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Monday
27th May, 1963

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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FEDERATION OF MALAYA
DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

Official Report

Fifth Session of the First Dewan Ra'ayat

Monday, 27th May, 1963

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

PRESENT:

The Honourable Mr Speaker, DATO' HAJI MOHAMED NOAH BIN OMAR,
S.P.M.J., D.P.M.B., P.I.S., J.P.

- „ the Prime Minister, 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. (Sungei Siput).
- „ the Minister of Transport, DATO' HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ 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 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).

The Honourable ENCHE' ABDUL AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Kuala Langat).

- .. ENCHE' ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- .. ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN, P.J.K. (Krian Laut).
- .. ENCHE' ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN (Lipis).
- .. ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN OSMAN (Sungei Patani).
- .. TOH MUDA HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI ABDUL RAOF (Kuala Kangsar).
- .. TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN 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).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN SIANG SUN (Bentong).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN YOON ONN (Kampar).
- .. ENCHE' CHIN SEE YIN (Seremban Timor).
- .. ENCHE' V. DAVID (Bungsar).
- .. 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).
- .. ENCHE' HASSAN BIN MANSOR (Melaka Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN TO' MUDA HASSAN (Raub).
- .. ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Parit).
- .. TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN (Kota Bharu Hulu).
- .. ENCHE' IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Seberang Tengah).
- .. ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN IDRIS (Penang Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN HAJI KASSIM (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' KANG KOCK SENG (Batu Pahat).
- .. ENCHE' K. KARAM SINGH (Damansara).
- .. CHE' KHADIJAH BINTI MOHD. SIDEK (Dungun).
- .. ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON (Kluang Utara).
- .. 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).

- The Honourable ENCHE' MOHAMED ABBAS BIN AHMAD (Hilir Perak).
- .. ENCHE' MOHAMED BIN UJANG (Jelebu-Jempol).
- .. 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).
- .. TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).
- .. NIK MAN BIN NIK MOHAMED (Pasir Mas Hilir).
- .. ENCHE' NG ANN TECK (Batu).
- .. ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Tanah Merah).
- .. TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID (Rembau-Tampin).
- .. ENCHE' SEAH TENG NGIAB (Muar Pantai).
- .. TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S. (Batu Pahat Dalam).
- .. TUAN SYED HASHIM BIN SYED AJAM, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Sabak Bernam).
- .. TUAN SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, J.M.N. (Johor Tenggara).
- .. ENCHE' TAJUDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- .. ENCHE' TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- .. ENCHE' TAN PHOCK KIN (Tanjong).
- .. ENCHE' TAN TYE CHEK (Kulim-Bandar Bahru).
- .. TENGKU BESAR INDRA RAJA IBNI AL-MARHUM SULTAN IBRAHIM, D.K., P.M.N. (Ulu Kelantan).
- .. ENCHE' V. VEERAPPEN (Seberang Selatan).
- .. WAN SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM, P.J.K. (Kota Star Selatan).
- .. WAN YAHYA BIN HAJI WAN MOHAMED (Kemaman).
- .. ENCHE' YAHYA BIN HAJI AHMAD (Bagan Datoh).
- .. ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).
- .. ENCHE' YONG WOO MING (Sitiawan).
- .. PUAN HAJAH 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 the Minister without Portfolio, DATO' SULEIMAN BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Muar Selatan).
- .. the Minister without Portfolio, DATO' ONG YOKE LIN, P.M.N. (Ulu Selangor).
- .. ENCHE' AHMAD BOESTAMAM (Setapak).
- .. DR BURHANUDDIN BIN MOHD. NOOR (Besut).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN SWEE HO (Ulu Kinta).
- .. DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N. (Jitra-Padang Terap).
- .. ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT (Penang Utara).
- .. TUAN HAJI HASAN ADLI BIN HAJI ARSHAD (Kuala Trengganu Utara).

The Honourable TUAN HAJI HASSAN BIN HAJI AHMAD (Tumpat).

- „ ENCHE' KHONG KOK YAT (Batu Gajah).
- „ ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED DAHARI BIN HAJI MOHD. ALI (Kuala Selangor).
- „ ENCHE' MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- „ ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- „ ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Barat).
- „ ENCHE' D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ ENCHE' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM (Menglembu).
- „ ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
- „ DATO' TEOH CHZE CHONG, D.P.M.J., J.P. (Segamat Selatan).
- „ ENCHE' TOO JOON HING (Teluk Anson).
- „ WAN MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ALI (Kelantan Hilir).

IN ATTENDANCE:

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

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

TRADE UNION DELEGATION TO INDONESIA

1. Enche' V. David (Bungsar) asks the Prime Minister to state whether he would consider sending a trade union delegation to Indonesia.

The Prime Minister: Mr Speaker, Sir, I cannot see the purpose of sending any trade union delegation to Indonesia because there is no such thing as free trade unions in that country as far as I know.

Enche' V. David: Mr Speaker, Sir, I am really amazed at the reply given by the Prime Minister because I myself know that delegations from Indonesia have come to this country for international conferences of trade unions; and to say that there are no trade unions in Indonesia is a deliberate lie. So, I would ask the Prime Minister, if there are trade unions in Indonesia, whether he will consider sending a delegation.

The Prime Minister: Mr Speaker, Sir, the word "lie" is not parliamentary

at all and I was surprised that the Honourable Member had thought fit to use it. But as far as I know, there is no free trade unions in Indonesia, free in the sense that we know it, free in that there are no controls by the Government. However, if the Honourable Member can convince me that there are free trade unions in Indonesia and that they wish to invite our people here, this Government would wish to impose no restrictions on the trade unions here from going anywhere they like.

RETAIL PRICE OF SUGAR

2. Enche' Ng Ann Teck (Batu) asks the Minister of Commerce and Industry to state:

- (a) what was the market retail price of sugar in April, 1962 and that in May, 1963, and why there is such a difference in the price;
- (b) what steps the Government has taken to reduce the price to its former level;
- (c) what further steps the Government is taking to reduce the price in spite of its endeavours of late which has obviously failed.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Dr Lim Swee Aun): Mr Speaker, Sir, the answer to question (a) is that the retail prices of sugar in April, 1962, and May, 1963, at various

centres in the Federation are as follows:

	April 1962	May 1963
	Per katty	Per katty
Penang	15 cents	35 cents
Kuala Lumpur ...	26 "	50 "
Seremban	26 "	47 "
Malacca	25 "	45 "
K. Trengganu ...	28 "	50 "
Johore Bahru ...	26 "	45 "
Alor Star	25 "	50 "

The present high price of sugar in the Federation is due mainly to world shortage of this commodity. The shortage was felt during the last quarter of 1962, and the world price of sugar has been steadily increasing since then as illustrated by the London daily prices and the Kuala Lumpur ex-stock prices. In April, 1962, the London daily price was £24.5 per metric ton whilst the Malayan ex-stock price at Kuala Lumpur was \$23.20 per picul. In April, 1963, the London daily price was £60.0 per metric ton and the Malayan ex-stock price at Kuala Lumpur \$43.00 per picul. Last week the London daily price went up to £101.10 per metric ton.

(b) A meeting was held at the end of February, 1963, between the Honourable Minister of Commerce and Industry and sugar importers to discuss the rising trends in sugar prices. The importers assured their co-operation to try and bring down the prices of sugar as soon as possible.

(c) As the present high prices of sugar are due to world shortage, there is nothing in the circumstances that the Government can do to remedy the situation immediately.

Enche' V. David: Sir, I would like to know from where the Minister got the price list. Is it possible to obtain sugar for 50 cents a kati at Kuala Lumpur, in which case all orders will be placed through the Minister in future?

Dr Lim Swee Aun: The prices are average market prices.

Enche' V. David: Are these retail prices, Sir?

Dr Lim Swee Aun: These are retail average prices.

Enche' V. David: My question is, whether they are average prices or not,

can you obtain sugar for 50 cents a kati at any shop?

Dr Lim Swee Aun: The price today is probably a bit higher.

Enche' V. David: Not today, Sir, but a week ago.

Dr Lim Swee Aun: Yes.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin (Tanjong): Mr Speaker, Sir, is the Minister satisfied that there is no hoarding or speculation in sugar? If so, what is his basis for reaching that conclusion?

Dr Lim Swee Aun: When I was in London, there was a sugar market and there was speculation in London.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: What about Malaya?

Dr Lim Swee Aun: I have been told there is no speculation here.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: By whom, Sir?

Dr Lim Swee Aun: By the experts in the trade. (*Laughter*).

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Surely, under the circumstances, it is the duty of the Minister to make investigations from his own officers and not to rely on outside people for views.

Dr Lim Swee Aun: The prices of sugar in the Malayan market are still lower than the prices of sugar in London.

Enche' V. David: We are not living in London; we are living in Malaya. (*Laughter*). Has the Minister taken any preventive steps to protect speculation?

Dr Lim Swee Aun: When there is a shortage of sugar there must be some speculation.

Enche' V. David: That means that the Government encourages speculators.

Dr Lim Swee Aun: No.

Enche' V. David: Then what concrete steps have been taken by the Government to prevent these speculators from speculating and imposing exorbitant prices on sugar?

SPECIAL PRIVILEGES FOR MALAYS IN BORNEO TERRI- TORIES

3. Enche' Ng Ann Teck asks the Prime Minister to state the special privileges that will be enjoyed by the Malays of the Borneo territories that are not common to the other Malaysian citizens.

The Prime Minister: Mr Speaker, Sir, the special privileges that will be enjoyed by the Malays of the Borneo territories will be the same as those enjoyed by the Malays here, and the word "Malay" will include the aborigine people of these territories.

Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak (Kuala Langat): Sir, does that mean very little?

The Prime Minister: I think the Honourable Member should know it, by this time seeing how much he has enjoyed the privileges on this Bench for many years. (*Laughter*).

Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak: That is why I am on this Bench now. (*Laughter*).

The Prime Minister: And that is not from his own choice, Sir. (*Laughter*).

BRITISH BASES IN MALAYSIA

4. Enche' Ng Ann Teck asks the Prime Minister to state whether the last word on the use of British bases in the proposed Malaysia rests with the Malaysian Government or with the British Government.

The Prime Minister: Mr Speaker, Sir, under the new Defence arrangements the position will remain as it is at present, and the last word on the use of the bases will rest with the Government of the Federation. It is misleading to refer to the bases as British bases as they are available for the use of the Commonwealth Strategic Reserve.

Enche' V. David: Mr Speaker, Sir, in that case am I right to assume that the despatch of troops to Brunei and Sarawak was the final say of the Malayan Government?

The Prime Minister: That is under the Defence Agreement.

Enche' V. David: That means Malaya had been instrumental in sabotaging the aspirations of the people of the Borneo territories. (*Laughter*).

INDISCRIMINATE ARRESTS BY THE RIOT SQUAD, NIBONG TEBAL, ON 2nd MAY, 1963

5. Enche' V. Veerappen (Seberang Selatan) asks the Minister of Internal Security to state whether he is aware that the Riot Squad, with the co-operation of the local detectives in Province Wellesley, on 2nd May, 1963, between 7 p.m. and 11 p.m. terrorised the people by indiscriminate arrests and beatings up at the District Police Headquarters in Nibong Tebal, and if so, to state the reasons for such action.

The Minister of Internal Security (Dato' Dr Ismail): Mr Speaker, Sir, Secret Society activities in Penang and Province Wellesley showed considerable increase in recent months. The following are figures of crimes of violence attributable to Secret Societies:

(a) Hurts with dangerous weapons	...	...	31 cases
(b) Extortion	...	...	3 "
(c) Murder	...	...	3 "
(d) Robbery	...	...	2 "

These figures do not include extortions by way of protection rackets, unreported crime, known to exist in Penang and Province Wellesley.

The total number of Secret Society members, according to records maintained in this Headquarters, in the island of Penang is 1,550 and Nibong Tebal District 250.

It is also known that most Secret Society groups are off-shoots of the A.B.H. and as such affiliated. The implication of this is that members wanted by the Police in one area can claim and are afforded refuge in any of the other areas where Secret Society groups exist.

There are a total of 73 Secret Society members who have gone into hiding, wanted by the Penang Police in connection with various crimes of violence. Of this number, 11 are wanted for

murder, 29 for rioting, 12 for attempted extortion, 7 for armed robbery and the remainder for less serious but seizable offences. Four are wanted for an assault on a beat constable.

The Police received reliable information that most of these wanted persons were being harboured by Secret Society groups in Nibong Tebal District. This is reinforced by the fact that during the past 3 months, 142 reports of assaults were recorded in Nibong Tebal District alone. The Police had reason to suspect that some of these assaults were perpetrated by Secret Society thugs from other districts and that they were a prelude to a domination of the district of Nibong Tebal by Secret Societies.

I am not aware that the Police terrorised the people of Nibong Tebal on the night in question. What I do know is that the Penang Contingent Police made a concerted drive against Secret Society and criminal gang members at Nibong Tebal on 2nd May, 1963. A half-troop of No. 3 Federal Reserve Unit under the command of a Gazetted Officer and 2 CID Officers and 3 detectives were utilised.

Thirty-nine Chinese, five Tamils and one Malay were initially arrested as suspect gang members and were taken to Nibong Tebal District Headquarters for examination for body tattoo marks and for questioning. All were subsequently released but one Tamil was prosecuted for disorderly conduct whilst under the influence of drink. No force or violence whatsoever was used during the operation and no complaints of this nature were received.

I would like to reiterate again that Nibong Tebal serves as a shelter for active criminals when George Town becomes too hot for them and thus periodic police drives of this nature are necessary in order to prevent them from organising and building up stocks of offensive weapons.

Enche' V. Veerappen: Mr Speaker, Sir, is it necessary? Would the Minister say whether it was justified that people should be indiscriminately arrested?

Dato' Dr Ismail: I never said anything about people being indiscriminately arrested.

Enche' V. Veerappen: I say, Mr Speaker, Sir, that the Police arrested the people indiscriminately and that there were several instances where even the Station Master was arrested by mistake. (*Laughter*).

Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak: Does it mean that the Honourable Minister does not deny that it was indiscriminate?

Dato' Dr Ismail: Sir, if the Honourable Member cannot hear me, since he is sitting on the opposite Bench, I repeat what I said just now. I said that the Police had not acted indiscriminately in this case.

Enche' V. Veerappen: Would the Minister consider setting up an inquiry into my allegations that the Police used force in arresting the people indiscriminately and beating them up in the police station?

Dato' Dr Ismail: Sir, I think I have convinced the House that the allegation of the Honourable Member was false.

Enche' V. Veerappen: Mr Speaker, Sir, in order to prove that, would the Minister conduct an inquiry and interview witnesses? If he would have someone to do it, I will produce the witnesses.

Enche' V. David: Mr Speaker, Sir, has the Minister accepted the challenge of my Honourable colleague? Is he prepared for an inquiry or not?

Dato' Dr Ismail: Mr Speaker, Sir, I am not in the habit of accepting challenges in this House from Honourable Members. If it is his duty, let us have a debate on that. If the motion is passed, then it is in accordance with parliamentary practice that an enquiry be set up. But I will never accept a challenge by Opposition Members, who can never hope to succeed in this House.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: It appears to me that the Minister is rather afraid that the true facts may be exposed. Here, we have a genuine desire to have

an enquiry, and instead the Minister proposed an alternative of having a debate. He knows very well that a debate will not be suitable in this case, because it concerns people being beaten up, and unless we have a public enquiry into it, whereby members involved can come and give evidence, there is no way of finding out the truth. So, will the Minister confirm that he is afraid that an enquiry may expose the truth, and that it is because of that that he is reluctant to have a public enquiry into this matter?

Dato' Dr Ismail: Sir, it is only in a debate that it can be proved whether such a case needs an enquiry—not in the case of oral questions. Allegations have been made and I have answered all the allegations.

Enche' V. David: If there is such an enquiry, my colleague is prepared to produce witnesses. We have witnesses and facts can be produced to substantiate his allegations—and such witnesses can only be produced at an enquiry, but not in this House.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: What we want to know from the Minister concerned is the basis for reaching such a conclusion that the allegations made by the Honourable Member for Seberang Selatan are false. What is the basis for reaching that conclusion?

Dato' Dr Ismail: The Honourable Member who asks the question has asked for the facts of the case. If the Honourable Member is not satisfied with the answer, it is open to the Honourable Member to have a motion in this House where we can debate the whole question. If the motion for an enquiry is accepted by the House I, naturally, as a true democrat and a true parliamentarian, will accept the verdict of this House. (*Applause*).

Enche' V. Veerappen: Does the Minister accept the fact that it is ridiculous that, after so many figures of crimes had been given in respect of Nibong Tebal, all that the Reserve Unit and the Police could do was to arrest one drunken man and charge him in court?

MOTION

THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

Address of Thanks

Order read for resumption of debate on Question,

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

“Your Majesty,

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

Question again proposed.

Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad (Bachok): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Titah Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong ini telah menyentuh masaalah kedudukan wang bagi ekonomi Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini dengan mengatakan:

“Oleh kerana susah-nya kedudukan wang bagi ekonomi negeri ini, maka Kerajaan Beta akan berusaha dengan lebih giat lagi menchari bantuan wang dari luar dan dalam negeri untuk melaksanakan ranchangan² Kerajaan.”

Nampak-nya dalam Titah Seri Paduka ini satu pengakuan tentang kelemahan kedudukan wang di-dalam negeri ini. Tetapi yang menghairankan saya apabila di-dalam mengatorkan kelemahan kedudukan wang bagi ekonomi negeri ini Kerajaan ini memandang bahawa ubat yang baik bagi membetulkan keadaan wang negeri ini ia-lah dengan berhutang lebih banyak. Hutang Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pada masa ini pun telah beribu juta ringgit lebih. Dan pada masa ini apa yang telah di-chakapkan oleh Kerajaan ia-lah hendak menambahkan hutang itu lagi. Kita akan berhadapan di-dalam Dewan ini dengan satu usul lagi daripada Menteri Kewangan supaya meluluskan Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu menambahkan hutang. Pemerintah negeri ini semata² pandai berhutang. Ini ada-lah satu keadaan yang berlaku di-dalam Kerajaan yang ditadbirkan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan. Yang menghairankan saya, Tuan

Yang di-Pertua, sampai di-hujung-nya pun berkata-lah dia—dalam Titah Seri Paduka Baginda ini dengan kata-nya:

“... Beta suka hendak mengulang sa-kali lagi apa yang telah Beta tegaskan beberapa kali pada masa yang lalu—ia-itu tujuan Kerajaan Beta ia-lah hendak menyediakan suatu asas yang kukuh supaya pada masa hadapan kita boleh menchapai kemajuan dengan tenaga sendiri.”

