

Volume II
No. 9



Friday
30th September, 1960

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DEWAN NEGARA (SENATE)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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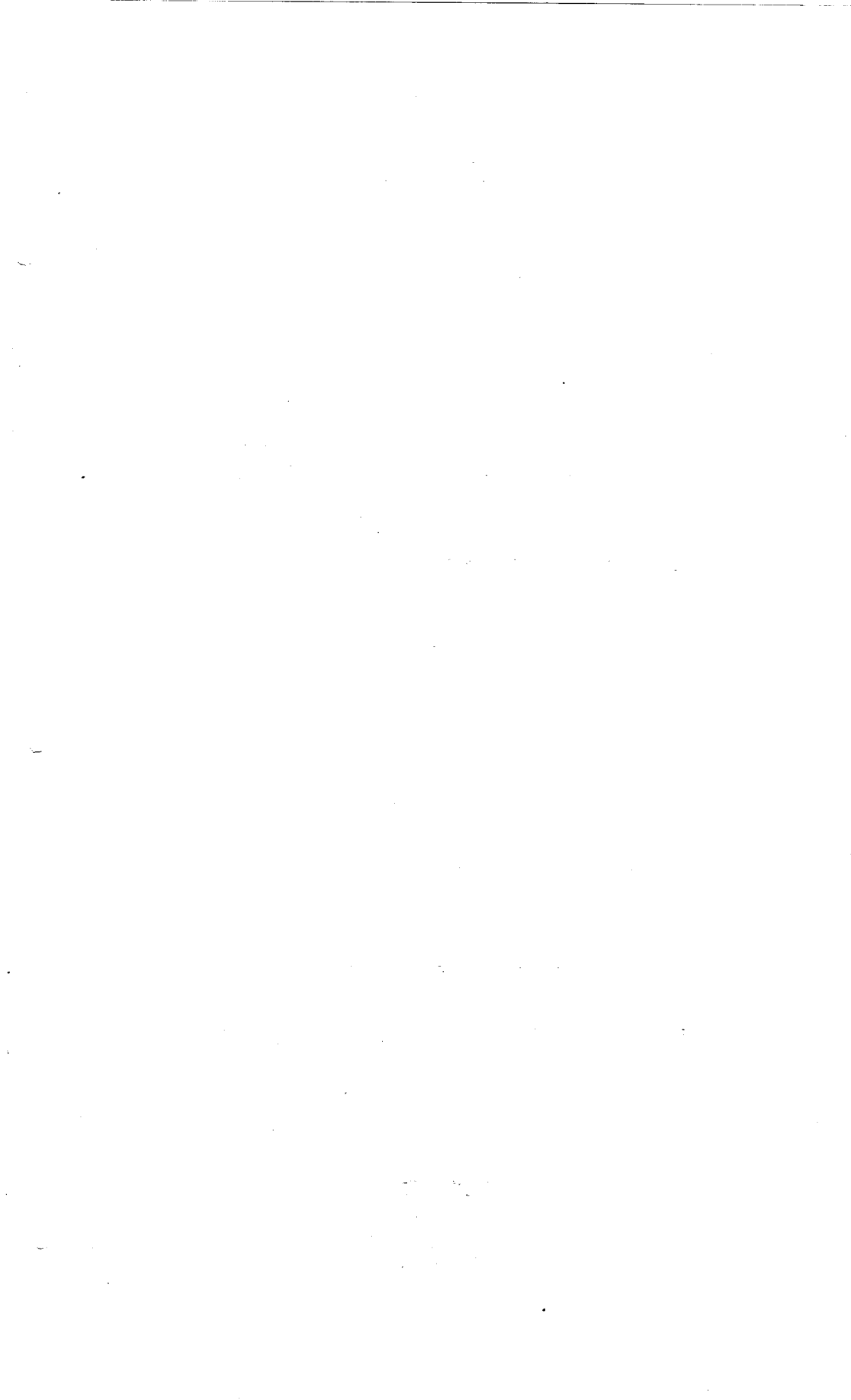
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FEDERATION OF MALAYA
DEWAN NEGARA (SENATE)
Official Report

Vol. II

Second Session of the First Dewan Negara

No. 9

Friday, 30th September, 1960

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

PRESENT:

- The Honourable Mr. President (DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN BIN MOHAMED YASIN, S.P.M.J., P.I.S., J.P.) (Johore).
- " the Minister of Justice (TUN LEONG YEW KOH, S.M.N.) (Appointed).
- " TUAN HAJI ABBAS BIN HAJI MOHAMED (Trengganu).
- " ENCHE' ABDUL HAMID BIN MAHMUD, J.M.N. (Appointed).
- " ENCHE' AHMAD BIN SAID, A.M.N. (Perak).
- " ENCHE' A. M. ABU BAKAR, J.M.N. (Appointed).
- " ENCHE' AMALUDDIN BIN DARUS (Kelantan).
- " ENCHE' CHAN KWONG HON, A.M.N., J.P. (Selangor).
- " ENCHE' CHEAH SENG KHIM, J.P. (Penang).
- " DATO' DR. CHEAH TOON LOK, J.M.N., J.P., DATO' MAHA KURNIA (Appointed).
- " ENCHE' CHOO KOK LEONG (Appointed).
- " ENCHE' J. E. S. CRAWFORD, J.M.N., J.P. (Appointed).
- " ENCHE' DA ABDUL JALIL BIN HAJI AWANG (Trengganu).
- " ENCHE' HASHIM BIN AWANG, J.P. (Penang).
- " DATO' LEE FOONG YEE, J.M.N., P.P.T., J.P. (Negri Sembilan).
- " ENCHE' LIM HEE HONG, A.M.N. (Appointed).
- " ENCHE' MOHD. SALLEH BIN MOHAMED ARIFF (Malacca).
- " ENSKU MUHSEIN BIN ABDUL KADIR, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Appointed).
- " ENCHE' ATHI NAHAPPAN (Appointed).
- " ENCHE' NIK HASSAN BIN HAJI NIK YAHYA, J.M.N. (Appointed).
- " TUAN HAJI NIK MOHD. ADEEB BIN HAJI NIK MOHAMED (Kelantan).
- " TOK PANGKU PANDAK HAMID BIN PUTEH JALI, P.J.K. (Appointed).
- " RAJA RASTAM SHAHROME BIN RAJA SAID TAUPHY (Selangor).
- " DATO' SHEIKH ABU BAKAR BIN YAHYA, D.P.M.J., P.I.S., J.P. (Johore).
- " DATO' G. SHELLEY, P.M.N., J.P. (Appointed).
- " TUAN SYED AHMAD BIN SYED MAHMUD SHAHABUDIN, J.M.N. (Kedah).

The Honourable ENCHE' T. H. TAN, J.M.N. (Appointed).

„ DATO' E. E. C. THURASINGHAM, D.P.M.J., J.P. (Appointed).

„ ENCHE' S. O. K. UBAIDULLA (Appointed).

„ ENCHE' WAN AHMAD BIN WAN DAUD, P.J.K., J.P. (Perlis).

„ DATO' WAN IBRAHIM BIN WAN TANJONG, J.M.N., P.J.K., Orang
Kaya Indera Maharaja Purba Jelai (Pahang).

„ ENCHE' YAP KHEN VAN, A.M.N., J.P. (Pahang).

ABSENT:

The Honourable ENCHE' ABDUL WAHAB BIN IDUS, P.J.K. (Negri Sembilan).

„ ENCHE' KOH KIM LENG (Malacca).

„ ENCHE' MOHD. ZAHIR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Kedah).

„ ENCHE' S. P. S. NATHAN (Appointed).

„ ENCHE' YEOH KIAN TEIK (Perak).

PRAYERS

(Mr. President *in the Chair*)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY

MR. PRESIDENT

REPLY FROM D.Y.M.M. TUNKU AMPUAN JEMA'AH BINTI RAJA AHMAD TO MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE

Mr. President: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, saya telah menerima satu perutusan daripada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Tunku Ampuan Jema'ah binti Raja Ahmad, demikian bunyi-nya:

“Warakatul-ikhlas daripada hati yang puteh berseih dan hening lagi jernih ia-itu daripada Beta Raja Jema'ah binti Raja Ahmad yang ada pada masa ini di-Istana Tetamu di-bandar Kuala Lumpur.

Mudah-mudahan barang di-wasalkan oleh rabbul 'alamin ka-majlis Yang Berhormat Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman bin Mohamed Yasin, S.P.M.J., P.I.S., Yang di-Pertua, Majlis Dewan Negara Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, dengan beberapa selamat dan kesejahteraan-nya.

Ahwal Beta ma'alumkan ada-lah warkah Dato' yang bertarikh pada 20 haribulan September, 1960 yang menyebarkan ucapan ta'ziah Majlis Dewan Negara atas kemangkatan Al-marhum Seri Paduka Baginda Sultan Hisamuddin 'Alam Shah serta sembah ingatan kaseh sayang majlis itu

kapada Al-marhum Seri Paduka Baginda itu telah selamat-lah Beta terima. Beta mengucapkan terima kaseh kapada Majlis Dewan Negara kerana timbang rasa dan ingatan ikhlas majlis itu dan juga beberapa tanda kaseh sayang dan hormat yang telah ditunjokkan oleh ra'ayat Seri Paduka Baginda Al-marhum itu sa-sungguh-nya telah menolong Beta dalam kesedehan Beta yang amat dalam itu.

Demikian-lah sahaja Beta ma'alumkan di-sudahi dengan salam dan ta'azim jua, ada-nya.

ADJOURNMENT TO A LATER DAY

The Minister of Justice (Tun Leong Yew Koh): Sir, I beg to move,

That at its rising this day the House do stand adjourned to Wednesday the 21st of December, 1960.

Enche' T. H. Tan: Mr. President, Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That at its rising this day the House do stand adjourned to Wednesday the 21st of December, 1960.

MOTIONS

ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG

Tun Leong Yew Koh: Mr. President, Sir, I have much pleasure in moving

the resolution which stands in my name.

His Majesty Tuanku Syed Putra brings to the throne of our Federation the same tradition we have respected and loved in the past. Our two late Sovereigns of happy memory were Rulers who knew and understood their people. The first had been a good administrator and a lawyer much above the average; the next had made his mark in the field of agriculture. Our new Sovereign, if I may be permitted so say so, brings with him a knowledge of commerce—that commerce by which as a young man he had to support himself and his family during the dark days of the Occupation. We are indeed fortunate in having had and having now so wide a variety of skills to guide us. His Majesty is endowed with both youth and health. He will be with us, God willing, for many years to come. Let his reign be a happy and joyous one; and let us all, each in his own way, contribute to that happiness. His Majesty and his charming Consort can rest assured of the affection of their people.

Sir, I beg to move,

That a Humble Address be presented to His Majesty Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Al-Marhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail, Yang di-Pertuan Agong—

To warmly congratulate His Majesty on his election to the office of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong;

To express to His Majesty the loyal devotion of this House and its fervent hope that by the grace of God, the Federation of Malaya will, during His Majesty's term of office, enjoy ever-increasing prosperity and enduring peace.

Enche' Wan Ahmad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun mengambil peluang menyokong usul ini dan berchakap sa-patah dua kerana Yang Maha Mulia Tuan Syed Putra ibni Al-Marhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail yang telah di-lantek menjadi Yang di-Pertuan Agong itu ia-lah Raja negeri tempat saya tinggal ia-itu Perlis. Sa-bagai ra'ayat negeri Perlis patut dan menasabah-lah rasa-nya saya menjadi penyokong yang pertama di-atas usul ini. Saya perchaya Duli Yang Maha Mulia itu tatkala menjawat jawatan Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Baginda akan menjalankan tugas-nya dengan memberi

puas hati kapada sakalian pehak, kerana semenjak Duli Yang Maha Mulia itu menjadi Raja Perlis, selama hampir² 20 tahun, negeri Perlis bertambah² aman dan mendapat kemajuan. Duli Yang Maha Mulia dan Permaisuri-nya amat-lah di-kasehi dan di-perchayai oleh sakalian ra'ayat. Budi bahasa dan pengetahuan Duli² Yang Maha Mulia itu semenjak berangkat balek daripada melawat negeri² di-Eropah dan Asia saperti England, France, Australia, Indonesia dan Brunei, pengalaman Duli² Yang Maha Mulia telah bertambah, dan apa² chontoh tauladan yang baik yang di-dapati daripada negeri² yang telah di-lawati itu di-sibarkan kapada ra'ayat-nya.

Saya perchaya pengalaman yang luas dan budi bahasa serta hati yang ikhlas Duli² Yang Maha Mulia itu akan kekal di-dalam jasad kedua² Baginda. Dan saya juga perchaya sa-bagaimana yang di-uchapkan oleh Yang Berhormat penchadang, seluroh Persekutuan Tanah Melayu akan bertambah aman dan ma'amor di-dalam pemerintah Duli² Yang Maha Mulia itu.

Dato' E. E. C. Thuraingham: Mr. President, Sir, on behalf of myself and the Ceylonese community, which I represent in the Senate, I wish to pay homage to His Majesty on his appointment as the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. He is not a secluded prince; he was not brought up in luxury; he walked the path of the common man; he worked with members of our Public Service; and he had travelled far and wide in foreign lands. I am sure, he will bring in his reign the sympathy, the understanding, which is so necessary for a Ruler in this country.

I pledge my loyalty and that of my countrymen to His Majesty and I humbly pray that he will rule over us for many years and bring this country the prosperity and peace which is so desired in this troubled world.

Dato' Dr. Cheah Toon Lok: Mr. President, Sir, I wish to endorse fully the sentiments expressed by the Honourable the Minister of Justice in his motion of congratulations to His Majesty Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Al-Marhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail on His Majesty's election to the high office

of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. It is our earnest hope that His Majesty will long reign over this country, over the destiny of our nation, and bring peace, prosperity, happiness and progress to the country.

I wish to assure His Majesty of the unswerving loyalty and steadfast allegiance of our people to him and to the country which we have made our home. We fully understand that the privilege of being a citizen of this country entails obligations and duties, and we declare that we will fully carry out those duties and responsibilities to the best of our ability.

May His Majesty and his Consort the Raja Permaisuri Agong long live to reign over this country.

Dato' G. Shelley: Mr. President, Sir, as a Member representing a Minority race, and having the honour of speaking for that community, I would like to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by previous speakers. We, the Eurasians, pledge our loyalty to our new Sovereign and we pray that his reign will be one of glory and peace.

