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Wednesday
15th December, 1965

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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

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MALAYSIA

DEWAN RA'AYAT

(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

Official Report

Second Session of the Second Dewan Ra'ayat

Wednesday, 15th December, 1965

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

PRESENT:

- The Honourable Mr Speaker, DATO' CHIK MOHAMED YUSUF BIN SHEIKH ABDUL RAHMAN, S.P.M.P., J.P., Dato' Bendahara, Perak.
- „ the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, Minister of National and Rural Development, TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ the Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Justice, DATO' DR ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, P.M.N. (Johor Timor).
- „ the Minister of Finance, ENCHE' TAN SIEW SIN, J.P. (Melaka Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, DATO' V. T. SAMBANTHAN, P.M.N. (Sungai Siput).
- „ the Minister of Transport, DATO' HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ the Minister of Education, ENCHE' MOHAMED KHIR JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ the Minister of Health, ENCHE' BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN (Kuala Pilah).
- „ the Minister of Commerce and Industry, DR LIM SWEE AUN, J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- „ the Minister for Welfare Services, TUAN HAJI ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, J.M.N., J.P. (Batang Padang).
- „ the Minister for Local Government and Housing, ENCHE' KHAW KAI-BOH, P.J.K. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ the Minister of Labour, ENCHE' V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).
- „ the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, ENCHE' SENU BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, TUAN HAJI MOHAMED GHAZALI BIN HAJI JAWI (Ulu Perak).
- „ the Minister of Lands and Mines, ENCHE' ABDUL-RAHMAN BIN YA'KUB (Sarawak).
- „ the Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development, ENCHE' SULAIMAN BIN BULON (Bagan Datoh).

- The Honourable the Assistant Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports,
 ENSKU MUHSEIN BIN ABDUL KADIR, J.M.N., S.M.T., P.J.K.
 (Trengganu Tengah).
- .. the Assistant Minister of Finance, DR NG KAM POH, J.P.
 (Telok Anson).
- .. the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health,
 ENCHE' IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Seberang Tengah).
- .. the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour,
 ENCHE' LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N. (Segamat Selatan).
- .. the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance,
 ENCHE' ALI BIN HAJI AHMAD (Pontian Selatan).
- .. the Parliamentary Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister,
 ENCHE' CHEN WING SUM (Damansara).
- .. ENCHE' ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- .. ENCHE' ABDUL KARIM BIN ABU, A.M.N. (Melaka Selatan).
- .. WAN ABDUL KADIR BIN ISMAIL, P.P.T. (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- .. WAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN DATU TUANKU BUJANG (Sarawak).
- .. TUAN HAJI ABDUL RASHID BIN HAJI JAIS (Sabah).
- .. ENCHE' ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSIN (Lipis).
- .. ENCHE' ABDUL SAMAD BIN GUL AHMAD MIANJI
 (Pasir Mas Hulu).
- .. Y.A.M. TUNKU ABDULLAH IBNI AL-MARHUM TUANKU ABDUL
 RAHMAN, P.P.T. (Rawang).
- .. TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI MOHD. SALLEH, A.M.N., S.M.J.,
 P.I.S. (Segamat Utara).
- .. ENCHE' ABU BAKAR BIN HAMZAH (Bachok).
- .. ENCHE' AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N. (Muar Utara).
- .. TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAAID, J.P. (Seberang Utara).
- .. CHE' AJIBAH BINTI ABOL (Sarawak).
- .. O.K.K. DATU ALIUDDIN BIN DATU HARUN, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- .. DR AWANG BIN HASSAN, S.M.J. (Muar Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- .. ENCHE' JONATHAN BANGAU ANAK RENANG, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN SEONG YOON (Setapak).
- .. ENCHE' CHAN SIANG SUN (Bentong).
- .. ENCHE' CHIA CHIN SHIN, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' FRANCIS CHIA NYUK TONG (Sabah).
- .. ENCHE' CHIN FOON (Ulu Kinta).
- .. ENCHE' C. V. DEVAN NAIR (Bungsar).
- .. ENCHE' EDWIN ANAK TANGKUN (Sarawak).
- .. TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S.
 (Batu Pahat Dalam).
- .. DATIN HAJJAH FATIMAH BINTI HAJI ABDUL MAJID
 (Johor Bahru Timor).
- .. DATIN FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N.
 (Jitra-Padang Terap).

- The Honourable EHCHE' S. FAZUL RAHMAN, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- .. ENCHE' GANING BIN JANGKAT (Sabah).
- .. ENCHE' GEH CHONG KEAT, K.M.N. (Penang Utara).
- .. TUAN HAJI HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Kapar).
- .. ENCHE' HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N., J.P. (Kulim Utara).
- .. ENCHE' HARUN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Baling).
- .. WAN HASSAN BIN WAN DAUD (Tumpat).
- .. ENCHE' STANLEY HO NGUN KHIU, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- .. ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN TO' MUDA HASSAN, A.M.N. (Raub).
- .. ENCHE' HUSSEIN BIN SULAIMAN (Ulu Kelantan).
- .. TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN
(Kota Bharu Hulu).
- .. ENCHE' IKHWAN ZAINI (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' ISMAIL BIN IDRIS (Penang Selatan).
- .. DATO' SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, P.M.N.
(Johor Tenggara).
- .. ENCHE' KAM WOON WAH, J.P. (Sitiawan).
- .. ENCHE' THOMAS KANA (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' KHOO PENG LOONG (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' EDMUND LANGGU ANAK SAGA (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' LEE SECK FUN (Tanjong Malim).
- .. DATO' LING BENG SIEW, P.N.B.S. (Sarawak).
- .. DR LIM CHONG EU (Tanjong).
- .. DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD (Kota Star Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P. (Port Dickson).
- .. ENCHE' JOSEPH DAVID MANJAJI (Sabah).
- .. DATO' DR HAJI MEGAT KHAS, D.P.M.P., J.P., P.J.K.
(Kuala Kangsar).
- .. ENCHE' MOHD. ARIF SALLEH, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- .. ENCHE' MOHD. DAUD BIN ABDUL SAMAD (Besut).
- .. ENCHE' MOHAMED IDRIS BIN MATSIL, J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P.
(Jelebu-Jempol).
- .. ENCHE' MOHD. TAHIR BIN ABDUL MAJID, S.M.S., P.J.K.
(Kuala Langat).
- .. ENCHE' MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- .. ENCHE' MOHD. ZAHIR BIN HAJI ISMAIL, J.M.N. (Sungai Patani).
- .. WAN MOKHTAR BIN AHMAD (Kemaman).
- .. TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' MUHAMMAD FAKHRUDDIN BIN HAJI ABDULLAH
(Pasir Mas Hilir).
- .. TUAN HAJI MUHAMMAD SU'AUT BIN HAJI MUHD. TAHIR, A.B.S.
(Sarawak).
- .. DATO' HAJI MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ABDUL JABAR, D.P.M.S., A.M.N.,
J.P. (Sabak Bernam).
- .. ENCHE' MUSTAPHA BIN AHMAD (Tanah Merah).
- .. DATO' NIK AHMAD KAMIL, D.K., S.P.M.K., S.J.M.K., P.M.N.,
P.Y.G.P., Dato' Sri Setia Raja (Kota Bharu Hilir).

- The Honourable ENCHE' NG FAH YAM (Batu Gajah).
- .. TUAN HAJI OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Hilir Perak).
- .. ENCHE' OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- .. TUAN HAJI RAHMAT BIN HAJI DAUD, A.M.N. (Johor Bahru Barat).
- .. ENCHE' RAMLI BIN OMAR (Krian Darat).
- .. TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID, P.J.K., J.P. (Rembau-Tampin).
- .. RAJA ROME BIN RAJA MA'AMOR, P.J.K., J.P. (Kuala Selangor).
- .. ENCHE' SEAH TENG NGIAB, P.I.S. (Muar Pantai).
- .. ENCHE' SIOW LOONG HIN, P.J.K. (Seremban Barat).
- .. ENCHE' SENAWI BIN ISMAIL, P.J.K. (Seberang Selatan).
- .. ENCHE' SOH AH TECK (Batu Pahat).
- .. ENCHE' SULEIMAN BIN ALI (Dungun).
- .. PENGIRAN TAHIR PETRA (Sabah).
- .. ENCHE' TAJUDDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- .. ENCHE' TAI KUAN YANG (Kulim Bandar Bharu).
- .. ENCHE' TAMA WENG TINGGANG WAN (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' TAN CHENG BEE, J.P. (Bagan).
- .. ENCHE' TAN TOH HONG (Bukit Bintang).
- .. ENCHE' TAN TSAK YU (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' TIAH ENG BEE (Kluang Utara).
- .. ENCHE' YEOH TAT BENG (Bruas).
- .. TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB, P.J.K. (Langat).

ABSENT:

- The Honourable the Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M. (Kuala Kedah).
- .. the Minister for Sarawak Affairs, DATO' TEMENGGONG JUGAH ANAK BARIENG, P.M.N., P.D.K. (Sarawak).
- .. the Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry, TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).
- .. the Assistant Minister of Education, ENCHE' LEE SIOK YEW, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Sepang).
- .. ENCHE' ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB, P.J.K. (Kuantan).
- .. ENCHE' ABDUL RAUF BIN A. RAHMAN, K.M.N., P.J.K. (Krian Laut).
- .. DATO' ABDULLAH BIN ABDULRAHMAN, Dato' Bijaya di-Raja (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- .. TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN ABDULLAH (Kelantan Hilir).
- .. PENGARAH BANYANG ANAK JANTING, P.B.S. (Sarawak).
- .. ENCHE' D. A. DAGO ANAK RANDAN *alias* DAGOK ANAK RANDEN (Sarawak).
- .. DATU GANIE GILONG, P.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
- .. ENCHE' HANAFIAH BIN HUSSAIN, A.M.N. (Jerai).
- .. DATO' HAJI HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, D.P.M.P., A.M.N., P.J.K. (Parit).

- The Honourable PENGHULU JINGGUT ANAK ATTAN, Q.M.C., A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' KADAM ANAK KIAI (Sarawak).
- „ DATO' KHOO SIAK CHIEW, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' AMADEUS MATHEW LEONG, A.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- „ ENCHE' LIM PEE HUNG, P.J.K. (Alor Star).
- „ ENCHE' PETER LO SU YIN (Sabah).
- „ DATO' MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA, P.M.K. (Pasir Puteh).
- „ ORANG TUA MOHAMMAD DARA BIN LANGPAD (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' ONG KEE HUI (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Timor).
- „ ENCHE' SANDOM ANAK NYUAK (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ DATO' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM, D.P.M.P., P.M.P., J.P. (Menglembu).
- „ ENCHE' SIM BOON LIANG (Sarawak).
- „ ENCHE' SNG CHIN JOO (Sarawak).
- „ DR TAN CHEE KHOON (Batu).
- „ ENCHE' TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
- „ ENCHE' TOH THEAM HOCK (Kampar).
- „ ENCHE' YEH PAO TZE (Sabah).
- „ ENCHE' STEPHEN YONG KUET TZE (Sarawak).

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

MOTION

THE FIRST MALAYSIA PLAN, 1966 TO 1970

The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Haji Abdul Razak): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

That this House, recognising the need to promote the integration of the peoples and States of Malaysia and to build a more united, secure and prosperous nation, approves the objectives, priorities and programmes of the First Malaysia Plan as set out in Command Paper No. 45 of 1965. In adopting the Plan, this House calls upon Malaysians from all walks of life who have the welfare of the country at heart, to strive to accomplish the challenging task of meeting the aspirations of all our people for a better life and a higher standard of living by fulfilling the objectives and goals of the Plan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya membentangkan kepada Dewan ini, satu Usul yang sangat penting dan mustahak, ia-itu Usul untuk menentukan kemajuan² dalam lapangan iktisad dan

masyarakat yang akan di-jalankan di-negara kita pada masa lima tahun yang akan datang, ia-itu Rancangan Kemajuan Malaysia yang pertama bagi memberi segala ni'mat², kema'amoran, mata pencharian yang lebih luas, dan taraf hidup yang lebih tinggi kepada semua ra'ayat Malaysia daripada berbagai² keturunan. Untuk mencapai matalamat dan chita² ini, perlaksanaan Rancangan Malaysia Yang Pertama ini mesti-lah berjalan dengan baik dan pesat. Dan, untuk menjaminkan itu, mustahak-lah kita semua—Kerajaan Pusat, Kerajaan Negeri, Wakil² Ra'ayat, Pegawai² Kerajaan, semua-nya bersungguh² berusaha menjayakan perlaksanaan rancangan itu. Chabaran di-hadapan kita ada-lah kuat dan besar.

Pada hari ini, saya membentangkan kepada Ahli² Yang Berhormat sakalian, satu rancangan yang sangat besar, berani, tetapi ada-lah realistik dan boleh di-jayakan. Rancangan Lima Tahun Malaysia Yang Pertama akan membawa ra'ayat dan negara ini mara ka-hadapan dalam bidang kemajuan dan kema'amoran yang lebih

besar lagi. Matalamat Rancangan Lima Tahun Malaysia Yang Pertama ini ia-lah untuk memberi Malaysia dan ra'ayat-nya satu tempat yang lebeh sempurna dan mulia dalam dunia dan kedudukan taraf hidup dan kema'amoran yang kita semua chita²kan. Rancangan ini, sunggoh pun dinamakan Rancangan Lima Tahun, tetapi ada-lah satu rancangan yang sasaran-nya akan menuju dan menjalani tempoh sa-lama 20 tahun, mulai daripada tahun hadapan. Semenjak negara ini mencapai kemerdekaan dalam tahun 1957, telah banyak perubahan² dan kemajuan bagi ra'ayat, khas-nya bagi mereka yang dudok di-luar bandar terutama telah di-laksanakan oleh Kerajaan Perikatan.

Saya amat sukachita menegaskan di-sini yang Rancangan Lima Tahun kita yang pertama, ia-itu rancangan daripada tahun 1961 hingga tahun 1965, telah memberi Kejayaan lebeh daripada yang di-jangkakan akan lebeh daripada sasaran-nya. Ini sangat-lah memuaskan hati kita dan sangat² membanggakan kapada Kerajaan, dan lagi, kejayaan yang chemerlang ini telah di-chapai walau pun negara kita, daripada semenjak tahun 1963, telah di-ancham oleh konfrantasi dan pencherobohan Indonesia yang telah membuatkan perbelanjaan dalam lapangan pertahanan dan keselamatan kita bertambah banyak dan besar.

Malaya dan Malaysia di-bawah pimpinan Kerajaan Perikatan, telah mencapai kejayaan, kemajuan demi kemajuan, dan perubahan² yang besar dari Malaya yang merdeka kapada Malaysia. Ketegohan politik membawa kema'amoran, dari kema'amoran membawa ka-adilan dan Keamanan. Ini ada-lah kejayaan² dan hasil² daripada pimpinan Kerajaan yang prektikal dan adil. Kerajaan Perikatan telah berkhidmatan dengan segala kejujoran dan ikhlas kapada ra'ayat negara ini dari semua bangsa. Dan perkhidmatan Kerajaan ini telah di-hargai oleh ra'ayat semua, kerana tiap² Pilehan Raya pada tiga kali yang telah lalu, ra'ayat negeri ini telah memilih Kerajaan Perikatan untuk memimpin negara dan ra'ayat ini kapada kemajuan dan perubahan yang lebeh besar lagi. Niat²

dan chita² Kerajaan Perikatan ada-lah senantiasa untuk memperhambakan diri, untuk berusaha dan bekerja bagi kema'amoran dan ke'adilan untuk semua ra'ayat daripada semua bangsa, bagi melahirkan satu masharakat yang lebeh adil dan saksama, di-mana jurang perbezaan di-antara penduduk² negara ini dalam semua bidang dapat di-kurangkan. Kita mahu melihat ra'ayat daripada semua bangsa bukan sahaja terus-menerus hidup aman-damai, penoh dengan perasaan muhibbah dan mesera antara satu dengan lain, tetapi juga mempunyai persimbangan dalam semua bidang, terutama sa-kali dalam bidang ekonomi dan pelajaran.

Parti² Pembangkang senantiasa membuat kechaman yang tidak adil terhadap Kerajaan Perikatan, konon-nya Kerajaan tidak membuat apa² kemajuan dan perubahan kapada ra'ayat. Betapa kosong dan falsu-nya kechaman² ini, boleh-lah di-boktikan oleh keputusan² Pilehan² Raya dari semenjak tahun 1955 hingga Pilehan Raya tahun 1964. Ra'ayat Malaysia daripada segala bangsa telah memberi keperchayaan yang penoh kapada Parti Perikatan kerana mereka sedar hanya di-bawah pimpinan Kerajaan Perikatan terjamin perpaduan di-antara kaum², ketegohan politik dan kema'amoran, yang di-bawa dengan chara beransor² dan aman.

Kapada mereka yang senantiasa tidak mahu menerima kenyataan dan mengikuti kejayaan² Rancangan² Kemajuan Kerajaan, saya minta mereka merenong kembali dan membuat perbandingan antara keadaan dan rupa bentok negara kita ini sa-masa penjajah dahulu dengan keadaan dan bentok rupa negara kita—kema'amoran dan ketegohan ra'ayat Malaysia daripada semua bangsa semenjak Malaya mencapai kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957. Di-bawah pemerentahan penjajahan British dahulu, ra'ayat kebanyakan hidup dalam keadaan kemiskinan serta di-tekan oleh chengkaman politik dan muslihat penjajah. Di-bawah Kerajaan Perikatan, Malaya dan sekarang Malaysia, telah mencapai berbagai² kemajuan.

Malaysia, pada hari ini ada-lah sa-buah negara yang ma'amor. Ra'ayat mempunyai taraf hidup yang lebeh tinggi sa-kali di-Tenggara Asia ini. Kejayaan ini boleh di-dapati dan boleh di-lihat di-serata² tempat. Rupa bentuk dan pandangan di-Malaysia telah berubah dalam semua lapangan. Negara telah terang dengan kemajuan², dan ra'ayat berani dan perchaya pada diri masing². Keadaan bentuk rupa dan isi kampong² pun telah berubah dan sedang menuju ka-arrah kemajuan yang lebeh besar lagi. Kejayaan² telah di-chapai kerana Kerajaan Perikatan telah menjalankan pimpinan dengan waras dan melaksanakan dasar²-nya dengan tidak di-kuasai oleh sentimen atau perasaan, akan tetapi berdasar kapada keadaan di-sa-keliling—kapada lojik dan kenyataan hidup yang sa-benar-nya.

Di-bawah Kerajaan Perikatan, ra'ayat Malaysia dari berbagai² bangsa berganding bahu mencari kema'amoran dan ka-tinggian taraf hidup. Tiap² kaum di-Malaysia di-jamin mencari kekayaan, saperti juga tiap² puak terjamin mengikut adat istadat masing², mengikut ugama masing², dan mempe-lajari bahasa masing². Sunggoh pun semua-nya itu terjamin, kita juga sekarang berusaha dan menggalakkan penubohan satu bangsa Malaysia yang tulen di-mana semua ra'ayat-nya akan mempunyai ta'at setia mereka yang tidak berbelah bagi kapada negara kita. Pelaksanaan ini sedang berjalan dengan aman damai. Saya yakin satu bangsa Malaysia yang tulen, yang terdiri dari berbagai² keturunan akan lahir dan Malaysia akan menjadi sa-buah negara yang bahagia dan ma'amor (*Tepok*).

Hari ini, negara kita ia-lah sa-buah negara yang telah menjadi chontoh kapada negara² di-dunia ini, ia-itu menjadi chontoh di-mana ra'ayat berbagai² bangsa hidup aman bahagia dan berganding bahu bersama² mencari kemajuan dan kebahagiaan hidup. Kerana Kerajaan Perikatan mempunyai sifat² yang sederhana, mempunyai sifat² yang prektik, sifat² yang benar dan jujur, dan pandai pula memperalatkan kebaikan² Demokrasi dan Nationalizm, serta menggunakan

kekayaan negara kita dengan chermat dan jujur. Sebab itu-lah kejayaan yang saya telah nyatakan tadi dapat di-chapai terlebeh besar daripada sangkaan kita sendiri. Malaysia boleh melahirkan kemajuan dan kekayaan ini, oleh kerana ada mempunyai perpaduan yang erat di-antara semua kaum di-negara kita ini. Ketegohan perpaduan ini-lah telah di-chapai di-bawah pimpinan Kerajaan Perikatan dan kita sentiasa hendak memperkuatkan lagi perpaduan ini kerana hanya-lah dengan perpaduan ini boleh kita menjamin kema'amoran yang telah di-chapai itu, kekal dan menjamin mendapat kejayaan lebeh besar dalam pelaksanaan Rancangan Lima Tahun Malaysia Yang Pertama ini dengan lichin dan sempurna.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka menegaskan di-sini, kunchi kejayaan kita pada masa akan datang ini ia-lah ketegohan perpaduan antara kaum yang lebeh kuat lagi. Kita juga mesti-lah sentiasa sadar dan insaf bahawa kemajuan dan koma'amoran kita pada masa akan datang bukan-lah terletak pada rasa puas hati dengan apa yang kita telah dapat, tetapi yang terletak kapada keazaman, ketegohan hati dan keyakinan yang lebeh kuat untuk melancharkan usaha² yang lebeh giat dan besar pada masa² hadapan. Masa lima tahun yang ka-hadapan ini adalah masa yang penting bagi negara kita dan dalam sejarah pembangunan seluruh ra'ayat Malaysia dari semua bangsa khas-nya anak² bumiputera yang maseh mundor dalam serba serbi mesti-lah melipat kali gandakan usaha mereka untuk perkembangan dan kemajuan dalam pembangunan ekonomi dan lain². Ini-lah masaalalah yang besar yang mesti di-hadapi dan ini-lah chabaran pada masa hadapan untuk ra'ayat yang mahu maju dan bangun. Kerajaan telah berbuat apa juga yang terdaya untuk semua bangsa dan Kerajaan Perikatan akan terus-menerus berkhidmat tetapi saya memberi nasihat kapada semua, terutama sa-kali kapada ra'ayat bumiputera, bahawa segala rancangan² Kerajaan tidak akan dapat memberi faedah yang di-kehendaki, jika rancangan² Kerajaan itu tidak mendapat sambutan

yang sempurna dan yang kuat daripada ra'ayat sendiri. Kerajaan mengadakan ranchangan² bertujuan hendak mengubah nasib ra'ayat. Pertolongan Kerajaan ada-lah had-nya nasib ra'ayat tidak akan berubah dengan pertolongan Kerajaan sahaja, nasib semua ra'ayat, khas-nya bumiputera, tidak akan berubah jika ra'ayat bumiputera sendiri belum insaf dan sedar dan berazam hendak mengubah nasib-nya sendiri.

