh di-dapati sekolah atap, malahan di-dalam bandar ini malu-lah saya hendak menyebut-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jamban sekolah itu ada-lah lebeh berharga daripada sa-buah sekolah di-luar bandar, lebeh tinggi estimate-nya daripada sekolah di-luar bandar. Ini ada-lah suatu kenyataan tidak dapat kita napikan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau ta' perchaya pergi-lah di-kampong² tengok sendiri keadaan itu. Baharu² ini PAS telah di-tudoh tidak ada mempunyai pendirian, dasar pelajaran dia sokong, kemudian dia hentam. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami menyokong dasar pelajaran itu pada asas-nya, sebab asas-nya dasar pelajaran itu hendak menjadikan bahasa kebangsaan negeri ini bahasa Melayu yang tunggal, dasar itu kami sokong dan siapa juga dalam dunia ini yang memahamkan dan yang ta'at setia kepada negeri ini akan menyokong dasar ini, hanya orang² yang tolol sahaja ta' mahu menyokong-nya, orang yang ta' hendakkan bahasa Melayu itu menjadi bahasa kebangsaan sahaja-lah yang ta' mahu menyokong-nya. Ada pun orang

yang hendak menjadikan modal atau pun chara bahasa itu-lah satu² chara yang dapat menyatukan ra'ayat negeri ini, maka kami sokong dengan ta' malu². Kami sokong dasar pelajaran itu, tetapi akibat daripada sistem pelajaran ini ada-kah betul² di-lahirkan dalam negeri ini atau di-chedok dari lapan ribu batu jauh-nya dan di-buat satu sistem baharu di-negeri ini. Apa-kah sistem main naik darjah sahaja, suatu sistem yang sesuai? Chukop tahun naik darjah satu, dua, tiga, empat, lima sampai enam baharu berhenti. Kenapa? Saya pun ta' tahu. Ada-kah sistem ini ada pada mula-nya atau tidak. Kalau zaman penjajah sistem ini ta' ada, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kenapa sekarang kita buat? Saya sekolah Melayu dahulu bila darjah satu pereksa, lulus naik darjah dua, ta' lulus dudok lagi darjah satu, begitu-lah sa-terus-nya tetapi sekarang tidak. Bila engkau lulus ta' lulus, dua, tiga, empat, lima sampai enam naik. Bila ta' lulus darjah enam tendang. Ada juga yang masok Sekolah Lanjutan, tetapi berapa peratus, tadi telah di-jawab oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran tentang kelemahan anak² Melayu. Dari sa-tahun meningkat. Ini menunjukkan burok-nya kedudukannya. Tahun 1959 yang sekolah yang bahasa pengantar Melayu 13,820 yang ta' lulus dalam tahun 1960 naik 15,352 ta' lulus dan dalam tahun 1961 naik lagi 32,000 ta' lulus juga. Mari kita fikirkan sekarang masaaalah anak² kita baik anak PAS, anak UMNO, baik anak siapa pun apa akan jadi nasib mereka? Jadi anak kita dari tahun 1959 sampai 1961 sudah meningkat 31,000 yang ta' lulus. Jumlah semua-nya barangkali entah berapa barangkali 60,000 lebeh yang ta' tahu hujong pangkal nasib mereka. Badannya makin besar makin kuat, makannya, pelajaran-nya ta' ada. Apa akan jadi pada mereka itu? Akhir-nya jadi orang jahat. Kalau ia dudok dalam bandar, bila jadi pemuda ia akan jadi gangster. Tidak hairan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau ada gangster masok Federal Hotel churi Federal Hotel punya duit berpuluh² ribu ringgit dalam tempoh lima minit. Siapa yang punya buat? Orang yang ta' mempunyai pekerjaan dan mungkin orang ini memikirkan buat apa kita chari duit,

kita boleh merompak dan boleh menyamun. Kalau dalam kampung kita akan dengar kehilangan telur ayam, ayam, kambing dan barangkali banyak lagi. Pernah berlaku, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam kawasan saya sendiri dalam negeri Kelantan berlaku kechurian kerbau dari satu masa ka-satu masa. Perkara churi kerbau ini telah di-adukan kepada polis—Yang Berhormat Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri patut mengambil perhatian dalam perkara ini. Kita report kepada polis. Polis kata, fasal apa hang ta' jaga hang punya lembu? Betul-lah kita sudah jaga, tetapi orang churi juga. 'Ah chari. Jadi kalau kita juga yang tukang chari, kita juga yang hendak chari penchuri buat apa polis? Sa-kali lagi saya katakan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jangan main soal sentimen di-kemukakan di-sini. Saya tidak mahu sentimen, kalau hendak bersentimen bawa di-luar tetapi ini soal ra'ayat kita sendiri. Chuba fikir ini soal ra'ayat bukan soal parti. Kita minta polis: Dato', kami ada kechurian. Sila datang pereksa. Dia datang pereksa ia chari tuan punya kerbau. Pukul berapa hilang? Fasal apa awak ta' jaga, fasal apa awak ta' ikat, jadi sudah hilang dato'! Jadi kalau macham ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, susah ra'ayat negeri ini hendak mendapat kerjasama dengan polis. Ia report kepada polis, polis ta' ambil tahu oleh kerana polis ta' ambil tahu keselamatan ra'ayat maka berpuluh² jenayah telah berlaku. Mithal-nya kechurian yang kechil² sa-lain daripada churi kerbau, itek dan lain². Sekarang ini kita dengar pula kebakaran sa-buah motor-car itu pun dalam kawasan saya di-Limau Hantu di-Tanah Merah. Dengan tidak mempunyai sentimen parti, kita harus-lah menengok siapa yang melakukan jenayah saperti itu dan pehak polis mesti-lah menangkap orang-nya. Tetapi di-tanya-nya tuan punya motor-car itu: Fasal apa awak ta' kunchi motor-car, fasal apa awak ta' suroh jaga? Kalau macham itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ta' ada orang yang akan kehilangan barang. Kalau Manager Federal Hotel tanya fasal apa awak ta' kunchi, fasal apa awak ta' jaga, macham itu barangkali ta' hilang barang itu. Jadi, ini-lah yang di-minta supaya

pegawai² polis, polis terutama-nya dapat menunjokkan kerjasama-nya dengan ra'ayat, satelah ra'ayat mengadukan kepada Penghulu sana panggil Penggawa, Penggawa panggil polis kena marah pula Penggawa. Oleh kerana polis tidak ambil tahu terbit-lah kejahatan², terbit-lah soal² rompak, soal² churi dan ini semua oleh kerana kurang-nya pendidekan dan pelajaran. Tadi Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara telah menyatakan bahawa tidak mustahak kepada kita pelajaran tinggi, apa guna-nya pelajaran tinggi, kita mahu moral, kita mahu akhlak, kita mahu jiwa yang berseh. Dari mana datang-nya jiwa yang berseh kalau ta' ada pelajaran. Kalau ta' ada pelajaran mustahil

Tuan Syed Ja'afar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya kena terangkan kalau ia terus keliru.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Macham mana ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia pun berchakap.

Mr. Speaker: Nanti dahulu! Ia hendak minta keterangan, hendak-kah beri jalan?

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Ta' ada masa, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Mr. Speaker: (Kapada Tuan Syed Ja'afar) Ia ta' beri jalan.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Kata-nya sekolah ta' berfaedah, buat apa sekolah tinggi, University Islam itu buat apa. College Islam ini patut di-bunoh. Tidak-lah begitu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita bukanlah bermaksud meninggikan sa-buah university dengan ta' berfaedah. Kalau ta' berfaedah, buat apa kita mendirikan University Malaya, buat apa kita mendirikan Mesjid Negara, kalau hendak buat simbol² itu buat apa, tetapi biar benda ini berfaedah. Bagaimana faedah-nya? Orang dapat belajar di-situ, jadi kalau ada pelajaran Islam atau pun sekolah, bagi orang² kampung anak² kita yang tadi sudah keluar dari sekolah yang sekarang ini sudah meningkat angka 60,000 orang lebeh yang

sudah ta' bersekolah maka di-adakan Sekolah Lanjutan dua tahun, kemudian guru itu ta' ada pula. Ini susah Tuan Yang di-Pertua, guru-nya ta' ada. Di-buat-nya bangunan macham di-Machang di-tempat saya tetapi di-kawasan Ulu Kelantan di-mana di-buat-nya sa-buah Sekolah Lanjutan dan di-ambil daripada budak² yang ta' lulus tadi. Bila di-buat sekolah ta' ada guru pula. Hendak ambil guru sementara orang kampung ta' perchaya. Bagaimana-kah kanak² itu hendak masuk sekolah sedangkan guru-nya ta' ada kelulusan, maka di-chari-lah guru yang ada kelulusan di-sekolah Ingeris, mithal-nya di-ambil guru itu mengajar di-situ, sudah-lah guru itu kurang di-sekolah-nya. Itu-lah sahaja kerja-nya sekarang di-mana berlaku soal² saperti itu. Sa-patut-nya sekolah itu patut di-buka pada 15 haribulan January lagi tetapi di-buka pada bulan April. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini masalaah national, jangan sentimen—fikirkan baik². Apa akan jadi kapada anak² kita. Maka itu-lah yang saya pandang mustahak. Kemudian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kembali kapada masalaah pelajaran negeri ini.

Kita sekarang sedang mendidek guru² untuk kita jadikan guru. Di-bandar Kuala Lumpur ini kita ada Maktab Perguruan Bahasa ia-itu di-di-Lembah Pantai. Apa yang saya tengok di-situ sistem-nya macham apa? Saya pun tidak tahu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berkata dengan lillahi-ta'ala dan ikhlas. Saya minta perhatian Menteri Pelajaran. Saya tidak tahu apa-kah kebudayaan yang mereka gunakan di-situ. Mithal-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada petang hari mereka itu berpasangan² laki² dengan perempuan berjalan ka-hulu ka-hilir. Naik keretapi berpasangan², waktu makan pun begitu juga. Sistem mana yang di-buat? Kita kata tadi kita mahu akhlak yang baik, tetapi ini dia chara-nya akhlak yang di-tunjokkan oleh bakal guru² itu. Manakah sa-orang ibu yang tidak akan menangis, melihat kedudukan anak-nya yang bagini di-maktab latehan itu sendiri, di-Maktab Perguruan itu sendiri laki² perempuan bergandingan². Ini bukan fitnah, lillahita'ala tidak fitnah. Ini satu

perkara yang saya tengok dengan mata saya sendiri, dan saya hadir di-tempat itu, menyelidek soal ini. Saya minta Menteri Pelajaran supaya mengetatkan soal akhlak anak², sebab mereka akan menjadi guru, akan menjadi pendidek di-kampung², di-bandar² dan lain², tetapi kalau ini-lah bentok dan chorak akhlak yang di-ajarkan kapada mereka itu dan yang di-punya'i oleh mereka, apa-kah bentok akhlak yang akan lahir dan yang akan timbul daripada pelajaran yang di-dapati di-tempat itu? Walau pun ada surau besar, sekolah besar dan ada guru ugama Islam, tetapi penjagaan akhlak kapada mereka itu tidak betul. Saya menarek perhatian Menteri Pelajaran supaya perkara ini di-perhatikan baik², kerana kita hendak membena satu masharakat yang meliputi keperibadian kita sendiri yang sa-suai dengan Perlembagaan kita bahawa Islam ugama rasmi negara kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh kerana saperti yang saya katakan tadi satu chara bagi membaiki taraf hidup ra'ayat negeri ini dengan melipat-gandakan sharikat² kerjasama, ada satu perkara yang terselit di-situ. Sharikat² kerjasama ini biar-lah mendapat sokongan dan dukongan dari ra'ayat, sebab ada sharikat² kerjasama yang telah terkeluar daripada dasar-nya. Mithal-nya, sharikat kerjasama pinjam-meminjam wang, pegawai² dalam sharikat itu melakukan kechurangan, ma'ana-nya di-ambil-nya wang sharikat itu di-gunakan untuk kepentingan diri-nya sendiri—churang-lah dia. Apabila perkara ini di-adukan kapada Kerajaan dan Kementerian, Kementerian tidak ambil tahu. Soal ini jangan di-bawa ka-Mahkamah, malu kita. Maka oleh kerana tidak tegas—ini bukan-kah tidak tegas nama-nya—"bila tiba di-mata di-pechangkan, bila tiba di-perut di-kempeskan. Tiba kapada anak orang di-tendang, tiba kapada anak sendiri di-dokong walau pun anak sendiri itu bersalah. Jadi dasar yang saperti ini patut kita ubah. Dan saya boleh tunjokkan sharikat yang berlaku kechurangan itu, bertanggung jawab-lah saya untuk menyatakannya. Kalau sa-lama-nya Kerajaan tidak bertindak untuk menchegeh

kechurangan di-dalam sharikat² kerjasama—kechurangan dan penipuan kepada anggota²-nya dalam sharikat² kerjasama, maka sa-lama itu-lah ra'ayat tidak akan mempunyai keperchayaan bahawa sharikat² kerjasama itu boleh menolong mereka. Oleh sebab itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta siapa yang bersalah di-tangkap, siapa yang berhutang, bayar, siapa yang memperhutangkan, terima, baharu-lah kita mempunyai satu dasar negara yang berdasarkan ke'adilan. Tetapi kalau sa-kira-nya, seperti yang telah saya katakan tadi, kerana "tiba di-mata di-pechangkan, bila tiba di-perut di-kempeskan", kerana orang awak, orang kita, orang saya tidak apa-lah, maka dasar Kerajaan tidak akan berjaya. Sebab itu jangan "pileh kaseh" dalam soal ini. Siapa yang bersalah di-tangkap walau pun anak sendiri, bawa ka-pengadilan, itu baharu-lah kita hendak menchiptakan satu negara yang adil, dan dengan keadilan itu baharu-lah datang kema'amoran.

Bila saya menengok Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan di-hadapan saya, saya teringat suatu peristiwa, peristiwa itu patut di-ambil perhatian oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan yang menjaga-nya, ia-itu suatu kejadian di-Pulau Pinang di-mana Ketua Menteri Pulau Pinang mengambil bahagian yang chergas bagi melepaskan kesalahan kepada satu pasokan yang telah membawa barang yang di-fikirkan oleh pihak kastam barang itu patut di-buka dan patut di-chukai. Tetapi manakala pihak kastam menjalankan kerja-nya menahan barang itu dan tidak boleh di-bawa keluar dari Pulau Pinang, maka orang yang mempunyai barang itu mengadu kepada Ketua Menteri Pulau Pinang, Ketua Menteri itu telah memberi perintah (order) kepada pihak kastam ini . . .

Mr. Speaker: Order. Order. Ini satu tuduhan yang berat kepada sa-orang pegawai yang ia tidak ada mempunyai peluang menjawab-nya dalam Majlis ini. Saya hanya-lah boleh membenarkan jika ada karinah² yang terang yang dalam bahasa Inggeris-nya di-katakan: "to substantiate the allegation," allegation ini very serious. Kalau tuan ma'ana-nya bersedia boleh mem-

beri karinah² itu kemudian, baharu saya benar, kalau tidak saya tidak benarkan, kerana itu satu tuduhan yang berat atas sa-orang yang tidak ada mempunyai peluang pada-nya hendak menjawab tuduhan itu.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masalah yang saya kemukakan ini ia-lah satu masalah yang timbul dengan rasa takut oleh Pegawai Kastam, maka kerana itu biar-lah saya tidak menyebutkan nama pegawai itu. Saya boleh bertanggung jawab dalam perkara ini, dan kalau Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan boleh bertindak saya sanggup menghadap Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan dalam pejabat-nya sa-telah saya mendapat keterangan yang lengkap kembali daripada orang yang menyebutkan, ia-itu sa-telah berlaku soal ini, maka mereka telah mengambil bahagian memerentahkan kepada Pegawai Kastam supaya dilepaskan. Kata Pegawai Kastam itu, sa-patut-nya kami mendapat perintah daripada Menteri Kewangan melepaskan barang² itu, sama ada di-chukai atau tidak. Tetapi ini-lah keadaan-nya: kami menjalankan undang² pun salah, tidak di-jalankan pun salah, kemudian kalau kami menjalankan kerja, kami di-tudoh kami "corruption" dan begitu bagini.

Jadi, bukan-lah apa² yang hendak saya sebutkan hanya minta di-sini supaya ke'adilan itu di-jalankan, ke'adilan di-dalam melaksanakan Undang² sebab Undang² yang kita chiptakan dalam Dewan ini dan sa-telah Undang² itu di-luluskan hendak-lah di-lakukan dengan ke'adilan supaya ia-nya tidak di-pandang tidak berharga di-sisi ra'ayat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu perkara yang saya ingin hendak menyentoh ia-itu soal pertahanan negeri ini. Besar-lah hati kita mendengar ucapan titah di-Raja di-atas hendak menanam tentera² di-dalam negeri kita ini. Dengan tambahan tentera² di-dalam negeri kita ini akan bertambah terjamin-lah keselamatan negara kita ini dari dalam dan dari luar negeri. Ada satu jenis tentera yang di-namakan Tentera Tempatan atau Tentera

Wataniah, ini telah banyak ada di-tanah ayer kita ini. Ini pun saya ingin menarek perhatian Menteri yang berkenaan kepada nasib pegawai² rendah Tentera Tempatan ini. Di-kawasan saya di-Machang dan banyak di-tempat² lain seperti di-Bachok, ada berlaku satu peristiwa, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-itu sa-orang pegawai rendah berpangkat Sergeant telah di-berhentikan kerja-nya dengan tidak di-berikan notice kapada-nya dan tidak pula di-berikan kapada-nya tambang pulang, chuma di-beritahu dengan talipon bahawa tuan tidak di-kehendaki lagi menjadi Tentera Tempatan di-tempat ini. Sudah dua orang-lah berlaku, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu daripada-nya orang Johore dan dia dudok di-Johore, satu lagi orang Negri Sembilan dia dudok di-Kuala Pilah.

Saya dukachita menyebutkan di-sini, ia-itu datang-lah mereka ini mengadu hal-nya kapada saya kata-nya: "Apakah hal nasib saya ini Enche', macham mana saya hendak balek, duit tidak ada, gaji kami sudah tiga empat bulan tidak di-bayar, akhir-nya di-katakan kami tidak di-kehendaki lagi bekerja di-Tentera Tempatan ini, apa-hal kami hendak balek, mana ada duit". Akhir-nya sa-kali di-jual-nya-lah sampai periok belanga sejak yang kechil sampai-lah yang besar. Lari di-tengah malam pukul dua di-dalam bulan puasa, besok-nya saya tengok dia tidak ada lagi, rumah-nya sudah di-tutup. Kerana apa ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang ini orang jauh, duit-nya tidak ada, gaji-nya tidak di-bayar, notice tidak di-beri, dia di-suroh balek ka-Johore. Jadi, kalau macham ini chara melayani Tentera² kita maka akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hati askar² kita itu kechiwa atau patah hati hendak masuk Tentera Tempatan ini.