Dato' Sheikh Abu Bakar bin Yahya: Yang Berhormat, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun di-sini juga mengucapkan tahniah dan menyokong segala lapadz² yang telah di-berikan oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat di-atas pelantikan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja Perlis, Raja Syed Putra ibni Al-marhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail, menjadi Yang di-Pertuan Agong Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Sa-sunggohnya, pilihan Raja² Tanah Melayu di-atas Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja Perlis itu, ia-lah satu pilihan yang chemerlang yang telah di-terima oleh seluroh ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan sukachita-nya yang berlebeh²an. Duli Yang Maha Mulia itu telah pun di-julang tinggi oleh ra'ayat Persekutuan pada masa ia memangku jawatan Yang di-Pertuan Agong di-dalam beberapa minggu yang terdahulu daripada kemangkatan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Tuanku Hisamuddin 'Alam Shah ibni Al-marhum Sultan Ala-Iddin Suleiman

Shah. Bahawa sa-nya, Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja Syed Putra, Yang di-Pertuan Agong ini dengan segala pengalaman-nya di-dalam pemerentahan negeri Perlis di-dalam beberapa tahun yang lalu dengan aman dan sentosa-nya itu, tetap akan memandu dan memberikan kapada sakalian ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang di-bawah pemerentahan-nya segala tenaga dengan mutu ka-hidupan di-dalam segala peringkat supaya kita semua hidup senantiasa di-dalam keamanan, kesentosaan dan kema'amoran sa-lama²-nya.

Yang Berhormat, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, benarkan-lah saya melapadzkan tahniah saya juga, di-atas Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja Permaisuri Agong, Tengku Badriah binti Tengku Ismail. Sa-sunggohnya dengan pelantikan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Yang di-Pertuan Agong itu, dapat-lah kita sa-orang Raja Permaisuri Agong yang bukan-nya memandu dengan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Yang di-Pertuan Agong itu di-atas lelaki sahaja bahkan di-atas kaum perempuan juga menjadi salah satu daripada tenaga yang sangat di-hormati dan di-junjongi oleh kita semua ia-itu ada-lah Raja Permaisuri Agong itu bukan sahaja menjadi ketua Pengakap ya'ani President of Girl Guide tetapi ada-lah ia juga saperti yang telah di-kemukakan di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat, ia menjadi Yang di-Pertua bagi persatuan Perkumpulan Perempuan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ya'ani President of the Women Institute Federation of Malaya.

Yang Berhormat, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, dengan ini-lah saya berdo'a ka-Hadrat Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala, mudah²an di-anugrahi bertambah² rahmat, ma'amor sihat wal'afiat ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Yang di-Pertuan Agong dan Raja Permaisuri Agong sa-lama²-nya.

Enche' Amaluddin bin Darus: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya dan rakan² saya di-sini mengambil peluang mengucapkan setinggi² tahniah dan bersama² menyokong usul yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Ke-adilan di-atas pemilihan pada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Al-marhum Syed Hassan

Jamalullail menjadi Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang Ketiga bagi Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Saya merasa apa yang telah di-pilih oleh Duli² Yang Maha Mulia Raja² Melayu ada-lah satu pemilihan yang tepat, baik Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong mahu pun Raja Permaisuri Agong.

Kedua-nya ada-lah di-ketahui oleh umum sa-bagai Raja dan Permaisuri bagi sa-buah Negeri di-utara Persekutuan yang telah menunjukkan jasa²-nya yang dapat di-megahkan oleh ra'ayat-nya dan di-ketahui oleh umum dalam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-bagai sa-orang Raja dan Permaisuri yang sangat² mengambil berat di-atas hal ehwal ra'ayat dan mengetahui hakikat dan perasaan daripada ra'ayat daripada sa-rendah² hingga sa-tinggi²-nya.

Bagi orang yang mengetahui *biography* atau pun sejarah hidup daripada Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang Ketiga ini dengan sendiri-nya faham dengan sa-benar²-nya dan merasa shukor kepada Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala bila Tuhan takdirkan membuka hati Duli² Yang Maha Mulia Raja² Melayu memilih baginda mengambil tempat sa-bagai Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang Ketiga bersama² dengan isteri baginda yang mana ini akan membawa natijah yang baik pada ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Saya berharap mudah²an dengan pertolongan Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala akan berjaya apa yang kita do'akan dan semoga di-panjangkan umur baginda dalam memimpin negara Persekutuan sa-bagai negara yang berpelembagaan dengan aman dan ma'amur selama²-nya.

Enche' J. E. S. Crawford: Mr. President, Sir, I rise to heartily support the motion and to offer to His Majesty, our newly elected Paramount Ruler, the loyal support of the European residents of independent Malaya at all times.

Enche' A. M. Abu Bakar: Mr. President, Sir, I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the various Honourable speakers,

but I would like to go further and say that His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is a man of the commoner.

Sir, I would like to recall the days when I was closely associated with him during the occupation period. During that period, he was a commoner than was expected. His throne was usurped by someone, who was not entitled to it, and he was just a nobody in officialdom. But with his people he was the uncrowned Raja of the State.

I had been closely associated with him in business and we went round the State to collect produce in which we were dealing then. I used to watch him and could clearly see that he was beloved by the people: we used to walk no less than 20 miles going over to the kampongs and *bendangs* to collect those commodities in which we were dealing. He earned not only a high reputation from his own people but also from people who went to his State to do business during that period.

Sir, in spite of all the atrocities committed by the then occupation government, he put up a silent face to undergo the difficulties that he came across—even when that occupation government put a bar on his business which they wanted to prevent him from doing. With all those difficulties he endured, and so also did Her Majesty the Raja Permaisuri Agong, who stood with him shoulder to shoulder in all the difficulties.

Sir, His Majesty deserves the highest honour that God has bestowed on him to-day, and in doing so God has given proof of what He said in the Holy Koran—that if He wishes He could make the commoner to be the highest in the land, and, also, that if He wishes he could bring that highest person down to be the lowest of the low in a matter of time.

Sir, I take this opportunity once again to congratulate His Majesty and Her Majesty for the honour that God has so graciously bestowed on them and I hope and pray that God will grant them long-life, happiness and prosperity to rule over us for many many more years to come.

Enche' T. H. Tan: Mr. President, Sir, I rise to support most wholeheartedly the resolution moved by the Honourable the leader of this House. His Majesty Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Al-Marhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail together with his Consort has ruled Perlis with unparallel distinction for about two decades. We would like them to know that the love and respect that the people of Perlis have for them is shared by all of us in the rest of the Federation. I am sure this House would also like Their Majesties to know that the tragedies that struck our nation in the past few months have only endeared us all the more to the throne. His Majesty's youthful vigour and sportsmanship and the keenness of Her Majesty in social activities are qualities which are of invaluable value to our young nation. I am sure this House in paying homage to His Majesty would like to assure him and his Consort of our undivided loyalty in his service and the service of our country. May God always be with him and long may he reign over us.

Enche' Cheah Seng Khim: Mr. President, Sir, I fully endorse and strongly support the motion of the Honourable the Minister of Justice. I wish to add that the people of Penang are one in their expression of congratulations and loyalty to Their Majesties.

Enche' Da Abdul Jalil: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya juga menyertai di-atas ucapan tahniah sebagaimana yang telah di-chakapkan oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat terdahulu daripada saya tadi di-atas pemilehan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Al-marhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail, Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang Ketiga bagi negara Persekutuan. Saya bagi pehak ra'ayat Negeri Trengganu sunggoh merasa gembira dan sukachita di-atas pemilehan Duli Yang Maha Mulia itu; tambahan pula Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Trengganu dan Isteri-nya telah juga di-pilih menjadi Timbalan Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Ini ada-lah satu penghormatan juga kepada Negeri Trengganu pemilehan² ini ada-lah mendapat sanjongan yang tinggi dari ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Sa-benar-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kata pepatah Melayu—

"Patah tumbuh hilang berganti"

dan dalam kita menghadapi kedukaan di-atas kemangkatan Al-marhum Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang Kedua, Tuanku Hisamuddin 'Alam Shah, datang-lah pula ganti-nya Yang di-Pertuan Agong yang baharu yang akan memimpin dan memandu kita kearah keamanan, keselamatan dan kesejahteraan dan bagi negara Persekutuan. Saya perchaya dengan kebijaksanaan dan pengalaman, Baginda dapat membawa kema'oroman, keamanan, keselamatan dan kesejahteraan kepada ra'ayat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu seluroh-nya.

Tok Pangku Pandak Hamid: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mengambil peluang berchakap dalam Majlis ini untok mewakili kaum Asli Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Saya menguchapkan setinggi² tahniah di-atas pemilehan bagi menggantikan Al-marhum Tuanku Hisamuddin 'Alam Shah, Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang Kedua, Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Al-marhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail, Raja Perlis. Dengan sebab itu, pada fikiran kami sangat-lah betul dan kena pada tempat-nya pemilehan oleh Duli² Yang Maha Mulia Raja² Tanah Melayu ini, dan kami menguchapkan setinggi² tahniah kepada baginda suami isteri.

Raja Rastam Shahrome: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyembahkan setinggi² tahniah kepada ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Al-marhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail, kerana perlantekan-nya sa-bagai Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang Ketiga. Hamba ra'ayat menerima lantekan ini dengan gembira-nya dan kami sekalian berdo'a kepada Tuhan supaya di-lanjutkan usia baginda dengan menaiki takhta dan memerintah Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan aman dan sentosa.

Enche' Mohd. Salleh: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, mengikut Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Melaka dan Pulau Pinang sahaja yang tidak beraja, jadi Baginda yang menjadi Yang di-Pertuan Agong dia-lah Raja Melaka.

Bagi saya mewakili negeri Melaka mengkhobar atau menerangkan di-Dewan ini ada-lah bagi pehak kami orang² Melaka patoh sepatoh²-nya menyokong apa yang telah di-undi atas pilehan Raja² Tanah Melayu kepada Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang Ketiga.

Enche' Ahmad bin Said: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun mewakili bagi pehak ra'ayat Negeri Perak dan bersama² menyokong usul yang telah dikemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Ke'adilan ia-itu menguchapkan tahniah kepada ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong Yang Ketiga. Dan tidak shak lagi bahawa seluroh ra'ayat negeri ini ada-lah menerima dan menyambut perlantekan ini dengan rasa gembira dan mudah²an dengan pementahan ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia itu bahawa Kerajaan negeri ini akan menerima kema'amoran dan ke'adilan lebeh² lagi di-masa yang akan datang.

Mr. President: Jika tak ada Ahli² Yang Berhormat yang hendak berchakap lagi saya akan kemukakan pada Majlis ini ia-itu—

"Bahawa suatu perutusan hendak-lah dipersembahkan kepada ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Almarhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail, Yang di-Pertuan Agong, menguchapkan tahniah dan pujian Dewan ini atas lantekan Baginda menyandang jawatan Yang di-Pertuan Agong, dan melafadzkan ikrar ta'at setia Dewan ini kepada Duli Yang Maha Mulia; dan Dewan ini yakin bahawa dengan izin Allah, dengan lantekan Baginda itu Persekutuan Tanah Melayu akan menempoh zaman yang bertambah² ma'amor, aman sentosa selama²-nya."

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That a Humble Address be presented to His Majesty Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Almarhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail, Yang di-Pertuan Agong—

To warmly congratulate His Majesty on his election to the office of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong;

To express to His Majesty the loyal devotion of this House and its fervent hope that by the grace of God, the Federation of Malaya will, during His Majesty's term of office, enjoy ever-increasing prosperity and enduring peace.

MALAYAN SPECIAL FORCE FOR SERVICE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CONGO

(Motion)

Tun Leong Yew Koh: Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move,

That this House notes the action of the Government in placing in the service of the United Nations Organisation a contingent of the Federation Armed Forces for use in the Republic of Congo as set out in Command Paper No. 43 of 1960, and expresses its full support of the action taken.

Sir, this meeting of Parliament has been called as a matter of extreme urgency in order to acquaint Members of Parliament with developments in the Congo where our troops will be sent in response to a United Nations request for armed assistance to maintain law and order in that country. This meeting would not have been called had it not been for the reason that the situation there has taken a turn for the worse. It is only right, therefore, for the Government to present to Members of Parliament the picture of the situation as it sees it and how it might develop.

It is at the moment a "cold war" which might eventually turn into something more serious, even possibly a second Korea (which God forbid!). In view of Russia's interest in the affairs of the Congo anything might happen. Some countries, as a result of Russian influence, had thought fit to withdraw their forces from this area, leaving those forces only which are determined to discharge their obligations to the United Nations and intend to keep peace and order in that territory.

Added to these forces will be the Malayan Contingent. We are determined to carry out the task we have undertaken. We have made a promise to help maintain law and order under the Charter of the United Nations, and we will fulfil this promise. Our men will be leaving in the "Wyndham County" and the "Whitfield County" on Tuesday, 4th October.

You may wonder, in view of the fact that the troops will be leaving in the course of the next few days, why Parliament has been called only to-day.

In fact the power to send troops lies with the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Federation of Malaya, who is His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, as provided under Article 41 of the Constitution. The approval of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong has been duly obtained, as well as his blessing, and for that reason we had not thought it necessary earlier to bring up this matter to Parliament.

Again, there is an Article in the United Nations Charter—Article 41 (1)—to which we subscribe and which provides that we should make available to the United Nations Security Council such armed forces as might be mutually agreed upon from time to time for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Our troops are proud that their services have been called upon, and they are very keen to come to grips with the tasks allotted to them. It is a great responsibility, and they are deeply conscious of it. They are happy to play their part for the honour of Malaya and for the cause of world peace, and they are fully aware of what is asked and expected of them. Despite the elements of danger, they are nevertheless eager and determined to go. If Parliament should decide, in view of the fact that certain countries have withdrawn their troops, that they should not go, then it would be a very great disappointment to them, and they would regard it as a moral setback, and this would be a sad blow to our prestige.

Assuming after they have gone—and it will take some four weeks for them to get there—that the situation should worsen, and that we should find it necessary to send further reinforcements, the Government wishes to assure this House that we will come to Parliament to explain the new development and will seek your opinion on the course we should take. We in Malaya cannot do what certain other countries have been doing—for one thing, one day they are the first to offer to go to the Congo, knowing full well the situation in that territory, and the task allotted to them by the United Nations, and the next day, without rhyme or reason, without any change in either the general

set-up or the Command they are ready to pull out. We cannot understand the motives behind such moves when as far as we know there has been no material change in the Command or the set-up, and the direction and situation in the Congo from the United Nations' standpoint is not unexpected and has not materially altered, as it was always a situation which might get worse or might get better. That was only to be expected.

On the other hand, assuming that the situation in the Congo had changed materially from what it is now, that developments in the United Nations did not mean a vote of confidence in the Secretary-General, and that Russia by the turn of events was in command of the situation and playing an active role, with that changed situation no longer under the control of the United Nations, or in other words that the Command had materially changed from what we had accepted as our responsibility, then our troops would not have been sent.

But nothing has changed materially in the Congo from the United Nations' point of view, the need to maintain law and order still exists, even more strongly now than before, and the situation which originally arose still continues. The Government feels that if changes do occur and if further help is needed from us then we should send it. The Government is determined, and I can assure Honourable Members, that the Malayan Special Force will not be withdrawn, certainly not at a whim, as I said earlier, unless our help is no longer required.

