

**Volume V**  
**No. 10**



**Friday**  
**16th August, 1963**

# **PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**

**DEWAN RA'AYAT**  
**(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)**

**OFFICIAL REPORT**

## **CONTENTS**

### **BILL:**

**The Malaysia Bill [Col. 1051]**

DI-CHETAK DI-JABATAN CHETAK KERAJAAN  
OLEH THOR BENG CHONG, A.M.N., PENCHETAK KERAJAAN  
KUALA LUMPUR  
1963



FEDERATION OF MALAYA

**DEWAN RA'AYAT**

(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

*Official Report*

---

Fifth Session of the First Dewan Ra'ayat

---

*Friday, 16th August, 1963*

*The House met at half past nine o'clock a.m.*

PRESENT:

- The Honourable Mr Speaker, DATO' HAJI MOHAMED NOAH BIN OMAR, P.M.N., S.P.M.J., D.P.M.B., P.I.S., J.P.
- „ the Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Information and Broadcasting, 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 without Portfolio, DATO' SULEIMAN BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Muar Selatan).
- „ the Minister of Transport, DATO' HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ the Minister without Portfolio, DATO' ONG YOKE LIN, P.M.N. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, ENCHE' MOHAMED KHIR BIN JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, ENCHE' BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN (Kuala Pilah).
- „ the Minister of Health, ENCHE' ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB (Kuantan).
- „ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, DR LIM SWEE AUN, J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- „ the Minister of Education, TUAN HAJI ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, J.M.N., J.P. (Batang Padang).
- „ the Assistant Minister of the Interior, ENCHE' CHEAH THEAM SWEE (Bukit Bintang).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).

- The Honourable the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry,  
TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN  
(Kota Star Utara).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Information and Broadcasting,  
ENCHE' MOHAMED ISMAIL BIN MOHAMED YUSOF (Jelai).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Kuala Langat).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN, K.M.N., P.J.K.  
(Krian Laut).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN (Lipis).
- „ ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN OSMAN (Sungai Patani).
- „ TOH MUDA HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI ABDUL RAOF  
(Kuala Kangsar).
- „ 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 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 SWEE HO (Ulu Kinta).
- „ ENCHE' CHAN YOON ONN (Kampar).
- „ ENCHE' CHIN SEE YIN (Seremban Timor).
- „ ENCHE' V. DAVID (Bungsar).
- „ DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N.  
(Jitra-Padang Terap).
- „ ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT, K.M.N. (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).

- The Honourable ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN HAJI KASSIM (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' KANG KOCK SENG (Batu Pahat).
- „ ENCHE' K. KARAM SINGH (Damansara).
- „ CHE' KHADIJAH BINTI MOHD. SIDEK (Dungun).
- „ ENCHE' KHONG KOK YAT (Batu Gajah).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N. (Kluang Utara).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SIOK YEW, A.M.N. (Sepang).
- „ ENCHE' LIM JOO KONG, J.P. (Alor Star).
- „ ENCHE' LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- „ ENCHE' LIU YOONG PENG (Rawang).
- „ ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED BIN UJANG (Jelebu-Jempol).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ABBAS BIN AHMAD (Hilir Perak).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA (Pasir Puteh).
- „ 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).
- „ ENCHE' NG ANN TECK (Batu).
- „ TUAN HAJI 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, J.P. (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., J.P. (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 AL-MARHUM 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 (Teluk Anson).
- „ ENCHE' V. VEERAPPEN (Seberang Selatan).
- „ WAN MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ALI (Kelantan Hilir).
- „ WAN SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM, P.J.K. (Kota Star Selatan).

The Honourable WAN YAHYA BIN HAJI WAN MOHAMED, K.M.N. (Kemaman).

„ ENCHE' YAHYA BIN HAJI AHMAD (Bagan Datoh).

„ ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).

„ ENCHE' YONG WOO MING (Sitiawan).

„ PUAN HAJIAH ZAIN BINTI SULAIMAN, J.M.N., P.I.S.  
(Pontian Selatan).

„ TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB (Langat).

„ ENCHE' ZULKIFLEE BIN MUHAMMAD (Bachok).

#### ABSENT:

The Honourable ENCHE' AHMAD BOESTAMAM (Setapak).

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

„ NIK MAN BIN NIK MOHAMED (Pasir Mas Hilir).

„ ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).

#### IN ATTENDANCE:

The Honourable the Minister without Portfolio, ENCHE' KHAW KAI-BOH, P.J.K.

### PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

### BILL

#### THE MALAYSIA BILL

##### Second Reading

Order read for resumption of debate on motion, "That the Bill be now read a second time" (15th August, 1963).

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew (Dato Kramat):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I was yesterday dealing with the contradictory position of the Malay language in the various States of Malaysia—in Borneo, in Singapore and in Malaya—and there I attempted to show that, if we are to view Malaysia as a whole and not as separate units—of a loose federation of many peoples rather than of one people—then we must accept that the programme of our very hardworking Director of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka would create a new Malayan people who would, in the proposed Federation and in the international field, be inferior even to those people of the Federation educated in Singapore and the Borneo territories; and that whilst we would only be able to speak Malay, they, on the other hand, would be able to speak English and, therefore, could, as I said yesterday, look upon

us with some pity as a sort of unfortunate "backwood cousins".

Sir, it is also unfortunate that this question of various rights should have been exaggerated in this Bill. In Malaya we are told that our friends and our brethren of the kampongs should get special treatment in order to advance their economic position and to prevent the exploitative tendency and encroachment by those who are more fortunate to live in the towns. Of course, how that is to take place under capitalism, I do not know. How are they to achieve that if this question is all the time being confused with the fact or with the statement or the belief that exploitation is of one race as against another race? Because, once we introduce the racial argument into the situation, one then has to become a racist. If one becomes a racist, one would always fall into the trap of believing that if we remove the people of the other race, exploitation would end, which, we all know, is not so.

An exploiter is an exploiter no matter to what race he belongs. Even in this we find contradictions. However, when one views the proposed Federation as a whole one does not find consistency of the treatment of the Malays. Thus, for example, in Section 68 of the Malaysia Bill, on page 42, we find a

vague clause for the advancement of the Malays. The section reads as follows:

"Nothing in Clause (2) of Article 8 or Clause (1) of Article 12 shall prohibit or invalidate any provision of State law in Singapore for the advancement of Malays; but there shall be no reservation for Malays in accordance with Article 153 of positions in the public service to be filled by recruitment in Singapore, or of permits or licences for the operation of any trade or business in Singapore."

In the first place, the advancement of the Malays in Singapore is no longer guaranteed by the Federal Government. The Federal Government can have no power whatsoever to end exploitation in Singapore. The only government that can do so would be the Singapore Government and we know that the composition of the Singapore Government on the racial basis is bound to be Chinese. It is a fact we cannot deny. So either we believe in the principle that there should be advancement, in which case we should advance all the Malays whether in Singapore or not, or we must accept the other economic situation which is that each person must, in a capitalist State, work to the best of his ability and God helps those who fall hindmost. If that is so, then our provisions with regard to Malaya would be in contradiction to that principle. But it might be argued: well, in any event, the State law of Singapore will make certain of the advancement of the Malays. But is that so? Is it because it is specifically provided that only the Government of Singapore can do so and no other government may interfere with this? But if we come to the last bit of this section, it makes it even clearer that this provision contradicts completely the position of the Malayan Government, since it says that there shall be no reservation for the Malays in the granting of permits or licences for the operation of any trade or business in Singapore. Now, we all know that the agricultural section of the national economy of Singapore is less, I emphasise, less than 10 per cent of the national economy of Singapore. It is trade and it is business which certainly comprise the vast majority of the national income of Singapore; and under our attempt to establish a Com-

mon Market—which the Honourable Member for Rawang, if there is time, will be dealing with in more detail—Singapore is attempting to and will become the industrial centre of the Federation of Malaysia. If that is so, then all capital and all trade will be concentrated in Singapore which will become the special precinct of the non-Malays. As long as Singapore is not within the complex of the Federation of Malaysia, we can create an artificial industrial centre in Petaling Jaya. I say artificial industrial centre advisedly, because economically it is very, very wasteful. It is far away from Port Swettenham, the loading facilities and unloading facilities are few and expensive and it is far away from the proper markets which are necessary for an industrial complex, which means that our goods must be exported to the neighbouring countries, especially to Indonesia that we may flourish in the proper industrial sense. Geographically and economically, Petaling Jaya and the industrial complex of Klang and Port Swettenham will be swamped and destroyed by the industrial complex of Singapore which has a natural harbour and an established structure for entrepot trade. It has been said, I believe by the Honourable the Prime Minister, that Kuala Lumpur would be what Washington is to America and Singapore would be its New York. If that is so, then it is an admission which supports my argument.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in our anxiety to create special rights, which have their advantages and disadvantages, we find a very, very peculiar position in regard to the Malays in the Bornean States. Under Section 62 (7) the definition of "natives" is given. It is given because the natives in the Bornean States shall have special rights. But is not it a shame that we have to classify ourselves as natives in order to have special rights? Why should we do so? Surely we want to keep it for the aborigines of the Bornean States? But it says here—

"The races to be treated for the purposes of the definition of 'native' in Clause (6) as indigenous to Sarawak are the Bukitans, Bisayahs, Dusuns, Sea Dayaks, Land Dayaks, Kadayans, Kalabits, Kayans, Kenyahs (including Sabups and Sipengs), Kajangs

(including Sekapans, Kejamans, Lahanans, Punans, Tanjongs and Kanowits), Lugats, Lisums, Malays, Melanos, Muruts, Penans, Sians, Tagals, Tabuns and Ukits."

Why do we slip ourselves in here between Lisums and Melanos as natives of Borneo? Are they in fact Malays or Muslims, called Malays as such? If you mean the Muslims of those areas who are non-immigrants, you may say so. But we all know the situation. The people in Sarawak do not like the "Malays" of Sarawak because they remind them of the time of the great Sulu Empire under the Sultan of Brunei which had an empire stretching the seas of Malaysia from Sulu right down to the Malayan Archipelago. Those were the times when the Sulu seas were under the great control and empire of the Sultans of the Sulus. But here is a position which must make us laugh, even if it is at ourselves. For here is an attempt to create but a pitiable shadow of a past empire under other empirical terms.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I will end this matter by stating that in no way is the position of the Malays and Muslim religion synonymous in the Bornean States and Singapore with that of Malaya. Therefore, we are creating here another schism, another contradiction, another divisive influence, which will in the end not bring about one people but of peoples divided amongst themselves.

Now, as regards the financial provisions—as I have said before, somebody else will be speaking at greater length on this matter—I should like to touch only on the Fifth Schedule. Mr Speaker, Sir, as regards the Bornean territories, we have in the Fifth Schedule, at page 74, the following financial grants and provisions which have been provided constitutionally to the Bornean territories, which, unlike the other States of Malaya, therefore have a guaranteed revenue from the Federal Government. Section 1 says "In the case of Sarawak a grant of \$5,800,000 in each year." And then, in the case of Sarawak again it says:

"... a grant of which the amount in 1964 and each of the four following years shall be respectively \$3½ m., \$7 m., \$11½ m., \$16 m., and \$21 m., and in later years shall be fixed on a review under Article 112D."

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is nothing in the Explanatory Note whatsoever to show us what revenue we will be expecting from Sarawak. Are we getting more than what we are putting into Sarawak? If so, then I am sure the people in Sarawak would not like it. If you are putting more, then two questions arise. Why? Are you going to help them? If so, is not five million eight hundred thousand Malayan dollars nothing more than a mere pittance if it is for development, and the additional sum of \$3½ million, \$7 million, \$11½ million, \$16 million and \$21 million in any way sufficient for the national development of a country which is the same size or slightly larger than that of Malaya? This is an indication of a desire to suppress the true facts of the financial position by our Finance Ministry. I think that the Honourable Minister of Finance should at least have made the position clear so that when we come to voting, we will know exactly what we are voting for. Are we gaining or are we losing?

Now, in the case of Sabah, on the other hand, we have a very peculiar clause which guarantees a certain proportion of revenue for ourselves and the revenue for the people of Sabah. Here no fixed amount is given. But Section 2 says:

"In the case of Sabah, a grant of an amount equal in each year to two-fifths of the amount by which the net revenue derived by the Federation from Sabah exceeds the net revenue which would have been so derived in the year 1963 if—

- (a) the Malaysia Act had been in operation in that year as in the year 1964; and
- (b) the net revenue for the year 1963 were calculated without regard to any alteration of any tax or fee made on or after Malaysia Day;

('net revenue' meaning for this purpose the revenue which accrues to the Federation, less the amounts received by the State in respect of assignments of that revenue)."

The way the financial provision is made for Sabah is different from the presentation given to us with regard to the financial provisions given to Sarawak. I am sure the House would be very pleased to have an answer to this, so that we will at least have a clear idea of what we are voting for when we



come to vote, and I am certain the Minister of Finance in Committee stage would explain this. Then, it is also provided that Sabah will receive a road grant which is guaranteed by the Federation Government. Sir, I am afraid, unfortunately, the position of our Malayan States are not so favourable as the position of the Bornean States, i.e., it is not written in the Constitution as to the exact amount each State will receive.

The second point, Mr Speaker, Sir, about this secured provision is this: unless and until the position is reviewed, and unless the State Governments agree with the Federation Government, this sum is fixed, so that if it is too little the Bornean States cannot ask for any more; if it is too much, we cannot ask them to reduce that amount. So, this secured provision has advantages as well as disadvantages; and this thing must certainly be explained by the Minister of Finance and I hope that he will be able to do so without raising another war cry and the thumping of war drums as happened in the case of the financial arrangements that he made with the Prime Minister of Singapore, which I shall now deal with.

By Section 48, the Singapore Government has a right to negotiate with the Federal Government as regards the division of the "spoils" of Malaysia. Section 48 says:

"The Federal Government and the government of Singapore may from time to time enter into agreements providing for all or any of the following matters:

- (a) the manner in which the revenue derived by the Federation from Singapore or any part of that revenue is to be collected and accounted for, and the division of it between the Federation and the State;
- (b) the exercise by the State government or other authority of the State in relation to any such revenue of powers conferred by the laws relating thereto, or the concurrence of that government or any such authority in the exercise of any of those powers."

**Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman (Seberang Tengah):** Dato' Speaker, on a point of order—Ahli Yang Berhormat itu memberikan detail-nya. Mengikut Standing Order 53 (3), "—a debate may

arise covering the general merits and principle of the Bill.", dan Standing Order, 55 (1), "Any Committee to which a Bill is committed shall not debate the principle of the Bill but only its details."

**Mr Speaker:** The Honourable Member is quite in order. He is speaking on the principle of the Bill. Please proceed.

**Enche' Lim Kean Siew:** Mr Speaker, Sir, sub-section (5) provides that where negotiations between the Singapore Government and the Federation Government falls through, or if the two Governments cannot come to an agreement, then there shall be an independent assessor to review this Article, and his decision shall be binding on the Governments concerned and shall be treated as an agreement between the Governments. Mr Speaker, Sir, this—and I am sure the Honourable the Minister of Finance must know—can create minor political issues for the purpose of elections. This—I am sure the Honourable the Minister of Finance must be aware of—can be used for the purpose of getting political support; this, the Honourable the Minister of Finance must accept at his cost, as it can be very embarrassing to the Federal Government. We cannot but remember the arrangements made between the Prime Minister of Singapore and the Honourable Minister of Finance only a few weeks ago which led to the Prime Minister of Singapore emitting a war cry and performing a war dance (*Laughter*) over what he claimed was a scalping ceremony of our Honourable Minister of Finance. And do we not remember that huge cry of protestation from our Honourable Minister of Finance to the effect that, in fact, it was not he who had been diddled, nor scalped, but that he had honourably emerged from the battle with the great protagonist from Singapore?

Mr Speaker, Sir, we must accept that the reason for all this compromise is because the basis of the Federation Agreement, which led to the provisions of this Bill, was wrong. We had been cajoled and frightened into Malaysia because of the waving of the red flag and of the racialist flag by those who

wanted Malaysia to take place. We had been led to believe that we want Malaysia to save it from communism, and therefore Malaysia is good for the peoples of our country. It is a question of the end justifying the means, which I am told is one of the horrors of communism.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, I have dealt with the question of how democratic principles have been so heavily infringed by the inequality of representation and by the control of entry of Federation citizens into Borneo. I have said before that we need passes, even as Federation citizens, in order that we may enter the Bornean territories legally. It might be asked in that instance, what is the value of being a citizen? Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, having touched on this, I cannot complete it without referring to the attempt to further widen the emergency powers of the Federal Government, so that we can quietly supplant the provisions of this Bill and assert our authoritative and dictatorial influence over the other territories. This authority is provided for in Section 39, page 23 of the Bill, which says:

"(1) In Article 150 of the Constitution (which makes special provision for legislation in the event of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong being satisfied of the existence of a grave emergency whereby the security or economic life of the Federation or of any part thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance) there shall be omitted in Clause (1) the words "whether by war or external aggression or by internal disturbance."

This, in effect, will put to an end all democratic protests and will allow the Government to assume powers which should strictly be only necessary in democratic countries only in times of national emergency and war. By this amendment the Article 150 will now read thus:

"If the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security and economic life of the Federation or any part thereof is threatened he may issue a Proclamation of Emergency."

The old Article reads thus:

"If the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security or the economic life of the Federation or of any part thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or

internal disturbance, he may issue a Proclamation of Emergency."