Akhir sa-kali yang hendak saya chakap, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan tidak akan saya ulang²kan lagi ia-itu tentang perbahathan² yang berlaku dalam Dewan ini tadi ada tudoh menudoh begitu dan bagini. Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Ipoh, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Seberang Utara, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Ipoh mahu supaya lesen taxi di-semak balek

dan Ahli daripada Seberang Utara mahukan quota itu di-tengok balek, kedua²-nya sama. Ada juga tadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang menudoh ada orang lari daripada Indonesia. Perkara yang seperti ini pada pendapat saya boleh di-chakapkan di-luar Dewan ini sahaja tetapi oleh kerana perkara ini telah di-bangkitkan maka saya ingin mengingatkan terutama diri saya sendiri supaya sa-suatu yang boleh (*Ketawa*) menimbulkan rasa shak dan menambah perselisihan antara kita sama kita, harus-lah di-lenyapkan. Bukan-lah lari daripada Indonesia itu satu tuduhan yang tidak baik. Dia sa-kali sahaja lari tetapi Yang Berhormat daripada Johore Tenggara itu dua kali lari, pertama lari daripada Hadzral Maut, yang kedua lari daripada Indonesia (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta dia tarek balek.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Jadi, kalau itu yang kita hendak bahathkan maka tidak ada guna-nya-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Bagi menghormati ucapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong tentang ketenteraman politik di-dalam negeri ini maka saya yakin bahawa kita ini mempunyai fahaman gentleman di-dalam perjuangan dan berani memberi berani menerima dengan dasar yang ada ini maka berjalan-lah ketenteraman politik dalam negeri ini dengan selamat. Tetapi kalau kena sa-ketol sudah marah (*Ketawa*) tidak ada guna-nya Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta kapada Ahli Yang Berhormat yang hadir di-sini terutama diri saya sendiri (*Ketawa*) mengawal diri kita daripada sa-suatu yang mungkin akan menimbulkan salah sangka. Saya menyokong fahaman daripada Johore Tenggara yang mengatakan kalau ada orang² chuba hendak melenyapkan Fasal 153 dalam Perlembagaan maka tiap² orang Melayu tidak memilih siapa pun akan bersatu bagi menghadapi sa-suatu

Mr. Speaker: Order. Order. Perkara yang membangkitkan perasaan ada-lah

salah bagi peratoran Majlis. Jaga sedikit.

Enche' Othman bin Abdullah: Akan sampai-lah masa-nya orang ini sadar dengan diri-nya, dia tahu-lah di-mana dia dudok. Sebab itu saya minta-lah kepada orang yang membangkit²kan soal yang saperti ini selalu sadar bahawa kita manusia² yang mempunyai perasaan dan perasaan kita boleh pada suatu masa membakar jiwa kita sendiri. Terima kaseh.

Mr. Speaker: Jaga sedikit.

Enche' T. Mahima Singh (Port Dickson): Mr. Speaker, Sir, while supporting the motion brought in by the Member for Larut Selatan, I would like to make some observations on the Speech of His Majesty the King. On page 7, His Majesty said: "My Government will, therefore, continue its policy of ensuring the maintenance and development of safe, economic and efficient railway services, road transport, civil aviation and port facilities." In this connection, Sir, I would like to point out that Port Dickson has been a flourishing port, or was a flourishing port since 1887, and once again that area is humming with activity. Two distilleries are being put up, and there is a chance of another big factory being put up. I would appeal to the Minister to make a further study so that this port can be brought back to its ancient glory, by improving the port facilities and encouraging coastal trade by tongkangs and other native boats. In this connection, Sir, I would like to get an assurance from the Minister concerned that while these new distilleries and factories are going up, the public is assured that they will not in any way interfere by polluting the air or the atmosphere, because this is one of the most popular holiday resorts. We would like to see factories coming up; we would like to see industries to be brought into this area, but at the same time we would not like the facilities, and the name which this place enjoys as a holiday centre, to be diminished.

I would like to touch very briefly on another aspect. Mention has been made about the privileges for the

Malays, and I would like to touch very briefly on this, Sir. To my mind, there is no quarrel about that; it is in our Constitution. But I would like to give my own reason as to why it is necessary. As it is well known, Sir, during the Colonial days, or before Merdeka, for certain reasons best known to our masters, the country was developed on particular lines. When labour was wanted, labour was brought from Madras or Central India; when clerks were wanted, they were brought from Ceylon; and when policemen and others were wanted, they were brought from Northern India. There were the teeming thousands who came from China, and through their initiative and hard work they took charge of the business of this country. The Malay masses were left in their kampongs with very little attention being paid to them. Malay schools were built and catered for students only up to Standard Five so that they could produce good gardeners, drivers and, perhaps, peons. A college was put up in Kuala Kangsar for the upper strata of the Malays, so that they would be quiet and, perhaps, produced a few Malay Officers. The bulk of the Malay masses was left as they were, nothing was done for them. On achieving Merdeka, we felt that it was the duty of everyone to see that these neglected folks were given a fair deal. I strongly support that part of the Constitution that sets out the Malay rights for the Malays.

While speaking on this point, Sir, I would like to make one small observation regarding a certain section of Malaysians. In this connection, Sir, I would like to refer to Malaysians of North Indian descent. As the country knows, they have produced many efficient police officers and men in the rank and file. I have been told by several of my friends—in fact several complaints have been received by me—that one legacy of the Colonial policy still hangs very heavily over their heads. As I mentioned just now, in those days policemen were brought over from Northern India and their physical structure was different from the local population. The recruiting

police officers of those days stipulated that the height that qualified such persons to join the Police should be different from the height of the local population. As time went on, Sir, these Malaysians of North Indian descent, having been brought up under local conditions and local food, have their stature reduced, that is, their stature has come down. (*Laughter*). By some mistake or other the ruling as regards height still stands, so much so that as a result of this the Police Force is missing a large number of young men who could be very useful to the country, just because they are no more as tall as their grandfathers used to be. (*Laughter*). I would appeal very strongly, Sir, to the Minister concerned that this unfair ruling be withdrawn; after all, height is not the only way of judging the fitness of a young man—there are other qualifications. I am told, Sir, that there was the case of a certain young man who qualified in every way but who was pushed aside just because he was not as tall as his grandfather.

Reference has been made to Transport and, in this connection, I would like to make one suggestion. We are now endeavouring to encourage tourist trade in this country. I would like to see Malaysians see Malaya. I would also like Malaysians to know their country and, as such, I would like to propose certain privileges. I would not propose any privileges to be taken away from anybody. Sir, Railway employees with their families are allowed four free trips every year on the railway. I have no quarrel on that though the same facility is not given to everybody in other government departments. I would strongly suggest that the same privilege, in a slightly lesser degree, be granted to all Government servants and their families at a quarter rate, and perhaps twice a year, so that these Government servants who are not in the Railway Department can also travel round the country and see what Malaya is like. I am not suggesting a free trip, but a trip at a quarter rate twice a year. Thank you.

Sitting suspended at 1 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 4.30 p.m.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

Address of Thanks

Debate resumed.

Enche' Too Joon Hing (Telok Anson): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to associate myself with the motion moved by the Honourable Member for Larut Selatan which offers our humble thanks for His Majesty's Gracious Speech with which this session of Parliament is being opened. Sir, in all countries, which practise parliamentary democracy, the right of the minority and the Opposition to hold different views and to express their opinions is an established and well recognised universal fact.

Sir, in expressing our thanks to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong for His Gracious Speech, it does not mean that we hold no different views on the Government's policies mentioned in His Majesty's Speech. Therefore, Sir, we, who are sitting on this side of the bench, would be failing in our duty as Members of the Opposition if we do not speak up on behalf of the electorate, when we find that in our opinion that such Government policies need criticisms or amendments. It is only with such criticisms and suggestions in the form of parliamentary debates that our people will be able to enjoy and receive the fullest benefit of the Government—and it is with this intention that I wish to make a few comments on the policies contained in His Majesty's Speech.

Sir, in the Gracious Speech, His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, referring to the Second Five-Year Plan, mentioned that "a major problem encountered in implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan is the limitation imposed by shortages of technical and managerial capacity in the country." Then he further said that to supplement the technical capacity of the

public sector increasing use would be made of consulting engineers, architects, surveyors, etc., both local and from overseas. Sir, referring to the use of public consulting engineers, architects, surveyors, etc., I would like to bring to the notice of this House an unsatisfactory method and discouraging attitude of the Government towards the selection and using of local engineers, etc.

Sir, for a young nation such as ours, which is in the midst of national gigantic development, we must try to rely on our own people as much as possible, and to rely on our own people we must give our local qualified engineers, architects, etc., as much opportunity as possible to show their skill and ability, thereby providing them also the opportunity to gain experience and knowledge from their assignments and projects. There is a common saying which says, "The surgeon acquires his skill with each operation and the engineer his 'know-how' with each experience of practical design."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with our Second Five-Year Plan in rapid progress, it is quite obvious that there is bound to be a shortage of engineers, architects, etc., as mentioned in His Majesty's Speech. It is indeed a wise and sound move by the Government to seek the services of public consulting engineers, architects, and so forth, in order to cope with the heavy programme of national development. But in this respect I regret to say that most of our national projects are given to foreign firms, firms opened by foreign engineers, while our local engineers are hopelessly neglected and ignored. Our local consultants are registered with the various Departments of the Government, but their existence is conveniently ignored. When a representative from an overseas firm comes along and calls on the right Department, out he goes with a big project under his arm—and this seems to be the usual practice. Sir, today, one can notice a distinct rapid growth of foreign firms of consultants in our country. In bringing forth this matter to the notice of this House, I am not trying to run down the foreign firms. We have always talked of being self independent.

How can we achieve self independence, unless we are willing to help and encourage our own local engineers. It may well be argued that our local engineers may not have the necessary qualifications for such big projects, but this is an eyewash to suppress our own local engineers, and unless the Government will provide the means and facilities to encourage our local engineers the development in this field of the profession may well be held back for a long time. The obvious result will be retrogressive instead of progressive in this essential field of development. Sir, this is indeed frustrating to the extreme. In the colonial days we could hardly find an engineer among our own Malayan people, but today we have plenty of them all over the country and yet we are not encouraging them to the fullest extent. If this state of affairs continues, we may one day find this field of the profession well in the hands of foreign control. Therefore, I sincerely hope that Government will take immediate steps to remedy this unsatisfactory situation.

Sir, now I come to my next point. I wish to touch on the land distribution scheme under the Ministry of Rural Development, on page 21 of the Appendix, where it says that the Government with the co-operation and assistance of the Governments of the States has intensified the provision of land to those of our citizens who have no land, as well as to those who have insufficient land to raise their standard of living. Sir, I am indeed happy to find in this Appendix that the Federation Government and the State Governments are drafting legislation for the uniformity of land laws in order to speed up the matter connected with land development. Sir, since the rural development scheme is on a nationwide basis, it should distribute land to the landless without distinction or discrimination on any section of the people. Sir, we often hear from the public and from members in this House that there is discrimination in the Government land distribution scheme. Certain sections of the people are practically neglected in the Government land distribution scheme. Yester-

day the Member for Larut Utara mentioned that in Kinta over 1,300 acres of land were distributed to the non-Malays, and yet the Member for Ipoh was criticising that no land was being given to non-Malays. It may well be so in Kinta, that land may be distributed to non-Malays, but in my constituency, Telok Anson, Sir, thousands of citizens in rural areas are still provided with no land under the present Government land distribution scheme. They are still occupying State land of 3 to 5 acres, which they have been occupying under T.O.L. for the last 10 or 15 years. In fact, they have made application to the District Office, but to-date they have received no assistance whatsoever, or any notice saying that their applications will be considered. Sir, during the last Budget meeting I suggested to the Minister to include this land into the land distribution scheme, so that these people can be given this land on which they occupy.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I understand that Members of Parliament and State Assembly are invited to serve on the rural development boards. If this is true, I must inform the Minister that since my return as the elected member for the Telok Anson Constituency last year I have not received any invitation to serve as a member on any of the rural development boards in my constituency. I mention this not because of anything, but I feel it is my duty to contribute my share to the developments in my constituency.

Sir, under the Federal Land Development Authority, on page 22 of the Appendix, it is very satisfactory to see that 36 schemes have been launched with a total of 134,326 acres which provided land for 12,275 settlers, and also that the State Governments have opened up 170 subsidised alienation schemes with an area of 55,280 acres last year and this year 127,362 acres will be opened up under 250-odd schemes. In view of the much criticised discrimination in the land schemes, it would certainly help to clear the mind of the people if the Government can let this House know out of the 12,275

settlers how many are non-Malayan and how many are Malays.

My next point is transport. My friend the Honourable Member for Ipoh pointed out to the Minister of Transport from the Appendix that well over 52 per cent of taxi cabs and hackney carriages are now owned by Malays and that under the present Constitution the right should be reviewed. The Honourable Minister of Transport, however, replied that although the overall figure is 52 per cent in certain States the figure is still under 48 per cent. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in Telok Anson today there are about 30 taxi cabs, out of which six are owned by non-Malays while the rest are owned by the Malays. During the last December and some time in January this year the Road Transport Department announced that two new licences would be issued and members of the public were invited to apply. However, when applications were considered, both these new licences were given to Malays again. Sir, this is very unsatisfactory. I know in Telok Anson a man who holds a taxi driver licence and owns a taxi driving licence for more than 15 years and yet he has not got a taxi. He applied, but he was not given. Is this not discrimination and abuse of the privilege? Therefore may I appeal to the Minister to take step to remedy such occurrence, so that the non-Malays may get a fair share of the transport business and I hope the Minister will look into this and give a proper allocation.

Coming to social welfare, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have found that whenever appeals are made to the Social Welfare Department for reliefs the Board usually takes a very, very long time to come to any decision. Sir, take, for instance, the fire which destroyed 80 houses in Immigration Road, Telok Anson, and put 818 fire victims homeless on the 12th of January this year. Up to the moment when I left Telok Anson to attend this Parliament meeting, the Board has only given \$10,000 for all those 818 victims. It is well over three months now and yet the Social Welfare Board has not been able

to make a final decision as to what amount of relief should be given to the victims. Sir, in a relief of such nature where the victims have lost everything, immediate, urgent and prompt assistance of cash and kind can only give relief to the unfortunate victims. Surely it does not take over three months for the Board to come to any decision? Sir, imagine the plight of the 818 fire victims—destitutes—with only \$10,000 which will work out around \$12.50 per head to assist them in three months. What sort of relief is this? What kind of welfare you call it? Anyone would have been starved to death with this money in three months. Sir, it was very fortunate that the public came forward with their generous support in cash and kind. Up till now, I understand, a sum of over \$60,000 has been collected to help these fire victims. I appeal to the Minister to look into this without further delay and send them relief immediately.

Sir, there had been fire relief before elsewhere and the Board should have followed its past actions and sent them the necessary relief. I have here two copies of the *Siaran Akhbar* dated 14th and 17th February this year. The issue of 14th February mentioned that the Welfare Board allotted \$7,000 to the Kuala Lumpur fire victims. The number of victims is 177 and it worked out to be \$39.54 per head. On the 14th of February, there was another fire—in Malacca, I think—where 255 victims were involved. The Welfare Board sent them \$14,000 which worked out at \$54.90 per head. Sir, I appeal to the Minister to speed up his decision and send relief to these people without further delay.

Sir, speaking about the fire at Teluk Anson, that fire could have been checked and half of the property could have been saved. But unfortunately the firemen were not well trained. They did not even know where were the fire hydrants. Had it not been for the bravery of one of the Town Councillors—his name is Ong Hock Chye—the fire engine would have been destroyed along with the fire. Sir, this is indeed a very sad thing to find that

the fire services in our country in such a state.

Next, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to say a few words on justice. Is there justice shown to all parties and to all people? Sir, my past association with the Alliance has given me great apprehension on this matter. Sir, when Mr. Douglas Lee stood on the Alliance ticket to contest the Selangor State elections in June, 1959, he had a friend who came from Hong Kong on a Visit Entry Permit, and if I remember his name rightly, he was called Mr. Loo Kooi. During the election campaign of Mr. Douglas Lee, he helped in his election campaign and rendered excellent services by writing pamphlets and election speeches and eventually Mr. Lee won his election. Everything went on well for Mr. Loo Kooi. Sir, two months later, when the Alliance crisis happened, the same gentleman rendered the same kind of assistance to Mr. Robert Ho, who resigned from the MCA, and I think he stood against the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry in the Kuala Lumpur Parliamentary elections. Within two weeks, Sir, he was requested to leave Kuala Lumpur and go back to Hong Kong. I know Mr. Loo Kooi is not a Federal Citizen, but the point I am trying to point out is that Mr. Loo Kooi, when he helped the Alliance, there was no action, but when he helped Opposition, action was straightaway taken. Is this justice? Another instance of a similar nature happened to Mr. Lee Tian Boh. Mr. Lee Tian Boh was the Publicity Chairman of the MCA in Penang since, I think, 1955 or 1956 and all these years he has assisted in all the election campaigns of the Alliance right up to 1959. But when the crisis came, he resigned from the MCA. He tried to help the Independents. On the eve of his departure to Sitiawan to help me in my election campaign, he was detained (*Laughter*), and that his detention was that he was mixed up with secret societies. Sir, Mr. Lee Tian Boh, while he was with the MCA, there was no mention of his mixing up with secret societies, but the moment he resigned and tried to help the Opposition, secret societies at once

turned up. Sir, what kind of justice is this?

Again, Sir, I would like to bring out this matter. When I was in New York attending the United Nations Conference, I was charged by the Honourable the Prime Minister himself for absence from a lunch party given by the Malayan delegation to entertain friends of the Commonwealth countries. I was accused by the Honourable Prime Minister himself that instead of attending the lunch, I went to attend a Double Ten celebration at the Chinese Embassy in Washington. Now, Sir, are all these accusations concerning the date, the time, the place and the host correct? Are all these facts as stated correct? Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have got here an invitation card, a souvenir programme and also a list containing the names of the guests invited to the supposed party.

Mr. Speaker: I am wondering how this is relevant to the motion. You seem to defend yourself on the allegation. That has nothing to do with this motion. I do not mind if you make it as short as possible, but don't dwell too long on that.

Enche' Too Joon Hing: Sir, I am bringing this up just to show that as Prime Minister he should be a bit more sure . . .

Mr. Speaker: All right. Make it as short as possible, because you promised me that you would not take more than half an hour.

Enche' Too Joon Hing: Sir, I still have the invitation card here. It was issued by the Honourable Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York City, and the Most Reverend Paul Yu Pin and the American-Sino Amity, and it says here: "Cordially invite you to attend the Annual Dinner to commemorate the 46th Anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China 'Double Ten' on Wednesday the 9th October at 7 o'clock at The Plaza Hotel, Fifth Avenue, Central Park South, New York City".

Sir, here in the programme, there was a proclamation by the Mayor of

New York, and I would like to read it out. It says:

"The traditional friendship between the American and the Chinese peoples has its root in their intense love of freedom and their high respect for the dignity of man and his God given inalienable rights. And the Chinese people in the United States of America, and especially the Chinese in the City of New York, have made notable contribution to the rapid growth of the Nation and City." Then it went on to say—

"The people of the United States, especially the freedom-loving people of this great City of New York, extend to the suffering people of China its admiration and unfailing support for their struggle against atrocities and tyranny of Communism.

And in behalf of all right humanity now, therefore, I, Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York City, do hereby proclaim the 9th October, 1957, to be set aside as American-Chinese Friendship Day."

So, the dinner was given because of that.

Sir, who were the people who attended? There were Foreign Ministers, there were Ambassadors, the Heads of Delegations to the United Nations, and I would like to mention one or two names—H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithayankon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Thailand; H.E. Mr. Ako Adjei, Minister of Justice, Ghana; H.E. Senor Aquilino Boyd, Foreign Minister, Panama; H.E. Dr. Charles Malek, Foreign Minister, Lebanon; and a lot of others. The people and the guests at the dinner party were Ministers of other countries, Ambassadors and public Heads. They were not members of the delegation of a country which this country does not recognise. It is true that the function came on the eve of the Double-Ten, but the occasion had a different significance—the significance of the American-Chinese friendship as stated in the proclamation by the Mayor of New York.