Hendak menchapai kemajuan dengan tenaga sendiri dengan berhutang lagi ini ada-lah satu falsafah yang bengkok. Kita hendak menjalankan perusahaan, hendak berdiri di-atas kaki kita sendiri maka kita kurangkan-lah berhutang tetapi Kerajaan ini kita hendak berdiri sendiri, hendak memakai tenaga sendiri tambahkan hutang, maka akan terpeletok-lah tengkok Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu kepada wang² yang di-ambil daripada beberapa buah negeri. Nampak pada kita, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa hutang dari luar² negeri ini hanya-lah akan menambah rendah nilai kemerdekaan negeri ini terutama sa-kali di-dalam lengkungan antara bangsa². Apabila Malaysia hendak di-jadikan oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu di-megah²kan oleh Menteri² Kerajaan ini dengan mengatakan Amerika telah bersetuju memberi hutang. Sebab apa, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana Amerika itu-lah mereka senang berhutang dan persetujuan Amerika ini amat-lah besar ma'ana-nya bagi Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Dia tidak mengendahkan ra'ayat negeri ini tidak bersetuju dan tidak mengendahkan apa yang di-fikirkan oleh ra'ayat negeri ini tetapi kalau Amerika sudah perchaya tidak menjadi satu halangan yang besar bagi-nya sebab Kerajaan ini membawa topi meminta hutang. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila di-tambah hutang maka yakin-lah kita bahawa Kerajaan akan menambah chukai di-dalam negeri ini, sebab wang tidak boleh di-bayar dengan ayer lior sahaja, tidak boleh di-bayar dengan tempok sorak Menteri sa-mata² tetapi hutang akan di-bayar oleh ra'ayat daripada chukai yang telah di-kenakan hinggan pada masa ini pun telah berat sa-hinggakan orang yang beranak 5 sahaja dapat pengechualian daripada chukai yang telah di-luluskan oleh Undang². Mereka yang lebeh daripada beranak

5 orang tidak di-akuī oleh Kerajaan sa-bagai anak-nya sebab tidak di-bagikan kelulusan pengechualian daripada membayar chukai. Ini semua akan menambahkan berat lagi kepada ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan akan menyusahkan sahaja. Yang aneh-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam soal berhutang ini, Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu bukan sahaja dia berhutang sa-mata² kerana hendak memenohi perbelanjaan-nya sendiri, tetapi subuh² lagi dia telah mengikhtiarkan duit supaya berhutang, kerana dia hendak membelanjakan perbelanjaan-nya yang akan timbul dari ranchangan Malaysia-nya itu. Kalau Malaysia berkehendakkan wang, maka biar-lah di-bayar oleh Kerajaan Malaysia itu sendiri, dan kenapa pula Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pada hari ini yang belum lagi menjadi atau lahir-nya Malaysia mesti memikul belanja yang hendak di-belanjakan oleh Malaysia itu sendiri. Ini ada-lah nyata sa-kali, tetapi chara pemikiran kewangan yang berjalan pada Kerajaan sekarang ini, ada-lah tidak sihat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh kerana keadaan ekonomi negeri ini telah di-sebutkan, maka saya merasa satu perkara yang patut di-sebutkan dalam titah baginda ini ia-lah tentang perkara penyertaan orang² Melayu dalam lapangan ekonomi negeri ini. Soal penyertaan orang² Melayu dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan ada-lah satu soal yang besar dalam negeri ini, tetapi malang-nya dalam titah baginda ini tidak ada di-sebutkan. Orang² Melayu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah menunjokkan kepada negeri ini, betapa baik-nya orang² Melayu itu kepada orang² yang bukan Melayu dalam negeri ini, sa-hinggakan hak politik pun telah dapat di-tangan mereka itu. Maka sekarang ini, Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-patut-nya, dan saperti yang telah di-sebutkan oleh Menteri² yang telah bersharah di-merata tempat, mengambil berat berkenaan dengan ekonomi orang² Melayu, terutama sa-kali berkenaan dengan penyertaan orang² Melayu dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan. Tetapi malang-nya dalam titah ucapan baginda yang

panjang itu tidak menyebutkan tentang masalah ini; agak-nya tidak berapa sedap dia hendak menyebutkan, maka ini-lah sebab-nya dia tidak menyebutkan. Kalau di-katakan yang masalah itu ta' payah di-sebutkan, sebab dahulu-nya telah di-sebutkan, kalau begitu-lah keadaan-nya, ta' usah-lah di-adakan sidang ini langsung, sebab semua-nya yang ada di-sini telah di-sebutkan dahulu. Maka nyata-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa dia tidak menyebutkan, kerana dia tidak berani membawa perkara itu ka-dalam Dewan ini tentang segala dasar² atau chadangan² yang konkerit bagi memajukan ekonomi orang² Melayu dalam negeri ini.

Pada masa akhir² ini ia-itu dekat dengan pilihan raya, nampak-nya sebok benar Menteri² mengatakan yang mereka itu bersungguh² kerana hendak memajukan ekonomi orang² Melayu, terutama dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan. Dua orang Menteri, dua macham chakap, kalau tiga orang Menteri, tiga macham chakap pula. Bagi saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya telah chuba mengambil berat tentang hal ini, dan bertanya-lah saya kepada Yang Berhormat Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, dan saya telah mendapat jawapan dari Yang Berhormat Menteri itu yang saya sudah dengar daripada beliau samanjak bertahun² dahulu sa-waktu dia berada di-dalam Dewan ini, sama ada dia sa-bagai sa-orang Menteri, atau sa-bagai sa-orang yang selalu mengemukakan ucapan terima kaseh kepada titah ucapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Yang Berhormat Menteri Perdagangan telah mengatakan bahawa orang² Melayu boleh masuk dalam mana² lapangan; orang² Melayu ini bebas—boleh masuk, ta' ada siapa yang hendak melarang orang² Melayu yang hendak berniaga, hendak buka kedai atau membuka perusahaan² yang besar. Yang sa-benar-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak pula ada sa-orang manusia dalam Tanah Melayu ini yang memikirkan bahawa ada orang yang melarang orang² Melayu berniaga, atau membuat perusahaan, tetapi yang menjadi soal kepada kita

sekarang, apa-kah rancangan Kerajaan yang boleh membantu orang² Melayu dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan pada masa ini? Itu yang menjadi soal-nya. Maka jawab-lah Yang Berhormat Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan ia-itu kata-nya ini ada-lah masalah perlumbaan bagi menolong orang² Melayu supaya dapat mengambil bahagian yang memberi bekas, sebab saya bertanya "memberi bekas" maka di-jawab-nya memberi bekas juga dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan. Dan sa-terus-nya dia berkata:

... maka Kerajaan telah menubuhkan sa-buah Jawatan-Kuasa Kerja terdiri dari Pegawai² dengan di-bantu oleh sa-pasokan Penasihat² untuk memberi nasihat kepada Jawatan-Kuasa ini dari sa-masa ka-samasa berkenaan dengan langkah² dan tindakan yang patut di-amal.

Ini dia! Sudah beberapa tahun! Yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan ini ia-lah dengan mengadakan Jawatan-Kuasa sahaja. Saya buka pula, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hujongan titah ucapan baginda, sebab saya tidak ingin hendak menanya Kerajaan ini dengan hanya menjawab jawapan itu, kerana dalam ucapan baginda tidak ada di-sebutkan, sa-balek-nya pula Yang Berhormat Menteri ini ada menyebutkan sedikit, maka saya bachakan dalam ucapan titah baginda ia-itu ada empat perkara yang di-titek-beratkan-nya. Pertama, Kerajaan ini telah mengadakan chawangan khas untuk menguruskan perkara orang² Melayu bagi mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan, kemudian Jawatan-Kuasa Kerja Tetap. Jawatan-Kuasa Kerja Tetap ini di-beri nama Majlis Kebangsaan bagi Memajukan Ekonomi Orang² Melayu. Yang satu pejabat, dan yang kedua Jawatan-Kuasa. Ini-lah perkara yang besar. Saya katakan ada empat perkara, sebab-nya yang lain itu bukan-nya rancangan yang di-buat, tetapi sa-mata² ia-lah harapan *wishful thinking*—harapan khayal seperti mana yang di-sebutkan dalam para. 47:

Dengan ada-nya susunan pentadbiran yang lengkap ini, ada-lah di-harap . . .

Saya kata: Ta' usah di-harap bagi orang² Melayu kerana tidak akan dapat di-ubat dengan Jawatan-Kuasa²

sahaja. Cherita Jawatan-Kuasa ini, saya perchaya, orang² Melayu yang telah lama berpolitik dalam Tanah Melayu ini sudah tahu, Mula² dahulu, General Templer telah mengadakan Jawatan-Kuasa bagi Menyiasat Ekonomi Orang² Melayu. Jawatan-Kuasa itu telah menyiasat akan perkara² tersebut, dan Allahyarham Dato' Panglima Bukit Gantang ia-lah salah seorang yang menjadi Ahli Jawatan-Kuasa-nya. Banyak orang di-kampong² dan pekan telah di-tanya bagaimana hal-nya hendak memajukan ekonomi orang² Melayu, maka di-buat-nya-lah shor sa-sudah mendapat ma'lumat² itu. Tidak-lah kita hairan dengan Jawatan-Kuasa itu, sebab General Templer itu penjajah, maka tinggal-lah General Templer itu dengan dharurat-nya. Kemudian sa-lepas itu timbul pula satu Jawatan-Kuasa lain yang di-ketua² oleh Dato' Ahmad Perang. Siasat-lah, berhalus benar siasatan-nya. Akhir-nya dia mendapat puncha kelemahan ekonomi orang² Melayu itu ada empat perkara, dan pendapat² atau shor²-nya itu sudah saya bacha. Ini-lah laporan Jawatan-Kuasa-nya itu. Ta' puas hati juga bagi Kerajaan nampak-nya! Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya dengar ada sa-buah Jawatan-Kuasa lain yang di-ketua² oleh Mr Justice Hill dan telah membuat shor² yang berguna dan berkesan, tetapi telah di-pendam oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan yang kata-nya ta' boleh di-jalankan, kalau berjalan, kachau. Yang Berhormat Menteri Perdagangan yang dahulu itu ada di-Rumah ini, saya perchaya dia boleh menjawab-nya. Perkara itu telah di-kemukakan, tetapi tidak sanggop di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan. Bisekan telah di-sampaikan kepada ahli² perniagaan Melayu, dan kata-nya ta' boleh di-jalankan macham ini.

Sekarang ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada sa-buah Jawatan-Kuasa ia-itu Jawatan-Kuasa Kerja Tetap yang tersusun pula daripada berbagai² bangsa. Ini pula satu kelebihan bagi Jawatan-Kuasa baharu ini ia-itu multi-racial (berbagai² bangsa) ada di-dalam-nya. Saya risau tentang Jawatan-Kuasa berbagai² bangsa ini, yang pada pandangan saya ada-lah brake-nya lebeh kuat

daripada accelerator, sebab sa-bahagian besar-nya dia digunakan dengan brake tangan. Ini ada-lah satu perkara yang hendak di-jaga dalam perkara memajukan ekonomi orang² Melayu dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan. Kenapa perkara ini menjadi masalah besar kepada kita? Kita tahu bahawa kepinchangan ekonomi yang ada di-antara orang² Melayu dan bukan Melayu dalam negeri ini bukan satu perkara yang khayal, tetapi ada-lah satu perkara yang betul, dan kalau kita biarkan maka perkara ini akan menerbitkan rasa sakit hati kepada orang² Melayu yang hak² politik negeri ini telah di-dapati oleh orang² lain. Perkara ini hendak-lah kita perhatikan sa-belum dia menjadi burok, tetapi nampak-nya Kerajaan ini hanya sanggop mengadakan Jawatan-Kuasa sahaja, itu pun sudah dekat dengan pilihan raya, dan perkara ini patut-lah di-pertimbangkan.

Saya ta' tahu sama ada benar atau tidak bahawa Yang Berhormat Menteri Muda Perdagangan dan Perusahaan hendak bekerja bagi memajukan ekonomi orang² Melayu, tetapi kalau-lah beliau itu benar² hendak bekerja untuk kepentingan orang² Melayu, maka saya hendak khabarkan kepada dia perkara yang ta' boleh di-pegang dalam menjalankan kerja yang sa-umpama ini ia-itu yang pertama ia-lah membanyakkan Jawatan-Kuasa, dan yang kedua ia-lah mengadakan shor supaya jangan di-buat.

Pada masa yang akhir² ini pula ada tersiar dalam surat-khabar ia-itu Menteri Muda Perdagangan dan Perusahaan hendak di-hantar ka-Jakarta. Saya harap Menteri itu bangun mengatakan ia atau tidak. Ahli² peniaga Melayu sudah susah. Jadi saya tidak tahu macham mana telatah kerja yang di-buat bagi memajukan orang Melayu dalam negeri ini. Apa-lah dosa orang Melayu sa-hingga mereka ini di-ketepikan dan di-biarkan, dan usaha² bagi memajukan mereka ini tidak di-indahkan. Ini perkara yang mesti di-timbangkan di-dalam Titah di-Raja, tetapi tidak di-sebutkan kerana tidak sedap dia menyebut-nya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh kerana tidak terator-nya

kerja bagi memajukan orang Melayu dalam penyertaan di-dalam perdagangan dan perusahaan negeri ini, maka dasar yang ada di-pakai oleh kementerian dua dasar yang saya chari di-chelah² ucapan dan di-chelah² pernyataan orang ramai yang di-beri oleh Menteri. Yang pertama bahawa berniaga ini bebas. Semua orang boleh. Yang kedua dasar minta rahmat. Dasar bawa topi. Ini yang di-bawa oleh Menteri Muda kita. Baharu² ini surat-khabar menulis mencheritakan, saya kata Menteri meminta², Menteri kita meminta kepada perusahaan² yang ada dalam negeri ini, ia-itu beri-lah orang Melayu bekerja. Ini-lah permintaan hulor tangan daripada Menteri. Perchaya-lah bahawa dengan meminta² ini Kerajaan tidak akan dapat memajukan orang Melayu di-dalam perdagangan dan perusahaan dalam negeri ini. Entah-lah kalau main mengabui mata ra'ayat sahaja, tetapi tidak akan dapat di-majukan dengan meminta². Saya menuntut, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, supaya di-dalam memajukan ekonomi orang Melayu ini hendak-lah Kerajaan bertegas dan mempunyai langkah² yang tegap yang di-kenakan kepada orang lain menyertai-nya sa-bagai orang yang sama² bertanggung-jawab untuk menegakkan ekonomi negeri ini. Ini sahaja yang akan dapat menyelamatkan ekonomi orang Melayu, tetapi dengan chara meminta² tidak akan dapat.

Saya dengar dalam konterektor Yang Berhormat Menteri Muda meng-khabarkan kepada ahli² perdagangan Melayu ia-itu dasar kita di-dalam perkara menerima konterek tiga. Yang pertama murah, yang kedua chepat dan yang ketiga boleh buat kerja. Mana orang Melayu hendak merasa? Langsung tidak dapat. Dan dengan ada-nya pula Menteri Yang Berhormat membuat dasar: berlumba-lah. Kita berlumba jangan-lah dengan orang yang patut mendapat handicap. Dimana sport pun ada handicap. Tetapi Menteri ini berkata masok berlumba. Mana hendak melawan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sebab orang sudah ada gudang² besar, kita baharu hendak berniaga. Dia maseh juga mengatakan kita ini negeri yang bebas. Kita mesti

berlumba. Macham mana orang yang kaki-nya saperti saya ini di-suroh lawan (Ketawa) berlari dengan orang lain. Biar-lah bertimbang rasa kepada orang Melayu yang telah memberi kuasa politik negeri ini kepada orang lain. Jangan tidak membalas budi dan tidak mengerti bahasa kapada kehidupan ra'ayat dalam negeri ini.

Mr Speaker: Perlahan sadikit!

Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad: Marah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua (*Ketawa*).

Mr Speaker: Sabar!

Enche' Zulkiflee bin Muhammad: Sudah sabar! Saya akan membawa pindaan berkenaan dengan ekonomi orang Melayu.

Yang kedua, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara yang tidak di-sebutkan di-sini yang saya rasa patut tiap² kali mesti di-sebutkan supaya nampak Kerajaan ini bersungguh dan berkuat ia-lah berkenaan dengan Bahasa Kebangsaan Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh bila datang dalam Dewan ini tidak ada cherita lain melain multi-lingualism—berbagi bahasa, semua bahasa. Itu yang di-chakapkan-nya. Kalau itu-lah tujuannya, kenapa Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Manusia ini ada belaka keinginan dan hajat-nya, dan kalau berkeinginan dan berhajat pun tidak boleh tidak-lah berma'ana negeri ini negeri yang demokrasi. Tetapi dia nampak-nya hendak berlawan benar (*Ketawa*) hendak berlawan benar dengan apa yang telah ada dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pada masa ini. Jadi saya menuntut kepada Kerajaan ini perkara yang saperti ini patut-lah di-tegaskan dalam Titah Seri Paduka Baginda yang maha mulia ini, dan tegaskan kesungguhan Kerajaan bahawa dalam perkara Bahasa Kebangsaan kita tidak mahu menerima dolak dalek sa-siapa, dan kita mempunyai ranchangan² yang tetap. Yang Berhormat Menteri Muda Perdagangan dan Perusahaan waktu di-minta ranchangan² yang tetap bagi menchapai chita² Bahasa Kebangsaan pada tahun 1967 dahulu beliau tidak boleh jawab, sebab pada masa itu beliau hanya memangku kementerian orang lain. Sekarang Menteri Pelajaran ada, dan Menteri² yang

lain pun ada—tidak berjalan jauh nampak-nya dalam bulan ini—elok-lah mereka itu mengemukakan ranchangan²nya. Ini Titah Seri Paduka Baginda, yang di-sebut-nya dasar² dan ranchangan² Kerajaan. Mana ranchangan yang hendak memajukan Bahasa Kebangsaan dan hendak menjadikan Bahasa Kebangsaan satu bahasa yang terjamin dalam tahun 1967. Semua orang memandang masaalah ini masaalah yang boleh di-pertengkarkan. Kementerian Kehakiman—entah siapa sekarang yang menjadi Menteri Kehakiman saya pun tidak tahu. Kita tanya apa-kah ranchangan dia—tidak ada. Jadi kita mahu ranchangan itu di-kemukakan dalam Dewan ini. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua oleh kerana tidak ada apa yang hendak di-bawa seperti kata orang Arab “orang yang tidak mempunyai sa-suatu tidak dapat memberi.” Ini memang betul. Kalau ranchangan itu tidak ada, apa yang hendak di-chakapkan. Yang sa-benar-nya, Kerajaan ini memang suka berchakap, tetapi ranchangan tidak ada, apa benda yang hendak di-chakapkan. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu ada-lah kelemahan dalam Titah Seri Paduka Baginda, dan kita mahu supaya Kerajaan ini membetulkan kelemahan ini dengan menegaskan bahawa, ada ranchangan² yang konkerit. Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri mengatakan satu Jawatan-Kuasa—ini semua main Jawatan-Kuasa sekarang ini—sudah 5 tahun memerintah negeri maseh jawatan-Kuasa juga lagi. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini tidak dapat lagi di-terima dalam Dewan ini sa-bagai jawapan.

Satu daripada perkara yang hendak saya sebutkan dalam Dewan ini ia-lah berkenaan dengan hal ehwal luar negeri yang di-sentuh oleh Seri Paduka Baginda.

Kata Baginda:

“Berkenaan dengan hal ehwal luar negeri dan perhubungan antara bangsa, Kerajaan Beta yang sentiasa berpegang tegoh kapada dasar² Piagam Bangsa² Bersatu pada masa yang lalu akan terus juga berbuat demikian pada masa hadapan serta menjalankan dasar luar negeri yang bebas lagi tetap.

Dalam pembacaan-nya Seri Paduka Baginda membaca: yang bebas lagi tegas. Saya dengar betul sebab saya

menulis. Ta’ apa-lah tentang tetap dan tegas itu.

Tujuan Kerajaan Beta ia-lah hendak ber-baik² dengan negara² yang mesra dengan kita dan mengadakan perhubungan yang lebeh rapat lagi dalam lapangan kebudayaan dan ekonomi bila² dapat.

Kerajaan Beta berpendapat apa juga chorak penjajahan hendak-lah di-hapuskan di-mana² tempat jua pun dan berchadang hendak bekerjasama dengan semua negara yang mesra dengan kita bagi mencapai chita² itu dengan jalan aman dan damai”.