It is, of course, lawful for, and indeed the duty of, the Cabinet in accordance with Article 40 of the Constitution to advise His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, as Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the Federation of Malaya, to deploy such of those forces as may be necessary for the defence of the country or for the fulfilment of the country's obligations under any international treaty or agreement to which it is a party. Such deployment may, under the provisions of the Federal law governing the regular Armed Forces, require the latter to serve beyond the

seas at any time. And that is exactly what we have done.

This is the first time that Malayan forces are being sent overseas, and, apart from the useful services they will be rendering, the Government is convinced that they will uphold the good name of the Federation in the discharge of their duties. They will adhere strictly to instructions to maintain peace and order, and they will not get involved in any outbreak of hostilities between the warring political parties. They will be there to preserve life and property and to this end they will go about their duties and conduct themselves without fear or favour.

Our only prayer is that those countries which have not actively supported the United Nations action will not interfere in other ways with the affairs of the Congo. At the last Emergency Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations a resolution was adopted in which it was decided that no outside assistance to the Congo should be sent, other than assistance requested by or through the United Nations. If the member countries respect this resolution then I visualise no trouble beyond skirmishes by opposing parties in the Congo. On the other hand, if Russia decides to send aid directly to the warring factions then something serious might occur, in which case our troops will be ready to fight in order to uphold the resolution of the United Nations if called upon to do so.

We hope, however, that this will never happen, and that all that is needed of our troops and of other forces will be to preserve law and order until the situation has cleared up sufficiently for a properly constituted Government to be formed and the Congo is once again running with normality and success. If the services of the Malayan troops are required beyond six months, a replacement contingent will be sent in stages.

The organic transport of each unit of the Malayan Special Force is being taken to enable the Force to operate as a whole. Signals, Medical, Supply, Ordnance, Workshop and Pay Services

are fully represented in the Force. The Force will be accompanied by an Imam, two members of the Malayan Film Unit and by a representative of Radio Malaya. Sufficient rations are being taken to enable the Force to be self-supporting for 90 days, and these will cater for the requirements of each race represented in the Force.

Now, let me deal with the Congo crisis. It was with a feeling of disquiet that the Federation Government received the news of the impending crisis in the new Republic of the Congo. In the past while nationalism reared its head all over Africa the Belgian Congo remained quiet and seemingly indifferent.

It was not until the riots of the first week of January, 1959, that the African of the Congo showed that he was similarly affected by the upsurge of nationalism that is sweeping over Africa. The result of this agitation was a declaration on the future policy for the Belgian Congo made on January, 13, 1959. This declaration provided for an establishment of a Council at a number of levels and spoke of leading the people of the Congo in gradual stages towards eventual independence.

The white settlers' reaction to the declaration was unenthusiastic. Neither did the policy proposed suit the Congolese who desired immediate independence. The Belgian Government therefore in October, 1959, revealed a plan to create "a Central Government for all of the Congo" during 1960 with self-determination to follow four years later.

Tension, however, remained and at the end of October, 1959, violence and rioting broke out again after a meeting of the Congo National Movement in Stanleyville. Demands for immediate independence were put to King Baudouin by principal nationalist leaders during his "study and information" tour of the Congo in December.

A month-long Round Table Conference ended in Brussels on February 19, 1960, when the Congolese Delegation accepted the Belgian Government

proposal that the colony should be proclaimed independent on June 30. The Belgian Government endorsed the unanimous agreement of a Special Committee that the future Congo Parliament should have full legislative powers.

The Conference agreed on 16 resolutions which would be the basis of the future Congolese national institutions. On March 2nd, the Belgian Parliament took its first step in transferring power to Africans in the Congo by creating immediate executive colleges formed of Congolese politicians who were to share power with the Governor-General and the six Provincial Governments until independence on 30th June.

Subsequently general elections for the Congo's first independent Government began in the second week of May, 1960. Mr. Patrice Lumumba's National Congolese Movement emerged as the strongest single party in the country by winning 35 out of 137 seats in the National Assembly. As the leader of the majority party, he was asked to form the Congo's first Government on June 21st, and he became the first Prime Minister on June 23rd.

Tension, however, was acute as Mr. Kasavubu had also obtained strong support in some parts of this tribe-conscious country. Just before independence a compromise was effected between the two leaders resulting in a relaxation of tension through the appointment of Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Kasavubu to the two major offices as Prime Minister and President respectively.

The provincial Government of Katanga led by Mr. Moise Tsonbe, richest of the six provinces, threatened to secede from the Congo after independence and possibly to link up with Rhodesia.

The celebrations of the birth of the new State of the Republic of the Congo was marred however by the speech in very bad taste by the Prime Minister, which we believe sparked off the disturbances in that country. The celebrations had hardly ended in the Congo when its infantile pains began to be felt. The

first outbreak of violence came on July 2nd when Bakongo and Bayaka tribesmen clashed in the Leopoldville area. This led to the real crisis which was sparked off on July 6th when part of the 25,000 strong Public Security Force turned against their Belgian officers over the question of "Africanisation".

Order and discipline broke down among the Congolese troops and it was then that anti-white feeling erupted on a gigantic scale. Panic swept the country. Europeans began to flee in thousands. On July 8th, however, Prime Minister Lumumba announced that a settlement had been reached between the Leopoldville mutineers and the Government. This relief of tension was only short-lived for soon after was a fresh wave of violence.

The Belgian Cabinet decided, in view of the worsening situation to send two companies of troops to the Congo to ensure the evacuation of refugees which was already going on at a furious rate. On July 9th Belgian troops stationed in the Congo intervened for the first time at Kaballo and later in Luluabourg and Elisabethville, where two Belgian officers and four civilians, including the Italian Consul, were shot dead. After that everything was in a chaos with reports of rape and brutalities committed by both sides. Mr. Lumumba then protested against the Belgian violation of the sovereignty of the Congo.

Events took a new turn on July 11th when Katanga's Mr. Tshombe declared his province independent of the Congo and requested military aid from Rhodesia and Belgium. Belgian troops immediately came to Katanga but Rhodesia did not comply with the request. Fighting between Belgian and Congolese troops took place and order was restored to Elisabethville by the Belgian Army on 12th July.

It was on July 10th that Mr. Lumumba first asked the United Nations for technical aid. On July 12th in the absence of the President and the Prime Minister, the Vice-Premier appealed to the United States for military help but this was refused as the United States preferred to act

through the United Nations. That evening, the President asked for United Nations' military assistance against Belgian "aggression" and this was followed the next day by a more urgent telegram from the President threatening to call in the Bandoeng powers if the United Nations did not act.

The Security Council members and some interested Africans had already met informally with Mr. Hammarskjöld to discuss the request for technical aid and this more pressing problem was put before them.

The Secretary-General appraised the Security Council of the situation and informed the members that his reaction to the request for technical aid was "entirely positive".

Stressing, however, the urgency of the situation he urged the Council to give authority in principle to deal with the situation.

Accordingly a Tunisian resolution was adopted on 14th July by the Security Council which called upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw their troops from the Republic of the Congo. The Security Council also decided to authorise the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo to provide the Government with such military assistance as might be necessary, until, through the efforts of the Congolese Government with the technical assistance of the United Nations, the National Security Force might be able, in the opinion of the Government, to meet fully their tasks.

The Federation Government received the news of the passage of this resolution with a deep sense of satisfaction. It had reason to be satisfied because if the Security Council had not taken such a step it would have failed in its duty as the authority entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. At that stage the ground was already fertile for the seeds of international discord to grow and the slightest provocation could result in world conflagration. The Security Council had, therefore, done its job well and in good time.

Only one week after the passage of the resolution, the Security Council was in session again, to consider the Secretary-General's progress report. The Council, however, met in an atmosphere bordering on crisis because two matters of consequence had arisen in the short period of a week. Katanga was demanding United Nations recognition of her independence and Mr. Lumumba had threatened to call in Russian military aid if the Belgian withdrawal was not undertaken by 19th July.

The Katanga demand was adequately dealt with by the United Nations African group who immediately before the Council meeting issued a communique. This communique emphasised the need for the withdrawal of Belgian troops to enable the restoration of peace, order and stability in the Congo, and that Belgium had to withdraw her forces from the Congo with *immediate* effect. The communique also stressed that Katanga was an integral part of the Congo and that any attempt to undermine its territorial integrity would be deplored.

This was indeed a timely communique. The Secretary-General had informed Mr. Tshombe that the United Nations recognised the Congo as a unit, constituted at the time of its application for United Nations membership. If Katanga was to be discussed at the United Nations, it could only be done at the request of a member-nation. The African group's communique which was subsequently endorsed by the Afro/Asian group was enough to discourage any nation which might have contemplated raising the matter. The stand taken on this matter is closely in line with the Federation Government's policy since we consider it essential that the territorial integrity of the Congo be maintained.

The geographical position of the Republic of the Congo is eminently strategic as a base for ideological warfare. It is in the very heart of that vast Continent of Africa South of the Sahara.

The Republic of the Congo, akin to us by reason of the fact that she is

but recently independent, must not be exposed in her tender years to the dangers of subversion as perpetrated by international Communism. Her newfound sovereignty must be protected from the perils of a novel but a more sinister type of colonialism and imperialism. In view of the strategic position of the Congo these influences could contaminate the rest of Africa and bring that vast continent to her knees in a shameful and tragic disaster which in her present state of development would be too ghastly to imagine.

The Security Council proceedings of the 21st July bore a bitter cold war strain. However, the Federation Government was greatly relieved when a resolution by Ceylon and Tunisia received unanimous adoption.

The resolution called upon the Belgians to implement speedily the Security Council's previous resolution of 14th July on the withdrawal of their troops. The Secretary-General was also authorised to take all necessary action to effect this. It also appealed to all States to refrain from any action which might tend to impede the restoration of law and order and the exercise by the Government of the Congo of its authority, and also to refrain from any action which might undermine the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of the Congo. The Specialised Agencies of the United Nations were invited to render to the Secretary-General such assistance as he required. The Council in its resolution also commended the Secretary-General on his prompt action in implementing their previous resolution.

It was subsequent to the adoption of this resolution that Mr. Hammarskjöld addressed an appeal to the Federation Government for a detachment of Malayan soldiers. He stated that the time had come for a broadening of the operation. Mindful of the Federation's obligations to the United Nations, mindful of the Federation's avowed policy of support for the world organisation and mindful of the Federation's interest in the unhindered progress of Africa, the Federation Government immediately responded with an offer of a Malayan contingent. Upon the acceptance of this

offer in August preparations were put in hand for the despatch of a Force to the Congo.

In the meantime, however, the situation in the Congo deteriorated. While the Belgians commenced withdrawal of their troops from the Congo and undertook not to impede the entry of United Nations troops into Katanga, Mr. Tshombe's administration resisted the entry threatening the use of force if necessary to do so.

In the circumstances the Secretary-General sought to refer the matter back to the Security Council which met on 8th August to consider the Congo crisis in particular regard to Katanga. In the meantime Mr. Lumumba issued a threat to dispense with the services of the United Nations Force if the United Nations refused to send troops to Katanga. The Security Council stood firm on its previous decision and confirmed the authority given to the Secretary-General in its previous resolutions. It declared that the entry of the United Nations Forces into Katanga was necessary to fully implement its resolution of 22nd July. It reaffirmed that the United Nations Forces were not to be used to intervene in any way in internal matters and called upon the Belgians to withdraw immediately their forces from Katanga and to assist the Secretary-General in every way to implement its resolution.

Mr. Tshombe then agreed not to oppose the entry of the United Nations Forces into Katanga on condition that his soldiers were not disarmed to allow the Central Government's troops to come in. On the following day Mr. Lumumba announced his fullest collaboration in executing the latest Security Council resolution. He announced that Central Government troops would move into Katanga.

On 12th August the Secretary-General himself arrived in Elisabethville at the head of a detachment of 240 United Nations troops. He ruled out United Nations support for the Central Government in its dispute with Katanga. He became the butt of an accusation by Mr. Lumumba, which he repeated some days later, that the United Nations was acting in league

with the Belgians in Katanga and urged the replacement of European troops by Africans in the United Nations Command.

The Federation Government applauds the stand of the Secretary-General in this matter. If the Secretary-General had acted otherwise, it would have meant interference in the internal affairs of the Republic which, in the circumstances, the Federation would not have been able to condone.

Mr. Lumumba kept up his onslaught on the Secretary-General for his refusal to assist the Central Government in internal disputes. This led Mr. Hammarskjöld to utter the warning that the United Nations role in the Congo might become "impossible". However, in the face of bitter criticism from Mr. Lumumba, the Secretary-General on 22nd August won overwhelming Security Council endorsement of his actions; the policy of neutrality in internal affairs was accepted. Mr. Lumumba then stated that the United Nations troops should leave the Congo the moment Belgian troops left.

In the subsequent fighting between Central Government troops and secessionist forces in Kasai and Katanga, the United Nations remained aloof, and persisted in this attitude in the tragically comic episode of events resulting from the announced dismissals of the Prime Minister by the President and the President by the Prime Minister. But with the deterioration of the position arising out of alleged outside direct interference the United Nations took swift action on 6th September, silencing the Leopoldville Radio Station and putting a tight control over air traffic in the Congo, in the interest of law and order.

There was consequently an allegation that this action was outside the actual mandate given to the Secretary-General and the Federation Government therefore paused to examine closely the whole matter. It arrived at the conclusion that if the Secretary-General had failed to act, civil war could quite easily have erupted on a large scale.

And with evidence of outside interference, and here I specifically cite the case of the USSR making available aircraft to the Central Government for the transportation of troops to the secessionist Kasai Province, and the delivery to Katanga by Belgium of a consignment of arms purportedly ordered at an earlier date for the Congolese National Security Force, the consequences could indeed have been dire. It is but an easy step from the supply of arms and vehicles to the posting of troops or "volunteers", if you choose to call them such.

This move of the United Nations in taking control of the radio station and airport brought severe criticism from the Ghana and United Arab Republic Governments. The United Arab Republic Government actually withdrew its troops from the United Nations Command. Mr. Lumumba threatened to dismiss all United Nations troops from the Congo if they continued, as he put it, "blocking the work of the Congolese Government". He further accused the United Nations of complicity in Mr. Kasavubu's attempt to oust him from power.

The USSR was not slow to cash in and took the opportunity to launch bitter personal attacks on the Secretary-General. This, the Federation Government considered most unfair, and, in any event, highly inappropriate coming from the mouths of Russians, who, by their self-seeking interests in providing direct aid to the Lumumba administration, had precipitated the crisis.

The Security Council was called into session on 9th September when Russia persisted with her wholly unwarranted personal accusations against the Secretary-General. The Council was from the beginning of the meeting in confusion owing to a dearth of correct information on the Congo situations, and the attitude of the USSR certainly did not help matters. The decision to hear a delegation from the Congo proved difficult to implement when two delegations arrived in New York, the one representing Mr. Ileo the new Prime Minister appointed by Mr. Kasavubu, the other representing the Prime Minister, Mr. Lumumba.