Sir, to charge me for absence from lunch, when I was not informed, is wrong, and to accuse me of mixing with members of an unfriendly nation, when it is not true, is most unjust. Therefore, Sir, I hope that the Honourable the Prime Minister will not, in future, use untrue and misleading facts to label Members of the

Opposition to discredit them in the eyes of the public.

Now, Sir, I would like to touch on Malaysia, and this is the first time that I am expressing my views on this much publicised subject. I must first of all make clear my stand on this very important issue. Sir, I am all for the idea of merger and Greater Malaysia, but I must say that the approach on this important issue is rather sudden and hasty. Sir, I remember well in 1958, when the idea of merger with Singapore was first included as one of the aims and objects in the MCA new constitution, it was strongly criticised and used as one of the grounds on which the present Minister of Finance and the Minister of Health and Social Welfare opposed the draft of the new constitution. They gave the reason that UMNO would never accept the idea of merger. Yet today not only the idea of merger with Singapore but the plan of Greater Malaysia has been put forward by the Honourable the Prime Minister and accepted in this House. Here, Sir, I refer to those who have resigned from the MCA—those who put up the draft MCA constitution, those who had the foresight of the importance of merger with Singapore. They were regarded with great suspicion on this idea by the very people who now want it. However, today, we are at least happy that our idea of merger with Singapore has been accepted, but not to the extent of using it as a warning to the people across the Causeway.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we learn from the local press that So-and-so in the Borneo territories support Malaysia, that such and such a party gives 100 per cent support to Malaysia, but we seldom read of somebody opposing it, except those from Singapore. We heard that the SUPP opposed it too. Sir, in order to know the true picture of the whole situation in the Borneo territories, I visited North Borneo, and to my great surprise I found that the majority of the people in these territories opposed the concept of Malaysia.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have brought back copies of the *Borneo Times* and

from these we can get a very good idea of the feeling of the people of the Borneo territories in respect of the idea of Malaysia. With your permission, Sir, I would like to read a few extracts to show the sentiment or feeling of the people down there. I have got here the *Borneo Times* dated the 5th April, 1962: it says—"Legislative Member told Cobbold Commission"—this is the Honourable Mr. Michael Wong—"he does not support Malaysia." Then again the *Borneo Times* of the 4th April, says, "Malaysia, a wild ambition, says ex-Government officer." On the same date regarding interviews with the Commission, the *Borneo Times* says, "Eight parties interviewed the Commission, only three parties supported it, the rest opposed Malaysia." Again, in the *Borneo Times* dated the 6th April, it is stated, "Muruts support Pasok Momogun stand. We want self-government first."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on this issue, ten parties interviewed the Commission, and out of ten parties only three parties supported Malaysia, whereas the rest opposed it. Then again on the 7th April, *Borneo Times* says that Orang Kaya Kaya Sundang told the Commission that he opposed Malaysia very very strongly because, he alleged, intimidation had taken place in the interior residency, with threats of trouble for those who do not agree with Malaysia. From being entirely in favour, he is now against it because of intimidation which he has alleged is being used by political parties. "If we join Malaysia, it will be like going from one master to another"—that is what he says.

Here is another one. On the 9th April "Mr. O. K. K. Sedomon tells Cobbold Commission party members 58,212"—"This party support Pasok Momogun views on Malaysia."—that is they want self-government first. This is what he says—he does not want Malaysia.

Further, Sir, I have got here again—this is the Tawau North Borneo Chinese Association rejected Malaysia—four reasons why they rejected it; the reasons are education, special rights,

religion and citizenship rights, which they rejected.

Sir, all these are sentiments expressed. When I was there, I had the opportunity to read these very carefully

Mr. Speaker: You have exceeded your time. I must give time for the Ministers to reply.

Enche' Too Joon Hing: Another ten minutes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: I give you another ten minutes.

Enche' Too Joon Hing: Sir, Honourable Members can see the feeling of the people of the Borneo territories here in regard to Malaysia. It amounts to a show of lack of confidence; and confidence is the pillar and backbone of any Government. Confucius has said that without confidence no Government can stand at all.

Now, Sir, let us look at the confidence of the people of this country in the Alliance. Way back in 1953 the confidence of the people in the Alliance was practically 100 per cent which had been proved in the 1955 election when the Alliance won 51 out of 52 seats and became the first elected Government of this country. Then in 1956 the confidence of the people began to waver with the education issue on the medium of examination for the L.C.E. and National School Certificate. In that same year when the Reid Constitutional Commission came here to draft our Constitution, the confidence of the people declined sharply over the issue of *jus soli* and the right of citizenship. In 1959, the Alliance crisis greatly affected the fears of the people over the question of the safeguard of the Constitution. Hence they were unable to repeat the 1955 victory results. Sir, in 1960 with the enforcement of the Rahman Talib Education Policy, and, finally, in spite of the mandate which returned the Alliance into power in 1959 which gave them no power to amend the Constitution, the Alliance amended the Constitution in January this year. This move has now created a sense of fear and insecurity among the people of this country of their

rights and interests. Sir, I have shown to this House earlier the feeling of the people of North Borneo. Therefore, I would strongly suggest to the Honourable Prime Minister and his Government to go slow in their approach of Malaysia. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we must always bear in mind that the Borneo territories are now undergoing a change which we ourselves had undergone between 1955 and 1957—that is when we achieved independence by peaceful means. We ourselves were very concerned over the Constitution of our country, and we were not prepared to accept any ready-made Constitution for our country and we had therefore requested an independent Commission to come here and draft our Constitution basing on the views and wishes of the people. Sir, the people of the North Borneo territories have objected to the plan of Malaysia, if I may say so, on the important issues of Constitution, such as, citizenship, equal rights, education and religion. These are their views and true feelings and unless we are able to win their confidence, Malaysia might turn out to be a source of trouble in the future. Therefore, I appeal to the Honourable Prime Minister to consider the question of Malaysia carefully and not to rush with haste much against the wishes and goodwill of the people in these territories.

The Minister of Transport (Dato' Sardon bin Haji Jubir): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangkit menyokong chadangan yang di-bawa oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu dan saya suka hendak menjawab apa juga yang di-majukan dalam segi policy oleh pihak Yang Berhormat Wakil dari Ipoh dan Seremban Timor dan lain² lagi. Saya suka terangkan tentang kekeliruan berkenaan dengan peratus yang di-bagi dalam Annexure atau pun kembaran titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong berkenaan dengan teks² yang di-punyai orang Melayu. Yang s-benar-nya, di-dalam Persekutuan ini telah di-keluarkan 3,817 buah teks yang mana orang Melayu mempunyai 1,738 buah; mengikut peratus semuanya seluroh Tanah Melayu 45.54,

tetapi target semua-nya Tanah Melayu 49.8. Bagi pengetahuan Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh, Negeri Perak sudah chukup Melayu ia-itu Perak 4,013. Target Melayu 39.7. Jadi, sudah lebeh. Pemohon teksi dalam Negeri Perak kira-nya ada kosong terbuka kapada semua bangsa. Di-dalam Negeri Perak ada 618 buah teksi, tetapi orang Melayu chuma 248 sahaja; tolong ambil sadikit ingatan. Telok Anson banyak orang Melayu tidak dapat teksi, tetapi itu dalam Negeri Perak.

Negeri Melaka juga sudah penoh, apabila ada kosong di-mana² terbuka kapada semua bangsa. Negeri Sembilan bagitu juga dan juga di-Pulau Pinang. Dalam 11 buah negeri dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu 4 buah negeri sudah penoh. Walau pun bagitu orang Melayu juga di-beri peluang memohon. Saya suka meminta Yang Berhormat sa-bagai sa-orang peguam, saya juga sa-orang peguam, tetapi saya tidak practice, chuba tengok 87 bab 118 (5) dalam Road Traffic Ordinance:

"Subject to the provisions of sub-sections (2), (3) and (4) of this section the Licensing Board in exercising its discretion under this section shall give preference to an application from Malay or a company a preponderant part or if there is no such company suitable a substantial part of whose capital is owned by Malays over any other application:

Provided that this sub-section shall cease to have effect—"

Ini yang di-kehendaki oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh sudah saya bachakan kapada-nya di-luar tadi. Sekarang saya bachakan lagi:

(i) in respect of the grant of licence authorising the use of a taxi cab or hire car in any State, if the Minister shall by notice published in the *Gazette* certify that in his opinion, having regard to—

(a) the number of taxi cabs and hire cars in respect of which such licences have been issued to Malays and to companies a substantial part of whose capital is owned by Malays; and

(b) the proportion of the Malay population to the total population of such State,

the extent of Malay participation in the operation of taxi cabs and hire cars in each State is satisfactory."

Jadi, saya telah terangkan tadi dan saya harap tidak keliru lagi atas dasar Kerajaan Perikatan. Saya sa-bagai Menteri yang menjalankan telah me-

ngator kehendak Perlembagaan dan Undang² yang telah di-luluskan di-dalam Rumah Ini.

Kedua-nya, berkenaan dengan tuduhan Yang Berhormat dari Seremban Timor, ia tidak ada di-sini, konon-nya saya paksa company² Bus memberi 10 peratus daripada share-nya kapada orang Melayu dan sa-sudah itu mesti jual dengan harga \$1.00, walau pun company itu untong; ini semua-nya tidak betul. Saya dengan sa-terang²-nya menentang atas tuduhan² ini. Sa-benar-nya Kementerian saya berhubung rapat dengan pehak² company bus, lori dan siapa jua kerana policy Kerajaan atau dasar Kerajaan memberi peluang kapada orang² Melayu mengambil bahagian di-dalam pengangkutan. Pengangkutan dalam Tanah Melayu ini sa-kurang²-nya 90 peratus ia-lah dalam perniagaan bus dan lori yang mana di-punyai oleh Sharikat² orang yang bukan Melayu. Oleh sebab itu saya sa-bagai Menteri menyeru—I appeal—I don't force; I appeal, I don't force. Saya memohon, saya minta timbangkan. Ini Kerajaan punya policy, tidak ada fasal saya hendak paksa, saya minta timbangkan berapa patut di-persetujukan, tolong-lah, tetapi jangan nama sahaja. Oleh itu saya harap-lah Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Seremban Timor, dia tidak ada di-sini, tetapi saya harap dia membacha surat khabar. Jadi, saya chukup-lah bertimbang rasa. Maka saya chukup-lah beri pertimbangan dan saya suka berchakap kapada pehak PPP kalau PPP betul² hendak membela orang yang patut di-bela, bela-lah orang Melayu dalam perniagaan pengangkutan yang jauh ka-belakang. Ini baharu dua peratus lebeh sadikit dalam perniagaan taxi, oh you must amend! Ta' payah you must amend, I have already done it—saya sudah pun jalankan, tetapi jangan lupa . . .

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: On a point of clarification.

Dato' Sardon bin Haji Jubir: I have no time please (*Ketawa*). Maka saya harap-lah tolong-lah sadikit ia jangan lupa 90 peratus di-tangan orang bukan Melayu. Patut ia chakap sadikit ia tolong pada Menteri yang hendak

menolong dalam pengangkutan ini. Saya suka-lah beri akuan di-sini bahawa sa-lagi Kerajaan Perikatan menjalankan pemerintahan, kita tidak main propaganda, apa yang kita janji kita tunaikan, bukan mahu minta undi, bukan mahu chakap . . .

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: On a point of order.

Dato' Sardon bin Haji Jubir: What order please?

Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Order 36 says that a Speaker shall address the Chair. I do not know why the Honourable Member is looking at me (*Laughter*).

Mr. Speaker: Kalau hendak chakap sabar-lah dahulu pandang saya. (*Ketawa*).

Dato' Sardon bin Haji Jubir: Ia menengok sa-belah saya dahulu (*Ketawa*). Minta ma'af, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, barangkali ia takut tengok mata saya. Maka saya harap-lah pehak² parti pembangkang apabila buka mulut tolong-lah sedikit timbang. Kita ini bukan-lah hendak lawan fasal itu fasal ini, tetapi hendakkan sama rata dalam pengangkutan. Saya ucapkan terima kaseh kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat wakil Tanjong tetapi saya minta ia chuba bacha kertas directive saya No. 4. Di-mana² saya pergi saya telah menggalakkan orang Melayu bersharikat kerjasama di-dalam soal² bas dan lain²-nya. Saya sudah pergi ka-Tanjong malang-nya ia ta' datang dengan saya berchakap, isnha' Allah kalau saya pergi sana lagi saya akan menyeru taxi² Melayu dan yang bukan Melayu supaya bersharikat, supaya dapat di-baiki keadaan perniagaan-nya dan di-tetapkan modal-nya, di-mana yang ada company² bas dan lori hendak-lah buka 10 peratus modal orang Melayu dalam co-operatives. Ini bukan belum di-buat, tetapi saya harap-lah pehak Socialist Front dapat menasihatkan anak buahnya yang ada dalam parti-nya supaya menyokong dan menerima seruan saya ini yang hendak di-jadikan bersharikat itu.

Saya fikir ta' payah-lah saya berchakap berkenaan yang lain kechuali

berkenaan dengan keretapi. Saya ambil peluang berchakap di-Rumah ini sunggoh pun ta' ada sa-orang pun berchakap berkenaan dengan kemajuan keretapi, tetapi dua tiga bulan ini kita telah mendengar banyak tentang kemajuan keretapi. Sa-lain daripada itu berkenaan dengan yang di-katakan ada daging babi yang ternampak di-tarok dalam refrigerator bagitu bagini, saya berasa dukachita kalau ada berlaku bagitu tolong-lah berhubung terus kapada guard yang ada di-keretapi atau pun Station Master, atau pun Pengurus Besar supaya kita akan selideki yang benda ini ta' akan terjadi lagi. Tetapi walau pun bagitu, saya mengaku yang saya telah berhubung dengan Pengurus Besar supaya di-uruskan perkara ini tidak akan terjadi lagi, apa juga yang telah terjadi yang ternampak, kalau betul, kerana dalam refrigerator kalau tengok dari jauh memang nampak semua-nya itu merah, jadi daging babi atau daging apa sa-kali pun kalau dari jauh memang nampak merah.

Saya minta-lah pada masa hadapan kerjasama dari Ahli² Yang Berhormat supaya jangan tunggu waktu hendak bermeshuarat Parlimen ini sahaja. Saya tidak-lah memanjang waktu hanya saya ucapkan terima kaseh kepada mereka yang telah berchakap menyokong chara dasar Kementerian saya dan saya harap pada masa hadapan kita akan dapat buktikan bagaimana dasar Kerajaan Perikatan dalam pengangkutan.

Terima kaseh.

Enche' Ahmad Boestamam: Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Mr. Speaker: Saya pagi tadi saya telah beri amaran, jadi pada sa-belah petang saya khaskan pada pehak Kerajaan menjawab atas apa yang di-bahathkan dalam usul ini. Sunggoh pun di-beri kapada pehak sa-orang sana tetapi saya hendak mendapat adil, sebab saya sudah benarkan sa-orang Menteri berchakap sa-belah pagi, saya benarkan sa-orang Ahli berchakap. Kerana saya mesti mengambil undi pada pukul 6.30. Saya hanya-lah benarkan berchakap masa yang pendek sebab ramai pehak Kerajaan boleh jawab dan itu pun saya ta' fikir 6.30 boleh di-jawab habis.

Enche' Ahmad Boestamam: Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sudah bangun tadi hendak berchakap ta' dapat.

Mr. Speaker: Bukan tuan sahaja tetapi ramai juga yang lain.

Enche' Ahmad Boestamam: Tetapi, kalau 15 minit ta' chukop, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Saya ada 14 perkara.

The Prime Minister: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jikalau Ahli Yang Berhormat itu nampak-nya mustahak sangat hendak berchakap, kalau ada benda yang baharu yang belum lagi di-keluarkan, barangkali boleh saya menchadangkan sa-bagaimana yang di-sebutkan di-sini, tetapi jikalau apa yang hendak di-chakapkan itu ia-lah yang juga di-sebutkan dahulu itu, saya ingat chuma panjangkan masa, kerana kita telah bermeshuarat selama 3 hari. Sakira-nya hendak keluaran chakap juga yang tiada hendak tegah.

Mr. Speaker: Will you move the motion?

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move,

That notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 12 (1) the House shall not adjourn this day until after the completion of the proceedings in respect of the motion to thank His Majesty for the Speech opening the present session of Parliament.

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: 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 not adjourn this day until after the completion of the proceedings in respect of the motion to thank His Majesty for the Speech opening the present session of Parliament.

Enche' Ahmad Boestamam: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bahagian besar dalam ucapan atau Titah di-Raja ini ada-lah menyentuh soal ranchangan lima tahun pembangunan ekonomi dan masharakat, boleh di-katakan sa-paroh dari Titah di-Raja ini mengandongi hal² masharakat. Dalam ucapan yang begitu panjang Titah di-Raja ini menyebutkan dua kali berkenaan dengan Kerajaan ini akan memberi bantuan dan galakan kepada perusahaan per-

saorangan. Dua bahagian daripada Titah di-Raja mengandongi hal yang demikian itu, tetapi tidak ada satu bahagian pun dalam titah di-raja ini menyebutkan hendak membantu dan menggalakkan sharikat² bekerjasama. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita melihat Titah di-Raja pada tahun yang lalu dan dalam Titah² di-Raja yang terdahulu ada menyebutkan berkenaan dengan hendak memajukan sharikat² bekerjasama maka tidak ada-nya sebutan dalam Titah di-Raja ini sunggoh menghairankan dan mendukachitakan, dan dari sini dapat kita mengatakan bahawa kalau tidak kerana apa², tidakkan tempua bersarang rendah.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam mengemukakan ucapan terima kaseh terhadap titah di-raja ini, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Larut Selatan ulang-berulang mengatakan bahawa tujuan Kerajaan Perikatan ia-lah hendak melahirkan satu democracy, property-owning democracy.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini sa-suai benar-lah dengan apa yang terchatet dalam Titah di-Raja ini. Melahirkan satu demokrasi dalam mana sa-tiap ra'ayat mempunyai harta. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita pernah mendengar kata² "war-monger" dan lain², sekarang di-kalangan kita ada pula "phrase-monger" berkenaan dengan "property-owning democracy". Tuan Yang di-Pertua, memang kita tidak menafikan bahawa sa-tiap ra'ayat harus mempunyai harta (property owning), tetapi soal-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah bahawa kita tentu sa-kali tidak mengingini dan tidak mahu melihat chara ra'ayat mempunyai harta ini begitu jauh beza-nya. Empat lima orang mempunyai harta berjuta, tetapi berjuta orang mempunyai satu sen property sahaja. Berkenaan property owning yang demikian ini harus kita kaji. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada orang mengatakan bahawa dengan masok-nya modal asing ka-dalam negeri kita ini, maka ini-lah tanda dan bukti bahawa dalam negeri ini ada "political stability". Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita menimbang baik² kenapa dan apa sebab-nya modal asing berebut² datang ka-negeri ini, berebut² meminta "pioneer status". Tidak lain dan tidak bukan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

ia-lah kerana "pioneer status" memberikan kepada mereka itu hak bebas daripada cukai untuk 5 tahun lama-nya. Tetapi, saya ingin menarek perhatian kepada beberapa soal yang sekarang mula timbul ia-itu pertentangan di antara modal nasional dengan modal yang datang dari luar negeri. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-samping kita meminta supaya modal luar negeri itu datang ka-negeri ini dan meminta supaya mereka bekerjasama dengan modal dalam negeri ini membuka perusahaan baharu dan di-beri kepada mereka itu "pioneer status", maka tugas Kerajaan-lah supaya betul² menilek memberikan "pioneer status" ini, bukan sa-bagaimana memberi teket main ronggeng atau dansa umpama-nya. Main beri saja, kemudian kita di-tipu-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-buah shariat susu di-Petaling Jaya mendapat "pioneer status", kerana salah sa-orang pemodal nasional mengusahakan mendapat "pioneer status" itu, sa-hingga orang itu di-jadikan Managing Director. Sa-sudah "pioneer status" di-dapati, mereka mengadakan Meshuarat Director, maka Managing Director ini ditendang keluar, sekarang tidak ada lagi berkuasa di-situ. Apa sudah jadi? Suatu lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan memberikan "pioneer status" bebas daripada cukai ini, kita tentu mengharapkan perusahaan ini mengeluarkan barang²-nya dengan harga yang murah, tetapi kalau susu yang di-keluarkan dalam beatrice food itu harganya lebeh mahal daripada harga barang yang di-impot dari luar negeri, maka tentu-lah membazir sahaja kita memberi "pioneer status" kepada perusahaan yang demikian itu. Suatu lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana keghairahan kita, kerana kesungguhan kita hendak memajukan perusahaan dalam negeri kita ini, kita membiarkan perusahaan² asing menjual share kepada ra'ayat negeri ini. Perusahaan ini menjualkan share dan kita mengatakan: Oh! ini political stability dalam negeri kita ini, tetapi perusahaan² asing itu membahagikan saham mereka ini kepada dua chara, management shares, ordinary shares. Apa-kah management shares ini di-jual sekarang kepada

ra'ayat negeri ini? Apa yang di-jual hanya ordinary shares, pengeluaran modal untuk dia menjalankan perusahaan-nya itu, tetapi management shares yang menguasai (control) perusahaan itu di-pegang tetap oleh mereka itu. Apa-kah ini suatu ke-untongan kepada ra'ayat negeri ini?