Ini bagus, tetapi kidak buat. Per-kataan-nya bagus, ia-itu hendak ber-baik² dengan segala bangsa dan jiran. Dan di-bawah-nya Baginda bertitah:

“Kerajaan Beta berpendapat apa jua chorak penjajahan hendak-lah di-hapuskan di-mana² tempat pun”.

Ini baik. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak buat. Kerajaan ini ada-lah sa-buah Kerajaan yang pileh². Mana yang sedap di-pileh-nya. Yang tidak sedap di-pejamkan mata-nya. Kalau benar Kerajaan ini berchita² hendak dan berpendirian apa jua chorak penjajahan hendak-lah di-hapuskan di-mana² tempat jua pun, dan berchadang hendak bekerjasama dengan semua negara yang mesra dengan kita bagi mencapai chita² itu dengan jalan aman dan damai, maka kenapa-kah Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu tidak menyampaikan rasa hasrat hati kapada Kerajaan Siam bahawa ada empat kawasan negeri Melayu yang di-jajah oleh Kerajaan Siam? Kenapa di-diamkan wilayah Melayu di-Selatan Siam itu? Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita sudah patut waktu berjumpa dengan Menteri² yang datang dari Thai itu berkata: kita ini berjiran, tetapi kenapa tuan maseh menjajah lagi. Ini bukan-kah baik dengan aman dan damai—bukan hendak suroh orang berperang, tetapi sebut-lah pada dia, bagaimana saya hendak dudok sa-meja dengan tuan pada hal tuan menjajah. South Africa, bukan main jauh daripada kita, orang-nya pun kita tidak kenal, entah macham mana rupa orang-nya, dia membuat dasar Apartheid dalam negeri dia sendiri kapada anak buah-nya sendiri. Kita berang dan marah, kita boycott barang²-nya, dan akhirnya dia keluar daripada Commonwealth. Kita tidak mahu dudok sa-meja

dengan-nya. Tetapi jiran kita yang menjajah bangsa kita sendiri, kita diamkan.

Ini-kah dasar menghapuskan penjajahan yang di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara yang sa-macam ini hendak-lah di-sebut di-dalam ucapan Seri Paduka Baginda supaya tidak ucapan itu terbang ka-awang²an dengan tidak ada satu dasar yang concrete pada tahun 1963 ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, memandang kepada kelemahan² ini maka saya bertawadhu' hendak meminda chadangan Yang Berhormat dari Port Dickson itu saperti berikut:

Bahawa suatu ucapan yang tidak saperti-nya di-persembahkan kepada Ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong demikian bunyi-nya:

"Ampun Tuanku,

Patek, Yang di-Pertua dan Ahli² Dewan Ra'ayat di-dalam persidangan Parlimen, memohon ampun mempersembahkan suatu ucapan yang zalil daripada Majlis Dewan Ra'ayat menguchapkan berbanyak² shukor dan terima kaseh kepada Ka-bawah Duli kerana Titah Uchapan Ka-bawah Duli pada masa membuka Penggal Kelima Parlimen."

Saya chadangkan supaya pindaan itu di-buang noktah pada akhir-nya dan di-tambah:

"Dengan di-buang noktah di-akhir-nya dan di-tambah:

tetapi menyatakan dukachita kerana Titah yang di-hormati itu telah tidak menyatakan langkah² dan ranchangan² yang tegas dan berkesan bagi membantu dan memajukan bangsa Melayu dalam Perniagaan dan Perusahaan dan tidak menegaskan usaha² dan ranchangan² Kerajaan Tuanku bagi menghapuskan penjajahan dari empat Wilayah Melayu di-Selatan Siam dengan chara aman dan damai."

Saya kemukakan pindaan ini kerana ini-lah yang patut di-fikirkan dan dititahkan di-dalam ucapan Seri Paduka Baginda membayangkan azam dengan sunggoh-nya Kerajaan itu membawa ranchangan² yang concrete di-dalam sa-buah negara yang besar.

Enche' Harun bin Pilus (Trengganu Tengah): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menyokong.

Mr Speaker: Motion di-hadapan Majlis ini telah di-pinda oleh Yang Berhormat dari Bachok dan pindaan

itu telah mendapat sokongan, jadi terpaksa-lah di-bahathkan atas pindaan itu mengikut peratoran² yang ada, tetapi di-dalam Majlis ini dahulu saya telah memberi satu ruling ia-itu di-dalam membahathkan pindaan itu boleh juga di-bahathkan usul yang asal itu supaya hendak memendekkan perjalanan meshuarat kita pada hari ini; akan tetapi pula sudah habis perbahathan, saya akan mengundi pindaan itu dahulu, kemudian baharu-lah saya undi usul yang asal, jadi tidak-lah boleh kita sekat sa-suatu ahli itu berchakap di-atas pindaan itu sahaja, pada masa itu boleh-lah Ahli² Yang Berhormat berchakap juga atas usul yang asal sama sa-kali.

Enche' V. David: In other words, we can speak on the general motion itself?

Mr Speaker: Yes, including the amendment. Bill after the debate, I shall put the amendment first. That is my ruling.

Enche' V. David: Mr Speaker, Sir, in the Royal Address the Government has once again stressed its policy in the field of labour and it has stated that in the field of labour the policy is unchanged. Sir, the most significant event of the year in the field of labour is the Railway strike which lasted more than a month. The Railway strike brought a new awakening to the working masses of this country and at the same time the national and essential service of this country was disrupted. The main cause of this dispute and the strike itself finally proved that the cause had been the responsibility of the Government in adopting a very unreasonable and uncompromising attitude to the claims of the Railway men. The Minister of Transport, particularly in this instance, shirked his responsibility by evading from the issue, and later an inquiry was appointed during the course of the dispute where the inquiry itself confirmed that the strike was apparently due to the Administration. I would like to quote a relevant section of the Report of the Court of Inquiry for the information of this House. At one stage of the Report it says:

"It is possible that the Administration did not adequately comprehend the gravity

of the situation. In fact, the grave implications of the long delay can only be fully realised if it is borne in mind that the Royal Commission itself was established on 6th February, 1960, only after the occurrence of a series of serious industrial action."

Sir, this will illustrate the extent to which the Ministry of Transport has been responsible for the strike.

The Government, in its anxiety to accommodate its political henchman, appointed as General Manager of the Railways a man who does not possess the elementary knowledge of the working of the railways. The essential service has been entrusted in the hands of an ignorant, irresponsible and inefficient administrator who has led the nation together with the 16,000 Railway workers into chaos and disruption of the smooth running of the essential service. Sir, I cannot avoid making unpleasant remarks on the Minister of Transport who in this particular instance had failed in his job. If the Minister of Transport has the guts to comment in the press that the Railway strike was not his business, then I do not know what is his business. Is it his business to make uncultured speeches throughout Malaya at the expense of the Malayan Government's money? Sir, there is every reason for the public to demand the resignation of the Minister of Transport, who is not only irresponsible but also incapable of handling the duties entrusted to his care. Sir, the Union had been justified in its claim and the fault of the Railway strike should be placed completely on the shoulders of the Administration.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the railway workers at the moment are still having a big claim against the Railway Administration. The dispute as it stands has not been completely solved. There is every likelihood and danger of further disruption of the essential service. What I would do now is to call, at this moment, upon the Government as quickly as possible to replace the present General Manager with a more suitably qualified General Manager, who possess a wide knowledge of the workings of the railway. Sir, today the main question before the railwaymen is their status—whether they are

Government servants or non-Government servants. I understand that the Union has taken the matter to the extent of being heard before a court of law. The status of the railwaymen has been bungled by the present Government. The workers have all through been kept under the impression that they are Government servants, and their classification as non-Government servants came as a severe blow to the 16,000 railway workers and their families.

Sir, to avoid the railwaymen's claim, the Government has systematically betrayed the railway workers by converting the Railways into a corporation. The conversion of the Railways into a corporation is not going to eliminate the fundamental issue, which is yet to be settled. To the 16,000 railway workers, they are insecure, and the security of these workers is answerable by the Government. By turning the Railways into a corporation will only breed more corruption in the Railways.

Sir, I would like to point out certain glaring examples of irregularities in the Railways which prevail, and that in time to come when the Railways become a corporation it will only lead the Railways into more corrupt practice than now. The following references need to be answered by the Government, and these questions need clear explanations by the Government, so that the Minister can place himself above corruption if he desires to do so. Sir, firstly, the collection of foreshore charges at the fish jetty in Port Swettenham—this service has always been performed by the Malayan Railway. However, this is done now by a private firm, the Federal Rail Transport Company Ltd, on a commission of 12½ per cent. This practice was started during the railway strike, but it has been allowed to carry on in spite of the fact that the strike was over on the 15th January, 1963. No public tender was called for this.

The second matter is in regard to the Klang Yard Store. The handling of iron materials from the Railway Store was given under private treaty to one

Cheah Geok Khoon. The Railways paid an average of \$15,000 to this contractor. Two cranes and a few labourers were provided for this service. If this contract was given out on public tender, it would not cost the Malayan Railway more than \$2,500 per crane per month and labour charges of less than \$1,000 per month—that is a total of not more than \$6,000.

The third is in respect of the hire of two tugs at Port Swettenham. The two tugs were hired on a monthly rental of \$127 per tug without calling for a public tender.

The fourth is the hire of private unlicensed lorries by the Cargo Handling Corporation Ltd owned by the Malayan Railway. The hire of ten lorries by the Manager of the Cargo Handling Corporation Ltd to transport ships' cargo from wharves to ships and yard stores was undertaken by Messrs Low Pee under private treaty. In view of the fact that this service has to be performed round the clock, the amount of money involved in the contract must be very substantial. These vehicles do not pay any road tax, and it is believed that only four drivers are deployed to operate these vehicles at any one time.

Mr Speaker, Sir, these irregularities in the Railways will clearly prove the extent that the Railway Administration has been irregular and it needs a complete overhaul in its administration. I would suggest, Sir, that the question of the railway workers—their status—should be settled as early as possible in order to avoid the unpleasantness that may even go to the extent of disrupting the railway service.

Now, Sir, I come to the other side of His Majesty's Speech. His Majesty has commented, "One of the most important steps being taken to increase prosperity and to bring about economic stability is the diversification of agriculture." This morning, Sir, we had certain questions about the price of sugar. When I talk about economic stability—it is amazing to note the exorbitant prices of essential commodities—let us examine, Sir, the increase of prices in essential commodities. The present price of sugar in the Kuala

Lumpur market is 70 cents, and not 50 cents as stated by the Minister. Similarly the price of spices. The price of rice has gone up. While prices are being increased, there has been no adjustment in the wages of the workers and as a result of this the people of this country are faced with great hardships. The Government should take strong and vigorous measures to protect the public from being cheated and exploited by the merciless traders. Further speculators in this country, without any control, are being allowed to speculate. Sir, until and unless the Government takes a strong view and take concrete action to control the price increases, there cannot be economic stability in this country. Workers' wages need readjustment if prices are allowed to increase as is now the case. Sir, I call upon the Government to view this matter with the gravest concern, because it involves the daily-life of the public of this country.

Sir, on my part and that of the Socialist Front, we are completely against the formation of Malaysia. It is felt that Malaysia is nothing but neo-colonialism. It is a form of suppression to suppress the people of the Bornean territories. The recent actions in Borneo have shown beyond doubt that the people of Borneo are not willing to accept the form of Malaysia envisaged by the present Government. There is a popular movement in the Bornean territories opposing Malaysia. The people are demanding self-determination. They want independence as others in other parts of the world clamour for independence. Malaysia is a conceived and pre-planned plot of Britain to safeguard vested interests in Asia and to use Malaysia as a tool for the SEATO powers. If Malaysia is formed, it is almost certain that it will be considered as an act of aggression by the Malayan Government on Borneo and on the Bornean people—and also Singapore.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the unreasonable representation offer to Singapore and to the Bornean territories will clearly indicate the type of Malaysia envisaged by the present Malayan Government.

The present Malaysia envisaged by the present Government will be leading the nation to great chaos and destruction.

During the past few weeks, Sir, we have noted with great concern the number of arrests that have been made within the Socialist Front, and also in Singapore. Socialist Front cadres, vocal cadres, virile cadres, have been taken into detention. When and where the Malayan Chinese Association sees a threat to its goal, on such occasions it instructs or advises the Minister of Internal Security, whom we consider as a persecutor, to arrest and detain cadres of the Socialist Front. Mr Speaker, Sir, this should be a warning to the Bornean territories, if Malaysia is formed. The same situation will take place in the Bornean territories. Innocent young men and women of this Party have been detained, some for years and some have been taken in newly.

His Majesty in his speech has made a reference to the Malayan traditions of parliamentary democracy. I am sure in this country we are not experiencing the form of parliamentary democracy which one would like to enjoy. The arrest of the Member for Setapak will clearly show to what extent parliamentary democracy is practised in this country. Ahmad Boestamam, the Honourable Member for Setapak, has not committed any crime. The only crime he has committed was to say that he opposed Malaysia—if that can be considered as a crime, then nothing in this world is not a crime. Sir, the electorate of Setapak needs an explanation from the Government. The Government has arrested an elected representative whom the people have returned to office. Mr Speaker, Sir, we from the Socialist Front have been demanding on several occasions an explanation from the Government, but the Government not possessing adequate proof to its allegations is unable to produce the Member for Setapak in Court to be heard before an impartial judiciary.

Mr Speaker, Sir, you will note in the last few weeks there has been a growing discontentment even among

the Rulers of this country. The Ruler of Perak has made his criticisms against the Government, and yesterday the Ruler of Selangor has made his remarks. The Selangor Ruler has said that the Selangor State Government is weak. I would go further to say that the Selangor Government is not only weak but it is inefficient, incapable and also corrupted. Sir, the Radio Malaya which often broadcasts every form of speech did not even care to broadcast the statement made by His Highness yesterday.

Tuan Haji Ahmad Saaid (Seberang Utara): Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of order—S.O. 36 (7) which reads:

“The name of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, or any of Their Highnesses the Rulers, or of either of Their Excellencies the Governors of Penang and Malacca shall not be used to influence the House.”

Mr Speaker: You can mention the Rulers, but it is out of order to use name of the Rulers to influence the House. It is very clear under S.O. 36 (7) that the name of His Majesty or the Ruler cannot be used to influence the House.

Enche' V. David: Yes, Sir. I have no intentions to influence this House by the statement of His Highness the Ruler of Selangor. But, unfortunately, the statement has become so open that it is no more a secret and it is a well known fact. Even the Ruler's statement has not been broadcasted in Radio Malaya. The Radio Malaya has become the voice of the Alliance. It is no more an instrument which gives impartial commentaries on news and statements made by various people. His Highness has made discontented remarks on this State Government, and it is only high time that the Government take stock of the approaching dangers and the consequences which may arise in time to come. The discontentment among Rulers has begun, and we applaud and welcome the Rulers who have been brave to make criticisms where necessary in the interests of the people. Nobody can dispute the fact that the Klang town is the dirtiest and filthiest town in the whole of the Federation of Malaya, and the Government has not been

doing anything at all to improve the lot of the people and to improve the town. The Selangor State Government has made a mess of the squatter problems, its land programme and, as I have said, it is ineffective, incapable and corrupted at the moment.

Mr Speaker: You should not introduce State matters in this House at all!

Enche' V. David: Yes, Sir. I, on my part, welcome the statement made by His Highness the Sultan of Selangor. Since I cannot dwell much on this subject in this House, I might introduce this matter at the State Legislative Assembly in its forthcoming meeting.

Mr Speaker, Sir, as I said, Radio Malaya in its broadcasting has been so controlled by the Government that it is no more independent. Similarly, it applies to the press. As I understand, the press has been warned repeatedly. On several occasions press reporters have been called upon to answer by Government officials when and where prominence is given to Opposition Members. It has become so frequent that members of the press are afraid to give impartial comments on matters spoken. They are afraid to write liberally, they are afraid to be impartial, because the Government may revoke its printing licence at any time. The warning has been given indirectly—at times by ringing up the editor and asking for an explanation—thus not allowing the editor to be carried away with the idea that the Government is applying pressure. All these are warnings that in time to come the press may be gagged as it has been gagged already now.

Mr Speaker, by all these, the Government cannot build a healthy and democratic nation where peace and prosperity can shower. If this country is allowed to continue as it is continuing now, there may be events where even the Civil Service would be led to be collapsed, because we find political henchmen being pushed into various jobs, political appointments—at times even in the Civil Service there is a great amount of political influence

now. All these should be taken as a danger for the nation itself.

Sir, I would like to make a particular reference to Kuala Lumpur and its administration. Since it is no more controlled by a Municipal Council and since it is the Federal Capital, I think I am justified in making the reference here. Sir, the people of Kuala Lumpur have been disgusted, have been fed up, with the administration of Kuala Lumpur. The taxpayers of Kuala Lumpur are not offered the opportunity of representation. The Government has refused representation by adopting the nominated system of an Advisory Council, which represents nobody in the town. Sir, I would also go further to state that the Kuala Lumpur town has become dirty. The maintenance of the town has become so inefficient that there is an overall complaint in Kuala Lumpur about health conditions—and cholera may be part of it, and I won't be surprised if there is an outbreak of plague very soon. As I have said the other day, the rats are being bred in the Kuala Lumpur Central Market. Sir, the Commissioner of the Federal Capital has stated that Kuala Lumpur may attain the city status. But, Sir, a city without an elected mayor, a city without an elected Council is absurd and it is a shame on the ruling Party. The ruling Party, because it is afraid to meet the electorate of Kuala Lumpur, because it is afraid to face a defeat in the polls in Kuala Lumpur, has resorted to the old colonial system of a nominated Advisory Council. The members of this Advisory Council represent nobody in Kuala Lumpur town. These appointments are made for political henchmen of the Alliance who do not reflect the views of the taxpayers of the town. Therefore, Sir, Kuala Lumpur needs an elected Council so that all sections of the population in Kuala Lumpur will be given representation to put across their views in the elected chamber, as a city with a nominated Council would not reflect to what extent democracy is being practised in this part of the world.

Mr Speaker, Sir, as I have said, my party is strongly opposed to the

Internal Security Act, because my party feels that it is an Act designed deliberately to eliminate opposition, to eliminate vocal leaders and to eliminate those who express their views frankly. Secondly, we are against Malaysia completely. We feel Malaysia is an act of suppression on the people of the Bornean territories and it is neo-colonialism. We feel that friendly relationship with Indonesia can be restored if Malaysia is not formed and if the Malayan Government looks after itself and not involve itself in the concept of Malaysia. Indonesia is not against Malaysia. Indonesia does not want a war. But Indonesia fears that if Malaysia is created the Defence Treaty will be a potential danger to its very existence. Therefore, Mr Speaker, Sir, we feel that we can adopt friendly relationship with Indonesia, but the idea of Malaysia should be given up. It is not going to be a happy Malaysia as one would think. The growing events in the past, the present and the future are an indication that Malaysia will bring largescale destruction to the nation. Mr Speaker, Sir, we categorically oppose Malaysia whatever the consequences may be. We feel the Singapore people have been subjected by the conditions of merger which has been imposed, subjected to neo-colonialism, and Singapore's freedom has been taken away from them. The detainees who are detained now had been the popular leaders elected by the people and they have not been given the opportunity to express their views frankly and sincerely. For expressing their views they have been sent to detention camps. Mr Speaker, Sir, the form of democracy practised by the Federation Government would not lead the nation to a just and prosperous society. As I said earlier, we are against Malaysia and we will continue to do so in spite of whatever threats may be issued from various quarters. Thank you.