The phrase "whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance", which limits the powers of proclamation, is now taken out by this Section. Mr Speaker, Sir, it would mean, therefore, that anything short of the Clause as it stands could lead to a Proclamation of Emergency. The position would be clarified if we were to take into consideration the fact that it would appear that the Singapore Government has had the advantage of labour and educational autonomy for Singapore. The Prime Minister of Singapore was at great length to explain that with the retention of autonomy in labour and education, it would be in order to allow a representation in the Federal Parliament of only 15 members from Singapore, which has a population of nearly two million, or slightly less than one-third of the population of Malaya. By right the representation from Singapore should be 34 or 35 as opposed to 104 of ours, but it was reduced to 15, because of labour and educational autonomy, so he claims.

Is it, however, true to say that autonomy in labour and education means of all that it says?

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, we all know it as a fact that all educational institutions can only be set up with the approval of the Ministry of Internal Security. We all know that any Board of Governors cannot have as its members people not approved by the Ministry of Internal Security. We all know that the books read by the schools have to go through the Ministry of Internal Security and be approved by it. Therefore, the books, the institutions themselves, and so on, would come under the control of Internal Security which is a Federal Government concern and, in fact, there can be no autonomy. On the other hand, if there is a protest by the schools, a proclamation declaring a state of emergency can be made, and action can be taken to close down the schools completely.

Sir, we might say, "Well, perhaps, it would be a good thing, because these communists are causing so much

trouble, or because these Chinese are so chauvinistic." As I said, we must not confuse the issue and justify the means because of the end, and we should never, in any case, look upon ourselves in any other way except as Malaysians. Such arguments are therefore only negative arguments and are out of place.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as regards the labour autonomy, not only can a strike be a national disturbance but it can also give rise to a proclamation of emergency, which means that irrespective of agreement with the Singapore Government, the Federal Government can step in to interfere with labour disputes in Singapore and thereby, in fact, taking over the control of labour by this means—although the agreement gives autonomy of labour to the Singapore Government.

Mr Speaker, Sir, sub-section (2) of section 39, following on sub-section (1) which I have just read, says:

"(2) In that Article for Clauses (5) and (6) there shall be substituted the following Clauses (5), (6) and (6A):

'(5) Subject to Clause (6A), while a Proclamation of Emergency is in force, Parliament may, notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, make laws with respect to any matter, if it appears to Parliament that the law is required by reason of the emergency; and Article 79 shall not apply to a Bill for such a law or an amendment to such a Bill, nor shall any provision of this Constitution or of any written law which requires any consent or concurrence to the passing of a law or any consultation with respect thereto, or which restricts the coming into force of a law after it is passed or the presentation of a Bill to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong for his assent.'"

This emphasises what I have said: that irrespective of any agreement with any State, irrespective of whether or not the matter comes under concurrent jurisdiction of the Federal Government and the State Government, as soon as a proclamation of emergency is declared, we can wipe out any agreement and take action by ourselves unilaterally, irrespective of whether or not an agreement has been entered into.

Sub-section (6) under the same sub-clause says:

"(6) Subject to Clause (6A), no provision of any ordinance promulgated under this

Article, and no provision of any Act of Parliament which is passed while a Proclamation of Emergency is in force and which declares that the law appears to Parliament to be required by reason of the emergency, shall be invalid on the ground of inconsistency with any provision of this Constitution."

That means to say that we can by a series of proclamations, in fact, tell the other State Governments to "go to so-and-so".

Then we come to sub-section (6A). You might think that it is a good one, but I do not know if it is—it is a matter of opinion. It says:

"(6A) Clause 5 shall not extend the powers of Parliament with respect to any matter of Muslim law or the custom of the Malays, or with respect to any matter of native law or custom in a Borneo State; nor shall Clause (6) validate any provision inconsistent with the provisions of this Constitution relating to any such matter or relating to religion, citizenship, or language."

I personally think that this is a very small safeguard indeed! If one does not examine this carefully with a reading glass, one would not be able to see any effect at all from this provision. This only attempts on the face of it to prevent, perhaps, religious interference, or agitation for equality of citizenship, or language, which contradicts those in the other States of ours. But if we examine it closer, it may not be so.

Mr Speaker, Sir, one can go on at length through this Bill, as it goes through the Committee Stage, to show the small inconsistencies. I have attempted to show only the main contradictions that exist, and leaving the Honourable Member for Seberang Selatan and the Honourable Member for Rawang to deal with those aspects on which they are more competent than I am. However, Sir, before I end, let us look at the question of land tenure. Land is essential for the exploitation of man for the betterment of his living condition. We realise already how difficult it is to bring about a co-ordinated national development plan, because of the fact that land tenure is under direct jurisdiction of the States—even that of Malaya; but unfortunately all those small powers given to the Federal Government by our Constitution have been taken out of effect with

regard to land of the Bornean territories. Section 43, page 25 of the Bill, removes the effects of Articles 91, 92, 94 and 95A from the Bornean territories. You may like to know what Articles 91, 92, 94 and 95A mean.

Sir, Article 91 establishes the National Land Council consisting of a Minister as Chairman and it is to formulate from time to time "a national policy for the promotion and control of utilisation of land throughout the Federation for mining, agriculture, forestry and any other purpose and for the administration of any laws relating thereto; and the Federal Government and State Governments shall follow the policy so formulated."—This important provision has been removed by section 43; and sub-section (2) however says:

"Subject to Clause (5), under Article 91 and under Article 95A the State Government shall not be required to follow the policy formulated by the National Land Council or by the National Council for Local Government, as the case may be, but the representative of the State shall not be entitled to vote on questions before the Council."

So, although we might think that section 43 (2) limits the effect of the removal of Articles 91, 92, 94 and 95A, in fact, it extends this principle over the entire National Council for Local Government. So, even in Local Government affairs, the Government cannot formulate a national policy. This is further emphasised under sub-clause (4) of Clause 43 which says:

"Under Clause (1) of Article 94 (under which in respect of matters in the State List the Federation may conduct research, give advice and technical assistance, etc.) the agricultural and forestry officers of a Borneo State shall consider, but shall not be required to accept, professional advice given to the government of the State."

So, now the compulsory need to follow the National Land Council decisions, is taken out with regard to Borneo States and the other States, who need not also take our advice on local government matters and that they need not even regard our advice on agriculture and forestry.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Article 92 of our Constitution deals with the national development plan—which means a plan for the development, improvement or

conservation of the natural resources of a development area, the exploitation of such resources, or the increase of means of employment in the area. The Article itself is very long, and I do not think there is any need for me to read it. But by the removal of the effect of Article 92, in fact, there can be no national development programme or, shall I say, no effective national development programme within those States after the Malaysia Act has come into force.

Mr Speaker, Sir, one can go on, as I have said, speaking for days on this Bill, but I am sure many people would like to speak after me. Sir, it might be wondered why I have decided not to go on or continue at this stage or why I have taken the whole of yesterday afternoon and a part of this morning. Sir, if the Government wishes to know the reason for this, then I would like to say this: let it be a warning to the Government not to employ its present tactics any longer, otherwise next time if we take the floor we shall speak for days. I say this because the Constitution (Amendment) Bill was sent to us about four or five days before this sitting of the Parliament, and we are supposed to deal with the amendments to our Constitution within this short period of a few days notice. This time some Members, who have come two or three days before the sitting of the Parliament to Kuala Lumpur, did not receive the Bill under discussion today and saw this Bill for the first time only after they had come to the House—last Monday. I, Mr Speaker, Sir, happened to be in Penang on Monday and that was how I saw this Bill on Monday. If the Bill could have been sent to us at least a week before the sitting, we could have discussed this properly. But what does this Government hope to achieve by this kind of tactics? Does it always hope to push through any Bill without proper discussion?

Mr Speaker, Sir, the debate on the agreement opened on Monday. To my great surprise, on Wednesday afternoon, after only about fifteen hours' debate the Government chose to move for a closure of debates; and although, Mr Speaker, Sir, I spoke on the amendment and you reminded that I could

speak generally on the principal discussions later, I was not given the opportunity to do so; and many of us were not given the opportunity to discuss the agreement which forms the basis of this Bill which I would like, Mr Speaker, Sir, with your permission, to liken to a result of a nightmare such as that which comes after a Roman orgy. It is unfortunate that we should have discussed the agreement and come to the provisions of this Bill within a week of the introduction of the debate on the Malaysia agreement in this House. Can we have had a fair discussion, a fair debate? Can it be said that Malaysia is a thing of no more importance than any other Bill or any other matter which has come before this House? Mr Speaker, Sir, not only is the Government fond of having closures, cutting out debates and surprising us with Bills without proper notice, but it has been its habit to make one statement every day in the morning and, to prevent the Opposition from speaking effectively in the morning, allow us to speak only in the afternoons when a lot of people have lost interest in the debate. Can we fairly and properly put the case of the Opposition before the country? I say "no", and I say "no" and that, therefore, to have Opposition in Parliament is to maintain a farce; it is indeed farcical that we should come here to waste our time speaking under the present tactics of the Government. If the Government intends to proceed in this manner, Mr Speaker, Sir, next time if we take the floor we will not give way. I have shown, I think, amply that we can talk and hold our own for days if we wish to, and the fact that we have not done so, is for consideration for the other people including the Ministers who are sitting on the Benches opposite myself.

To sum up, therefore, I would like to ask this question: is Malaysia, established under the present proposals, of any benefit to any of the peoples of the Malaysian territories? As I have said just now, everyone I have spoken to has said, "Ah! We must have Malaysia if we want to prevent Singapore from becoming communist or if

we want to fight communism." If that is the attitude, then it is indeed a very negative attitude—in order that we do not want "X"; therefore, we must have "Y"; in order that we must destroy "X", we must, therefore, build up "Y". Is that kind of negative approach essential for the dynamics and the imperatives of this region? Some people say, "We must have Malaysia, because the Chinese are in control in Singapore as Singaporeans." However, the people in Singapore and certain Chinese say, "We must have Malaysia, because we must survive, otherwise we will be destroyed." All these are negative arguments for Malaysia. If we must have Malaysia we must attempt to build a country of one people. I repeat again, the sooner we forget the ethnic origins of our peoples when we deal with the politics of the situation the better it is for us. People who have gone to America are called Americans. As I have said, the Englishman who went to Australia in 1949 calls himself an Australian and he is recognised as an Australian. But people who have been in this country for generations are called Indians, Chinese, immigrant races, non-Malays. Some of those people, who are thereby distinguished, immediately imagine that they are in that way superior, and because they are not Malays and they are immigrants, therefore, they are more hard working and more intelligent, or that they are discriminated against. These influences are bound to spread into Malaysia unless the Bill itself provides that as far as political rights are concerned a Malaysian citizen is and will always be a Malaysian citizen and that he shall be in no position to exploit anyone and he shall himself not be exploited and shall not be exploited both politically, economically and civilly.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I hope I had demonstrated yesterday that the citizenship of Singapore, Borneo and Malaya are not equal. In the first place, the people who apply for citizenship in Borneo need not know Malay and may do so after a period of 7 years. In Malaya, 10 years out of 12 is required and he must know Malay. Section 28

provides however that in special cases a person can apply to be a Federal citizen and after a limited period he may be allowed to do so. Singapore citizens are special and a Singapore citizen can be made a citizen of Singapore only by the Singapore Government. The Federation Government, however, has concurrent jurisdiction over this citizenship. Any person who is qualified to be a Singapore citizen may apply to become a Federation citizen and, if he has the requisite qualifications, the Federation Government may also make him a Federation citizen, in which case he would have to reside permanently outside of Singapore.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the second point I dealt with was the question of democratic representation and the principles of democracy. I maintained, and I maintain again and again, that no modern nation can exist if its citizens are constantly reminded that they are different peoples. The Member for Besut made a speech yesterday. He condemned the Bill on racial grounds. Many people openly expressed that that speech was not proper and yet I know many of the backbenchers in this House privately voicing an opinion agreeing with the Member for Besut. Mr Speaker, Sir, even America has a national problem in its hands, because of the segregation policy of certain States of America. Are we going to wait for a time when these people are going to agitate with violence before we consider the position again, or should we not consider the position now and attempt to make as much as possible of our opportunities to produce legislation so that there shall be no inequality and people should not be distinguished by their ethnic origins? How, Mr Speaker, Sir, would you feel if all the time you are told you are a *kafir* and that you will be for ever condemned? I certainly find it very embarrassing every time I am told by certain people of Singapore that they are people with greater ability and, therefore because of their ability, they have greater right to exploit. I feel not so much embarrassed for myself as embarrassed for them, because that is

an arrogance which we cannot accept in a modern society. It is because of this basic approach to our problems that we have proportions in our representations to the Federation Parliament which gives us 104 members, 16 members for Sabah, 24 members for Sarawak and only 15 members for Singapore. Even then some people say 15 is too many. And we are told that Singapore people should accept 15 because labour and education have been reserved for them. Ironically, many people know that labour and education without the control of internal security does not in fact give autonomy to Singapore, but many people support this membership of 15 for Singapore because they think that with Malaysia remaining capitalist, as traders they are going to make more money. They think that by co-operating with certain elements, Malaysia will benefit those very few people, not realising in fact that that can never be true and that will never be allowed if possible, except that if they continue in this belief that they are going to benefit. Violence may be the resultant force, which will have to be used in order to end this kind of exploitative tendencies.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have just now dealt with the question of labour and education and shown how it cannot work. These are the advantages claimed by Singapore. Let us now come to the Bornean territories. How do they benefit from Malaysia and how do they benefit from the provisions of this Bill? A few million dollars every year—that is all they are going to get. A few million dollars every year in exchange of which they give up their political rights and have 24 members for Sarawak and only 16 members for Sabah. They are going to give up their political rights once and for all time. The fate of Borneo will be passed to the Malayan States which have 104 members in Parliament. They are going to hand over the destiny of the Borneans to us under the new Federation, and I hope they will think again and ask themselves what benefit they will get apart from the Fifth Schedule which gives them a few million dollars a year

in exchange for handing over revenue control to the Federation Government. They have been given a sop in that immigration into those States shall be in their hands. But how are they going to develop the Bornean States if there is no labour? Very few people realise that although with wealth in their hands, without labour there cannot be development, because without labour there cannot be industries, because without industries there cannot be production of industrial tools and machinery.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the democratic representation of Parliament is also curtailed by the indirect election of representatives from the Bornean territories and Singapore. We, on the one hand, say the Bornean peoples can decide their destiny for themselves, on the other hand, we say the representatives coming into Parliament from Sabah and Sarawak shall be chosen by indirect elections, and not directly by the people themselves; and they have, for the next two Parliaments at least, representatives which, of course, will be chosen by those in power, who have obtained power not so much through the people but as appointees of the government, which is the British. Singapore also, unfortunately, will have indirect representation, although my view is that Singapore is certainly quite able to elect its own representatives to Parliament; and they cannot do so until the second general elections after Malaysia Day. Certainly we can give them direct representation.

Mr Speaker, Sir, one of the most fundamental principles of the rights enjoyed under democracy is the freedom of movement and yet Section 60 (1) has limited Article 9. I am sorry, Mr Speaker, Sir, it is not Section 60; I have not got it. But Article 9 of our Constitution reads as follows:

"(1) No citizen shall be banished or excluded from the Federation.

(2) Subject to any restriction imposed by any law relating to the security of the Federation, public order, public health, or the punishment of offenders, every citizen has the right to move freely throughout the Federation and to reside in any part thereof."

The second clause, "Subject to any restriction imposed by any law relating

to the security of the Federation, public order, public health, or the punishment of offenders, every citizen has the right to move freely throughout the Federation and to reside in any part thereof" has been removed, in effect, from the Bornean States, and this Article now has the following effects: that every Federal citizen has a right to move freely between the States of Singapore and the Malayan States but shall have no right of freedom to move into the Bornean States or any part thereof, even though he may be a Federation citizen. Does not this make a mockery of the democracy which we keep selling out to people internationally? Do we not feel ashamed when we grin at the faces of foreign delegations and show them round our big buildings and say, "How great is our democracy in Malaya," when, in fact, the truth is suppressed and our freedoms are being removed slowly, one by one? Many people commit the error of imagining that the truth is only what they see, and what they do not see cannot exist. We, who have with us the Langkawi Islands, Pulau Langkawi, must not say that that is so, because if we go to Pulau Langkawi we will see cliffs which at low tides will show its bases in some places practically having been eaten away and that the cliffs in fact overhang the sea, the overhang which is covered at high tides. Yet, nevertheless, those islands are being eaten away slowly at their bases although not quite visible to the human eye. So, also, as we go on from year to year amending our Constitution, and especially with this Malaysia Bill, we are going to get a new kind of citizen with a new kind of right, just as we get in the museums different species of the same kind of animals classified differently: Homo-sapien Federation Citizens (Singapore variety); Homosapiens Federal Citizens (Malayans), Homosapien Federal Citizens (Borneo States), and then, within brackets, (1) non-Malay, (2) non-Muslim, (3) Natives, (4) non-Natives, and so on.

Mr Speaker, Sir, if this Bill is passed, we must accept that the factors of the divisibility will have been



established today. We will in the end suffer for it, because it will not bring unity; it will bring dissatisfaction. I quite understand that Britain is afraid of what would happen to Singapore after 1963 and that therefore she is very happy to pass her baby. But even if we want to get rid of our illegitimate child, let us do so with proper care and attention and not dump it into somebody's back garden or somebody's rubbish bin. I understand that the Bornean people are afraid that the British may withdraw and leave them alone; but since the British have been there they must remain until the people decide otherwise. Those people have asked for self-determination, but we said, "No. Have independence through Malaysia." And we signed the Agreement and we bring as other signatories, those people who have supported Malaysia—and because they support Malaysia they have been appointed members of the delegations and have been held up as the true leaders of the people, in spite of the fact that there is a revolution in Brunei and there is a revolution in Sarawak and no elections had in fact taken place. Of course, it is very easy to cloud our minds, to confuse ourselves into imagining that the rebellion in fact is not important by stating openly that it is communist inspired, and by a whispering campaign to say, "These are Chinese people, after all."