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa pehak pemerintah sudah-lah sampai sa'at-nya supaya memikirkan, meninjau kembali dan menyiasat benar² tentang pemberian "pioneer status" kepada perusahaan² asing yang hendak bekerjasama dengan modal dalam negeri ini. Apa yang kita takutkan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mereka memberikan kerjasama-nya kepada modal nasional itu sa-mata² untuk mendapat "pioneer status" ini. Sa-sudah "pioneer status" ini di-dapati, dia terus menjalankan perusahaan-nya dengan chara mengeluarkan orang² yang berkuasa dari modal nasional itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sungguh mengembirakan sa-kali dalam Titah di-Raja ada tersebut berkenaan dengan usaha memajukan bahasa kebangsaan di-dalam "sistem" pelajaran negeri ini. Malah dalam Titah di-Raja ada di-sebutkan keinginan mengadakan sa-buah universiti yang menggunakan dua bahasa dengan jalan beransor², menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan bagi mengajar sa-tengah² kursus. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menggalakkan bahasa kebangsaan di-dalam universiti ini sungguh mengembirakan, tetapi saya ingin menarek perhatian pehak yang bertanggung jawab dalam soal pelajaran ini bahawa dalam Universiti Malaya sekarang ini ada Jabatan Pengajian Melayu nama-nya, tetapi sampai pada sa'at sekarang ini dalam Jabatan Pengajian Melayu ini tidak ada sa-orang pun orang Melayu yang dudok dalam-nya, sa-tidak²-nya orang² Melayu di-ambil bekerja dan berlateh supaya dia dapat menjadi pegawai pembantu, mithal-nya, lecturer dalam jabatan itu. Sampai sekarang belum ada, kenapa dan apa sebab-nya? Ini saya kemukakan pertanyaan kepada pehak yang berkenaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam Titah di-Raja ini kita bacha bahawa "pada fikiran Kerajaan Beta perbuatan

rashwah atau makan suap dalam jabatan² Kerajaan di-negeri ini tiadalah begitu merebak, tetapi segala usaha akan di-jalankan bagi menghapuskan perbuatan yang di-chela ini". Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal rashwah ini dan mengatakan-nya kurang merebak, saya rasa ini terserah kepada tinjauan kita masing² dan di-dalam meminta ra'ayat memberikan kerjasama-nya untuk menghapuskan rashwah ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bantuan hanya dapat di-berikan oleh ra'ayat untuk menghapuskan rashwah, tidak lain dan tidak bukan supaya ra'ayat itu memberitahu siapa yang menerima rashwah, barangkali mata² yang menerima \$1.00-\$2.00. Itu dapat di-tunjukkan oleh ra'ayat, tetapi ra'ayat tentu tidak dapat menunjukkan rashwah yang berjalan di-atasan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau di-dalam menghadapi soal menentang rashwah ini dasar kita hanya satu sen haram, tetapi kalau \$1.00 halal, maka sampai bila² pun, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, rashwah ini tidak akan dapat kita hapuskan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-Burma baharu² ini sudah di-jalankan tindakan menganggap sa-tiap hadiah itu sa-bagai rashwah. Council Revolusi Burma mengatakan sa-tiap orang yang menjalankan pentadbiran negara tidak di-benarkan menerima hadiah² sebab hadiah² ini merupakan rashwah juga. Saya rasa Jabatan Menentang Rashwah di-dalam negeri kita ini harus di-berikan kuasa yang lebeh tegas untuk menentukan—untuk menchari orang² yang menjalankan rashwah ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mithal-nya saya sa-bagai sa-orang anggota Parlimen dengan masin mulut saya maka saya dapat minta sa-suatu bagi sa-orang yang berkehendakkan sa-suatu, dan kerana usaha saya ini maka di-buatkan-nya saya sa-buah rumah yang berharga \$100,000 umpama-nya, ini hadiah kata-nya. Tetapi hadiah rumah \$100,000 di-berikan kepada saya itu tentu-lah kerana masin mulut saya sa-bagai anggota Parlimen yang membantu dan mendapatkan-nya sa-suatu.

Enche' Hassan bin Mansor: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, on a point of order. Sa-patut-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat itu

menghalakan pandangan-nya kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Mr. Speaker: Ta' apa-lah. Please proceed.

Enche' Ahmad Boestamam: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jadi; di-mana saya tadi (*Ketawa*). Saya di-buatkan sa-buah rumah dengan harga \$100,000 kerana saya sa-bagai sa-orang anggota Parlimen dan masin mulut saya menolong mendapatkan sa-suatu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua; Jabatan Anti-Corruption harus mempunyai hak untuk menyiasat bagaimana saya dapat rumah batu yang berharga \$100,000 itu. Kalau saya ini sa-orang millionaire besar barangkali ini tidak menghairankan, saya boleh tinggal di-rumah yang berharga \$100,000. Tetapi kalau saya ini dahulu-nya hanya berjalan kaki sahaja ta' pernah pakai tai dan sudah menjadi anggota Parlimen tinggal di-rumah \$100,000 yang di-hadiahkan kepada saya maka saya rasa ini harus di-tarafkan oleh Jabatan Anti-Corruption ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagai rashwah. Jabatan Anti-Corruption harus di-beri kuasa sa-penoh-nya bukan sahaja menyiasat sa-tiap rashwah yang berlaku di-kalangan bawah tetapi juga di-kalangan atas. Bukan hanya memberikan rashwah \$5, \$10 itu di-anggap rashwah, ribuan itu tidak rashwah dan Jabatan Anti-Corruption harus mempunyai kuasa untuk menyiasat ka-seluruhan-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sampai kepada bahagian menentang anasir² subversive. Ini untuk Kementerian Keselamatan Dalam Negeri. Kalau kita bacha sa-tiap baris apa yang di-katakan di-sini nyata-lah lagu lama juga. Kita akan bertindak terhadap anasir² subversive itu keras sa-bagaimana dahulu juga. Jadi, saya tidak mahu lagu lama itu di-buka, meminta bicharakan orang ini dalam Mahkamah, begitu dan bagini. Tetapi saya ingin kalau Kementerian Keselamatan Dalam Negeri dapat menunjukkan kepada saya bukti benar-nya orang² yang di-tangkap itu subversive. Sebab bila di-katakan subversive—menjalankan anasir² kominis, menjalankan arahan² dari kominis, tentu untuk mendapatkan arahan² dan hubungan dengan kominis

dia tidak dapat dalam mimpi sahaja dia tentu berhubung dengan kominis. Jadi, Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri di-dalam menuduh orang² ini ada hubungan dengan kominis dapat membuktikan berapa orang sudah orang kominis yang di-hubongi oleh mereka ini yang dapat di-tangkap. Malah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kebanyakan orang² yang di-tangkap atas tuduhan subversive itu di-tangkap waktu orang itu sedang tidor pukul 2, pukul 3 pagi. Di-mana, bukan dalam hutan tetapi di-rumah mereka itu sendiri. Orang yang sedang tidor tidak ada apa² hubungan yang dapat di-buat. Orang yang sedang tidor berhubung jenis pun ta' dapat di-buat-nya. Orang yang tidor boleh bermimpi saja berhubung dengan kominis, dan kalau orang menangkap mereka itu, maka mereka itu pun bermimpi juga. Jadi, dua belah pihak bermimpi sekarang.

Sekarang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya masuk kepada bahagian pertahanan. Saya gemar sa-kali mendengarkan bahawa:

"Dasar besar Angkatan Bersenjata Beta akan di-pinda. Hingga masa ini dasar Kerajaan Beta yang besar mengenai Angkatan Bersenjata ia-lah membantu menjaga keamanan dalam negeri ini. Dari masa ini ka-hadapan tugas Angkatan Bersenjata Beta ia-lah juga mempertahankan negara ini daripada ancaman dan pencerobohan dari luar."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-patut-nya dasar yang demikian ini sudah lama kita jalankan. Dasar melateh Angkatan Bersenjata kita untuk mempertahankan negeri kita ini dari pencerobohan dari luar negeri. Kita tidak harus meletakkan Angkatan Bersenjata kita untuk menyerang tetapi meletakkan mereka itu untuk mempertahankan tanah ayer kita dari pencerobohan. Di-dalam melateh Angkatan Bersenjata kita supaya mempertahankan negeri ini saya ingin menganjurkan kepada Kementerian Pertahanan supaya dasar yang kita terima—dasar pertahanan yang kita warithi dari Inggeris dahulu itu di-ubah sama sa-kali. Dasar yang kita warithi dalam masa Jepun dahulu bertahan, mundur, menyerah diri. Sa-sudah bertahan², undor sampai kat tepi sungai, tidak ada tempat lagi maka menyerah diri. Kerana dasar yang demikian ini-lah Persekutuan

Tanah Melayu dahulu dalam masa satu bulan sahaja dapat di-duduki oleh Jepun. Saya menganjurkan supaya Angkatan Bersenjata kita di-lateh bukan sahaja sa-bagai tentera yang sanggup ka-hadapan menentang musuh dengan menggunakan senjata tetapi sanggup dengan sekelip mata sahaja bertukar menjadi pasokan goreng. Sa-sudah kita bertahan menentang pencerobohan itu, tidak sanggup kita, kita lari masuk dalam hutan, dalam hutan bergorela mencham musuh di-tanah ayer kita itu (*Ketawa*). Barangkali Menteri Pertahanan tentu tahu taktik ini sebab dia sudah menjalankan gerakan demikian itu.

Satu lagi berkenaan dengan pertahanan yang ada di-sebutkan di-sini:

"Angkatan Bersenjata Beta, maka pegawai² Beta ada-lah di-lateh juga supaya tidak lama lagi mereka layak memegang tanggung jawab mentadbirkan Angkatan Bersenjata Beta."

Ini juga sungguh menggembarakan, kalau dahulu saya berulang² kali mengatakan naikkan-lah pangkat pegawai² kita itu supaya mereka itu menjadi orang yang boleh mentadbirkan Angkatan Bersenjata kita. Kalau dahulu saya mengatakan kenapa tidak boleh orang kita memegang pentadbiran memerintah sa-suatu pasukan di-dalam Angkatan Bersenjata kita. Kenapa tidak boleh Major itu di-jadikan Lieutenant-Colonel—kalau hendak di-naikkan jadi Lieutenant-Colonel. Dan kerana ucapan saya ini, Menteri Pertahanan chuba memusingkan ucapan saya itu mengatakan saya menchadangkan supaya Sergeant di-jadikan General, General di-jadikan private. Di-dalam memusingkan maksud perkataan saya, tempoh hari Menteri Pertahanan chuba hendak mempertahankan pegawai² Inggeris—pegawai² expatriate yang sekarang bertugas di-dalam Angkatan Bersenjata kita. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau benar² pegawai expatriate ini perlu kerana kebolehan-nya, kepandaian-nya dan lain² yang boleh dapat meninggikan pengetahuan anak negeri ini sendiri, saya tidak melarang supaya mereka itu di-gunakan juga di-pakai dalam Angkatan Bersenjata. Tetapi saya ingin menarek perhatian Menteri Pertahanan ada diantara pegawai² expatriate ini yang kudong tangan-nya, yang tegang leher-

nya dia tidak boleh pusing² bagini, bagini, apa-kah kebolehan-nya itu tidak boleh di-atasi oleh Major atau Colonel kita. Malah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya di-beritahu G.O.C. Malaya sekarang ini tinggal di-luar negeri lebih banyak daripada dalam negeri ini, tidak dapat di-salahkan dia kerana kesihatan badan-nya.

Apa-kah ini semua-nya tidak harus mendapat perhatian dan pertimbangan yang sa-wajar-nya dari Kementerian Pertahanan kita. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berchakap tentang Pertahanan ini tidak dapat saya menguzorkan diri dari menyebut berkenaan dengan tentera² yang di-hantar ka-Congo. Kalau ada chadangan yang mengatakan mereka itu di-tarek balek, tetapi saya suka menarek perhatian Menteri Pertahanan bahawa ashkar² kita yang di-hantar ka-Congo itu harus-lah mendapat perhatian yang sa-wajar-nya supaya layanan yang di-berikan kepada mereka itu sama dengan ashkar² lain yang di-hantar ka-Congo itu. Saya ada terima banyak kenyataan yang mengatakan ashkar² kita ada mendapat hadiah Colgate daripada satu Sharikat, tetapi tidak sampai dan saya mendengar ashkar² itu mendapat bantuan wang daripada P.B.B. untuk bersuka ria, tetapi juga tidak sampai. Semua-nya ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, harus mendapat perhatian daripada Kementerian Pertahanan kita. Di-dalam titah di-Raja itu ada menyebutkan tentang dasar luar negeri Kerajaan Persekutuan. Dasar luar negeri Kerajaan Persekutuan ini sa-bagaimana yang terchatet di-dalam muka ini saya rasa bukan-lah sa-buah dasar Luar Negeri. Masaalah-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita mengatakan berdo'a supaya pertikaian atas Irian Barat di-antara Belanda dengan Kerajaan Indonesia selesai. Kemudian kita kata berdo'a supaya kekejaman OAS di-Aljeria itu hapus, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini bukan satu dasar luar negeri, dasar luar negeri harus menentukan sikap-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-malam Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh mengatakan Kerajaan sekarang tidak mempunyai sikap yang tegas berkenaan Irian Barat, bukan tegas mesti di-hantar ashkar, sikap yang tegas terhadap

tuntutan Indonesia dengan Irian Barat itu menyokong atau tidak. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh sa-malam mengatakan tidak menyokong. Kalau Kerajaan Perikatan sama dasar-nya dengan PPR, saya chukup gumbira sa-kali. Sebab, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi saya, Irian Barat itu sama sahaja saperti Goa, ia-itu Goa sa-bahagian dari India, kalau Goa sa-bahagian dari India maka Irian Barat ada-lah sa-bahagian daripada Indonesia. Menyokong tuntutan Indonesia jangan hanya berdo'a saja.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berhubong dengan dasar luar negeri ini juga ada berkenaan dengan pengujian senjata nuclear. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, baharu sa-malam saya membacha surat khabar mengatakan senjata nuclear itu di-uji lagi oleh Amerika Sharikat bukan di-Nevada tetapi di-Christmas Island di-uji senjata nuclear itu, di-dalam *Malayan Times* sa-malam ada berita Perdana Menteri kita mengulas berkenaan dengan itu dan tidak setuju berkenaan dengan pengujian senjata nuclear itu, tetapi di-akhir-nya sa-kali ada mengatakan: What can we do to prevent it, saya mengharapkan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa Perdana Menteri kita tidak mengatakan: what can we do, tetapi menghantarkan protest atau bantahan yang sa-keras²-nya kerana pengujian itu supaya jangan dilaksanakan lagi, ini bukan terhadap Amerika Sharikat sahaja, tetapi siapa juga negeri yang berkaitan walau pun Russia sa-kali pun. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sampai sekarang mengikut *Malayan Times* sudah 312 kali senjata nuclear ini di-uji. 183 kali di-jalankan oleh Amerika Sharikat dan 105 kali oleh Soviet Union, 22 kali di-jalankan oleh Great Britain, 4 kali di-jalankan oleh Pranchis. Yang banyak sa-kali menguji senjata nuclear ini ia-lah Amerika Sharikat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-sini juga ada menyebutkan berkenaan dengan ASA dan berkenaan dengan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, titah di-Raja ada mengatakan:

"Beta suka hendak menyatakan bahawa pintu-nya maseh terbuka untuk negara² lain meminta masuk menjadi ahli."

Saya sendiri menghadhiri pembukaan ASA itu, saya melihat pembukaan itu

macam menonton sandiwara sahaja. Waktu Pengerusi meminta supaya Pengerusi Persidangan di-chadangkan, maka Phillipines menhadangkan Perdana Menteri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Siam menyokong chadangan itu, jadi, Pengerusi bertanya ada chadangan lain, bila tidak ada orang yang berchakap: In the absence of other nomination I declare that the Prime Minister of Federation of Malaya to be the Chairman.

The Prime Minister: Itu lawak sahaja.

Enche' Ahmad Boestamam: Itu-lah saya katakan macham sandiwara, sa-orang menhadangkan dan sa-orang menyokong. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak mahu menimbulkan apa², alang-kah lebih baik kalau tidak mengadakan ASA ini, tidak payah diadakan persidangan yang sa-macham itu, main sandiwara, tetapi mengadakan bi-literal agreement sahaja.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, akhir-nya berkenaan dengan Malaysia. Saya ta' mahu berchakap panjang dalam soal Malaysia ini kerana saya sudah keluaran banyak statement berkenaan dengan sikap kami terhadap Malaysia itu, tetapi ada satu hal yang saya ingin tegaskan bahawa Malaysia ini pada dasar-nya di-terima oleh semua pihak, baik Singapura mahu pun negeri² di-Borneo. Pada dasar-nya semua menerima, chuma chara Malaysia itu di-lahirkan. Dengan lain² perkataan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan perundingan² saya rasa jalan tengah dapat kita chari untuk melahirkan satu Malaysia yang dapat kita persetujuan bersama. Tetapi sa-belum ini di-lahirkan, sa-belum usaha penyelesaian kita kerjakan, saya sungguh dukachita sa-kali bila Perdana Menteri kita mengatakan kalau ta' mahu terima Malaysia chara beliau, tambak Johor akan di-tutup. Saya tidak katakan ugutan, saya mengatakan defeatism, sebab Singapura bukan negeri asing. Kalau Singapura negeri asing, kita ta' setuju Duta kita di-sana kita boleh tarek, tetapi Singapura adalah sa-bahagian daripada Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, tanah ayer kita. Ini ta' ada siapa dapat menapikan. Bila kita

menghadapi bantahan atas chadangan yang kita kemukakan lantas kita kemukakan yang kita akan tutup tambak Johor. Kalau kita pandang dari segi perkauman pun defeatism ini merugikan. Menutup tambak Johor, menutup Singapura, di-pandang dari segi perkauman, merugikan 300,000 orang Melayu di-sana. Jadi saya memikirkan bahawa soal Malaysia ini tidak haruslah kita jalankan dengan sa-chara bergopoh. Kita harus meninjau fikiran semua pihak malah kalau boleh kita ajak semua berunding untuk mencari fikiran Malaysia yang benar² dapat kita jalankan, dan saya harap supaya Perdana Menteri kita dalam menjalankan usaha²-nya untuk melahirkan Malaysia itu jangan lekas membawa polisi defeatism.

Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya masuk dalam bahagian penerangan. Di-sini di-katakan:

Kejayaan mana² Kerajaan untuk menghuraikan dasar-nya atau melaksanakan ranchangan²-nya ada-lah bergantung dengan besar-nya di-atas penerangan yang tepat lagi berkesan, ya'ani orang ramai mesti-lah menggetahui betul akan dasar dan ranchangan itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau sekadar ini-lah kerja badan penerangan kita, saya tidak akan berkata apa², sebab Jabatan Penerangan—Jabatan Penerangan Pemerintah boleh mengeluarkan siaran² tentang kerja² dan usaha yang di-jalankan oleh pemerintah. Tetapi baharu² ini Jabatan Penerangan ini mengeluarkan apa yang di-chabut dari *Straits Times* tulisan Alex Josey dan di-keluarkan oleh Jabatan Penerangan. Sa-olah² Jabatan Penerangan mengakui bahawa apa yang di-tulis oleh Alex Josey itu benar. Sa-olah² Jabatan Penerangan menganggap Alex Josey ini kaki-tangan atau pegawai Kerajaan, tetapi Alex Josey bukan pegawai Kerajaan. Ia pernah menjadi kaki-tangan Kerajaan tetapi kemudian dia di-berhentikan dan ia menjadi wartawan. Tetapi di-samping wartawan ia jadi apa? Kita tidak tahu. Di-sebalek jadi wartawan ia juga mungkin menjadi agent kepada Kerajaan-nya. Kalau Jabatan Penerangan mengeluarkan apa yang datang dari pemerintah tidak apa tetapi mengeluarkan sa-barang yang

tersiar asalkan ini demi kepentingan pemerintah kerana Alex Josey mengeluarkan anti-communism untuk di-siarkan, di-taborkan, dikeluarkan wang Kerajaan untuk menaborkan-nya dengan tidak memikirkan siapa orang itu. Dapat-kah ia di-perchayai dengan kata²-nya itu? Maka ini sa-bagai usaha kerja Jabatan Penerangan sunggoh tidak memuaskan. Sekian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

The Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have had three days of debate on His Majesty's Speech, and the criticisms from the Opposition have not been different from what they had been in the past. As usual, the criticisms of the Federal Government have come most vehemently, again, from the Peoples' Progressive Party. Unfortunately, the Honourable Member is not able to be present to hear what I have to say, but he has had the decency to drop a note saying, "Kindly excuse me, as I have to be away on important business." So, I have got to reply to the Honourable Member in his absence. I do not know whether I should do it—although I will be equably happy to do it—when he is not here to listen to me. I was not here when he was speaking, but I was in my own room and I turned on the "mike" and I could hear every word that was said. I had hoped that the criticisms coming from the Opposition might have been more constructive. As I have said, they were as bad as ever—they were destructive and obviously aimed to win support in elections that are to be held soon. None of what was said provided food for thought to the Government Bench. As Ministers of the Crown we have to think and plan carefully—that is in respect of any proposal made by the Opposition if such proposal of any good. True to pattern, the attack was on the favourite subject of corruption and other kindred subjects which I had expected.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh has suggested that corruption occurred in all strata of the Government Service meaning, of course, that there is corruption from the peons to the Ministers—and the same insinuation was made by other Honourable Opposi-

tion Members of this House. As a lawyer, the Honourable Member knows quite well that it is difficult to take action on any statement which is made so generally and in such a sweeping manner; and if we ask him to repeat the same statement again outside the House, it would be difficult to bring action against him, that we have found out the last time he was supposed to have repeated the statement outside this House. When he was asked to explain certain things, he was careful not to answer, because he was afraid that he might go beyond the bounds of the law. Then, why did he keep on harping on this subject? I know that if you say certain things often enough people will believe them—and that is why it pleases him to make allegations every time this House meets. When he made his statement outside this House, he did not refer to particular statements which we want him to. And which my Honourable colleague mentioned this morning. He actually behaved like a man standing on the other side of the bank and at the same time challenging the other to fight him—and so that goes on. Now, he has asked this House why no action was taken against him on what he had said. I can assure him that if there is any action that can lie on the statements he made, this House will certainly take action.

Sir, to him, corruption is widespread and he has insinuated that Government is sitting tight and doing nothing. On the other hand, if he is really civic minded, if he is really the man whom he claims himself to be, the representative of the people, and he knows fully well that this sort of thing is happening daily in this country, I say that it is his duty to go to the proper authority and lay his report or his complaint, giving the full facts and figures to enable the Government to take the necessary action—but he did nothing. He did nothing at all, except to come to this House and to mount the platform elsewhere and keep on repeating the same thing, and which we are not able to pin him down, to any specific statement he made, as there is nothing on which to pin him down. It is done in a general way and

no action for libel or defamation of character would lie on a person who makes it in a general way. However, the people at large do not know it. They must, therefore, believe that what he says is true, and we are not in a position to defend ourselves. This is a sort of talk which, I say, is not helpful to the Government at all beyond putting this Government to hatred and ridicule which is, perhaps, the intention of the Honourable Member. I can assure the Honourable Member that the Government is taking all action necessary to wipe out corruption. But while there are pests and parasites in this country who put temptation in the way of the small man, there is nothing that we can do really. Whatever steps the Government takes to wipe out corruption will not be a success. While there are lawyers who would come so willingly and readily to the support or to the defence of these parasites, there is no possibility of obtaining a 100 per cent conviction in the cases that are brought up, and you have had occasion to read Press reports that even when a person is caught red-handed with marked notes he was able to get away due to certain technicalities of the law. Now, if we were to tighten up the law affecting the offences of corruption, the first persons that will jump to their feet and oppose it would be the Honourable Members of the Opposition. However, the Government is taking a very serious view of this corruption and will do all we can to prevent it. If we cannot get conviction by the ordinary procedure, we have to try and think of something else. But this sort of talk should not be allowed to go on unchecked—making accusations against the Government without the Government being given any opportunity to defend itself, or without the Government servants being given opportunity to defend themselves is to say the least is unsportsmanlike.

Another of the favourite subjects which the Honourable Member has found convenient to bring up again and again is the criticism of what he calls the Malay rights. He, and other Members of the Opposition too—I heard this morning—suggested that this

Government is partial and in favour of one community, and that it shows unfairness or injustice to others who are not of that community, meaning, of course, the Malays. The result of stressing on differences, and emphasizing on all-communal issues is that it will keep alive the flame of jealousy, hatred and suspicion between one race and another; this we have been lucky enough to keep down in the past, and however reluctant I feel—as I never like to dwell on a subject like this—I am forced to answer the statements made on these unfortunate issues. Unless I do so, the people will believe that this Government is being unfair to the others, but will do anything and everything for the Malays. But this is not true. If you attend closely to facts and figures, you will see that if there is any discrimination at all in this country, it comes from those other races. I hate to have to say this, but it is true. For instance, if you look at the businesses and industries owned by the so-called Malaysians, you will not find one single Malay being employed at all, and also if you take the sundry shops owned by the other races, you will never come across one single Malay. Not only that, but if there is a Malay shop anywhere within the vicinity, that shop will soon be forced out of business, or even out of the place. That is true. That is why I do not like to have to mention all this. But I am forced to say something here in answer to the charges that have been made against this Government as being bias. This discrimination extends to even heavy and rough jobs, where no skilled labour is required. For example, in construction work, even the jobs of moving earth, carrying material, etc., are given to women rather than to workers who are not of the contractor's or builder's race. I have asked the builders and contractors and the reply was that if they take in others not of their race, the other workers would go on strike. That is an honest statement made to me and I mention it here without being afraid of being challenged. And so, this is, as I said, discrimination of the worst kind. There are thousands of instances which I could mention here, not one or two but umpteen. But I do not want to lay

too much stress on it because it would serve no purpose, except to give rise to ill feeling among the people of this country who have been used to these different pursuits and different ways of life. Therefore, I am not attaching much blame to these people because they know no better. I know we have to do something about it and it must come in time for as they say Rome was not built in a day and you cannot expect these people to give up the time-honoured practices which have been carried on for generations, overnight. I know that it takes time, and a change of outlook, and until that time the interests of the Malays must be protected, and it is protected under Clause 153 of the Constitution. The Honourable Member should realise that it won't do him much good to bring up this subject time and time again unless he wants to bring about racial conflict and trouble. We saw this happen in the Honourable Member's own country of origin, caused by irresponsible people such as the Honourable Member himself. He had the impertinence and audacity to suggest that the people in Malaya are living in a "fool's paradise", so he said, "if they think there is political stability in this country". He forgets that there is not a single person in this country or outside this country who can say that we are not better off than most countries in this region of Asia (*Applause*). We have heard this from everyone who has come to Malaya, except the Honourable Members from the Opposition, and also another section of the people who are known as the Communists but what can we expect of them? When the Honourable Member accused the Government of neglecting the New Villages and instead concentrating all our efforts, energy and money on the kampongs, he talks without resorting to truths or facts. People living in New Villages have had all the advantages and the attention of the Government for many, many years. They have amenities such as roads, light, water, schools and so many things, and so do the people who live in the urban areas—and even workers in the estates. But no attention in those days was ever given to the people in

the kampongs. They are the people who had been sadly neglected and who now deserve the attention of the Government; and these people are not all Malays. There are living in the kampongs many thousands of Chinese and Indians as well as others and everyone of them share and share alike, and whatever benefit is given or whatever work is carried out it is intended to benefit all the people who live there. Under the British, it was a known fact that nothing was done for them and that many of them died through neglect and through disease; and during the dry season in the year they had to buy water out of their meagre earnings; and now just because we are trying to give them a little comfort and trying to do something for them, what do we get from the Opposition? Nothing but criticism! They themselves have nothing good of course, to say of this Government and that, as I say, it is not something that surprised me at all. The rural development and all the other developments that have been carried out in the rural areas, as I say, benefit all those who live there; and, of course, it benefits the Honourable Member not to mention all this in his platform.

The Honourable Member talks about "jaga kereta" boys and all that petty business, because he is one of those who would like to preserve this job which the boys of his own race have in the past monopolised. But immediately a Malay boy takes any share in it, he attributes it to the plight of the Malays in the kampongs, who have had to come to town to eke out a little living. There are a lot of things which I would like to mention, but I consider that to stress on all these differences between different communities is not only wrong but it is criminal, in view of the plurality of races living in this country; for the outcome of such outbursts would have one result, and that is, trouble. I make it my principle and policy, and it is the Alliance's principal policy, to promote understanding and goodwill and to strengthen the ties of friendship between the various races who live in this country—people who intend to make Malaya their home. It is not our

intention to break the harmony or the happy relationship which exists between the races of this country. If the Honourable Member wants to know further, he will find out why it is necessary to give this little right to the Malays—rights which had been agreed to not only by the MCA or by the MIC but by all the right-minded people in this country. If you look at business, at industry, 100 per cent of it is in the hands of other races—the economy of this country is in the hands of other races. Even in the University of Malaya, in the high school, there are no more than 20 per cent Malays—not in the high school only, but in fact in the schools; and abroad such as Australia there is not even 10 per cent Malays. In England, because of the help that has been given by this Government, we have more or less 20 per cent Malays. Perhaps these simple statistics might convince the Honourable Member that what we are doing for the Malays is something which had been agreed to by other races and something which we feel is absolutely necessary for us to do. And so the Article he kept on mentioning, Article 153 of the Constitution, is aimed to do no more than correct the imbalance in the living conditions and lives of the people in this country, and there should have been no room for jealousy as between one race and the other. As this is an independent country, I think we would have to do all we can to make all the people of this country feel happy and contented and willing to live side by side and to look upon Malaya as their home and object of their loyalty. If the Malays were not given certain things, you can appreciate what their feeling would be like, and when that feeling becomes uncontrollable, there will be trouble and when trouble breaks out, nobody in this country, rich or poor, will be the happier for it. It is up to us to do what little we can for the Malays and this should give rise to no jealousy from any side for what we are doing for these people.

The Honourable Member also wanted to know the reason, and so did the other Members who spoke, as to why

we should close the Causeway. That is not difficult to answer. In fact, it is very easy to answer. It would be a little more difficult if the question was, why did we keep the Causeway open? We kept it open for economic reasons—a measure which we found necessary to take in the early days of independence, in the days when we were not so sure of our economic strength. But today we are more or less certain of our own strength, and we can close the Causeway without feeling the effect of it and at the same time protect our borders and uphold, as and when it suits us to do so, the sovereignty of our country. We have found that to keep it open indefinitely would expose this country unduly to enemies, who can come from another country through Singapore, or who can come from Singapore itself. We have also thought that the time has come to close it, but because Malaysia looms in sight we think we should keep it open for a bit longer. However, if we know, or when we know for certain that Malaysia is not going to take effect, then the only thing we can do, and we must do, is to close it, and with that nobody would be allowed to come into the Federation without a proper travel document. All we are doing is what other countries are doing. Even Ceylon closes its door to India. Why should we not do the same thing here? I consider the reason is good enough. When it is done by other countries, there does not seem to be any quarrel about it but immediately it is done in Malay the Opposition starts to kick up dust. The only thing I can say is that when we close the Causeway we are doing what we think is right, and we will do it when the time comes, and we intend to carry it out despite the feeling of the opposition. By doing it we are not threatening or using this as a bargaining factor to bring Singapore into a merger with the Federation, nor using it to influence the course of the referendum which the Singapore Government is going to take. Whatever the result may be it can only end one way and that is do the people of Singapore want merger, or they do not want merger. If they do not want merger we will be as we are now and

no worse so. If they want merger, then we will have a little bit more headache. If the Singapore people wish to have merger, they can have it on our terms, and our terms are that external affairs, internal security, should be our responsibility and so should be other administrative matters; but matters as affecting labour and education, we are quite willing to let Singapore have them. If these terms are not acceptable to the Singapore people, they can remain in Singapore and we can remain where we are.

The subject of Malaysia has been discussed at some length before, and I have no wish to go into it now. But since quite a number of Honourable Members have spoken on the subject, I suppose they would like to hear what I have got to say about it, but all I can say is shortly this and it is straight to the point. The Honourable Member for Telok Anson said that the majority of the people of the North Borneo territories opposed Malaysia and he read out isolated extracts from newspaper cuttings in regard to people who opposed Malaysia. He also alleged that by joining Malaysia it would be a case of changing masters. He suggested that we should go slow with Malaysia. It is obvious that when this Honourable Member was in Borneo he had not hobnobbed with the right people. There are people who oppose Malaysia, but these people are people who are in sympathy with the communists, and the whole idea of Malaysia to them means one thing only and that is to baulk the communist expansion in this region of Asia, and they can only work and flourish in countries which are still colonial territories. When the Borneo territories become part of Malaysia, they will cease to be a colony of Britain, and they will not be a colony of Malaya—I thought I had made it clear—they will be partners of equal status, no more and no less than the other States now forming the Federation of Malaya. Where does he get the idea that by taking in the Borneo territories, we would colonise them? The days of imperialism are gone and it is not the intention of Malaya to perpetuate or to revive them. To go slow with Malaysia

would be to provide opportunities for the communists to work fast, and in the end they may obtain a foothold in that country and with it start trouble, of the kind we had the misfortune to go through for twelve years. If Malaysia is going to be achieved at all it must take place almost immediately—and by that I mean that it should not go beyond August this year.

The Honourable Member brought in the question of immigration. So far as we are concerned, the immigration laws of this country are fair—the laws and regulations are fair—and in keeping with our position and dignity as an independent country. Under the immigration law, we have provided for the entry of individuals into the country on compassionate ground, and I can tell the Honourable Member that it is not done elsewhere. If the Honourable Member has much interest in and loyalty to this country, it should be his duty to try to tighten up the law, and not to loosen it to allow everybody to come in and swamp the people of this country with people who have no loyalty to this country whatsoever. He should realise that by tightening the immigration law, we are doing nothing more than to protect the interests of the people in this country.

The Honourable Member for Tanjong also made a lot of play about communalism and accused the Alliance of keeping it alive when he knows too well that it is the policy of the Alliance to keep it down. The success achieved so far has not only been creditable but, in the words of a very high official who had been here, unique—that is what he said on communal harmony in this country, where he also said that this is something which should be publicised abroad and introduced in some of the countries where the relationship between people who live there was not so good. It seems to me that the Opposition is playing this up purely to gain support from certain people or certain sections of the people in this country, and in doing so build up hatred against the Alliance Party. It may be good for their own political platform, but it is absolutely dangerous for the peace and wellbeing of this country. So, I say,

"Desist from going along this line, if you have the interests of the people of this country in your hearts." The people of this country had been divided under the British rule, and that is only to be expected, because the policy of any imperialistic country is to divide and rule. But for us now, who are the people of this country, of independent Malaya, we should make it our duty to wipe out all this racialism, communalism, and build up in its place that feeling of unity in diversity—which is so essential for the peace and wellbeing of this country, and that we can do if we get the help of all sections of the community in this country, of all parties to work together to this end. UMNO as a Malay Party, MCA as a Chinese Party and the MIC as an Indian Party, all joined together with that objective in mind. We joined together with the main purpose of building up a happy and united Malaya, and what we are doing is producing result.

Now, the Opposition Parties are saying that they are non-communal and so on and so forth, but they are communal and I could quote instances to illustrate my point where it can be proved beyond doubt that all these Parties are communal. The only Party that is not communal is the Alliance Party. (*Applause*). Most of these people say that they are socialists, so-called socialists, but except for a very few people among their leaders, most of them are well-to-do people, people well established in business—some of them are almost millionaires. You will then ask, why do they join Labour or Socialist. The answer is simple—they want power and that is the only easy way to get it. That is why they are trying to confuse the minds of the people, so that the people can keep them in power. You can see it: with one breath they attack the Government on rural development which aimed to help the under-privileged; with the other breath, they say the Government must do something for the under-privileged. So, what is it they want, I do not know. Whatever the Government does is always wrong to them. We are used to it and that is not something which I am going to lose my sleep over.

I do not wish to join issue with them on the various other matters which they have brought up as I consider them very trivial and very mischievous. The whole country knows what the Government is doing for the people, and in fact nowhere else in Asia are the people more happy than they are in Malaya and no other country in this side of the hemisphere is more prosperous and more peaceful than Malaya. What more can we ask of man or God? I am quite happy and I think this country will be happy to have the Alliance Government at the head and in power for many, many more years (*Applause*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada di-sebutkan ucapan dari Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Setapak menyentuh beberapa perkara yang berkaitan dengan dasar luar negeri—dasar Kerajaan luar negeri yang tidak tentu atau pun di-katakan negative, tetapi dunia tahu bahawa dasar Kerajaan Tanah Melayu ini ia-lah positive dan yang tertentu. Kita tidak buat sa-barang apa yang kita tidak ada terlebih dahulu plan, timbangan dengan sa-halus²-nya dasar Kerajaan kita di-luar negeri sa-bagai mana yang di-titahkan oleh Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong ia-itu bersahabat baik dengan negeri² yang berasa hendak bersahabat dengan kita, dan dalam itu berma'ana negeri² yang bersahabat dengan kita ia-lah negeri yang luar daripada Communist Groups atau pun Eastern Groups. Jadi, dengan kerana itu-lah dalam United Nations sikap Malaya ini di-pandang tinggi, kerana kita tidak buat sa-suatu perkara dengan gopoh gapah, tetapi apa kita buat dan yang kita jalankan ia-lah usaha yang tertentu dan di-tetapkan oleh Kerajaan ini.