An interesting demonstration of the dubious sincerity of the Russians in the Congo crisis is available to those who wish to see. It manifested itself when Colonel Mobutu, a Congolese officer suspended all the contestants in the power struggle—the President, Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Ileo—and assumed control himself. He closed all “Eastern bloc” embassies and sent their personnel and technicians out of the Congo with charges that these so-called diplomats were agents provocateurs. With this the USSR policy became confused for a while and her stand in the United Nations displayed her self-seeking interest in the whole problem.

Both the United States and the USSR offered draft resolutions to the Security Council and as it was evident that neither would receive strong support, Ceylon and Tunisia placed before the Council a compromise resolution which the USSR blocked by the use of her veto for the 90th time. This led to an Emergency session of the General Assembly when that self-same resolution was sponsored by the Afro/Asian Group and adopted by 70 votes in favour and 11 absentions with one member absent. The members abstaining were the Communist bloc countries, France and South Africa.

I propose to go into this resolution in some detail because it embodies the Federation's policy on the Congo.

In the first place, the General Assembly supported the Security Council's resolutions of the 14th and 22nd July and 9th August. This amounted to a justification of the Secretary-General's actions and the Federation was indeed pleased to give its fullest backing to this cause. The Secretary-General's office has since its occupation by Mr. Hammarskjöld become an instrument of peace above and beyond power bloc influences.

We feel sure the other Afro/Asian countries especially, have come to respect Mr. Hammarskjöld who in addition to his role of world civil servant had with credit acquitted himself as a just and wise statesman.

The fact that all the African and Asian countries have voted for a

resolution which the Russians had vetoed in the Security Council was an encouraging sign that Russians could not always hope to have their own way. They even found it necessary to abstain instead of opposing the resolution in order to salvage their shattered prestige. They had to bring in their biggest gun—Mr. Krushchev—to revive their invectives on the United Nations and the Secretary-General.

The resolution then went on to request the Secretary-General to continue to take vigorous action in accordance with the terms of the resolutions I have just mentioned, and to assist the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo in the restoration of law and order throughout the country, and also asked the Secretary-General to safeguard unity, territorial integrity and political integrity and political independence in the interest of world peace and security. This absolves countries contributing troops, and the Federation is such a country, from involvement in a civil war.

It must be remembered that the role of the United Nations Force is not that of war but of peace. It is not there to interfere with internal affairs of the Congo but to assist the newly-born country in its endeavour to sort out its own problems without any interference by mischievous powers from outside. At the same time the United Nations presence in the Congo cannot tolerate any acts which constitute a violation of human rights and wanton and organised killings of innocent people. The Federation Government supports the timely warning given by the Secretary-General a few days ago to the Katanga Government following the massacre by Katanga troops of inhabitants purported to be against the Katanga Government.

The Federation Government wholeheartedly supported the General Assembly's appeal to all Congolese within the Republic to seek a speedy solution by peaceful means to all their internal conflicts for the unity and integrity of the Congo, with the assistance, as appropriate of African and Asian countries appointed by the

Advisory Committee on the Congo in consultation with the Secretary-General, for the purpose of conciliation and mediation. The Federation as a troop-contributing nation is *ipso facto* a member of the Advisory Committee and as a token of its genuine desire to see a peaceful and enduring settlement of this crisis, we are prepared if invited to serve on a Mediation or Conciliation Committee if such a body is set up.

The resolution also appealed to all member nations for urgent voluntary contributions to a United Nations Fund for the Congo to be used under the United Nations control and in consultation with the Central Government of the Congo for the purpose of rendering the fullest possible assistance to achieve the objectives I have mentioned earlier. The Federation of course welcomes such a move. While we may not be in a position to make a monetary contribution we are prepared, insofar as we are able, to make available such technicians and experiences as we have which might be of value to the Congolese Republic.

However, under normal conditions no independent country should be restricted in the exercise of its sovereignty in matters of foreign aid. But the situation in the Congo is not normal. It is indeed abnormal, explosive and dangerous. The Republic must be put on its feet again and in restoring her to that position, and in achieving that end she must not be allowed to get herself inextricably involved through direct aid from any of the major powers. We are firmly convinced that to keep the Congo free of unnecessary power bloc interferences, aid must be channelled through the United Nations. To this the Federation Government subscribes, and to keep faith with the United Nations in which we place so much of our hopes, a Malayan Special Force of 613 men, vehicles and stores drawn from all units of our land forces will embark at Port Swettenham on the 4th of October on the historic mission in the cause of peace and freedom.

The valiant men who form the Force are handpicked. Their prowess and

courage have been proven in the Federation's war against Communist terrorism, and some of them served with distinction in the last World War. I have not the slightest doubt that they will acquit themselves with credit in this operation.

Let me assure Honourable Members that His Majesty and the Federation Government will follow with the keenest interest the day-to-day activities of these sons of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu in their mission of peace.

We pray that these young men of this fair land will bring credit to the Federation of Malaya wherever they are required to serve and also the goodwill and friendship of the people whom they have gone to help. Our hearts go with them, and I ask Honourable Members to join me in wishing them *Selamat berlayar, selamat berjuang, selamat balek dan Allah panjangkan usia mereka*.

Sir, I beg to move. (Applause).

Enche' T. H. Tan: Mr. President, Sir, it gives me much pleasure to support the motion before the House. By sending some of our troops to the troubled Congo our young but virile nation will be making a material contribution to the peace efforts of the United Nations in support of the lawfully constituted Government of the Congo. This, Sir, is strictly in accordance with Articles 25 and 45 of the United Nations Charter. We cannot but feel a keen sense of pride that our soldiers will be wearing the colours of the United Nations. Their presence in the Congo is evidence of our readiness to support and defend the principles of the United Nations Charter. This House should be particularly pleased that our soldiers are going to the African Continent, which is in the firmament of nationalism and independence, to help as directed by the United Nations Command. Sir, no one wants to be so presumptuous as to say that the presence of our troops in Africa should serve as a warning to South Africa. That is not our intention. Nevertheless, there should be no doubt in any one's mind that the Federation Government, as long as it is under the

leadership of the Alliance Party, will do everything in its power to back the United Nations.

Sir, there has been some strange statements to the effect that the presence of our troops in the Congo might be construed as interference with the internal affairs of that country. I say, Sir, that there is not the slightest risk of this happening under the guidance of the United Nations Command. Furthermore, Sir, our troops will be officered by men of the highest integrity and intelligence who will be following the directives of the United Nations. In this connection, I beg leave to read the following extracts of the directive to the U.N. troops upon landing in the Congo which was only published this morning. It says:

"You serve as members of an international force. It is a peace force, not a fighting force. U.N. has asked you to come here in response to an appeal from the Government of Congo. Your task is to help in restoring order and calm in this country which has been so troubled recently."

The directive goes on to say,

"You are to be friendly to all people of this country. Protection against acts of violence is to be given to all people, white and black. You carry arms, but they are only to be used in self-defence. You are in the Congo to help every one, but harm no one. Your conduct should always be to the credit of your country and to the United Nations. You are serving the United Nations here. Your orders on this mission will come to your officers only from the United Nations. You have a great opportunity now to help the Congo and its people. In doing that you will also help Africa. We have confidence that you will do your very best here."

It is quite clear that all this question of internal interference is just so much nonsense. His Majesty's Government in the Federation should be complimented on its decision to send out soldiers to the Congo. Some of the officers and men have had experience of defending the nation both in the Pacific war and in the long period of Emergency just ended. Now, Sir, they will be having the opportunity of defending democracy at the behest of the United Nations. The despatch of our troops to the Congo, if I may say so, adds another laurel to the glory of

our young nation which has already made a name for itself in international affairs. I believe, Sir, that our soldiers will gain considerable experience under the United Nations Command. I believe too that our officers and men will distinguish themselves in the mission that we are assigning them in the Congo. I would like them to know that they leave with all our good wishes and we shall always remember them while they are away in the Congo and we will follow with keen interest their work there. May they keep our flag flying high! (*Applause*).

Dato' Sheikh Abu Bakar bin Yahya: Dato' President, Sir, I beg to associate myself with what has been stated by the Honourable Members in this House just now on the question of the despatching of a unit of the Federation Army to the Congo under the Command of the United Nations.

Much has been stated, Sir, on this subject, but I wish to add that, in spite of the fact that our country, the Federation of Malaya, attained her independence only recently, I am proud to say that we must have a feeling of pride to be able to despatch a substantial number of troops to the Republic of Congo, which is now in a state of chaos. I am sure, Sir, with the other contingents of soldiers under the United Nations, peace and order will be restored to that "unfortunate" Republic. I say "unfortunate" because the Congo has also just obtained its independence, but the state of affairs in that country is really in a mess.

Even from the beginning of the independence until recently—and I believe until now—it seems that there are two Prime Ministers and one Military Leader in that territory, each one claiming to be the ruler of the country, while at least two more provinces, which comprise the Republic, with their self-elected Ministers, rejecting the authority of all the three: with your permission, Sir, I am referring to Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Kasavubu, Colonel Mobutu, Mr. Joseph Ileo. (*Laughter*). But, Sir, in our Federation of Malaya, the state of our affairs was so serene and calm that our Prime Minister Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku

Abdul Rahman Putra and his Cabinet, with the assent of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, were able to field, in a very short time, about 700-strong in order to be sent to serve for a very good cause in a very distant country—the African Congo.

Sir, I am not anxious to say anything about Congo itself, but I may add that I am sure that this act of ours will be regarded by the whole of the democratic world as an act of generosity and gallantness of co-operation with the United Nations of which we are a member, and will undoubtedly persuade our future historians to write a glorious remembrance of our soldiers who went to such a distant continent in order to restore peace and order to a new born State.

Sir, I fully support the action taken by our Government. Thank you. (*Applause*).

Enche' Chan Kwong Hon: Mr. President, Sir, I congratulate our Government in sending our troops to the Congo. The United Nations are paying a high tribute to our country by asking Malaya to participate in a joint effort to maintain peace and order in the troubled Congo. All Malaysians should be proud of this tribute. There is no doubt that our Malayan boys will show up well to this challenge. Mr. President, Sir, our Malayan troops are of a multi-racial group, comprising of Malays, Chinese, Indians and Eurasians. They have learned to live and to love as one big family. Their rich experience in practising racial tolerance and understanding can, I am sure, be a good example to the others. They will be in a better position to help restore law and order in the Congo and thus help the Congolese people to resolve their own internal conflicts by peaceful means. I believe that violence is not the solution to maintain peace. Peace can only be achieved by peaceful means. Violence will eventually lead to destruction of mankind.

Mr. President, Sir, I strongly support the motion to give our blessings to our troops going to the Congo. (*Applause*).

Enche' Nik Hassan: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagai menyokong usul yang di-bawa oleh Menteri yang berkenaan bagi memberi sokongan penuh kepada Kerajaan supaya menghantarkan askar-nya ka-Congo. Saya berdiri di-sini memberi sokongan yang sekuat²-nya kepada keputusan yang telah di-ambil oleh Kerajaan ini ia-itu menghantarkan askar-nya ka-Congo bagi menjaga keamanan dan menyelamatkan negeri itu daripada segala kekacauan yang sedang berlaku itu. Kita ia-lah sa-buah negeri yang telah menjadi anggota Bangsa² Bersatu dan pada kali ini langkah Perdana Menteri kita mengambil bahagian yang chergas dalam siasah dunia ada-lah satu langkah yang patut di-puji.

Tidak berapa lama masa dahulu Kerajaan dan Perdana Menteri kita telah mengambil langkah mengeji diatas perbuatan membezakan warna kulit di-Afrika yang mana Parlimen kita dan saya di-beri peluang supaya bersama² memberi sokongan dalam langkah mengkutok perbuatan Kerajaan Afrika Selatan membezakan warna kulit itu. Kali ini Parlimen sekali lagi di-beri peluang membahathkan dan memberi fikiran dalam langkah Kerajaan menghantarkan askar²-nya ka-Congo bagi berkhidmat sa-bagai askar Bangsa² Bersatu.

Sa-belum Parlimen bermeshuarat, satu fikiran telah timbul dari pehak pembangkang menyokong supaya Perdana Menteri kita hadir dalam meshuarat Bangsa² Bersatu supaya mengambil bahagian yang chergas dan menun-jukkan sa-bagai pemimpin yang akan dapat mendamaikan keadaan ketegangan dunia ini. Perdana Menteri kita dengan tegas dan chergas-nya telah menunjukkan pendirian-nya dan pendirian Kerajaan-nya yang mana ia menyatakan dalam meshuarat Dewan Ra'ayat bahawa kira-nya ia pergi ka-Bangsa² Bersatu, maka ia tidak akan menyokong Russia. Ini ada-lah satu tamparan yang hebat kepada pehak pembangkang yang mana memberi fikiran supaya Perdana Menteri kita hadir di-Bangsa² Bersatu, mungkin akan di-pengarohi oleh Russia untuk memihak kepada blok Russia.

Pendirian dan keputusan serta ketegasan yang di-beri oleh Perdana Menteri kita dalam Dewan Ra'ayat itu menjadikan tamparan yang hebat sekali kepada pembangkang Front Socialist yang menjadi Ketua Pembangkang bagi parti-nya itu. Kita harus sedar kira-nya apa yang akan berlaku di-Congo itu walau pun berlaku sabagaimana yang telah berlaku di-Korea, atau pun yang akan berlaku perkara² yang lebeh hebat daripada Korea, maka kedua² Kerajaan sahaja yang akan kita letakkan kesalahan-nya. Yang pertama-nya ia-lah Kerajaan Belgium yang telah menghantarkan askar-nya di-mana telah menchabul kedaulatan Republic Congo. Pehak yang kedua-nya yang harus di-letakkan kesalahan-nya ia-lah pehak Russia. Pehak Russia yang telah dengan sendiri-nya memberi sokongan yang terus kepada Republic Congo dengan tidak menerusi Bangsa² Bersatu, pada hal Bangsa² Bersatu telah mengambil langkah yang paling chergas sekali manakala di-minta oleh Kerajaan Lumumba.

Kita harus sedar perkara yang akan berlaku di-Congo itu mungkin akan berlaku di-lain² negeri juga, khususnya negeri² Afrika yang lain yang baharu munchol menjadi negara yang baharu merdeka itu. Dan patut kita puji kepada Bangsa² Bersatu yang telah dengan chepat sekali mengambil langkah menghantarkan dan mengambil langkah yang chergas sekali bagi bantuan kerjasama untuk mendamai-kan dunia ini, dan sa-bagai anggota Bangsa² Bersatu, perkara ini tidak boleh di-tolak sama sekali. Kita mesti hidup dan mati dengan Bangsa² Bersatu. Kita hendak-lah ada satu pendirian yang tepat, pendirian yang tetap sa-bagai anggota Bangsa² Bersatu—mahukan keamanan, mahukan perdamaian, dan mahukan keselamatan dunia. Ini ada-lah pendirian kita, dan pernah di-tegaskan oleh Perdana Menteri kita kepada seluroh dunia ini.