Mr Speaker, Sir, let us remember that although it may be difficult to us at this point to remember that once this Bill becomes an Act and Malaysia comes into being, our destiny will be sealed, and we can have no retreat. Let us purge this iniquitous perfidy out of our system and flush this Bill out of this House by voting "Nay".

**Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam (Ipoh):**

Mr Speaker, Sir, a few days back we debated in this House the London Agreement mainly on the amendment proposed by the Opposition; and thereafter, as the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat said, very suddenly, and I say without justification, the Government side called for a closure of the debate. That, Mr Speaker, Sir, put many of us out of an opportunity to speak on

Malaysia itself, and to say what our views were. However, this Bill, having come up, gives us an opportunity to say most of what we wanted to say on the original motion which was before this House.

Mr Speaker, Sir, this Bill is a Bill which has been introduced into this House to give legal and constitutional status, or existence, to what was the concept of Malaysia some time back. The Bill itself provides a number of enabling provisions to enable the Federation Government and the Governments of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore to pass subsidiary laws to get Malaysia on the move. Mr Speaker, Sir, all these put together got to affect the lives, the liberties and the destinies of the peoples of these territories concerned. Now, I have searched my conscience very carefully; I have cautioned myself that, as a representatives of the people, in a matter of this nature, I owe it to myself, to my Party, and to the citizens of this country, to be honest, and I would have been a happy person if I could have conscientiously stood up in this House and said that I support this Bill, because it is my feeling that in a matter of this importance it would have been a victory for democracy if, within this House, there can be unanimity on the question of Malaysia. However, the conduct of the Government, and the conduct of self-appointed leaders of North Borneo and Sarawak, and the discredited politicians of Singapore, have made that position impossible.

Therefore, Mr Speaker, Sir, I say that I oppose this Bill. I oppose it for a number of reasons, the most important of which are these: that the provisions contained in the Bill, which we are dealing with, deal very largely with the constitutional and political status of persons who live within the territories which will form Malaysia. Now, these provisions in the Bill itself open the door—and open it widely—without any camouflage to racial discrimination, political victimisation and denial of the fundamental democratic rights of human beings—perhaps, unheard of in modern society.



Mr Speaker, Sir, when the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat was speaking, time and again I could hear giggles and laughter in this House. Coming from the Government backbenchers of the type that we have in this House, it is not surprising and, indeed, if we on this attempt to reply to those giggles, we will only be degrading ourselves. Mr Speaker, Sir, the door, by these provisions, will also be open to the abuse and misuse of arbitrary powers, which this Bill will obviously give into the hands of individuals in the territories and the Government concerned.

Mr Speaker, Sir, when the concept of Malaysia was born, we were told at that time—particularly at the Press Luncheon, which the Prime Minister of this country attended in Singapore—that the main reason was that our brothers in Singapore and the Borneo territories had been kept apart by British imperialists, that artificial barriers had been put up between peoples who should be one people, one nation, with one destiny. Mr Speaker, Sir, it might have been convenient at that time for the Honourable the Prime Minister of this country and others to put the whole blame on British imperialism by saying that they had divided one people, and that we must become one people again. Whatever may have been the reason for the division, our argument, perhaps, cannot be contradicted—that the peoples of Singapore and the Federation are essentially one people; geographically, culturally and otherwise, these two territories are one and the same. But very soon the mask of hypocrisy was removed by the Alliance Party itself, when the true motives and true intentions of Malaysia was exposed by all persons concerned. Very soon after this attempt—I say, attempt—to mislead by saying that as we are one people, therefore, we should become one people again, very soon after that, came the bogey of communism, the talk of Singapore becoming another Cuba, the necessity for us to protect Singapore and its people from communist influence, and that it should be done as early as possible. Mr Speaker, Sir, it is true that we do not

like communism, but let us ask ourselves this important question: are you going to defeat communism by racial discrimination, or are you going to defeat communism by creating hatred and an atmosphere of distrust in Singapore, or are you going to foster communism in that way; or are we going to lead the people of Singapore to the verge of violence by discriminating against the people of Singapore? Is that what this Government wants? Can this Government not foresee the possibility that, if you put the people of Singapore in the island of Singapore, if you turn it into an "Alcatraz" in this country with no exit for those people, with no self-respect, with no sense of decency left to them, what can they turn to? Any democratic process? All democratic process is taken away from them. I say this, and I give this warning to this Government: if you carry on with the Malaysia envisaged in this Bill, it will be forcing the people of Singapore one day to take violent action to protect themselves, their destinies and their generations which will live in Singapore after they are gone.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of very great importance to see how far this Government has been hypocritical throughout on this question of Malaysia—and that hypocrisy comes into blazing light when one considers the provisions which this Bill makes in respect of Singapore.

Now, in Malaya itself, for many years from the time of Merdeka, from the time our Federal Constitution was published for discussion by the people of this country, there has been a cry, a constant cry, and demand for equal rights, for the removal of special rights contained in the Constitution in this country. Now, the Government of the Federation, rightly or wrongly it does not matter, has consistently said, "No, we must have these special rights in the Constitution of this country." Now, you say that Singapore and Malaya are one—geographically, historically and culturally the people are one and the same, and that our destinies are one and the same—then I ask the Federation Government: why is it that in this

proposed Bill you are not giving special rights to the Malays in Singapore, and what is it that impels this Government to draw back from their stand in the Federation of Malaya? If the people of Singapore and the people of the Federation and the two territories are one and the same, another important question must certainly arise. In the Federation of Malaya there has been a constant demand, and that demand will go on, for multi-lingualism. The Alliance Government again, rightly or wrongly it does not matter, has consistently said "No, one language, one people." I ask the Alliance Government this question: if you are not hypocrites, then give me the reasons why in this Bill you allow multi-lingualism in the case of Singapore? What is the basis of the Malaysia which you want? Why is it that you are prepared to sacrifice your principles, principles which you say are so dear to the Malays of this country? Why is it that you are prepared to sacrifice them in the case of Singapore? When I say something, I do not evade giving my opinion, and my opinion is this: that this Bill is right for Singapore, and the same provisions should have been made available to the Federation of Malaya, that the special rights clause should have been removed from the Constitution of this country and this opportunity should have been taken to do that—to say that multi-lingualism is right for Singapore and right for the Federation of Malaya, and the opportunity should have been taken to remove from the Constitution of this country the clause which says that there shall be only one language. If the Federation Government has not done that, then I say that it should be condemned for it, because there is no logical explanation for its conduct in respect of these two matters.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I think there is one explanation, and that is this: you are prepared to sacrifice principles which are dear to you just to gain political power in Singapore—and nothing else. The citizens of Singapore are not being given any political power in Singapore, or in the Federation of Malaya; they are being enslaved by the Federation

Government. As the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat has said, the talk of autonomy in education and labour is mere talk: the Internal Security Act overrides all the autonomy given in respect of those two matters.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Singapore's position in the new Parliament of this House, or the House of Representatives, is that it will have only 15 persons to represent Singapore. It is here where all political power is vested in the Federation Government, so what chance have they, or what power will they have to oppose any move that may be taken which is adverse to Singapore? Mr Speaker, Sir, Singapore has been treated, and all along it is treated, as outcasts, lepers, unwanted people. What the Federation Government wants is only the Island of Singapore for political purposes, and the Federation of Malaysia, as I call it, is only for political purposes or protection of the Federation and Singapore itself.

Mr Speaker, Sir, a person can become a citizen in various ways under this Bill, but one glaring fact stands out, and from that glaring fact nobody can try to camouflage. Let us say, for example, there is a person who has to qualify for the residential qualification of, let us say, seven years out of ten years: he lives two years in the Federation of Malaya—those two years are counted as residence within Malaysia; he lives for three years in Borneo—those three years are counted as valid residence within the Federation of Malaysia; he lives one year in Sarawak—that also will be counted as residence for the purpose of calculation; but if he lives another two years in Singapore, he becomes an outcast—and those two years will not be counted as residence within the Federation of Malaysia. May I ask why? May I ask what is wrong if residence in Singapore is to be counted? I hope the Government will give a satisfactory explanation. What is it afraid of in the case of Singapore—afraid of Lim Chin Siong, afraid of the Chinese in Singapore, afraid of the brains of Singapore, or afraid of what? Why is it that you cannot take Singapore into the Federation of Malaysia on equal

terms with the other territories of the area? Is it the fear that the people of Singapore will override the people of the Federation—by at least one community? These are facts which the people of Singapore must know. These are points which the people of Singapore should be informed of. The Prime Minister, who speaks of autonomy in education and labour, is speaking rubbish when he says that Singapore has autonomy. The people of Singapore must realise that they are not becoming common citizens of the Federation of Malaysia. They must realise that they have no right to go to the Borneo territories; not one man can come from Singapore to stand for election in the Federation of Malaya; not one man from Singapore can come and speak during the election period in the Federation of Malaya. Then, I ask, to what extent is the Prime Minister of Singapore leading Singapore? I ask, by what right does the Federation of Malaya try to enslave Singapore? You give no rights and yet you get political power in that land. Mr Speaker, Sir, we cannot support this Bill in respect of Singapore, because of there being no free expression of the will of the people of Singapore—and, indeed, even up to this date all democracy is thrown overboard in Singapore: campaigning by the Prime Minister goes on unabated; campaigning by the Opposition is not allowed; Opposition members have been pilloried; Opposition members have been victimised; Opposition members were locked up without trial in Singapore; and this Government, which speaks of democracy in the Federation of Malaya, sits as a partner in the Internal Security Council, or whatever Council it is, and says, "Go ahead and do this." What is happening in Borneo today? What is happening in Sarawak today?

Mr Speaker, Sir, in Borneo Mr Donald Stephens can organise a welcome for the United Nations team saying, "Malaysia by 31st August." In Sarawak, what happens? Political rallies are banned. Why? Because the situation in Sarawak will show the United Nations team that the people

of Sarawak do not want Malaysia on these terms. Does the Federation Government agree with these moves, oppressive and suppressive moves, which are now taking place in Sarawak, where the people are not allowed to express their views in a peaceful manner to the United Nations team? Is that what we want? Is that not a denial of democracy? Is it under these conditions and terms that you, the representatives of the people of this country—the backbenchers who giggle and titter—is that why you say you want Malaysia? (AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Yes.) Somebody says, "Yes". I do not expect any better answer from them, I can only expect that answer, because I do not think they understand the significance of what is being said.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of regret that this Government has not taken any step to see that in Sarawak the people today are given their right to express their views in a peaceful manner to the United Nations team which is now there; and I think the Secretary-General of the United Nations himself should take some steps to see that if people want to see peaceful demonstration they should be allowed to do so. Mr Donald Stephens puts himself up as the leader of the Borneo people and he went to London to sign the London Agreement. As the Honourable Member said, "Who are these men who dare to call themselves leaders of the Borneo territories?" By what right did they at that period call themselves leaders of the people with the right to speak for the people?

Mr Speaker, Sir, when I spoke on the amendment, I mentioned the Cobbold Commission Report which said—and that statement was accepted by the Prime Minister of this country in his reply to me—that only one-third of the people of those territories wanted Malaysia. However, the Prime Minister made a very shocking statement when he said that the Cobbold Commission Report is now in the Archives of the Museum. Mr Speaker, Sir, it may be in the Archives of the Museum, but the British Government even today says that they are guided by the

Cobbold Commission Report in the negotiations on Malaysia. Mr Speaker, Sir, if they were guided by the Cobbold Commission Report, then this statement by me, that only one-third of the people of these territories were one hundred per cent for Malaysia, still stands; and it is no answer to say that the Cobbold Commission Report is now in the Archives of the Museum. It is the basis, it is the foundation on which the British Government went into Malaysia after the Cobbold Commission sat.

Mr Speaker, Sir, when I started, I said that under this Bill there were a number of subsidiary laws which are envisaged, and one of those subsidiary laws is the Immigration Ordinance. Sir, in propaganda by the Government of the Federation at all levels, it has constantly said that the formation of Malaysia will bring more opportunities to the peoples of all territories, including the citizens of this country, because new fields will be opened for business, commerce and employment. That has been one of the strong points made by the Alliance Party, particularly the Malayan Chinese Association, which is well known for misleading the people in their recent election campaigns in Malaya. Now, how far is it true that Malaysia opens new fields for employment for the people of the Federation of Malaya, and what is the benefit to the Federation of Malaya? Sir, the crude fact is—that not one man from the Federation of Malaya can go to the Borneo territories without a permit for any purpose whatsoever except Members of Parliament, Judges of High Courts who have, by right, a right of entry into the Borneo territories. No other person—man, woman or child—can enter the Borneo territories as a right; any person must get a permit. Therefore, I ask where is this false propaganda of opportunities for the people of the Federation of Malaya; where is this false propaganda by the M.C.A. that even members of the People's Progressive Party of Malaya will benefit by Malaysia; where is that false, lying tongue of the partner of the Government in power?

Further, political victimisation, corruption and favouritism are possible under the Immigration Act which will come into force after Malaysia is formed, because there is in the Immigration Bill a Clause which says that when a politician for genuine or—the word used there may be something different—for legitimate political purposes, wants to go to a territory, then the burden is on him to prove that he is going there for legitimate political purposes. Mr Speaker, Sir, I think the draftsman of this Bill takes the cake, because I do not know how he expects any politician to say, "I am going there for legitimate political purposes". How is he going to prove that he is going there for legitimate political purposes? For example, how is my friend, the Honourable Member for Damansara,—and I am sure he won't mind me using him as an example—who is often being called a communist, ever going to prove that he is going to Borneo or Sarawak for legitimate political purposes when the Minister of Internal Security has already made up his mind that he is a communist? *(Laughter)*.

**Mr Speaker:** You will have a chance to speak on the Immigration Bill when it comes before the House!

**Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam:** But I am speaking under a Clause in this Bill which empowers the Immigration law to be enacted.

**Mr Speaker:** But you should not dwell too long on that Bill itself because we are going to debate that after finishing the debate on the Bill before the House!

**Enche' D. R. Seenivasagam:** Sir, I am speaking on the policy in regard to immigration as envisaged in this Bill.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have said that there will be political victimisation. What is there to stop a Government that is dishonest—and I say that the Alliance Government is dishonest in its political intentions here—what is there to stop this Government from sending Alliance men into the Borneo and Sarawak territories for legitimate

political purposes? What is there to stop them as indeed they have now done with the Socialist Front—the Governments of the territories concerned—what is there to stop them from not allowing any Opposition Members to go into the Borneo territories to organise political activities? What is there to stop this Government, what is there to stop the King of this country, on the advice of the Prime Minister obviously, from saying, “A state of emergency exists.”? As the Member for Dato Kramat has said, the material and important words of declaring an emergency are being removed by this amendment, and anything can be unreasonably called an emergency. We all know that the powers vested in the King of this country are exercised on the advice of the Prime Minister, or the Cabinet, or somebody else. What is there to see to it that wrong advice for political purposes will not be given?