Saya menyeru mulai daripada tahun sempena dengan pelancharan Ranchangan Kemajuan Malaysia Yang Pertama ini supaya ra'ayat negeri ini mengubah sikap hidup, mengubah falsafah dan concept hidup kita, kepada concept dan falsafah yang lebeh chergas lagi supaya semua ra'ayat lebeh berchita² lagi kepada kemajuan. Saya harap kita gantikan falsafah yang di-katakan hidup kais pagi makan pagi itu dengan falsafah berkerja sa-olah² kita hidup sa-lama²-nya dan mahu hidup mene'mati dengan segala kemewahan² yang di-bawa oleh science. Negara kita kaya dan kita mempunyai segala syarat² untuk melaksanakan segala ranchangan² yang kita chita²-kan. Syarat yang besar sa-kali kita kehendaki sekarang ia-lah keyakinan dan kemahuan yang kuat dan usaha yang lebeh kuat lagi yang boleh melahirkan segala kejayaan dan kebahagiaan hidup itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang saya minta izin hendak berchakap dalam bahasa Inggeris tetapi sa-belum saya berbuat begitu saya suka menerangkan kepada Dewan ini, saya dukachita kerana terjemahan Ranchangan Malaysia Yang Pertama dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan tidak dapat di-jelaskan dengan sempurna tetapi rengkasan² telah dapat di-bentangkan di-Dewan ini. Ranchangan ini telah di-sediakan beberapa bulan yang lalu akan tetapi di-sebabkan oleh perpisahan Singapura pada 9hb Ogos yang lalu terpaksa Ranchangan ini di-pinda sa-mula dan di-semak sa-mula dan itu telah mengambil masa dan tidak dapat di-sediakan sa-hingga beberapa minggu yang telah lalu dan dengan itu tidak dapat-lah masa hendak di-terjemahkan semua sa-kali ranchangan² ini.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to propose today no ordinary motion. I rise to propose before this Parliament this symbol of our democracy, a plan for economic and social development for the next five years, a plan of purpose and intention to enable our country to travel yet further on the road to accelerated progress and prosperity, a plan to give Malaysia its rightful place in the international, economic community of free nations of the world.

We in Malaysia, Sir, are seasoned travellers on the path of progress. We have been envied by other less fortunate nations for breaking the development speed barrier in this international race towards economic stability. We have quietly forged ahead from strength to strength on a firm foundation of sound security, stability and good economic planning, and, even more important, the determination and ability to translate our plans into action.

Mr Speaker, Sir, almost every developing country in the world has a Five-Year Plan, but a plan in itself does not mean anything. A Plan on paper without the will and energy to put it into practice does not bring any benefit to the people or to the country. However, I am glad to say, Sir, that as this historic day heralds the launching of our plan for the future, it also records the success in the implementation of the previous Five-Year Plan (*Applause*) which, in spite of defence commitments in countering confrontation and aggression, has nevertheless achieved the targets which this Government sets in line to achieve in 1961.

I am proud to say, Sir, that in many sectors of our last Five-Year Development Plan, we exceeded the aims we set ourselves.

Sir, the Opposition, particularly those who are blind followers of outdated doctrines and political philosophies formulated many years ago—by such people as Karl Marx—allege that the Alliance Government has no political philosophy and therefore any development plan without a philosophy cannot possibly succeed and cannot benefit the people. To those who are

so philosophically conscious, I say categorically, that the Alliance has a philosophy, a philosophy that is bearing fruit in actual practice and the evidence of its success lies in the progress that we, as a young nation, have achieved since independence (*Applause*).

We have achieved success from Merdeka to Malaysia, from stability to success, from peace to prosperity and the Alliance policy philosophy is Progress.

We are, Mr Speaker, Sir, a progressive Government, our ideas and our thinking aptly meet present day needs and the needs of our people whom we put foremost in our minds before any selfish aim or political gain. But we are not in the habit of misleading the electorate with cries and slogans of outdated doctrines taken out from outdated philosophies or torn away from text books.

We are essentially, both in our philosophy and practice, a Government elected by the people, close to the people and representing the wishes of all sections of our people. We believe that it is for the electorate, for the people to decide what direction it wishes the country to progress. It is then for the politician to create a vision of this progress and to make the people see his vision as he sees it. It is for the politician to give words to this vision and turn it into a policy. It is then for Government servants to give the policy a form and to translate this vision into reality. This, Sir, is our philosophy of democracy and this is our definition of democratic practice for development and progress which we have applied over the last ten years with success.

Let us look back to the years leading towards independence. None of us in those days, even with the greatest optimism could have dared visualize a prosperous Malaysia as she is today. Mr Speaker, Sir, public memory is short. It very soon forgets. Sometimes, worse still, the memory of the Opposition is even shorter and I am not quite sure whether they maliciously forget or will not admit the progress that we

in the Alliance Government have achieved since we took over the reins of Government from the days of colonialism.

Now, Sir, I ask this House to compare the memories of the days of under-development before Merdeka and the difference between our country as it was ten years ago and as it stands now today as a prosperous nation to which all of us are proud to belong. This present day prosperous Malaysia is in fact the vision which the Alliance saw through the clouds of colonialism and that vision was formed in all its aspects. And that has been given form, formulated in terms of the administrative machine of our country and put into practice in our schools, in our villages, in our factories, on our land and in our homes.

We the Alliance are proud to have the honour of leading our nation on the march of progress towards the fulfilment of this vital vision of a vigorous and prosperous nation. The vision of the future, Sir, is even more hopeful.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to give credit to those many Members of Parliament on this side of the House, or rather on the correct side of the House, who entered into the spirit of creating this true vision of independence and worked day and night, travelling tirelessly around the country, putting force and realism into our vision and the implementation of our development aspirations. I thank each one of them for their unselfish service to the country over the last five years in putting development and national progress before selfish gain. I feel, Sir, it would not be out of place if these Alliance Members of Parliament were to applaud themselves now because they deserve it.

Secondly, Sir, I would like to give particular credit to those who have no voice in this House even when their devotion is discredited by some Members of the Opposition. I would like to give credit and high praise to the many thousands, who cannot applaud themselves, the Administrators, the Engineers, the Doctors, the Technicians

and all the other Civil Servants, too numerous to mention, for the loyalty, dedication, hard work and enthusiasm which they have given as a major contribution towards the development progress of our country during the implementation of our last Five-Year Plan (*Applause*).

It is not Sir, my intention, before introducing this new Plan, to give a lecture on Alliance philosophy, because any Member of this House can quite easily learn much more about it merely by having the good sense to pay a small subscription to an office somewhere along Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman and join the most progressive and sensible political Party in the country, (*Laughter*) a party which serves the people well and truly and has succeeded in translating the vision of a happy and prosperous Malaysia into a reality.

Sir, we are a nation of many races, many cultures; a country in which all are allowed to practise many religions, and Alliance philosophy and policy have facilitated us to advance coolly, continuously and with good conscience; and the practice of ours has never been done in the heat of passion, spasmodically or under the threat of subsequent remorse; and it is only with this cool, sensible and unemotional Alliance leadership will we weld together our various races and culture into a stable, happy Malaysia living in harmony and progressing in unity.

To do this and to enable us to develop—in order to achieve unity and economic progressive—we need a heavy dose of nationalism as a necessary stimulant, but let us, and this is our Alliance policy, always think of our nationalism within the correct and balanced context of internationalism.

We have the basic assets of sound democracy, a great potential of natural resources and a people, who, in the last five years have shown themselves capable of advancing faster than our expectations.

We have also the most important stimulant for development—national unity—which has been forged by the Alliance Government.

Now, Sir, the Government and people of Malaysia can rightly be proud of the achievements of our country in the last few years. Malaysia itself was established only two years ago. Since that date it has had to contend with continuous aggression from a much larger neighbour, but it has withstood this danger successfully. Besides this external threat to her independence, Malaysia has had to contend with internal political difficulties which finally led to the separation of one of its States. Now, many waverers and our enemies were of the opinion that this would lead to the disintegration of the Nation. But they have been proved wrong. Separation from Singapore was effected constitutionally and peacefully. Malaysia remains united and strong.

The problems standing in the way of economic progress of the country have also been formidable. But the advances which have been made in the campaign against poverty, illiteracy and disease too, have been significant. Malaysia embarks upon its future with a stronger foundation for bringing about greater unity and a more prosperous and happier life for its people than they have ever known before and it is with this paramount objective in view that the Government has formulated the First Malaysia Plan which I now commend to this House.

Now, Sir, the dramatic progress achieved in the economic and social development of the country is indeed a credit to the Nation, especially when account is taken of the many economic and political problems which confronted us. In fact it can be said with justification that in the way in which we have forged ahead in developing this country and the consequential changes which have been brought about can be said to be a “silent revolution”.

In the last five years, average income in the country has risen by almost 15% despite the fact that the population has been growing at one of the highest rates in the world, and despite the fact that the country's earnings from the production and sale of natural rubber—its principal product—have

been falling. This is indeed a notable achievement. The rate of growth of income achieved is high by international standard, especially in comparison with other developing countries with rapidly growing populations.

Employment has also increased significantly. In Malaya, where the problem of unemployment is serious in comparison with the Borneo States, where it is negligible, about 345 thousand jobs were created. As a result, the rate of unemployment of the male and female labour force remained at about 6%. This rate, Sir, compares not unfavourably with other nations which are at the same stage of development as Malaysia.

Concurrent with this increase in national income and employment, a transformation in the character of the economy has also been initiated. Although there is still a long way to go, the evidence of the change that is occurring is clearly discernible. The first steps have been taken in the process of reducing the dependence of the economy on rubber and tin. Agricultural production has begun to be diversified. The production of oil palm, livestock, fish and forest products has increased rapidly. A beginning has also been made in the industrialisation of the economy. As a result, locally manufactured goods of many types have begun to replace imports. The development of petroleum refining in Malaya is a good example. Now, in 1960, all imports of petroleum fuels entered in product form, by 1964 only 41% entered as product form, while the remaining 59% entered as crude petroleum for domestic refining.

These achievements are testimony to the efforts of our farmers, our industrialists, our technicians and our administrators, who, by their hard work and enterprise have made it possible for this country to offer an improving standard of living to our people. These achievements also attest to the size and effectiveness of this Government's economic and social development programmes—expenditure on which was about two and a half

times as great as the amount spent between 1956 and 1960.

In fact, as the country's export earnings grew, only very slowly because of falling rubber prices, the rapid increase of public investment in the last five years was one of the principal causes of the high rate of growth in income which was achieved. But more important than this immediate benefit, is the fact that a firmer base for future economic and social development has been laid. In Malaya about 2,300 miles of roads were constructed, compared with about 600 miles during the 1956-60 period. Port capacity was expanded at Port Swettenham. The number of telephones installed increased, trunk lines were extended into new areas and the quality and capacity of existing trunk lines were raised. Electricity generation capacity expanded by 64% while the average daily output of water increased by 54%. With all these achievements, a reasonably sound economic infrastructure of transport and communication facilities and electricity and water supply systems have been created.

The development effort of the Government has also resulted in improving the long-run productivity of our natural and human resources, particularly in the rural areas. About 145,000 acres of virgin land were opened up by the F.L.D.A. for the settlement of twelve thousand families and in a few of these settlements, Sir, the people have now reaped the benefits and in one land scheme in Kedah, which I visited last Sunday, the settlers are now beginning to draw an income of the average of \$350.00 and some \$400.00 a month on an average tapping days of 24/25 days a month (*Applause*). This, Sir, proves my prediction on this was right some years ago. The completion of several irrigation and drainage projects raised the acreage of padi capable of being double-cropped fivefold from 30,000 acres in 1960 to 193,000 acres in 1965. Total planted acreage increased from 941,000 to 980,000 acres. An estimated 760,000 acres of land belonging to smallholders were planted or replanted with high-yielding rubber, bringing the

acreage under high-yielding rubber to 890,000 acres or about 50% to total smallholding acreage.

In the field of education, Sir, an additional 6,000 classrooms were constructed in primary schools and 3,000 in secondary schools. As a result, primary school enrolments increased from 980,000 to 1,200,000 and secondary school enrolments rose from 100,000 to 275,000. During the same period, the school-leaving age was increased from 12 to 14 years and a re-organisation of the secondary school system was effected with the introduction of the comprehensive system of education. Rapid progress was also made in college and university education.

Now, in addition to the efforts of the Government in building up the Malaysian economy, Honourable Members will note that social and community services have been improved and expanded, particularly in the rural areas. Hospital capacity was raised and a total of 31 main health centres, 132 subhealth centres and 645 midwives' clinics were constructed in the rural areas. The number of rooms available through public housing schemes tripled between 1960 and 1965, thus helping to meet the heavy demand for housing created by the rapid increase in urban population. Electricity and telephone services were extended to many rural areas. With all these projects, the already high standard of social and community services in Malaya was further improved. What is also important is the fact that whereas in the past these facilities were negligible in the rural areas, they are now becoming numerous. No one can dispute that a radical change for the better has been effected in the face of our rural countryside.

In Sabah and Sarawak, about 35% more was spent on the development effort than was the case in the two previous years before the establishment of Malaysia. The rapid increase in Government's development activities has not only contributed to the enlargement of incomes in these States but has also strengthened and broadened their base for future economic and

social development. The Government would have liked to have done much more for these States. But the time which has elapsed since the establishment of Malaysia has been too short to bring about striking changes. Nevertheless, taking the period of the last five years as a whole, some concrete advances had been made. The initial steps in the creation of an adequate economic infra-structure in Sabah and Sarawak have been taken. Road mileage expanded by 72% while electricity generation capacity increased by 84%. In the field of agriculture, measures were taken to promote an efficient system of settled cultivation. Many new land settlement schemes were established. In Sabah, oil palm as well as rubber is being grown on such schemes. In both States, increased attention was also given to extensive replanting of low-yielding rubber with high-yielding material.

Looking back on the progress which has been achieved, we can justifiably draw satisfaction from the efforts which we have made. We have toiled, struggled and sacrificed and our efforts have been amply rewarded.

Now looking forward into the future, we need to consolidate our successes, learn from our mistakes and rededicate ourselves to even greater efforts. We certainly cannot afford to be complacent. Our attainments in the last five years constitute only the initial step in the process of bringing about a truly developed Malaysia. Much more remains to be done and the First Malaysia Plan is our blue-print of what must be done by the Government and the people during the next five years.

The First Malaysia Plan has four primary objectives. The first is to promote the integration of the peoples and States of Malaysia by embarking upon a development plan explicitly designed to promote the welfare of all; the second objective is to provide a steady increase in levels of income and consumption for our people, particularly these in the rural areas, and those in other low income groups; the third objective is to generate employment opportunities at a rate sufficient

to provide productive work for new entrants to the labour force and to lower the rate of unemployment; the fourth is to continue to stimulate new kinds of economic activity, both agricultural and industrial, so as to reduce Malaysia's economic dependence on rubber and tin.

The attainment of these objectives is a difficult task, because there are many problems which we have to face. The most serious of these problems are the prospect of a continuing decline in the price of rubber and the depletion of known tin reserves. The production and marketing of these two export commodities constitute at present our major source of income and employment. As their immediate prospects are not particularly bright, the task of progressively increasing our national income becomes challenging. It is crucial that we find new sources of income and employment.

A second major problem which confronts us is our extremely high rate of population growth. At about three per cent a year, this rate is of the highest in the world. It is staggering to realize that if this rate of growth is not checked, Malaysia's population, which is now about nine and a half million people, will double in twenty-five years' time. While there are possibilities for reducing the rate of population growth in the long-run, in the short space of the next five years, no substantial reduction can be effected. The population of Malaysia will grow to about eleven million by 1970 and this presents a serious challenge indeed to the effort to provide rising income levels and improved social services.

Sir, in order to attain the objectives of steadily increasing income and reducing unemployment during the period when our population is increasing rapidly and the value of our traditional exports is likely to grow only slowly, the Plan calls for the development of new patterns of economic activity. It calls for the development of new export products, in particular oil palm and timber, for which there are bright prospects. But traditional export commodities are not likely to

earn enough foreign exchange over the next five years to pay for our import needs. Therefore, the Plan accords top priority to the production within Malaysia of an accelerated volume of those commodities which are at present imported. There are favourable prospects for substituting domestic production for imports in both the agricultural and the industrial sectors. The production of foodstuffs and other agricultural commodities for which reliance on imports is heavy must be increased. Most important of all, the extremely good opportunities which exist for increased output of manufactured goods for the domestic market must be exploited. Only if all these possibilities are seized will it be possible to sustain the growth of the economy in the long run.

To bring about the exploitation of all immediate possibilities for increasing production, to strengthen the base of our economy for future growth and to provide social and community services for all our people, and in particular those in the low income groups, it will be necessary for the country to spend a sum of \$10,500 million on development during the next five years. The public sector's share in this total is \$4,550 million and that for the private sector is \$4,950 million. If these targets are reached—and the Government is confident that they will be—average income in the country will rise by over five per cent. Although this rate of increase is modest, it will be a considerable achievement, in the face of relatively unfavourable external factors, to protect *per capita* income levels from declining and help them to rise, at the same time to lay the foundation for a new economic structure. Moreover, the anticipated rise in income levels will accumulate to substantial improvements in a few years' time. As far as employment is concerned, nearly 380,000 new jobs are likely to be created in Malaya and 80,000 in Sabah and Sarawak making a total of 460,000 new jobs for Malaysia. This will reduce unemployment from its present rate of six per cent of the labour force to about five per cent in 1970 a rate comparable with that of

even some of the most developed countries in the world. This will indeed be a *considerable achievement* and will result in the creation of sufficient employment to match the growth of the labour force.

Even more important than the immediate income and employment goals of the Plan are the preparations it embodies for accelerated development in the long run. The emphasis given in the Plan to education and training, to rural development and the diversification of economic activities, to family planning and to applied agricultural and industrial research, will yield sizeable returns in the years ahead. The First Malaysia Plan has been formulated as the initial phase in a 20-year Perspective Plan of economic and social development, which envisages the attainment of a level of income *per capita* of \$1,500 by 1985. The achievement of this long-run target will require that the First Malaysia Plan is implemented successfully and that a rising tempo of development is attained in subsequent Five-Year development plans.

A major share of the responsibility for attaining the income and employment objectives of the Plan will lie with the private sector. In the past, private enterprise has served the cause of development in Malaysia with considerable effectiveness. It has injected into the economy a degree of vigour and initiative which is one of our greatest assets. The Government is confident that Malaysia's entrepreneurs, whose number and quality is increasing daily, will continue to render significant service in the solution of the challenging economic tasks ahead.

For its part, the Government will provide whatever technical and capital assistance are necessary. It will expand and orient its educational system to train the men and women required to modernise and energise the Malaysian economy. It will strengthen in Malaya, and expand considerably in the Borneo States, our transport and communication facilities and electricity and water supply systems—all of which are the physical foundation of our economy.

It will continue to improve the already high level of social and community services available in the country so that all Malaysians will have the opportunity of leading a fuller, better and more satisfying life.

For its part also, the Government will continue to strive for equality of economic opportunities for all Malaysians. It is all too evident today that despite the massive efforts of the Government in recent years, there are still insufficient opportunities for low-income groups to better themselves. Under the First Malaysia Plan, therefore, the Government will intensify its efforts to provide facilities and opportunities for the rural population and other low income groups in urban areas to improve their levels of economic and social well-being. Our work in this direction will not slacken until we are completely satisfied that every Malaysian has the opportunity to participate in the development of his country and to receive in return the fruits of all his efforts.

For all these economic and social development programmes, the Government will spend a sum of about \$3,810 million during the next five years. The bulk of this allocation will be for economic projects. Of this allocation, over \$1,000 million will be for agricultural and rural development. The remainder will be for roads, ports, communications, power, water supplies and other economic services. More than \$800 million will be for social services, of which education expenditure will take up more than half. Housing will take up \$190 million largely for low-cost housing and accommodation for public employees in the industrial and manual group. This programme will enable an intensified phase of housing development to take place so that the most immediate problems posed by the housing shortage will be met. The allocation for social services also provides for a large programme of family planning to be initiated. Family planning will be popularised and family planning services will be made available to those

who desire them. I have already referred to the serious problem posed by the country's very rapid rate of population growth. The family planning programme will enable the groundwork for less rapid population growth to be laid. Action in this regard is of the utmost urgency, for if the current rate of growth of our population is not checked, it will be difficult for this country to provide increasing incomes and adequate education and social services to the future generations.