Perdana Menteri kita sambil membicarakan hal Congo telah pun membayangkan kemahuan-nya m a h u menjadi orang tengah dalam perbalahan Irian Barat. Saya rasa sangat-lah kena pada masa-nya Perdana Menteri

kita mengambil tempat sa-bagai Menteri Luar Negeri yang mana telah dan sedang mempermainkan rol-nya dalam hal ehwal politik dunia dengan chara yang paling baik sekali.

Kalau dahulu kita telah pernah mendengar Nehru pernah mempermainkan rol politik dunia, maka hari ini kita mendengar nama Perdana Menteri kita, negara yang paling baharu merdeka chuba mempermainkan politik dunia dengan chermat dan baik sekali. Saya rasa sekarang terbuka peluang-nya bagi kedua² buah negeri ini, selain daripada langkah yang kita ambil bagi menyelamatkan Congo, juga langkah yang kita ambil bagi menyelamatkan Irian Barat.

Kerajaan Indonesia telah memberi pandangan yang baik kepada tawaran yang di-beri oleh Perdana Menteri kita. Terpulang-lah kepada Kerajaan Belanda pula, dan saya berharap Belanda tidak akan menjadi Belgium yang kedua dalam hal ketegangan yang sedang berlaku ini. Kerajaan Belgium harus tahu apa yang akan berlaku di-Congo dan di-Korea. Kita rasa Parlimen ini harus manakala kita bahathkan perkara Congo. Ini kita patut sentoh berbagai² perkara seperti perkara Korea, perkara Irian Barat dan perkara² yang menimbulkan ketegangan dunia pada masa ini. Kita mahu apa juga yang berlaku di-dunia ini harus-lah di-kaji dengan halus-nya, diperhatikan dengan chermat-nya supaya keamanan dunia ini benar² terjamin.

Banyak kuasa² besar berchakap tentang meletakkan senjata, menchari perdamaian, menghapuskan askar dan berbagai² lagi, kerana tujuan keamanan, tetapi sambil itu mereka menchuba dengan berbagai² alat, mereka menchuba dengan alat² yang boleh mero-sakkan dunia, mereka menchuba melancharkan berbagai² alat ka-dunia lain dan tidak lain ia-lah kerana hendak menunjokkan kekuatan masing². Tetapi mulut mereka berchakap mengatakan semata² ada-lah untuk perdamaian, sambil mereka itu menunjokkan kekuatan-nya untuk menghanchorkan dunia ini. Saya rasa sa-bagai sa-buah negeri yang muda, yang baharu bagi kita sa-buah negara yang baharu

masuk dalam gelanggang politik dunia, sangat-lah baik-nya bagi kita chermat dengan mempunyai satu pendirian yang tetap sa-bagaimana yang telah di-pimpin oleh Perdana Menteri kita.

Kita jangan chuba mempermainkan api yang sedang berlaku di-dunia ini malah kita mesti dudok pada tempat-nya. Kita sanggup mati sakira-nya kita ada pendirian yang tetap, dengan fahaman kita yang tegoh itu. Ini-lah pendapat saya dan saya ada-lah menyokong keputusan yang telah di-ambil oleh Kerajaan bagi champor sama menghantarkan askar² ka-Congo bagi menjaga dan menyelamatkan Kerajaan Republic Congo.

Enche' Da Abdul Jalil: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benar-nya kita patut berasa bangga kerana kita dapat peluang mengambil bahagian dalam perkara² yang berkaitan dengan antara bangsa apabila askar² kita akan berkhidmat di-Congo itu; tetapi hendaklah ada jaminan dan di-hadkan bahawa askar² kita itu di-hantar ka-Congo betol² untuk menjaga keamanan, untuk menjaga keselamatan di-Congo, bukanlah nanti akan di-gunakan untuk sa-suatu kepentingan yang lain. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, keadaan di-Congo sangat-lah rumit dan berbelit² di-mana sa-lain daripada Perdana² Menteri yang bertentangan di-antara satu sama lain, maka timbol pula sa-orang Colonel yang sekarang juga memerintah di-negeri itu, jadi siapa-kah yang sa-benar-nya menjadi pemerintah di-Congo itu? Ada-kah Perdana Menteri Lumumba, ada-kah President Kasavubu, atau ada-kah Colonel Mobutu yang memerintah di-Congo itu?

Maka sa-lain daripada tiga kepala yang memerintah di-Congo itu, ada pula negara Katanga yang mengasingkan diri dari Congo, dan ada pula negeri Intan—Kasai yang juga mengasingkan diri-nya. Jadi soal Congo sangat-lah sulit. Dalam menghantarkan tentera kita maka harus-lah kita berhati² supaya tidak-lah kita menjadi alat kepentingan yang lain sa-bagaimana yang telah saya katakan dan ketegangan dan perebutan pengaruh yang telah ber-ada di-Congo bukan sahaja dalam Congo bahkan telah melarat juga dalam

United Nations sendiri. Dan juga dalam United Nations sendiri ada tiga golongan yang terbesar—*Russia*, *Barat* termasuk Amerika, dan *Neutral* (berkechuali).

Saya berharap dalam menghantarkan tentera kita ka-Congo itu harus-lah kita bangsa² Asia hendak-lah kita menyertai daripada keluarga atau golongan Afro-Asia yang menjadi blok berkechuali di-Bangsa² Bersatu itu.

Cmd. 44—The United Nations Charter—menyatakan bahawa kalau kita menghantar tentera² kita untuk berkhidmat di-Bangsa² Bersatu akan dibuat Agreement. Saya dukachita Agreement itu tidak di-bentangkan dalam Parlimen ini. Kalau-lah Agreement itu di-bentangkan dalam Parlimen ini, maka kesangsian kita yang askar² itu akan di-gunakan oleh satu² golongan akan terhapus dengan sendiri-nya. Menghantar askar² kita itu walau pun pada zahir-nya untuk menjaga keselamatan, keamanan dan ketenteraman di-sana, tetapi saya rasa kita harus-lah pula mengambil kesempatan yang baik dalam Cmd. 44 United Nations Charter ini ia-itu tujuan yang pertama-nya ia-lah untuk menjaga dan mendamaikan Congo. Cmd. 44 itu memberi peluang kapada kita untuk bersama² mengambil bahagian dalam mencari perdamaian. Dalam lapangan ini kita sa-bagai satu bangsa yang bebas yang chintakan keamanan, yang chintakan kemerdekaan dan yang tidak suka kapada penjajah, kita sa-harus-nya menggunakan pengaruh kita untuk mendamaikan puak (faction) yang bertentangan di-Congo. Kalau ketua²-nya saperti Lumumba, Kasavubu, Ileo dan Mobutu dan sabagai-nya itu dapat di-damaikan, maka keamanan di-Congo baharu-lah terjamin. Sa-lagi mereka ini maseh berchakar²an antara satu sama lain, sulit-lah kedudukan tentera kita itu.

Maka kesimpulan-nya dengan—Cmd. 44 itu, Kerajaan kita harus-lah menggunakan-nya dengan baik untuk mendamaikan perselisihan antara pemimpin² di-Congo itu. Kita harus ingat, dunia sekarang tidak boleh berpisah daripada bloc barat dan timor. Kita sekarang harus-lah menyertai bloc yang ketiga ia-itu bloc berkechuali—bloc Asia, kita hendak-lah menyokong

bloc yang ketiga ia-itu bloc yang berkechuali.

Dato' Dr. Cheah Toon Lok: Mr. President, Sir, after hearing the complete report of the Government on the Congo situation, I wish to give my complete support to the Government's action in despatching a contingent of the Federation Armed Forces in conjunction with the United Nations Forces into the Congo—and with this I wish to give also my most sincere blessing.

Sir, although we are a young nation, yet when a great moral issue is involved we are there with our little voice raised in support of the right moral issue, and I feel that in sending this small token force we are giving a token of the support of the right moral issue. I feel that the Congolese people must be given the confidence to arrange the conditions of their country according to their own desires and I feel that the token force, with the force that is being sent by the United Nations, will be of great help in restoring confidence to the Government of the Congolese people.

I have heard the leader of a great and powerful nation asking at a conference of reporters, "Why, if they believe in God, have they not seen Him?" Sir, a lot of us believe in electricity. I, for one, can see the light that is manifested by the power we call electricity. But does anybody, or has any professor seen electricity itself? We have seen the manifestation of the power only—but how can we see electricity which is invisible? We have seen the fall of an apple to the ground; the fall is caused by a power. Although we know that the apple falls to the ground, can we see the power that causes the apple to fall to the ground? We call that power "gravity". We give a name to an invisible power. The world exists because there are things which are visible and things which are invisible; things which are ponderable and things which are imponderable; things which are of matter and things which are of the spirit. How can a thing of matter see a thing of spirit, until you use your body to the degree in which you can see the thing of spirit? If the representative of a great power asked

that little silly question, I think he has got the mental age of a person of five years old in this modern age, because that is not the correct way of analysis of any scientific subject. If a great power like that could not even analyse a simple matter as things visible and invisible which are in this world, how can they interfere with the moral right of any people at all?

The United Nations, Sir, exists as a moral force of law to bring men together to a world of brotherhood and to law, the existence of law, the rule of law, which is necessary in this world, where men think in terms of the force of power of the brute, the law of the jungle; and I think that we have done the right thing in supporting the rule of law that is being shown by the United Nations. I think those who know jurisprudence will remember what Justinian said about the rule of law. He said that the three fundamental principles or precepts in the doctrine of law are: (1) to live honourably; (2) to harm nobody; and (3) to render everyone his due. It is high time that that kind of teaching be preached throughout the world, so that we can live as civilised beings, without being faced with the danger of being turned into ashes by the force of a great power, who does not believe in moral right—a power that does not believe in the force of law. I think that if these people, if they are to call themselves civilised, must be termed as creatures from which bacon are made.

Sir, I hope that our little token force will show that they represent a country proud of its tradition of multi-racialism, proud that we live as independent people, sharing in this moral force of law and that there are books in this world teaching us religions, telling us that there is a power that will render brute force into something of no value. I wish to add my blessing and my good wishes to our contingent by repeating the words of our Honourable Prime Minister: "*Selamat belayar, selamat berjuang, selamat balek dan Allah panjangkan usia mereka.*" (Applause).

Enche' Athi Nahappan: Mr. President, Sir, this morning in this House with one voice we expressed our loyalty

to the new Yang di-Pertuan Agong of our country, and so soon after the appointment of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in his reign, Malaya is sending its first peace force abroad. This is indeed a thing that all of us in this House and all ordinary citizens can legitimately be proud of.

When I read the Honourable Prime Minister's speech this morning in the Press I did not know at that time how full was his speech yesterday at the Lower House of Parliament. It clearly indicates the keen interest that the Prime Minister has taken in foreign affairs ever since he took up the portfolio and the thoroughness with which he has handled this particular question that is before us for discussion today. His speech gives us all the necessary details concerning the problem of Congo. I am particularly happy and grateful to the Minister of Justice who also gave us a full and detailed account of the whole matter. Very often we hear such detailed accounts being placed before the Lower House and when the Honourable Ministers come up to the Upper House they just give us a short resumé. Contrary to that, today the Honourable Minister of Justice gave us quite a full and detailed account of the whole matter before us so that we could have a proper grasp of the matter and give our opinion. Therefore, I am particularly grateful to the Honourable Minister of Justice for his speech.

Sir, when Hitler started the world war he was drunk with power. At that time he little realised that over his ashes certain major epoch-making developments would emerge. In my view, four things have taken place after the war and these four developments, you may call them so, have created a situation whereby the whole humanity's destiny is being conditioned.

The first development, Sir, is that a number of colonies ruled by various metropolitan powers before the war have emerged independent. This year alone, as the Prime Minister pointed out, about 17 countries are getting independence, or have got independence since this year. That is the first

major development in the right way. The other development, we might say, is the development or the expansion of communism as a result of the last world war. Russia took a number of countries and planted communism in those countries. The third factor is the development of the knowledge of science. As a result of the war we have seen tremendous leap in that field of knowledge. The fourth one as a result of the last world war is that of the cold war—cold war between the major Powers.

It has always been in history that after a war two giants usually emerge as the most powerful countries and then they lead to war. Early last century they were Britain and France, when Napoleon was responsible for that major war. Then we find that it was Great Britain and Germany in the first world war when they emerged as the most powerful countries in the world. Now we see after the second world war that they are America and Russia. So, any two countries that emerge as the most powerful, they condition to a large extent the peace and prosperity or the war situation of the world.

Now in this situation of a cold war we are caught today and we are faced with the problem of deciding for ourselves as to where we stand—where there are conflicts of morals, conflicts of issues and conflicts of stand. And in this situation it is very gratifying that our Government, so soon after independence, is now prepared to take a positive role in contributing to the peace of the world. We might have just kept quiet and answered—well, we cannot afford to undertake such a responsibility as this by sending a force to a foreign country. We are a small nation; we are just in the throes of our development; we need money and, we need concentration in our own matters. And, therefore, we could be just nicely and smugly isolated and just look inward and keep quiet. But our Government is not going to do that. Even though she is a small country, even though her resources are limited, yet she has grappled with the situation and has realised the duty that she can

perform, be it in a small measure or a big measure. It is not the volume of that which matters; it is the conscience, it is the sentiment behind it that is very important.

In the Lower House it was said, why not we send 200-odd men instead of 600? It is not in 200 or 600 that the problem lies. It is in the truth of our appreciation of taking part in the international role of peace-making. If every small country feels that way, then the world would be creating that moral atmosphere as a result of which we can create peaceful conditions.

After the war, we found two situations with regard to Russia and communism. Russia took advantage of the war and spread itself in a number of countries during the War. All those countries occupied by Russia are today communist countries, whether they liked it or not. And then after the war, Russia again started the whole process of expansionism. It was Lenin who said that communism must be spread through Asia into the rest of the world. So emphasis was laid in the eastern countries to spread communism, and after the war we saw this situation. China became communist. Then the thrust was made in Korea, and Korea was bisected. Today we see two Koreas. Then we see the story repeating itself in Indochina and today we see Vietminh and Vietnam. Wherever possible, communism tended to force itself in this manner, and particular interest was shown by the pundits of communism to focus themselves, to project themselves, either tacitly, secretly or openly into those countries which had emerged independent after the war.