Mr Speaker, Sir, again, the enabling section in this Bill gives power to the State Governments of Borneo and Sarawak to pass laws in regard to immigration; it also gives power to the Federation Government to certify that certain persons are required in these territories for certain purposes, administrative and other purposes. Sir, I ask, in view of the conduct in the past, what is there, what is the guarantee for the people of this country, what is the guarantee that only political supporters will not be certified as persons necessary to visit the Borneo territories from time to time? Sir, those are the dangers of the power which a bad Government, which a politically corrupt Government, can misuse and abuse in Malaysia which this Government is trying to bring about.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is then the equally important question of the judiciary. Under Malaysia there is a new set up of the judiciary system similar in many respects to the system set up in India. Mr Speaker, Sir, whilst it is not my desire to criticise the judiciary, because I have been before this judiciary many times, but I do say this on the question of appointment of

judges. Past experience has shown that there is a lot to be desired, and there is a lot to be desired in many respects. Firstly, when there was an amendment to the Constitution of this country some time back, which gave—if I may use it in this term—the Prime Minister the power to interfere in the appointment of judges, we opposed and opposed it vehemently, because we felt that rightly or wrongly any interference by the Prime Minister in the appointment of judicial officers can result in only one thing—that is, political influence on the judiciary of this country. Mr Speaker, Sir, the time has not come in this country when we have tested to see whether political influence is present in the judiciary today or not present; the time will come when it will have to be put to the test when more oppressive measures are taken by the Minister of Internal Security—and that will be the time when it will be tested. But I say that it is a danger, it is a danger which this country faces, that politicians and political influence should come into the appointment of judges in this country—and that is being perpetuated in the Malaysia Bill, because it is on the advice of the Prime Minister, in consultation with the Lord President, that judges will be appointed. Mr Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of serious concern to us, who practise in these courts, from time to time to notice that political influence is creeping into the judicial system. Now, what is the necessity for the Prime Minister to have a word, or have a say, in the appointment of judges? Is it suggested that the envisaged Lord President is not good enough to recommend to the King as to who should be appointed a judge? Is it suggested that there is nobody, who is not a politician, who can make the recommendations necessary? Therefore, one asks, what is the motive? It becomes very clear if you realise what is going to happen if there is a constitutional issue, a dispute on the interpretation of the Constitution. What is the position? Who hears the case? The Federal Court. No appeal from the Federal Court. Final decision by the Federal Court. And who sits in the Federal Court? Judges appointed on

the advice of the Prime Minister. I agree that in day to day cases, between one citizen and another citizen, there may not be exhibited that political influence. But when it comes to constitutional issues, when it comes perhaps to a case where a citizen of this country is going to have his citizenship revoked and he goes to a court of law, then it becomes State versus Citizen, and even if a judge is impartial, even if he is 100 per cent pure, you will still have large sections of the public saying, "Well, that judge, he may or may not have been fair. After all, he was appointed by the Tunku." Members of the public do not go into the niceties of the advice given to the Agong; they do not go into all these niceties; they would only say he was appointed by the Government. And I do not think it is a good augury for the future. Justice in this country has been kept clean, and we hope that it will remain clean, despite attempts by politicians to interfere in the administration of justice in the manner I have described.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is a question, again of considerable importance, in relation to Borneo territories, the Federation and Singapore. We are supposed to call ourselves Malaysians. We are supposed to have, as the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat has explained, a number of types of citizenship, each one varying in its obligations and duties. The citizens in the Federation are already divided into two types: some citizens can never have their citizenship revoked; and some can. As far as a Singaporean is concerned, he can never become a citizen of the Federation—he can never, never—unless the two Governments agree, the Federation Government and the Singapore Government. Mr Speaker, Sir, there again lies the very great danger of political corruption. Let us say that the Alliance Government wants Mr Lim Yew Hock to come and become a politician in Malaya. There is nothing to stop Mr Lim Yew Hock from saying, "I want to become a citizen of the Federation. I am a great pal of so and so. This Government likes me to become a citizen. The Singapore

Government of Mr Lee Kuan Yew hates me and it wants to kick me out. It says go ahead and become a Federation citizen!" The next thing we know is that Mr Lim Yew Hock is a Federation citizen, contesting for elections in this country—unwanted in Singapore. On the other hand, what will happen if Lim Chin Siong, Mr Ong Eng Guan, Mr David Marshall, feel that they may want to become Federal citizens to contest elections in the Federation and the Singapore Government says, "We like them very much, but anyway we wish them luck and, if they like to go to another territory, we give them consent", and the Federation Government says, "You are communists, you are trouble makers, you talk too much and therefore we do not like to have you as citizens." What is there to stop this Government from favouring their hirelings and underlings to come into the Federation for political purposes? There is nothing whatsoever. There is absolutely no protection in this proposed Bill—not one protection whatever.

Mr Speaker, Sir, if you give arbitrary powers, then there must be a remedy against the misuse of such arbitrary powers. It is significant that when you want to reorganise your judicial system you say, "The judicial system of India is good, let us remodel ours on the Indian system." You will notice that under the emergency laws in India, in England, in other parts of the world, you have a remedy for abuse or misuse. In this country under the emergency laws you have no remedies. You cannot go to a court because *habeas corpus* is specifically kept out of the citizens' reach. So, similarly, on this question of arbitrary rights of the Government to change citizenship from one place to another—with the consent of both parties—there is no remedy open to a person who is refused permission by either Government. Why is that this Bill, if it was honest in its intentions and declarations, has it not anywhere given the right of appeal to a judicial body by a citizen who is dissatisfied with the decision made? I ask the Government—why? Why is it that you are not prepared to give legal remedy

to a person who is dissatisfied with your decision? Mr Speaker, Sir, in this Bill Ministers of the State Governments of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak and Ministers of the Federal Government are given certain arbitrary powers. Powers to say "Yes, and powers to say "No" in respect of citizenship, in respect of immigration, in respect of a number of other matters—those are arbitrary powers. In some cases right of appeal or of petition is given. But petition to whom? Not to a judicial official not to an independent person, but to a Minister of the State. Where is the justice? Where is the democracy? Your own Department, or your own Ministry, says "No". It comes back to you and you are again going to decide on it. The situation is similar to the situation now existing in the Federation of Malaya. Mr Speaker, Sir, I say that this Government should have, in keeping with the democratic principles known throughout the free world, of which you speak so much and from which you draw so much of your inspiration, put in provisions to guard citizens and individuals from abuse and misuse of arbitrary powers—such provisions do not exist. I say they are deliberately being kept out of this Bill. We are very concerned with the question of citizenship—very concerned, because the experiences under our present Constitution have made us so concerned. We have had cases where citizens have been deprived of their citizenship, where citizens have been refused registration, where attempts to deprive citizenship have taken place, and they have no remedies to any legal body. Their remedy is to appeal to the Minister. That sort of thing does not work in practice.

Mr Speaker, Sir, on the question of the special rights, may I say this: in Malaya our Malay brothers are a majority race; they have special rights. In Singapore our Malay brothers are a minority race; they have no special rights. May I ask the Government what is the meaning of this? Where do you stand? What is the logic for this? In the Borneo territories you have special rights for certain persons? Therefore,

if you link up all the three territories, the picture becomes very clear. This is a Government, an opportunist Government, which will sacrifice any principle including the principle of democracy for expediency. It thinks that it is expedient to have Singapore as part of the Federation; it thinks that by having political power it can control and suppress the people of Singapore in their desire. I say that this Government has no right to suppress or oppress any nation or any people. I say that this Government, if they think Singapore is going communist, should try to save Singapore, if indeed Singapore wants to be saved by proper measures. What you are now doing in this Bill is that you are laying the foundation for revolt, for revolution, in Singapore. You are laying the foundation for rebellions, revolts, civil disturbances, and war perhaps, in the Borneo territories, because once the people of Borneo come to know the provisions of the Malaysia Bill, when it becomes law, once that large section of people—the two-thirds which the Cobbold Commission speaks of, the two-thirds which did not ask for Malaysia outright—come to realise the provisions of this oppressive Bill, they are not going to keep quiet, because human beings throughout the world, throughout the history of man, have struggled for equality. People will die for equality and the spirit of men will not die in Borneo, Sarawak, Singapore or, indeed, in the Federation of Malaya. You can suppress and oppress for some time. You can suppress 10 people and suppress 100 people, but you cannot suppress a nation. And so, too, I say, in the Federation of Malaya this Government should have taken this opportunity to put right what is obviously wrong in the Constitution of our country. You should have taken the opportunity to give equal rights to all citizens of the Federation. You should have taken the opportunity to give multi-lingualism, which the people of this country want as the people of Singapore want. You did not do that—your motives are suspect.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I say that if we in this House look at this Bill without



emotion, look at it practically, look at it democratically, we will find that we will have to reject it; we will have to reject it because it is only the proper thing to do, it is only the safe thing to do. If we reject it, we will save this part of the world. If we approve it, we will set this part of the world in flame in the near future if Malaysia comes into being on these terms. I ask this Government to take immediate steps to see that the people of Sarawak are not deterred from expressing their views to the United Nations. I ask this Government, if it is democratic, to take action to see that people like Donald Stephens do not mislead the United Nations commission in Borneo at this very moment. Give the people of those territories the right to express their views freely and properly. I say to the Prime Minister of Singapore: "Your days in Singapore are numbered, because you have misled the people of Singapore. You have cheated the people of Singapore by telling them untruths and half-truths, and I hope that the time will come when you regret the day that you signed the London Agreement." I say that the people who signed the London Agreement, as the Member for Dato Kramat said, signed the death warrants for their people and their territories. They will live down in history as persons who betrayed their own countries.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not think that I want to say anything more, but that I oppose this Bill in its entirety.

**Enche' Too Joon Hing (Telok Anson):** Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Bill for Malaysia. Sir, I want to make it very clear to this House that in opposing this Bill it does not mean that I am opposing Malaysia. I have often made it clear in this House that my Party had all along supported Malaysia in principle, and that it should be brought about by the support and consent of the people in the territories concerned by giving them the opportunity to express their wish as to joining Malaysia. One of the reasons why I am opposing this Bill is that the wishes of the people in the territories of Borneo have not been ascertained. The second

reason for opposing it is that we are now quite aware, and in fact this morning the newspapers have informed us, that the nine-man team from the United Nations have arrived and that members of the team are on their way to ascertain the wishes of the people as provided in the Manila Accord signed by the Prime Minister on 30th July, 1963. Sir, until their findings have been ascertained and made known publicly, this Bill should not have been debated in this House. Sir, the third and last—and the most important—reason is that this Bill, which involves substantial amendments to our Constitution, was despatched to us, as the Member for Dato Kramat has said, very late and we have had it for a very short period. In fact, we have no time to study the implications involved therein, let alone for Members to have an opportunity to discuss with the people who have returned them to the House with the sole purpose of safeguarding the rights contained in the Constitution.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in January, 1962, during the debate on the Constitution Amendment Act, 1962, I had implored our Prime Minister to keep faith with the people who returned him and his Party to power solely on the strength of his promises made in July, 1959. Sir, I have here quite a number of press cuttings dated the 12th and 13th July, 1959, which gave a full report of our Prime Minister's pledge to the nation that he would not change the Constitution. With your permission, Sir, I would like to read out two paragraphs, not all of them, so that the House would be informed of these pledge. Sir, the *Singapore Standard*, dated 12 July, 1959, says—and this was given at a Press conference: "The Prime Minister said: 'I have never given anybody any suspicion that I am going to play dirty. I have never suggested to anybody at any time that I will change the Constitution as soon as we win the election'." Then, Sir, the *Straits Times*, dated 13th July, says, "Because of this, I feel sad and hurt . . ."

**Mr Speaker:** What year?

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** 1959, Sir. He said: "I feel sad and hurt when



an irresponsible section of the M.C.A. cast their doubts on our sincerity and expressed their fear that if we were returned to power, we would introduce amendments to the Federation Constitution which will endanger the life and property of the Chinese in this country." Sir, this is an unmistakable and definite pledge made by our Prime Minister to the whole nation in 1959 during the elections. Sir, then again the Alliance Elections Manifesto, 1959, had also clearly stated to uphold the Constitution. With this pledge from the Honourable Prime Minister and the statement in the Elections Manifesto, the Alliance were returned to power. But within a period of two years the Constitution was undemocratically amended, not once but twice, affecting the rights of a certain section of the people. The promise of our Honourable Prime Minister, whom the people have trusted—and they have elected him to power—has turned out to be false; and the suspicion of the irresponsible section of the Malayan Chinese Association whom our Honourable Prime Minister branded and who had resigned in the year 1959 during the crisis, was turned out to be 100 per cent correct today.

With this Bill intituled an "Act of Malaysia" and the amendments contained therein, the actions of the Alliance have proved beyond doubt that it has no intention whatsoever of keeping its promises at all. It is indeed difficult for anyone to disbelieve the charges which the Honourable Member for Kuala Langat had directed at the Honourable Prime Minister a few days ago. Therefore, I charge that the Alliance had all along (*Laughter*) been making false promises right from the beginning at the time of the General Elections in 1959.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I must remind the House that the Honourable Prime Minister was against merger in 1957, and the question of Malaysia was never in his mind. The Minister of Finance, my old friend, now the President of the M.C.A., claimed in Singapore a few weeks ago that merger with Singapore was one of the aims in the M.C.A. Constitution. Sir, when

this issue was first included as one of the aims and objectives in the new M.C.A. Constitution by the so-called irresponsible section of the M.C.A., it was strongly criticised and opposed by my friend, the Honourable the Minister of Finance and the Ambassador to the United States of America, and it was also regarded with great suspicion from certain quarter of the Alliance Party. What has happened, Sir? Today, we find that we are being asked to accept in this House not only merger but Malaysia as well.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it took our Honourable Prime Minister and my old friends sitting on the opposite almost five solid years to accept the idea of merger from the so-called irresponsible section of the M.C.A. Yet, a few days ago, the Prime Minister branded us as communists, because we oppose Malaysia with a good reason. Honourable Members will ask, "Why then do you oppose what you proposed in 1958?" The answer is indeed very simple. Merger or Malaysia, we support, but the people must first be given the opportunity to express their wishes as to whether they want Malaysia or not—and this is exactly what the United Nations team under the agreement of the Manila Accord is going to do.

Sir, during the debate on the amendment in respect of the motion on the London Agreement, I had said that time had proved that our views on Malaysia were correct—and these have been borne out by the course of recent events which have taken place since the Motion on Malaysia was first moved by our Honourable Prime Minister in this House in October, 1961. Sir, what are the events? Confrontation from Indonesia had almost started a war; then we had a claim from the Philippines for North Borneo; and, again, you have an uprising in Brunei which almost started a revolution. We also heard—from the Press—reports of young men from North Borneo and Sarawak crossing to the Indonesian borders and who are now being trained by military officers, of bandit raids happening so often in these territories;

and then; finally, the Summit Conference, which at the moment has lifted the confrontation policy. Mr Speaker, Sir, these are the reasons and the unhappy events which will go down in the dark chapters of our history and they herald a warning of events to come. Unless our Honourable Prime Minister handles Malaysia with patience and prudence, we might be in for drastic consequences. So, I say that all these unhappy incidents are the outcome of the Honourable Prime Minister's reckless pursuit of Malaysia.

The Alliance Party in power is too proud to heed the views of the Opposition, and instead the Honourable Prime Minister hurled wild and unfounded charges against us, the Opposition Members, when introducing the proposal in London—and I would like to quote a few passages, with your permission, Sir. In one instance, our Honourable Prime Minister says, "The only people I can understand who have valid reasons to oppose Malaysia are the Communists"; then he further said, "There can never be unity with Parties who hold divergent views in politics, and it is in the national interest that we keep the Opposition at arm's length; their views are unhealthy and, on Malaysia, are destructive, so much so they can be branded as enemy agents in the national interest; there can be no pact with them." Sir, these are wild and unfounded charges, and I say that the Honourable Prime Minister is not fair and honest with the Opposition Members, particularly so at this moment. The Manila Accord which he signed—paragraphs 10 and 11—actually reflect the views and stand of the Opposition all along.

Sir, in paragraph 24 of the Inter-Governmental Committee Report for 1962 under the heading of "Financial Provisions", a sum of \$500 million—\$300 million for Sarawak and \$200 million for Sabah—is provided for development expenditure for the next 5 years on these States in order to have Malaysia. My Honourable friend from Ulu Langat two days ago criticised the Alliance Rural Development Policy, and said that the Alliance Government had done little or nothing at all during

the last two years as compared with the Singapore Government, and that although he disliked the P.A.P. Government, nevertheless it had done far more for the people during the short period in government than the Alliance had done in eight years. The Honourable Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications referred to the spending of \$490 million on development in 1963 for raising the living standards of the people, and he quoted various schemes to substantiate the Alliance's achievements. Sir, naturally, it is only expected that, with the spending of such a huge sum of money as \$490 million, some sort of achievement must be accomplished; otherwise, what excuses can the Alliance give for the spending of such a huge sum of public funds? Mr Speaker, Sir, the important question is whether the achievement justified the large sums of money spent on them. It is no credit at all, if a sum of one million dollars were spent, where the achievement was actually worth a half million dollars. This is throwing money down the drain.

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! I do not see how this is connected with the grants to Sabah and Sarawak?

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** It is in connection with the putting up of policies of development, and the developments not having been properly carried out.

**Mr Speaker:** The development in Malaya has nothing to do with the grants to Sabah and Sarawak. It is irrelevant!

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** It is only a brief one, Sir. It is a well-known fact that most of the development projects are not satisfactory. It is a sin to squander public funds like this. I have often brought to the notice of this House that many kampongs and new villages in my constituency, since the Alliance came into power up to now, have never received any aid.

**Mr Speaker:** I have to warn you again that this has nothing to do with the Bill before us. We are on the Second Reading of the Malaysia Bill.

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** Sir, this is to point out that so much money has been given to the Borneo territories, whereas we have not got enough money for our own use.

**Mr Speaker:** Do not go into that too much.

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** I have one very important fact on that, Sir. I have been here for almost two years, and yet nothing has been done to help these people in the kampongs in my constituency. *(Laughter)*. Sir, very much money has been spent on development yearly and so much money is going to be given to Borneo and Sarawak for development, yet here in our midst our people in the kampongs and villages are neglected. Our rivers get clogged up and erosion takes place. Sir, it was hardly a week ago that the Perak River claimed another few houses, at Telok Anson; and it was reported two days ago that the river would be claiming another ten houses. What is the Alliance Government going to do about this erosion? This erosion bogey of Telok Anson has been causing damage after damage, claiming houses after houses, and roads after roads. The Alliance Government should either put up a development scheme to check the erosion or make provision for the people to shift elsewhere. The Alliance Party at the general elections in the past had promised this and promised that. The Town Council members have threatened to boycott the Council if the State Government is not going to do something about this. What has happened in all these years? Nothing—Old Man River just keeps on claiming and claiming more houses and more roads.

**The Assistant Minister of Labour and Social Welfare (Enche' V. Manickavasagam):** Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of order—Standing Order 36 (1): the Honourable Member is not speaking on the Bill that is before the House. I think he has had ample opportunity to talk during the King's Speech and the election campaign recently—which he lost.

**Mr Speaker:** It is difficult to stop a Member speaking on the grant to

Sabah. I have warned him not to speak too long on the development of the country here. *(To Enche' Too Joon Hing)*. If you continue doing that, I will stop you.

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** As I have already pointed out, our people have suffered because we have not got enough money, and yet we have money to give away—that is the important point. Houses after houses have been claimed by the Perak River, and erosion is going on; we have no money to remedy the situation, but yet we have got hundreds of millions of dollars to give away.

**Enche' V. Manickavasagam:** I think the river too is angry for having elected him as the Member for Telok Anson. *(Laughter)*.