Enche' Abdul Aziz bin Ishak: Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak today, although briefly, but filled with a sense of urgency and anxiety regarding the future of this country which we all hold so preciously. I am not a

person given to impetuous action as you know yourself, Sir, and if I have chosen to stand firm to certain principles, even at the cost of political office, it is only after very careful thought. There must be a day of reckoning for all of us and politicians must one day face their electorate. If I have chosen to roam the political wilderness, it is because I want to be able to see my people straight in their face.

This year is the last year of this Government's tenure and it remains to be seen if they can convince the 51 per cent of the electorate that voted for them that they have kept their promises. One thing, however, is clear. If the Alliance Government succeeds in its Malaysia Plan, then our country as a political entity, as it is at present conceived, will come to an end. This happens to be one promise the Alliance never made. The lack of mandate on this very important matter affects, as it does, the status and rights of every Ruler, every State, and every citizen. This lack of mandate from our people does not apparently trouble the imperial visions of the ambitious men in power. Tampering with the rights and status of our people is a very tricky adventure, and I think that I speak for the entire Opposition when I say that the Alliance will be held accountable.

As I have said, the Alliance is in a great hurry to keep the one promise which it did not make. But what about the many promises it has made? Every year we hear promises, but what are the results? No doubt, many new roads and new buildings have been built and, no doubt, many contractors, both aliens and the Babas and Chettiers, are deeply grateful to the Alliance Government. But what share of all this new wealth have the ra'ayat got? I have always loved to travel widely around our country to be physically close to our people. I have continued to do so and during these silent months out of office I have reviewed in detachment the course and fruits of my actions. From the plight of our people I have obtained confirmation a thousand times over again that what I

have done is right and that there was no other right course but to go on ahead.

Sir, there is a life in our country beyond the facade of apparent prosperity that is painted by our controlled newspapers and the propaganda people. We ignore this at our own peril. Mr Speaker, Sir, I give full weight to my words when I say that a great tide of resentment and anger is building up amongst the *ra'ayat*, sullen and yet unexpressed. This is the quiet anger of a people who feel that they have been defrauded of the fruits of Merdeka and the rice of freedom has turned to sand in their mouths. Our people are watching and they see that the entire colonial structure is intact excepting that a few brown faces have replaced the white faces in the air-conditioned offices and the big American cars (*Laughter*). Do our Honourable friends in the Government Benches really think that this was why they were voted into power? The Merdeka band wagon jumpers have now taken over. Many are waxing fat and rich over the gains of corrupt practices. The status quo has become sanctified and the foreign capitalists and their compradore allies dominate the country. The differences between me and my Cabinet colleagues grew so much that I came to feel that we live in different worlds and spoke different languages. A few of my colleagues just looked away, but one day they too must decide how much they can swallow.

The co-operative movement, which has been so close to my heart, became a bone of contention. The co-operative movement offers one way of ending the exploitation of our peasantry. The Alliance Party is pledged to support co-operatives, but, instead, important influences were dedicated to strangling the co-operative movement. All of us know how at Krian the padi middlemen were reinstated. This is not a communal question, but one between the peasants and the middlemen. Yet the Alliance has chosen to present this as a case of conflict between Malay privileges and non-Malay rights. Surely a most extraordinary state has been reached in the affairs of this country

if peasants can no longer be defended against middlemen because they happen to be Malays who have the so-called special rights. This reactionary clique, Sir, has grown and finally they demanded, and were given, my very head on a plate. Behind them is the great and ever present colonial power and left-behinds that have the first and the last words in so many places and so many departments. In my old Ministry I did an early spring cleaning then. Elsewhere, they retaliated by hampering my work. Any expert who did not fit in with the scheme of things found himself very rapidly out of the job.

Sir, I would like to recall the very early days when the then Chief Minister and now the Prime Minister asked both of us—the present Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives who was then the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry and myself—to go to Singapore and persuade a young man by the name of Dr K. R. Chou to come here in order to help us in the economic planning of the country. Our journey was an arduous one—and the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives will remember that—and with all the difficulty we brought this man back in order to draw up something useful, something which would be workable and something which would benefit the people here in the economic field. But unfortunately our Prime Minister and ourselves—some of us—were persuaded to send him away because the then British officers who were in our service did not want him to guide us in the right path. So, with that they were allowed to do the planning and what they had planned is what we had to take.

Another incident, Sir, was that of Major-General Habibollah, who wanted to train our local officers too fast to the liking of the British and as a result found himself back in India before his term was ended.

Sir, I speak, as I said, filled with a sense of urgency and anxiety. Under the Alliance the country has come to a very serious plight. The best that this Government has been able to offer

is the Five-Year Plan that guarantees that at the end the standard of living of our people would be less and not more. If the Plan succeeds, with 80 cents a pound of rubber, then at the end the national income would rise by about 14 per cent while population would rise by 17 per cent. This is the best the Alliance can offer, Sir. But their worst can come with Malaysia, with a fratricidal war both internally and externally, and with the comfort of having the British and the Gurkha troops on our side to fight the people of our own kind.

Sir, I have found strength and determination from our people and I am determined to fight for them. All over the country thousands are looking for jobs that are not there. Peasants and their children are running away from the poverty of the kampongs to join the ranks of the urban unemployed. Our children are leaving the primary schools with no places in the secondary and, just as the colonial government intended, the Alliance are diverting these children to half-baked extension schools which merely serve to tie them to the village a little longer.

The Alliance, Sir, has made a joke of the National Language, making it a medium fit only for the kampong—education without a future—instead of the proud role I envisaged for them when I named them Sekolah Kebangsaan during my very brief stay at the Ministry of Education.

Sir, finally, our people are completely wearied by the incompetence and the corruption of the ruling party. Corruption, I say, has reached astounding proportions. Nothing big is settled, and even nothing small is settled these days unless the appropriate palm is greased directly or otherwise. Thank you.

Mr Speaker: The sitting is suspended for 15 minutes.

Sitting suspended at 11.35 a.m.

Sitting resumed at 12.00 noon.

Debate resumed.

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali (Larut Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan segala hormat-nya saya minta kebenaran ka-

pada Tuan Yang di-Pertua berucap dalam Majlis ini. Saya menyokong dengan kuat-nya usul memberi ucapan terima kasih yang tidak terhingga kepada Duli Yang Maha Mulia yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Port Dickson. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya teringat kesah tua ibu negara Rome ada sa-orang ketua yang bernama Julius Caesar. Oleh sebab pendirian-nya sangat baik, tegas dan mesra dengan ra'ayat jelata, maka ia telah mendapat kechaman yang hebat sa-kali daripada ra'ayat negeri itu. Bagitu-lah juga Kerajaan Perikatan ini oleh sebab pendirian-nya sangat baik dan terator, maka orang² yang tidak bertanggung-jawab mendatangkan kechaman yang hebat terhadap Kerajaan. Memang-lah bagitu kerana lidah manusia tidak bertulang. Mereka boleh berchakap ikut suka hati-nya.

Yang Berhormat dari Bachok dan rakan saya Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat telah menyatakan Kerajaan tidak buat apa² dalam tempoh Kerajaan Perikatan memerintah. Kapada Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat, saya teringat satu daripada ucapan beliau dalam Dewan yang mulia ini sa-masa mengemukakan Belanjawan pada tahun yang lampau dengan perchakapan yang warna-warni. Apa kerja yang di-buat oleh beliau di-katakan rekod. Padi telah lebeh dan ayam bertelor dua biji sa-ibu sa-hari. Tetapi, apabila beliau keluar sahaja daripada pehak Kerajaan Perikatan, ia mula-lah buat serangan terhadap Kerajaan. Jadi ini bukan-kah tidak patut bagi bekas sa-orang Menteri membuat pendirian sa-demikian? Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka menyebutkan satu mithalan, sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan usaha dan tenaga bekas Menteri itu berkenaan dengan usaha-nya kolam ikan di-Kuala Kangsar. Kolam itu memakan belanja yang banyak. Bangunan²-nya chantek dan permai. Bangunan itu telah siap, tetapi tinggal terbengkalai. Saya perhatikan daripada satu masa ka-satu masa apabila saya berulang-alek ka-Kuala Kangsar nampak-nya kolam itu tidak ada ikan lain yang istimewa, chuma ikan keli dan ikan haruan. Jadi itu-lah perkara²-nya, Tuan

Yang di-Pertua, tugas yang di-beri oleh Kerajaan Perikatan terhadap bekas Menteri itu. Ra'ayat sahaja-lah yang boleh mengingatkan jasa ia membela ikan keli itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat dari Bachok mensifatkan Titah ucapan Seri Paduka Baginda itu ada-lah cholek sana dan cholek sini. Saya fikir Yang Berhormat itu lebeh bijak dan pandai membacha dan bertutor kata. Sa-patut-nya ia bacha Titah di-Raja itu bukan sa-takat itu sahaja bahkan di-bacha juga Hujongan Khas di-mana kita dapati tidak kurang daripada 189 babak ka-semuanya. Di-sini-lah terkandung semua perkara yang meliputi kejayaan Kerajaan Perikatan mentadbirkan negara ini. Dan sungguh pun ia berkata demikian ia-itu Kerajaan tidak membuat apa², tetapi satu tegoran yang baharu ia tidak dapat mengemukakan kepada kita sakalian. Jadi saya berpendapat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah ucapan dan tegoran Yang Berhormat dari Bachok itu tidak ada memberi faedah langsung kepada Kerajaan, bahkan saya anggap beliau sa-orang yang gemar mengkeritik apa² yang di-kemukakan. Keritik yang baharu dan yang membena tidak ada, bahkan merosakkan sahaja.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ke-beratan hendak kemukakan kepada Dewan ini berkenaan dengan satu peristiwa yang timbul di-negeri Perak, tetapi oleh sebab perkara itu di-bangkitkan terlebih dahulu oleh Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh—dia tidak ada di-sini—sungguh pun dia tahu, kalau dia gunakan otak-nya, bukan kepala, dia gunakan otak, ucapan-nya berkenaan dengan Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Perak tidak keluar di-sini, sebab terlebih dahulu daripada ia berucap Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita telah menyatakan perkara itu sudah pun tutup dan sudah selesai dengan baik-nya. Tetapi ia memilih perkara ini, menyatakan perkara ini supaya ia dapat menangkok udang dalam ayer yang keroh. Saya dukachita, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tidak ada hadir—tidak ada sa-orang pun di-sini. Saya suka berta-nya kepada beliau berapa lama-kah ia

telah kenal Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Perak itu? Dan tahu-kah ia adat-istiadat Raja? Ada-kah dahulu daripada itu P.P.P. mengambil pendirian yang tegas berkenaan dengan kuasa Raja² Persekutuan Tanah Melayu? Betulkan ucapan saya kalau silap, tetapi saya dapat perkhabaran yang tegas, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh chuma dapat berkenalan dengan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Perak di-dalam satu majlis membuka “pak kereta” di-Station Road, Ipoh. Semenjak itu-lah ia berdamping dengan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Perak. Baharu dua tiga bulan. Sa-belum daripada itu saya tahu sangat ada-lah Undang² Tuboh P.P.P. tidak bersetuju hendak mengadakan Raja² di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini, sa-rupa dengan pendirian Socialist Front hendak membuang kedaulatan Raja² di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of explanation

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

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali: Tidak boleh tetapi berbeza sangat-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan pendirian UMNO. Di-tangan saya ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada Undang² Tuboh UMNO. Saya minta kebenaran membacha berkenaan dengan kedudukan kedaulatan Raja² Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini. Di-muka 2 babak 3 cheraian 4 berbunyi demikian:

“Memelihara taraf dan kedaulatan Raja² Melayu sa-bagai Raja² Berperlembagaan negeri masing²”.

Pada ingatan saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada satu Parti Politik pun dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini, sa-lain daripada UMNO dan Parti Perikatan berazam hendak mengekalkan kedaulatan Raja² Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang² Melayu, China dan India semua ta'at setia kepada Raja² di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Tetapi apabila bangkit sa-kumpulan penge-mis² dengan tidak ada sebab mengatakan: kami-lah akan bermatian

kapada Raja; kami-lah akan men-chuchi kasut Raja². Ini tentu-lah ada satu perkara luar biasa yang telah timbul. Jadi saya berpendapat ada-lah pendirian P.P.P. pada masa ini ada-lah saperti selalu-nya juga ia-itu saperti dasar kerajaan penjajah dahulu ia-itu dasar "Divide and rule".

Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita teringat sangat ucapan Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh menyatakan mengapa-kah Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini tidak mengambil berat di-atas hal orang China yang di-rusohi oleh sa-kumpulan orang² di-Indonesia sana. Saya tahu Yang Berhormat itu bukan-nya orang India, bukan-nya orang Ceylon dan bukan-nya orang China, tetapi saya hairan apabila kena-mengena dengan orang China, dia chuba hendak jadi "champion". Ini tentu ada perkara yang luar biasa. Dia suka main politik yang berdasarkan "Divide and rule". Sa-patut-nya perkara² berkenaan dengan orang² China di-ambil perhatian oleh Yang Berhormat Enche' Tan Siew Sin dan Yang Berhormat Dato' Dr Cheah Toon Lok, tetapi Yang Berhormat² ini tidak usah-lah kerana terdiri daripada ahli Perikatan. Sa-patut-nya di-ambil berat oleh mithal-nya Yang Berhormat dari Tanjong ia-itu ahli Socialist Front atau Dr Lim Chong Eu, tetapi orang itu tidak ada ambil berat (*di-Sampok*). Dia orang lain hendak ambil berat atas orang China. Jadi kita tahu pendirian P.P.P. menjalankan dasar "Divide and rule" bagi faedah family-nya sendiri, bukan pada orang lain.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dia telah menuntut Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita meminta ma'af kapada Duli Yang Mulia Sultan Perak di-atas ucapan-nya itu. Saya teringat di-sini ia selalu mendatangkan kechaman yang hebat, terutama sa-kali kapada Tuan Syed Nasir. Di-dalam ucapan-nya kelmarin dia mengkecham Yang Berhormat Senator T. H. Tan. Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, segala²-nya saya berpendapat tidak guna ketam mengajar anak-nya berjalan betul. Kalau dia orang yang bertang-gong-jawab, ia patut datang berjumpa saya di-hotel, saya boleh jemput saperti Tuan Syed Nasir, saya tahu

beliau ada-lah orang yang sangat berani, baik dan tulus ikhlas kapada negara. Apa yang tidak baik boleh kita betulkan, atau Yang Berhormat Senator T. H. Tan kita boleh berunding. Di-sini dia pandai menasihati dan mengkeritik orang lain, tetapi diri dia sendiri tidak jaga.

Sampai hati dia, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menyatakan: Saya tuntutan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku meminta ma'af kapada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Perak. Siapa dia? Siapa dia yang boleh berchakap bagitu—dia Sultan Tanjong Rambutan-kah yang boleh berchakap itu? Dia jadi tali barut siapa . . .

Mr Speaker: Kalimah tali barut tidak boleh di-gunakan dalam Majlis ini—unparliamentary language. Tarek balek!

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali: Saya tarek balek. Dia jadi agent siapa? Ini kita hendak tahu?

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara yang berkait dengan dia sendiri dan kesukaan dia sendiri. Saya tengok apabila dia menyentuh hal-ehwal Kerajaan tempatan khas-nya Majlis Bandaran, saya nampak gigi-nya sampai katelinga-nya bagitu sa-kali suka-nya, tetapi itu pandangan dia sendiri, saya sa-bagai orang luar berkata saya tahu segala perkara yang di-jalankan di-Majlis Bandaran Ipoh-nya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia pelawa kita sakalian pergi melawat menengok progress² yang di-jalankan oleh parti-nya di-*Ipoh* khas-nya. Manakala sampai kita di-sana kita tengok di-sana sini penoh dengan pokok tahi ayam, jalan² yang besar menjadi sempit, dan juga kita tengok banyak rumah² urut berselerak di-situ, tukang² urut yang tidak dapat berniaga di-tempat lain lari membuka perniagaan-nya di-*Ipoh*.

Mr Speaker: Tudohan kapada sa-saorang ahli itu hendak-lah berjaga sadikit, mengikut Peratoran 36 (6) saya bachakan sadikit:

"Sa-saorang ahli tidak boleh mengeluarkan sangkaan jahat di-atas sa-siapa ahli yang lain."

Ini nampak-nya terlalu banyak tuan telah mengeluarkan sangkaan yang

jahat kapada sa-saorang, kalau sangkaan jahat kapada suatu parti, itu saya tidak boleh tahan, tetapi kapada sa-saorang itu tidak boleh—sangkaan jahat kapada sa-saorang itu tidak boleh digunakan di-dalam Parlimen ini, tolonglah jaga sadikit.

Enche' Tajuddin bin Ali: Terima kasih, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara itu ada-lah benar, jadi ia mempelawa kita sakalian pergi melihat bandar Ipoh, dan kalau kita pergi itu-lah yang kita tengok. Kita tengok rumah² urut di-sana sini, ada-kah parti P.P.P. berpendapat rumah urut itu memberi guna kapada penyapu² sampah, kapada penoreh² getah, orang jual sayur, saya tidak tahu-lah dan ini patut di-jawab oleh pihak P.P.P. itu sendiri dan tentu-lah dia ada dasar yang bersendirian berkenaan dengan rumah urut di-*Ipoh* itu.

Ya, saya menguchapkan terima kasih kapada P.P.P. yang mengatakan gangster² di-*Ipoh* telah berkekurangan. Saya berpendapat bahawa gangster itu telah berkekurangan kerana barangkali P.P.P. ada switch-nya apabila di-petek switch itu maka hilang-lah gangster² itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa ta' berapa seronok kerana di-*Ipoh* ada satu jalan di-beri nama mendiang bapa Yang Berhormat itu ia-itu jalan Seenivasagam. Tempat ini ada-lah sarang pelachor di-*Perak* yang besar sa-kali. Saya rasa tidak seronok fasal jalan itu di-letakkan nama mendiang itu.

Mr Speaker: Bandar *Ipoh* di-kuasai oleh Municipality. Berkenaan dengan hal itu tidak ada kena mengena dengan persidangan ini kerana ia-nya tidak ada kena mengena dengan Kerajaan Federal. Kalau Yang Berhormat hendak berchakap soal itu chari-lah sa-orang wakil untuk berchakap dalam Town Council di-*Ipoh*.

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, fasal dia telah menyentuh hal itu jadi orang tua dalam kubor itu tidak tahu apa² (*Ketawa*).

Mr Speaker: Jangan-lah chakap fasal itu lagi.