Berkenaan dengan Pasokan Khas Tentera² Tanah Melayu di-Congo itu, saya telah memberitahu sa-lagi kita ini di-kehendaki di-sana menjaga keamanan di-Congo maka sa-lagi itu-lah ashkar² kita akan berada di-sana. Tanah Melayu tetap sokong kuat Bangsa² Bersatu mengenai Congo dan tidak akan menarek tentera² kita sa-lagi Bangsa² Bersatu berkehendakkan

bantuan pada kita. Fasal itu sudah tentu dan juga berkenaan dengan tuduhan dari Ahli Yang Berhormat itu bahawa Persekutuan Tanah Melayu tidak ada pendirian di-atas masaaalah Algeria sa-belum penyelesaian itu di-chapai. Ini tidak benar. Kerajaan Tanah Melayu telah mengadakan dasar yang tertentu terhadap Algeria. Satu daripada perkara yang saya suka sebutkan di-sini ia-itu saya jumpa dengan General De Gaulle di-Paris ia-lah berkenaan perkara Algeria, tetapi saya tidak sebutkan apabila kembali di-sini dengan tepat kerana saya rasa seperti juga dengan perkara Irian Barat, jikalau ta' maju orang main² sahaja. Tetapi satu perkara yang di-bawa kepada General De Gaulle di-Paris itu ia-lah tenteraman Algeria di-minta ia mengambil tindakan dengan sa-penoh²-nya, dengan sunggoh² bagi menyelesaikan Algeria ini dan memberi kebebasan serta memberi kemerdekaan kepada Algeria ini. Bukan itu sahaja kita telah memberi bantuan wang kepada Algeria dan parti UMNO telah memberi sokongan dan menubuhkan usaha untuk membantu orang² Algeria. Bukan perkara ini kita mengambil langkah sa-bagaimana hendak mengambil muka apabila Algeria itu sudah nampak terang—tidak. Kita buat daripada dahulu dan dengan kerana kita beri pertolongan sedikit itu ia-lah Ketua Algeria Bebas telah datang dengan rombongan-nya berjumpa dan menguchapkan terima kaseh pada saya sendiri. Jadi bagaimana tuduhan yang di-katakan saya ta' ambil pedirian atas apa yang berlaku, ta' ambil keputusan yang tetap atas perkara ini—itu ta' benar. Kita sentiasa menuntut memberi kemerdekaan kepada negeri itu dan mendesak kedua² pehak dengan ambil jalan aman dan damai.

Berkenaan dengan senjata nuclear apa yang saya boleh buat sa-lain daripada kita membangkang. Kalau membangkang yang lebih keras lagi ta' ada daya upaya dengan keadaan kita ini yang lemah, kita chuma do'a kepada Tuhan sahaja. Sa-masa saya pergi menghadhiri persidangan Perdana² Menteri Commonwealth tahun yang lepas, kita bawa hal ini juga, bukan satu negeri bahkan semua negeri yang besar takut ujian ini. Dan satu dari-

pada perkara-nya yang di-bahathkan dengan mengambil masa yang panjang ia-lah hendak menahan ujian, tetapi dengan keputusan daripada Russia ia ta' mahu ikut keputusan itu apa-kah daya negeri yang seperti kita ini hendak buat. Kita chuma katakan supaya jangan di-adakan, tetapi kalau mereka hendak adakan, apa hendak kita katakan. Kita boleh pergi kepada siapa yang tinggi melainkan Tuhan rabul 'alamin. Bagitu juga berkenaan dengan Irian Barat. Saya pergi ka-Amerika berjumpa dengan President, pergi England, pergi Belanda, balek ka-mari orang kutok kepala saya. Fasal saya ambil champor hal itu, tetapi orang itu juga yang suroh saya champor tangan. Kita takut, bimbang dengan mengadakan tumpah darah kerana negeri itu baharu merdeka dan men-chapai kemerdekaan-nya dengan kehilangan beribu², beratus² ribu jiwa pemuda. Jadi kita kata selesaikan-lah hal ini dengan baik, jangan-lah bergadoh² dan korban lagi tambah nyawa². Kalau boleh kita ta' mahu-lah menumpahkan darah dan susah kepada anak² muda yang belum lagi chukop melihat keadaan dunia dan belum lagi chukop lama hidup-nya, jadi tiap² benda kalau boleh-nya selesaikan-lah dengan baik itu-lah di-kehendaki kedua² pehak menyelesaikan dengan baik. Kalau kedua² pehak hendak berjuang juga, kita kata jangan jangan, ia hendak berperang juga, kita angkat menadah tangan kepada Tuhan minta-lah simpangan dari berperang, selesaikan-lah dengan selamat. Jadi, bukan-lah kita ini ta' ambil keputusan, itu-lah keputusan yang kita ambil dan terserah-lah kepada Allah dan kepada orang² itu semua.

Lagi satu fasal—urea. Fasal urea ini tuan² tentu-lah lebih ma'alum belanjanya hendak di-adakan \$25 juta. Jadi kalau urea tidak dapat dalam negeri ini dengan harga yang competitive, dan ra'ayat di-sini berkehendakkan urea, Kerajaan tentu membantu kalau di-dapati urea ini sangat penting, tetapi urea di-sini sudah banyak, urea ini bertindan² dan berguni² tidak habis dijual, kemudian hendak suroh Kerajaan belanja \$25 juta. Di-mana hendak chari wang itu? Hendak mengeluarkan

belanja di-atas perkara yang sudah ada bertindan². Jadi apa yang kita katakan, pehak sharikat² kerjasama (co-operatives) mengambil share-nya yang besar di-atas kampeni² yang hendak mengeluarkan urea ini, kerana kampeni yang mengeluarkan-nya itu bukan-lah berchadang hendak menjual urea dalam negeri kita sahaja, bahkan di-mana² negeri yang mereka ada agency. Jadi kita katakan saham (share) yang besar di-beri kepada sharikat² kerjasama dan di-beri commission menjual urea kepada sharikat² kerjasama sahaja dalam negeri ini, tidak ada siapa yang lain dapat commission menjual urea. Jadi dengan jalan ini sharikat² kerjasama tidak-lah rugi, dan ra'ayat tidak-lah rugi modal-nya keluar. Dalam pada itu pehak sharikat² kerjasama hendak menjalankan kilang urea dan modal yang lebeh banyak, barangkali 70 peratus dalam \$25 juta di-keluarkan dari luar negeri. Jadi kerana itu-lah kita tidak dapat menyokong, bukan ada lain² fasal daripada itu.

Bagitu juga berkenaan dengan pioneer status. Pioneer status di-beri kepada kampeni² dengan chadangan Kerajaan supaya dapat di-keluarkan barang² itu dan dapat di-jual dengan harga yang murah. Kalau sa-suatu kampeni apabila sudah dapat pioneer status tidak menjual barang dengan harga yang berpatutan, dia telah menjalankan tipu seperti yang di-katakan itu, maka Kerajaan akan mengambil tindakan yang berpatutan dalam hal ini. Ini-lah baharu saya dengar fasal kampeni mempermainkan ahli share berkenaan dengan sharikat susu di-Petaling Jaya itu.

Berkenaan dengan Malaysia saya sudah sebutkan tadi, jadi tidak payah saya ulangi sa-mula. Dan perkara² yang lain, rakan² saya dalam Kabinet akan memberi keterangan yang berkenaan dengan kementerian-nya masing². Bagi saya sa-takat itu-lah sahaja (*Tepok*).

Dato' Dr. Ismail: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like first to reply to the observations made by the Member for Muar Utara and also the Member for Tanah Merah, ia-itu perkara membeli dan mengumpul getah yang tidak ada

berlesen, dan Yang Berhormat dari Muar Utara meminta supaya di-adakan Fraud Squad. Perkara ini boleh di-chegah. Saya suka menyatakan perkara ini ia-lah di-bawah kuasa Kerajaan Negeri. Berkenaan dengan soal supaya dacheng² dan ukuran yang lain di-betulkan. Di-sini saya suka memberi keterangan perkara itu di-bawah tanggungan Kerajaan Negeri.

Yang Berhormat dari Dungun mengatakan pehak pulis menangkap orang Melayu yang menjual barang tiada berlesen. Saya fikir itu-lah kerja pulis. Siapa yang menjual barang tiada berlesen tentu-lah di-tangkap, tetapi undang² ini bukan di-perbuat oleh pehak pulis, pehak pulis chuma menjalankan-nya, undang² di-perbuat oleh tiap² perengkat kerajaan dalam negeri ini. Jadi berkenaan dengan perniagaan ini ia-lah di-bawah tanggungan Kerajaan Negeri.

Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Mas meminta tangga-gaji kaki-tangan pulis biasa patut-lah di-naikkan. Saya suka menarik perhatian Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ia-itu perkara yang samacham ini sudah di-bawa dalam meshuarat yang lalu, dan pada masa itu saya telah memberitahu ia-itu tangga-gaji kaki-tangan pulis ini hendak-lah sa-embang dengan kaki-tangan kerajaan yang lain. Tetapi, pada masa sekarang sudah ada permintaan daripada Staff Association supaya berunding atas hal ini, dan kita bagi pehak kerajaan yang berchorak demokrasi, kita akan berunding dengan Staff Association.

Di-sini saya suka-lah memberi sedikit nasihat kepada ahli politik ia-itu dalam negeri kita yang telah maju ada Trade Union, ada Associations yang boleh menjaga faedah ahli²-nya. Dan jangan-lah bagi ahli politik hendak menggunakan soal ini, kerana lambat laun mereka itu akan kena gigit oleh Trade Union dan Associations ini.

Now, Sir, I come to the observations made by the two Honourable Members of the three "Ps" and also those of the Honourable Member for Setapak.

Now, the Honourable Members for Ipoh and Menglembu, and also the Honourable Member for Setapak, mentioned that in His Majesty's Speech, in regard to the Ministry of Internal Security, an old record was being played. I am glad that they take heed of my metaphor, but in this case I would like to remind them that it is not an old record. It is a new version of that sweet refrain which I have told this House so often, because it is my duty, as Minister of the Interior, from time to time to inform the House what is the progress we have made in regard to the war on our border, and also what is the progress we have made against the subversive elements in this country, and there, in a very succinct language, typical of my Ministry, I told the House what the state of the country is in regard to security.

Now, the Honourable Members for Ipoh and Menglembu, especially the Honourable Member for Ipoh, seemed to crow over the failure of the Police in the first trial for kidnapping under the new kidnapping law. Well, Sir, the Honourable Member blamed the Police and seemed to think that the whole fault lies with the Police. I would like to say, Sir, that in this case of kidnapping the Police, the law and the persons concerned have a part to play. In this respect, the people who had been kidnapped failed to live up to their responsibilities as citizens of this country. I would also like to remind these people who are subjected to threats of being kidnapped that it is in their interest in the long run to co-operate with the Police, with the law. They must not try to look at it purely from the economic angle—we know that people who are kidnapped are millionaires, and they think not because of their lives but that it is in their economic interest to pay the amounts demanded of them. However, Sir, it has to be remembered that this matter of kidnapping, if it is allowed to go on, will get worse and worse and the kidnappers will get bolder and bolder until we come to a stage when such heinous crimes, as that perpetrated on the Lindbergh family are committed.

Then only will these millionaires realise that playing this kidnap game on the economic line will not pay. The Government will try its best to plug the loopholes in the law and will give every support—and I will give every support to the Police in order to suppress this menace. (*Applause*).

Sir, we always say that we will try to pass any law in accordance with democratic principles. The Honourable Member for Ipoh also made specific allegations and asked whether Government was prepared to take action against those who committed perjury and those who paid ransom money in connection with the recent kidnapping case. Sir, being a lawyer, he should know that with regard to the prosecution of these people who have committed perjury, it is entirely in the hands of the Public Prosecutor because that is enshrined in our Constitution.

Now, with regard to whether we should take action against the Police who have told those people who had been kidnapped that they should pay ransom, I would like to state here that there was no question in this case of the Police acting as agent provocateurs. There is no possible objection to the Police with the co-operation of the relatives of a person who has already been kidnapped getting evidence of the payment of ransom money. This is not a new practice. It is so wellknown in extortion and corruption cases where the Police received information before the passing of the money for ransom to be taken to ensure that there will be adequate proof of payment.

Sir, I think that much I would like to say in regard to the Kidnapping Act mentioned by the Honourable Member for Ipoh. However, I would like to state here, again, that the two Honourable Members seem to be at variance, although they belong to the same Party on the fact whether the law should be amended or whether the Police is efficient or inefficient. One Honourable brother said that the law is deficient—in other words, we should amend the law; the other brother said that nothing is wrong with the law but

that the Police is inefficient. Now, Sir, if they carry that difference into their political activities, that shows a sign of disintegration in that Party, and I hope it will continue for the good of this country.

The Honourable Member also mentioned the case of the dancer playing in the Embassy Hotel and also at the B.B. Park. Sir, the authority to issue and cancel such licences is vested in the District Officer and not in the Police. In the case referred to, two separate licences were issued—one to the management of the Embassy Hotel for the dancer to perform during weekdays and the other to the management of the B.B. Park for performance during the week-end. The Embassy Hotel licence was cancelled for the reason that she contravened one of the conditions of the licences during her performance on the evening of Wednesday, 4th April, 1962. A witness, in this case the O.C.P.D., Kuala Lumpur, complained to the Licensing Authority that the dancer was scantily dressed, with just a wee cover for those vital parts of the female charms, she wriggled a couple of times, and moved in a provocative manner to the table of two or three persons—not being communal, but they happened to be Indians—kissed one of them and then moved to another member of the audience and wiped his glasses with what little garment she had on her vitals (*Laughter*). Sir, that we must admit was going a bit too naked.

Now, in regard to her performance at the B.B. Park, she did not contravene any of the conditions of the licence issued to this management. So, there is no discrimination on the part of the Police in this respect at all.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh also mentioned that confessions of accused persons were really obtained by the third degree method by Police officers, particularly by junior Inspectors, and he requested that vigorous action against the junior officers should be taken. Sir, Police officers are subjected to the same law

and are not exempted from the provisions of the Penal Code. Now, in the handling of persons, specific instructions have been issued by the Commissioner of Police in which it is stated that no force should be used, and when these instructions are not obeyed members of the public should report this to the proper authorities, and the case would be investigated by the Commissioner of Police and legal advice sought from the Deputy Public Prosecutor. Action would be taken according to the results revealed by investigation, and both disciplinary and court proceedings will be instituted if the D.P.P. is satisfied that an offence has been disclosed against a particular officer or officers; and if members of the public, who had been the victims of assault, feel that their complaints will not receive the attention of the Police they should report the matter to me, to my Ministry or the Public Prosecutor—the Honourable Member knows this as he has written to me on two or three instances, and we have acted according to what I have told this House.

Then the Honourable Member for Ipoh or Menglembu also said that there is an increase in crime in this country and he complained that no action had been taken until an Ambassador's wife was robbed. Sir, this is a very childish argument, and I think that the same observation which he made in respect of the Honourable Member for Larut Utara should apply to him; and if the Honourable Member for Larut Utara as he advised should go to Tanjong Rambutan, I think, he too should go there. Gangsters and thugs have been the target of Police operations particularly in the last six months. For instance, in Selangor the Police have conducted 48 major raids and 12,522 suspects were screened, and six arm caches containing weapons were located. Daily and nightly checks and patrols are being carried out in infested areas.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh also mentioned the way in which the procedure of citizenship is being revoked at present. Well, Sir, I would

like to inform the House that under Article 27 of the Constitution of the Federation Government, it is obligatory to give a person concerned notice of intention to deprive him of his citizenship, and if he wishes he may then ask the matter to be referred to a Committee of Inquiry. Now, it is interesting to note that in this connection, the procedure adopted in Malaya is of a more liberal nature than that obtaining in other countries—Commonwealth countries. In those countries also power is conferred on the central government to deprive a person of his citizenship, but in two of them, namely, Australia and Ghana, no provision is made for an inquiry to be held. In Ceylon a formal enquiry need only be held if a citizen by registration is to be deprived of his citizenship on the ground that he so conducted himself that his continuance as a citizen of Ceylon is detrimental to the interests of that country. In other cases there is no enquiry at all. In India a committee of enquiry may be requested in every case except on the ground where a citizen has been ordinarily resident out of India for seven years. In other Commonwealth countries, as I have said, an enquiry may be held in certain cases, but not in all. Finally, in the United Kingdom, before depriving a person of his citizenship the Home Secretary must in most cases give him the opportunity for applying for his case to be referred to a committee under a chairman with judicial experience. If he so applies, he must appear before the committee in person or by representative and he may give and call evidence. The committee advises the Home Secretary, but the Home Secretary is not bound to follow its advice. Thus, Sir, our procedure here, if I may say so, is more liberal than some of the countries in the Commonwealth and there is nothing at all in what the Honourable Member for Ipoh has said, that we have acted undemocratically in this matter. I think what he would like to do, from what I listened to him, is that he would like, if his Party comes into power, this country to be a haven, a haven not of peace

but of chaos. For that is what this country will be, because there will be communal disturbances, there will be thugs and gangsters roaming the streets, there will be no law, no order and the only people who will thrive will be those elements whom this country is trying to suppress in the interests of the good citizens of this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, finally I would just like to touch on briefly about the case of corruption. In the Speech from the Throne we used the words "corruption is not widespread". Dalam bahasa Melayu: "wide spread" ma'ana-nya tidak berapa besar, sebab apa tidak besar di-bandingkan dengan negeri disakeliling kita dan negeri yang lain. Kita tidak hendak benda itu terjadi atau merebak sebab-nya Kerajaan dengan sa-berapa daya upaya men-chuba menahan rashuah itu berkembang.

Sir, it is very easy to adopt a totalitarian method. If we want to stamp out this corruption this way it is very simple. I can take these people whom I suspect of corrupt practices, to quote the Member for Setapak, in the middle of the night and just dispose of them. Then there will be no corruption at all. But we are in a democratic country and we try to do things as far as possible according to democratic practice. But in the case of those people who are pursuing subversive activities, well, we must try to get them whenever we can, even if we have got to do it in the middle of the night. So, in the matter of subversion, I repeat again, we are not arresting law-abiding citizens; we are arresting those people who are trying to destroy the very structure of this country, the very things we fought for. Those people are trying to further the aims of international communism and try to make this country a satellite of the communist countries, and that we must resist to the utmost. Even if we don't get the co-operation of the Opposition, we will do it—we will do it on our own. It does not matter what they say about the Internal Security Act; it has given stability and security in this country so that even members of the Opposition can voice their opinion with safety

and we even have managed to preserve the Socialist Front from being destroyed.

The Minister of Justice (Tun Leong Yew Koh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in rising to support the motion before this House, it is of course inevitable for me to say how unimpressed we on this side of the House are by the remarks from the Opposition benches. There seems to be no originality in the opposition speeches so far made and while I do not deny them the right to criticise, I am sure, we are all hoping for the time when Opposition criticism will be constructive and afford some useful methods of resolving some of the problems which we are called upon to face.