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** Mr Speaker, Sir, who are suffering? Not the people over there. The people here are suffering, because of the shortage of funds.

Sir, under Clause 60 of the Bill, Singapore is given autonomy in education and labour; and under paragraph 17 of the Report of the Inter-Governmental Committee, 1962, the Borneo States' education policy is allowed to remain undisturbed. Why? Is it not the aim of the Rahman Talib Report, under paragraph 175, to unite the nation under one national education policy? Do you not want the people of Singapore and the Borneo territories to be united with us? Could any of the Ministers give the reasons as to why this is not so? Could it be that if the Rahman Talib Report were forced on the Borneo States, there would be no Malaysia, because the people in Singapore and the Borneo States know pretty well that the Rahman Talib Report is a turtle egg and not a chicken egg, and that it is detrimental to the culture and education of the other races living in the country? What a farce has the Alliance education policy turned out to be, but yet the Alliance rams it down the throats of the people who returned it to power. Therefore, I say, as the Honourable Member for Ipoh has said, "You have a chance now. Therefore, scrap the present education policy, and formulate a new one when

the Malaysian Parliament comes into being, so that the people may accept it."

**Mr Speaker, Sir,** before I end, I wish to comment on certain remarks made during the course of the debate on Malaysia a few days ago. My old friend, the Honourable Member for Seremban Timor (*Laughter*) during the course of the debate said that he opposed the Razak Report of 1956 of which Dr Lim Chong Eu and I were the signatories to it. He accused us of nailing the coffin of Chinese education with the Report in 1956, and he charged the Malayan Chinese Association members at that time for not doing anything about it. Unfortunately, he has forgotten that he himself was an active member of the M.C.A. at that time. (*Laughter*).

**Enche' Chin See Yin (Seremban Timor):** Sir, it was after the coffin has been put into the grave that I became active. (*Laughter*) . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Order, order.

**Enche' Chin See Yin:** Sir, if you will allow me to explain . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** What happened between the two of you has nothing to do with the debate on this Bill. The sitting is suspended till 4.30 p.m.

*Sitting suspended at 12 noon.*

*Sitting resumed at 4.30 p.m.*

## THE MALAYSIA BILL

### Second Reading

*Debate resumed.*

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** Mr Speaker, Sir, before I continue my speech, I would like to say that something very serious has happened in Sarawak just now. This morning I was warning the Alliance Government that the recent events such as confrontation, uprising in Brunei, young men running to Indonesia for training, bandit raids at the border which took place in the Borneo territories, etc., heralded a warning of unexpected eventualities to come unless Malaysia was being handled with prudence. What has happened since then? I think the Prime Minister would have listened to the 1.30 p.m. news

broadcast over the Radio Malaya in which it was announced that serious riots broke out at the Sarawak Airport on the arrival of the United Nations team. It seems that those who are opposed to Malaysia have carried anti-Malaysia slogans in an attempt to demonstrate at the Airport and the Police have tried to stop these people from doing so, as a result of which riots have broken out. It was reported that there were many injured and sixteen persons arrested. Mr Speaker, Sir, I hope this will serve as a serious warning to the Alliance that Malaysia should not be forced on the people in any territory. Give the people an opportunity to express their wishes on the question of joining Malaysia; and further I am sure the riots would not have happened, if the Sarawak Government had allowed these people to demonstrate peacefully and orderly. It was because the Government had refused public demonstration that the people were injured and arrested. Sir, this brings me back to the Prime Minister's speech during the debate on the endorsement of London agreement, in which he said:

"We regret that Brunei which originally intended to come into Malaysia, has decided not to do so at the last moment. This again, as I have said, and repeat, is a proof that no State is forced against its will to join us if they do not want to do so."

Sir, it is not quite a complete proof that it is so. If it is so, why are the people in Sarawak not allowed to demonstrate their feelings?

Sir, you will recall that early last year, when Singapore was hesitating to come into Malaysia, our Prime Minister threatened to close the Causeway if they were to reject merger. Therefore, how could we say that there was no force against any State? Again, Sir, on the 20th June, 1963, in regard to the entry of Singapore and Brunei into Malaysia, the Prime Minister of Malaya gave a forty-eight hour ultimatum to these two States to join Malaysia, otherwise the terms would be withdrawn. Is it an ultimatum or some sort of a threat? What happened after forty-eight hours? Singapore and Brunei were still outside Malaysia—they were not in. Singapore did not

come in until the London agreement was signed on the 9th July, 1963, when the Singapore Prime Minister said, "I sign for the Tunku's sake." Threat or no threat, Singapore stood fast on their terms, which made our Government look so small.

Another point which I wish to bring up is that our Prime Minister is in the habit of taking things for granted. There is one good example here. Donald Stephens was terribly upset over Singapore's \$150 million loan with an attachment to employ 50 per cent labour from Singapore on projects financed by the loan. From the tone of Donald Stephens, it was obviously clear that our Prime Minister had not had any consultations with the "blue-eyed boys" on this important issue. Then, again, Sir, Britain was very unhappy over the Manila Accord and they felt disappointed in that our Prime Minister had not consulted them beforehand over certain important issues, such as the postponement of Malaysia Date and about the British bases. All these, Sir, are indications that our Prime Minister is power-drunk and that he can do whatever he likes without consulting others concerned.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I hope our Prime Minister will take heed from these serious events which have taken place now in the territories forming Malaysia. Do not keep the Opposition at arm's length, and do not call them enemy agents, communists and so forth. For, in the event of any eventualities turning up, the Government would need everyone to back it up.

Sir, while I was speaking about the subject of education this morning, the Honourable Member for Seremban Timor charged us for nailing the coffin, and I said I was wondering what he was doing then; he then stood up and said that he was not in then. Therefore, Sir, that is the more reason why he should feel far more guilty about it. (Laughter). Having known, as he has said, that the Razak Report was no good he still joined the MCA and took active part. Sir, if there is ever a greater hypocrite (Laughter), you

will find in the person of the Member for Seremban Timor.

**Enche' Chin See Yin:** Sir, on a point of correction about, the word "hypocrite" . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** That word cannot be used against any Member!

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** Not "hypocrite", Sir—"Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde" (Laughter).

**Enche' Chin See Yin:** He is a caretaker! (Laughter).

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! I do not think the House is interested in the dispute between you two Honourable Members here. We are now debating on the principle of the Bill, and it has nothing to do with you and the Member for Seremban Timor. Will you stop doing that?

**Enche' Chin See Yin:** Sir, can I explain something?

**Mr Speaker:** Provided he gives way!

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** I have given way enough, Sir.

**Mr Speaker:** Do not touch on that any more!

**Enche' Too Joon Hing:** Mr Speaker, Sir, I have said in the last Legislative Council and many times in this House—and I can produce references from various Chinese educationists such as Mr Lim Lian Geok and many others who also have said the same thing—that we support the Razak Report only and only if the true spirit of the Razak Report has been honestly interpreted and sincerely implemented. The United Democratic Party forever opposes the Rahman Talib Report, which is nothing but, as the Chinese saying goes, a turtle's egg hatched by a few representatives of the M.C.A. who could not differentiate a chicken's egg from a turtle's egg.

**Tuan Haji Azahari bin Haji Ibrahim (Kubang Pasu Barat):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-hadapan Dewan ini ada satu Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> Malaysia yang berkehendakkan kepada kelulusan Dewan ini untuk mewujudkan satu negara baharu di-dalam kawasan Tenggara Asia ini. Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini sa-sudah

kita terima menjadi Act of Parliament atau Undang<sup>2</sup> yang mana akan membawa perubahan yang banyak erti-nya kepada sejarah perjuangan Kerajaan Perikatan. Di-dalam dua tiga hari ini yang kita dengar segala hujah<sup>2</sup> dan alasan<sup>2</sup> dan fikiran<sup>2</sup> dan juga pendapat<sup>2</sup> daripada pehak Pembangkang maka kami di-sini bagi pehak Kerajaan tidak dapat menerima langsung di-atas alasan<sup>2</sup> dan fikiran<sup>2</sup> pehak Pembangkang kerana bagi pendapat kami ada-lah segala hujah<sup>2</sup> dan pendapat<sup>2</sup> mereka itu ia-lah memandangkan Undang<sup>2</sup> ini dari segi kebangsaan Melayu, dari segi bahasa dan juga dari segi ugama. Jadi sa-kira-nya pehak Pembangkang ini memandangkan Undang<sup>2</sup> ini di-atas segi<sup>2</sup> yang saya sebutkan tadi maka sudah barang tentu Malaysia tidak akan dapat di-wujudkan. Kerana pehak Pembangkang sudah lupa langsung di-mana-kah letak-nya asas pemerintahan Kerajaan Perikatan pada hari ini atau semenjak tampok pemerintahan daripada tarikh kita menerima kemerdekaan ia-itu pehak Perikatan memerintah negeri ini di-atas tiga asas ia-itu ke'adilan, kema'moran dan keamanan. Sa-kira-nya kita hendak mewujudkan Malaysia ini dengan tidak menghiraukan asas pemerintahan sekarang ini maka sudah barang tentu ra'ayat di-wilayah<sup>2</sup> yang akan menjadi Malaysia itu akan membuat tentangan atau pun chara berperlembagaan dengan chara lain<sup>2</sup> lagi untuk menentang tujuan<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat di-sana.

Pada hari ini dalam kita mengkaji Undang<sup>2</sup> ini maka ada dua perkara atau factor yang besar yang patut diambil perhatian oleh pehak Pembangkang dan sa-terus-nya Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat Dewan ini. Pertama-nya dengan pengesahan Undang<sup>2</sup> ini maka wujud-lah Malaysia dengan erti kata yang sa-benar ia-itu perjuangan membentok Malaysia di-bawah pimpinan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku, Perdana Menteri dan juga dengan rakan<sup>2</sup> sa-perjuangan-nya dari pehak M.C.A. dan M.I.C. Pada mula<sup>2</sup>-nya ada-lah menjadi satu konsep atau impian sahaja tetapi sa-sudah kita menerima Undang<sup>2</sup> ini maka konsep itu akan menjadi suatu yang nyata dan benar. Dan dengan kita menubuhkan Malaysia ini sa-bagai satu

benda yang nyata dan benar maka tidak dapat-lah kita hendak mengelakkan fikiran<sup>2</sup>, kemahuan<sup>2</sup> sa-terus-nya hasrat ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> di-wilayah<sup>2</sup> yang akan masuk menjadi Malaysia. Saya bagi pehak ra'ayat terutama sa-kali mereka yang tinggal di-dalam kawasan Kubang Pasu Barat menguchapkan sa-tinggi<sup>2</sup> tahniah dan memberi sanjongan tinggi kepada pemimpin<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan Perikatan dan kepada segala yang bersangkutan terhadap kejayaan yang chemerlang ini. Pada pendapat saya juga sa-bilangan besar ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini tidak akan perchaya semua sa-kali sa-kira-nya pehak dari party Pembangkang dapat memerintah negeri ini akan membuat kejayaan yang sa-bagitu chemerlang sa-bagaimana Kerajaan Perikatan buat sekarang. Ini dengan kerana ra'ayat sedar di-mana-kah kedudukan dan di-mana-kah pendirian pehak Pembangkang. Bagi satu pehak umpama-nya-lah ia-itu pehak PAS, pehak PAS angan<sup>2</sup> benar hendak menubuhkan Malaysia mengikut konsep mereka. Pehak PAS yang telah mengeluarkan pengakuan dalam Majlis ini ada-lah Malaysia ini ia-lah terbit-nya dari party-nya sendiri—dari pemimpin besar mereka itu. Saya fikir ini ada-lah angan<sup>2</sup> sahaja. Kerana sa-kira-nya benar<sup>2</sup> pehak PAS hendak menubuhkan Malaysia kenapa pehak PAS tidak berunding dengan pehak<sup>2</sup> yang berkenaan untuk mewujudkan Malaysia mengikut kehendak dan per-hetongan mereka. Jadi apa boleh buat angan<sup>2</sup> hendak memelok gunung tetapi tangan ta' sampai. Ini-lah dengan sebab saya fikir ra'ayat sedar sa-kira-nya Malaysia ini di-tubuhkan mengikut kehendak dan kemahuan pehak PAS sudah barang tentu-lah chorak pemerintahan mereka itu tidak menjadi sa-bagaimana yang ada sekarang mengikut pemerintahan sa-chara demokrasi berparlimen. Boleh jadi chorak pemerintahan yang akan timbul dalam pemerintahan Malaysia yang mereka itu angan<sup>2</sup> ia-lah chorak yang ada berkaitan dengan pehak<sup>2</sup> komunis—dengan pehak<sup>2</sup> yang ada bersangkutan atau berhubung dengan dasar<sup>2</sup> pemerintahan dictator. Jadi ini sebab-nya barangkali mereka itu hendak mengemukakan konsep Malaysia mengikut kehendak mereka itu.

Kemudian suka juga saya balekkan hujah<sup>2</sup> yang di-keluarkan oleh pehak PPP yang mahukan Malaysia ini supaya di-jadikan satu negara yang mengamalkan multi-lingualism atau berbilang bahasa. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jika kita memandangkan kapada segala article atau pun bahagian<sup>2</sup> dan juga chapter yang terchatit dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu kita dapati Malaysia akan di-tubuhkan dengan ingatan hendak memelihara kepentingan ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> yang dudok di-dalam wilayah masing<sup>2</sup>. Kita tidak menubuhkan Malaysia itu dengan memaksa ra'ayat di-dalam wilayah<sup>2</sup> itu mengikuti kehendak<sup>2</sup> kita sa-bagaimana yang di-kehendaki oleh parti PPP itu. Dalam masaalah berbilang bahasa saya suka hendak menarek perhatian pehak PPP yang mana kita menerima kemerdekaan daripada Kerajaan British dahulu pada tahun 1957, kita telah membuat satu Perlembagaan yang ada menyebutkan berkenaan dengan bahasa. Di-dalam hal ini, Perlembagaan itu telah menentukan bagi pehak ra'ayat Persekutuan ini supaya bahasa kebangsaan dapat di-jalankan bukan dengan sertamerta, bahkan dalam tempoh 10 tahun ia-itu dari tahun 1957 hingga 1967, bererti Perlembagaan kita telah memberi peluang kapada ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> Persekutuan ini mahu pun dari bangsa Melayu atau pun bangsa<sup>2</sup> yang bukan Melayu berpeluang belajar dan mengetahui sadi dalam<sup>2</sup>-nya bahasa kebangsaan. Sabelum Kerajaan ini memaksa ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> itu memakai bahasa kebangsaan sabagai bahasa rasmi dan tunggal dalam Persekutuan ini maka hendaklah mereka itu belajar bersungguh<sup>2</sup>, dan dengan sebab itu-lah sa-kira-nya wilayah<sup>2</sup> Borneo dan Sarawak dan juga Singapura yang mempunyai banyak bilangan daripada keturunan<sup>2</sup> bangsa maka patut-lah di-berikan peluang kapada mereka itu mempelajari bahasa kebangsaan dan itu-lah sebab-nya pada hari ini kita adakan satu Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> dengan tidak sertamerta yang memaksa mereka atau ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> di-wilayah<sup>2</sup> itu memakai Perlembagaan kita supaya bahasa kebangsaan itu di-jadikan bahasa yang tunggal dan bahasa rasmi sa-lewat<sup>2</sup>-nya pada tahun 1967. Jadi, peluang<sup>2</sup> ini kami telah beri kerana kami memandag di-atas perjuangan

atau pun asas pemerentahan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang memakai ke'adilan, kema'amoran dan keamanan. Sa-kira-nya ke'adilan di-ketepikan maka sudah tentu bukan sahaja ra'ayat di-wilayah Borneo, Sarawak dan Singapura bahkan ra'ayat Persekutuan juga dapat mengatakan ia-itu Kerajaan memaksa Malaysia itu dengan tekanan<sup>2</sup> dan dengan ugutan<sup>2</sup>. Jadi, kami tidak melupakan juga di-mana Kerajaan Persekutuan telah memberikan atau membuka Malaysia itu di-atas asas<sup>2</sup> ke'adilan.

Bagitu juga-lah bagi pehak Socialist Front yang mana dengan panjang lebar salah sa-orang Yang Berhormat dari Datok Kramat yang memakan masa yang bagitu panjang untok mengelirukan Majlis ini atau ra'ayat Persekutuan ini barangkali boleh jadi dengan kerana beliau ini sangat dahagakan publicity sa-lepas kalah daripada Pilehan Raya dahulu.

**Mr Speaker:** Ada-lah salah kapada sa-siapa yang membawa salah sangka kapada sa-saorang ahli itu—imputing improper motive,—jaga baik<sup>2</sup> sadikit.

**Tuan Haji Azahari bin Haji Ibrahim:** Tetapi, bagaimana pun, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, benar-lah bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi ia-itu banyak masa yang di-gunakan oleh pehak pembangkang terutama sa-kali daripada pehak Ahli dari Datok Kramat untok mengelirukan Majlis ini sa-terus-nya dengan fahaman<sup>2</sup> yang sempit dan tolol (*Ketawa*). Oleh kerana saya katakan bagitu ia-lah mereka memandag wujud-nya Malaysia ini dengan tidak ada sekatan<sup>2</sup> bagi pehak atau pun bagi kepentingan negara kita sendiri ia-itu Persekutuan. Mereka memikirkan sa-sudah wujud-nya Malaysia semua ra'ayat dalam Malaysia ini dapat mengambil bahagian dalam serba-serbi-nya dalam menentukan nasib Malaysia, tetapi kita mahu memandag ia-itu salah sa-orang pehak Persatuan Islam yang telah mengemukakan dalam Majlis ini di-atas kebimbangan mereka dan keraguan mereka terhadap bangsa Melayu. Jadi, sa-kira-nya pehak Kerajaan Pusat tidak dapat hendak mengawal kepentingan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam negeri ini sa-terus-nya kapada warga negara Persekutuan



dengan memandangkan bilangan penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-Singapura mithal-nya hendak masuk dalam Persekutuan mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan ekonomi dan dalam serba-serbi-nya di-sini kami memikirkan ia-itu pehak Yang Berhormat hendak menjadikan Malaysia itu satu negara yang bebas serba-serbi-nya supaya penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-Singapura itu datang mengambil bahagian dalam politik negeri ini.