Enche' Tajudin bin Ali: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam keluaran renchana

Utusan Melayu semalam ada di-keluar-kan berita dasar luar negeri di-bawah pemerintahan Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Saya suka berchakap dalam Dewan yang bertuah ini dan terlebih dahulu saya mengambil peluang menguchapkan terima kasih kapada *Utusan Melayu* yang telah mengeluarkan satu renchana hal-ehwal yang di-jalankan oleh Duta Khas Indonesia di-sini. Dalam renchana itu *Utusan Melayu* telah menyatakan bahawa Duta Indonesia itu berjalan ka-sana ka-mari dalam Ibu Kota ini membuat propaganda yang jahat terhadap negeri kita. Jadi dalam usaha dan tenaga Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri kita hendak mententeramkan suasana maka telah menjadi kurang sadikit. Kalau-lah benar berita seperti yang telah dinyatakan dalam *Utusan Melayu* itu maka saya sangat kesalkan. Jadi kalau tidak benar pun renchana itu harus saya berpendapat tentu-lah pada hari ini dia menafikan, jadi nampak-nya tidak ada di-nafikan oleh Duta Indonesia itu. Saya rasa renchana itu patut-lah seluroh ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu khas-nya Kerajaan kita meng-ambil perhatian yang berat sa-kali. Saya tidak suka berchakap panjang kerana kita di-sini ada sa-orang General ia-itu Yang Berhormat Hajjah Zain. Ka'au sa-butir bom dia bagi kapada kita, kita mesti bagi dua butir bom balek kapada-nya. Tetapi dasar kita kalau sa-kira-nya benar orang lain hendak merosakkan negeri ini maka saya harap kapada Kerajaan supaya mengambil perhatian yang berat sa-kali kerana kita dapati, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Duta² yang lain pun seperti di-negeri Australia, Russia kalau dia champor tangan dalam siasah negeri itu belum siang lagi mereka itu akan di-bungkus. Itu-lah sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya harap Kerajaan meng-ambil perhatian terhadap gerak geri Duta Indonesia itu, terima kasih.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support wholeheartedly the sentiment expressed by the Honourable Member for Kuala Langat. I must stress here, Sir, that on this subject of mandate, the Alliance, particularly the Honourable Member of Internal Security, has expressed it time and

again—and his latest utterance was only at the last session of this House—that the Alliance will follow the procedure adopted by the Mother of Parliaments. Yet, on this question of the bringing about of Malaysia there is no mandate—and this is a very glaring example of a departure from British parliamentary practice. Apart from that, it should be necessary for any Party in power in implementing any particular programme, that it should first of all have the consent of the people. However, here we have a glaring example which, I think, the next election can easily remedy.

Secondly, we regret to note that as far as the Speech of His Majesty is concerned, very little is said of proposals with regard to the changing economic situation that is facing the country today. We have heard time and again of Ministers expressing concern about the lack of funds, and yet in His Majesty's Speech very little is said about it. We have heard of a committee which has gone into the question of priorities for the Five-Year Development Plan, but up to date we have heard nothing from this committee as to what remedy it is proposing in regard to the Plan and whether it is proposed to modify the Plan to any extent. Thus as far as the Five-Year Plan is concerned, it has been pointed out by us at various sessions in this Parliament that at its very best the Plan—as pointed out also by the Honourable Member for Kuala Langat—will succeed in giving the people of this country a lower standard of living. The Honourable Member for Kuala Langat has also pointed out that the rate of natural increase in this country will outstrip the rate of production as envisaged in the Plan, but that is assuming the Plan will be successful in every phase of its programme; but as we are no doubt aware this is far from the truth. The important issue facing us in this country today is the question of improving the living standards and it is a question of increasing productivity to such an extent that at least we will be able to sustain our present living standards.

Early this morning the Honourable Member for Bachok has raised one very interesting point about Malay participation in industry. He has, in the course of his speech, reiterated many times that the Government has failed to do so. I for one will agree with him that, as far as the Speech is concerned, nothing has been said about it. However, as far as the utterances of the various Ministers are concerned, they have time and again stressed that they are doing this to encourage Malay participation, they are doing that to give Malays an opportunity in industry, but what is the real problem of Malay poverty in this country? I think we must be clear on this particular problem. We in the Socialist Front feel very strongly that poverty knows no racial barriers. There are poor Malays, poor Chinese and poor Indians. As the Honourable Member for Larut Utara has rightly pointed out, we in the Socialist Front have on no occasion made any attempt to advocate for any particular racial group in this country, because we feel that in the field of economics there is no such thing as poor Chinese, poor Malays or poor Indians. We feel that the answer is in remedying the defects of our economy itself. What is wrong with the present Malayan economy, so much so that a very large proportion of Malay political leaders coming now and again to make utterances and statements to the effect that they must remedy the present imbalance between the Malays and the other communities? Have they seen the problem in the correct perspective, or are they being misled by emotions? In this matter, I would like to draw the attention of this House to a very interesting article by a well-known authority on rural economy. I refer here, Sir, to an article by Professor Ungku Abdul Aziz entitled, "Facts and Fallacies about the Malay Economy". This article was written pre-Merdeka but lately in the latest edition of the "EKONOMI", this article appears with footnotes to remedy the defects of the earlier article. In this article Professor Aziz has given us a very interesting analysis on the economic position of the Malays. I

will read out certain sections to give this House an idea of the whole situation. It is stated here on page 8, Part I, under the heading "The Economic Position of the Malays", as follows:

"This is an important matter, but it is my contention that much of the thinking on the problem of the Malay economy in influential circles is wrong"—and I think by "influential circles" it is meant the Alliance circles, because the Alliance men are the only people who have any influence in this country—"It is largely concerned with the superficial aspects of the problems; worse still, it is racist and without any sound economic basis. It completely fails to deal with the real problems that affect not only the Malays, but also the very structure of the Malayan economy. It may be that my views do not follow the traditional grooves along which thinking on the Malay economy has moved. But I believe that sincerity must be an element not only of democracy but also of economic progress. Many who talk of the economic position of the Malays neither know exactly what an 'economic position' is, nor do they have a grasp of the relevant facts about the economic conditions of the Malays. Their main concern is: how can we increase the relatively small number of Malay capitalists, businessmen and shopkeepers who are to be found in the country."

I think here the Professor has set out very clearly the problem as seen by "influential circles" and the fallacy of their thinking. So, Sir, from that analysis, it is important to realise that any talk on the economic position of the Malays must rest primarily on the Malays themselves—what are the Malays occupied in, what are they doing in this country and how much income they are deriving from that particular mode of occupation. It is pointed out here that the main occupation of the Malays in the Federation of Malaya which constitutes 49 per cent of the total population is that 76 per cent of them are employed either in farming or fishing. In other words, three out of four working Malays depend on agriculture or fishing for their livelihood. So, it is important here, Sir, to analyse as to what income they can derive from these occupations.

On the section of income levels, it has been pointed by the Professor that the income of many padi farmers is nearer \$50 a month than \$100. In any case, none of them will be earning

more than \$100 a month. So, Sir, here is the essence of the whole position. According to the Professor, he says:

"This is the essential point about the economic position of the Malays. The Malays as a whole are poor because such a large proportion of them follow the poorest of agricultural occupations in the country. The poverty of the Malays has nothing to do with the smallness of numbers of Malay businessmen or capitalists."

So, Sir, this question of Malay poverty hinges on their occupations; and what is wrong with agriculture and fishing? It is pointed out that the result of the poor income is due firstly to low productivity or obsolete methods; secondly it is due to exploitation; and thirdly it is due to neglect. Here, Sir, it is very interesting for us to see, as far as the Government is concerned, as to what the Government has done about this. Knowing that this is the problem, what is the remedy which the Government is proposing? To clarify the position, I will read a further section from the article which says:

"Poverty has no race barriers.

The facts of low productivity, exploitation, and neglect are not applicable only to the Malay farmers and fishermen. They apply generally to all farmers, workers and fishermen living in the rural areas. For example, Chinese shopkeepers exploit Chinese fishermen and farmers through price margins and indebtedness without any special signs of favour for their compatriots.

Also despite the common regard that they both may have for their motherland and its great leaders, Indian money-lenders do not moderate their rapaciousness when dealing with their fellow countrymen.

Perhaps some readers will find it hard to accept this hint of exploitation that is not based on race but on economic role. However, the facts show that this exploitation ignores racial sympathies."

So, Sir, to sum up this particular problem, it is obvious, as is stated by the Professor, that a greater proportion of them live in the rural areas than do the other racial groups; that a greater proportion of the Malays are farmers and fishermen; and that a very large proportion of the Malay farmers depend on padi, the lowest income earning crop, as their main source of livelihood. It is because of this that you have the fallacious concept that the problem is the problem of race. It is

by no means a matter of race as pointed out here. Thus the proposal of the Alliance Government to solve this particular problem fails in many respects to tackle it from its very root. Instead they have attempted by various other means to turn out a few Malay capitalists. Here, Sir, we have something from the Professor with regard to what he describes as "synthetic Malay capitalism is not the answer". I think I must read this out for the enlightenment of the Members of the Government Bench. It says:

"Rural poverty, which is the real economic problem of the Malays, is simultaneously a problem of the whole rural population.

However, before proceeding to elaborate on this, I should like to make a brief criticism of some policies that are advocated by certain influential circles in Malaya today.

Thus, I understand, it is believed that since there are few Malay capitalists, shopkeepers, taxi-owners, etc., then the obvious solution is to deliberately create a number of Malay capitalists, shopkeepers and taxi-owners.

This policy is to be accomplished by a series of administrative measures restricting entry into certain occupations, and by trade quotas, permits and special credit facilities. Some quarters would even fix the number of bank-clerks, shop-assistants and store-keepers that must be of Malay race.

Others would go further and suggest that a certain percentage of directors in every company or firm must be Malay."

The Professor goes on to say:

"In its most advanced form this policy is rationalised as being desirable because it will create a Malay middle-class. What is not clear is whether this synthetic Malay middle-class is to act as a balance to the Chinese and the European middle-classes, or whether it is to ally itself with the non-Malay middle-class and strengthen its position *vis-a-vis* the working classes consisting of farmers, labourers and fishermen.

Whatever the aim in view, it is my contention that such policies will not solve the real economic problems of the Malays. Indeed I feel that they may exacerbate these problems.

* * * * *

In brief, a new class of name-lending Malay rentiers is being created. I completely fail to see how this will help the three million Malays to improve their economic condition."

Here, Sir, is a very clear explanation of the economic position of the Malays.

Let us look at the Five-Year Development Plan and see to what extent it will solve this particular problem.

I for one feel that although the Alliance has all along, through utterances from some Ministers, hoped to gain political support by saying that they are working for the interest of the Malays, in reality, through the actions of the Alliance, we have discovered that there is a direct conflict of interests. The Alliance, as we are aware, is an alliance of three political parties but, as our analysis of the economic position of the various racial groups in this country shows, there is a tendency for the Alliance to act on racial grounds. As a result, we have very often witnessed conflicts of opinion and in the ultimate result we find that the group that represents capital, that represents the monied group, usually has the final say. On this particular matter, as we have discovered from an analysis by experts, the problem of rural poverty must be solved by tackling the question of neglect by Government in tackling the question of exploitation by middlemen, and also the question of improving methods for agricultural production. But what has the Government done in these respects? I will take the first one, the question of exploitation.

It has been pointed out time and again that one of the problems facing the agriculturists, the small Malay farmers, in this country is the question of exploitation. We realise that most of them have no funds and as a result in cultivation they have to resort to borrowing money from the middlemen, and most of these middlemen will demand exorbitant rates of interest. As a result of this, the former Minister of Agriculture put forward a very laudable plan of co-operatives being formed to do marketing for these people. But, as was pointed out by the Honourable Member for Kuala Langat, his proposition was thrown out and the Alliance introduced the racial problem into this very plain issue which purely concerns the peasant, be he Malay, Chinese or Indian. There is no question of racial issues being involved at all. Similarly, no doubt the majority of the middlemen are Chinese, the majority of the farmers are Malays, but the issue does

not concern any racial group; surely there are a few Malay middlemen and also a few Chinese farmers too! But what we point out here is that the Alliance, as it is constituted today, is incapable of tackling this problem if it looks at it from a racial point of view. From the racialist point of view, no doubt the M.C.A. can represent no one but the middlemen class, the compradore class and the capitalist class. So, how can the UMNO expect the M.C.A. to agree to their plan of alleviating the position of the Malay peasantry when the interests of the Malay peasantry are in direct conflict with the interests of the middlemen which the M.C.A. represents? Here, Sir, is a very glaring example of conflicting interests. If UMNO is really sincere about working for the interests of the peasantry, if UMNO is really sincere that it is going to tackle the question of poverty on a non-racial basis, the only party they can expect co-operation will be a non-racial political party which believes in tackling the economic problem as such without any ties to racial thinking. The Alliance must realise that this question of exploitation is not only applicable to farmers, not only applicable to fishermen, but it is also applicable to smallholders in the rubber industry. Recently a report regarding the failure of the Government—run factory in Grisek is a very clear example as to why this particular rubber factory, which is set up to assist smallholders, cannot get sufficient rubber from them, because the smallholders are tied to the middlemen who are able to advance them money before the rubber is even produced. These are really very important issues with regard to the question of Malay poverty and unless it is tackled in its correct perspective, the Alliance Government will never dream of eliminating Malay poverty in this country. The relation of poverty must be tackled with foresight; it must be tackled with courage, and this, I am afraid to say, the Alliance is lacking. As far as the Alliance is concerned—we have watched their activities for quite some time, particularly the events that led to the resignation of the former

Minister of Agriculture—it is, in fact, a conflict

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar (Johor Tenggara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak membetulkan sadikit.

Mr Speaker: (*To Enche' Tan Phock Kin*) He wants to give an explanation. Do you give way?

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: I am sorry, Sir. If it comes from a more responsible Member of Parliament, I would have agreed, but coming from the

Mr Speaker: It does not matter. Do you want to give way or not?

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Obviously, I am afraid, I cannot, Sir, because of his irresponsibility. If he wants to speak, he will have ample opportunity to do so later.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar: If you do not want to give way, that is all right.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: I have the right to say what I want to say; nobody in this House can dictate to me as to what I should say and what I should not say.

Mr Speaker: Proceed.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: On this question, Sir, we can see that this interest has given rise to this conflict and obviously the Honourable Minister of Finance, who has the last say on all financial matters pertaining to the Cabinet, in my opinion, is to be held responsible for the failure of the Alliance to help in eliminating this very important problem. It is a well-known fact that the Honourable Minister of Finance has all along been the cause in frustrating any measure towards this question of eliminating exploitation from the middlemen in both the fishing industry and the padi industry. Why is this so? I am afraid, Sir, that a few Ministers of the Alliance, in their enthusiasm to advocate steps for improving the economic position of the Malays, have played right into the hands of their Finance Minister. We can see very clearly, Sir, that—firstly, on this question of

exploitation I have demonstrated very clearly as to how it has been forestalled—on the question of increasing the efficiency of the farms, the small-holdings, the Alliance Government has been influenced somewhat by the idea of a property-owning democracy, also propounded by the Honourable Minister of Finance. He has even convinced the Alliance Government that it would be better, as far as rural development is concerned, for individual farmers to own a small lot than for collective ownership by, say, a group of farmers working in a co-operative organisation. Here, Sir, we have seen the sacrifice of utilising—this is what is believed in everywhere else in the world—economies of large-scale production and the Government is prepared to forgo all the advantages it can get out of economies of large-scale production merely for the interest of allowing each particular person to own a farm of his own. But how and to what extent can they be more efficient if they carry on in the same old manner?

And here, Sir, on other aspects of the problem, the Honourable Minister of Transport and the Honourable the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry have, I regret to say, played right into the hand of the Minister of Finance in feeling that they can improve the economic lot of the Malays, the large proportion of the Malays, by merely granting licences to a few Malays in the transport industry by way of giving a few taxi licences and, perhaps, persuading some transport operators to sell shares to a few Malays who may possess the means of buying such shares. The Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry is also under the misapprehension that he can improve the economic lot of the vast majority of the Malays by merely putting one or two Malays on the boards of directors of certain companies; and that he has already done a great job in making the Malays feel that he has done something to improve their lot. But this sort of action is going to deceive no one. The Honourable Member for Bachok has pointed out that this is a fallacious

manner of trying to convince the people of this country that the Alliance Government has done something for the Malays—in fact, it has done practically nothing. What it has done is to enrich a few Malays by putting them on the boards of directors of certain companies, or perhaps to allow a few Malays to run some transport companies. But we must realise, what will the attitude of these people be towards their fellow countrymen? Does it mean that because in a certain company there are Malay directors then that company may pursue a different policy towards Malay employees? Does it mean that a transport company, with Malay ownership, will give higher wages to Malay employees? I think both the Honourable Ministers realise that this is not the case. The running of a commercial enterprise, of an industry, is motivated by the profit motive and that every manager, be he a Malay, an Indian or a European, will run it so that it will make the maximum profit, and not run it so that it will create the maximum welfare for its employees. These are truths which the Alliance must face. But I think they are not as naive as we all think. The leadership of the Alliance comprises of people who are well-to-do—the captains of industry, the people in commerce and in the professions. Their primary interest is to see to it that there is an alignment of interests between the Malays, Chinese and Indians in this country, an alignment whereby they can continue to exploit the present position, an alignment whereby they can continue to deceive the vast majority of the people of this country by all along telling them that they are doing something to help the Malays, by deliberately fighting on racial issues, and yet at the same time they are consolidating their positions. They are consolidating their positions to see to it that here in this country they will continue to exploit the present position for their own benefit. But I am afraid the people of this country will not be deceived by this manner of trying to mislead, because the people realise that the Alliance will not be able to do anything towards eliminating poverty.

Mr Speaker: Have you finished yet?

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Not yet, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The sitting is suspended till half-past four this afternoon.

Adjourned at 1.00 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 4.30 p.m.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

THE YANG DIPERTUAN AGONG'S SPEECH

Address of Thanks

Debate resumed.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Mr Speaker, Sir, when the House adjourned this afternoon, I was talking about the conflict of interests between the M.C.A. on the one hand and UMNO on the other. I have pointed out the role played by the Honourable Minister of Finance in forestalling various legitimate schemes to assist the ra'ayat. Further, I would like to point out here that even in the tax structure itself, the Honourable the Minister of Finance took great pains to see that whatever measure that was introduced would be assisting not the workers, or the poor people in the rural areas, but to help the well-to-do people in the big cities who happen to own large houses with a high annual value. I have pointed this out at the last session of Parliament, before I have had the occasion to know what has been done in Singapore. I did put forward a proposal that if it was desirable to help people to own houses, at least there should be a limit of \$3,000. However, Sir, I would like to point out to him that unlike him, the Singapore Government had placed an upper limit with regard to the annual value of houses—and this goes to show how wrong he is. Yet, because he is so stubborn he is reluctant to even correct an error which has been pointed out to him. This goes to show the character of the Minister of Finance. Time and again I am sure that his Cabinet colleagues, particularly the ex-Minister of Agriculture, must have pointed out to him various issues which a more reasonable man might

have agreed to. But as it is, we have seen for ourselves how all these little issues have been accumulated and which have resulted in a break of the UMNO in the resignation of the former Minister of Agriculture.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I shall now come to the overall position. As far as the Five-Year Plan position is concerned, it has been pointed out to us by Ministers on various occasions that there is a shortage of funds. Ministers have travelled abroad to seek financial assistance, but they have behaved in such a manner as to create the impression that they are not doing so. I do not know why they have adopted that sort of attitude. When the Honourable the Minister of Defence went to the United States of America, he was asked whether he was there to seek financial assistance, and he said, "No, but nevertheless we will tell them of our position in the hope that we may receive assistance." Well, this is a very good example. In Malaya we have quite a lot of people of this type, whom we term as high class beggars, going round not to beg but to tell people a hard luck story in the hope that people will pity them and give them some assistance. Is this the way to carry out our programme? If we are going to plan for a five-year plan—we have warned the Minister time and again about it—we must plan in accordance with our resources. We must make plans ahead. If we have not got the money, then we should make plans ahead before we embark on any venture. Here we have planned our Five-Year Plan assuming that we will be able to get the money. We have spent a great deal of our money on projects which are by no means essential. Now, we have discovered that we have not sufficient money to carry out the very projects which are considered essential; and we have spent or utilised part of our funds on projects that are not so essential—and because of such haphazard planning Ministers have to go round begging for assistance.