All the Government's economic and social development efforts will complement the programmes of the private sector and together they will provide substantial benefits to the people in the rural as well as the urban areas, particularly to those in the low income groups. Besides the \$1,000 million to be spent on agriculture and rural development projects, which will directly benefit the rural people by raising their productivity and income levels, expenditure in other areas will also contribute to rural development. Much of the expenditure to be incurred for education, health, transportation and water supplies will be made in the rural areas. Malaysia's urban sector will also share in the development of social and economic services which will take place during the Plan period. Additional housing, education, health, transport and power facilities will contribute to making urban life more pleasant and more productive.

On a regional basis, the allocation for economic and social development expenditure by the Government (excluding that for Defence and Internal Security) will be about \$3,110 million for Malaya, \$300 million for Sabah and \$400 million for Sarawak. The target for Malaya is about 32% more than similar expenditure in the last five years, while the targets for Sabah and Sarawak are greater by 47% and 57% respectively. The targets for Sabah and Sarawak are also substantially greater than those which the Central Government endeavoured to allocate when subscribing to the Inter-Governmental Committee Report prior to the

establishment of Malaysia. Difficult as our financial position will be over the next years, the Government is determined to ensure that as much as possible is spent in the development of these two States. This is essential if their level of development is to be brought closer to that of Malaya. The targets for the Borneo States do provide for this. In fact, if the cost of accommodation facilities for the armed forces and police is taken into account, the total sums allocated to the Borneo States are more than 80% greater than the comparable amounts spent in 1961-65. They constitute the maximum amount of funds that can be used for the development effort within the technical and administrative capacities of both Sabah and Sarawak.

The development expenditure programme of the Government of \$4,550 million during 1966-70 also provides for \$740 million to be spent on expanding the nation's military and police capabilities so that with the help of our friends abroad, Malaysia will be able to withstand any potential threat from its enemies in and outside the country. It is unfortunate that expenditure of the scale envisaged for military and police requirements is necessary. But we have no choice in this matter. For so long as any threat against our existence and ideals is imminent, we must be prepared to meet it. All our efforts at building up an independent, democratic, happy and prosperous Malaysia would come to nought if we were to be defeated by those powers and forces which are unceasingly attempting to subjugate this nation, its people, its ideals and its spirit.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the First Malaysia Plan is indeed a bold programme. And its financing will present a challenging task to the Government for, in addition to the cost of the development effort, the Government's need for recurrent expenditure is also rapidly mounting. Every endeavour will be made to curb expenditure for recurrent purposes through intensified attempts to minimise the cost of Government operations. Even then the increases that will be required in recurrent

expenditure will be sizable in view of the expanding and widening responsibilities of the Government particularly in the fields of education, health, communications, defence and internal security.

It is therefore unavoidable that the Government has to seek additional financial resources through taxes and charges of various kinds and further domestic borrowing. In this endeavour, we call for full co-operation from all Malaysians who have the interest of their country at heart. The Government will be constrained in its endeavour to promote economic and social development if Malaysians themselves do not continue to play their part in shouldering their responsibilities. The Government appreciates that Malaysians are already contributing in taxation a portion of their income which is comparable with that in many other progressive countries. We ask simply that all Malaysians accept the responsibility of contributing in taxation the same proportion of the country's national income throughout the next five years as they are doing today. We also ask that individuals, businesses and institutional investors increase their purchase of government securities. Honourable Members will, I am sure, agree that in terms of the substantial benefits that will accrue to us and our children, these sacrifices will be worth making.

The Government will supplement resources obtained through taxation and domestic non-bank borrowing by running down its accumulated assets and by borrowing from the banking system. The amount which it is planned to obtain from the latter source has been very carefully considered, for we are determined not to create inflationary conditions which would undermine this country's financial stability. Such a situation would prevent the attainment of our investment targets. It would also bring about much suffering for most of us since it would lead to a progressive reduction in the purchasing power of our incomes.

After allowing for the recurrent expenditure needs of the Government during the next five years, the funds which will be available for public development expenditure will amount to \$2,650 million. As the development expenditure programme requires \$4,550 million, the Government intends to finance the remainder of \$1,900 million by seeking foreign loans and foreign grant assistance. We will justify such support through continued financial policies which are sound and development policies which take every possible advantage of favourable opportunities for private and public economic progress.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Malaysia has received some assistance from many countries in and outside the Commonwealth in the last five years. For this we are indeed very grateful. In the next five years, when our problems and difficulties will multiply, it is our hope that our friends abroad will respond to our requests for much greater assistance than we have received in the past. We are confident that our requests will not go unheeded for they, as much as we, firmly believe that there is much the developed nations can do to help the poorer nations in their endeavour to attain a higher standard of living. But, if for one reason or another, our confidence in their professed intentions is misplaced, then we shall have no alternative but to trim our development programmes. This would indeed be unfortunate, to say the least, for the programmes incorporated in the First Malaysia Plan have already been severely pruned and the level we have set is the minimum necessary for maintaining the tempo of development in this country.

Another problem which will affect the rate of economic progress in this country is the shortage of trained and skilled manpower. This will affect the development efforts of the Government as well the private sector. The problem is particularly serious in Sabah where there is an acute shortage not only of skilled but even of unskilled manpower.

These shortages have resulted in a rate of development in the recent past which is lower than might otherwise have been achieved. Although significant progress has been made in increasing the output of trained and skilled personnel, the problem is still of sizable proportions. It will continue to constrain the development of the economy in the next five years. And if bold measures are not taken to step up the development of this nation's human resources immediately, the deficiency of skilled manpower will continue to plague us far into the future. This is a predicament which we must avoid. In this age of science and technology, the rate of Malaysia's economic development will be determined not only by our material resources but also by our success in developing and in utilising effectively the intellectual capacities of our people. It is for this reason that high priority is being given in the First Malaysia Plan to education and training. It is also for this reason that our education system is being re-fashioned. We want to meet not only the objectives of nation-building and universal literacy but also the economic goals of our country by producing an increasing number of Malaysian teachers, agricultural specialists, engineers, technicians, economists, doctors and administrators.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have already indicated to this House the nature of the many economic and social problems which confront this Nation. We cannot and must not underestimate their gravity. Malaysia is too dependent on rubber and tin. Our population is growing too rapidly. There are still wide disparities between the "haves" and the "have-nots". Our supply of skilled and trained manpower is much too low. By their very nature, these formidable problems cannot be solved over-night. But if they are not progressively attacked and ultimately resolved, then the Malaysian economy will in time come to an awful standstill. We have no time to lose. We must intensify the onslaught on our basic problems now.

We the Government and the people of this country must brace ourselves to this challenge. We must undertake all that is required of us to meet it. This Government commits its energies and its resources to this task. In turn, each and every Malaysian must similarly dedicate himself to do all that is within his power and his means for the development of his country. Only in this way will national prosperity be progressively achieved. Only in this way will all our people—in Malaya, in Sabah and in Sarawak—be provided with the opportunity of an increasingly better and happier life. The stakes are high. If we fail, national unity will be jeopardized and our very existence as a nation will be imperilled. If we succeed, and succeed we must, we will have taken a major step forward towards the creation of a more united, secure and prosperous Malaysia. (*Applause*).

Sir, I beg to move.

The Minister of Finance (Enche' Tan Siew Sin): Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Mr Speaker: The sitting is suspended.

Sitting suspended at 11.06 a.m.

Sitting resumed at 11.30 a.m.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

Mr Speaker: Honourable Members, I have received a notice for Amendment of this Motion under Standing Order 30 (4) which is quite in order. The amendment is to make an addition of two words from the Member for Tanjong. I shall now call upon the Member for Tanjong.

Dr Lim Chong Eu (Tanjong): Mr Speaker, Sir, under Standing Order 30 (4) and particularly under 4 (c), I wish to add the words "equal, just" after the words "a more united" and before the word "secure" in the Motion standing in the name of the

Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister. In effect, Sir, the amended Motion will then read as follows:

"That this House recognising the need to promote the integration of the peoples and the States of Malaysia and to build a more united, equal, just, secure and prosperous nation, approve the objectives, priorities and programmes of the First Malaysian Plan set out in Command Paper 45 in 1965". And the rest of this Motion as it stands.

Sir, ever since the economists discovered that any planned utopia can very easily turn out to be a dystopia and therefore began to make limited projection plans for social and economic development, either in terms of scope or time, they have also generally let it be understood that even with such limited plans they can, at the very best, be considered to be theoretical and idealistic. After all, the philosophers, using the words of the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister when he moved this Motion, have put all these such matters into the simple acceptance of the fact that "man proposes and God disposes". However, Sir, politicians, especially politicians in power, have the queer characteristic of over-emphasising their omnipotence albeit temporal and mundane. So, since the First Malaysia Plan was introduced to our local public, and also to the world at large, we have had a spate of superlatives attributed to the Plan—bold and realistic, sensible and reasonable, the great transformation, imaginative blue print for more progress, triumph for democracy, the big battle for prosperity, plenty for all, and so on. Sir, the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister in moving his Motion today, I noticed was somewhat more guarded. We, in the Opposition, Sir, accept the fact that all forward planning can at best be only theoretical and idealistic. Therefore, we understand that with adequate propaganda the Government can easily overstress the rosier aspects of their planning and gloss over the more sombre hues of the obstacles which we must surmount. For example, Sir, earlier on this morning the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister in giving the Alliance Party a pat on its own back, although the applause which was expected was surprisingly

not forthcoming, referred to the achievements of the first two Malaya Plans, and all that they have to indicate for us in this Command Paper 45 is contained in Table 2 (6) in page 28. We notice, Sir, that the percentage of fulfilment is very impressive. However, Sir, the highest percentage of fulfilment is 456.8%, i.e. 4½ times what was originally projected either in 1956 or 1961. However, Sir, that particularly large increase in fulfilment comes under a very small item, industry, site development, other and rural industry, and for the provision for other development in industry a provision of \$1 million in 1956 and \$43.4 million in 1961. Sir, therefore, the figures of the economists, the percentage assumptions of the economists can be very beguiling.

But, Sir, I consider that it is chastening for all of us in this House to realise that the Honourable the Prime Minister has to appeal to all Malaysians to serve "in the battle for prosperity and security" and to "drive for a good life in the face of all dangers." These words, Sir, are quoted from the foreword to this plan. The Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister himself today repeatedly indicated that the success of the Plan must depend upon the efforts of all Malaysians. Sir, I consider these words of caution and advice to be chastening because I think it will be better for the Members of this House to restrain their emotions during the course of our debate over the First Malaysia Plan.

The first ominous notes of warning had already been sounded by the Honourable the Minister of Finance, when he referred to the Plan during his Budget Speech. Then he told this House that "it is crystal clear that a Plan which depends for its successful implementation on obtaining nearly 42% of the total resources required from foreign sources would fail unless this scale of assistance or something near it is forthcoming."

And when the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister announced the Plan on December 10, he was constrained to say that the response of the

"Aid Malaysia Consultative Group" in Washington had been very encouraging. He further expressed the hope that friendly countries would respond positively and assist in securing the Plan's success. This he has again seen fit and necessary to repeat today.

Thus, Sir, we are not surprised to find that the editorial of an English medium newspaper concluded with the blase observation that "Malaysia has a good case for foreign help, and the Plan puts it well".

It would be easy enough for an irresponsible Opposition to work on this theme of the need for foreign aid. In fact, in page 31 of Command Paper 45 of 1965, we find the plan economic statement that "Now, however, Malaysia is shifting away from the position of a net creditor towards that of a net borrower."

But we are not an irresponsible Opposition. On many occasions, Sir, I have told this House that we are a responsible loyal Opposition. Even if the Honourable Minister of Finance would airily try to dismiss our opinion by saying that "what the Opposition says does not matter", he cannot succeed in doing this because what we say does matter, much as he would arrogantly like to ignore us when he said in reply to our comments in the Budget, "What they say and what they do are utterly irrelevant because they certainly have neither the power nor the means to assist us in anyway. In other words, they just do not count and we can afford to ignore them." Sir, this House and the Honourable the Finance Minister simply cannot do this because the people of Malaysia will not allow him to ignore us.

This was amply demonstrated by the crushing defeat of the Alliance Party at the Ayer Itam by-election, and once again repeated by the crushing and humiliating defeat of the Alliance Party at the Rahang by-election on the very day the Alliance majority passed the Budget.

The people of this country realise that we are not an irresponsible Opposition, they understand that even against the great mass of Alliance

majority in this House the few of us will continue to battle for what is right for the people of this country. They understand that we are a loyal, democratic, responsible Opposition.

They understand that when we said that the Government planning for the future "would not only make us but also our children go out bowl in hand begging at the Aid to Malaysia Club", we meant what we said. Perhaps, we said it with more spice than the conclusions of the editorials to which I had referred earlier. Nevertheless, the Honourable the Prime Minister tried to rebut this, apparently to much laughter in the House—that, Sir, is what I gathered from the transcript that has been circulated because I was not present, because I had to return to Penang to attend the Penang State Assembly, where the Alliance State Government over there was trying to go one step further by presenting a deficit budget by running down our reserves in the State of Penang. However, Sir, I would like to justify my point by referring Honourable Members to the Development Estimates—and I say the Development Estimates are closely integrated to this Command Paper 45—page 27, Head 124, Sub-head 21 "Pauper Fund" where provision is made for \$146,000 in the First Malaysian Plan of which \$70,000 will be financed next year, 1966, the first year of the Plan, from Loan expenditure. Sir, this little observation, I think supports our statements made earlier on in the session of this House.

Sir, as I said earlier, we could build up our criticisms of the Government's First Malaysia Plan upon such a theme. But being a loyal and responsible Opposition, I would prefer to develop upon the theme set by the Honourable the Prime Minister himself, because I believe that in his foreword to the First Malaysia Plan he has clearly established the key-note of the entire 190 pages of the Plan itself.

The Honourable the Prime Minister wrote clearly: "The next few years will be crucial in the history of Malaysia." The word crucial was repeated this morning by the Honourable the

Deputy Prime Minister. "All Malaysians", I repeat the word, "All Malaysians need to redouble their efforts to sustain economic growth and development in the face of the many complex problems and challenging tasks ahead." Again this morning Sir, the term "Challenging" was repeated many times. Here, Sir, in a few words, everyone in Malaysia should realise, with the same humility expressed by the Honourable Prime Minister himself in his foreword, that our very future depends upon "all Malaysians".

It is in the light of this very revealing context that I decided to move the amendment to the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister's motion.

Once we put aside all the problems of race, creed or colour and think and act as Malaysians, the challenges of the next few years become meaningful and worthy of all our efforts. But should we ever permit ourselves to fall back upon the divisions of race, religion or political affiliation, then the future becomes meaningless and sterile in spite of whatever efforts we may now put up to meet the challenges that lie ahead of us; and it is interesting to note, Sir, that in announcing the Plan, the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister definitely stated that the benefits would accrue to all Malaysians irrespective of what sector they came from and much more interesting thing, Sir, irrespective of political affiliation. That, Sir, was a very interesting statement.

Sir, in its simplest terms that is how I envisage the problems of the future as they have been framed for us by "Bapa Malaysia" himself.

In the realities of our present multi-racial society, we must meet and overcome the social-economic challenges of the immediate future. The crucial test is that we must advance together in this "battle for prosperity" as Malaysians, so that in the end we shall together enjoy the fruits of our efforts as Malaysians. There can be no other meaning given to the challenges which lie ahead of us.

As one prominent member of the Alliance Cabinet has said so very

succinctly, we are "co-owners" of this nation, Malaysia, and as such it is our duty to see that it must succeed. So we must all respond to the clarion call of the Honourable the Prime Minister that we must redouble our efforts as Malaysians, so that Malaysia may be secure and prosperous. And once again, I echo the words of the Honourable the Minister of Finance: "Let us hope that once the decision is made there will be no turning back because we cannot afford to turn back."

Sir, it is manifestly clear to all of us that the First Malaysia Plan can only be meaningful if we examine it and debate it as Malaysians. There is no other way.

The amendment to the motion, which I have made, is made after examination of the proposals put forward in Command Paper 45 of 1965.

First of all, it is quite clear that the tasks ahead are enormous, and this is brought out all the more clearly when we are made to understand that the First Malaysia Plan only initiates the transformation in the Malaysian economy and society, which will require very much more than five years to reach full realisation. The projection has been made up to 1985, 20 years from now, and unfortunately most of the publicity given to the Plan have referred to the benefits expected 20 years from now as though they would be realised in 1970.

The immediate problems of financing and manpower in the first five years of the Plan are enormous and complicated enough and the planners have been cautious enough to forecast the attainable goals of 1970 in moderate terms, and also to stress the dangers as clearly as possible.

A few references will clearly illustrate what I mean. In paragraph 44, I quote: "By 1970 Malaysians will be enjoying higher income levels, a higher rate of employment and a wider range of public services than they do at present." However, Sir, no significant indications have been given to us as to what these new levels will be. We

have to make the assessment for ourselves in terms of past performance based upon the first two Malayan Five-Year Plans and the more colourful long-term prospects, which have been laid out in Command Paper 45 and which have been projected up to 1985.

Sir, for example, we are told that by 1970 there will be 460,000 additional jobs—this is given in paragraph 188—but that this will be slightly less than the rate of increase in total population. The rate of unemployment will be reduced from 6% to 5.2%, but, however, Sir, we are further reminded that the total number of unemployed will continue to remain about 160,000. From these figures we are then led by expert juggling of ideas to the nebulous conclusion that “physical output per worker should increase by nearly 20% and that income *per capita* should rise”—this is from paragraph 190. That is what I mean by the cautious moderate terms of the planners. It is a fair enough calculation, which one can accept if one accepts the quotients of the hypothetical formulae used. Whether or not these formulae are “realistic”, “sensible or reasonable” they are certainly “bold and imaginative”.

Sir, the solutions for requirements for high-level and middle-level manpower are beautifully written in paragraphs 215 and 216. But crudely put, they mean that we have to recruit more “foreign specialists” under certain conditions to protect the rights of citizens, and the co-operation between capital, management and labour.

Sir, the projected production indices of the agricultural programme is more clearly stated in paragraph 290 and in table 7-2 as indeed are the expected increases and improvements in the rural development. To a certain extent this reflects creditably on the systematic rural upliftment programmes of the Government. And, as I said, Sir, wherever we find that the Government has done well and we should co-operate with it, we should do so. And, here, Sir, we take the occasion to

congratulate the Government on what it has hitherto done in the rural uplifting programmes.

Since Government policy with regard to industrial development is restricted to maintaining a favourable investment climate, provision of industrial estates and transport, power and communication facilities, and the granting of tax and other inducements as contained in paragraph 26, we should carefully note that the public development expenditure for mining and industrial development will total \$115.8 millions of which MARA will absorb \$70 million. Since the major items, MARA, M.I.D.F.L., F.L.D.A. will be assisted by external financing, we are committing an important sector of our population to the imponderables of prevailing sentiments of the “Aid to Malaysia Club”. This reference is in paragraph 408. The *bumiputras* may well take heed of this and thereby not only redouble their efforts but re-redouble their efforts to catch up with the private sectors of development.

When viewed against the problem of increasing employment opportunities, we note with concern that hitherto the pattern is that the manufacturing sector only provides on the average 10 full-time workers per establishment, and that 82% of the manufacturing establishments employ less than 10 workers each—paragraph 358.

We, therefore, urge the Government to give greater consideration to the problem of employment opportunities in relation to the granting of pioneer industry status, which at the present time only bases its provision for a tax holiday in relation to capital investment and not related to the question of the provision for increased employment opportunities.

Sir, it is also interesting to note that Government is the nation's largest employer. As such, it is imperative that the pattern of good employer-employee relationships and the development of free trade unions must be established and sustained by the Government.

We note with concern that no mention is made for the provision for review of the nation's educational system so that the diverse systems prevailing in the territories of Malaysia can be integrated and a more equitable policy laid down to establish a truly Malaysian educational programme. This is of particular interest to all of us since the Honourable the Prime Minister had publicly indicated that he had a plan to provide for a more liberal policy in education. Further, in spite of local efforts to meet the development expenditure on education, the First Malaysia Plan will mean that the Government will have to recourse to foreign assistance.

Sir, Health and Family Planning are two diametrically opposed factors in population balancing. But it is chastening for us to appreciate that in spite of the top priority given by Government to Family Planning as a Malthusian solution of our social and economic problems, the planners state quite firmly and I quote from paragraph 46, (vi) that "if population continues to grow at 3% over the next 20 years the target level of *per capita* income could be no more than \$1,400 at most."

These references and remarks, Sir, will, I hope, bear out what I had said earlier that the planners have been cautious enough to forecast the attainable goals of the First Malaysia Plan in moderate and perhaps in even guarded terms.

Even the full realisation of what has been euphorically called by the planners "the great transformation of Malaysian economy and society by 1985" is sober enough. The target of a level of \$1,500 of *per capita* income in 1985, when most of the country's current population will be middle-aged, and most of us in this House will be, we hope, fondly remembered ones, "would be sufficient to assure every Malaysian a decent, though not luxurious, standard of living."