Jadi dengan sebab itu-lah saya fikir di-dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini ada sekatan<sup>2</sup> yang tertentu supaya pehak orang<sup>2</sup> atau penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-Singapura dapat menentukan nasib mereka itu sendiri dengan ada Legislative Council atau Badan Pentadbir-nya sendiri daripada untuk menjadikan Singapura itu sa-bahagian daripada Malaysia atau pun sa-darah sa-daging dengan Malaysia. Jadi maksud saya berchakap pada hari ini ia-lah kami menubuhkan Malaysia ini bukan sahaja dengan konsep atau pandangan sa-bagai sa-oleh<sup>2</sup> Malaysia ini Union, tetapi Malaysia ini ia-lah Federation. Federation dengan Union jauh beza-nya. Jadi itu-lah saya fikir yang pehak Socialist Front ini bersungguh<sup>2</sup> hendak melawan atau hendak membela nasib bangsa orang Singapura supaya bebas serba-serbi-nya dalam Malaysia ini, terutama saya di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Begitu juga beliau telah sebutkan berkenaan dengan orang di-sini yang tidak dapat pergi ka-Sabah melainkan dengan ada permit.

Jadi, di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau sa-kira-nya kita hendak memberi kebebasan yang terlampau<sup>2</sup> kepada pehak, baik penduduk negeri Singapura mahu pun penduduk Persekutuan hendak tinggal di-sana dengan tidak ada sekatan<sup>2</sup>, maka ini bererti kita bukan hendak membela nasib bangsa orang<sup>2</sup> di-Sabah bahkan kita hendak buat satu tekanan yang berat kepada mereka itu dengan kerana boleh jadi banyak bilangan daripada penduduk dari Singapura mahu pun dari Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini akan pergi dudok di-sana dengan mengambil bahagian yang chergas dalam serba lapangan. Pada hal kita menubuhkan Malaysia bukan dengan tujuan menjajah mereka itu, sa-bagaimana yang kita

tahu sa-benar-nya dasar penjajah mengadakan negeri<sup>2</sup> yang di-jajah itu samata<sup>2</sup> untuk kepentingan mereka untuk keuntungan mereka bagi pehak penjajah, tetapi kita adakan Malaysia bukan sa-mata<sup>2</sup> kita memandang di-atas kepentingan ra'ayat kita untuk menekan orang di-Sabah. Itu-lah sebab saya kata pada hari ini kita wujudkan Malaysia di-atas konsep yang di-anjorkan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia itu dengan perasaan ke'adilan.

Berhubung dengan keamanan negeri yang mana pehak Pembangkang telah menuduh bahawa sa-kira-nya Malaysia ini wujud, maka keamanan di-negeri itu terancham—di-negeri mana? Di-negeri<sup>2</sup> Singapura, Sarawak dan Sabah? Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benar-nya Malaysia ini tidak akan mengancham keamanan negeri<sup>2</sup> itu bahkan dengan wujud-nya Malaysia ini kita hendak mengawal keamanan negeri<sup>2</sup> Singapura, Sarawak dan Sabah, sebab saya kata begitu ia-lah dengan kerana pehak Kerajaan Pusat yang akan mengawal keamanan negeri itu akan mempunyai lebih kuasa untuk menjaga keamanan di-negeri itu. Sa-kira-nya ada pehak<sup>2</sup> yang datang daripada luar atau pun dari dalam negeri wilayah<sup>2</sup> itu, juga anchaman<sup>2</sup> dari luar, maka menjadi tanggong-jawab kepada Kerajaan Pusat untuk mengawal-nya, dan bukan sahaja kita memberi pengakuan sa-umpama itu terhadap keamanan negeri<sup>2</sup> itu atau wilayah<sup>2</sup> itu bahkan dengan terang<sup>2</sup> kita telah menunjokkan kepada ra'ayat tiga buah negeri itu dan termasuk negeri kita, negeri kita juga mempunyai satu kekuatan yang besar di-belakang kita untuk membantu Kerajaan kita menghapuskan segala kekacauan yang mengancham keamanan negeri ini. Ini ia-lah tidak lain dan tidak bukan dengan kita adakan satu Perjanjian Pertahanan dengan kuasa<sup>2</sup> yang menjadi sahabat kepada kita. Jadi itu-lah yang membangkitkan kebimbangan terhadap pehak Pembangkang dengan kerana anchaman<sup>2</sup> yang akan di-datangkan dari luar terhadap wilayah<sup>2</sup> ini ia-lah anchaman<sup>2</sup> yang datang daripada bukan sahaja sahabat kita. Kalau datang daripada sahabat kita maka dapat-lah kita menghapuskan-nya, tetapi kalau datang daripada luar sahabat kita maka kita



juga mempunyai sahabat untuk membantu kita menghapuskan kekacauan dan rusohan<sup>2</sup> yang akan menimpa wilayah<sup>2</sup> ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini sa-lain daripada satu factor yang saya telah sebutkan tadi ia-itu dengan di-sahkan Undang<sup>2</sup> ini, maka bererti-lah kita yang menubuhkan satu negara baharu. Maka ada perkara yang kedua ia-itu Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini membuat sedikit sa-banyak pindaan kepada Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang ada sekarang supaya menyesuaikan negeri<sup>2</sup> atau wilayah<sup>2</sup> di-Borneo dan Sarawak; dan Sarawak masuk menjadi anggota Malaysia mengikut syarat<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-setujui di-dalam perjanjian London baharu<sup>2</sup> ini. Dengan kita menerima syarat<sup>2</sup> kemasukan negeri<sup>2</sup> anggota ini, maka bererti-lah Kerajaan Perikatan tidak berniat hendak menjajah wilayah anggota Malaysia itu, bahkan kita menerima mereka dengan hati yang tabah dan jujur. Dengan lain<sup>2</sup> perkataan, Malaysia di-bentok dengan tidak tekanan atau paksaan, jauh sa-kali dari ugutan dari pihak Kerajaan Perikatan. Kerajaan Perikatan memegang tegoh sa-bagaimana saya sebutkan tadi kepada asas pemerentahan-nya ia-itu keamanan, kema'amoran dan ke'adilan. Jika sa-kira-nya kita mengenyepikan asas<sup>2</sup> pemerentahan ini, maka kita tidak dapat menepati hasrat ra'ayat di-wilayah<sup>2</sup> itu.

Di-sini saya suka juga menarek perhatian sa-bagai suatu contoh di-dalam soal kera'ayatan. Dalam muka 12 ada di-sebutkan TITLE II—CITIZENSHIP. Soal citizenship ada-lah menjadi pokok perbahathan bagi pihak Pembangkang, terutama sa-kali daripada P.P.P. dan Socialist Front. Di-dalam TITLE II ini ada tiga chapter yang berthabit dengan istilah dan syarat<sup>2</sup> kera'ayatan yang mana dengan ada keterangan<sup>2</sup> yang cukup di-atas soal istilah dan syarat<sup>2</sup> kera'ayatan, maka dapat-lah satu<sup>2</sup> anggota itu atau satu negeri dalam Malaysia ini mengawal kedudukan masing<sup>2</sup> tentang soal kera'ayatan.

Jadi, pada hari ini sa-bagaimana yang telah kita dengar kehendak<sup>2</sup> daripada pihak Pembangkang, sa-kira-nya kalau

sa-saorang penduduk dalam negeri Singapura mempunyai kera'ayatan Singapura, maka dia dengan sendirinya, atau dengan automatic-nya patut-lah menjadi ra'ayat negeri ini ia-itu ra'ayat Persekutuan. Itu-lah maksud dan tujuan pihak<sup>2</sup> Pembangkang dalam hujah<sup>2</sup> yang mereka berikan itu, tetapi bagi pihak PAS patut-lah mengambil ingatan ia-itu dengan ada-nya sekatan, dan dengan ada-nya keterangan<sup>2</sup> atau pun dengan menentukan istilah dan syarat<sup>2</sup> kera'ayatan itu maka ta' patut-lah PAS hendak membimbangkan kedudukan bangsa Melayu dalam negeri ini yang mana boleh jadi pada suatu masa baharu<sup>2</sup> ini, pihak PAS telah mengatakan bahawa sa-kira-nya jadi Malaysia ini, maka pihak<sup>2</sup> yang bukan Melayu daripada Singapura, atau pun daripada wilayah<sup>2</sup> yang lebih bilangan-nya yang akan masuk dalam negeri ini mengambil bahagian dalam serba-serbi lapangan. Jadi, itu-lah yang saya suka hendak menyebutkan di-sini ia-itu dalam hal kera'ayatan ini, masing<sup>2</sup> negeri ada mempunyai sekatan. Sa-kira-nya sa-saorang penduduk di-negeri itu hendak mempunyai ta'at setia kepada Singapura, dan dia juga hendak menjadi ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, maka terpaksa-lah orang itu meninggalkan, atau pun membatalkan kera'ayatan-nya, dan dia hendak-lah meminta atau membuat permintaan baharu kepada negeri yang dia berchadang hendak dudok. Ini-lah satu chara yang kita hendak menjaga hak ketuanan masing<sup>2</sup>, dan sa-kira-nya kita menubuhkan Malaysia ini dengan tidak memberikan pandangan kepada chara<sup>2</sup> ini, maka tentu-lah bukan sahaja pihak Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang berchadang hendak menubuhkan Malaysia, bahkan wilayah<sup>2</sup> dari Sabah dan Sarawak juga akan menentang kita dengan tidak menghiraukan, dengan tidak memberi keutamaan, atau pun memandang di-atas kedudukan dan keadaan negeri mereka itu sendiri.

Dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini juga kita dapat ada beberapa bahagian yang menyentuh berhubung dengan special position of the Malays, atau pun kedudukan yang tertentu bagi orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-Singapura. Apa yang saya suka hendak menarek perhatian Dewan ini

ia-lah tentang Clause 68 dalam Undang<sup>2</sup> ini yang menunjukkan ia itu di dalam kita hendak mewujudkan Malaysia ini; pihak Kerajaan Persekutuan dan sa-lapas menjadi Malaysia, pihak Kerajaan Pusat Malaysia, tidak akan lupa tentang kedudukan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-Singapura, sa-hingga di-dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini kita boleh dapati dalam Clause 69 bab (e) yang menunjukkan ia-itu sa-lagi Governor dalam Negeri itu ta' memberikan persetujuan, maka undang<sup>2</sup> yang hendak menghapuskan apa juga yang bersangkutan-paut dengan ugama, dengan bahasa, atau pun dengan special position of the Malays, atau pun kedudukan yang tertentu bagi orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-Singapura ta' dapat di-jalankan. Ini menunjukkan bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan telah mengadakan satu Perlembagaan yang akan meliputi: Act ini, atau pun Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini, juga sa-bagai memberi perhatian yang besar kepada pihak orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-Singapura. Jadi pada ham ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun ada-lah menyokong Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini, dengan kerana sa-lapas Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini di-luluskan, maka dia akan menjadi sa-bahagian daripada Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang mana kedua<sup>2</sup> ini juga akan menjadi Perlembagaan Persekutuan Malaysia, dan dengan ada-nya Persekutuan Malaysia ini, maka berma'analah bukan sahaja ra'ayat dalam negeri ini bahkan juga ra'ayat di-wilayah<sup>2</sup> lain itu akan bersama<sup>2</sup> menekmati apa yang menjadi asas pada pemerintah negeri ini ia-itu ka'adilan, kema'amoran dan keamanan dan begitu juga akan menjadi asas bagi pemerintah Malaysia untuk mendapatkan ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> di-sana menekmati bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan kita.

**Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang (Jelebu-Jempol):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, baharu sebentar tadi kita telah menyaksikan dalam perbahathan ini suatu pertelagahan yang telah berlaku dalam Dewan ini di-antara bekas<sup>2</sup> orang kuat M.C.A. dahulu yang sekarang ini tidak lagi menjadi ahli M.C.A. Apa yang menggelikan hati saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah sa-orang mengatakan yang sa-orang itu telah menanam atau pun mengkuborkan pelajaran orang<sup>2</sup> China, dan yang satu lagi pula mengatakan

dia-lah yang mengkuborkan pelajaran orang<sup>2</sup> China. Jadi saya nampak, pada fikiran saya, mereka kedua<sup>2</sup> ini telah keliru, sebab tidak sa-siapai yang boleh mengkuborkan atau mengkebumikan pelajaran orang<sup>2</sup> China, kerana kebudayaan dan pelajaran orang<sup>2</sup> China itu telah subur di-sini sejak beribu<sup>2</sup> tahun dahulu lagi. Jadi saya fikir, mereka itu telah keliru, lagi pun saya suka hendak menerangkan kepada mereka itu ia-itu sa-lagi Kerajaan Perikatan, memerintah negeri ini, maka sa-lama itu-lah Kerajaan tidak akan menanamkan pelajaran mereka, kerana perkara ini telah di-tulis di-dalam Perlembagaan kita ia-itu kita akan memelihara bahasa China sa-lain daripada memperjuangkan bahasa Melayu, bahasa rasmi negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada pendapat saya—saya kurang ingat, kenapa sebab<sup>2</sup>-nya yang boleh membunuh pelajaran orang<sup>2</sup> kita, sementara menjadikan orang<sup>2</sup> kita, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, maju, tetapi saya banyak dapati terutama sa-kali di-antara orang<sup>2</sup> China ia-itu kaum<sup>2</sup> terpelajar mereka tidak menghantar anak<sup>2</sup> mereka ka-sekolah<sup>2</sup> China, sa-balek-nya mereka lebih suka menghantar anak<sup>2</sup> mereka ka-sekolah<sup>2</sup> Inggeris. Jadi ini menunjukkan yang mereka itu suroh anak<sup>2</sup>-nya belajar bahasa Inggeris. Ini-kah chara-nya bagi mereka hendak menghidupkan pelajaran orang<sup>2</sup> China yang bertemppek hendakkan pelajaran<sup>2</sup> China itu, padahal mereka itu sendiri telah mematikan pelajaran orang<sup>2</sup> China.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam perbahathan ini sa-malam barangkali telah timbul satu soal yang di-kemukakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Dato Kramat yang mengatakan konon-nya mereka<sup>2</sup> yang menanda tangani perjanjian di-London itu bagi pihak daerah<sup>2</sup> Borneo, Sarawak dan Singapura tidak bertiak menanda tangani kerana kata-nya mereka itu tidak mewakili ra'ayat kerana negeri<sup>2</sup> ini sekarang konon-nya bukan negeri yang merdeka penuh—hal-ehwal luar negeri-nya di-jaga oleh Kerajaan Inggeris. Jadi kepada mereka ini, saya suka-lah bertanya kalau-lah mereka ini tidak di-bolehdan menanda tangani siapa-kah yang boleh menanda tangani soal ini

tidak pernah di-jawab-nya. Saya mengatakan kerana mereka itu telah dipilih oleh rakyat maka mereka ini sekurang-lah yang boleh menanda tangani perjanjian yang telah di-buat itu. Jadi kata<sup>2</sup> yang di-kemukakan atau hujah<sup>2</sup> yang di-kemukakan oleh wakil dari Dato Kramat sa-malam ohuma saya katakan boleh mengelirukan Dewan ini sahaja.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu lagi soal yang besar atas perbahathan yang hangat di-sini oleh pehak Pembangkang ia-lah soal kera'ayatan yang ada dibongkang-nya dengan bilangan kerusi Dewan Ra'ayat ini yang di-untukkan bagi Singapura. Menurut pehak Pembangkang ia-itu 15 kerusi Dewan ini di-untukkan kepada Singapura ada-lah tidak mencukupi kerana bilangan ra'ayat di-Singapura terlalu besar. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah di-tegaskan oleh pehak Kerajaan bahawa di-antara sebab<sup>2</sup> yang mereka itu di-bahagi cuma 15 kerusi sahaja ia-lah kerana mereka itu ada-lah hak autonomy di-dalam soal Buruh dan Pelajaran. Bukan ini sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa ada satu sebab lain yang patut saya sebutkan di-sini ia-itu ra'ayat Singapura apabila mereka itu hendak menjadi ra'ayat Singapura dahulu syarat<sup>2</sup> mereka itu menjadi ra'ayat ada-lah longgar sa-kali ia-itu kalau saya tidak salah semua ra'ayat Singapura pada masa itu yang boleh menumpukkan dia telah dudok di-Singapura dan ada mempunyai kad pengenalan Singapura mereka itu boleh menjadi hak ra'ayat Singapura. Tetapi di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu syarat ini ketat, mereka itu hendak-lah dudok dalam Malaya ini sa-kurang<sup>2</sup>nya 8 daripada 12 tahun. Jadi di-sini dapat kita bandingkan macham mana-kah susah-nya untuk mendapatkan kera'ayatan di-Persekutuan ini di-bandingkan dengan Singapura. Saya rasa, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau-lah hendak di-ambil semua orang Singapura menjadi ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu atau pun di-kira semua ra'ayat itu bagi menempatkan kerusi, itu tidak 'adil. Kerana saya fikir satu daripada hak kera'ayatan ini ada-lah satu hak yang sangat di-hargakan dan tidak boleh di-permainkan. Jadi saya rasa banyak daripada ra'ayat<sup>2</sup> di-