As a result of the war, as I have said, many countries became independent and these countries became the target of two major forces—one, the forces of democracy, and the other the forces of communism—and because of these two clashing, a cold war situation has come about and in this situation some countries have tended to take a neutral stand. They don't want this side or that side. They say, we will create a third block. Even though they show

allegiance to democracy and they have a constitution based on parliamentary democracy, they have not taken any stand by joining either of these, but they have taken a neutral stand. Our country, we have heard yesterday in no uncertain terms from the Prime Minister that since we believe in democracy, since we believe in parliamentary democracy and the freedom of the individual, we have to join with the western countries which believe in these human values. There is no mincing of words in the Prime Minister's speech yesterday. He said that there is no country which believes in democracy but must necessarily be with the forces of democracy. So we know where we stand. Now, what is happening in the Congo? The moment just as soon as it got independence, we found the situation where these major forces led by communism on the one hand and by democracy on the other hand, trying to seek influence, and with this step Russia had moved in. They moved in and tried to create a chaotic condition, because out of chaos only can communism quickly come into being. That is what history has shown us: first create a chaotic situation, a confusion, a turmoil, an anarchic condition, and communism comes up. A similar situation was brought about in the Congo. Meanwhile, the Congo itself asked for United Nations' help. This man, Mr. Lumumba, he himself begged for United Nations' help. The United Nations stepped in, but when the United Nations had to do its duty in a positive manner, Lumumba found that the United Nations was not going to dance to his tune and so he started attacking the United Nations. And there were found so many forces competing and contending for power, which did not show the type of respect to the United Nations. Because when the United Nations wanted to serve in a neutral way, in a way of maintaining peace and order so that the people in the country will be safe from destruction, these forces found that the United Nations was not to their own respective interests, and therefore the United Nations was criticised and attacked. Because Russia had joined these forces, it attacked

the United Nations most. When Mr. Lumumba was disappointed, he attacked Mr. Hammarskjöld in very violent language, and Russia had joined forces with him. Now, in the United Nations General Assembly we have seen Mr. Hammarskjöld has received complete support; even Russia, which tried to veto the resolution brought by the two countries, Ceylon and Tunisia, had to abstain, as it was said by the Minister of Justice. So in this situation our duty is very clear—our duty is to maintain peace and order so that a proper Government will come into being. Yesterday, or day before yesterday, it was pointed out in the Lower House that some people were protagonists of Mr. Lumumba. They said his Government must be recognised and so on and so forth. Our duty, as I see it, is not to take sides in the Congo. What we have to do is to bring about an immediate peaceful situation and then allow the forces there to sort out their own positions, so that the country will enjoy a peaceful Government. So, we are not really taking a stand as to who is the legitimate person who is now in control of Congo. There are three or four persons now competing for power, and these three or four persons ultimately will have to decide among themselves; so long as peaceful conditions are settled by the help of the United Nations, then they will be in a position to see that a proper form of Government is brought into being in the Congo. But that is not Russia wants. Russia wants a situation of chaos—a situation of anarchy—so that they could cash in quite easily, send in their forces of provocateurs and then take control by force, then from there they can start working, spreading to the rest of African territories. Their position has been clear, and anybody who has any reasonable intelligence in international affairs can see what is the aim of Russia in this. Their object is clear: that is to take control of the Congo and spread communism from there. That has now been made futile, and therefore Mr. Khrushchev is very annoyed, and he had gone to the United Nations and has been making very strong attacks. I am not for a

moment saying that the Western countries are free from blame. The Prime Minister had made critical remarks about Belgium, as to how it handled the situation inefficiently and negligently, as a result of which an awful situation has come about in the Congo, and the Prime Minister had even expressed the hope that in another territory, which is a Trust territory, a similar situation would not be created by Belgium, which is the Trustee Power there. Therefore, we have not minced words. There is blame on the other side too. But one thing is very clear: whatever may be the wrongness of Belgium in not creating that type of situation whereby peace and prosperity might have been created, Belgium's intentions could not be doubted. Belgium ruled the Congo as a "dark horse". During the last ten years we knew nothing about Belgian Congo—it was a closed door. They were ruling it, they were exploiting it, and then, in the wave of international desire for freedom, Belgium sensed the situation, and by reason of the riots in the early part of last year, Belgium faced the facts, became realistic, and handed over their power. For that you cannot criticise Belgium. They have done what they could do, but they had not done it in the manner, as, for instance, Britain has done to Malaya and other British territories. That is where they lack experience. In the case of America and Russia—of course, between America and Russia there is always a cold war—one accuses the other. It is for us to see who is right and who is wrong. The facts are before us and we can always come to a reasonable decision.

So our stand, I find, is very, very, clear from the speech, and it is an admirable document relating to the cold war, relating to communism and democracy; and the Prime Minister's speech gives us a clear indication as to what is going to be the line of our foreign policy ahead of us. Therefore, I think that this is a brilliant opportunity that we have had, and we have taken advantage of that opportunity and the country as a whole has every reason to feel proud that Malaya, though small, is up-to-date in its desire

to serve the rest of mankind. Therefore, I endorse wholeheartedly along with the other Honourable friends who have spoken prior to me that this is a move in the right direction and we wish a wholehearted "Godspeed and success" to our young men who will be shortly leaving, carrying the flag of our country. (*Applause*).

Mr. President: The meeting is adjourned till 3.00 o'clock p.m. to enable Honourable Muslim Members to attend prayers.

Sitting suspended at 12.00 noon.

Sitting resumed at 3 p.m.

(Mr. President in the Chair)

THE MALAYAN SPECIAL FORCE FOR SERVICE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CONGO

Debate resumed.

Question again proposed.

Dato' G. Shelley: Mr. President, the motion before the House is in fact a motion of our confidence in the United Nations. If we have any doubts about the United Nations being the right and proper rostrum in which to resolve strife and strain amongst nations, then we are in conscience bound not to send our troops to the Congo. On the other hand, if we believe in the effectiveness of the United Nations to restrain the desire to kill, plunder and rape, then the presence of our troops in the Congo will be a manifestation of our faith in the United Nations.

Africans killing Africans in a vast country which has great promises for its inhabitants in a sad spectacle. Sadder still is the action of some nations in transporting over thousands of miles and at great expense the tools with which to destroy human lives. In any analysis of the tragedy of the Congo human existence must surely be the criterion; yet we find such scant reference to this important aspect in the Assembly of the United Nations. The marathon speeches during the last

few days made little contribution towards a more peaceful world. By and large, they were boastful utterances of the power to destroy nations and people with it. Mr. Khrushchev and his colonial administrators must be living in a world of their own, completely detached from the sentiments of the man in the street. It is unimaginable that there is a single individual in Russia's 220 millions, who desires to kill an Englishman, an American or an African whom he has never seen.

The redeeming feature today is the existence of the United Nations. Under the auspices of this organisation national leaders of the world confront each other to expound their ideologies. We can only hope that common ground will be found, and priority of their attention will be given to the welfare and contentment of man. Until such a state of affairs is reached, our faith in the United Nations must sustain us. Mr. Khrushchev recently let loose the bug of fragmentation in the United Nations Assembly when he wanted to replace the office of Secretary-General with a triumvirate administration. If his motive was to break up the United Nations Organisation, as world opinion thinks it was, then he could not have advocated a more direct and effective method. Fortunately, sanity prevailed and the scheme was condemned.

The despatch of our young men to the Congo, as I said, is a manifestation of our faith in the United Nations and our confidence that it holds the answer to the disorders that threatens the world. The Federation Army will leave our shores with the blessings of all Malaysians. Our boys will be an inspiration to the Congolese people and an example that diversity does not necessarily mean disunity. Our Special Force will show that differences of race, habits and creed are not obstacles to peaceful co-existence. I join the House in wishing the Malaysian Special Force a happy sojourn. (*Applause*).

Raja Rastam Shahrome: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya juga bangun menyokong penoh di-atas langkah yang telah diambil oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri. Apabila Kerajaan

mengeshorkan hajat-nya hendak menghantar satu pasokan tentera daripada negeri ini ka-Congo, maka berbagai soalan telah berbangkit di-satengah² kalangan orang ramai, tetapi nasib baik kalangan yang saperti ini bilangan-nya sangat kecil. Ada yang mengatakan apa perlu-nya menghantar pasokan tentera kita ka-Congo itu, ada yang mengatakan apa sangkut-paut-nya pergaduhan itu dengan Malaya ini dan ada juga yang mengatakan, tidak usah-lah kita menghantar orang ka-sana, hantarkan alat² sahaja dan berbagai² lagi pandangan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, maalum-lah fikiran orang yang saperti itu tidak dalam pengalaman-nya tentang kedudukan "International Affairs". Saya harap ia-itu sa-lepas daripada Tunku Perdana Menteri memberi laporan dan penerangan di-dalam Dewan Ra'ayat sa-malam, perasaan² mereka yang tidak betul itu akan hapus.

Kita sa-bagai sa-buah negara yang kecil dan mempunyai tentera yang kecil, sa-patut-nya kita merasa megah dan girang, kerana kita dapat melaksanakan seruan daripada Bangsa² Bersatu ia-itu menghantar pasokan tentera kita itu ka-Congo, kerana menunaikan kewajiban negeri ini sa-bagai ahli United Nations.

Kapada ibu-bapa, anak isteri dan juga tunang² hulubalang yang kita hantar ka-sana itu, kita minta jangan-lah bimbang, dan kita berdo'a supaya hulubalang itu "Selamat pergi, dan selamat balek".

Enche' Lim Hee Hong: Mr. President, Sir, I rise to support this motion. I congratulate the Government for making such an important and timely decision. I think it is a source of pride to a young nation like Malaya to embark on such an important mission—to send our force to the Congo to take part, together with forces of other members of the United Nations, in the maintenance of peace and order there.

The United Nations Organisation is the only organisation which can maintain peace and order in the world, without which, I am sure, the existence of the small nations will be in great danger. At the moment there are other evil forces working very hard behind

the scenes to destroy the structure of the United Nations but, in my opinion, God is very great; and I have great confidence that righteousness will always prevail over the evil forces. Thank you.

Enche' Amaluddin bin Darus: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, motion yang dikemukakan di-Majlis ini yang mengenai satu perkara yang sangat besar, satu perkara yang akan menghantar satu pasokan tentera dari Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ka-satu bahagian dunia kerana menolong menjaga keamanan dan mengembalikan ketenteraman di-Republic Congo. Tanah Melayu telah menyahut seruan daripada Bangsa² Bersatu atau pun yang di-panggil Majlis Keselamatan, supaya pasokan tentera di-kiriskan ka-Republic Congo untuk menjaga keamanan di-sana. Satu perkara yang ta' dapat kita rengankan bahawa masalaah ini adalah satu masalaah yang besar. Sebab keadaan yang berlaku di-Congo dari sa-hari ka-sa-hari itu, berbelit² dan sa-makin genting. Sa-hingga Perdana Menteri, dalam kenyataan-nya di-Dewan Ra'ayat telah menyatakan, sa-kira-nya pasokan Russia meneruskan bantuan²-nya ya'ani kalau perlu, tentera kita akan menentang. Sa-olah² tentera kita sudah bersedia pergi ka-sana sekali pun akan terjadi apa yang dikatakan Korea yang kedua. Jadi, ini-lah satu masalaah yang kalau ditinjau daripada kerumitan² dan kesulitan² yang sedang timbul mungkin akan membawa lebeh merbahaya daripada apa yang di-katakan menjaga keamanan.

Maka dengan sebab itu, kumpulan Persatuan Islam dalam Dewan Ra'ayat telah pun mengemukakan satu pindaan yang menuntut supaya di-sharatkan pemergian pasokan khas Malaya ka-Republic Congo itu, benar² sesuai dengan kepentingan Piagam Bangsa² Bersatu dan sharat² yang termaktub dalam Majlis Keselamatan, dan tidak-lah nanti pasokan khas ini akan boleh di-peralatkan oleh kuasa² besar Timor atau pun Barat. Sebab, kita terlalu sangsi dengan kejadian² yang akhir² ini berlaku di-Congo. Saya fikir, bukan-lah orang² daripada Persatuan Islam yang telah mengemukakan

pindaan di-Dewan Ra'ayat itu, sa-mata² sangsi di-dalam masaalah ini bahkan saya yakin Tunku Perdana Menteri juga ada terasa dalam perkara ini. Sebab tindakan yang telah di-ambil itu untuk menghantar tentera Persekutuan ka-Congo, bukan-lah satu tindakan yang baharu timbul dalam dua atau tiga hari yang lalu, yang menyebabkan Parlimen ini di-panggil bersidang dengan chara khas, malah perkara ini telah timbul lebeh dari sa-bulan yang lalu. Dan pada ketika itu keadaan di-Congo itu tidak sa-rumit saperti pada masa yang akhir² ini.

Untuk memberi tahu kepada Parlimen, saya rasa, dalam persidangan yang telah di-adakan baharu² ini, Kerajaan mempunyai peluang yang chukup untuk mengemukakan perkara ini, sa-bagai satu perkara khas kepada kedua² Rumah daripada Parlimen Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Akan tetapi, sa-sudah sidang di-tangguhkan dan anggota pun pulang, dengan sertamerta di-panggil pula kerana mengadakan persidangan khas untuk memberi ingatan kepada anggota² Parlimen ini, fasal Persekutuan menghantar tentera² nya ka-Congo. Ini-lah saya rasa, Tunku Perdana Menteri yang pada mula-nya merasa perkara menghantar tentera; menyahut seruan Majlis Keselamatan, satu perkara yang tidak begitu besar tetapi kesulitan² yang timbul kerana kejadian² di-Congo itu telah menyebabkan banyak ahli² fikir di-dunia ini mengemukakan fikiran mereka untuk memecahkan masaalah yang mungkin akan menjadi besar atau bertambah marak di-masa hadapan. Maka ini-lah agak-nya maka Tunku Perdana Menteri telah meminta supaya Dewan Parlimen bersidang untuk memberi tahu supaya dapat kita bertanggung jawab atas pengirisan tentera Persekutuan ka-Congo.

Bagi Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang muda, ini-lah kali yang pertama kita mengirimkan tentera ka-luar negeri. Dan mengikut perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ya'ani Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong, sa-bagai ketua besar bagi tentera, boleh mengirimkan tentera-nya atau mengerah tentera-nya dengan nasehat daripada pakar² tentera dan ini telah pun

berlaku. Tetapi dalam keadaan yang saperti ini, nasihat² yang telah diterima itu mungkin ada sedikit salah yang kita mengambil satu kesimpulan menghantar tentera dengan jumlah begitu ramai. Oleh sebab negara kita yang muda ini, yang mempunyai hanya askar yang lama 7 battalion sahaja daripada Malay Regiment dan daripada 7 battalion yang ada itu, itu-lah pula askar yang lama dan berpengalaman di-Tanah Melayu. Dua pertiga daripada satu battalion itu, di-chabut di-kechualikan yang tinggal yang sakit² atau yang akhir tahun ini akan habis tempoh perkhidmatan mereka untuk di-bawa ka-Congo. Ertinya tinggal 6 battalion daripada askar² Melayu di-Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Jadi terlalu-lah kechil bagi askar daripada jumlah yang memang pun kechil yang tinggal di-sa-buah negara yang merdeka, untuk menjaga keselamatan negara ini.

Tentang menyahut seruan Majlis Keselamatan ini, ada-lah soal yang mesti. Bagi negara² yang ikut menjadi anggota Pertubohan Bangsa² Bersatu, dia harus-lah tundok kepada apa yang di-persetujuan bersama di-dalam Majlis Bangsa² Bersatu dan chawangan² nya saperti juga Security Council atau Majlis Keselamatan ini. Tetapi di-antara negeri² yang mengirimkan pasokan² mereka ka-Congo itu, kebanyakan-nya ada-lah daripada Asia dan Africa dan ada di-antara negeri² itu yang mengirimkan 2,000 orang lebeh tentera dan ada juga mengirimkan hanya 200 orang tentera mereka. Sekarang lebeh kurang 13,000 orang tentera luar dari Congo telah pun berada di-Congo untuk menjaga keamanan di-sana. Dan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu telah mengambil langkah menghantar lebeh dari 600 orang tentera ka-Congo, erti-nya jumlah ini akan bertambah besar.