When this is balanced with the proviso of the successful implementation of family planning, without which the *per capita* income may only be

about \$1,400, we can appreciate that at the end of 20 years Malaysians can expect to look forward to a standard of living which is perhaps just a shade better off than that which now prevails in Singapore. This then is the sum total of the "plenty for all", which we are daily cudgelled into believing by the newspaper, the radio and television.

This then is the true picture of the "prosperity" we must battle for! When we view this prospect against the specific dangers of non-fulfillment which the planners have listed for us, I think, Sir, we will then have the true picture of how arduous the battle will be, and what the challenges mean, and perhaps we will begin to realise that the despairing plea of the Minister of Finance, "we cannot afford to turn back", is urgent and cogent. We are in fact not engaged in a battle for prosperity, but we are in for a battle for continued survival.

Sir, I do not intend to be a spoilsport and cut short the applause and the praises for the Plan as it is set out. As plans go, it is an illuminating and instructive document, beautifully written in parts, with wonderful new ambiguous words to entrance the laymen with the "baloney" of the expert economist. To parody Gertrude Stein, one could say the Plan is a plan is a plan is a plan. But when we look at it a little bit more critically, we will appreciate that the crucial years ahead of us are truly crucial.

We should not gloss over our problems. The Honourable Prime Minister wrote that "the Government does not conceal the immense problems with which the nation is confronted". But I think the publicity and the propaganda on the Plan is not quite so explicit. We should not conceal the immensity of the problems because we must gear the people to the realisation that we have a real battle in our hands, and that in this battle we must fight together as Malaysians because we can only triumph as Malaysians. Defeat in this battle for our social and economic future will mean only one thing—there will be no Malaysia at all. Sir, it is interesting to note that the

Honourable Deputy Prime Minister in moving his motion mentioned this very clearly, "that the stakes are high, and if we fail to achieve the target of this Plan, the very existence of this nation will be imperilled." Those are the words which we heard this morning.

Sir, let us refer quickly to the darker aspects of the commentary of the planners. Lest I be accused of spreading gloom, I shall quote both page and paragraph of the references so that Honourable Members will appreciate that these warnings are not cooked up by me but they are warnings which are contained in the Plan itself.

Sir, in page 5, paragraph 15, we come across the type of conditions which the planners have made to qualify the feasibility of the Plan. Discussing the need for economic development, we are drawn to the fact that the population rate is growing at 3% a year. The planners have this comment to make and I quote. "If economic growth is not rapid enough to provide jobs for these new job seekers, frustration and discontent will be the result." And although family planning is advocated, we are at the same time warned: "But such a process takes time and until the birth rate is brought down the economy must grow rapidly just to keep average income levels from stagnating or even declining."

Referring to the rubber and tin industries, paragraph 20, page 7, we are warned as clearly as possible that "the two traditional bulwarks of the economy, though still viable and productive, do not have especially bright prospects for future growth of national income and employment." This warning is elaborated in greater detail when our attention is drawn to the fact that with regard to rubber, "despite the substantial increase in physical production, however, the value of exports declined . . . reflecting the drop in unit price. This drop in the export unit price was brought about by the strong and increasing competition from synthetic rubber." The observations, Sir, are made by the planners in paragraphs 245 and 246 in

page 99. As to our prospects in the tin mining industry, we are told categorically in paragraph 370, page 128, that "In the next five years a substantial decline is likely to occur in the output of tin from dredging as known deposits are gradually exhausted."

Then we are clearly warned again in paragraph 23, page 8, and I quote, "The conclusion must be faced, therefore, that over the next five years export growth will be inadequate to finance import needs and maintain overall economic growth, even after allowance is made for export promotion and diversification." In view of the fact that Malaysia's economy is referred to as an "export economy", we do not know whether this stern conclusion is made to stimulate our people into greater efforts or whether it is tailored to put up a good case for foreign aid.

I have said, Sir, that my thesis is to drive home the fact that all Malaysians have to struggle and struggle hard for independent economic survival and progress. We are warned in paragraph 28, page 9, that in spite of the provisions of the First Malaysia Plan "it must be recognised, however, that living standards will improve only gradually during the next five years unless rubber and tin perform far better than anticipated."

I had mentioned earlier that we have to make our assessments of the true nature of the projection of future development partly on our experience of past performance. In page 11, paragraph 35, we are told that during the period 1961-65, finances were not a limiting factor in public development expenditure. But we are clearly warned that "in the next five years, however, finance will be the principal constraint on the public development expenditure programme."

What all this adds up to is that the First Malaysia Plan will to a large extent be financed by "mobilising the savings of individuals and institutions in Malaysia, utilising the accumulated assets of the public sector and obtaining loans and grants from abroad." Sir,

those beautiful words obviously cannot come from me; they come from the planners themselves.

During the course of the 1966 Budget debate, Sir, I had strongly expressed our general dismay over the manner whereby the Alliance Government had frittered away our opportunities in the years since Merdeka. So, once again, we note with some cynicism that the planners have again observed that "a determined effort will have to be made to restrain the growth of recurrent expenditure within certain limits." Then, in order to ensure that recurrent expenditures do not increase unnecessarily and to obtain maximum effectiveness from the money spent on public services, the Federal Government has instituted an Economy Drive. It has also undertaken a comprehensive review of the entire system of public administration. Sir, this is shown to us in paragraph 37, page 12.

Since we had already made our comments on this issue during the Budget debate, especially with regard to the iniquity of the telephone tax, which to our mind could have been offset by such an economy drive and a review of the system of public administration, all that is necessary for me to say now is that we in the Opposition will bear this constantly in mind in future debates on the Budgets or Supplementary Budgets and we shall not permit the Government to forget its past indiscretions when, in the words of the Honourable Minister of Finance, "project estimates were too often revised upwards, sometimes more than once." However, Sir, if we think that this is the only instance where the Government has had to admit that it has suddenly realised its own shortcomings, we have only to turn to the next page, that is to say on page 13, to discover yet another evidence of Alliance recklessness.

We are told in paragraph 42:

"Apart from the problem of mobilising financial resources . . . Malaysian economic and social development faces one other serious constraint . . . This is the serious shortage of trained and skilled manpower . . . but Malaysia as a whole badly needs a substantial increase in the number of trained personnel available."

But, Sir, the sad observation is that although the Alliance Government knows that "training requires time, especially at the professional level," it has not until now done anything concrete to solve the problem of "high-level manpower shortage". After all the years of Alliance party having been in power, first in the Federation of Malaya and then in Malaysia, we read with real bitterness the admission in paragraph 43 (page 13) that the Government still does not actually know what our manpower needs are, for the Government says:

"The Government is making every effort to ascertain the manpower needs of the nation and develop training and educational programmes which will create the skilled men and women to satisfy these needs."

In these two references, Sir, we have sufficient causes to charge the Government for having contributed to the severity of the trials which lie ahead of us. The challenges of the future, the enormity of our battle for a better life to this extent are due to the deficiencies of the party in power in the past.

However, Sir, let us proceed with our examination of the warnings with which the planners have laced their exposition of the Plan. Paragraph 47 (pages 15 and 16) reads, and I quote:

" . . . Even after 1970, present indications are that receipts from Malaysian's current leading exports will not even come close to paying for her import needs"

Then our attention is drawn cautiously to the "question of balance of payment stability", and it says:

" . . . During the next five years . . . "—the first five years of the Malaysia Plan—"the economy will be investing a larger amount than it will be saving."

But we had already been informed during the Budget debate that "this year the surplus on current account will almost completely disappear." So, we are left wondering whether, in fact, there will be any savings at all. The planners go on to tell us that "the balance will be financed by drawing down the country's foreign exchange reserves". But because of the danger of this tendency we are cautioned that "the growth of public and private consumption expenditures must be held

within limits which are consistent with basic balance of payments stability.” Further we are clearly advised that “if this strategic necessity is not achieved, the result will eventually be the exhaustion of the country’s foreign exchange reserves. This, in turn, will necessitate severe import controls, a sharp drop in living standards as imported goods cease to be available and a probable decline in the rate of economic growth”.

Sir, I think that we should all appreciate the real significance of the dire alternatives to the successful implementation of the Plan. This can perhaps be clearly understood if we look through the recommendations regarding the financing of economic growth, especially since the appraisal was made in the light of immediate past performance. Paragraph 77 (page 30) says:

“ . . . The total expenditure in (1960-65) in the economy rose more rapidly than gross national product.”

Paragraph 78 says:

“ . . . In 1960 Malaysian output exceeded total expenditure, so that there existed a considerable surplus on goods and services account. Exports grew extremely slowly during the period 1960-65; . . . as a result, total expenditure rose to become approximately equal to output in 1963-64 and the initial surplus was eliminated . . . ”

And, as I have already quoted, the observation is made that “Malaysia is shifting away from the position of a net creditor to that of a net borrower.” Paragraph 80 says:

“ The declining surplus on goods and services, combined with the continuing high level of private transfer payments abroad, has led to a reversal in the balance of payments on current account from a sizeable surplus in 1960 to a deficit for the years 1964-65 taken together.”

Paragraph 81 (page 32) says:

“The financial position of the public sector, like that of the balance of payments, moved from one of substantial financial resources to increased financial stringency under the impact of the development programmes.”

Sir, we can go on quoting such samples of danger signals from the experts and, as I said, these are not my words, but these are the words of the planners as contained in this

Command Paper itself. But I think that at this stage it will be sufficient for us to summarise the challenges which we are asked now to meet in this fashion.

First of all, if we do not make the effort to pull ourselves out of our present predicament and we cannot afford to turn back, then we are faced with a sharp drop in living standards and exhaustion of reserves.

The present position is, in fact, not one of buoyancy and resilience, but one of “increased financial stringency.” During this period of the First Malaysia Plan living standards will improve only gradually. Even after 1970, present indications are that receipts will not even come close to paying for our import needs. The long term prospect, even if the requirements of Family Planning are successfully met, is merely that “every Malaysian will be assured of a decent, though not luxurious, standard of living.”

That, Sir, is how we interpret the First Malaysia Plan to be as set out in Command Paper 45 of 1965. These are the down to earth facts. We must face them as such. We should not beguile the people of the country into thinking in terms of “greater prosperity”, “plenty for all”, and so on. The simple truth is that if we do not work to make this Plan succeed, then the future is dire indeed. But if we work hard to make the Plan succeed, then we can assure our children of a decent standard of living. Mind you, Sir, it is worth our while to repeat this just “a decent standard of living”, and there is nothing luxurious about it.

It is our firm opinion that it will be cruel to mislead our people with false hopes, brighter than they can ever be attained in the light of the considered opinions of the planning experts. We consider this unrealistic and cruel because after all the efforts which we have been asked to make, Malaysians will one day come to the full realisation that the Alliance picture of the future, which is presented in a rosy manner, is a false one.

It would be better for us to tell our people in simple clear terms that we

must make the effort now, or else we shall fall backwards economically and socially. Since the Honourable Prime Minister has called upon all Malaysians to make this national effort, we can paraphrase this by saying that if Malaysians fail in their duty to respond to the call to act now as Malaysians, there may be no Malaysia worthwhile living in 1985. Before I go on to make my observations as to how we can better mobilise our national efforts towards the attainment of a better Malaysia, I think that we should further examine the report of the planners in search of some clues which may help us to suggest alternative concepts of economic development.

For this purpose, Sir, I think it will pay us well to examine in even finer detail the contents of pages 14 to 27, because these deal with the long-term prospect, the problems of financing the progress of the economy in recent years. I shall do this by making general references and by general observations in order to formulate and advance general views for the consideration of the Government and Honourable Members. As I had said at the very beginning, these observations are made with emotional restraint, and having put aside all possible communal interpretations, I would like to put forward my suggestions in the same spirit as the Honourable the Prime Minister's appeal to all of us as Malaysians.

Sir, without any doubt at all, to all those of us who have been accustomed to the concept of Malaysia, as it was defined in our very Constitution until the fateful day of August 9, 1965, the wellbeing of our nation at the present time and in the immediate future must be closely interlinked with that of the Republic of Singapore. And, therefore, it is with some considerable interest that the only mention made to that state throughout the entire 190 pages of the First Malaysia Plan appears in page 18, paragraph 52. I quote, Sir:

"The new nation of Malaysia was formed in September, 1963, and subsequently found it necessary to defend itself against political and military confrontation. The separation of Singapore from Malaysia in August, 1965, led to a further change in political bounda-

ries. These important political developments, however, did not disrupt the steady economic progress of Malaysia."

Sir, these are obviously the views of the planners and of the Alliance Party in power. Whether or not they truly reflect the opinions and sentiments of the general public remains to be seen. To the mind of the members of the loyal Opposition, certainly these pious expressions of opinion are somewhat unrealistic, and to us it is perhaps too early to determine what the future may yet mean to us, and the consequences of the too hasty and unpremeditated eviction of Singapore from Malaysia must still be regarded with extreme caution.

It has already been mooted in international circles by very prominent members of the Alliance Cabinet that this eviction or separation is only of a temporary nature, and that the day may yet come when the reintegration or reunification of these two territories will again become a reality. But it is nevertheless clear to all of us that the old formula for the reintegration of these two territories cannot be revived, and whatever the future may bring we must carefully calculate upon how these two independent States must be geographical, demographical and economic terms be brought together again.

So, it is with interest and with some concern that we observe that the twenty-year projection of our national development plan did not take into account this very important possibility. We are left with the question as to whether the reintegration of these two territories—perhaps, Sir, the term "reintegration" is not appropriate, because it was due to the former colonial system that the two territories were kept asunder, and a better term would be to use "reunification" since the two territories had, in fact, been incorporated under the original definition of the "Federation of Malaysia"—however, we are left with the question whether the reunification of Singapore and Malaysia must be carefully considered in any projection plan which

spans a period of twenty years. Whatever the answer to this very controversial question may be from the Alliance point of view, we in the Opposition consider that this is

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid (Seberang Utara): Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of clarification—what has the statement of the Honourable Member got to do with the amendment which he brought up to this House for consideration? I see that there is no bearing at all in his amendment with regard to the separation of Singapore.

Dr Lim Chong Eu: It is quite clear, Sir, that in moving the amendment I am also taking the opportunity to discuss the Plan.

Mr Speaker: Yes, I have allowed that, because we are supposed to have the amendment moved together with the substantive motion. However, I think the Honourable Member over there is right in that you bring in Singapore too much.

Dr Lim Chong Eu: I am coming to it immediately because I am referring to the problems of the Common Market.

Sir, it is surprising that the Plan has completely omitted any reference to the less political and less controversial and specific economic issues of the establishment of a Common Market between Malaysia and the independent State of Singapore. We have been told and told firmly by the Honourable Minister of Finance in his own inimitable manner, that we must refer to tariff arrangements within the States of Malaysia as arrangements within the Principal Customs Area. Therefore, we conclude that the term "Common Market" would be applied in our economic relationship with other countries and, in particular, with the new Republic of Singapore.

Sir, I say this quite categorically, in spite of the fact that I am quite conscious that certain more emotional and, therefore, more chauvinistic and ultra elements within Malaysia may overtly or subversively object to what I have to say. Sir, I say quite categori-

cally that we cannot make a realistic projection plan into the future in the space-time of twenty years without taking into due consideration the significance and importance of the establishment of a "Common Market" between Malaysia and Singapore.

After all, Sir, the establishment of a Common Market was a major cornerstone in the concept of the establishment and creation of Malaysia. The Rueff Mission was specifically commissioned to look into the long-term prospects of this particular economic project. The abolition or the non-acceptance of this concept of a "Common Market" between Malaysia and Singapore may well negate the fulfilment, the successful fulfilment, of both the First Malaysia Plan and of the Second Five-Year Plan of Singapore. To our mind, there is no doubt at all that the economic and social wellbeing, development and progress of the two States, are closely intertwined and indivisible, and no matter what the prevailing political situation and feelings may be, certainly, Sir, the rest of the world, especially those nations who are particularly close and friendly to us, will have every reason to ask themselves why they should extend any aid to us when the closest and the most neighbouring State of Singapore is excluded from all our economic calculations. And if the only reply to this question that we can offer is that certain extreme elements within our midst would prevent it, perhaps, as reported in an English-medium newspaper of 14th December, then we should not be surprised when the Aid to Malaysia Club begins to have second thoughts about the basic nature of our problems.

Sir, in all seriousness, I suggest to the Government that one of the fundamental omissions of the projection formulae of the planning experts is the deliberate omission of the factor of the Common Market between Malaysia and Singapore. This is a very serious omission, an omission which can well unbalance the entire projection plan for the future of Malaysia, particularly with regard to the private sector, local and foreign investments. To some

extent, this is a political issue, but, Sir, I am talking in social-economic terms, as precisely and as unemotionally as any professional economist would do in the dedication of his profession. After all, Sir, can we ever hope to stop the people in Malaysia from constantly comparing our status between that of their kith and kin living across the half-mile Causeway? Sir,—Kuching, Jesselton, Baram, Sandakan, Sibul, Tawau are all names far less familiar to the citizens of peninsula Malaysia than Singapore. And if this is a fact, then more so are all these places I have named far less known to the rest of the world than Singapore, in spite of what the Honourable Minister of Finance in his peculiarly arrogant and wry manner might ask whether “Singapore is two hundred and twenty square miles at high or low tide”. Sir, from the very predictions of the planning experts themselves, we all understand clearly that, even after strenuous efforts, those of us in Malaysia can only hope for a standard of living twenty years from now, which is only a shade better than what prevails in Singapore at this present moment in terms of *per capita* income. Should our parents forget to take their oral contraceptives, also those more chauvinistic forget to use the applied resources of our major national product and industry, and thereby the Family Planners get themselves all mixed-up in the usual post-Malthusian confusion, then the very best which we can hope to provide for future generations of Malaysians is a standard of living based upon the *per capita* income of \$1,400. Even if we were all to assiduously follow the instructions of the Family Planners in the hope that scientific knowledge will surmount the omnipotence of God’s will, the national *per capita* income in 1985, Sir, not in 1970, will be \$1,500. Both these figures of Malaysia’s progress towards our greater prosperity will be less than 20% more than what the people of Singapore are enjoying today, right now.

This is a fact. It is a fact as clear as the face we see of ourselves in the mirror. How can we ignore it? Even if the ultras and extremists would

want to brush it aside, the weight of the economic arguments will not permit us to do so. The needs of future Malaysians insist that we must not ignore this consideration. The very sense of political duty and responsibility condemns the reasons why the factor of the “Common Market” was so completely and absolutely omitted and blanked out in the Plan submitted for our consideration. It is simply crazy for us to believe that the social and economic development and progress of Malaysia can advance without due consideration of what is taking place at the same period of time across the Causeway. Sir, I suggest to the Alliance Government that this is one of the basic faults of the formulae used in making the projection plans, particularly in the long term projection plans in Command Paper 45.

The next fundamental criticism, Sir, which I am going to make against the Plan is, to some extent, anticipated by what the planners have to say themselves in page 6, paragraph 17; and in page 15, paragraph 46 (iii).

In brief, Sir, these two references state; “Finally, the fruits of economic growth so far have been unevenly distributed.” “. . . to alleviate poverty by providing improved facilities and opportunities” “The resources needed for this effort, if they are not to be extracted at great sacrifice from the rest of the population, can come only from economic growth.” This first observation (in page 6) makes it quite clear that the social economic future of Malaysia depends upon Malaysians, that is to say upon our determination to surmount our present racial and communal, religious and feudal divisions, by our determination to think and act as Malaysians.

The second reference is the more important of the two and so I quote it in full. Sir, in page 15, paragraph 46 (iii) on Income Redistribution:

“Without conflicting with the aim of raising the general income level, Malaysia’s low-income groups will be brought closer to the general income level, so that economic development will yield the fullest possible human benefits. This will be done primarily by means of policies designed to increase their productive contributions to society.

Education and the application of science to agriculture offer two promising opportunities for using public investment to bring about this objective."

Sir, as a pure statement of economic feasibility, this proposition is academic and, as such, acceptable. But, Sir, to our mind, the translation of this theme into practice must necessarily be political. Therefore, it is over this issue that we find ourselves most politically critical of the successful implementation of the First Malaysia Plan.

The crucial problem of the entire Plan is simply one of how we are to promote our economic growth and having done so, how we are in turn to ensure that the national wealth will be more equally and justly distributed so that all those who have contributed their efforts to ensure our national development and progress will equitably enjoy the fruits of their labour. And we note with interest in the official publication of the paper "Malaysia" one of the objectives, as defined by the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister then, which was left out today in his motion, was the *equitable distribution of wealth*. It is here, Sir, that I am developing my theme of amendment.

It is simple enough for the planners to talk in terms of *per capita* income. But everyone in this country knows very well that the truth of the position is that there are those whose incomes per month run into tens of thousands of dollars and then there are those who in spite of all their efforts can only secure a monthly income of as low as \$40. And we must not forget that there will always be 160,000 of our citizens who will be unemployed, simply because there are not enough jobs to go round.

The declared policy of the Alliance Party in power is to create what they have termed "a property-owning society." To those of us whose political ideologies are orientated to the concepts of democratic socialism, such a policy cannot equitably resolve the present uneven distribution of economic growth. Sir, we accept the philosophical terms used by the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister earlier on. It

is under political terms, Sir, that we find ourselves in disagreement.

It is not enough for us to simply classify the imbalances in Malaysia into the "haves" and the "have-nots" and then to say that the Plan will bridge the gap between these two economic social groups. It is even less equitable when the suggestion is made that the "haves" generally can be equated with the urban population and the "have-nots" with the rural population in this country.