Singapura itu, saya hendak terangkan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita maseh churiga lagi taat setia mereka itu kepada Malaysia. Jadi saya menegaskan di-sini 15 kerusi di-untukkan kepada Singapura itu kalau pun tidak boleh, tetapi sudah cukup benar-lah dengan keadaan yang ada sekarang ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu soal yang di-kemukakan ia-itu berkenaan dengan Perjanjian Pertahanan. Di-dalam soal kita membahathkan usul hendak menerima perjanjian ini dahulu, wakil Bachok telah membangkitkan soal Article 6 di-dalam perjanjian ini. Article 6 ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah memberi atau pun melanjutkan perjanjian yang telah di-buat di-antara Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan Kerajaan Inggeris dahulu supaya meliputi juga nanti dengan negeri Malaysia ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau saya berkata barangkali juga ada pehak Pembangkang mengatakan saya ini terlampau pro-Barat atau pun suka benar mengampu Barat. Tetapi saya berchakap terus terang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita hendak-lah ada sa-orang kawan atau sahabat yang boleh kita perchayai pada masa kita bersahabat kelak. Dan saya tidak shak lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sahabat yang telah kita uji tidak lain-lah Kerajaan Inggeris ini yang sanggup membantu dan sanggup berjuang bagi faedah kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tat kala mendengar hujah<sup>2</sup> yang di-kuarkan oleh pehak Pembangkang sa-malam dan tadi juga saya tidak dapat memahamkan apa-kah maksud mereka ini yang tidak mahu benar perjanjian yang di-adakan itu dan mereka itu tidak pula hendak menerangkan kalau sa-kira-nya perjanjian persahabatan dengan Kerajaan Inggeris umpama-nya, kepada siapa kita hendak buat perjanjian tidak diterangkan. Atau ada-kah mereka ini mahu negeri ini terdedah bagini sahaja boleh di-masoki oleh sa-siapa kerana kita tahu dalam soal pertahanan kita memang tidak ada kekuatan, kerana kita lebih menumpukan tenaga kita bagi memajukan ra'ayat, memajukan negeri dan memajukan segala<sup>2</sup>-nya, dan bukan-lah kita mengutamakan meriam, senapan dan sa-bagai-nya daripada makan ra'ayat negeri ini. Jadi, Tuan

Yang di-Pertua, saya katakan kalau bagini-lah maksud-nya, kalau bagini-lah kata<sup>2</sup> pehak Pembangkang tadi saya chemburu-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa maksud mereka buat bagini adakah mereka ini hendak negeri ini terdedah ada orang lain hendak masuk negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam negeri yang maju ini, dalam negeri yang penuh dengan gelombang bermacam<sup>2</sup> rupa, saya katakan-lah negeri yang kechil saperti Malaya ini tidak-lah boleh hidup, kita mesti-lah ada sahabat—ada sahabat yang sanggup datang membantu sa-belah kita sa-masa kita dalam kechemasan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Saya suka-lah menegaskan, saya kata terangkan kalau-lah sa-kira-nya tidak ada sahabat kita itu berkenaan dengan pertahanan ini, di-dalam perundingan summit conference di-Manila itu tidak akan berjaya. Apa fasal tidak berjaya, kerana kita pergi ka-sana tidak boleh tawar-menawar, tidak ada kekuatan bagi kita. Tetapi dengan ada-nya sahabat di-sebelah kita, kita boleh mengemukakan—memajukan kehendak kita, kita tidak berganjak sa-tapak jua pun. Biar-lah saya katakan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-itu kita negeri kechil ini tidak boleh-lah kita memikirkan orang tidak boleh usek kita, kita mahu hidup sa-orang dengan aman damai.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya katakan tengok macham India, apa yang telah jadi sekarang, saya tidak-lah hendak sebutkan dan saya harap Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat semua faham soal ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-malam Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Persatuan Islam telah berchakap panjang ia-itu telah menentang dengan keras-nya chadangan kita hendak meluluskan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Besut mengaku diri-nya sekarang Yang di-Pertua Agong PAS, tetapi saya tidak berapa yakin kerana baharu<sup>2</sup> ini saya nampak satu pemberontakan Persatuan Islam di-Singapura berlaku dan mereka tidak mengaku beliau itu sa-bagai ketua mereka.

**Mr Speaker:** Itu tidak berbangkit di-dalam perbahathan kita ini. Tolong jaga baik<sup>2</sup> sedikit.

**Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, chukup-lah sa-takat

itu, tetapi kita tahu-lah macham mana pendirian pemimpin PAS itu pada masa sekarang dan ada satu perkara yang saya tidak boleh tidak sebutkan di-sini, konon-nya orang<sup>2</sup> UMNO ini telah memberitahu dan menerangkan bahawa hukuman Quran itu tidak sesuai dengan keadaan negeri kita ini dan sekarang tidak boleh di-gunakan. Mereka menudoh kita ini mengatakan hukuman Quran itu tidak boleh di-gunakan. Saya sa-bagai orang Islam menafikan dengan keras-nya tuduhan yang sa-macham itu. Kalau ada-lah orang<sup>2</sup> Islam yang berkata bagitu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-itu yang mengatakan dan menudoh orang berbuat bagitu maka dia-lah yang sesat dan itu ada-lah tuduhan yang sangat berat. Saya harap benar-lah ahli PAS ini jangan-lah bagitu hendak mempertahankan kepentingan parti-nya sa-hingga menudoh orang<sup>2</sup> sesat dalam agama. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka-lah menerangkan ia-itu PAS itu bukan Islam dan Islam itu bukan PAS, PAS chuma satu parti sahaja, sama juga macham Perikatan sa-bagai parti.

**Mr Speaker:** Order! Order! Itu apa kena-mengena dengan Malaysia? Tidak ada bersangkutan langsung, saya boleh tahan sa-siapa yang berchakap luar daripada perbahathan kita ini.

**Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, terima kaseh, tetapi yang saya katakan tadi saya tidak boleh kechualikan perkara itu, biar-lah saya jawab tuduhan yang di-buat oleh PAS itu. Lagi satu perkataan yang di-keluarkan oleh PAS sa-malam ia-itu ia mengatakan bahawa Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku selalu membuat statement yang melulu dan mengatakan semua orang<sup>2</sup> yang menentang Malaysia itu semua kominis, bersempati dengan kominis. Mereka itu memberi jaminan bahawa mereka itu bukan-nya kominis. Juga, sa-belum itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Mas Hulu mengatakan bahawa orang Melayu tidak ada kominis, dan kominis tidak ada pada orang Melayu. Saya suka menerangkan kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Mas Hulu bahawa beberapa banyak orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang menjadi kominis dan berapa banyak ketua<sup>2</sup> Komunis

itu pula yang terdiri daripada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, ini chuma hendak mengelirukan sahaja dalam Dewan ini.

Saya ingin menyatakan di-sini sungoh pun Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Besut telah menerangkan ia-itu bukan semua yang bulat itu bergolek dan yang pipeh itu melayang, akan tetapi saya nampak yang Persatuan Islam itu telah di-golekkan, tidak lama lagi akan terjerumus ka-dalam kawasan komunis. Saya harap Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Besut itu jaga<sup>2</sup>-lah jangan-lah terlampau sangat berkehendakkan sa-suatu sa-hingga sampai bershubahat dengan orang<sup>2</sup> yang berlawan dengan polisi Islam itu sendiri dan berlawan dengan orang Melayu sendiri. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada suatu masa saya telah berpeluang mendengar Timbalan Yang di-Pertua PAS, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok berucap di-Seremban berhubung dengan Malaysia. Apa kata-nya,—“Tunku telah menipu Soekarno dan sekarang Tunku mungkir janji dengan Soekarno kerana dahulu telah berjanji di-Tokyo tidak mahu menanda tangani, sekarang sudah di-buat”—dia tidak mengatakan dahulu ada-kah perjanjian itu telah di-buat atau tidak. Ini-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak faham ta'at setia yang patut di-berikan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu kepada Tanah Melayu ini berucap sa-olah<sup>2</sup> macham dia itu bukan sa-bagai ra'ayat Tanah Melayu ini. Ini sangat merugikan Tanah Melayu ini, apa-kah lagi sa-bagai Ahli Yang Berhormat dalam Dewan ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tambahan pula pada masa sekarang negeri kita ini menghadapi soal<sup>2</sup> Malaysia menjadi soal yang besar dan saya perhatikan di-mana<sup>2</sup> juga dia ada, orang<sup>2</sup> parti-nya pergi menerangkan supaya menjatuhkan Kerajaan Perikatan dalam soal Malaysia ini. Bukan itu sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benar-nya saya dapati mereka itu telah naik takut kepada Kerajaan Perikatan ini, kerana mereka yakin betul apa yang kita buat dan Kerajaan telah memberi keperchayaan kepada kita. Mereka tidak ada modal. Mereka pergi ka-hulu<sup>2</sup> mengatakan kita mesti jatuhkan Kerajaan sebab tidak ada buat apa<sup>2</sup>. Dan ada juga Ahli Dewan ini, Tuan Yang di-

Pertua, yang dahulu menjadi Menteri ia-itu Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat. Mereka ini ganjil—ganjil betul saperti kata sahabat saya Menteri ‘ajaib, sebab dia tidak ada pendirian langsung. Apa sebab dia pergi berchakap dalam kempen<sup>2</sup> PAS, U.D.P. dan Socialist Front? Apa polisi dia kita tidak tahu—wallahu a'lam, Tuhan sahaja yang tahu, ‘ajaib juga polisi-nya. Tetapi pada masa sekarang ini atau baharu<sup>2</sup> ini saya nampak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, PAS tidak benarkan dia bersharah. PAS nampak dia tidak betul. Kalau bekas Menteri itu di-biarkan berucap kita pun akan jahnam . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Kita membahathkan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> Malaysia. Tidak-lah bersangkut-paut sama sa-kali di-mana sa-sorang itu bersharah dan begitu bagini. Di-bawah Peratoran Meshuarat 36 (1) terang menerangkan ia-itu saya boleh menahan.

**Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang:** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya pun faham. Akan tetapi sa-malam, Tuan Yang di-Pertua telah menerangkan kepada Yang Berhormat dari Besut ia-itu oleh kerana tiada berpeluang berchakap berkenaan dengan perjanjian Malaysia, maka beliau itu di-bebaskan boleh mengkaitkan apa<sup>2</sup> perkara yang berthabit dengan Malaysia. Saya pun tidak berchakap juga, dan saya hendak mengambil peluang itu . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Saya benarkan kalau perkara itu berkait dengan perbahathan yang ada di-hadapan Majlis ini. Saya bukan-nya hendak menahan tuan berchakap. Boleh berchakap asalkan ucapan, perbahathan atau hujah itu berkait dengan perkara yang ada di-hadapan Majlis ini yang membahathkan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> Malaysia ini pada bacaan kali yang kedua.

**Enche' Mohamed bin Ujang:** Terima kaseh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Sekarang saya hendak berchakap atas hujah yang di-keluarkan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Dato Kramat. Kalau saya tidak salah dia mengatakan hak keistimewaan orang Melayu tidak di-masokkan di-dalam Perlembagaan Singapura sa-bagaimana yang ada di-Persekutuan

Tanah Melayu ini. Dalam soal ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka menarek perhatian Dewan ini pada Fasal 89 dalam perjanjian ini ada menyebutkan ia-itu—

"The Government shall exercise its functions in such a manner as to recognise the special position of the Malays, who are the indigenous people of the State, and accordingly it shall be the responsibility of the Government to protect, safeguard, support, foster and promote their political, educational, religious, economic, social and cultural interests and the Malay language."

Ini terang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, terang benar mengatakan bahawa hak keistimewaan itu memang ada di-Singapura, sunggoh pun tidak sama dengan yang ada di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini, tetapi memang ada. Maka terpulang-lah kepada Kerajaan Singapura atas kebijaksanaan atau kejujurannya kelak terhadap orang Melayu Singapura ada-kah Kerajaan sana mahu menolong orang Melayu Singapura dengan hak keistimewaan yang ada itu.

Jadi dengan ini terang-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi Yang Berhormat dari Dato Kramat itu dia bukan memberi penerangan, melainkan hendak mengelirukan sahaja. Dalam soal ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-masa Yang Berhormat dari Dato Kramat berchakap saya mengambil peluang menchatikan masa dia berchakap itu lebeh kurang tiga jam. Sa-tengah jam daripadanya di-gunakan untuk membacha Bill ini, lima belas minit untuk menong berfikir dan yang lebeh itu dia berchakap. Saya sudah buat kira<sup>2</sup>, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, harga Dewan ini mahal, barangkali \$1,000 satu jam belanja-nya termasuk gaji, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan semua sa-kali (*Ketawa*). Kalau tiga jam \$3,000 tetapi apa yang di-chakap-nya itu satu sen tidak berguna, chuma mengelirukan sahaja di-sini. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak berchakap panjang, tetapi saya harap kepada pehak Pembangkang ia-itu jangan-lah membuang \$1,000 satu jam itu sebab membazir dan tidak berguna kepada ra'ayat.

**Enche' Chin See Yin:** Mr Speaker, Sir, it is only natural that the Govern-

ment will have to produce a Bill for the Constitution of Malaysia which will satisfy the requirements of the "Three Kingdoms". Soon, they will be claiming from one another the rights and interests stated in this Bill, and then its future events will be similar to the tale of the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms". This will be written down in future history as the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms of Malaysia".

Sir, the Honourable the Prime Minister has told us in this august House the other day that Malaysia is a big family and has asked us to make it a great success, to pool our resources together for the common good, in order to enjoy prosperity and harmony. In this Constitution, Sir, you will agree that there are different types of requirements for each of the "Three Kingdoms". In particular, the Borneo territories have isolated themselves from the other two by having an immigration law, thereby preventing the Federation citizens and the Singapore citizens, who are generally called Malayan citizens, from going into their territories for employment or trade. But do you think there is any wisdom in making this provision in the Constitution? I do not think so. If we were to look at the map in the Commission's Report, as suggested by the Honourable Minister of Finance, we will see that the size of these two territories is much larger than the Federation but the population is only over a million, whereas in the Federation the population is more than seven millions; and yet in the Federation you see developments going on because we allow people to come in from Singapore and neighbouring countries to trade or to find employment as skilled labourers or ordinary labourers. In the case of the Borneo territories, although the Federation Government has agreed to give them \$300 million for development, what is the good of this money if they do not have the labour force? How can they develop with this money? An interesting example is that of Australia. Australia itself is a continent, and yet soon after the war Australia invited a large number of people from the European countries to



migrate to Australia, in order to develop that country. Now, development is important to any country if it is to enjoy prosperity. If the Borneo territories were to adopt an attitude of isolation, not allowing others to go there and yet calling themselves members of a big family, I think there must be something wrong somewhere. They have no sense of wisdom, and they have not acted wisely. On our part we have to spend \$300 million, but what are we getting for our people? Our people cannot go there. Therefore, I say that it is important for the Government now that it has created this big family to bring wisdom to the Borneo people to realise the importance of allowing people to go there to develop their land. It will create mutual benefit not only to themselves but also to everybody in the Malaysian territory. That alone is an important factor. If we were to pool our resources together for the common good, then that good must be shared by everybody, and not by themselves; and they cannot enjoy it, because Borneo cannot be developed without manpower—without people going there to trade, and without people going there to work.

Now, Sir, in this Bill the issue on Singapore is most interesting. As I said the other day, they have special concessions on education, labour, finance, common market and what-not. Now, what is more important is that Singapore is going to practise equality—and its Government will see to it that this is done in Singapore. By practising equality you are not going to allow monopoly, but you are going to encourage competition; and competition is a very good thing. Unless you have initiative, you cannot survive, and this will give initiative to everybody to live in a country, where there is the true practice of equality. What is that equality, and how has it been expressed even in the Report of the Commission? If I may, I would like to refer you to it, Sir—it has been stated by two Malaysians, who have been in this country for a long time—Sir Anthony Abell and Sir David Watherston. In paragraph 161, page 67 of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry, North

Borneo and Sarawak, it is stated *inter alia* that the question of special privileges and what-nots are in contradiction with the policy of equal opportunity for all races, and that they are not in the best interests of racial harmony or of the natives themselves, who would more easily be spurred to competitive effort without constitutional preferences—here, you have British officers, who had lived in this country, who had seen the development in this country, the progress in this country, and had known the people in this country, and they now say that competition is a good thing but not monopoly. Therefore, Singapore practises equality, and that is something good for everybody, and I am sure the Malays in Singapore will be just as good as the Chinese in Singapore. If it is not so, then the Singapore Government would not allow equality to go on, and it knows that by having that equality everybody will be competitive and full of initiative, and Singapore will progress. If the Federation will adopt this example, then the Federation will progress much more than Singapore, because the Federation has a bigger population than Singapore. That was one of the reasons why the Singapore Government does not believe in the 4:1 ratio and other things such as monopoly.