Jika sa-kira-nya perkara ini boleh di-bawa awal² lagi pada Parlimen, saya rasa, dapat-lah Parlimen ini menyelesaikan masaalah yang besar ini bersama², supaya kita dapat ikut bersama berbuat dengan bangsa² lain sa-bagai anggota Pertubohan Bangsa² Bersatu sa-kadar yang terdaya oleh kita. Mithal-nya; saya tunjukkan, kita ingat Majlis Keselamatan kali yang

pertama telah memanggil anggota²-nya mengirim tentera² untuk Korea. Bukan sa-bagaimana Congo yang sedang mengelegak akan tetapi di-Korea yang telah pun mengelegak dan marak menjadi satu peperangan yang besar. Sungguh pun begitu, ada diantara negara² anggota Bangsa² Bersatu seperti India, hanya mengirimkan satu pasukan Perubatan sa-bagai sumbangan mereka kepada pasukan Bangsa² Bersatu yang berkhidmat di-Korea, menentang pencherobohan komunis dari Korea Utara. Jadi, ini pun boleh di-buat oleh Persekutuan Tanah Melayu kalau sa-kira-nya kita dapat memikirkan lebih jauh tentang kedudukan kita yang sa-benar-nya. Jangan-lah kita sangat mahukan dipuji, jangan terlalu mahu puji sehingga kita nanti di-pandang orang mabok puji.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Bangsa² Bersatu ada-lah gelanggang politik bagi bangsa² di-dunia ini. Tertuboh-nya Bangsa² Bersatu itu riwayat-nya sama lebih kurang dengan tertuboh-nya League of Nations—Lembaga Bangsa², masing² di-tubuhkan sa-sudah perang dunia berlaku. Tertuboh-nya League of Nations dan tertuboh-nya United Nations Organisation sama² di-taja oleh kuasa² besar dan penuh dengan maksud² politik. Maka dengan sebab itu, dalam satu ucapan saya pada masa membicarakan soal Apartheid, saya rasa, kalau ta' salah, pernah mengingatkan, Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sa-bagai sa-buah negara kecil, patut berikhtiar bersama² khusus-nya dengan negara² lain yang kecil di-dunia ini—Asia Africa, supaya bersama² menchantumkan dalam satu gerakan yang lebih berkesan dan mempengaruhi keadaan dan perkembangan politik di-dunia ini di-dalam Pertubuhan Bangsa² Bersatu. Sa-hingga tidak-lah terjadi ada orang boleh walk out—jalan keluar, bila soal-nya atau perkara-nya itu ditentang atau orang yang tidak memperdulikan kemahuan bangsa² yang ramai oleh kerana masing² dengan chara-nya sendiri. Kalau ini di-biarkan, seperti kata saya dahulu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nasib Bangsa² Bersatu ini akan sama-lah juga mengikuti nasib League of Nations atau Lembaga

Bangsa² itu. Seperti yang terjadi di-Korea, pencherobohan Korea Utara terhadap Korea Selatan telah di-tentang oleh Bangsa² Bersatu, sebalik-nya Korea Utara yang menggunakan senjata Russia dan di-bantu oleh pasukan suka-rela daripada Communist China, maka Bangsa² Bersatu telah meminta negara² yang menjadi anggota-nya mengirimkan tentera²-nya dan tentera² ini akhir-nya berperang dengan menelan beberapa ribu manusia hasil-nya sebalik ka-tempat lama juga di-garisan 38.

Ini ada-lah satu perkara atau masalaah yang di-belakang ini ada tenaga dan kuasa² politik khusus-nya kuasa² besar yang memainkan peranan-nya. Bagi kita negara yang kecil dan juga negara² lain yang kecil di-dunia ini memang berkehendakkan dan meletakkan pengharapan yang besar kepada Pertubuhan Bangsa² Bersatu supaya kita dapat hidup dengan aman dan damai dalam dunia ini, dan kita tidak ingin terjadi sa-suatu kejadian yang boleh merosakkan keamanan dalam dunia ini. Akan tetapi sementara pihak barat, kuasa penjajah barat yang nampak-nya dengan chara terpaksa sedang memerdekakan satu demi satu negara² yang mereka jajahi itu, sebalik-nya Russia dan China Communist sedang mena'alok, bagi mengikhtikarkan mengkongkong satu demi satu negara bagi memasokki pena'alokan mereka.

Ini ada-lah satu masalaah bagaimana-kah dunia ini dapat di-selamatkan kerana kepentingan dan kepentingan yang sentiasa berlawanan, maka kerana itu timbul-lah masalaah ini. Bila timbul masalaah Congo ini tidak sunyi daripada masalaah barat dan timur—tidak sunyi daripada rebutan pengaruh diantara blok Amerika dan pengaruh blok Russia.

Kita ikut sama kerana kita ingin perdamaian. Belgium sa-bagai satu kuasa penjajah yang mena'alok, telah dengan terpaksa memerdekakan Congo, tetapi Belgium dengan maksud untuk menjamin ekonomi-nya, telah memainkan peranan, dan menyebabkan timbul-nya negara Katanga. Keadaan Katanga yang menyebabkan Mr. Patrice Lumumba meminta bantuan Bangsa²

Bersatu dan ini-lah puncha-nya krisis yang berlaku di-Congo yang mana Malaya mengirimkan tentera-nya.

Belgium ada-lah satu daripada anggota NATO dan NATO itu bertali dengan SEATO, kerana pertalian yang di-sebutkan itu, maka masalaah ini ada-lah masalaah Barat dan Timor dalam perang dingin di-dunia sekarang ini.

Yang demikian supaya jangan terlibat tak tentu hala, maka Persekutuan Islam sa-Tanah Melayu telah membawa pindaan dalam Dewan Ra'ayat yang mana meminta supaya terjamin dengan sa-benar-nya dengan usul pindaan-nya itu, tetapi malang-nya usul pindaan itu tidak dapat di-terima oleh Kerajaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak lagi akan kemukakan sebarang pindaan dalam Dewan ini, akan tetapi saya ulangi dan saya akan berchakap dalam beberapa perkara di-Majlis ini ia-lah oleh kerana kebetulan pula dalam Dewan Ra'ayat anggota Persatuan Islam sa-Tanah Melayu telah pun membentangkan segala pendapat mereka sa-bagai memberikan hujah kepada usul pindaan yang telah di-kemukakan-nya itu, sebab-nya tidak lain dan tidak bukan ia-lah kerana semata² kita insaf betapa kedudukan politik internasional dalam rebutan pengaruh pada masa ini, dan biar-lah kita sa-bagai anggota Bangsa² Bersatu yang chintakan kepada perdamaian ikut sama menyumbangkan tenaga kita, tetapi biarlah berpadanan dengan keadaan² yang sa-benar-nya pada diri kita sendiri.

Sekarang ini telah terjadi semua-nya. Askar² kita akan bertolak ka-Congo. Di-sana menanti-lah saudara² mereka dari berbagai² bangsa dan di-antara-nya ada tentera Abyssinian. Saperti yang telah terjadi dalam Dewan Ra'ayat semalam, tiap² kali di-sebut "*Col. M*"—saya tidak mahu panjangkan *Col. M*. itu yang di-ringkaskan oleh Tunku Perdana Menteri—Majlis g e g a k - g e m p i t a ketawa, sebab *MOBUTU* ada pengertian-nya yang dapat di-fahamkan sahingga Majlis gelak ketawa. Sekarang tentera kita akan sampai ka-Congo untuk menjaga keamanan dan di-sana akan di-tulis

perkataan M-A-L-A-Y-A MALAYA dan saya fikir tiap² anggota Abyssinian, atau tentera Abyssinian—orang Habshi—akan ketawa pula menengok tiap² sa-orang tentera MALAYA, oleh sebab kalau tak salah dalam ingatan saya beberapa tahun yang lalu telah tersiar dalam akhbar *Warta Negara* terbitan Pulau Pinang ia-itu satu berita berhubung dengan Perdana Menteri Habshi telah mengirim surat kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku yang pada masa itu, kalau tak salah menjadi Ketua Menteri meminta supaya nama Malaya itu di-tukarkan kepada nama yang lain, sebab pada bahasa orang² Habshi Malaya itu erti-nya "*Perempuan Lachor*". Ini ada-lah satu teka-teki apabila kita ketawa mendengar *Colonel Mobutu* maka nanti di-sana bila sampai tentera kita yang di-dada mereka di-tulis M-A-L-A-Y-A, nanti tiap² anggota tentera Habshi pun ketawa pula, MALAYA, MALAYA, kata-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-lah sahaja perchakapan saya sa-bagai satu pandangan untuk Majlis ini, dan saya pada dasar-nya tidak-lah menentang pengirisan tentera ka-Congo sa-bagai satu sumbangan Tanah Melayu yang dia-nya menjadi anggota bagi Pertubuhan Bangsa² Bersatu yang harus ta'at dan patoh pada keputusan-nya itu.

Engku Muhsein: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong penoh di-atas chadangan menghantar satu rombongan tentera kita ka-Congo. Salain daripada itu, saya rasa penghan-taran yang akan kita buat itu ia-lah menjadi satu sumbangan dan pengorbanan untuk keamanan dan mendamaikan negeri itu sendiri. Jika kita kembali mengkaji sejarah dunia dari sa-zaman ka-sa-zaman, maka kita dapati ada-lah menjadi 'adat dalam dunia semenjak dari permulaan sejarah lagi, semenjak sejarah di-ingati oleh manusia, perang dan damai sileh berganti, dan daripada semenjak itu-lah juga ikhtiar² telah di-jalankan oleh orang² yang chintakan keamanan dan perdamaian, mengadakan kumpulan atau pun badan² guna menghindar dan menjauhkan peperangan, tetapi tiap²

ranchangan yang telah di-jalankan berhasi dengan kehampaan sahaja. Akhirnya, sa-bagaimana yang kita tahu, sa-telah peperangan dunia yang pertama dalam tahun 1914-18 yang lalu telah menelorkan League of Nations atau Lembaga Bangsa² di-Geneva. Sa-waktu Lembaga Bangsa² itu di-tubuhkan dahulu, maka banyak-lah orang² yang merasa itu-lah satu badan yang akan memberi keamanan—satu badan yang akan dapat menyelamatkan dunia daripada hanchor lebor. Tetapi malang-nya oleh keadaan telah berlaku pada masa itu, oleh tidak adanya satu ketegasan Lembaga Bangsa² dalam menghadapi beberapa masalah² yang tertentu saperti masalah pelanggaran Italy ka-negeri Habshi dan lain² lagi, maka Lembaga Bangsa² itu tidak membuat apa², akhir-nya peperangan dunia yang kedua terjadi.

Maka itu-lah saya rasa tiap² orang yang mengikut perkembangan sejarah dunia, tiap² orang yang menginsafi bahawa sa-lagi mereka mahu hidup di-dalam dunia ini dengan aman dan dengan tidak ada gangguan, maka mustahak-lah dengan sunggoh²-nya berdiri dengan tegoh kapada sa-buah badan yang tegas, yang di-hormati dan di-ta'ati oleh bangsa² yang ada di-bumi ini. Dan dengan sebab itu-lah saya merasa Pertubohan Bangsa² Bersatu yang ada pada hari ini ada-lah satu langkah akhir bagi anak Adam untuk hidup dengan selamat di-dunia ini.

Jika P.B.B. ini tidak tegas pendirian-nya, jika P.B.B. ini tidak di-hormati dan di-ta'ati keputusan-nya oleh bangsa² di-dunia ini, maka akan hanchor lebor-lah keadaan kita pada masa yang akan datang, tambahan pula dengan ada-nya senjata² yang dengan sa-kelip mata sahaja boleh menghanchorkan seluroh dunia ini. Maka saya rasa lebeh lagi perlu dan mustahak P.B.B. dan segala tugas-nya, di-jun-jong, di-ta'ati dan di-sokong dengan sunggoh²-nya. Itu-lah saya rasa dengan kita menyahut seruan P.B.B. menyumbangkan satu rombongan tentera kita ka-Congo menjadi satu pengorbanan yang bukan hanya dengan "Charter" yang manis², tetapi menghantar pemuda² kita untuk melihat bahawa keputusan, perintah, tindakan Bangsa²

Bersatu betul² di-jalankan dan di-ta'ati.

Maka dalam perkara ini-lah boleh jadi ada orang² yang berulang² kali mengatakan, sa-olah² tidak percaya bahawa Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini akan berpegang tegoh dengan chita² menghantar rombongan tentera ka-Congo itu berasaskan dengan keputusan Bangsa² Bersatu, berasaskan kapada "piagam" Bangsa² Bersatu. Pandangan² yang mengatakan kita hendaklah jangan terbawa² ka-barat atau ka-timor, kita hendaklah masok "bloc" yang tertentu, mithal-nya, "bloc" Afro-Asian. Maka saya rasa daripada pengalaman yang telah di-rasai oleh manusia daripada dahulu, satu chara sahaja yang Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu patut membuat-nya ia-itu dengan tidak memihak kapada mana² "bloc" walau pun Afro-Asian. Tetapi memasoki dengan tegas ia-itu hanya berpegang kapada dasar² yang di-tentukan ia-itu mengikut keputusan Bangsa² Bersatu. Dengan jalan itu-lah sahaja saya rasa tidak ada berlawanan dan dengan itu-lah juga askar yang kita hantar itu tidak akan di-permainkan oleh sa-siapa pun.

Oleh sebab itu-lah saya ingin menegaskan lagi kapada siapa² juga yang membayangkan rasa waswas-nya bahawa Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita dalam ucapan-nya telah menegaskan ia-itu kita menghantar askar ka-Congo itu sa-mata² mengikut "piagam" Bangsa² Bersatu, dan berdasarkan dengan itu sahaja saya tidak nampak satu hujah pun yang boleh mendatangkan waswas yang askar² kita itu akan di-peralat atau di-permainkan oleh kuasa yang tertentu.

Dengan chara menghantar tentera kita ka-Congo ini juga, saya rasa, bukan satu chara menchari kepujian, bukan satu chara menchari nama tetapi ini-lah satu chara menyelamatkan diri kita sendiri. Sebab saya kata begitu, kerana keadaan² dunia pada masa ini di-mana perhubungan² begitu chepat dan dekat sakali jikalau 50 tahun dahulu untuk pergi ka-England memakan masa berbulan² maka sekarang ini hanya memakan masa 24 jam sahaja. Bahkan jika melalui alat² Alitalia yang terbaharu itu hanya

akan memakan masa beberapa jam sahaja. Maka dengan sebab itu walau pun Congo ini lima, enam ribu batu jauh-nya dari Malaya tetapi dengan perkembangan² kecheputan kenderaan dan lain² perhubungan, apa yang terjadi di-Congo itu akan sama² kita tanggung akibat-nya di-sini.