Everyone knows that there are also the urban "have-nots" and the rural "haves". The only rational approach to the problem is to accept the fact that economic distinctions cut across all sectors of our multi-racial national community. The solution of the problems of economic inequalities cannot, therefore, be satisfactorily resolved by the capitalist-orientated policy of "property-owning society", more so when there are overtones of foreign capital exploitation of our national resources and there are also the under tones of a feudal and communal insistence upon priorities.

Our problems are Malaysian, and they must be resolved by policies which are fully Malaysian in drive and purpose. Our problems are economic and they can only be resolved by the application of equal and just policies of the distribution of wealth. The urban capitalist-entrepreneur is no less a factor of uneven distribution of our economic growth as is his counterpart, the rural capitalist entrepreneur. And the local capitalist is no less capable of amassing greater wealth for himself, out of all proportion to the national *per capita* income, than his counterpart, the foreign capitalist.

The answer to the problem of a more equitable income distribution can only be found in democratic socialist principles. To this extent, we are unable to find much comfort from the platitudes of the Alliance economic policies. There is not one single statement in the entire Plan which ensures that after the industrial, commercial and other urban workers have contributed their part in increasing

productivity they will be assured of an equal and just reward consonant with their labour. There is not one single statement which ensures that after the farmers, fishermen and other agricultural workers have played their part in increasing the productivity of our nation in the agricultural sectors of our economy, they will be assured of a more equal and just distribution of the wealth which they have laboured to increase. All that we are told is that there will be a higher *per capita* income, without any qualifying statement that the worker will be accorded the equal and just distribution of the wealth he has helped to develop in accordance to the level of labour he has put in.

Sir, we consider that over this question of income distribution, the farmers and the workers of Malaysia will only be able to reap the full benefits of their labour if we equate the concepts of economic growth with the more equal and just political policies of democratic socialism. And to ensure that in the future the already rich will not become richer and the present poor become poorer in Malaysia, we should like to stress the development of more co-operatives in the rural areas, the un-suppressed development of free trade union movements in the urban areas, and that the Federal Government should even now apply more effective safeguards against the external out-flowing of profits and increased wealth.

The planners have already observed that the Government must exercise greater economy and control over the public expenditure.

The Government has promised us the implementation of an economy drive and a new and better system of public administration. We shall watch these developments with great care, for hitherto this has been a sizable drain on our national economy, and we must stress our view that the national administration as it exists at present is not geared, sufficiently geared, for a dynamic development of our economy.

Sir, we are constantly concerned over the manner whereby Government as the nation's largest employer, had

restricted the proper development of good employer-employee relationship. Today we have more and more Government employees whose productivity has not been fully calculated and assessed and who are paid less than what they ask for because of our present austerity budget, whereas it is apparent the Government may be able to do with fewer employees who are adequately and commensurately paid, were we to implement our new administrative system as soon as possible.

Sir, it is clear that the incentives for greater effort on the part of our people will not be sufficiently strong if we are to mobilise our national effort on the basis of the attainable objectives of the plan. After 20 years of redoubled efforts we can only be assured of a decent living, not luxurious, based upon an expected *per capita* income level of \$1,500 if family planning succeeds, and a lower level of \$1,400 if it does not succeed. It is also clear that the possible dangers of non-fulfilment of the Plan are numerous and dire. Therefore, Sir, we can only conclude that the economic incentives must be fortified by sound political motivation. The Honourable Prime Minister has appreciated this very clearly. He has appealed to the country implicitly in the context of Malaysia and I quote his words, Sir,—these are important words: “All Malaysians need to redouble their efforts in order to ensure the attainment of a better, happier and more peaceful life for all Malaysians”. Sir, those of us in the Opposition who subscribe to the concept of a Malaysian Malaysia fully support this clarion call by “Bapa Malaysia”.

We urge everyone in Malaysia to respond fully to the appeals made by the Honourable Prime Minister in the absolute spirit of Malaysians that he has made them. Similarly, Sir, the Motion standing in the name of the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister is the political corollary to the economic incentives of the First Malaysia Plan. Since this too reflects the national spirit already heralded by the Honourable Prime Minister, to that extent Sir,

we find ourselves almost in accord with the text of the Motion. However, Sir, as I have tried to establish in my survey of the Plan there are certain issues which determine our reservations in giving full accord to the Motion as it now stands. The basic and fundamental issue is that the increased growth in our national economy must be distributed in a more equal and just manner.

Therefore, Sir, I have proposed to amend the Motion of the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister by the simple addition of two simple words, the words "equal" and "just" after the words "a more united" in the Motion. This will further augment the spirit shown by the Honourable Prime Minister; this will further strengthen our resolve and the purpose and objective of the Plan. Surely, Sir, the nation will be more united because it is more equal and just. The nation too will be more secure if it is more united, more equal and more just. The prosperity will become more meaningful and bring about greater happiness if this increased prosperity will be shared more equally and more justly. The people of Malaysia will, therefore, be able to enjoy a greater happiness and a more peaceful way of life if they realise that whatever the fruits of our efforts may be, we shall be sharing them, however much or however little they may be, we shall be sharing what we produce under the guidance of the First Malaysia Plan in a more equal and just manner, and thereby, Sir, we will be better able to buffer and to overcome any lack or short-coming in the amount of foreign aid which is anticipated by the Plan.

Sir, the Malaysia of the future will be a more meaningful nation to all Malaysians if this House today will accept the amendment which I have proposed, so that the Malaysia which we are now called upon to build will be a more united, equal, just, secure and prosperous nation.

Accordingly, Sir, I call upon the Members of this House to support the amendment which I earnestly hope will be accepted in good spirit by the Government.

Sir, I beg to move my amendment.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair (Bungsar):
Sir, I beg to second the amendment.

Sir, this morning, from the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister, we heard the rosier side of the Plan—perhaps you are aware, Sir, there is always a seedier side to every rosier side. We have been shown this morning, Sir, the bright and visible portion of the moon, but it must be the task of the Opposition to do what the Russian and the American rockets try to do, and that is to spotlight and to photograph the hidden side of the moon. Sir, the purpose of all economic planning must be prosperity, and prosperity is not of much use if it is only to be confined to the few and not extended to the many. If you want to extend the prosperity to the many, then it is obvious that your primary objective must be to achieve a more just and equitable distribution of the national wealth. Sir, it is doubtful whether the Plan as it has been worked out has been realistically conceived with a view to achieving the primary objective of a fairer, more just, and more equal society. A critical survey of the Plan, Sir, will show that it is otherwise.

The main problems of Malaysian economic development have been stated in the Plan as follows:

- (a) A heavy dependence on two export products—rubber and tin. But the Plan does not indicate how this dependence is really to be overcome. It continues, as in the previous Plan, to devote more attention to maintaining the present dependence and also on putting more effort into opening up new lands for rubber. This, Sir, maybe to some extent inevitable and necessary, but the complaint, however, is that not enough attention has been paid in the Plan to the task of diversification. Only very marginal efforts are given ever to developing other sectors.
- (b) The Plan admits that another problem is the high rate of

population increase. This is to some extent a characteristic of rural and low income groups. There is no attempt to alleviate this, except by some effort at family planning. But overwhelming international experience, Sir, will show that the effectiveness of family planning very seldom does seep into the rural areas. Improvements in living standards and education will help, but the plans in this respect are vague and not sufficiently specific.

- (c) The authors of the Plan admit the fact that there is an uneven distribution of income which involves disparities between rural and urban dwellers. However, the Plan does not attempt to reduce this disparity. On the contrary, the authors of the Plan, Sir, ignore the whole range of possibilities of taxation in order to achieve the objectives of redistribution. We should also note, Sir, that there are a large proportion of urban dwellers who are not so well off, as well as the increasing numbers of unemployed for whom no proper development schemes are envisaged.
- (d) The development of human skills is also mentioned in the Plan but no details are given of any specific schemes and projects. The main idea seems to be to keep more children in school by extending secondary education, but whether secondary and vocational education will be deliberately and consciously geared to help develop the skills and the techniques required is not known.

Thus although the Plan appreciates the main problems of our economy, there seems to be no significant appreciation of the means to resolve them during the Plan period.

The detailed objectives of the Plan are listed out, Sir, in such a way that all possible objectives are stated, but there is hardly any attempt to reveal in concrete terms what proportion of

the objectives can be and will be achieved. In this respect, Sir, the Plan is similar to the previous Plan, the 1961/65 Plan. It has been so written that it will be practically impossible to measure achievements against targets, as the objectives themselves are rather vague.

The Plan, Sir, is fairly realistic in assessing the prospects of the economy. It states that "export growth will be inadequate to finance import needs and maintain overall economic growth even after allowance is made for export promotion and diversification."

The analysis of the export potential, on page 45 of the Plan, is also fairly realistic, but in spite of this fairly realistic assessment, Sir, the planners conclude that the aims of the economic programme for the next five years is to promote traditional and new export possibilities, stimulate domestic food production and exploit to the fullest extent the excellent possibilities of industrial production catering for the domestic markets, and to continue to elaborate on the benefits that would accrue, but without really stating what plans and policies they have to achieve all these good things and to ensure growth. This, Sir, is like counting the chickens before they are hatched because:

- (a) export prospects are admittedly poor; and
- (b) it is unlikely that domestic production, especially with so little being done, would grow to make up the fall in exports and ensure future growth at a high level.

In the circumstances, Sir, the hopes of the planners may turn out to be fairly insubstantial dreams.

Our past export performance, Sir, does not allow for any optimism. Apart from the high price of tin, the prices of rubber, copra, coconut oil, have all fallen in value: only timber has shown some increase. The total value of our exports has only increased by 0.8 per cent between 1960 and 1965. Thus, our continued reliance on exports can, at the most, be only a temporary measure and cannot be the

basis for future growth unless substantial new markets are found.

The development of domestic production in the past has also not been very significant. The data given on page 37 of the Plan that manufacturing has gone up by 11 per cent per annum is no real indication, Sir, because of the initially low base in 1960. The increase in the proportion of consumption of locally manufactured cigarettes, biscuits, soaps, cement, is not really an indicator of any real increase in import substitution. Altogether, Sir, the basis of hoping that economic growth can be maintained is not very satisfactory.

The overall performance of the economy in terms of the gross national output (based on the given figures) in the Plan was not bad. However, it must be noted, Sir, that the over-dependence on exports had already resulted in the fact that despite significant increases in the volume of output, the corresponding income growth has been significantly low. This means, Sir, that all the effort at replanting of rubber and export promotion can only help at most to maintain existing levels and is, therefore, not likely to provide the basis for future growth. Further, Sir, it is anticipated that rubber prices which had already fallen from 95 cents in 1960 to 75 cents in 1965 are likely to fall further to 60 cents in the next five years. This means, Sir, that roughly a 30% increase in volume of output will be needed to maintain the *status quo* with regard to income and only anything more than this can really provide the basis for growth and development.

With the export sector still being over 50% of the gross output, this can have significant repercussions on income and employment potential and development capacities. The assumption, Sir, that the domestic demand for local products can make up this deficit may be too hopeful for the following reasons.

Sir, the tables of development expenditure and performance in 1961/65, as given on page 28 of the Plan, are

somewhat misleading on the total performance and the original targets. It will be noticed, Sir, that the table attempts to show that the original target of development expenditure was \$2,150 million and that the final expenditure in this period was \$2,651.7 million, thereby giving roughly a fulfilment of 123.3%. All very well. But surely, Sir, there has been more than a little deception here. If we turn to the Treasury Memorandum on the Development Estimates for 1966, Table I, Sir, clearly shows that the total of \$2,651.7 million includes State Government and public authorities expenditure, which was not in the Plan target. Therefore, Sir, the comparison is misleading.

The proper thing to do would to be exclude this figure. Performance will then show only \$2,099.1 million as against a target of \$2,150 million. An even more meaningful operation, Sir, would be to exclude defence expenditure. Then the performance drops to \$1,791.8 million against an original target of \$2,057 million.

In addition, Sir, the proper measure of achievement must surely be the physical targets and the completion of projects, but on this the Plan provides no data. As such, all statements of achievement have only a very limited significance as they largely refer to financial and not to real physical achievements. From the tables it can be seen—on page 28—that in agriculture, land development has had only 68% fulfilment and industrial site development 76% fulfilment. Drainage and Irrigation, Roads and Bridges, Communications and Utilities have all had very significant performances. Social Services have had fairly good fulfilment, but as it is financial data only, it is difficult to assess real performance. For example, Sir, Housing has had 86.8% fulfilment, but there seems to be not enough physical evidence to show what has really been done. How many housing units have really been completed?

One of the main aims, Sir, of the First Plan was to create employment. The final estimates of employment

growth in 1960-65 as given on page 35, Sir—and all the figures are given in thousand—shows that employment had increased from 2,174 to 2,518 as against the target of 2,500 and that unemployment had increased from 138 to 160. This seems a fairly good performance on the basis of the figures, but a closer scrutiny indicates, Sir, that it is not so, and for the following reasons:

- (i) the employment data itself is only a rough estimate and may be wide off the mark. The 1961/65 Plan gave employment in 1960 as 2,215 (all the figures are thousands Sir) but this Plan uses a lower figure for 1960 at 2,174 less by 41,000. If this, Sir, is a possible margin of error, then I submit that the figures can be quite unreliable.
- (ii) The next reason, Sir, is that the agricultural sector is said to have provided employment to an additional 111,000. This again, Sir, is deceptive . . .

Mr Speaker: Order, order. This sitting is suspended till 4.00 p.m. today.

Sitting suspended at 1.00 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 4.00 p.m.

(Mr Deputy Speaker in the Chair)

THE FIRST MALAYSIA PLAN, 1966/1970

Debate resumed.

Enche' C. V. Devan Nair: Just before the adjournment, Sir, I said that one of the main aims of the first Plan was to create employment. The final estimates of employment growth in 1960-65 is given on page 35 (the figures are given in thousands) and it shows that employment had increased from 2,174 to 2,518 as against the target of 2,500, and that unemployment had increased from 138 to 160. Now, this would seem, Sir, a fairly good performance on the basis of the figures, but a closer scrutiny would indicate, Sir, that it is not so for the following reasons.

One is that the employment data itself is only a rough estimate, and may be wide off the mark. The 1961-65 Plan gave employment in 1960 as 2,215, but this Plan, Sir, uses a lower figure for 1960 of 2,174, that is less by 41,000, and, as I have said, Sir, if this is a possible margin of error, then the figures can be quite unreliable.

The agricultural sector, Sir, is said to have provided employment to an additional 111,000. Now, this again is deceptive for the good reason that employment by rubber estates has not increased in this period. In fact, it has fallen slightly. So, this increase of 111,000 must be largely attributed to smallholdings. It would, therefore, include a fair amount of unpaid family workers and many who are under-employed. As such, how much of this additional 111,000 is real net addition to employment is difficult to assess.

The other reason, Sir—employment in Other Trade and Services show an increase of 78,000 as against the target increase of 42,000. Here again, the data may be somewhat less reliable because of the nature and types of occupations involved. Thus on the whole it would be more reasonable to assume that the sectors which were expected to and should have produced the additional jobs did not do so. If the figures are accepted, the job increases have largely been in the other sectors where employment may not be full employment and might be largely under-employment.

The figures of unemployment remaining at 6% between 1960-65 seem also rather optimistic, as the Minister of Finance himself indicated in his Budget Speech that the urban unemployment and unemployment among the youthful population has been rising significantly in this period.

Employment targets for 1965-1970 are given on page 53, and they seem even more optimistic. It is expected that employment will be available for all the additional increases to the labour force, a total of 460,000. In Malaya alone the increase in the labour force is expected to be 377,000

as against 344,000 in the 1961-1965 period. One would have thought, Sir, that the increase in the labour force in the period 1966-1970 would be very much higher than in the previous period, because of the significant increase in the population and birth rates. The estimate, therefore, may be on the low side.

The increase in employment in the agricultural sector is to be about 165,000 as against 111,000 in 1961-1965, while manufacturing is to provide only 36,000 new jobs as against 38,000 for manufacturing and mining in the previous period. Generally, it should be the manufacturing sector that should, as normally expected, absorb an increasing proportion of the labour force.

Construction and Utilities is to provide only 42,000 jobs, as against 60,000 in the previous period. Trade and Services will provide only an increase of 79,000 as against 78,000 in the previous five-year period.

It surely does appear that our Malaysia Plan targets are somewhat unusual, and indeed, out of balance for a developing nation. Generally, in a developing country, more and more new employment is found in secondary and tertiary sectors, and not in the primary sector; but in Malaysia, our Development Plan is targetted for larger employment increases in the primary sector and not in the others. If there is some special strategy in this employment programme, then it must be a closely guarded secret.

Now, Sir, I come to investment targets. The total development expenditure under the Plan is estimated to be (page 48 of the Plan) \$10,500 million, of which the public sector's share is to be \$4,550 million and the private sector's share \$5,950 million. The private sector is to be the main dynamic element in producing rapid economic growth. The Government hopes to channel a rapidly growing volume of investment into industry and related fields. The overall aim, as stated in page 48 of the Plan, is to create a level of private investment which rises from about \$1,010 million

in 1965 to some \$1,400 million by 1970. This is based on an increase of five per cent per annum in private housing and 10% increase in all other private investments. It is accepted that these targets will be difficult of achievement. However, it is hoped that by vigorously pursuing well conceived development policies, Malaysia will be able to create an attractive environment, though the detailed policies have not been outlined. Briefly, Sir, the financing is to be as follows: Table 3-10, on page 57, shows that a total private investment target of \$6,160 million is envisaged, derived from long-term private capital inflow, self-finance and other non-bank sources, bank lending to private sector and public sector financing of private investment.

This is a very optimistic hope in that it is based on an expectation of private investment from local sources to go up by almost 70% while foreign private financing is to be lower than in the past five years. It is also realised in the Plan that the overall savings rate of the economy is likely to decline in the next five years; yet the expectation are that investments will be so much higher.

The financing of the public sector is even more starry-eyed and unrealistic when compared with the past performance and the available resources. Table 4-3 on page 77 expects the financing of the public sector to come to about 4,550 million in 1966-70, derived from the following sources: Government Revenue Surplus, Surplus of Public Authorities, Domestic non-bank Borrowing, Bank credit and Government accumulated assets, Foreign borrowing (net) and Foreign grants.

It has been stated that the task of financing the public sector may be extremely difficult because of:

- (1) the trends of income of the country and revenue of the Government are expected to be less buoyant because of anticipated slow growth of exports associated with declining rubber prices and diminishing mineral resources;

- (2) the large and rising expenditure on current account, which has gone up by 67% in the last five years, resulting in a budgetary surplus of over \$300 million in 1960 turning into a consistent deficit in recent years;
- (3) increasing expenditure on defence and internal security.

Now, Sir, the financing of the public sector is formulated on the following dubious basis:

- (a) it assumes a cumulative ordinary budget surplus: it is not known what justifies this assumption despite past performance being to the contrary;
- (b) there is a limited reliance on credit from banks so as to avoid inflationary pressures;
- (c) there is a major reliance on the private sector and, therefore, mobilisation of internal resources through taxation and domestic borrowing is to be limited.

On this premise, the major reliance will be on financing from abroad. The main aim seems to be to limit the mobilisation from domestic sources and to depend greatly on foreign finances. It is a very unrealistic attempt at financing, especially in view of the past performance in this respect, and also in view of the repeated assertions that the economy has progressed very satisfactorily and is likely to continue its high rate of progress. The whole idea of expecting that foreign sources owe it to Malaysia to help us develop and the rather weak attempts to cover up a basic lack of determination to mobilise internal resources is very typical of our present frame of policy and planning.

A study of the sectoral allocation of public development expenditure in 1966/70, as compared with 1961/65 (given in table 4-1, on page 69), leads to the following conclusions.

Agricultural development, Sir, has been allocated a very large share of \$1,086.6 million in this Plan as compared to the estimated expenditure in the last Plan of \$475.6 million. The performance in the last Plan was over-

all only 85.9% while for land development it was only 68%. Thus whether the targets or agricultural targets in this Plan can be achieved would appear rather doubtful on the basis of past performance.

The allocation for industry of \$114.5 million is higher than the \$69.2 million spent in the last five years but the breakdown shows that both for the Malaysian Industrial Development Finance Limited and Industrial Estates, the allocation is lower than what was spent in the past. The allocation has been reduced from \$24.1 million to \$16 million for the former and \$24.5 million to \$14 million for the latter. It may be that some of the M.I.D.F.L. projects may obtain their own finance, yet the allocation on the Government side should have been higher, if the aim is to secure rapid industrialisation.

The only large allocation here is for MARA, for whom the allocation has been increased from \$10.5 million to \$70 million, largely to assist the bumiputras to play their part in industrial development.

The sectoral allocation is largely geared towards agricultural and rural development, to some extent at the expense of industry in the urban sector. But without any proper projects available for study, it is difficult to assess what these monies will be really spent upon and who will really benefit directly from the expenditure and indirectly from the subsequent developments that take place.

Finally, Sir, I may note that the sectoral allocations are only of an aggregative nature and it is unlikely that they are in any sense final. Further, the Plan would depend very largely on the availability of foreign finances and this together with the changes in the economy in the next five years, will determine the final outcome. It may be safely said, however, that the Plan is far too optimistic and it is extremely doubtful that it can be fulfilled unless something extraordinary happens, Sir, to boost up our export earnings, or to make foreign grants and loans a certainty.