Now, somebody has been suggesting in this House, during the debate on Malaysia, that because Singapore has a Chinese population, they fear Singapore, but we all know—and everybody should know—that the Chinese are in fact individualists, and individualists have no love for communism. Just like the Malays in the Federation—Malays are all Muslims and they believe in Prophet Muhammad—there may be only a handful inclined to communism. As regards the Chinese in this country, if all are communists, then we would not all be here talking democracy. (Laughter). Therefore, when there is only a handful of Chinese, who are communists or communist-inclined, do not call all Chinese communists. It is unfair. (Laughter). The Singapore Chinese as well as the Federation Chinese have proved that they are

individualists and they believe in democracy. If they do not so believe, then this whole country would be run by communist people. Therefore, when we have Singapore as our partner, and we bring Singapore into the Federation, we must treat it as an equal.

Sir, in the case of Singapore there is one very good example—and what is that very good example? That good example is set out in this Bill—and if I may, Sir, I would refer you to Clause 67 which says:

“Notwithstanding anything in Article 152, until otherwise provided by enactment of the Legislature of Singapore, the English, Mandarin and Tamil languages may be used in the Legislative Assembly of Singapore, and the English language may be used for the authoritative texts of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in that Assembly,.....”

Therefore, Sir, Singapore realises the importance of the use of languages, as we in the Federation have, in fact, appreciated the importance of other languages as stated in Article 152 of the Constitution under which we accept Malay as the National language, and to preserve, sustain and encourage the use of other languages. The only difference between Singapore and the Federation is that in Singapore four languages are used, and in the Federation, we only use English and Malay—but nevertheless in the Constitution we say we will preserve, sustain and encourage the use of other languages.

Now, Sir, what is the importance of that? That importance is to give everybody a chance, if they are going to be representatives in the Assembly, to bring the views of the people to the notice of Government: further there is the importance in regard to trade with other countries, both far away and neighbouring countries—not necessarily with the West alone, but with China and India also. With the English language we trade with the West, and with Chinese and Indian languages we trade with the people in China and the people in India. Languages have their usefulness and importance, and knowing that they are good we must make use of the good things. We must not be persons with only one-track minds. Afterall, if we believe in democracy,

we must be broadminded. If things are good, we must accept them, whether they are from the West or from the East. We must make use of the best of everything. But are we making use of the best of everything? This is a matter that time will prove, and we will be wrong if we do not follow the good examples set by our neighbours, who are going to be our partners as soon as this is passed. In fact, it has been approved in the Malaysia Agreement to take them in as our partners.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, on education, in Singapore we have got the University of Singapore and the Nanyang University. These two Universities are going to produce men who are useful to the country. We have so far accepted the graduates of the University of Singapore, but so far we have not recognised the degrees of the Nanyang University. Nanyang University is in Singapore, and it has been producing graduates in Arts, Engineering, Science and what-nots. Quite a number of Federation boys are graduates of that University, but, unfortunately, when they return to the Federation the Government does not recognise the degrees obtained by them and they have got to find employment in Singapore. In Singapore today quite a number of Federation boys, who are graduates of the Nanyang University, have been given jobs in the Singapore Government Service, and they have proved themselves to be good employees, and also many of them have been given scholarships to go abroad to better their knowledge. So, Sir, why cannot we make use of our own citizens who have got the necessary qualifications and who are accepted by the Singapore Government? That is a very important aspect in building up this country, which we all love so much.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, on the question of the Nanyang University and education in the Federation of Malaya, our education system in respect of Chinese study has been deteriorating soon after the passing of the 1960 Education Review Committee Report. Why do I say so? This Report of the Education Review Committee, 1960, was the result of the Education Report



of 1956, because in the Education Report of 1956 there was a condition, a requirement, which makes it necessary for the Government to appoint another Committee to review the education policy—and what was that condition? That condition stated that it was recommended that the policies proposed in the Report be re-examined in the light of experience not later than 1959—paragraph 16 of the Razak Education, 1956, Report. This Report has also another proviso which says that eventually Malay will become the medium of instruction in all schools in the country.

Now, Sir, basing on these two provisos or conditions, the Committee was appointed and the 1960 Report was made—and who made these two conditions, or clauses? The Honourable Member for Telok Anson and Dr Lim Chong Eu—and this is why I call them the undertakers who killed Chinese education and buried it in the grave. (*Laughter*).

**Mr Speaker:** Order, order. I have already warned you that the difference of opinion on education between you and the representative of the United Democratic Party has nothing to do with the House, and the House is not interested. You can only speak on matters connected with this Bill. If you speak on matters not connected with the Bill, I will pull you up. Please proceed.

**Enche' Chin See Yin:** Sir, I was trying to explain how Chinese education went backwards (*Laughter*). These are the two people who were responsible. Yet, Sir, these people have been telling that because Chinese education has been set back, they are going to fight for Chinese education: I am just relating the facts. Now, Sir, these people are telling a lot of lies and putting on an act of hypocrisy, because they were the undertakers who were responsible for burying Chinese education.

Now, Sir, apart from that fact, Chinese education can be revived. As I said the other day, Chinese education, Tamil education, will not in any way retard the progress and the development

of this country. This has been proved by what is Malaya today. Pre-war, Chinese education and Tamil education were taught side by side. Today Chinese education and Tamil education can be taught side by side with Malay education and it will not create any retardment. Singapore is an example and Singapore has proved it. But, unfortunately, Sir, in this Report of the Education Review Committee, 1960, there is a paragraph which is important—and if you will be kind enough to lend me your ears, you will agree that it is important. (*Laughter*). Sir, paragraph 175—I quote part of it—says:

“For the sake of national unity, the objective must be to eliminate communal secondary schools from the national system of assisted schools....”

Now, Sir, this has caused Chinese and Indian education a set-back. It is a pity no doubt, but we can put our heads together to consider the whole policy, to review the education policy and bring it into line with what Singapore is now doing. Language is not necessarily the basic issue, or the basic foundation, in the building up of a nation—it is economy, it is money, and there are good examples, Switzerland is a very good example. In Switzerland, French, German, Italian, Roman, are the official languages of the country. I am not suggesting that Chinese, Indian, English and Malay are to be the official languages of the country. I am suggesting that we accept Article 152 as it is. To bring progress, to bring development, let us encourage education, because education gives us light, because it tells us the difference between right and wrong. It is important that we should practise what we provide in the Constitution, because if we were to create suspicion, if we create fear, then there will be no more progress in this country.

Now, Sir, as I was saying, the trouble just now in this country is very simple, and we can easily solve it if we just wanted to. Whether or not we are prepared to do so is a matter left to be seen. It is now up to the Malayan Chinese Association to consider what is necessary for the people

whom they purport to represent. What is the grouse just now? Are we going to have Chinese teachers who are qualified to teach in the secondary schools; and do they know what is taking place regarding Chinese education?

**Mr Speaker:** I think you have been speaking too much on Chinese education, but not on the Bill before the House! Will you stop doing that and start speaking on another point?

**Enche' Chin See Yin:** I am just trying to ask the Government to act on something that will benefit everybody, because, Sir, you will agree with me that education is an important subject and so is the question of economy for the country.

Now, the question of equality comes in very usefully, because if we could consider equality with examples that are before us, then we will know that there is no fear to practise equality and that it is important to eliminate fear and suspicion from the minds of everybody. If the Chinese, the Malays and the Indians, who have been living here for hundreds of years, can live peacefully in harmony and can work together side by side all this time, I do not see why we cannot do so now. At that time there was no such thing as special privileges; there was no such thing as there is now—an act to set back the education of another race. We have considered ourselves as one big family and we have lived together as such and today we are doing the same. But, unfortunately, by creating more laws, we are creating more problems, and all these problems can now be solved if we put our heads together and find solutions to them. I am making this comparison between Singapore and the Borneo territories simply because I want to have a big family as suggested by the Honourable Prime Minister, so that we can actually live together and behave like brothers and sisters, as members of a big family and not as strangers. In this Constitution today you will find that we are not going to be what we propose to be, because we cannot go to the Borneo territories for work or employment.

And yet over the Causeway you will see that there is no such thing as the 4 : 1 ratio for employment and you will find that there is a University for everybody and a Chinese University where the Federation boys have gone there for education, and Singapore accepts them for employment, but it is not so in Borneo.

I am suggesting that something should be done to rectify all these obstacles created by this Bill. Create a big family by all means, but don't create barriers; create equality and create opportunities equally for everybody. That is all I am suggesting, Sir.

**Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad (Muar Uluu):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun ada-tah hendak menyekong Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> yang kedua berhubung dengan Malaysia ini. Selain daripada itu saya juga mengalu<sup>2</sup>kan dengan adanya Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini atas kemasokan negeri<sup>2</sup> lain daripada Tanah Melayu iaitu Sarawak, Sabah dan Singapura, dan saya merasakan dukacita kerana tidak masuknya negeri Brunei dalam Persekutuan Malaysia. Saya mengharapkan mudah<sup>2</sup>an pada satu masa yang akan datang Brunei akan juga masuk dalam gagasan Malaysia, akan dapat di-kumpulkan sa-bagai 15 buah negeri dalam kawasan Malaysia itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ucapan yang telah dibuat oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Besut pada hari sa-malam menyatakan sejarah berhubung dengan wujudnya Malaysia ini akan menenggelamkan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Saya mendak akan hujah<sup>2</sup> itu, saya akan membentangkan bahawa bulan July itu-tah satu bulan yang menjadi sejarah di-sisi umat<sup>2</sup> Melayu atau di-sisi rumpun orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu.

Saya gemar membalikkan lipatan sejarah bahawa dalam bulan July, 1511 itu perjuangan umat<sup>2</sup> Melayu atau rumpun daripada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu telah mempertahankan penjajahan yang hendak menghapuskan Kerajaan daripada rumpun orang Melayu pada masa itu mengahirkan darah dan bergelimpangan mayat<sup>2</sup> serta berohorai berai-lah anak saudara umat<sup>2</sup> Melayu pada masa itu untuk mempertahankan penjajahan. Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada

bulan July, 1911 maka jatuh-lah Kerajaan Melayu itu, dengan jatuh-nya Kerajaan Melayu itu umat<sup>2</sup> Melayu daripada rumpun orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu juga walau pun hendak mewujudkan pemerintahan Kerajaan Melayu itu saya berasa bangga dalam salah satu buah negeri yang dapat ditubuhkan Kerajaan pada masa itu ia-itu dalam negeri Johor, daerah Muar, Tuan Yang di-Pertua (*Kettawa*), atas menegaskan apa yang saya chakapkan dan Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat semua ma'alum ia-itu Kerajaan Melayu di-Pagoh, sa-lama 400 tahun, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu hendak mengembalikan kedaulatan-nya, pada sa'at yang akhir 15 tahun yang akhir Kerajaan Philippine telah mendapat kemerdekaan—Kerajaan Indonesia telah mendapat kemerdekaan—kemudian Tanah Melayu juga pada 31hb August, 1957 telah mendapat kemerdekaan, akan tetapi ada rupa-nya tapak penjajahan dalam Gugusan Pulau<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu di-Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei dan Singapura. Dengan semangat rumpun orang Melayu ini hendak menghapuskan penjajah dalam tanah ayer ini. Di-antara-nya daripada rumpun orang itu telah bangun dengan marah-nya macham bunga raya kembang pagi dan macham ular berbelit laku-nya marahkan penjajah dengan berkata "mengambil dengan darah, di-bayar dengan darah." Dengan berkat kerjasama, dengan bijak-pandai, dengan panjang pandangan dan tinggi hemah Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman, dia tidak mahu penjajah itu di-keluarkan daripada Tanah Melayu ini dengan mengorbankan darah. Kita ada peluang panjang dan ada masa yang banyak untok mengembalikan kemerdekaan kita itu dengan perundingan dan dengan Perlembagaan. Maka dengan sebab itulah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada bulan June, Kerajaan Perikatan telah menghantar satu rombongan yang di-ketuai oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak, Timbalan Perdana Menteri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, ka-negeri penjajah dengan menanda-tangan dengan tidak payah pakai senapang, tetapi dengan memakai pena. Akhirnya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, 9hb Julai, 1963, maka perjanjian itu di-tandatangan. Tamat-lah riwayat penjajah

itu daripada Gugusan Pulau<sup>2</sup> Melayu dengan tidak payah sa-bagaimana yang di-kehendaki oleh Yang Berhormat dan Besut.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada satu perkara yang di-kehendaki oleh sa-tengah ahli Pembangkang supaya Malaysia ini di-tanggihkan, konon-nya kalau di-tanggihkan Malaysia daripada masa yang di-jangkakan 31 haribulan August itu, maka Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman dan Kerajaan Perikatan berasa malu. Ini ada-lah satu fikiran yang chetek atau satu fikiran yang berupa khianat akan Malaysia itu ditubuhkan. Sebab, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi Kerajaan Perikatan yang menjadikan Islam sa-bagai ugama rasmi dan bagi orang Islam perchaya bahawa sa-suatu kerja itu tidak boleh di-tunai-kan oleh makhluk—kehendak makhluk tidak memberi bekas—bagi kami ada satu matlamat 31hb August Malaysia hendak-lah di-bentuk dengan kehendak Allah dengan menghendaki perdamaian supaya hidup berbaik<sup>2</sup> dengan negeri berjiran. Maka bagi Parti Perikatan tidak menjadi soal kalau di-tanggihkan di-dalam masa tidak berapa lama lagi dengan tujuan Malaysia tidak gagal.

Lagi satu perkara konon-nya mengatankan dengan ada-nya perjanjian yang di-buat di-Tokyo dan dengan ada-nya timbul perjanjian Maphilindo. Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman atau Kerajaan Perikatan ini takut peluru. Sa-bagai umat Melayu dan sa-bagai warga-negara Tanah Melayu yang sentiasa mempertahankan kemerdekaan, orang Melayu tidak takut peluru. Tuan Yang di-Pertua Yang sa-benar-nya orang Melayu mahu perdamaian. Itu sifat kebudayaan dan sifat asli orang Melayu lemah-lembut dan bertolak ansor yang tidak merugikan orang Melayu. Jadi kalau di-katakan Kerajaan takut kepada peluru, orang Melayu memang mempertahankan tanah ayer-nya yang mana kita dapat tengok ia-itu dalam Perang Dunia Yang Kedua, orang Melayu mempertahankan tanah ayer-nya dan sa-lama 12 tahun menentang pegganas kominis dengan tujuan mendapat keamanan dalam negeri ini. Jadi dengan berkat dan dengan pandangan yang jauh daripada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman,

pehak Kerajaan Perikatan dan Kabinet Kerajaan Perikatan bahawa Malaysia itu diwujudkan dengan chara per-damaian. Sa-kira-nya kalau peluru yang di-maksudkan oleh ahli itu datang ka-Tanah Melayu ini, saya bimbang peluru itu tidak menuju kepada orang Melayu, tetapi peluru itu akan menuju kepada puak Pembangkang—kapada ahli dari Ipoh atau kapada ahli Socialist Front (*Tepok*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada satu perkara yang selalu di-bangkitkan oleh Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat daripada PAS ia-itu dengan ada-nya Malaysia ini orang Melayu akan karam menurut angka penduduk Malaysia sa-ramai 10 juta itu dan penduduk Tanah Melayu hampir tujuh juta. Menurut angka yang di-kira-nya itu orang China lebeh ramai daripada orang Melayu. Orang Melayu akan hapus. Dan mereka berkata Kerajaan Perikatan menjual orang Melayu kepada bangsa yang bukan Melayu. Ini satu tuduhan yang burok dan satu tuduhan yang nakal. Saya suka memberi fikiran ia-itu sekarang keadaan sudah menjadikan bahawa Malaysia mendapat orang China sa-ramai lima juta ka-mana kita hendak buang. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi Kerajaan Perikatan menurut chara Perlembagaan orang China yang dudok di-sini di-jadikan satu bangsa baharu ia-itu bangsa Malaysia. Dan daripada bangsa Malaysia itu bukan seluroh orang China boleh menjadi warga-negara Malaysia (*Di-sampok*). Sa-lain daripada itu, ra'ayat yang menjadi warga-negara Malaysia itu mengaku bahawa ketua Kerajaan Malaysia itu orang Melayu, bahasa Kerajaan mereka yang tunggal bahasa Melayu dan ugama Kerajaan ugama Islam ia-itu ugama orang Melayu. Jadi dengan ini di-mana timbul yang orang Melayu tenggelam. Itu ada-lah . . . .

**Che' Khadijah binti Mohamed Sidek (Dungun):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, on a point of explanation . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Dia minta keterangan hendak beri jalan?

**Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad:** Saya tidak beri jalan . . . . .

**Che' Khadijah binti Mohamed Sidek:** Dia takut, Tuan Yang di-Pertua (*Ketawa*).

**Mr Speaker:** Tolong perlahan sedikit—kuat sangat (*Ketawa*).

**Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad:** Baik, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Mengatakan bahawa orang Melayu akan tenggelam, saya tidak terima tuduhan itu. Tetapi saya bertanya kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat daripada PAS kalau mereka berjumpa dengan keadaan yang ma-cham ini, ia-itu orang China lebeh lima juta orang takdir-nya PAS membentok Kerajaan macham mana PAS hendak menenggelamkan orang China?

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Berdo'a!

**Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad:** Dia tidak berdo'a. Dia ada dasar. Saya akan tunjukkan. Yang pertama sa-kali Kerajaan PAS mesti membunuh sa-paroh orang China . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Order.

**Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad:** Saya tarek balek. Bukan membunuh sa-paroh orang China, maksud saya memotong, erti-nya di-masukkan Islam orang China sa-paroh (*Ketawa*). Yang kedua . . . . .

**Mr Speaker:** Order. Order. The time is up. The meeting is adjourned till 10 a.m. tomorrow.

*Adjourned at 6.30 p.m.*