What we have heard from across the floor are various views on matters of comparatively small importance, whereas the most important matters which ought to concern every Member of this House are:

- (i) How best we can continue to further promote and maintain the goodwill and harmony of the people of this country;
- (ii) How we can lead the people of various races to assimilate one national concept and the feeling of one country, one people; and
- (iii) How to raise the standard of living of the people.

Now, the Government has announced important plans to bring about these objectives through such measures as rural development, diversification of the economy, industrialisation, and expansion of the nation's social services. The Opposition has said very little to improve these plans.

No one can deny that here in Malaya we are enjoying comparatively the most political and economically stable climate in South-East Asia. But this is not all too perfect. No country can be perfectly stable so long as it has to face the menace of world communism and here in Malaya there are many sympathisers and fellow-travellers of the communists.

Under such conditions, the most significant thing for us to do is to use

every means in our power to maintain the peacefulness and prosperity of the country and help it progress further in its pursuit of real happiness for its people.

It therefore follows that the matter to which we ought to pay greater attention is to try and correct the economic imbalance and give the Malays more opportunities to help them stand economically on an equal footing with the other races. This is a historical problem which must be solved largely through goodwill and understanding, if we are to preserve the harmony and happiness of the people of Malaya as a whole.

All the Government intends to do is to help the Malays to stand on an equal economic footing with the other races; not to put them above or over the others. This is based on the proper evaluation of the principle of equality and I cannot see why there should be emotion displayed over it.

I really cannot understand why the Honourable Member from Ipoh should allow his inferiority complex to influence himself so much as to keep on thinking he is a second class or third class citizen. If a third class citizen can stand up in this House to criticise and attack any and everybody without let or hindrance and flash about the country in a \$40,000-car bearing a badge of Parliament and occupying the major portion of the public highway (*Laughter*), so comically preaching the cause of the so-called down and out and down-trodden people, I am sure that anyone would be content, glad and happy to remain a third class citizen as my Honourable friend.

In regard to some Opposition Members' remarks about discrimination in education, where can you find a better sense of equality than in the opportunities which are provided for children of all races to enjoy free primary education in their own mother tongue at the free choice of parents? How much fairer can we make it?

It can be seen, Sir, that the policies which the Government are following

offer sincere and courageous solutions to the problems of the day and in keeping the aims and the hopes of the people of this country along the right road to happiness and prosperity. I, therefore, once again appeal to the Members of the Opposition Parties to co-operate with the Government by making constructive contributions to the solution of the big problems facing the country, and not to waste the time of this august Assembly with pettifogging problems which if they indeed are sincere to solve, they could easily bring to the notice of the departments concerned, and if they failed to get satisfaction, they might bring them to the Ministers concerned, thereby saving a lot of valuable time of this House (*Applause*).

The Minister of Finance (Enche' Tan Siew Sin): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Member for Seremban Timor accused the Government of allowing a number of mushroom companies to operate without the deposits required by law. I shall try to show in the course of my very brief remarks that "allowing" is scarcely the right word to use. As I have said already, Sir, it is distinctly not the case that these companies were allowed to operate without the deposits required by law. The Police took action against all of them, a number were prosecuted and deterrent penalties imposed by the Court. As Honourable Members know, when a company is formed, it states in its Memorandum of Association what its objectives are. Had the companies concerned stated in their Memoranda that they proposed to carry on life assurance, the Registrar of Companies would not have permitted their incorporation without the statutory deposits being made. However, some of the companies concerned gave no indication whatsoever on incorporation that they proposed to carry on life assurance. Three other organisations did not even bother to get themselves incorporated. They simply called themselves "Life Assurance Companies" and began to issue policies. Three other companies were incorporated in Singapore and commenced to do business in the Federation without so much

as "by your leave". I think it will be appreciated from these facts that these companies did not openly and obviously enter the field of life assurance. Nevertheless their activities were discovered promptly and prompt action was taken. By far the majority of them commenced business towards the end of last year and hence it was not possible for the Police to collect evidence against all of them and initiate prosecutions before the compulsory liquidation of the companies was put in hand. In the circumstances, Sir, I see no reason to accede to his request that an inquiry should be held.

The Honourable Member for Tanjong, who unfortunately is not here, as usual, made a number of very sweeping remarks and those remarks were not only sweeping but, as usual, they were very far from the truth. I have here an exact copy of his speech and although I shall try to be as brief as possible, considering the lateness of the hour, I hope this House will pardon me if I quote a few extracts here and there in order to illustrate my point. He says that "perhaps in 1972 the price of natural rubber may drop to as low as 42 cents." Well, none of us on this side of the House pretend to be crystal gazers or prophets. I do not think anyone of us can say what the price of rubber will be in 1972. It may be that the price will go down in the course of the next few years, but I think we have reasonable grounds for hope that it will not go down too much. The point which he wished to make, however, was this: that the Government should do something to implement the Five-Year Plan or to do something to ensure that it can have the resources to implement the Five-Year Plan in case of a very drastic drop in the price of rubber price. Now, if there is any drastic drop in rubber, I agree that the prospects of implementing the Plan in full might be jeopardised, but I suggest that is a bridge which we should cross when we come to it. As I say, it is highly unlikely that the price will drop to as low as 42 cents even by 1972.

He has also asked the Government what steps we have taken to stabilise

the price of rubber. This is a worldwide problem. It concerns not only rubber but all other primary commodities, and I do not think that even with the best will in the world Malaya can proceed on her own—but he castigates the Government for trying to enlist the help of the Western countries in solving this worldwide problem. I do not know what he really expects us to do. Probably, he thinks that we should enlist the help of the Communist countries, but not the Western countries, because they might be more helpful. However, I think that is a question on which we have always agreed to differ.

He further castigates the Government for not, as he says, saving for a rainy day. He goes on as follows: "It is no use waiting for the time to come when the rubber price has dropped so low that they can do nothing about it." But I think the Government has anticipated events. If the Honourable Member's memory was not so short, he would remember that in 1959, when I presented my first Budget, I slapped on increased or new duties on, if I may be permitted to use a colloquial expression, a wide range of imports and also reduced the personal allowances for income tax purposes, and one of the people who protested vehemently was the Honourable Member for Tanjong. The intention of those measures was to anticipate what we felt to be the boom year of 1960 and thereby collect the cream when that was available, and all of us who were here then would remember that the most vehement protests came from the Opposition. Now they tell us, they take us to task, for not collecting enough revenue when it was possible to do so. Further on, he says in his speech, "It is rather unfortunate that during that period of prosperity, nothing has been done by Government to conserve funds in the rubber industry for this recession." As I said, 1960 was a boom year and that was the year in which the Government took care to collect as much as it could by increasing taxes over a very wide range of articles. So, I do not think we can be blamed in this respect. He also suggested that

one of the possible ways of stabilising the price of rubber might be the setting up of a marketing board which would be the sole buyer and seller of rubber for this country. On the face of it, there is some merit in his suggestion, but I do not think it is as easy as all that. Apart from the fact that the Government has to set up an enormous organisation, for the simple reason that this country is the biggest producer of natural rubber in the world, there is a danger that the Government might be landed with enormous amounts of rubber, which it will have to sell at very unprofitable prices in a time of recession. It is true that it could cushion itself against the effects of a recession by selling below the ruling market price in a time of boom, but I suggest that boom prices for rubber—in this respect I would say that rubber at about 80 cents per pound would be regarded as a boom price—are well behind us, and even if it recurs, it is not likely to last very long. So, if we were to embark on a scheme of this nature, it is more probable that Government would have to finance deficits in a time of recession, hoping to recoup itself in a time of boom which might never come along. There is also the political aspect of this suggestion. If a boom were by any chance to come about and the Government were to buy rubber at 80 cents when the ruling world price is \$1.00, I am sure the first people to criticise the Government, and criticise very vehemently, would be the Honourable Member for Tanjong himself. So, I do not think that suggestion is very practical. I suggest that the Government has done something in this respect. Last year, as Honourable Members might recall, the Government took away the anti-inflationary cess and that cess hitherto was returnable when the price of rubber dropped below \$1.00 per pound. Well, that cess, which really represents the surplus spending power of the country in a time of boom will, in future, not be returned to the industry. That, I think, is really providing in practice for a method whereby the excessive profits of the rubber industry would be taken away in a time of boom and those profits would naturally be used

to assist the industry in a time of recession; and we have provided for a recession by promising to continue with the Government replanting schemes for both estates and smallholders. So, I think we have done something to skim away surplus or excessive spending power in a time of boom while doing something for the estates and smallholders in a time of recession.

The Honourable Member for Teluk Anson tried to defend himself against the accusation levelled against him by the Prime Minister some time ago that he preferred to attend a "Double Ten" celebration at the expense of playing host on behalf of his own delegation, particularly when he was practically the leader of that delegation. I think he convicted himself through his own words this evening when he admitted that he did attend a Double Ten celebration, though he said that it was not at the Chinese Embassy, but the point which the Government wished to make was that he did attend the Double Ten celebration when, in fact, he should have played host at a party given by his own delegation.

The Honourable Member for Setapak—I was very gratified to hear him—used the term "property-owning democracy" for the first time, I think, in his life. Honourable Members will recall that this expression was thought up by the Alliance and it is very gratifying that at least he has come part of the way. May be, mixing with us has had some salutary effect on him, and it is good to see that, although we are not as close as we might be, he has benefited by being at least in the same House with us. (*Applause*).

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not like to take up much of the time of this House, but before I reply to the various comments and criticisms made by Members of the Opposition, I would like to take this opportunity to offer our congratulations to the Honourable Mover and the Seconder of the motion of Address. I think the Honourable Mover, the Member for Larut Selatan, was right when he said that this was the fourth

time in which he was asked to move the motion of Address, and I think it is an eloquent testimony of the able manner in which he has done his task every year.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak mengambil masa yang panjang bagi menjawab pandangan² yang di-datangkan oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat pehak pembangkang di-atas dasar² Kerajaan seperti yang terkandung dalam Uchapan di-Raja, sebab pandangan² itu, pada pandangan saya, tidak ada yang menasabah dan berpatutan, dan nampaknya pehak pembangkang tidak ada perkara² yang hendak di-tegor, maka mereka itu telah menchuba satu chara hendak menuduh Kerajaan ya'ani mengatakan Kerajaan ini menjalankan "communal". Jadi ini nampaknya tactics baharu yang di-buat oleh mereka itu, sebab tidak ada lagi tactics lain yang boleh di-jalankan. Dalam rancangan pembangunan negara pun mereka ini menyatakan yang Kerajaan ini menjalankan dasar communal ia-itu memberi pertolongan kepada satu pehak sahaja untuk ra'ayat negeri ini, dan tidak memberi pertolongan kepada pehak yang lain. Perkara² ini telah di-terangkan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri ia-itu dasar Kerajaan Perikatan ia-lah hendak menolong orang yang miskin daripada semua bangsa yang duduk di-luar bandar. Jadi dasar kita terang dan nyata, dan dasar ini telah menunjukkan kehasilan, dan tidak boleh di-nafikan. Jadi, nampaknya bila pehak pembangkang berchakap dalam hal pembangunan luar bandar mereka itu tentu susah hendak menafikan kehasilan yang telah dapat di-tunjukkan oleh Kerajaan di-seluruh tempat di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini.

Yang Berhormat dari Tanjong, barangkali sama ada tersilap atau pun tidak sengaja mengatakan Kerajaan telah berjaya dalam ekonomi ini oleh sebab "by accident". Jadi oleh sebab dia tidak dapat hendak menafikan perkara ini terpaksa di-sebutkan juga ada kejayaan Kerajaan dalam lapangan iktisad, tetapi di-kata-nya dengan tidak sengaja ia-itu "by accident". Dengan ini nyata-lah, Tuan Yang di-

Pertua, bahawa kejayaan² yang telah dapat di-chapai oleh Kerajaan Perikatan dalam lapangan kemajuan ekonomi negara telah nampak oleh semua pehak di-seluruh Tanah Melayu ini, dan saya tegaskan lagi di-sini ia-itu chara kita menjalankan ranchangan² kemajuan tentu-lah berlainan dengan pehak pembangkang, terutama sa-kali pehak Socialist Front. Chara-nya kita menjalankan telah mendatangkan hasil ia-itu kita ber'azam hendak meningkatkan taraf hidup penduduk di-luar bandar, penduduk yang miskin dengan chara menambah mata pencharian mereka itu dan memberi mereka itu kemudahan yang berpatutan yang dikehendaki. Jadi dasar kita yang dalam bahasa Inggeris-nya di-katakan "to level up" bukan hendak "level down". Kita tidak bersetuju kepada dasar "level down" kerana dengan ini akan memadamkan ke'azam (initiative) atau enterprise. Jadi dengan dasar kita hendak "level up" itu kita akan menguatkan initiative dan enterprise, sebab pada fikiran saya hanya-lah hasrat (initiative) dan semangat ra'ayat sahaja-lah yang dapat membena negara kita ini menjadi satu negara yang aman dan ma'amor. Jadi dengan sebab itu-lah chara yang di-jalankan oleh pehak Kerajaan Perikatan telah mendapat kepujian daripada semua pakar di-seluruh dunia yang telah melawat negeri ini mengatakan chara ini-lah chara yang istimewa yang patut di-ikut oleh lain² negeri. Dengan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nyata-lah perkara yang di-jalankan telah mendatangkan hasil, dan tidak-lah seperti yang di-tudoh oleh pehak pembangkang yang kita menyokong atau melebehi mana² pehak.

Dalam hal dasar tanah pula sungoh pun dasar tanah ada-lah di-bawah Kerajaan Negeri, yang saya sendiri tidak ada berkuasa, tetapi saya tahu Kerajaan² Negeri yang di-bawah tadbiran Kerajaan Perikatan ada menjalankan dasar dengan adil-nya, memberi tanah kepada mereka yang tidak ada tanah dan yang tidak chukup tanah. Ta' dapat tiada orang yang menduduki tanah sa-chara haram atau pun menduduki tanah chara T.O.L. terpaksa di-keluarkan, kerana tanah itu

hendak di-gunakan pada ranchangan tanah. Orang yang mempunyai tanah dengan T.O.L. yang di-katakan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh itu, mereka itu tidak mempunyai hak kepada tanah itu, tanah T.O.L. boleh-lah di-berhentikan bila sahaja di-fikirkan patut. Jadi bukan orang² China atau India sahaja yang mempunyai tanah T.O.L. itu di-hapuskan dan di-tamatkan, bahkan beratus² orang Melayu, saya tahu, di-seluruh Tanah Melayu tanah T.O.L. dan juga tanah yang di-duduki sa-chara haram itu terpaksa di-betulkan dan di-beri mereka itu grant tanah yang kekal, sebab menduduki tanah sa-chara haram itu hendak-lah di-halalkan dan di-sem-purnakan.

Bagitu juga pandangan Ahli Yang Berhormat pehak pembangkang di-atas hal pasaran. Nampak-nya tegoran² yang di-buat oleh mereka itu ia-lah di-sebabkan mereka itu tidak faham sama ada sengaja atau pun tidak, saya tidak tahu, akan perkara² yang di-buat oleh pehak Kerajaan. Dalam hal pasaran ini banyak ranchangan yang telah di-buat, terutama pehak Sharikat² Kerjasama dan juga pehak RIDA. Sharikat² Kerjasama ada mengadakan beberapa kedai sharikat yang menerima di-tempat-nya, terutama sa-kali dalam ranchangan² tanah yang baharu, dan berkenaan dengan hal RIDA ada mengadakan beberapa ranchangan pasaran, Pekan² Minggu dan mengadakan agent bagi menjual barang kepada kedai dan juga mengadakan travelling van bagi menunjokkan barang² yang di-buat dari kampung. Di-Petaling Jaya ada sa-buah institute, nama-nya Small Industries Service Institute, di-situ semua barang² yang di-keluarkan dari kampung ada ditunjokkan supaya dapat di-beli dan di-beri pasaran yang sempurna daripada mana² pehak yang suka hendak membeli-nya dalam negeri ini.

Jadi, ini nyata-lah bahawa ada langkah yang sempurna di-ambil bagi menjalankan pasaran² itu.

Bagitu juga ranchangan² tanah yang di-katakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Seberang Selatan ia-itu tidak mendatangkan hasil sebab sa-tengah²

nya jauh daripada kampung². Sa-tengah ranchangan tanah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak dapat tiada jauh dari kampung kerana kita hendak membuka tanah yang baik dan sempurna akan tetapi ranchangan tanah yang di-adakan itu yang chukup kemudahan² bagi pendudok² berpindah ka-sana. Jadi, tidak ada apa² galangan berpindah di-tempat itu jika mereka itu benar² berkehendak atau pun suka hendak menjalankan ranchangan tanah.

Berkenaan dengan chadangan Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Muar Utara ia-itu patut-lah di-kurangkan luas tanah itu daripada 10 ekar kepada 6 ekar kepada satu orang supaya banyak orang boleh dapat tanah. Jadi, dalam dasar kita hendak memberi ka-pada satu family itu tanah chukup luas-nya bagi mereka itu mempunyai taraf hidup yang di-fikirkan sempurna atau berpatutan. Jadi, kalau daripada 10 ekar itu di-kurangkan pada 6 ekar kepada satu kelamin itu tentu-lah tidak mempunyai taraf hidup yang di-fikirkan berpatutan ia-itu di-katakan dalam bahasa Inggeris "Economic Unit". Jika kita berikan kurang daripada yang kita fikirkan "Economic Unit" kemudian kita terpaksa pula menolong mereka. Ini berma'ana kita kena buat kerja dua kali. Jadi, baik-lah di-beri tanah² itu menchukupi bagi satu kelamin. Dan jika tidak chukup tanah bagi kehendak semua mereka yang berkehendakkan tanah² itu maka terpaksa-lah kita mengadakan perkerjaan² yang lain, lapangan² lain bagi mata pencharian mereka itu seperti mengadakan perusahaan² kecil atau perusahaan penengahan untuk mereka mempunyai mata pencharian yang sempurna. Kerajaan kita seperti saya telah terangkan kerap kali ia-itu kita berkehendakkan satu kelamin itu mempunyai pendapatan \$350.00 atau \$400.00 sa-bulan. Ini-lah tingkatan yang kita kehendaki, kalau kurang daripada ini berma'ana-lah orang² itu tidak mempunyai taraf hidup yang di-fikirkan sempurna.

Berkenaan dengan hal pertahanan, ada banyak Ahli² Yang Berhormat mendatangkan pandangan terutama hal tentera² kita di-Kongo. Saperti yang telah di-terangkan oleh Yang

Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita. Kita menghantar tentera² kita di-Kongo ia-lah kerana memberikan pertolongan kepada Badan Bangsa² Bersatu untuk memulehkan keamanan di-negeri itu. Dan kita terpaksa-lah menolong-nya hingga sampai tempat itu damai puleh seperti sedia kala. Jikalan keadaan di-sana itu sudah beransor baik dan bilangan tentera itu hendak di-kurangkan atau tidak, itu terpulang-lah kepada Badan Bangsa² Bersatu bagi menimbangkan-nya.