We have another clear case in which attempts were made to get assistance for the defence of Malaysia, and it was admitted by the Minister himself that

the request was not so successful. He could not get what was actually wanted. However, it has been pointed out in an editorial in some newspaper that as far as Malaya is concerned, Malaya need not worry in that though not sufficient funds is available from its resources to finance the armed forces, it can always be sure that if the occasion should arise where armed forces are required, it is sure to be able to get assistance from the western world. Well, is this the sort of thing that we want in an independent country? We are saying that as far as Malaysia is concerned, it is one method of eliminating colonialism and that as far as Malaysia is concerned, the Borneo territories and Singapore are getting independence through merger. What sort of independence will it be, if the new independent territory will have to rely on a foreign power for troops? What sort of independence will it be, if a foreign country is in full control of the military forces in the new Malaysia? No wonder our neighbours have become perturbed over the emergence of Malaysia. We cannot blame them for that, if the defence of Malaysia is going to be left in the hands of a foreign power. How can our neighbours be sure that such foreign powers will not use the so-called defence troops for offensive purposes? Those are problems which we must face very squarely. These will give rise to a cycle of things happening. Fear will result in the funds of our country being diverted from projects, which will give people a definite benefit, to expenditure on defence, on troops, on the army, on the navy and on the air force which will give no direct improvement in living standards of the people of this country. I think the refusal of the British Government to assist us to the expenditure required, should open the eyes of the Ministers concerned as to the sincerity of their western friends.

With Malaysia, Sir, we have been told that as far as this country is concerned, we are committed to do quite a great deal of things. Firstly, as far as defence is concerned, we must treble or quadruple our expenditure.

We are told, according to the Malaysia Report of the Inter-Governmental Committee, that in the economic field we are pledged to assist the Borneo territories as far as the development purposes are concerned. We are also told that, in the field of income tax in the Borneo territories, the rate of income tax should not be increased abruptly to the Malayan level but that it must be done in a gradual process. This, Sir, I submit, is an indirect way of saying that as far as income tax in the Federation of Malaya is concerned, there will have to be a break until income tax rates in the Borneo territories have reached the Malayan level, because if Malaya were to increase its rates of income tax, then it will be wellnigh impossible for the Borneo territories to catch up, and the idea here is to allow them to catch up. So, Sir, we see here that on other fields there is the commitment of assisting the Borneo territories. We are not against this assistance, but I must ask the Government one very pertinent question, "Where are we going to get money from to render such assistance?" As far as our own Five-Year Plan is concerned, the Ministers have admitted themselves that they have not got sufficient funds to carry out all the projects.

Here, Sir, we have a very clear picture of what is going to happen in Malaysia. I regret that His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong has not mentioned anything to the effect as to how funds are to be raised and what the Government's proposals are in regard to taxation in the next parliamentary year and as to whether the Government envisages getting further assistance from friendly countries. Those are questions which are left unanswered, and those are questions of very great importance particularly with the emergence of Malaysia.

Secondly, is the emergence of Malaysia really going to assist the country as far as economic development is concerned? As far as the country is concerned, is the new concept of Malaysia going to create a new Malaysian nation? I think, Sir,

that this Report of the Inter-Governmental Committee will throw some light on all these questions. On the question of improving the economic lot of the country as a whole, on one section—immigration—it is made very clear that though immigration is a Federal matter, the Government of the Borneo territories will have full power with regard to immigration to the Borneo territories themselves. In other words, in the new Malaysian nation, there will be no freedom of movement, though our very Constitution guarantees that there must be freedom of movement in the Federation of Malaya. However, with the Federation of Malaysia, it is stated quite categorically that the Constitution will have to be amended so that the Governments of the Borneo territories will have the final say as to whether they will accept certain people as immigrants to the Bornean territories. This control in the movement of persons will definitely have disastrous effect as far as economic development is concerned. Should there be a large pool of unemployment in the Federation of Malaya and with new developments in the Borneo territories, without control it will be only natural that a large number of people will migrate to the Borneo territories in search of employment; but with this control this will be wellnigh impossible. Will this result in maximum output for the Malaysian territories? We will find that in the Bornean territories we will be short of labour, so much so that labour will be paid an exorbitant price; and in the Federation of Malaya and, perhaps, in Singapore, there will be abundant labour without employment, and yet people cannot go to the Borneo territories. Such is the sorry picture that is put before us in this Report. Another problem that we can see is the question of inequality in taxation. What will this result in is that in all probability you will find quite a large number of people going to the Borneo territories to start limited companies there so that they can enjoy the payment of lower income tax. There will be utter confusion. Companies that were originally started in this country may find that it is more lucrative for them to go over to the

Borneo territories, because they pay very low tax—and if they go to Brunei, they may not pay any tax at all. Is that to the interests of the Federation of Malaya, or is that to the interests of the Malaysian territories as a whole? Those are the two considerations which I like this House to consider.

Secondly, there is the question of nation building. It has been pointed out to us many a time by none other than the Director of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka that "*Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa*" or "Language is the Spirit of the Nation", and what is the position with regard to language? If we look at the report, it is quite clear that as far as the national language is concerned, Malay is the national language of the country, but in the Borneo territories there are certain reservations. On the question of education, the same thing applies. There shall be a Federal authority on education, but as far as the Borneo territories are concerned they have certain reservations. I do not know what is going to happen as far as Singapore is concerned. I also do not know what is going to happen as far as Brunei is concerned, because the matters are still under negotiation. But the point here is this: where will this divergence of policy lead us to? If the Borneo territories are entitled to have special rights with regard to such powers, it will lead to other existing States in the Federation of Malaya asking for similar privileges. It may well happen that the State of Penang may demand that they should have autonomy in education. Penang may also demand that they should have control over immigration and other similar things. I am afraid that once we have a Malaysian Federation based not on the principle of equality for all but on the principle of privileges for certain groups, it will ultimately lead to division rather than unity, and this is the point which we all must ponder. If the people in the new Malaysian territories cannot agree on measures which are of fundamental importance to this country, then how do you expect them to work in unison for the betterment of the Federation as a whole? As I can see it, there will be

continuous conflict and financial difficulties and before we know it I think the whole Federation may go to pieces. As I see it, the way the matter is being rushed, i.e. proclamation of Malaysia on August 31st without any plans of tackling all these very important issues, without any plans to tackle the financial difficulties, without any plans to co-ordinate the activities of the various matters pertaining to education, language and other matters, I am afraid that August 31st will not only see the beginning of Malaysia but it will also see the beginning of the end of Malaysia. I feel, Sir, that the Government must admit that as far as Malaysia is concerned, it has been conceived prematurely and it has been forced on the people of the Borneo territories. As members of this House are aware, there are no elected representatives of the Borneo territories or of Brunei who have agreed to have Malaysia. The people who have agreed are nominated representatives; they were nominated because the Government in power—the Colonial Government—in those territories feel that these are the boys who can carry out the wishes of the colonial administration—and surely we cannot take them as being the voice of the people in those territories! As far as Brunei is concerned, it is a wellknown fact that the most powerful elected political party in that country has revolted openly against Malaysia. Those are the facts which we are facing and yet today we have still nothing, no plans at all, as to how we are going to solve this particular problem. Every now and then we hear utterances from Ministers concerned in very strong terms that Malaysia will come and Malaysia must come into being by August 31st. But how are we going to carry out the various agreements as put forward here in this particular book without bringing chaos and conflicts in the Malaysian territories? These are problems, I regret to note, which have not been explained in the Gracious Speech of His Majesty, and it is my earnest hope that the Minister concerned in the course of this debate will give clarification as to how he can hope to establish an independent and free nation with ideas that will

give rise to conflict and misunderstanding. One would expect that a newly emergent nation, like the new Federation of Malaysia, should agree at least on basic principles. One would expect that the whole concept must be based on mutual trust. One must not feel that by coming into a Federation we may be out-voted by people in the other territories. We must come in with the belief that as a united nation we should abide by whatever decision that is arrived at by the majority. If the education policy of the Federation of Malaya is unacceptable to the people in the Borneo territories, then it is only correct, if the present Government of the Federation of Malaya is really keen to establish a new Malaysian nation, to seek a compromise so that we will have an educational system that will be acceptable to all in the new Malaysian territories. If the question of language is giving cause for apprehension, then it is only right that if we are sincere in wanting to have a nation we must negotiate and reach a compromise. But whatever compromise we arrive at must be applicable to every territory, to every State in the new Malaysian nation. It is only with such a concept of equality, it is only with such a concept of non-discrimination, that we can ever hope to establish a nation worthy of its name. It is my sincere hope that the Government in the light of debate in this House will give serious consideration to all these points. With that, Sir, I would like to turn now to problems which are nearer home.

In the course of the last few weeks we have read in newspapers of utterances made by the Rulers of two States with regard to their dissatisfaction over the manner in which the Governments of the two States are being run. Though we agree that the Rulers of the States are constitutional monarchs and as such should not extend their activity to the field of politics, however, we feel that something must be radically wrong—something must be very wrong—with the activities of these two State Governments, so much so that it has prompted the Rulers of those two States to make

statements which constitutionally they should not have made. So, Sir, on this issue we must look to the causes. It must be sufficiently serious, and it must be so serious to the extent that even a constitutional head had to force himself to make a statement. And here, Sir, as far as the latest statement is concerned, there must be something inherently wrong as far as the question of land allocation is concerned in the Federal Capital, because it is stated in a newspaper report that when two earlier purchasers who are V.I.P's—I do not know who they are, apparently they must be very strong members of the Alliance—purchased land in that particular area, no conditions were laid down as far as their purchases are concerned, whereas in this third one, by the Ruler, certain conditions were laid down. I am afraid, Sir, that if those facts are true, then something must be wrong with the administration of land in the State of Selangor.

Mr Speaker: I have already said just now that land is a State matter. It is not a Federal matter at all. So, whatever may be the difference between the Ruler and the State, it has nothing to do with this House.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Mr Speaker, Sir, I am referring to it not so much in that this House is asked to take steps to remedy such defects, but I am merely pointing this out as a means of demonstrating the very serious state of affairs that is existing in this country.

On land matters, too, Sir, quite some time ago—I think it was during the time when the former Menteri Besar, Perak, resigned and took up position as Ambassador in the Middle East—the question of allocation of mining land was raised in this House and at that time the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister gave an assurance to the Member for Ipoh that he would set up a Committee of Inquiry to inquire into this particular matter. I think more than a year now has elapsed and we have no knowledge of the committee being set up, not to say a report. So here, Sir, though land is

a State matter, it would be the responsibility of this Parliament if there is irregularity in land allocation for this House to be concerned, and it is quite legitimate that this House can set up a Committee of Inquiry if it is of the opinion that there is maladministration, that there is malpractice in such matters. And on this, Sir, I would like to tell the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister that it was about time he made a report to this House with regard to the progress in the establishment of this committee; and perhaps he can see fit to establish another committee to look into the matter of land allocation in the State of Selangor.

Coming now, Sir, to the third point which ties up very closely with the question of Malaysia and on this, Sir, I refer to the recent clash of opinions between the Singapore Government and the Alliance Government with regard to certain financial terms in the merger agreement. In the course of this controversy a very serious allegation was made with regard to the White Paper, which was the subject of a referendum in Singapore, and the Secretary of the Alliance had the audacity to say that the White Paper was conceived out of trickery. If the Secretary of the Alliance has full knowledge of such malpractices, surely it is his duty to inform the Alliance Government about it; and if the Alliance Government is aware of all this, then we must say that the Alliance Government is equally responsible for it. On this matter, Sir, I feel that the Government must tell us in this House the exact position. Is the Secretary of the Alliance telling an untruth when he made that statement, or if he is not telling an untruth, then is the Alliance Government conniving with the so-called allegations made with regard to that document? This, I hope, Sir, the Minister concerned will in the course of this debate clarify to the House so that the people of this country can know the truth.

In the course of the debate this morning we have heard the Honourable Member for Kuala Langat spoke on quite a number of subjects, and he did make very serious allegations of

malpractices, serious allegations of corruption. It is indeed serious, because I feel, Sir, that a government worthy of its name, worthy of its responsibility, should stand up to deny those charges. The Member obviously must have good reasons for making such a statement. He must have all the facts, otherwise he would not have made such a statement. I wonder if the Alliance Government is game to throw in a challenge for such allegations to be substantiated. Since no challenge is being thrown, perhaps it can be taken as an expression of silent admission. These are matters with which the whole country is very concerned. We have heard many allegations being made, but none is as serious as this, and it is my earnest hope that the Alliance Government will rise up to the occasion or tender its resignation. There is no other alternative.

Tuan Syed Ja'afar bin Hasan Albar (Johor Tenggara):

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka mengambil bahagian dalam perbahathan ucapan titah di-Raja ini. Saya ingin menegaskan ia-itu walau bagaimana pun Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok mengatakan bahawa ucapan ini cholek di-sana dan cholek di-sini, namun demikian pada pandangan saya sendiri ada-lah ucapan dan titah di-Raja ini merupakan bagaimana yang dikatakan dalam bahasa Arab (ma-Qulha Wa-dubla) ia-itu pendek tetapi padat. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok telah beria² benar hendak menunjukkan kepinchangan dan ke-tempangan serta kekurangan yang ada dalam ucapan titah di-Raja itu. Tetapi pada pehak kami di-sini sa-telah menilek dan menyemak ucapan itu serta dengan hujongan-nya, kita dapati bahawa segala apa yang perlu dikatakan atau di-sebutkan telah ada di-kandongkan dalam ucapan itu.

Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin berbalek kepada ucapan Yang Berhormat Ahli dari Kuala Langat. Saya nyaris² tidak perchaya dunia ini maseh dunia lagi (*Ketawa*) apakala saya dengar Ahli Yang Berhormat itu membacha ucapan-nya yang terkandung di-dalam-nya ayat² dan perkataan² yang di-pinjam daripada ayat²

dan perkataan² yang biasa di-gunakan oleh puak² komunis saperti compradore dan sa-bagai-nya. Apa yang menjadikan saya hairan dan ta'ajub mendengarnya ia-lah pada hari ini Ahli Yang Berhormat itu baharu sedar keburokan dan kepinchangan dasar² Kerajaan Perikatan. Ahli Yang Berhormat itu telah berada sa-bagai Menteri yang bertanggung-jawab dalam Kerajaan Perikatan sa-lama lapan tahun, tetapi baharu hari ini dia sedar bahawa dasar yang di-dukong-nya sa-lama lapan tahun itu rupa²-nya di-kutok-nya pada hari ini. Sa-patut-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat itu berasa malu hendak menyebutkan-nya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu sa-patut-nya dia berada di-sabelah pehak sini tetapi kerana telatah-nya dia telah di-pechat dan di-buang dari pehak kita di-sini (*Tepok*). Kalau benar² dia sa-orang yang ikhlas dan jujur maka sa-telah dia mengetahui bahawa dasar Perikatan dan ranchangan² yang di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan itu tidak mendatangkan sa-barang keuntungan dan faedah kepada ra'ayat dia sa-patut-nya siang² lagi atau awal² lagi meletakkan jawatan-nya dan mengemukakan usul untuk menentang Kerajaan yang ada pada hari ini, tetapi dia tidak berbuat demikian malah apakala sudah kena pechat dan telah keluar baharu-lah dia mengatakan buah anggor ini masam. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya teringat cherita kera yang apabila dia tidak dapat buah anggor dia katakan buah anggor itu masam. Sa-patut-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat sa-belum dia datang ka-dalam Dewan ini membachakan ucapan-nya yang entah siapa yang menuliskan-nya untuk di-bachakan di-sini sa-patut-nya dia ratapkan diri-nya di-rumah dan tengok betul² diri-nya dalam chermin kerana dia telah membohongkan diri-nya sendiri sa-lama lapan tahun itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat masuk ka-dalam Dewan ini dengan melalui manifesto Perikatan dan dia duduk dalam Dewan ini dengan kekuatan manifesto Perikatan yang Kerajaan pada hari ini sedang bertungkus lumus menjalankan segala isi kandungan manifesto yang kita kemukakan kepada ra'ayat dalam

pilehan raya pada tahun 1959 itu. Kira-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tahu menghormat dan menghargakan dirinya, sudah sa-patut dan sa-wajib-nyalah bagi Ahli Yang Berhormat itu berhenti dan meletakkan jawatan-nya daripada Dewan ini, dan membuat manifesto baharu supaya dapat Ahli Yang Berhormat itu bertanding sekarang dan ra'ayat akan dapat menghakimkan-nya. Tetapi sa-telah di-tunda dan di-hantar masuk ka-Dewan ini oleh manifesto Perikatan maka pada hari ini, dia memburokan dasar Kerajaan. Sa-benar-nya ucapan yang di-bacha-nya dalam Dewan ini pada pagi tadi sa-olah² dia menempeling mukanya sendiri, dan bukan Kerajaan yang ada hari ini, tetapi siapa tahu barangkali dia telah di-minta untuk membachakan ucapan-nya itu.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat itu telah menyebutkan cerita sa-orang yang di-bawa-nya bersama² dengan Yang Berhormat Menteri Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama hari ini, ia-itu sa-orang pakar untuk membuat dan menyediakan ranchangan² dan planning bagi ekonomi negeri ini. Kalau benar² Ahli Yang Berhormat itu jujur, maka sa-telah di-dapati orang yang di-pertohankan, atau yang di-puja²-nya itu tidak dapat menghasilkan hasrat dan kehendak hati-nya, maka pada masa itu sudah sa-wajib-nyalah Ahli Yang Berhormat itu keluar pada hari itu juga dan tidak perlu dia duduk menunggu lagi dalam sa-buah Kerajaan yang pada fikiran-nya telah di-kuasa² oleh penjajah, atau di-kuasa² oleh capitalist, atau comprador, mengikut kata-nya tadi. Tetapi dia duduk juga; rupa²-nya dia kesedapan dengan bilek sejok-nya dan motor car-nya yang panjang itu. Sa-telah kehilangan semua-nya itu, dia menangis pula, dan bagi kita, kita tidak akan kesahan ayer mata buaya yang di-chuchurkan-nya itu.

Enche' Tan Phock Kin: Sir, on a point of order, Standing Order 36 (4) which says:

It shall be out of order to use offensive and insulting language about members of the House.

I am afraid the Honourable Member is using insulting language (*Laughter*).

Mr Speaker: Order! Order! So far he has not used insulting language except one word, which I don't like, and it is "Di-pertohankan". Kalimah itu jangan di-gunakan lagi. Saya mengingatkan kepada tuan, kalau "Di-pertuankan" boleh; jangan chakap "Di-pertohankan".