Kita sedar beberapa tahun dahulu, kalau ta' salah dalam tahun 1955 atau 1956, satu kejadian telah terjadi di-Suez di-antara Israil dengan Masir. Satu keadaan yang boleh meletus-nya perang dunia tetapi nasib baik Bangsa² Bersatu telah lekas masuk champor dengan menghantarkan tentera² mengamankan keadaan di-situ dan dengan itu keamanan dunia telah terchapai. Maka ini-lah juga saya rasa, dengan penghantaran tentera² kita ka-Congo itu dengan lekas-nya ada-lah menjamin supaya peperangan tidak akan terjadi. Oleh sebab itu, saya rasa, terjadi-nya peperangan baik di-Congo, baik di-Korea, baik di-Israil, akibat-nya tidak beberapa jam atau beberapa hari akan sama² kita rasai. Jika masa Hitler dahulu, peperangan mulai pada 3 September, tahun 1939; baharu pada 8 December, tahun 1941, kita menghadapi peperangan di-sini tetapi saya rasa, jika berlaku peperangan di-Congo di-mana kuasa² besar yang tertentu harus champor antara satu sama lain, ta' sempat satu dua hari kita akan merasanya di-sini. Maka dengan sebab itu-lah dengan penghantaran tentera² kita berjumlah 600 orang lebeh itu, ada-lah sabenar²-nya menjaga keselamatan kita di-samping sumbangan kita kepada Perdana Menteri.

Tentang kedudukan tentera kita di-sana, saperti kata saudara saya Yang Berhormat yang baharu berchakap tadi, ada mengatakan, Tunku Perdana Menteri dalam ucapan-nya menegaskan jikalau pehak Russia masuk champor dalam perkara Congo, kita harus berperang atau berlawan dengan Russia. Saya rasa, ini boleh jadi salah faham atau pun boleh jadi kita silap. Saya semak ucapan Tunku Perdana Menteri, apa yang termaktub di-dalam-nya itu telah terang dan jelas menyatakan bahawa tentera Malaya

di-hantar ka-Congo itu ada-lah di-bawah perintah daripada puchok pimpinan Bangsa² Bersatu. Tiap² langkah, tiap² tindakan yang akan dibuat oleh tentera² kita itu ada-lah melalui saluran² yang tertentu dari puchok pimpinan Bangsa² Bersatu. Jadi, jika di-takdirkan perang, barang di-jauhi oleh Allah, Russia dengan tidak menghiraukan titah-perintah keputusan Bangsa² Bersatu, dengan sendiri-nya menghantarkan tentera-nya ka-Congo dan pada masa itu Bangsa² Bersatu mulai bersidang serta membuat keputusan menentang kamasokan Russia tadi, sudah tentu walau pun kita, si-kanchil dengan si-harimau tetapi si-kanchil tetap melawan mengikut perintah dan keputusan Bangsa² Bersatu. Itu tegas pendirian kita, bukan kita mahu melawan atau menyerang dengan sechara kesedaran atau pun chuba menunjo²kan. Ini-lah saya rasa, satu perkara yang mustahak kita membetulkan, dan jangan menjadi salah faham terutama sekali Ahli² Parlimen dan wakil² ra'ayat sakalian. Ada juga pandangan² baharu sekejap tadi berkenaan dengan jumlah sa-banyak 613 orang tentera itu, ia-lah satu jumlah yang banyak, satu jumlah yang di-hantar dengan tidak mengukor kochek atau pokit sendiri. Kata orang tua², buat baju tidak ukor badan, itu-lah pandangan saya di-atas pandangan yang di-berikan oleh Senator 'Amaluddin yang mengatakan sa-olah² kita ini hendak menchari nama, hendak memakan puji. Sa-benar-nya saya rasa jikalau kita hendak memberi hadiah, jikalau kita hendak menolong kepada sa-sorang tolong-lah dengan sunggoh², biar-lah kita bertanggung jawab, jangan-lah kita jikalau pergi karumah rakan kita yang kesempitan wang atau pun kesusahan mendapat kemalangan hanya dengan menjengok, tinggalkan beras barang satu atau dua gantang, saya rasa tak sempat satu atau dua hari sudah habis—orang sa-belah rumah pun mati kebuloran. Kalau hendak tolong, saya rasa jikalau kita banyak wang atau pun kaya berilah wang yang boleh agak memberi satu kelonggaran dalam kehidupan-nya, dan dengan pertolongan tadi akan memberi satu kuasa kepada-nya untuk

bekerja menchari nafkah. Bagitu juga saya rasa kalau hendak hantarkan tentera 100-200 orang, boleh di-hantar, tetapi saya ini bukan-lah sa-orang yang pandai dan pintar dalam ilmu ketenteraan, chuma sechara jahil sahaja, atau chongak 200 orang apa-lah yang boleh di-buat—bak kata orang² tua: Melepaskan batok di-tangga sahaja. Kalau 200 orang terhegeh² di-Leopoldville dan Elisabethville menengok Colonel Mobutu, President Kasavubu mengatakan ini-lah Malaya konon-nya 200 orang tentera dengan senapang, jangankan pula hendak membawa senapang, barangkali lebeh susah lagi.

Oleh sebab itu, saya rasa kalau hendak hantar, hantar-lah dengan satu kumpulan yang ada memberi faedah, yang ada mempunyai jentera yang tertentu, dengan alat² senjata yang *up-to-date* atau yang modern sekali dengan mempunyai segala kelengkapan yang boleh memberi pertolongan kapada tempat yang hendak di-tolong itu. Jangan-lah kita pergi ka-sana dengan 200 orang, lori 2 buah yang mana kita buat menambahkan bebanan kapada orang² di-sana sahaja. Hendak hantar tentera kita telephone dengan Colonel Mobutu, minta hantarkan lori—tentu tak jadi. Apa-tah lagi kita mempunyai kelengkapan, lori, senjata dan lain² jentera yang boleh kita bawa bersama dengan tidak menambahkan kerugian pada tentera kita yang berada di-sana. Chuma saya rasa satu sahaja yang mesti kita tegaskan—mahu hantar atau tak mahu hantar—kalau hendak hantar biar-lah chukop, kalau tidak jangan. Jangan main 10 sen-20 sen—biar chukop satu ringgit.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tentera yang di-hantar ka-Congo itu saya rasa adalah menjadi satu contoh yang baik kapada benua Afrika dan kapada dunia seluruh-nya. Tentera yang di-hantar itu mengandongi sa-genap lapisan gulongan ra'ayat negeri ini daripada berbagai² bangsa dan keturunan—ada si-*Ali*, ada si-*Ah Chong* dan ada si-*Ramasamy*, dan dengan ini kita berharap akan memberi pula satu contoh kapada orang² Afrika bahawa walau pun kita mempunyai gulongan² yang berbagai warna kulit, tutor bahasa dan adat istiadat, namun dapat kita hidup

dengan bersatu padu yang mana dapat menolong mereka. Di-Congo sana terdiri dari berbagai² puak, berbagai keturunan yang berlainan perchakapannya, tetapi satu warna kulit boleh bersatu padu membena satu negara Congo yang ma'amor dan maju.

Saya berdo'a mudah²an rombongan tentera kita yang akan pergi ka-Congo itu akan selamat dan akan kembali ka-Malaya sa-mula dengan selamat dan berjaya. (*Tepok*).

Enche' Hashim Awang: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya merasa hairan tatkala mendengar sahabat kita daripada pehak PMIP yang mengatakan ada-lah Kerajaan kita, Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini hendak menchari *pujian*. Pada perasaan saya sampai pada masa ini *pujian*² yang mana kita telah dapati itu sudah chukup pada negara kita yang kecil ini dan kita tidak berkehendakkan lagi *pujian*² yang lain, tetapi chuma kita hendak menunaikan kewajipan kita sa-bagai satu ahli dalam Pertubuhan Bangsa² Bersatu.

Di-atas perkataan atau *allegation* yang mana ada dalam senu-bari sahabat kita itu, saya minta chuchikan-lah sama sekali dan jangan-lah lagi memikirkan yang Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini hendak menchari *pujian*. Satu dua perkara, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang mana Ahli itu juga telah berasa takut barangkali tatkala tentera kita sampai ka-negeri sana mereka itu akan menjadi alat kapada mana² pehak. Jaminan² untuk melindungi perkara itu telah pun sudah terkandung di-dalam *resolution* yang mana telah di-ambil di-General Assembly baru² ini yang telah disokong oleh semua Bangsa Afro-Asia. Yang tidak menerima jaminan itu hanya-lah negeri² Communist, negeri France dan juga South Africa.

Ini sudah memberi jaminan yang mana kita akan menetapkan hati kita ia-itu tentera kita akan berada di-dalam keselamatan tatkala mereka itu bertugas di-sana. Saya suka menyambung atau menerangkan juga tatkala bilangan tentera² negeri lain sa-bagaimana yang telah di-sebutkan oleh Ahli itu tadi, dan juga kapada bilangan 700 orang² kita itu yang mana kita sendiri akan

menghantarkan ada-lah sangat sedikit bilangan-nya. Di-sini saya suka menyatakan bilangan askar di-Congo ada-lah sa-bagai berikut:

Ethiopia	...	...	2,560
Ghana	...	...	2,390
Guinea	...	...	740
Ireland	...	...	1,370
Libria	...	...	220
Mali	...	...	570
Morocco	...	...	3,220
Sudan	...	...	390
Sweden	...	...	580
Tunisia	...	...	2,640
Indonesia	...	...	1,200
United Arab Republic	...	...	510

Sungguh pun sekarang ini sebahagian telah di-undorkan tentera² itu di-sana, namun ini menunjukkan 700 orang tentera kita yang hendak di-hantarkan itu ada-lah sangat² patut bagi negeri kita ini. Dan lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, seperti mana tuan daripada pihak PMIP yang mengatakan ada pengaruh dua pihak dalam Congo itu. Maka sebab itu-lah yang kita mesti sokong pengaruh atau sokong kepada United Nations supaya kedua² pihak itu tidak menjadi gelanggang pertempuran. Sa-lain dari itu ada di-sebutkan perkara² yang bersangkutan dengan negeri Korea yang mana telah menjadi sa-hingga menyebabkan peperangan besar berlaku di-sana, oleh sebab ada pihak lain yang menghantarkan tentera mereka itu ka-Korea—tentera² luar, jadi itu-lah sebab-nya United Nations atau Bangsa² Bersatu telah mengambil langkah dan menghantarkan pula askar²-nya daripada ahli² Bangsa² Bersatu supaya menyekat jangan ada sa-belah pihak sahaja untuk mengambil langkah menggambar askar² di-situ, dan kita meminta askar kita supaya mengambil bahagian dalam Bangsa² Bersatu, dan oleh yang demikian harus-lah tidak ada lagi Korea Utara dan Korea Selatan melakukan perkara² yang seperti itu, dan kita ada-lah menyokong dengan seboleh²-nya kepada Bangsa² Bersatu dalam berbagai² perkara supaya mengambil langkah di-bila² masa sekali pun.

Setakat ini-lah sahaja dan saya berharap, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kepada

askar², pemuda² kita itu yang akan bertolak daripada tanah ayer pada 4 October, 1960, ini semoga kita harapkan yang mereka itu akan belayar dan balek dengan selamat-nya. (*Tepok*).

Tun Leong Yew Koh: Mr. President, Sir, I thank all Honourable Members for their unanimous support to the motion in my name. There is, however, one Honourable Member, namely the Honourable Enche' Amaluddin bin Darus, who seems to question the wisdom of our sending troops to the Congo by not taking into due consideration the big power blocs who are behind the crisis in the Congo. Sir, when we see a fire in our neighbour's house we do not wait to consider who caused the fire before we rush to his house. Similarly, the Congo is now in trouble and we are asked by the United Nations to go to their help; so, we do not consider who are the causes of the trouble in the Congo. If we do not respond to the appeal of the United Nations, can we in future face the United Nations when we stand up to ask for help for small countries to defend their independence and rights. I do not think we can do that.

The Honourable Member also raised the question about the strength of the force we are sending. He thinks it is too big. Sir, we did not come to the strength of the force at random. It was arrived at only after consulting our military advisers and they advised us to send an effective force, an effective unit, one which can fulfil the task given to it—not as another. Honourable Member just pointed that when we need reinforcement we should ask Kasavubu to telephone us (*Laughter*). We have to send out a complete and effective unit, and this has come to a number of 613 officers and men on the advice of our military advisers.

Another Honourable Member, the Honourable Enche' Da Abdul Jalil, expressed anxiety that our Malayan force may have to take sides with one bloc or another; and he said that Government should have obtained assurance before agreeing to send our troops to the Congo. I can assure the Honourable Member that Government has already obtained such an assurance.

May I read to him the general principles guiding the operations of the United Nations Force in the Congo issued by the United Nations:

- “(1) Operations must be separate and distinct from activities by any national authorities including the host-Governments or other Governments.
- (2) United Nations Force cannot become parties to internal conflicts and cannot therefore be used to enforce specific political solution.
- (3) Loyalty of United Nations Force personnel must be to the United Nations only, thus ensuring its international character.
- (4) Units are prohibited from initiating the use of armed forces though entitled to act in self-defence.”

From these general principles I think we can know that our force will not be used to side one bloc or the other. In a Resolution made on the 20th of September, the General Assembly appealed to all Congolese within the Republic to seek a speedy solution by peaceful means to all their internal conflicts for the unity and integrity of the Congo, with the assistance, as appropriate, of African and Asian countries appointed by the Advisory Committee on the Congo in consultation with the Secretary-General for the purpose of conciliation and mediation, and we have offered to be a member of this conciliation committee. Another Resolution reaffirms specifically,

- (a) its request to all States to refrain from any action which might tend to impede the restoration of law and order and the exercise by the Government of the Congo of its authority, and also to refrain from any action which might undermine the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Congo;

- (b) it calls on all member States, in accordance with Articles 25 and 49 of the Charter, to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council and to afford mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Another Resolution calls upon all States, without prejudice to the sovereign rights of the Republic of Congo, to refrain from direct or indirect provision of arms or other materials of war and military personnel to the Congo during the temporary period of the operation of the United Nations Force, except through the U.N. upon request by the Secretary-General for carrying out the resolutions.

Mr. President, Sir, I think the Honourable Member is assured now that our troops will not be employed on one side or the other.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That this House notes the action of the Government in placing in the service of the United Nations Organisation a contingent of the Federation Armed Forces for use in the Republic of the Congo as set out in Command Paper No. 43 of 1960, and expresses its full support of the action taken.

ADJOURNMENT

(Motion)

Tun Leong Yew Koh: Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move, that the House do now adjourn.

Engku Muhsein: Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. President: Meshuarat di-tang-gohkan sa-hingga hari Rabu 21 hari-bulan December, 1960.

House adjourned at 4.10 p.m.