Five years from now, Sir, we should be able to say definitely whether this First Malaysia Plan represents anything more than a fine printing achievement. But if we are to achieve a more just and a more equal society, involving a fairer redistribution of the wealth of the country, and the greater mobilisation of internal resources for development, as against dependence on foreign assistance, then it must be obvious that our planners must be obliged to think again. Thank you, Sir.

Mr (Deputy) Speaker: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, saya hendak menyatakan, ia-itu pindaan daripada Yang Berhormat Dr Lim Chong Eu, di-atas usul yang di-chadangkan oleh Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri, akan di-bahathkan bersama² dengan usul asal itu.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid (Seberang Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun untuk membangkang usul pindaan yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat wakil Tanjong. Sa-bagaimana Ahli² Yang Berhormat sakalian tahu, sikap pehak Pembangkang begitu-lah, manakala mereka ada satu urusan yang penting, yang mereka tidak dapat tunggu dalam Dewan ini untuk membahath atau untuk mendapat peluang membahath, maka mereka selalu-nya kemukakan satu pindaan supaya mereka berpeluang dapat berchakap dahulu dan sa-lepas mereka itu berchakap mereka tinggalkan-lah Dewan Yang Berhormat ini, balek ka-Pulau Pinang sebab saya tahu Yang Berhormat wakil Tanjong, saya bertemu dengan dia pagi tadi; dia ada urusan yang penting di-Pulau Pinang, maka beliau terpaksa meninggalkan Dewan Yang Berhormat ini supaya balek membuat urusan sendiri. Bagitu-lah sikap pehak² Pembangkang yang selalu-nya mengambil peluang untuk menchachi Kerajaan atau pun untuk memburok²kan apa² juga ranchangan² yang telah di-buat oleh Kerajaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana usul yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Berhormat itu, memang Kerajaan sedar mengikut apa yang di-sebutkan dalam Ranchangan Malaysia Yang

Pertama ia-itu mengenai masalah ekonomi, memang di-tegaskan ia-itu perkara yang ketiga, pendapatan yang jauh bedza dan tidak sama di-antara penduduk² bandar dan luar bandar, di-antara penduduk² di-Malaya dan di-negeri² Borneo dan juga antara beberapa golongan kaum, memang Kerajaan sedar perbezaan atau jurang ekonomi yang jauh bedza-nya di-antara orang² yang ada dan orang² yang tidak ada. Maka sebab itu-lah Kerajaan mengemukakan satu ranchangan yang di-fikirkan ranchangan yang prektik, yang boleh menaikkan taraf hidup atau pun mata pencharian penduduk² dalam negara kita ini. Bagaimana di-istihar-kan beberapa kali ia-itu dasar Kerajaan Perikatan ia-lah untuk meninggikan lapisan bawah ka-atas supaya orang² yang berpendapatan kechil—orang² yang ka-bawahan ini dapat menyamakan kedudukan dan taraf hidup sa-bagai-mana orang² yang di-atas. Memang beberapa kali telah di-tegaskan bukan-lah dengan sa-chara yang di-buat oleh negara² yang kita tahu yang mengamalkan dasar sosialis atau dasar kominis atau dasar dictator, mereka merampas hak² orang atasan, mereka jadikan segala perusahaan sa-bagai milek negara. Mereka buat undang² yang tegas untuk menyekat orang² kaya, orang² yang ada perusahaan daripada memajukan lebeh² lagi perusahaan perniagaan, perdagangan dan lain². Sa-balek-nya Kerajaan kita yang mengamalkan dasar demokrasi ia-lah dengan chara memberi beberapa kemudahan² kapada ra'ayat jelata dengan mengharap-kan supaya tiap² warga negara kita akan mengambil peluang² yang di-beri kapada mereka ini, dan bekerja lebeh giat lagi untuk meninggikan taraf hidup masing² supaya pada satu masa, akan sama kedudukan, jikalau tidak sama pun boleh di-katakan sa-bagai hidup dalam mewah dan sempurna. Dalam ranchangan ini juga ia-itu ranchangan pembangunan ekonomi Malaysia, kedudukan masalah dan ranchangan, juga tujuan Ranchangan Pertama Malaysia ia-itu perkara yang kedua di-sebutkan di-sini:

“Menambah tingkat pendapatan dan pembangunan bagi tiap² sa-orang;

Yang ketiga: memperbaiki keadaan penduduk² luar bandar dan lain² golongan yang berpendapatan rendah, terutama-nya dengan meninggikan daya pengeluaran mereka dan sa-terus-nya menambah kebolehan mereka untuk mendapatkan pencharian;

Yang keempat: membanyakkan peluang² bekerja dan dengan kadar chukup bagi mereka² yang memasoki golongan buroh dan mahukan pekerjaan dan juga supaya mengurangkan jumlah penganggoran;

Yang keenam: mendidik dan melateh ra'ayat Malaysia dari semua lapisan untuk melengkapi mereka bagi mengambil bahagian yang chergas dalam proses perkembangan ekonomi dan masharakat; dan juga

Yang kelapan: membuka tanah² baharu sa-luas dengan bilangan keluarga² tani yang berkehendakkan tanah dan mengurangkan jumlah orang² yang tidak memiliki tanah untuk bertani."

Dengan ini jelas-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa Kerajaan kita sunggoh pun tidak di-sebut bagaimana pindaan usul ini untuk persamaan hak yang adil, tetapi dalam penerangan yang di-beri itu memang-lah kita menunjukkan ka-arrah persamaan hak yang adil. Jadi, tidak payah-lah di-pinda dengan menambahkan perkataan persamaan hak yang adil. Dan sa-bagaimana yang di-tegaskan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri dalam ucapan-nya dalam bahasa Inggeris:

"The second objective is to provide steady increases in levels of income and consumption for our people and those in other low income groups; the third objective is to generate employment opportunities at a rate sufficient to provide productive work for new entrants to the labour force and to lower the rate of unemployment;"

Memang sudah pun tujuan² ini didalam apa yang hendak di-pindahkan. Maka saya berpendapat tidak mustahak di-terima pindaan daripada Yang Berhormat wakil Tanjong itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berasa sa-kira-nya Yang Berhormat ini berkehendakkan supaya di-tinggikan taraf hidup atau menambahkan mata pencharian ra'ayat jelata dengan jangka yang pendek, saya pun kalau beliau itu bersetuju boleh Kerajaan membuatkan dengan mengadakan satu dasar baharu ia-itu dasar socialist. Jadi kalau chara dasar socialist saya ingat boleh mendatangkan keuntongan juga kepada orang² yang berpendapatan kechil, tetapi dasar Kerajaan sekarang

ini tidak akan membuat bagitu. Sa-kira-nya laksanakan dasar socialist, harus Yang Berhormat wakil Tanjong sa-bagai sa-orang pemimpin UDP, akan dapat bangkangan hebat daripada penyokong²-nya kerana saya tahu dasar UDP ia-lah untuk membela nasib orang atasan sahaja dan kadang²-nya manakala berchakap di-hadapan orang² yang rendah pendapatan di-katakan bahawa beliau memang hendak membela nasib orang di-bawah. Yang sa-benar-nya saya berani berkata beliau ini ia-lah untuk memperjuangkan nasib orang atas sahaja.

Jadi mengenai apa Yang Berhormat itu mengatakan kita patut lupakan mengenai bangsa kita, keturunan kita dan warna kulit kita, kita mesti-lah berjuang atau menjalankan dasar persamaan hak sa-bagaimana beliau mengatakan bahawa ada lagi satu amalan ia-itu feudal and racial insistence on priority. Jadi saya ingin menarek perhatian Yang Berhormat itu dalam Perlembagaan kita, Article 153, dan juga dalam Perlembagaan² Sarawak dan Sabah, mereka ada termasuk di-dalam itu untuk memberi perlindungan kepada bumiputra yang asal supaya mereka itu boleh bangun bersama² dengan warga negara² yang lain untuk menyamakan diri mereka dalam masalah ekonomi dan kehidupan mereka itu sendiri. Jadi tidak patut-lah Yang Berhormat itu mengungkit²kan perkara itu kerana memang ada satu syarat yang hendak memberi peluang kepada bumiputra yang asal untuk meninggikan taraf hidup mereka itu. Jadi kalau-lah saya sekarang, kalau Yang Berhormat itu betul² ikhlas dan jujur, beri-lah peluang kepada Kerajaan untuk melaksanakan Article 153 dan jangan-lah beliau membangkit²kan perkara ini. Jadi, pendapatan saya Article 153 itu tidak di-jalankan dengan sa-penoh-nya saya kata. Jadi sa-kira-nya di-jalankan dengan sa-penoh, harus pula Yang Berhormat akan membangkit²kan perkara ini memberi kemudahan kepada satu puak sahaja dan tidak kepada orang yang lain.

Saya ingin menarek perhatian Yang Berhormat kalau Kerajaan mengikut

apa yang Yang Berhormat itu mengatakan supaya memberi persamaan hak boleh-kah orang² yang atasan sekarang ini memberikan harta mereka, kedudukan mereka, permit mereka, lesen mereka, perdagangan mereka kepada orang² yang ka-bawahan ini supaya mereka pun dapat peluang mendapatkan permit atau mendapat sa-bahagian daripada perniagaan² mereka itu atau pun keuntungan² mereka itu? Bolehkah Yang Berhormat ini bersetuju? Saya fikir tentu-lah dia tidak bersetuju, tetapi dia ada dalam perlindungan² dalam Perlembagaan kita tidak boleh Kerajaan merampas permit dan lesen daripada warga negara² yang lain disamping memajukan warga negara² yang asal ia-itu bumiputra yang asal, jadi ini berlawanan dengan apa Yang Berhormat itu sebutkan.

Mengenai ke'adilan, Yang Berhormat mengatakan tidak 'adil atau saksama, saya ingat perkara ini janganlah di-bangkit²kan, kalau hendak di-bangkit²kan harus akan menjadi kekeliruan yang besar kepada penduduk² yang ka-bawahan. Saya ingat Kerajaan Perikatan chukup 'adil—lebeh daripada 'adil, lebeh daripada bertimbang rasa kepada sakalian warga negara sabbagaimana Yang Berhormat menyebut Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita sa-orang yang jujur dan ikhlas, dan saya mengatakan terlampau lebeh daripada jujur, terlampau ikhlas, terlampau bertolak ansor. Maka sebab itu-lah puak² Pembangkang ini mengambil peluang untuk membuat satu modal yang besar ia-itu modal politik mereka itu.

Jadi masaalah ini beliau sebut berkenaan dengan dasar pelajaran. Saya fikir, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada dasar pelajaran yang sa-baik²-nya yang kita adakan sekarang ini. Saya harap Yang Berhormat itu tinjau-lah ta' usah pergi jauh, pergi ka-negara Thailand, Yang Berhormat itu sendiri boleh tahu bagaimana chara pemerentahan negara Thailand terhadap warga negara-nya. Lain daripada sekolah yang di-ajar bahasa Thai, tidak boleh kalau hendak belajar, belajar di-rumah, hendak buat sekolah China pun tidak boleh. Yang Berhormat pun sendiri tahu orang² China di-Thai datang ka-Pulau Pinang

beribu² untok belajar bahasa China, mereka tidak boleh belajar di-negeri Thai. Kalau hendak menggunakan nama papan kenyataan bagi satu² perniagaan, hendak menggunakan satu perkataan lain daripada perkataan Thai, dikenakan chukai, baik bahasa Inggeris, bahasa China, baik bahasa apa pun. Jadi berkenaan dengan masaalah ini, dalam Perlembagaan kita sebutkan memberi galakan yang sa-penoh kepada bangsa² yang ada dalam negara ini untok mempelajari bahasa-nya dengan memberi bantuan yang penoh daripada tingkatan yang bawah. Di-mana ada satu negara yang sa-macham ini punya chara? Dengan tujuan supaya tiap² orang boleh berchakap dalam bahasa kebangsaan pada 10 tahun kemudian, kita akan betul² menjadi warga negara yang bersatu padu yang bersefahaman, yang saling mengerti. Jadi ka-arrah ini-lah dasar pelajaran kita berjalan sekarang, kerana apa hendak di-bangkit²kan perkara ini? Patut-lah Yang Berhormat itu sa-bagai sa-orang yang berpengalaman luas dan berpengetahuan tinggi patut-lah perkara ini memberi keterangan yang jelas kepada penduduk² dalam kawasan-nya dasar pelajaran yang di-jalankan sekarang ini menunjukan ka-arrah perpaduan ra'ayat dan tidak payah-lah di-bangkit²kan perkara² yang menjadi rumit pada masa hadapan.

Yang Berhormat ada menyebutkan mengenai kita Malaysia ini dengan Singapura tidak boleh-lah kita ini berenggang² jauh, patut-lah kita rapatkan lagi perhubungan kita, perkaitan kita, persahabatan kita, khas-nya dari segi ekonomi dan dari segi social, sunggoh pun bahagian rasuah berpisah tetapi patut-lah kita rapatkan perhubungan dari segi ekonomi.

Saya ada bacha dalam surat khabar ia-itu Singapura bergantung kepada tanah besar kita ini. Barang keluaran melalui pelabohan Singapura satu per tiga dan barang masok ka-tanah besar melalui Singapura satu per empat. Jadi satu per tiga barang keluaran kita melalui Singapura dan satu per empat melalui Singapura masok ka-tanah besar. Jadi sini berapa banyak pertukaran wang—foreign exchange yang tanah besar kita ini rugi dengan

chara mengeluarkan barang melalui pelabohan Singapura dan masukkan barang melalui pelabohan Singapura. Jadi dengan ada-nya rancangan sa-bagaimana yang di-sebutkan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan hendak menambahkan pelabohan dalam atau dermaga dalam di-Kelang dan dermaga dalam di-Butterworth di-Pulau Pinang.

Saya harap perkara memasokkan barang² melalui Singapura dan mengeluarkan barang² melalui Singapura ini di-rentikan. Oleh kerana kita ada modal yang besar yang kita belanjai, sa-bagaimana di-Butterworth \$52,000,000 patut kita gunakan pelabohan yang ada di-negara kita ini. Dan barang siapa juga pedagang² yang hendakkan barang² kita patut datang ka-tanah besar kita sendiri mengambil barang² itu. Dan ada perdagangan dengan luar negeri patut bawa barang² itu kepada pelabohan kita sendiri. Dan yang sa-baik-nya patut di-kajikan kemungkinan mengadakan satu pelabohan di-Pantai Timor, mithal-nya di-Pahang, atau pun di-Kelantan atau di-Trengganu, yang boleh mendekatkan perhubungan tanah besar dengan Sabah dan Sarawak dengan chara perkapalan. Jadi dengan ini dapat mengukuhkan lagi kedudukan ekonomi kita yang pada masa sekarang ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menyambungkan lagi sa-bagaimana yang diterangkan ia-itu Rancangan Malaysia Yang Pertama ini akan memakan belanja sa-banyak \$10,500,000,000 ini yang kita kehendaki lagi, wang ia-itu \$1,900,000,000. Jadi ini ada-lah satu masaalah yang kita mesti charikan wang itu untuk melaksanakan rancangan² yang ada di-dalam rancangan ini.

Di-sini saya ingin memberikan pendapat saya, ia-itu mengenai wang² beku yang ada di-simpan oleh Kerajaan² Negeri, oleh perkhidmatan² sa-bagaimana keretapi, Lembaga Letrik, Pelabohan, Majlis² Tempatan. Saya ingat kalau di-kumpulkan wang² ini tidak kurang daripada \$50,000,000. Mereka ini simpan di-dalam bank dengan mendapat 5% sa-bagai deposit account. Oleh itu dapat-lah Kerajaan mengka-jikan, kerana wang tidak chukup, boleh

Kerajaan ambil wang itu sa-bagai di-simpan bagi pehak yang berkenaan dengan memberikan faedah sama dengan bank, dan dengan memberi jaminan sa-kira-nya wang ini hendak di-gunakan boleh di-beri tahu kepada pehak yang berkenaan dan mengeluarkan wang itu bagi penggunaan pehak² yang berkenaan.

Yang kedua, pehak Kerajaan memikirkan bagaimana hendak menyelamatkan pertukaran mata wang dengan sa-daya upaya; mesti-lah kita selamatkan pertukaran mata wang ini, ia-itu foreign exchange. Bagaimana chara yang boleh di-jalankan patut di-kaji dengan sa-halus²-nya supaya jangan-lah wang² kita ini keluar masuk ka-negeri lain berlebehan² daripada yang berpatut. Patut-lah di-buat sekatan berkenaan dengan perdagangan dan perusahaan dan lain² supaya mata wang kita ini di-gunakan lebeh daripada yang patut di-keluarkan.

Dan rancangan yang hendak di-keluarkan Kerajaan boleh menyelamatkan ia-itu mengenai perkara binaan dan pembangunan² sa-bagaimana binaan rumah² sekolah, binaan masjid, binaan dewan orang ramai, binaan pejabat Kerajaan dan lain². Dengan mengeluarkan wang terus kepada Kerajaan Negeri untuk membuat bangunan², saya fikir Kerajaan boleh jimatkan atau selamatkan sa-kurang²-nya 7½% pelan fees ia-itu bayaran kerani buat pelan. Jadi Kerajaan patut membuat pelan daripada Kerajaan sendiri. Barang siapa hendak buat masjid, hendak membuat bangunan Kerajaan, hendak buat jambatan, hendak buat sekolah, hendak buat dewan orang ramai dan lain² di-adakan pelan yang sama. Mesti-lah orang² yang hendak membenakan ini menggunakan pelan itu. Dengan chara ini kita menyelamatkan 7½% daripada pelan fees yang akan di-bayarkan daripada wang Kerajaan ini sendiri. Dan saya mengharapkan untuk melichinkan lagi chara mengeluarkan tawaran, patut Kerajaan Pusat mengadakan satu Panel of Tender Board; kita lantek 20 orang. Jadi Kerajaan manakala rancangan itu, rancangan pusat atau

wang daripada Kerajaan Pusat, diberikan kepada Kerajaan Negeri bolehlah di-arahkan ahli² Lembaga Tawaran ini pergi ka-negeri itu supaya membuka tawaran itu sendiri dengan arahan daripada Kerajaan Pusat. Ini dapat-lah di-awasi dengan sa-baik²-nya perbelanjaan yang akan di-keluarkan oleh Kerajaan Pusat. Dan saya tertarek hati di-atas satu perkara yang saya hendak chakap ia-lah mengenai bangunan Kerajaan yang di-gunakan oleh kaki-tangan Kerajaan. Kalau kita lihat dalam anggaran, kita dapati untuk selenggaraan bangunan² ini memakan belanja yang terlampau banyak. Ada bangunan² yang sudah lama kena selenggara, kena maintenance, jadi memakan belanja yang banyak. Oleh itu saya harapkan Kerajaan bena bangunan² baharu dengan chara mengurangkan wang penyelenggaraan bagi rumah² ini.

Saya harap Kerajaan akan membuat ranchangan perumahan khas bagi kaki-tangan Kerajaan dengan mengurangkan wang elaun rumah. Jadi sa-orang kaki-tangan Kerajaan yang Tingkatan I diberi elaun sewa rumah sa-banyak \$250 dan bagi tentera saya dapat tahu tinggi²-nya hingga sampai \$600. Jadi dengan chara ini dapat Kerajaan mengadakan satu tempat khas di-Kuala Lumpur ini. Buat bangunan bertingkat² supaya kaki-tangan Kerajaan Tingkat I dan Tingkat II, dan Tingkat III di-kawasan yang lain di-berikan mereka ini dudok di-rumah bangunan Kerajaan sendiri dan juga di-tiap² negeri di-mana pejabat Kerajaan Pusat ada. Kerajaan sendiri membeli tanah dan membena rumah² untuk kaki-tangan Kerajaan dengan menyelamatkan wang daripada membayar elaun ini \$10,000,000 kepada orang² yang membuat rumah. Akhirnya harta ini hak² Kerajaan Pusat sendiri dan boleh di-buatkan dengan satu ranchangan sa-kira-nya orang itu akan bersara memberi peluang kepada mereka itu membayar beransor² supaya dapat menjadi hak milek mereka itu sendiri.

Sa-lain daripada itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menyambong bawahan saya, saya harap-lah supaya Kerajaan, dalam melaksanakan Ranchangan Malaysia Yang Pertama ini, mengutamakan

ranchangan² yang boleh memberikan faedah kebendaan atau pun dengan memberi faedah kebendaan, ilmu pengetahuan, dan faedah kesehatan. Tiga perkara ini patut di-beri keutamaan. Dan ranchangan² yang lain, sa-bagaimana jalan raya mithal-nya, jambatan, yang tidak bagitu mustahak, patut di-tanggohkan sa-hingga kita dapati penduduk² di-kawasan itu sudah menukarkan sikap mereka mahu kepada maju. Maka pada masa itu baharu boleh kita beri kemudahan yang sa-macam ini. Yang mesti kita utamakan ia-lah faedah kebendaan yang penduduk² di-luar bandar akan dapat, sa-bagaimana Ranchangan Parit dan Taliayer, yang mana di-kawasan saya sendiri telah menikmati kemudahan dengan boleh membuat bendang dua kali sa-tahun dan juga peruntukan sa-banyak \$204 juta untuk membuat Parit dan Taliayer di-Kedah yang akan memberi kemudahan untuk sa-luas 288,000 ekar untuk di-buat bendang dua kali sa-tahun. Ini-lah ranchangan² yang patut Kerajaan utamakan kerana dengan chara yang sa-macam ini-lah yang akan memberi faedah sa-chara terus—faedah kebendaan.