Tuan Syed Ja'afar: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat ada membuat tuduhan yang serious ia-itu dengan menudoh Kerajaan ini makan suap (corruption). Tuduhan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, adalah sangat berat dan saya suka, kalau Ahli Yang Berhormat itu ada di-sini supaya menerangkan kepada Dewan ini ia-itu dengan apa chara dan apa jalan Ahli Yang Berhormat yang pada satu masa dahulu pergi ka-Jepun berthabit dengan baja urea, dan siapa tanggung perbelanjaan-nya pada masa dia pergi ka-Jepun? Tuduhan makan suap (corruption) ada-lah satu tuduhan yang amat berat, dan saya fikir sa-saorang yang tahu menghormati dan menghargakan diri-nya tidak akan dudok begitu lama dengan sa-buah Kerajaan yang di-anggap-nya makan suap (corruption). Di-sini nampak-nya dia bukan menempelak orang lain apakala dia mengatakan yang Kerajaan ini makan suap (corruption), tetapi pada anggapan saya, bahawa Ahli Yang Berhormat itu telah menempelak diri-nya sendiri. Malang-nya, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tidak ada di-sini untuk memberikan penjelasan berkenaan dengan tuduhan yang di-bawa-nya itu. Tuduhan itu telah di-gunakan dengan begitu lichin oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Tanjong yang menchabar Kerajaan supaya memberikan kenyataan dan penjelasan di-atas soal ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berhubung dengan jawapan dari pehak Kerajaan, saya perchaya bahawa Yang Berhormat Menteri² Kerajaan akan memberi jawapan yang tepat, tetapi untuk pengetahuan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Tanjong yang memuja Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat itu bahawa kalau perkara ini benar, dan kalau Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat ada mempunyai hujah², atau alasan² dan bukti yang nyata untuk menthabitkan makan suap (corruption),

maka dia boleh menjadikan perkara ini satu issue, dan kita tidak gentar menghadapi kenyataan-nya itu, kerana kita percaya bahawa kita berdiri di-sabelah pehak yang benar.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Tanjong telah berucap dengan panjang serta mengulas ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok di-atas masaalah champor tangan orang² Melayu dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan. Ahli Yang Berhormat itu dengan bijak-nya telah menolak mentah² apa yang di-tuntut dengan begitu keras oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok, dan beliau telah chuba menggambarkan kepada Dewan ini dengan menggunakan Ungku Aziz dan risalah-nya mengatakan bahawa kalau orang² Melayu hendak maju, maka orang² Melayu hanya boleh maju dalam lapangan pertanian dan perikanan. Ini-lah yang dia tegaskan dalam ucapan-nya tadi. Dengan chara halus beliau telah menolak apa yang di-sebutkan dengan begitu keras oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok dalam ucapan-nya pada sa-belah pagi tadi. Di-sini saya boleh mengambil kesimpulan bahawa Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Tanjong dan parti-nya itu hanya berkehendakan orang² Melayu maju dalam lapangan pertanian dan perikanan, dan untuk hendak menguatkan pendirian dan hujah-nya beliau telah menggunakan Ungku Aziz dalam risalah-nya yang sudah lapok itu. Jadi, biar-lah seluroh umat Melayu dalam negeri ini mengetahui bahawa Socialist Front tidak hendak melihat orang² Melayu maju dalam lapangan perniagaan, melainkan dalam lapangan pertanian dan perikanan sahaja, dan juga tidak ingin melihat orang² Melayu mengambil bahagian dalam lapangan iktisad dan perusahaan sa-bagaimana yang sedang di-chuba oleh Kerajaan Perikatan pada hari ini dengan chara perlahan² bagi membuka pintu kepada orang² Melayu untuk mencheborkan diri dalam lapangan perusahaan dan perdagangan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berbalek kapada ucapan Yang Berhormat dari Bachok, dia telah menegor Kerajaan ini kerana terlampau banyak berhutang. Yang Berhormat dari Bachok menga-

takan di-dalam ucapan-nya itu bahawa dengan sebab berhutang itu, maka mutu dan kemerdekaan Tanah Melayu ini telah di-pandang kurang dan rendah di-luar negeri. Berhubung dengan soal hutang ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, barangkali tidak ada sa-buah negeri pun, khas-nya negara yang baharu merdeka sa-lepas perang tidak ada berhutang kapada negeri² yang lain. Dan kita tidak nampak negeri² yang lebeh besar daripada Tanah Melayu ini berhutang kapada negara lain itu kurang dan jatuh mutu dan harga kemerdekaan-nya oleh kerana berhutang itu. Soal hutang piutang memang telah menjadi kebiasaan dalam dunia dari semenjak dunia ini ada.

Berhubung dengan ucapan yang Berhormat dari Bungsar, saya dapat menangkap daripada ucapan-nya berkenaan dengan perhubungan kita dengan Indonesia. Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar itu marah kapada Kerajaan yang ada pada hari ini oleh kerana Malaysia telah menyebabkan kemarahan Indonesia. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat itu telah beria² benar membela dan mempertahankan Indonesia dalam Dewan ini, dan saya tidak fikir Yang Berhormat itu telah di-wakilkkan oleh sa-siapa daripada Indonesia untuk membela dan mempertahankan dasar luar Indonesia dalam Dewan ini.

Berchapak berkenaan dengan soal perhubungan luar negeri ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada satu dua perkara yang saya ingin hendak sebutkan tentang soal Malaysia ini. Yang pertama ia-lah Malaysia ini nampak-nya walau bagaimana pun pehak² Pembangkang behempas-pulas chuba hendak menggagalkan-nya, tetapi Malaysia Insha-Allah, dengan izin Tuhan akan dapat di-lahirkan pada 31 haribulan August. Tetapi yang saya berasa sangat kesal ia-lah kejadian yang baharu² ini berlaku yang di-timbulkan oleh Perdana Menteri Singapura, Mr Lee Kuan Yew. Dalam kenyataan²-nya Perdana Menteri Singapura nampak-nya pada pandangan saya chuba hendak menimbulkan perpechahan di-kalangan parti² yang menyokong Malaysia. Dalam masa parti² Pembangkang yang menentang Malaysia sedang berkumpul

dan bersatu untuk menggagalkan Rancangan Malaysia, kita dapati Perdana Menteri Singapura dengan kenyataan²-nya yang gopoh itu chuba hendak memecah-belahkan perpaduan di kalangan parti² yang menyokong Malaysia, dan ini satu perkara yang sangat² kita kesalkan dan sangat² kita dukachitakan, dan kita berharap Perdana Menteri Singapura itu supaya lebeh banyak diam daripada lebeh banyak berchakap, kerana chakap²-nya boleh memberi senjata kepada lawan dan musuh² yang hendak membinasakan dan hendak menjahanamkan gagasan dan rancangan Malaysia itu.

Berhubung dengan Malaysia ini juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya teringat kepada satu renchana yang di-siarkan dalam *Utusan Zaman* kelmarin, ia-itu satu renchana yang penoh menceritakan activity atau pun usaha² yang sedang di-jalankan oleh Duta Besar Indonesia di-Kuala Lumpur ini. Jadi, di-sini saya ingin hendak menarek perhatian Kerajaan kepada renchana yang di-siarkan dalam *Utusan Zaman* itu supaya perkara² yang di-sebutkan dalam renchana itu di-ambil perhatian yang berat oleh Kerajaan, dan jika perlu di-jalankan langkah² dan tindakan yang menasabah untuk merentikan perkara itu di-tempat-nya supaya jangan sampai dia berlanjutan yang tidak akan mendatangkan sa-barang kebaikan dan kebajikan kepada dua belah pihak. Di-sini saya mengingatkan Kerajaan dengan kuat dan keras supaya memerhatikan apa yang di-tulis dalam *Utusan Zaman* itu, dan mengambil langkah yang sa-wajar-nya.

Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh, sa-bagai mana biasa, telah berulang² menyentuh soal berkenaan dengan multi-lingualism dan sa-bagai-nya. Tetapi sa-perkara besar yang di-bawa-nya dalam ucapan-nya kelmarin ia-lah tuntutan dan desakan-nya supaya di-putuskan perhubungan atau di-batalkan Perjanjian Persahabatan di-antara Indonesia dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan sebab konon kata-nya Kerajaan Indonesia telah mencerobohi penduduk orang China yang ada dalam Indonesia itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya memang berasa ragu² atas sikap kaseh sayang yang pura² yang di-tun-

jokkan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh kepada orang China ini. Yang sa-benar-nya, pada pandangan saya yang dia berkehendakkan multi-lingualism dan juga memutuskan persahabatan dengan Indonesia kerana hendak menunjukkan kaseh sayang-nya kepada orang China itu dia bukan kasehkan orang China, tetapi sa-mata² dia gunakan perkara ini sa-bagai alat politik-nya untuk mendapat pengundi² orang China yang ada dalam kawasan pilihan raya-nya. Tetapi sa-kali lagi saya ulang mengatakan kepada Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh itu ia-itu walau bagaimana pun usaha-nya memainkan sentimen² perkauman orang China ini maka satu hari yang tidak jauh kahadapan orang² China yang ada dalam Ipoh akan sedar bahawa mereka itu telah di-perdayakan oleh wakil mereka itu, dan mereka itu pada masa yang akan datang tidak akan memberi undi dan keperchayaan kepada beliau lagi, kerana mereka ketahui bahawa apa yang di-buat-nya pada hari ini bukanlah kerana sayang kepada orang China, tetapi dia sa-mata² hendak mempurandakan orang² China dengan orang² Melayu yang ada dalam negeri ini.

Satu lagi argument yang tidak berm'ana langsung yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh ia-itu dia marahkan Kaum Ibu UMNO, Seberang Prai, yang menarek perhatian Kerajaan supaya mengetatkan Undang² Immigration terhadap orang² India yang datang menyerbu ka-mari merampas kerja daripada orang² dalam negeri ini. Marah benar Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh dengan keputusan Kaum Ibu UMNO itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal Undang² Immigration ini memang telah ada polisi-nya yang tidak membenarkan orang luar negeri datang dengan banyak ka-dalam negeri ini, sama ada dari India atau dari lain tempat pun dari luar negeri. Polisi ini patut di- ketahui oleh sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat saperti Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh itu. Jika memarahkan Kaum Ibu UMNO mengambil keputusan dan menarek perhatian Kerajaan supaya menjalankan polisi itu, barangkali itu satu perbuatan yang tidak adil daripada sa-orang Ahli Yang Berhormat yang sa-patut-nya

mengetahui Undang² yang ada dalam Negeri ini.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun untuk membangkang dengan sa-keras²-nya pindaan usul daripada wakil Bachok. Pada pendapat saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pindaan ini ia-lah mempunyai satu niat yang tidak baik nampak-nya dan ia bertujuan melaga²-kan negara kita Persekutuan dengan sa-buah negara yang berdaulat ia-itu negara Thai dan sebab itu-lah di-tuntut supaya kita konon-nya membela nasib orang² di-wilayah² di-selatan negara Thai itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berasa sangat kesal di-atas sikap wakil Bachok itu yang tidak mengerti di-atas hal kedaulatan sa-buah negara mengikut sempadan bagi kawasan dalam negara itu yang mana pehak negara yang lain tidak patut mengambil bahagian menuntut atau pun membantah di-atas perkara itu. Jadi, saya harap-lah Yang Berhormat itu beramati-lah di-atas perkara itu kerana negara Thai ada-lah bersahabat baik dengan kita. Yang saya dapat tahu bahawa pehak pemimpin² PAS ada masuk menyeludup di-sana sini sa-hingga pemimpin agong-nya sendiri tidak boleh masuk sekarang. Ini-lah kerja² yang di-buat oleh pehak pemimpin² PAS merosakkan kebaikan dan persahabatan kita dengan negara Thai.

Yang kedua, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, wakil itu menyatakan kedukachitaannya mengenai bahagian orang Melayu di-dalam perusahaan dan perniagaan. Ini pun ada-lah satu tindakan yang mempunyai niat yang tidak baik kerana hendak memperkecil²kan kerja² dan usaha² Kerajaan untuk memberikan peluang kepada orang Melayu. Pada pendapat saya harus Yang Berhormat wakil dari Bachok tidak meneliti dengan halus-nya kerja² dan usaha² yang telah di-jalankan terhadap orang² Melayu di-dalam bahagian perusahaan dan perdagangan. Jadi, memang-lah kita telah mendengar pengishti-haran Perdana Menteri dahulu bahawa sa-buah Jawatan-Kuasa telah di-lantek dan laporan-nya telah di-keluarkan dan penyata itu telah juga di-laksanakan dengan mengadakan Jawatan-Kuasa bagi peringkat pusat dan

peringkat negeri untuk menolong dan membantu menasihatkan orang² Melayu dalam hal-ehwal perusahaan dan perdagangan. Saya berasa puas hati di-atas terbentuk-nya Jawatan-Kuasa itu, sungguh pun begitu saya tidak dapat-lah tahu sa-takat mana akan di-jalankan kerana baharu sahaja di-bentuk dan saya berharap akan dapat sambutan yang baik daripada orang² Melayu khas-nya, mudah²an ada perubahan yang besar tidak berapa lama lagi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berhubung dengan titah di-Raja saya ingin menarik perhatian Ahli² Yang Berhormat di-dalam Dewan ini yang mana Duli Yang Maha Mulia bertitah yang berbunyi:

"Beta berharap dan berdo'a supaya kita tidak akan mensia²kan ne'mat yang telah di-anugerahkan-nya kepada kita, dan dengan yang demikian akan bertambah²-lah kuat iman dan keyakinan kita pada masa hadapan".

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah titah itu sangat sa-suai kerana sangat-lah molek kita terima kerana kita perchaya sa-barang makhlok di-dalam dunia ini yang menapikan ne'mat Tuhan maka kapada-nya akan mendapat balasan bala dan kapada negara² yang menapikan ne'mat Tuhan maka bermacham² kachau bilau yang terjadi dalam negara itu tidak aman dan di-timpa oleh mala petaka yang besar, ada ribut dan taupan ada letupan gunung² berapi dan bermacham² kita dengar dalam sedikit masa yang lalu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita orang yang perchaya kapada Tuhan maka patut-lah kita bershukor dengan ka-hadzat Tuhan yang memberi ne'mat yang banyak kapada kita, semenjak kita merdeka sa-bagai sa-buah negara yang adil dan ma'amor. Bagi pehak pembangkang memang-lah kerja-nya untuk membangkang menapikan segala kejayaan² yang telah di-buat oleh Kerajaan, itu tidak-lah kita hiraukan, sangat dan untuk mengetahui hakikat yang sa-benar-nya bahawa negara kita sa-bagai sa-buah negara yang berkemajuan patut-lah kita dengar chakapan² atau pun berita² daripada orang² yang melawat di-negara kita ini. Tiap² kali kita membaca surat khabar sentiasa kita

mendapat kepujian² daripada orang² luar negeri yang datang melawat ka-tanah ayer kita ini. Pehak Kerajaan sa-bagaimana yang di-katakan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara tadi ada-lah berpanduan di-atas Manifesto yang kita telah berjanji kepada ra'ayat dan kalau-lah kita gunakan mata dan telinga kita maka dapat-lah kita tahu ke-majuan yang berselerak di-Persekutuan ini sa-hingga banyak berlebeh daripada yang di-jangka. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-hingga hari ini kita telah dapati sa-barang rancangan mengenai ke-pentingan negara selalu-nya kita dapat tentangan yang hebat daripada pehak pembangkang.

Mithal-nya saya sebutkan di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mengenai per-kara dharurat, kita telah memperjuang-kan sa-lama 12 tahun tetapi pehak Pembangkang tidak pernah pun me-ngambil bahagian bukan sahaja hendak mengeluarkan wang atau hendak mem-beerikan tenaga untuk menghapuskan segala keganasan² komunis, malahan tidak menghiraukan.

Yang kedua mengenai keputusan Kerajaan untuk mengenangkan jasa² perwira ya'ani hendak membena sa-buah tugu peringatan itu pun tidak dapat sambutan dari pehak mereka.

Yang ketiga berkenaan dengan anjoran derma atau tabong kesela-matan demokrasi itu pun pehak Pem-bangkang tidak memberikan sambutan.

Dan akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mengenai konfrantasi Indonesia terhadap negeri ini, pehak Pembang-kang mendiamkan diri sahaja sa-hingga ada pula yang menjalankan kerja² untuk hendak menjatuhkan Kerajaan, ini-lah yang kita sangat dukachitakan. Sikap pehak Pembangkang ini sangat-lah membahayakan kepada kesela-matan negara kita ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin menarek per-hatian Kerajaan khas-nya kepada Yang Berhormat Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri supaya mengawasi sunggo² di-atas keselamatan negara ini yang kita semua sangat kaseh dan chinta kepada-nya. Kita akan mempertahankan dasar demokrasi yang kita alami

ini supaya jangan terjadi sa-bagaimana yang berlaku pada masa² yang lampau.

Saya ingin menarek perhatian ka-pada Ahli² Yang Berhormat ia-itu satu peristiwa dalam tahun 1937 ada satu gerakan yang di-namakan K.M.M. Gerakan ini ada-lah di-anjorkan oleh orang² dari seberang laut yang di-pelupori kebanyakan-nya terdiri dari-pada orang² Indonesia. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita juga tentu-lah faham di-atas perkara siasah dalam negara ini. Waktu peperangan Jepun, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kumpulan ini-lah yang telah menunjokkan jalan ia-itu sa-ramai 30,000 orang tentera Jepun dengan senang dan mudah dapat masuk dalam negeri kita dan mena'aloki negeri ini. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, peristiwa ini ada-lah satu perkara yang sangat kita takuti. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-lepas itu pada tahun 1945 bulan September saya dengar khabar Jepun telah pun mengaku kalah dan pada masa itu juga Ibrahim Haji Ya'akob mengadakan perjum-paan di-Taiping dan saya dapat tahu President Soekarno sendiri telah datang untuk menerima penyerahan Per-sekutuan Tanah Melayu kepada Indo-nesia tetapi pehak British telah pun menerima penyerahan diri dari pehak Jepun. Dari semenjak itu-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pehak Indonesia sangat menghendaki Malaya menjadi sa-bagai sa-buah wilayah Indonesia. Sa-lepas daripada itu orang² Indo-nesia telah di-hantar masuk ka-Tanah Melayu menjadi sa-bagai guru agama, menjadi sa-bagai ahli perniagaan bekerja siang dan malam untuk men-chapai chita² supaya Malaya ini men-jadi sa-bahagian wilayah Indonesia. Maka manakala K.M.M. telah di-haramkan timbul-lah pula satu party yang di-namakan P.K.M.M. yang di-pimpin pada mula-nya ia-lah Mokhtar Ruddin dan tujuan-nya ia-lah hendak memberontak dan menjalankan usaha membangkitkan semangat supaya menggulingkan Kerajaan pada masa itu tetapi malang-nya seluruh orang² Melayu tidak bersetuju dengan chara memberontak. Pada akhir-nya party ini hilang begitu sahaja. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara ini kita tidak boleh anggap sa-bagai perkara kecil kerana

saya tahu PAS ada-lah Persatuan Islam Malaya; mula² di-tubuhkan pada tahun 1952 dan pada masa itu tidak ada sa-orang pun pemimpin sekarang ini sa-bagai penganjur pertubuhan itu kerana saya tahu saya ada-lah sa-orang wakil bebas tetapi dengan tidak semena² timbul pemimpin² ini masuk dalam PAS dalam tahun 1958

Mr Speaker: Itu polisi.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak menceritakan sebab tidak semena²-nya Tuan Yang di-Pertua PAS yang dahulu tidak menjadi ahli sudah pun menjadi. . . .

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah (Kota Bharu Hilir): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Standing Order 36 (1) "Sa-saorang ahli hendak-lah menghadkan perchakapan-nya kepada perkara yang di-binchangkan sahaja . . ." Jadi, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Seberang Utara telah terkeluar daripada perbahathan ini.