Berkenaan dengan layanan tentera² kita di-sana, saya ada-lah berasa puas hati kerana dari satu masa ka-satu masa saya ada menghantar Panglima Tentera Darat kita melawat ka-Kongo bagi melihat sendiri keadaan dan layanan tentera kita di-sana. Bagitu juga kita ada sa-orang pegawai Brigadier Melayu yang bertanggung jawab di-sana. Berkenaan dengan tuduhan² yang mengatakan sa-tengah² barang tidak sampai kepada tentera² kita seperti yang telah di-katakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Setapak, itu saya telah siasat dan saya dapati tidak benar. Sa-kali sahaja kueh² yang kita hantar di-sana untuk Hari Raya tidak sampai barangkali barang² itu sudah di-ambil oleh orang² Kongo maka dengan sebab itu-lah barang² itu tidak dapat sampai kepada tentera² kita itu. Barang² lain saya di-beritahu ada sampai.

Berkenaan dengan surat khabar juga, ada surat khabar di-hantar di-sana menurut kehendak² tentera kita di-sana dan saya suka menerangkan di-sini pehak Utusan Melayu ada menghantar 30 naskhah surat khabar-nya dengan perchuma kerana tentera² kita di-sana (*Tepok*). Barangkali jika ada surat² khabar lain yang suka hendak memberikan pertolongan-nya, saya fikir tentu-lah askar kita itu akan menguchapkan berbanyak terima kaseh.

Berkenaan dengan peristiwa yang di-keluarkan oleh Court Martial baharu² ini, saya katakan di-sini ini ada-lah peristiwa yang berlaku sa-kali sahaja. Dan dalam tentera kita tentu-lah perkara² ini kadang² ada berlaku tetapi bukan berma'ana keadaan tentera di-Kongo itu tidak memuaskan hati

bahkan sa-balek-nya. Perkara ini berlaku pada kali ini sahaja. Saya telah ambil tindakan yang sa-wajar-nya supaya peristiwa itu di-bawa ka-Mahkamah untuk di-bicarakan mengikut aturan yang sempurna. Jadi, tidak-lah patut kita dengan sebab satu peristiwa itu kita mengatakan keadaan di-Kongo tidak memberi puas hati. Kita ada menghantar pegawai² tinggi untuk menyiasat keadaan di-Kongo itu dari satu masa ka-satu masa dan kita dapat perkhabaran dari Bangsa² Bersatu yang sentiasa mengatakan mereka itu sangat puas hati kapada gerak geri dan kechergasan tentera² kita di-Kongo itu.

Berkenaan dengan dasar pertahanan, saya sangat-lah sukachita mendengar Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Setapak ada menyokong di-atas dasar yang di-kemukakan itu. Berkenaan dengan taktik chara berperang ada taktik yang di-fikirkan munasabah dan yang modern kita akan gunakan bukan sahaja taktik gorela tetapi semua taktik kita akan jalankan.

Berkenaan dengan kenaikan pangkat tentera, saya tidak pernah memusing²kan perchakapan Ahli Yang Berhormat itu barangkali pada satu masa dahulu dia sendiri ada berkata Sergeant Major boleh jadi Colonel di-Kongo, mengapa di-sini Sergeant Major itu tidak boleh jadi Colonel. Kalau Major di-naikkan ka-Lieutenant-Colonel itu saya faham perkara yang biasa di-jalankan, kalau dia jadi Major tahun ini harus tahun hadapan dia jadi Lieutenant-Colonel (*Ketawa*). Tetapi kalau Sergeant Major hendak di-naikkan pangkat-nya jadi General itu saya tidak bersetuju.

Berkenaan dengan pegawai² expatriate yang di-katakan itu ada lagi di-sini. Pegawai² expatriate itu ada-lah menolong kita di-sini sahaja dan bukan-nya pula pegawai² kita tidak layak menjalankan pekerjaan bahkan semua-nya layak dan tidak berapa lama lagi G.O.C. kita ada-lah terdiri daripada anak Tanah Melayu ini. Akan tetapi sebab kita sekarang kekurangan pegawai² yang dapat di-latih pada masa ini; kita akan melateh pegawai² kita lebih

berganda lagi, saya perchaya tidak berapa lama lagi semua jawatan² itu dapat di-pegang oleh anak negeri ini sendiri.

Bagitu juga Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Tanah Merah ada mengatakan ia-itu dua orang Sergeant dalam Tentera Tempatan telah di-berhentikan dengan tidak di-beri notice. Saya telah siasat perkara ini, dan ini tidak benar semua sa-kali. Mereka kedua-nya itu telah di-beri notice berhenti sebab kedua²-nya sudah chukup umur 45 tahun. Dalam Tentera Tempatan tidak di-benarkan sa-saorang itu berkhidmat lebih daripada umur 45 tahun dan menurut Undang² ini gaji-nya semua-nya di-bayar dan mereka ini di-hantar balek ka-kampung dengan memakai transport daripada Tentera Tempatan. Jadi, ini sa-mata² perchakapan yang tidak benar sa-kali² sebab layanan² ada di-berikan oleh pihak Tentera Tempatan kita itu.

Berkenaan dengan pandangan Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Puteh yang mengatakan, dalam ranchangan luar bandar ini pihak Kerajaan Persekutuan tidak memberi layanan kapada Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan. Itu pada fikiran saya ta' payah saya terangkan, kerap kali saya telah sebutkan di-sini ia-itu Kerajaan Persekutuan sedia hendak memberikan pertolongan kapada Kerajaan² Negeri kalau Kerajaan² Negeri memberikan kerjasama kapada Kerajaan Persekutuan. Saya telah pergi Kelantan pada satu masa dahulu menerangkan kapada Kerajaan Kelantan dan ra'ayat negeri Kelantan, kalau Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan mahu memberikan kerjasama kapada Kerajaan Persekutuan, Kerajaan Persekutuan sedia hendak memberikan pertolongan-nya tetapi dukachita kerjasama itu tidak dapat di-berikan dalam lapangan tanah dan juga pelajaran dewasa dan ranchangan² yang telah di-ator dalam Buku Merah pun tidak dapat di-jalankan dengan sempurna-nya. Jadi, berkenaan dengan pandangan Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Puteh sa-tengah² ranchangan tidak perlu dimasukkan dalam Buku Merah itu ada juga di-jalankan. Saya tahu di-satu tempat Pasir Puteh sendiri—jajahan tempat Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tidak

memakai Buku Merah tetapi memakai Buku Kuning. Kalau mana² tempat tidak menurut dasar yang di-berikan oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan tentu-lah Kerajaan Persekutuan tidak dapat memberikan bantuan kerana Kerajaan Persekutuan tidak boleh mengeluarkan wang sa-hingga Kerajaan Persekutuan berasa puas hati bahawa wang itu digunakan dengan sempurna dan memberi faedah. Jadi, saya sendiri faham politik dan Perlembagaan begitu juga Menteri² dalam Kerajaan Perikatan semua-nya faham Perlembagaan. Saya sa-orang daripada ahli yang merangkakan Perlembagaan dan saya faham ia-itu Kerajaan Negeri ada-lah tanggungannya masing² begitu juga Kerajaan Persekutuan ada tanggung jawabnya. Akan tetapi jika Kerajaan Negeri tidak memberikan kerjasama-nya tentu-lah payah Kerajaan Persekutuan hendak memberikan pertolongan. Dan lagi jika Kerajaan Negeri memberikan pertolongan bukan sahaja patut Kerajaan Negeri menguchapkan terima kaseh bahkan di-harapkan ranchangan yang di-buat oleh wang Kerajaan Persekutuan itu patut-lah di-ishtiharkan yang ranchangan itu di-buat oleh wang daripada Kerajaan Persekutuan. Tetapi nampak-nya sa-tiap kali ranchangan yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan di-Kelantan itu, Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan mengaku hak dia sendiri.

Jadi, ini chara itu yang saya katakan berlaku di-Negeri Kelantan oleh itu tidak-lah dapat Kerajaan Persekutuan memberi bantuan yang sempurna kerana Kerajaan negeri tidak ada memberikan kerjasama dan tidak menerima kebanyakan daripada dasar² Pembangunan Kerajaan Persekutuan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada satu lagi perkara di-sini saya di-minta oleh rakan saya Menteri Kesihatan menjawab-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Telok Anson mengatakan Pejabat Social Welfare itu hanya di-beri 10,000 ribu ringgit kepada orang² yang menjadi mangsa api. Saya telah di-beritahu ia-lah 60,000 ribu ringgit ada di-hadihkan kepada orang² ramai, jadi dengan hadiah 10,000 ribu ringgit daripada Badan Loteri itu ada-lah berjumlah semua-nya \$70,000 ringgit. Dengan itu menchukupi-lah bagi per-

tolongan kepada orang yang mendapat kemalangan itu.

Barangkali juga Ahli Yang Berhormat itu sendiri tidak ada di-tempat itu sungguh pun di-dalam kawasan-nya sendiri hanya dua hari sa-lepas kemalangan itu berlaku baharu dia sampai dan pertolongan² lain daripada itu ada di-beri saperti barang² makanan dan kain selimut dan juga barang² lain, jadi boleh-lah di-katakan bantuan yang sempurna telah di-berikan kepada mereka itu.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya fikir masa pun sudah lambat, saya rasa tidak ada apa lagi dan ini-lah sahaja yang patut saya jawabkan dalam perkara² yang berbangkit dalam perbahathan ini.

The Minister of Education (Enche' Abdul Rahman bin Haji Talib): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam perbincangan membahathkan chadangan yang di-majukan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Larut Selatan, banyak Ahli² Yang Berhormat telah menyentuh berkenaan dengan dasar pelajaran dan chara melaksanakan-nya. Jadi, saya tidak-lah berhajat hendak membahathkan satu persatu, tetapi ada satu dua perkara yang besar yang saya fikirkan patut saya menjelaskan dalam Dewan ini. Yang pertama sa-kali ia-lah bangkangan dan penolakan mentah² atas dasar pelajaran Persekutuan oleh pati PPR. Ini tidak-lah menghairankan, tetapi barangkali dia tidak faham apa yang di-tolak-nya itu. Saya suka-lah menjelaskan bahawa dasar pelajaran Kebangsaan kita yang telah lalu bersendikan dengan tiga asas yang kokoh. Asas yang pertama ia-lah tujuan hendak menyatupadukan penduduk² dalam Tanah Melayu ini yang terdiri dari berbilang² bangsa dengan menanamkan semangat ta'at setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada Tanah Melayu ini. Asas yang kedua ia-lah menjadikan bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di-Persekutuan bagi melaksanakan kandungan Perlembagaan kita. Asas yang ketiga ia-lah sambil menjalankan tujuan yang pertama dan yang kedua kita juga hendak memelihara perkembangan bahasa dan kebudayaan orang² yang bukan Melayu yang jadi

ra'ayat negeri ini. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila sa-suatu pati menolak mentah² akan dasar yang bersendikan tiga asas ini maka berma'ana-lah ia menolak juga satu persatu-nya perkara yang menjadi sendi dasar pelajaran kita itu. Kalau dia menolak asas yang pertama berma'ana-lah dia dan pati-nya itu tidak ingin dan tidak berkehendakkan supaya penduduk Tanah Melayu ini bersatu padu, dan akibat-nya ia-lah seperti yang telah di-terangkan oleh sahabat saya, wakil dari Johor Tenggara, dan kalau kita meneliti tektik yang di-jalankan oleh wakil² pati itu yang di-suarakan oleh wakil dari Ipoh dan Menglembu nyata-lah mereka menudoh bahawa Perikatan ada-lah satu pati yang berdasarkan perkauman. Tetapi apabila Kerajaan hendak menjalankan satu dasar untuk menyatupadukan penduduk² di-negeri ini maka pati itu menentang dasar itu. Jadi, yang sa-benar-nya nyata-lah bahawa bukan-lah perikatan yang menggalakkan dasar perkauman ini, tetapi ia-lah pati yang di-dokong oleh wakil² dari Ipoh dan menglembu itu. Di-dalam penolakan-nya itu ia telah menolak juga asas yang kedua menjadikan bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dalam negeri ini dan asas ini bagaimana yang telah di-katakan tadi ada-lah satu usaha untuk melaksanakan satu Fasal dari Perlembagaan kita. Dan orang² yang membangkang dasar ini berma'ana-lah juga dia membangkang satu usaha Kerajaan bagi melaksanakan kandungan Perlembagaan Persekutuan yang mulia ini. Tetapi yang ganjil sa-kali ia-lah penolakan tentang dasar yang ketiga, ia-itu dasar untuk memelihara perkembangan bahasa dan kebudayaan orang² yang bukan Melayu, ini juga di-tolak oleh pati itu. Ini menunjukkan bahawa dia juga tidak bersetuju menjalankan satu dasar pelajaran memberi pelajaran per-chuma kepada penduduk² negeri dalam bahasa China dan juga memberi pelajaran bahasa itu dalam Sekolah² Menengah dan Sekolah² Tinggi kita, ini ada-lah satu perkara yang patut mendapat perhatian daripada semua orang² yang menyokong pati PPR itu. Perkara yang kedua, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang saya hendak terangkan ia-lah

perkara yang di-bangkitkan oleh wakil dari Bachok berkenaan dengan Universiti Islam. Ia telah meminta saya menjelaskan sama ada apa yang telah di-ucapkan oleh sa-orang pegawai daripada Kementerian saya tentang di-negeri ini kelak akan tertuboh sa-buah Universiti Islam, benar atau tidak. Saya suka hendak menjelaskan bahawa apa yang telah di-nyatakan oleh pegawai saya tadi ia-lah harapan-nya ia-itu pada satu masa kelak di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini akan terdiri Universiti Islam. Harapan yang di-ucapkan oleh salah sa-orang pegawai daripada Kementerian ini ia-lah di-buat sa-telah ia mengetahui dengan sa-benar²-nya langkah² tegas yang telah di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang ada hari ini ia-itu Kerajaan Perikatan tentang kemajuan dan perkembangan pelajaran Ugama Islam negeri ini. Kita boleh bermegah bahawa semenjak Kerajaan Perikatan-lah yang kanak² yang beragama Islam dalam sekolah² rendah, dalam sekolah² pelajaran lanjutan, dalam sekolah² menengah yang di-beri pelajaran Ugama dengan perbelanjaan yang di-keluarkan oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan dan jika sakira-nya Ahli itu mengikut anggaran perbelanjaan kita maka kita dapati bahawa dalam anggaran perbelanjaan Kementerian Pelajaran ini ada di-masukkan wang kerana mengongkosi pelajaran Ugama Islam di-sekolah² yang saya sebutkan tadi sa-banyak 5 juta ringgit dalam tahun 1962 ini. Kerajaan ini juga memikirkan bahawa memberi pelajaran Ugama pada kanak² yang ada di-sekolah rendah dan menengah ini maseh lagi belum memadai. Kita juga telah menguntokkan wang sa-banyak lima ratus tiga puluh ribu ringgit di-bawah Kementerian Pelajaran bagi membantu sekolah² Ugama yang di-dirikan oleh ra'ayat sendiri yang pada satu masa dahulu tidak mendapat perhatian daripada mana² Kerajaan pun dalam negeri ini.

Kemudian bagi perbelanjaan College Islam dan Islamic Studies di-Universiti Malaya ia menyatakan bahawa kebanyakkan daripada peruntokkan Islam Studies tidak di-belanjakan.

Jika ia mengikuti perbelanjaan ini neschaya ia dapati ada peruntokkan yang berasingan² di-atas dan perkara ini ia-itu College Islam sa-banyak \$60,000 dan Islamic Studies \$114,000. Sa-lain daripada itu pada masa sekarang perundingan sedang di-jalankan oleh pegawai Kementerian Pelajaran dengan Muslim College Council bagi mengator satu chara supaya Kerajaan Persekutan dapat memberi pertolongan kepada Majlis College Islam bagi mendirikan sa-buah bangunan baharu di-Petaling Jaya. Jadi, berdasarkan kapada apa yang di-ketahui oleh-nya tentang langkah² yang di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan sekarang, maka ia menyatakan harapan pada satu masa kelak, kita harap tidak berapa lama lagi, sa-buah Universiti Islam akan di-dirikan di-Tanah Melayu ini.

Ada satu perkara yang kecil yang di-sebutkan tentang scholarship. Perkara ini telah di-sebutkan oleh wakil dari Seberang Selatan dan yang kedua wakil Temerloh. Wakil Temerloh mengatakan scholarship dalam bulan October itu ada-lah menyusahkan penuntut² yang masok ka-Universiti kerana ada kala-nya orang² yang di-beri scholarship itu tidak mendapat kelulusan dalam peperiksaan Higher School Certificate dalam bulan tiga, jadi tempat-nya di-Universiti tinggal kosong. Dalam hal ini satu system baru yang kita buat sekarang ini ia-itu pada masa Public Service Commission memberi scholarship ini kita ada satu peratoran reserve list siapa yang tidak lulus Higher School Certificate, maka siapa yang ada lulus dari reserve list itu akan di-beri scholarship. Berkenaan dengan scholarship yang di-bangkitkan oleh Ahli Seberang Selatan berkenaan dengan ratio scholarship itu, saya rasa tidak payah saya terangkan kerana Perdana Menteri telah menerangkan atas hal ini.

Ada satu perkara yang saya suka hendak jelaskan ia-itu berkenaan dengan tegoran yang di-buat oleh wakil dari Tanah Merah berkenaan dengan system automatic promotion ia-itu chara menaikkan murid dengan tidak ada pereksa. System ini bukan-nya di-import dari England bahkan

dalam persidangan di-Tokyo baharu² ini kebanyakan dari negeri² Asia menjalankan system saperti ini. Sebab²-nya ada di-beri dalam Penyata Jawatan-Kuasa Menyemak Dasar Pelajaran paragraph 151 sampai 154 yang telah di-luluskan oleh Dewan ini pada dasar-nya. Jadi dasar ini telah di-terima dan perkara ini patut-lah di-fahamkan betul² dan jikalau hendak memahami, sebab-nya ada di-beri dalam penyata itu.

Berkenaan dengan akhlak atau pun kebudayaan penuntut² di-Maktab Perguruan yang berjalan berpasang²an saperit yang di-katakan oleh wakil Tanah Merah itu, ini perkara bukan-lah mendapat galakan dari Kementerian saya, tetapi Kementerian tidak-lah juga dapat menahan kerana Tuhan juga telah menjadikan manusia ini dua jenis. Rasa saya jikalau mereka itu berjalan berpasangan dalam keadaan yang siuman tidak-lah menjadi satu perkara yang rintang pada mata dan jikalau barangkali kita buat satu tegahan supaya murid² tidak boleh berjalan berpasang, saya takut satu kejadian yang lebeh burok boleh berlaku saperti yang telah berlaku di-Sabak Bernam ia-itu memanjat rumah orang. Saya takut perkara ini akan terjadi, dan saya harap wakil dari Tanah Merah mengerti apa yang saya maksudkan.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Setapak telah menyatakan ia-itu dalam Pejabat Pengajian Melayu tidak ada sa-orang pun pensharah Melayu. Saya suka menyatakan ia-itu yang saya tahu ada 4 orang pensharah Melayu dan sa-orang daripada-nya sedang melanjutkan pelajaran tinggi di-sabang laut supaya membolehkan ia mengajar dalam pengajian tinggi ini.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Muar Utara telah menyatakan berkenaan dengan menaikkan umur berhenti sekolah kapada 13 tahun. Pada masa sekarang pun umur berhenti sekolah ia-lah 14 tahun dengan ada-nya Sekolah Lanjutan.

Berkenaan dengan pelajaran civic ini sedang di-kaji oleh Kementerian saya. Barang-kali, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu-lah sahaja perkara² yang

patut saya terangkan dan saya harap dengan keterangan yang saya terangkan itu akan dapat memuaskan Ahli² Yang Berhormat (*Tepok*).

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That an humble Address be presented to

His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong as follows:

"Your Majesty,

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

Adjourned at 8.15 p.m.