Mengenai faedah moral dan kejiwaan—moral dan spiritual itu, kita bukan-lah kata potong langsung, kita kaji dengan halus di-mana tempat yang kita fikirkan mustahak sangat² di-beri baharu-lah kita beri.

Saya tertarek hati juga mengenai ranchangan hendak membuat jalan raya menyambong Pantai Timor dengan Pantai Barat. Ia-itu, ini satu ranchangan saya fikir, akan memberi faedah kebendaan kerana memudahkan pengeluaran hasil daripada Pantai Timor melalui jalan ini pergi ka-dermaga Dalam di-Butterworth, dan juga akan memberi peluang kepada ra'ayat jelata untuk mengambil tanah² yang di-tepi jalan ini supaya menjadikan tanah² hutan itu sa-bagai tanah² yang berguna dan berfaedah, dengan chara chuchok tanam dan lain².

Saya ucapkan tahniah kepada Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri, dengan penoh minat mengatakannya bahawa beliau akan berikhtiar

dengan sa-daya upaya supaya mengubah sikap penduduk² orang di-luar bandar, khas-nya orang² Melayu sendiri, yang pada ka-seluruhannya, bukan saya katakan kesemua sa-kali, pada keseluruhan-nya maseh lagi ada satu fahaman atau 'amalan hidup kais pagi makan pagi, kais petang makan petang. Jadi, sa-lagi penduduk² di-luar bandar, khas-nya orang Melayu, tidak mahu menukarkan sikap tidak mahu memperbaiki kedudukan diri mereka itu sendiri, tidak mahu memajukan diri mereka itu sendiri, maka sa-lama itu-lah mereka tidak dapat menyamakan kedudukan dengan orang² yang lebeh maju daripada orang² Melayu sendiri, dan juga bumiputra di-tanah Borneo sana. Jadi, chara² yang orang² ini hendak memajukan, ada masalah² yang mereka tidak dapat memajukan. Mereka, sa-tengah²-nya kadang² berasa bosan kerana manakala mereka berusaha menanam bahan² makanan, mereka dapati tidak dapat pasaran yang baik. Mereka berusaha menternak ayam, itek dan juga binatang² ternakan lain, tidak dapat pasaran. Dan saya berharap, dengan terbentuk-nya Lembaga Pasaran ini atau Lembaga ini, Lembaga ini akan berusaha dengan sa-daya upaya di-samping mengawal dan menolong memasarkan bahan² yang di-tanam oleh penduduk² di-luar bandar itu, menjaga dan mengawal supaya harga barang² itu tetap. Untok menjagakan harga barang² itu biar tetap, maka Kerajaan patut kaji sa-takat mana-kah barang² makanan patut di-masokkan ka-dalam negara kita ini, dan sa-takat mana-kah dimakan atau di-gunakan oleh warga negara dalam negara kita ini. Sa-lagi tidak dapat kita buat satu² kajian dan satu² peratoran, sa-lama itu-lah tidak dapat orang² di-luar bandar ini, khas-nya orang² Melayu, meninggikan taraf hidup mereka itu, dengan mengharap-kan supaya sama dengan kedudukan² orang² yang lebeh maju daripada mereka itu.

Saya mengharapkan, dengan perlaksanaan ranchangan ini, Kerajaan mesti-lah ada satu chara bagaimana di-sebutkan di-sini, ia-itu Ranchangan Menjarangkan Anak atau Family Planning. Di-samping melaksanakan Ranchangan Menjarangkan Anak ini,

saya berharap supaya Kerajaan adakan satu Jabatan yang akan bekerja sama dengan Jabatan Family Planning ini, di-tambahkan satu tugas lagi, ia-itu Family Economic Planning. Menjarangkan anak itu memang-lah satu daripada chara membaiki ekonomi. Tetapi, untok meranchangkan, untok membuat satu peratoran bagi sa-suatu keluarga itu—sa-kira-nya sa-orang keluarga yang ada pendapatan-nya \$300.00 sa-bulan, anak-nya lapan orang—dua orang di-sekolah menengah, tiga orang di-Sekolah Rendah, patut Kerajaan adakan satu penyelia bagi satu² daerah, mithal-nya, atau pun bagi satu² kawasan, mengkaji bagaimana patut keluarga ini menggunakan wang sa-banyak \$300.00 ini untok memberi sara hidup kepada anak²-nya dan kepada family-nya, dan juga untok menyimpan sedikit pada masa hadapan. Dengan chara yang sa-macam ini, dapat-lah penduduk² kita yang sa-bagaimana kita tahu, orang² di-luar bandar ini bukan-lah orang yang daripada gulungan ahli² yang terpelajar belaka. Ada sa-tengah-nya itu tidak tahu membacha dan tidak tahu menulis. Dengan Ranchangan Kelas Dewasa ini, kita mengharap-kan, barangkali dalam 10 tahun lagi baharu-lah hapus buta huruf ini. Tetapi, dalam masa 10 tahun ini-lah kita akan menempoh beberapa kerumitan yang kita mesti atasi dengan sa-daya upaya kita.

Saya mengharap-kan-lah, bagaimana saya sebutkan tadi, tiap² warga-negara kita mesti-lah bersikap persahabatan yang baik di-antara satu dengan lain, dengan menjalankan satu persahabatan dengan ikhlas dan kesuchian hati. Jadi, kita dapati ada di-kalangan warganegara kita, sungguh pun mereka ini mengaku diri-nya sa-bagai warga-negara, tetapi tergamak—sampai hati mereka itu menggunakan muslihat, menggunakan tipu daya untok menjadikan sahabat-nya atau warga-negara-nya sa-bagai merugikan diri-nya dengan tipu muslihat yang saya katakan tadi, untok memberi timbang, kechoh, sukat tidak betul—barang itu, harga yang di-pasar lain dan di-katakan harga lain.

Jika sa-kira-nya dapat kita mengatasi masalah tipu muslihat ini ada-lah

satu perkara yang membaiki ekonomi orang yang luar bandar supaya mereka ini jangan lagi terancham dengan perbuatan² yang sa-macham ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tertarek lagi satu perkara yang mana di-sebutkan hendak memberi lathen kepada pemuda² kita. Saya menguchapkan terima kaseh kepada Kerajaan Amerika Sharikat yang menghantarkan beberapa banyak Peace Corps kanegeri kita ini untuk menolong kita menjadi sa-bagai guru dan jururawat dan lain². Saya berharap kalau Kerajaan Amerika boleh menghantarkan ahli² Peace Corps-nya kepada negara kita ini patut Kerajaan kita berunding dengan Kerajaan Amerika Sharikat supaya menerima pemuda² kita yang kelulusan Sijil Rendah Persekutuan chukup-lah bukan hendak jadi engineer supaya di-terima mereka ini bekerja didalam kilang² perusahaan di-Amerika atau pun di-negara Jepun atau pun di-negara German, di-England dan lain² untuk menjadi ahli² teknik yang rendah. Dengan sa-chara yang samacham ini maka kita dapat membanyakkan lagi pemuda² kita, dapat lathen daripada kilang² perusahaan yang tidak ada dalam negara kita, sunggoh pun ada kilang² tetapi tidak sanggup mereka itu menerima. Maka kita hantarkan pemuda² kita ini keluar negeri yang mana negara² yang bersahabat dengan kita yang ingin hendak membantu kita. Dengan sa-chara yang samacham ini saya ingat akan menambahkan pengetahuan dan ilmu yang mustahak mengenai engineering yang sa-rendah²-nya kita katakan-lah teknikal—daripada segi teknik, dan ilmu² bagaimana hendak menjalankan jentera, bagaimana hendak menjalankan pesawat elektrik, bagaimana hendak membaiki radio, bagaimana hendak membaiki television, bagaimana hendak membaiki motokar, bagaimana hendak assemble motokar dan lain². Saya ingat dengan sa-chara yang samacham ini dapat kita menambahkan lagi kebolehan pemuda² kita dari segi teknik sebab kita sekarang negara yang muda berkehendakkan orang² yang terpelajar dalam perkara teknik kerana saya tahu negara yang maju, sa-bagaimana negara Jepun, mereka berjalan 50 tahun dahulu menghantar-

kan beberapa banyak pemuda di-luar negeri untuk belajar. Pada masa sekarang ini negara Jepun ia-lah sa-buah negara yang chukup maju—yang habis maju sa-kali dalam Asia ini sebab kemajuan-nya mereka menghantar pemuda² keluar. Sunggoh pun dalam negara Jepun kita dapati hasil bumi-nya yang saya tahu chuma arang batu sahaja segala bahan² untuk menjadikan barang kegunaan kena import daripada luar negeri—kayu, minyak, kapas, bijeh besi dan lain². Jadi dengan mereka menggunakan tenaga fikiran mereka itu, menggunakan tenaga anggota mereka itu, maka mereka dapat memulehkan ekonomi-nya dalam sa-singkat² masa ia itu sa-lama 20 tahun daripada tahun 1945 sa-hingga hari ini mereka sudah maju dan berjaya memulehkan ekonomi sa-hingga mendapat tingkatan yang baik dalam Asia ini.

Saya mengharapkan supaya Kerajaan mengambil perhatian apa yang saya sebutkan mudahan² dengan adanya kekayaan negara kita—getah, bijeh, bijeh besi, balak dan lain² lagi, kita dapat memperchepatkan kekayaan kita dan memberi ne'mat dan kemudahan² yang lebeh dan akan meninggikan taraf hidup kita dengan sa-beberapa tinggi kalau tidak boleh sama dengan negeri Jepun dengan sa-banyak ra'ayat 11 juta ini boleh kita tinggikan taraf hidup kita lebeh daripada negara Jepun lagi oleh sebab kita ada khazanah bumi yang menjadi satu puncha yang baik dan juga mengenai negara kita ini dengan kita sakalian mesti-lah menguchapkan shukur kepada Tuhan yang negara kita ini sentiasa-nya tidak ada gerak gempa, tidak ada typhoon, tidak ada hurricane, tidak ada panas berlebehan, tidak ada sejok berlebehan. Jadi ini satu negara yang chukup baik bagi orang² kita berikhtiar meninggikan taraf hidup kita.

Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sa-balek membangkang usul pindaan itu saya memberi sokongan yang penoh kepada Rancangan Malaysia Yang Pertama ini dan saya berharap supaya dengan ada-nya Rancangan Malaysia Yang Pertama ini negara kita akan menchapai kemajuan

yang lebih pesat lagi daripada yang sudah². Sa-kian-lah. Terima kaseh.

Wan Abdul Rahman bin Datu Tuanku Bujang (Sarawak): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong dengan sa-penoh²-nya usul yang asal di-kemukakan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri pada pagi tadi. Sambil mendapat peluang ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak menyentoh sedikit berkenaan dengan pelaksanaan perkembangan² di-Sarawak. Ra'ayat Sarawak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang menyokong penubohan Malaysia kebanyakannya telah berasa kechewa dan tidak puas hati dengan Ranchangan Pembangunan di-Sarawak. Kebanyakan daripada mereka² itu yang duduk di-luar bandar ada-lah terdiri dari bumiputra Sarawak. Mereka² ini adalah gulongan yang miskin dan kita tahu mereka juga mundur dalam pelajaran dan dalam lapangan per-ekonomian.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila penubohan Malaysia di-chadangkan dalam bulan Mei tahun 1961 oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri, gulongan yang pertama sa-kali di-Sarawak yang menyokong Malaysia ia-lah terdiri daripada bumiputra Sarawak. Pada mula-nya memang kebanyakan daripada penduduk² Sarawak itu berasa ragu² dengan chadangan Tunku Perdana Menteri itu. Tetapi sa-telah wakil² mereka datang ka-Malaya dan melihat pembangunan yang telah di-buat di-Malaya ini wakil² itu telah kembali ka-Sarawak dan menjual concept Malaysia sahingga 90% bumiputra Sarawak telah menyokong penubohan Malaysia. Sebab² yang besar mereka berbuat demikian tidak lain dan tidak bukan ia-lah kerana bumiputra Sarawak telah di-beri tahu dan perchaya bahawa Ranchangan Luar Bandar seperti yang telah di-jalankan di-Malaya akan serta-merta di-laksanakan di-Sarawak. Pehak yang menentang Malaysia, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kebanyakan-nya terdiri daripada penduduk² bandar dan bukan bumiputra. Pilehan Raya di-Sarawak pada pertengahan tahun 1963 yang telah lalu telah membuktikan point perchakapan saya ini ia-itu 90%

daripada Ahli² Perikatan dan Parti Negara Sarawak yang menang dalam Pilehan Raya itu terdiri daripada bumiputra dan kurang lebih 90% juga daripada chalun S.U.P.P. ia-itu Parti Pembangkang di-Sarawak. Yang menang dalam Pilehan Raya tersebut ada-lah terdiri daripada mereka yang bukan bumiputra. Masaalah yang besar dalam Pilehan Raya itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah sama ada Sarawak turut serta masok dalam Malaysia atau pun tidak. Kini Malaysia telah berusia lebih dua tahun. Dari semenjak Malaysia di-tubuhkan berjuta² ringgit telah di-belanjakan dalam peruntukan perbelanjaan di-negeri Sarawak tetapi malang-nya yang mendapat faedah yang besar daripada peruntukan pembangunan tersebut bukanlah bumiputra yang telah menyokongkan Malaysia tetapi puak² bukan bumiputra dan yang telah menentang Malaysia.

Dalam Dewan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita telah mendengar penjelasan daripada Menteri Pembangunan Luar Bandar dan juga Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri tentang perbelanjaan² bagi menempatkan sa-mula penduduk² di-batu 17 Kuching-Serian Road. Di-tempat itu telah berlaku kekacauan yang sangat² dahshat; hatta, Balai Polis di-sana di-kawasan itu hampir jatuh ka-tangan penjahat² itu waktu mereka melakukan serangan ka-Balai Polis itu pada masa itu. Sa-sudah selesai kejadian yang dahshat itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, maka ra'ayat yang benar² ta'at kapada Malaysia dan yang sayang kapada Malaysia timbul tertanya² sama sendiri ia-itu apa-kah langkah dan sikap yang akan di-ambil oleh Kerajaan terhadap mereka² yang khianat itu, dan apa-kah hukuman dan denda yang berat akan menimpa mereka. Rupa²-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sangkaan² mereka itu ada-lah tidak tepat sama sa-kali, sa-balek-nya anasir² jahat disitu sa-lain daripada tidak menerima apa² hukuman, mereka telah di-layan dan menerima faedah Ranchangan Pembangunan terlebih dahulu daripada mereka penduduk² luar bandar yang telah menyokong penubohan Malaysia.

Bagitu juga di-Limbang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-itu Bahagian Ka-Lima di-Sarawak di-mana dahulu-nya telah berlaku pemberontakan dalam tahun 1962. Mereka² ini telah terlibat dengan pemberontakan A.M. Azahari di-Brunai. Sekarang pembangunan telah pun di-jalankan di-sana kerana mereka telah memberontak dahulu dan juga kawasan itu ada-lah kawasan Timbalan Ketua Menteri Sarawak. Lojik daripada pelaksanaan Rancangan Pembangunan di-Sarawak itu nampak-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah mengutamakan penjahat², anasir² pemberontakan dan anasir² kominis, daripada mengutamakan yang setia kepada Malaysia. Keseluruhan-nya mereka yang menentang Malaysia telah mene'mati kemerdekaan terlebih dahulu daripada mereka yang menyokong Malaysia. Ra'ayat bumiputra Sarawak dalam perundingan untuk menubuhkan Malaysia telah berharap supaya mereka akan menerima perhatian yang lebih giat lagi dalam rancangan pelajaran, tetapi apa yang telah berlaku sekarang ini dalam Malaysia di-Sarawak ia-lah dari sama-masa ka-samasa sa-makin banyak mereka yang bukan bumiputra yang dudok dalam bandar yang mempunyai ibu bapa yang mampu telah mendapat scholarship² belajar keluar negeri sedangkan bilangan bumiputra yang di-hantar keluar negeri sangat² kecil. Di-Malaya ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan ada memberi peruntukan khas bagi biasiswa² untuk bumiputra, keutamaan dalam lapangan biasiswa² telah pun di-beri kepada bumiputra Tanah Melayu ini. Apa-kah sebab-nya ini tidak di-beri kepada bumiputra Sarawak, sedangkan bumiputra Sarawak lebih mundur lagi kalau di-bandingkan dengan bumiputra² yang ada di-Tanah Melayu ini?

Bukan-kah telah di-persetujui dalam Meshuarat Setiakawan untuk menubuhkan Malaysia di-Singapura dahulu ia-itu apa juga keutamaan yang di-dapati oleh bumiputra di-Malaya ini mesti-lah di-beri juga kepada bumiputra Sarawak. Kerajaan Pusat telah pun berjanji, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa Malaysia akan memberi kehidupan yang baharu—yang lebih elok kepada ra'ayat bumi-

putra Sarawak. Dengan hal yang demikian Kerajaan Pusat tidak boleh menafikan tanggung-jawab-nya terhadap bumiputra Sarawak, terutama sa-kali tentang pelaksanaan Rancangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar di-Sarawak hendak-lah di-jalankan supaya mereka yang menyokong Malaysia tadi yang dudok di-luar bandar dan yang sunggoh² menghendaki bantuan di-utamakan daripada mengutamakan penjahat² dan mereka² yang menentang Malaysia dan dudok di-dalam bandar atau pun berdekatan dengan bandar serta mempunyai kehidupan yang mewah.

Dalam Dewan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita telah juga mendengar penjelasan yang lebar daripada Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri tentang tugas MARA. Saya harap Kerajaan Pusat akan berhati² melaksanakan projek² MARA di-Sarawak supaya tidak-lah seperti yang di-jalankan oleh Sarawak Development Co-operation—Finance Co-operation. Co-operation ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, meminjamkan wang kepada ra'ayat Sarawak, telah memberi peluang yang besar kepada mereka yang bukan bumiputra. Pihak bumiputra mendapat bantuan sedikit daripada Co-operation itu. MARA juga hendak-lah mengkaji masalah perkhidmatan pengangkutan di-Sarawak. Telah berlaku dalam Bahagian yang Ketiga ia-itu apabila bumiputra terdiri daripada dua orang Iban hendak kenubuhkan satu company, ma'af, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, terdiri daripada orang² Iban yang hendak menubuhkan satu company pengangkutan untuk mengadakan perkhidmatan bas di-antara Daerah Binatang dan Daerah Julan. Pihak yang berkuasa di-sana, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah mendesakkan ia-itu bumiputra mesti-lah berkongsi dengan mereka yang bukan bumiputra. Baginikah Malaysia yang di-janjikan dahulu? Ia-itu apa sahaja yang di-beri oleh bumiputra mesti berkongsi dengan mereka yang bukan bumiputra, tetapi apa yang di-beri kepada mereka yang bukan bumiputra itu tidak payah dan tidak perlu di-bagi kepada bumiputra. Bagitu juga dalam masalah lesen² taxi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-bandar

Kuching banyak driver² bumiputra yang menghendaki lesen² menjalankan taxi² di-beri kepada mereka sendiri.

Tetapi pehak yang berkuasa sentiasa memberi daleh bahawa tidak ada lesen² baharu yang boleh di-keluarkan. Di-Sibu, satu bandar yang di-kuasai oleh S.U.P.P. juga, dua orang bumiputra yang mempunyai kereta, yang meminta telah di-tolak permintaan mereka dan complaint² telah di-hantar kepada pehak yang berkuasa di-Sibu yang mengatakan kedua² mereka itu tidak mempunyai kelayakan untuk menjalankan taxi. Di-Malaya ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, selalu kita mendengar Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan menerangkan quota yang di-beri kepada bumiputra Malaya. Apa-kah sebab-nya Yang Berhormat Menteri itu tidak mengadakan quota seperti itu juga di-Sarawak untuk bumiputra di-sana. Jika Kerajaan Pusat enggan mengambil perhatian atas nasib² bumiputra di-Sarawak yang telah menyokong Malaysia, maka bererti-lah Kerajaan Perikatan di-Malaya telah tidak menunaikan janji-nya kepada ra'ayat bumiputra² Sarawak seluruh-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam lapangan perusahaan kehutanan pula, apabila bumiputra menghantar permohonan, Kerajaan Negeri selalu berkata, "Mereka tidak mempunyai modal yang chukup dan tidak mempunyai pengalaman." Mereka chuma di-benar mengerjakan kayu-kayan dengan berkongsi dengan orang² China. Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah di-nyatakan oleh Menteri Pertanian dan Kehutanan Sarawak kepada pehak bumiputra ketika menimbangkan permohonan bagi satu kawasan ia-itu Timber Concession dalam daerah Niah Bahagian Keempat di-Sarawak, ia-itu daripada sa-kumpulan bumiputra yang terdiri dari orang² Dayak dan Melayu yang menghantar surat permohonan kepada Kerajaan Sarawak untuk mendapatkan kawasan kayu yang tersebut tadi. Keputusan-nya permintaan mereka tidak di-luluskan dengan alasan yang bermacam² seperti yang telah saya sebutkan tadi, tetapi tidak beberapa lama sa-sudah itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-itu dalam masa beberapa

minggu sahaja, kawasan itu telah di-beri kepada sa-orang jutawan ia-itu millionaire yang datang-nya bukan daripada Bahagian itu, Bahagian yang lain. Beliau ini datang-nya daripada Bahagian Ketiga. Millionaire ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, memang dari dahulunya telah mempunyai beratus² ribu ekar kawasan hutan. Wakil² yang telah saya sebutkan tadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah pun datang ka-Kuala Lumpur dengan harapan hendak mengadakan hal² yang demikian dan mendapat bantuan dari pehak Ibu Kota Malaysia ini tetapi kedatangan mereka ada-lah tidak menghasilkan. Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu tauladan daripada beberapa tauladan yang lain.