Mr Speaker: Biasa-nya perbahathan ucapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia ini sangat-lah luas bahkan semua perkara yang ada di-atas dunia ini boleh di-chakapkan sa-kadar hendak-lah di-tumpukan kepada polisi sahaja. Kalau mencheritakan kesah orang ini masuk politik ini itu tidak kena mengena. Masa yang di-untokkan hanya-lah tiga hari sahaja dan tolong-lah tepatkan kepada polisi Kerajaan sahaja ini lebeh munasabah.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh kerana kita sangat kaseh kepada negara maka saya terpaksa mengingatkan pehak Kerajaan supaya mengawasi dan menjaga supaya jangan jadi seperti kata orang tua² 'pisang berbuah dua kali'. Buatlah persediaan bagi mengatasi apa² perkara yang akan berlaku pada masa hadapan khas-nya kuatkan semangat keganasan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagitu-lah sikap-nya pemimpin² yang ada dalam party² ini, mereka tidak lain dan tidak bukan hendak menggulingkan Kerajaan demokrasi dengan chara tipu muslihat, dengan chara ugama dan dengan jalan membawa masuk orang untuk hendak menggulingkan Kerajaan. Kalau-lah PAS berjaya

memenangi 52 buah kerusi dahulu dalam pilihan raya Majlis Undangan Federal, maka ta' tahu-lah kita apa akan jadi, tetapi malang-nya mereka ta' berjaya merebut kerusi² itu. Saya berharap kepada Kerajaan supaya mengambil berat di-atas perkara itu.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bachok telah mengatakan yang Kerajaan ini tidak pandai, tetapi kata orang tua² kalau hendak keritik, siapa pun boleh keritik, bak kata pepatah: orang bodoh senang di-ajar, tetapi orang pandai susah hendak di-ajar. Kerana, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-masa di-adakan pilihan raya dahulu PAS ini bukan main, berlagak dan membuat bermacam² janji kepada ra'ayat, tetapi saya tengok di-negeri Kelantan sampai hari ini ta' ada perubahan, kalau PAS hendak menunjukkan tauladan kepada kita, tunjukkan-lah kepada perkara yang baik supaya dapat kita ikut chontoh-nya, tetapi nampak-nya mereka ta' dapat berbuat apa² sa-kali pun, kechuali pandai membuat keritik sahaja.

Saya berasa dukachita di-atas ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Bungsar, kerana nampak-nya perkara ini sangat pelek. Pada meshuarat belanjawan dahulu beliau telah menyokong tentang penubuhan ranchangan Malaysia pada dasar-nya, tetapi perkara yang lain beliau tidak menyokong-nya. Pada hari kelmarin, saya dengar beliau tidak menyokong ranchangan Malaysia ini dan dia menentang dengan sa-kuat²-nya. Ini-lah yang kita berasa hairan, kerana pada satu masa dia sokong, dan pada satu masa lain pula dia bangkang dengan sa-penoh-nya. Apa-kah sikap pehak Socialist Front, saya pun tidak faham!

Saya ada dengar ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Seremban Timor yang telah mengeluarkan hujah untuk hendak mengelirukan ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu mengenai bahasa kebangsaan ia-itu hendak membangkitkan salah faham di-antara kaum di-Tanah Melayu ini dengan mengatakan bahawa Kerajaan sengaja tidak menghendakki penggunaan bahasa² lain sa-lain daripada bahasa Melayu. Saya ta' tahu-lah bagaimana pendapat Ahli Yang Berhormat itu

yang chuba hendak mengelirukan sebagaimana yang ada terchatet dalam Article 152 Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Saya tahu juga dalam bahasa Inggeris dan saya faham di-atas perkara ini. Di-sini dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan ada mengata-

The national language shall be the Malay language and shall be in such script as Parliament may by law provide:

Provided that—

- (a) no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning, any other language;

...

Kerajaan tidak menegah dan tidak menahan—

- (b) nothing in this clause shall prejudice the right of the Federal Government or of any State Government to preserve and sustain the use and study of the language of any other community in the Federation.

Kita tidak menegah, sa-balek-nya kita menggalakkan lagi ia-itu dengan mengadakan sekolah², memberi bantuan guru² dan lain² lagi; mana ada sa-buah negara dalam dunia ini yang sampai begitu murah hati-nya memberi galakan yang lebih sa-lain daripada menggalakkan penggunaan bahasa kebangsaan. Saya harap Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Seremban Timor faham apa yang saya chakapkan ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya juga ada mendengar ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat yang nampak-nya bukan main lagi berlagak untuk menjadi juara pehak pembangkang, tetapi malang-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tidak ada di-sini, dan saya dapat tahu beliau itu telah dipilih untuk menjadi juara pehak pembangkang. Malang-nya sa-waktu usul ucapan terima kaseh ini di-kemukakan dan telah mendapat sokongan, ketua pembangkang itu, kalau mengikut Parliamentary Practice sa-patut-nya beliau itu berchakap lebih dahulu, tetapi nampak-nya Ahli Yang Berhormat itu berchakap terkemudian daripada ahli² pembangkang. Ini satu perkara yang sangat pelek

Mr Speaker: Order! Yang saya tahu Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat itu belum di-lantek lagi men-

jadi ketua pehak pembangkang; tolong jangan di-tambahkan!

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid: Terima kaseh. Ini ada-lah ura² untuk hendak menubuhkan-nya, atau hendak melantek-nya.

Tuduhan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Langat itu sangat-lah menyakitkan hati Kerajaan, kerana beliau itu sengaja memburokkan Kerajaan yang beliau itu sendiri sa-orang daripada Menteri yang menjalankan kewajipannya untuk mempelupori dasar² Kerajaan. Sa-lama lapan tahun lebih beliau itu menjadi Menteri Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama, tetapi saya dapat tahu bahawa beberapa ranchangan yang di-buat oleh beliau itu telah gagal, satu daripada-nya yang saya tahu ia-lah ranchangan bagi nalayan² di-pantai timur yang menelan belanja berjuta² ringgit, tetapi tidak ada berkesan pun. Ranchangan Bertam Estate ia-itu di-tempat saya, ranchangan itu tidak selesai lagi kerana dasar-nya itu tidak sa-suai sa-hinggakan hari ini banyak di-antara orang² yang telah di-untokkan tanah di-sana telah tidak dapat di-selesaikan; saya tidak tahu bila-kah hal orang² itu dapat di-selesaikan, dan manakala Kementerian Pembangunan Luar Bandar memberitahu akan hal ini yang Kementerian ini hendak mengambil tanah itu balek untuk di-jadikan ranchangan F.L.D.A., beliau telah membangkang dengan sa-keras² ia-itu tidak bersetuju hendak di-jadikan ranchangan F.L.D.A. sa-hingga hari ini. Ada satu perkara lagi ia-itu berhubung dengan perusahaan menangkap ikan tuna, dan perkara ini pun saya dapat tahu bahawa wang Kerajaan telah di-belanjakan dengan berjuta² ringgit, tetapi tidak mendatangkan hasil. Jadi, kalau hendak memburokkan sa-suatu perkara itu samemang-nya senang sahaja, tetapi kata orang tua²: Ludah ka-langgit akhir-nya timpa ka-hidong-nya sendiri. Saya harap Ahli Yang Berhormat itu sedar akan perkara ini.

Pada akhir-nya, saya sa-bagai wakil dari kawasan saya sendiri menguchapkan sa-tinggi² terima kaseh kepada pehak Kerajaan yang telah membuat beberapa ranchangan yang berguna dan berfaedah dalam kawasan saya

sendiri ia-itu seperti mengadakan saloran tali ayer kapada pesawah² untok menanam padi dua kali setahun, begitu juga Kerajaan telah mengadakan bekalan api leterek, jalan² raya, sekolah² dan lain² lagi. Juga ada dua ranchangan yang besar yang akan di-laksanakan oleh Kerajaan ia-itu mengenai pelabohan dalam, dalam kawasan saya sendiri, perhentian keretapi dan tempat perusahaan. Saya harap dalam masa ta' berapa lama lagi ia-itu dalam masa 10 tahun, perubahan besar akan di-perolehi, begitu juga di-tempat² lain, tetapi sa-bagaimana yang di-katakan oleh pihak pembangkang ia-itu tidak ada perubahan, maka saya fikir itu ada-lah satu perbuatan yang sengaja hendak memburokkan dasar Kerajaan hari ini dari perkara yang sa-benar-nya.

Lagi satu perkara yang saya ingin hendak menarek perhatian Yang Berhormat Menteri Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama ia-lah mengenai mengekalkan usaha orang asal seperti petani² dan juga nelayan². Nampak-nya pada masa ini ada satu kemajuan yang baharu ia-itu mengenai pukut trawler. Saya harap Yang Berhormat Menteri Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama akan memberi bantuan kepada nelayan² itu untuk menerima sa-barang kemajuan supaya mereka itu juga akan dapat menekmati apa juga perubahan yang akan di-lakukan kapada mereka, kerana pada masa sekarang ini, saya mendapat tahu bahawa dengan adanya tractor, sa-saorang itu boleh mempunyai 20 ekar bendang dengan dudok di-rumah sahaja; juga dengan tractor sahaja dia akan boleh membuat usaha ladang²-nya dengan tidak menumpahkan titek peloh-nya, dan harus peladang² itu yang pada akhir-nya akan di-rampas segala hak milek mereka yang di-pusakai berzaman² itu, baik peladang mahu pun penangkap ikan, saya percaya dan saya berharap pada Kerajaan sa-patut-nya-lah mengambil perhatian yang berat dengan membuat satu ranchangan yang tegas untok mengawasi usaha² mereka yang lama itu. Sekian-lah sahaja, terima kaseh.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong di-atas pindaan yang telah

di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Bachok. Di-dalam pendirian saya ini bukan-lah saya akan berchakap di-atas perkara pindaan yang tersebut sahaja tetapi juga saya akan berchakap di-atas kandungan² Titah di-Raja 'am-nya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah Titah di-Raja yang ada di-hadapan kita ini ia-lah satu ucapan yang tidak menyebutkan langkah² yang konkerik yang Kerajaan akan menjalankan bagi tahun 1963 ini, lebeh² lagi tentang langkah² yang bersangkut-paut dengan kesusahan orang Melayu dengan tujuan hendak memperbaiki nasib orang Melayu kita sama ada dalam perkara pertanian, buroh, mahu pun dalam perkara iktisad atau ekonomi. Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara telah membidas Yang Berhormat dari Bachok dengan menyebut-kan satu pepatah Arab yang berbunyi "ma qalla wa dalla" atau (ما قل ودل) Yang Berhormat

Mr Speaker: Tolong terjemahkan dalam bahasa Melayu.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Ia-itu perkataan-nya sedikit tetapi ma'ana-nya chukup padat. Yang Berhormat itu tidak menyebutkan penggal atau permulaan pepatah itu, boleh jadi dia terlupa atau pun tidak mengetahui atau pun dengan sengaja di-tinggalkan. Permulaan pepatah itu berbunyi "khairul kalamima qalla wa dalla" erti-nya sa-baik² chakap ia-lah chakap yang sedikit tetapi mengandongi sakalian tujuan. Di-sini apabila kita tatap Titah di-Raja yang ada di-hadapan kita dapat-lah kita ketahui bahawa ada-lah Titah di-Raja ini ia-lah Titah yang sedikit tetapi tidak ada mengandongi di-dalam-nya tujuan² atau pun langkah² yang Kerajaan berchadang hendak mengambil atau pun hendak menjalankan dalam tahun ini. Ini-lah yang telah di-keritik oleh Yang Berhormat dari Bachok, tetapi sayangnya Yang Berhormat dari Johor Tenggara tidak faham di-atas tujuan yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat dari Bachok.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang biarlah saya berchakap dalam perkara buroh (labour). Pada tahun yang lalu saya pernah berchakap dalam Dewan yang mulia ini di-atas satu siaran dan

kenyataan yang telah di-buat oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Buroh. Adalah kenyataan itu ia-lah satu kenyataan yang menegah orang Melayu keluar daripada kampong² untuk mencari kerja di-bandar². Sunggoh pun jawapan-nya telah di-beri, tetapi perkara² dan kenyataan yang di-buat oleh Menteri Kerajaan Perikatan dapatlah menunjukkan kepada ra'ayat jelata bahawa orang Melayu kita tidak dapat betul peluang menjadi buroh walau pun buroh kasar. Tiga empat hari yang lalu ada tersiar dalam surat khabar *Utusan Melayu*: bahawa Dato' Sardon bin Haji Jubir sa-laku-nya . . .

Mr Speaker: Menteri Pengangkutan. Jangan sebut nama.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: . . . Menteri Pengangkutan sa-laku Ketua Pemuda UMNO Malaya telah melawat ka-Pulau Pinang, tetapi pemuda² UMNO di-sana telah memulaikan beliau untuk mengadakan satu barisan kehormatan.

The Minister of Transport (Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir): Tuan Pengurus, untuk penerangan sa-belum beliau itu memanjangkan ucapan-nya

Mr Speaker: "Tuan Pengerusi", itu siapa? (*Ketawa*).

Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir: Tuan Yang di-Pertua yang sa-benar-nya.

Mr Speaker: Dia hendak minta jalan—jangan berdiri dua orang sa-kali; bila sa-orang berdiri sa-orang dudok—dia minta jalan untuk beri keterangan, hendak benarkan?

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Saya tidak benarkan, kerana Menteri Yang Berhormat akan dapat peluang untuk menjawab-nya. Chuma 15 orang Pemuda UMNO Pulau Pinang yang tampil kahadapan untuk mengadakan barisan kehormatan, sebab kata mereka untuk berbaris sahaja Pemuda UMNO di-panggil dan di-jemput, tetapi meminta buroh kasar pun tidak di-beri peluang walau pun sudah lama di-minta. Saya hendak menyebutkan kejadian ini ia-itu tentang lapangan kapal terbang Bayan Lepas yang sedang di-bena sekarang ini dan beratus²

buroh kasar dan lain² sedang bekerja di-situ, tetapi Pemuda UMNO yang meminta kerja di-situ sa-bagai buroh kasar pun tidak di-beri peluang kepada mereka.

Baharu² ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang terhormat Penolong Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan telah membuat satu kenyataan dalam surat khabar bahawa hampir 60,000 buroh yang mendaftar nama sudah bertahun² lama-nya, 80 peratus daripada mereka itu terdiri daripada orang Melayu. Orang² ini telah mendaftar nama-nya di-merata² Pejabat Buroh dengan tujuan hendak mencari atau mendapat kerja. Daripada 60,000 orang yang mendaftarkan nama itu 48,000 daripada-nya terdiri daripada orang Melayu yang sekarang ini belum dapat kerja. Saya telah bertemu banyak pemuda² Melayu kita yang mengadu hal ia-itu mereka itu tidak dapat kerja walhal mereka selalu membaharui pendaftaran-nya di-Pejabat Buroh.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kelmarin saya telah dapat peluang melawat Port Dickson. Apabila saya tiba di-sana, maka banyak-lah orang² Melayu datang kepada saya mencheritakan satu keadaan yang pahit yang sedang dihidapi oleh orang Melayu di-sana, ia-itu Sharikat Menapis Minyak Shell di-sana dahulu telah berjanji hendak memberi kerja kasar kepada orang Melayu, terutama sa-kali kepada tuan² tanah yang menjual tanah-nya kepada sharikat itu. Pada masa ini tidak sampai 3 peratus buroh kasar yang terdiri daripada orang Melayu.

Di-dalam clerical staff chuma satu orang Melayu sahaja yang dapat kerja. Ada-lah kenyataan yang saya kemukakan di-Dewan yang mulia ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah satu kenyataan yang tidak boleh di-napikan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkenaan dengan perkara transport saya minta izin hendak membachakan *Utusan Melayu* 27.5.63.

Mr Speaker: Ada-kah panjang atau tidak?

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Pendek sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mengikut kenyataan itu yang berbunyi: Berkenaan dengan jalan² baharu di-buka

dan di-berikan lesen bas kepada bangsa China ini menimbulkan kemarahan Pemuda UMNO yang menunjukkan perasaan membantah yang di-anjorkan oleh Pemuda UMNO itu dan juga untuk mengadakan piket menyambut kedatangan Sardon.

Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak menerangkan sedikit.

Mr Speaker: Ada-kah awak suka hendak memberi jalan.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Saya tidak mahu beri (*Ketawa*). Kerana Yang Berhormat itu akan dapat peluang untuk menjawab-nya nanti.

Dato' Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir: Saya takut atas perkara yang ia keliru benar.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Jika saya keliru, *Utusan Melayu*-lah yang mengelirukan saya.

Mr Speaker: Tolong-lah jangan disampok². Proceed!

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Pergerakan Pemuda UMNO akan mengadakan tunjok perasaan sa-bagai membantah sikap Kementerian Pengangkutan yang telah membenarkan bas company China menjalankan perkhidmatan-nya di-jalan baharu. Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu kenyataan yang tidak dapat kita napikan bahawa Yang Berhormat Menteri yang tersebut telah mengechiwakan hak² orang Melayu di-dalam perkara perniagaan dan pengangkutan. Mengikut kedudukan istimewa bagi orang Melayu yang ada terchatit di-dalam Perlembagaan bahawa ini-lah satu daripada kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu yang telah di-berikan kepada bangsa asing, jadi berma'ana menurut kenyataan ini bahawa keistimewaan orang Melayu telah di-chabol. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, baharu² ini kita telah mendengar siaran dan kenyataan² yang bertalu² yang telah di-buat oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan meminta kepada kompeni² bas yang di-punyai oleh orang Melayu memberikan dengan kasehan belas-nya 10 peratus sher² . . .

Mr Speaker: Awak kata tadi orang Melayu atau orang China?

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Yang saya maksudkan Kompeni orang China. Nampak-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan itu chuma mempunyai kuat kuasa meminta kasehan belas bagi orang Melayu. Oleh sebab yang demikian tiba-lah masa-nya kepada orang Melayu faham bahawa Kerajaan Perikatan tidak ada mempunyai kuat kuasa untuk membela orang² Melayu di-dalam perkara transport.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang biarlah saya berchakap sedikit di-dalam trade atau perdagangan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang ini kita berada di-dalam peringkat Ranchangan Lima Tahun Yang Kedua dan kita belum nampak lagi satu kenyataan yang boleh di-kemukakan kepada ra'ayat di-atas langkah² yang telah di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan dengan jujur dan betul untuk hendak memperbaiki nasib bangsa Melayu di-dalam lapangan pengangkutan dan perdagangan. Kita tahu perdagangan berhajat kepada dua perkara, pertama capital atau modal, dan kedua experiences atau pengalaman. Dua perkara ini memang-lah tidak ada kepada orang Melayu. Apa-kah tindakan yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan Perikatan untuk mengadakan dua perkara ini kepada orang Melayu? Buat bangsa asing, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mengikut kenyataan yang di-buat oleh Menteri Kewangan tahun yang lalu bahawa lebeh enam ratus juta ringgit bank² di-dalam Tanah Melayu ini telah memberi capital kepada ahli² perdagangan bangsa asing. Tetapi kepada orang Melayu siapa-kah yang akan memberi-nya dan apa-kah sikap dan langkah Kerajaan telah buat untuk memberi capital kepada orang² Melayu kerana bank² itu semua-nya tidak memberi kepada orang Melayu.

RIDA tidak ada mempunyai wang untuk memberikan modal kepada orang² Melayu. Dengan tidak ada-nya langkah yang concrete untuk menolong perdagangan ini yang di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan supaya memberi pinjaman wang sa-bagai modal, bagaimana-kah

boleh di-harapkan bahawa orang Melayu dapat meningkat saimbang di-dalam perniagaan dengan bangsa² lain. Demikian juga belum ada lagi satu tanda yang boleh menunjukkan kepada kita bahawa Kerajaan Perikatan telah mendirikan satu rumah sekolah untuk mengajar orang² Melayu di-dalam lapangan perniagaan. Chuma yang ada ia-lah mengajar book-keeping—dan itu tidak memadai kalau hendak menolong orang Melayu kalau hendak menolong, tolong-lah betul² adakan persediaan yang chukup lengkap—jangan-lah menchuba me-

ngabuī mata ra'ayat. Saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam Rumah ini juga telah membangkitkan satu perkara ia-itu berkenaan perusahaan kain batek di-Kelantan. Perusahaan kain batek di-Kelantan telah dapat memberikan kerja² kepada lebeh kurang tiga puloh ribu orang di-dalam perusahaan kain batek itu.

Mr Speaker: Order! Order! The time is up. The House is adjourned to 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Adjourned at 6.30 p.m.