Demikian juga di-dalam Bahagian Yang Kelima yang mempunyai kawasan hutan di-sana ia-lah sa-orang millionaire juga dan beliau ini berpangkat tinggi dalam Kerajaan Sarawak pada masa ini. Jadi daripada ketika pemerentahan Brooke dahulu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sampai kepada masa penjajahan British dan sampai kepada Kerajaan Malaysia yang merdeka dan berdaulat ini, bumiputra Sarawak juga-lah yang tinggal di-belakang dan yang puteh mata. Mereka yang kaya menjadi bertambah kaya, mereka yang miskin tinggal miskin.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, baharu² ini tadi Dewan ini telah meluluskan suatu Undang² yang bergelar Undang² Pemulihan dan Penyatuan Tanah. Menurut keterangan Menteri Hal Ehwal Tanah dan Galian, Badan yang di-tubuhkan di-bawah undang² ini akan berusaha membantu penduduk² luar bandar dalam Malaya untuk memajukan tanah² mereka yang telah tidak di-majukan. Di-bawah Rancangan Pembangunan Malaysia Yang Pertama, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Lembaga itu akan mendapat peruntukan sa-banyak \$20 juta dan pada tahun hadapan sa-banyak \$4 juta akan di-belanjakan oleh Lembaga itu. Tetapi apa-kah sebab-nya Lembaga itu chuma di-hadkan kepada Malaya sahaja? Pada hal bumiputra di-Sarawak pun sangat² menghendaki Lembaga yang seperti itu. Tidak berapa lama dahulu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita telah mendengar chadangan Kerajaan Negeri Sarawak

hendak mengubah Undang² Tanah Negeri itu supaya membolehkan Native Reserve ia-itu Reserve Bumiputra boleh di-jual kepada mereka yang bukan bumiputra. Alasan²-nya yang di-berikan oleh Kerajaan Negeri Sarawak terhadap undang² itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah bumiputra mempunyai banyak tanah yang tidak mereka kerjakan untuk memberi hasil kepada mereka, kerana bumiputra itu kononnya tidak mempunyai modal. Untuk menchari modal mereka boleh menjual tanah dan boleh mendapat harga yang tinggi jika di-jual kepada mereka yang bukan bumiputra. Nasib baik, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Rang Undang² itu telah mati sa-belum lahir ka-dunia. Kita harus berjaga² Kerajaan Sarawak mungkin pada masa yang akan datang akan mengemukakan Rang Undang² itu lagi.

Untuk menyelamatkan bumiputra Sarawak dari kehilangan tanah mereka mesti-lah di-bantu oleh Kerajaan memperbaiki tanah² mereka. Jalan yang elok-nya sa-kali ia-lah undang² yang tersebut tadi patut di-jalankan kuatkuasa-nya di-Sarawak juga supaya dapat-lah bumiputra di-sana menikmati faedah² yang sama seperti yang di-nikmati oleh bumiputra di-Tanah Melayu ini.

Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka mengingatkan Kerajaan Pusat ia-itu Sarawak ada-lah berdekatan sa-kali dengan Indonesia. Merbahaya di-Sarawak bukan sahaja timbul-nya daripada penjahat² kominis tetapi juga akan timbul daripada perasaan bumiputra yang tidak puas hati sa-takat ini dengan Ranchangan Pembangunan Luar Bandar. Perasaan tidak puas hati dan kechewa ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, boleh menimbulkan perasaan menchari tempat bergantung yang lain. Sa-belum penyakit itu timbul, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, elok-lah kita charikan ubat-nya dahulu. Jika bumiputra Sarawak terus berasa tidak puas hati dan kechewa, merbahaya yang akan timbul ada-lah lebeh besar daripada anchaman penjahat² kominis di-Sarawak. Tawarikh Sarawak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-lah menjadi pengajaran kita sakalian terutama sa-kali ketika penyerahan Sarawak kepada

Kerajaan British di-tentangkan oleh beberapa gulongan di-negeri Sarawak. Kerajaan Pusat tidak-lah boleh mengelakkan tanggung-jawab ini dengan chuma berkata, "Ranchangan Pembangunan di-Sarawak itu di-laksanakan oleh Kerajaan Negeri."

Enche' Tan Cheng Bee (Bagan):
Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by Yang Amat Berhormat the Deputy Prime Minister, and in that connection the Development Estimates, 1966. I feel, Sir, that I am voicing the opinion of my constituents of Bagan when I say that it is really a bold and most ambitious step taken by the Government, considering the confrontation and the unrest all around us today. Sir, this 1966 phase of the First Malaysia Plan will go a long way to prove to the ra'ayat, both within the country and without, the determined efforts of the Alliance Government to better the standard of living and the social progress of our people, not only in words but in deeds, and it is in keeping with government by the people for the people.

Sir, as almost all rural development programmes are prepared and recommended by the State Governments, I would like to add here a word of caution. All State and Executive Councillors are mere human beings and, as such, are likely to make recommendations for development on what we may call "pileh kaseh" rather than for the justification of such projects. Sir, as an example, I refer to some roads of less than a quarter of a mile in length, constructed in Province Wellesley according to P.W.D. standards, to replace the bullock cart tracks, to serve one or two individuals in that area. Apart from one or two cars seen in the area, one can find no other traffic and the road, with a width of 60 feet—in fact, broader than the main road to which this road is connected—is used for drying padi and other household commodities right up to the centre of the road. Sir, such projects cannot definitely benefit anybody except one or two individuals, and they are therefore far from benefiting the ra'ayat.

Sir, speaking as a Member of the District Council of Bukit Mertajam, I know, that the State Government of Penang has planned to put up a by-pass road in Kampong Bahru, Bukit Mertajam. This proposed road happens to be sited opposite the low-cost housing area of the District Council itself and would involve the Government not less than a few hundred thousand dollars only for acquisition of land and for compensation of five or six shop houses in the area. Yet, Sir, just within 120 yards from this proposed by-pass road, there is an existing road which was recently completed and declared open by our Deputy Prime Minister not very long ago and this road stretches from the Kulim road right up to the railway crossing at a point, where a fly-pass could be constructed without involving the Government in any compensation or acquisition of land. But because of *pileh kaseh* or, to be more exact, for beneficial reasons to someone in authority in the State, the State Government has chosen to put up this new proposal of a by-pass road right in the congested area of the town to run parallel and within 120 yards of the existing road, Sir, because this proposed by-pass road is in the area of the town where it will retard future development of the area, this proposed project was rejected by the Council once at its ordinary meeting, and again in the emergency meeting of the Council requested by the State Government to enable the State Planning Officer and the Senior Executive Engineer, who had in the first instance commented that this project was a luxurious project, to attend the meeting and lend their support to this project, on orders by the State Government. Even with all this, Sir, the District Council again voted against this project, as it was fully conscious of the criticisms of the people in the town.

As the District Council, Bukit Mertajam, is a fully elected Council with an elected Chairman, it would, in my opinion, be wrong for the State Government to persist in going against the decisions of the Local Council especially on issues involving the

development of the Council area. Sir, it may be argued that a by-pass road is the concern of the State Government, but, it does not require much technical knowledge for any one to say that by-pass roads are usually best sited on the fringe of the town, for that matter away from the congested area and away from potential area for development in the town. The fact that this proposed by-pass road is sited within 120 yards away from an existing road, this proposed road is totally redundant and unnecessary. I would, therefore, say, Sir, that the State Government is wasting public funds in persisting to proceed with the construction of this proposed by-pass road and gain the disfavour and disgust of the people of Bukit Mertajam, because it savours of something personal, a self-interested project to someone in authority.

Sir, as funds from Rural Development are expended from the Central Government, I would earnestly urge the Minister concerned to make further investigations before dishing out the money to the State for such projects. Sir, it may be said that all projects are recommended by the District Rural Development Committee for approval by the State Government. But, Sir, this is not entirely so in Penang, as the members of the State Development Committee comprise solely of members of the State Executive Council and the Heads of Departments who are there only in an advisory capacity. Other than these setbacks and these shortcomings, Sir, rural development programmes as a whole are of much benefit to the rural people and they have not only been happily and enthusiastically received by the people but they have also won high praise from visitors who have come from abroad.

Thank you.

Enche' Tama Weng Tinggan Wan (Sarawak): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun memberi penerangan perkara dalam daerah Baram yang lebeh burok lagi di-dalam Sarawak sa-lama dua tahun ini. Saya dengan dukachita memberi satu chadangan berkenaan usul yang di-bawa oleh Timbalan

Perdana Menteri yang akan membawa bersatu-padu dan kerjasama di-seluruh ra'ayat Malaysia ini

Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad (Muar Utara): Tolong kuat sadikit!

Mr Speaker: Tolong kuat sadikit.

Enche' Tama Weng Tinggan Wan: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perasaan saya tidak ada kesusahan hendak mendapat kerjasama seperti ra'ayat di-Sarawak atau pun ra'ayat di-Sabah dengan sebab ada kena-mengena dengan menambah pendapatan ra'ayat daripada yang telah sudah dalam taraf hidup ra'ayat bumiputera di-tanah ayer mereka sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pendapat saya, apa² barang yang akan menyabong dan tentu-lah dengan ada perkakas yang menchukopi untokan-nya menjadi nama-nya tukang sambongan apa² yang elok di-untokkan orang² di-dunia ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menerangkan kepada Dewan ini ada-kah tukang² boleh membuat rumah yang elok jikalau dia chuma membawa sa-bilah kapak, sa-bilah gergaji sahaja? Saya perchaya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tukang seperti itu tidak boleh membuat rumah yang elok? Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya perchaya jikalau Kerajaan mengadakan jawatan-kuasa-nya di-Malaysia ini

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah (Bachok): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, koram tidak chukup.

Mr Speaker: Nanti sa-kejap. Ada satu tegoran, tidak ada koram ia-itu kurang daripada 26. Setia-usaha, ada 26 orang atau tidak?

(Setia-usaha: membilang, dan memberitahu Mr Speaker ada 26 orang).

Mr Speaker: Ada koram.

Enche' Tama Weng Tinggan Wan: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jika Kerajaan memegang kuasa-nya di-Malaysia ini akan di-bawa ra'ayat bumiputera bekerjasama di-seluruh negara Malaysia jikalau Kerajaan membawa 2 butir Rang Undang² sahaja seperti yang tersebut di-bawah ini.

Ra'ayat tidak setuju dengan Rang Undang² memakai tender di-tanah ayer dan apa² barang yang ada harga di-tempatan tanah ayer mereka itu, maka ra'ayat sendiri minta lesen² untok ra'ayat sendiri, maka Kerajaan membawakan ra'ayat bumiputera masok lawan tender bersama orang² kaya dan orang² yang ada pangkat dan kuasa dari Kerajaan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-kah patut atau tidak sa-orang dari tempat yang lain pergi lawan orang² punya kawasan diri sendiri dan lagi patut atau tidak sa-orang yang telah memegang jawatan Kerajaan ada dengan mendapat gaji tiap² bulan dari Kerajaan dan ada menerima bermacam² pangkat dari Kerajaan. Dan patut-kah atau tidak orang² yang telah memegang jawatan dan orang² ia-itu juga mendapatkan lesen² dagangan dan dia juga memasoki tender melawan ra'ayat diri-nya sendiri. Dan nampak-nya Kerajaan memberi kaki-tangan Kerajaan untokan sa-tengah merupakan harta²-nya bumiputera yang diri-nya sendiri dalam di-lawan sendiri tidak senang sa-kali di-tempatan tanah ayer saya sendiri.

Dan lagi satu perkara yang hairan yang membawa Kerajaan Perikatan dan penyokong² di-dalam kampung dalam rumah panjang. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa-kah kuasa-nya ia-lah tudohan² terhadap ra'ayat, fitnah² bermacam² akan membuat nama baik menjadikan burok, malang-nya ra'ayat ada mata, ada juga hidung, ada telinga dan fikiran dan semua tahu Kerajaan Perikatan yang di-tipu oleh penyokong² Perikatan, maka dia juga penipu ia-lah hari² menudoh ra'ayat serta menakut²kan ra'ayat dari pangkat-nya memegang kuasa-nya dari Kerajaan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya memberi satu penerangan dan kesusahan ra'ayat di-tanah ayer sa-lama dua tahun yang lalu dan sampai masa sekarang di-perentahkan oleh Perikatan yang membantu terhadap kesusahan yang tersebut ia-lah musoh² yang menutup-kan kemajuan dan taraf hidup ra'ayat. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah musoh² yang datang dari dalam kelambu dan datang dari dalam baju, maka musoh ini juga yang mengikatkan tali di-tandok kambing. Pada 16 dan 17 September 1965 yang lalu, Ahli² dari Dewan

Ra'ayat ini ada datang di-tempat kami daerah Baram ia-lah musoh ini juga mengikat tali di-tandok kambing, maka ada ahli² councillor yang sa-orang di-pimpin oleh ra'ayat bumiputera mahu berjumpa ahli², tidak-lah berjaya. Maka saya memberi satu chakapan sama orang² masa itu juga saya memberi tahu Perdana Menteri dan Timbalan Perdana Menteri membawa ra'ayat seluruhan Malaysia kerjasama, maka Ahli² dari Dewan Ra'ayat yang dari Malaya ini tadi sampai di-Sarawak, maka ra'ayat bumiputera di-negeri Baram mahu berjumpa dengan ahli² Dewan Ra'ayat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kaki-tangan Perikatan ia-lah kena pengaruh oleh musoh² yang tersebut di-atas tadi, maka ra'ayat bumiputera tadi tidak-lah dapat berjumpa ahli² itu. Maka nampak-lah saya yang memberi tahu chakapan dari Dewan ini akan membawa ra'ayat seluruh Malaysia kerjasama tadi, maka dengan ahli² Dewan Ra'ayat dari Malaya dan ra'ayat bumiputera di-Merudi terus menerus tidak-lah berjumpa dengan ahli² yang datang dari Malaya, maka nampak-lah penerangan² yang dari saya tadi tidak-lah betul.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya perchaya Kerajaan Perikatan yang membawa ra'ayat menjagakan musoh² datang dari luar atau dari dalam, malang-nya kaki-tangan Perikatan yang membawa musoh² datang dari luar untuk menyerang harta ra'ayat bumiputera di-Malaysia, Sarawak, memakaikan undang² tender.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa-kah sebab India dengan Pakistan yang telah sudah bersaudara dan abang adek berapa lama dan berapa ratus² tahun yang dari dahulu maka apa-kah sebabnya bermusoh ia-lah di-dalam negeri menjadikan kawan ia-lah dari sebab²-nya dan di-dalam negeri menjadikan lawan ia-lah dari sebab-nya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya beritahu keturunan kami zaman asal dari datok nenek ada berchakap "biar-lah mati anak janganlah mati 'adat". Jikalau mati anak, kita sendiri yang menanggung kesusahan, jikalau mati 'adat dan semua-nya negeri yang kena menanggung kesusahan dan lagi berita dari orang tua kita, "hidup

di-kandung 'adat mati di-kandung bumi".

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jikalau perintah Perikatan menjalankan kuasa memakainya undang² untuk memberi perasaan dan keterangan kesalahan di-membri puaskan hati orang² yang kesalahan atau pun kebetulan, maka baharu-lah kita mendapatkan kerjasama di-Malaysia ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jikalau Kerajaan Perikatan di-tempatan Negeri Sarawak di-tempatan tanah ayer kami sendiri daerah Baram, di-Malaysia ini, jikalau Kerajaan Pusat tidak jaga dengan sa-benar²-nya di-tempatan yang tersebut, maka tentu-lah ra'ayat bumiputra yang telah di-serang oleh musoh datang dari dalam kelambu dan datang dari dalam baju ia-itu yang di-ketahui perkara yang burok sahaja di-terima oleh ra'ayat bumiputra.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-kenal oleh di-dunia semua Malaysia yang memberi jaminan kemerdekaan ra'ayat bumiputra maka apa-kah utokan jaminan diterima oleh ra'ayat bumiputra di-Malaysia ini? Maka saya dengan harapan Kerajaan Pusat membawakan sabun² dan minyak² wangi untuk menggosokkan busok² dan bau² dan bersehkannya maka baharu-lah dapat kerjasama di-Malaysia dan aman damai dan ma'amor antara ra'ayat segala bangsa di-seluruh Malaysia. Demikian-lah penerangan saya.

Mr Speaker: Meshuarat ini ditempohkan.

Sitting suspended at 5.50 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 6.10 p.m.

Debate resumed.

Enche' Hanafi bin Mohd. Yunus (Kulim Utara): Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun mengalu²kan dan memberi sokongan yang penoh di-dalam Anggaran Perbelanjaan Pembangunan Negara bagi tahun 1966 yang akan datang ini. Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya, bagi pehak ra'ayat dalam kawasan saya, menyampaikan terima kaseh banyak kepada Kerajaan yang telah membuat berbagai² ranchangan untuk kesenangan² ra'ayat yang dalam kawasan saya.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, dalam Anggaran Perbelanjaan tahun 1966 yang akan datang ini, yang sedang di-tunggu² dan di-nanti² oleh ra'ayat, terutama sa-kali bumiputra bagi negara ini, ia-lah peruntukan bagi MARA atau Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat. MARA ini-lah, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, yang di-harapkan dan di-nanti²kan oleh ra'ayat bumiputra, Mudahan² dengan ada-nya MARA ini-lah, dapat ra'ayat di-luar² bandar, ya'ani bumiputra, meninggikan taraf ekonomi diri-nya masing². Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya perchaya dengan ada-nya MARA ini dapat-lah bumiputra negara ini yang ada kelayakan dalam sa-barang perusahaan dan perniagaan, dapat melateh diri dalam ranchangan² yang saya sebutkan tadi, dan dapat-lah bersama² dengan warganegara yang ada dalam negara kita ini merasai ni'mat² di-dalam negara-nya sendiri.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, pada fikiran saya, masaalah yang kita hendak menjayakan MARA atau Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat ini, ia-lah bergantung, terutama sa-kali dengan kemahuan ra'ayat dan dengan kehendak ra'ayat sendiri, dan juga dengan kerjasama yang kuat, dan lebeh tegas lagi daripada Menteri² yang bersangkutan. Terutama sa-kali yang saya hendak sebutkan di-sini, ia-lah Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan. Kerana, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, punchanya perusahaan dan perdagangan ia-lah dengan melalui atau pun dengan bantuan dan pertolongan daripada Menteri ini, umpama dapat kemudahan, memberi permit² import dan export, dan permit² kebenaran menubuhkan kilang² dan perusahaan yang lain². Lebeh² lagi, dapat Menteri ini memberi perlindungan yang utama kepada perusahaan² dan perniagaan² anak bumiputra di-dalam negara ini, supaya jangan di-cheroboh dan dapat competition atau perlawanan daripada perniagaan dan perusahaan yang lain², terutama sa-kali dari luar negeri.

Yang kedua, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah daripada Yang Berhormat Menteri Pengangkutan. Kerana, di-dalam tiap² perusahaan dan perniagaan ini, maka tidak dapat tidak, ra'ayat² atau pun perusahaan dan perniagaan ini berkehendakkan pengangkutan untuk

mengangkut segala keperluan dalam perusahaan dan perniagaan-nya sendiri.

Jadi ini-lah yang saya harap supaya beliau ini dapat memberi kesenangan dan kemudahan. Dato' Yang di-Pertua, bukan-lah saya katakan yang Menteri ini tidak pernah memberi kemudahan dan kesenangan kepada ra'ayat dan bumiputera dalam negara ini. Dan saya berharap apa-bila di-jalankan MARA ini kelak hendak-lah Menteri ini be-kerja lebeh giat dan lebeh baik lagi memberi kesenangan kepada ra'ayat² bumiputera dalam negeri ini.

Yang ketiga, ia-lah Menteri Tanah dan Galian kerana, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, dalam sangkutan dengan MARA atau berkenaan dengan MARA ini ada persangkutan dengan Menteri ini ia-itu dengan senang-nya dapat mengikhtiarkan memberi kemudahan kepada MARA atau pun anak bumiputera ini dengan mengeluarkan kayu² balak dan galian² yang ada di-dalam bumi Malaysia ini, yang kaya raya yang tidak dapat di-ne'mati, di-rasa² oleh bumiputera-nya sendiri, dan juga dapat-lah Menteri ini memberi nasihat² kepada Kerajaan Negeri yang mana sa-kira-nya bumiputera atau pun ra'ayat² bumiputera ini berkehendakkan tanah² supaya hendak membena gedong atau kedai² untuk perniagaan. Kerana, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, pada fikiran saya perniagaan dan perusahaan ini tentu-lah tidak dapat kita dirikan di-kampong² yang berjauhan daripada bandar² atau pekan². Tanah² yang dalam bandar² sangat-lah mahal harga-nya tentu-lah tidak dapat di-ikhtiarkan dan di-beli dengan harga yang murah. Maka ini-lah berkehendakkan pertolongan, kerjasama yang lebeh tegas daripada Kementerian ini.

Yang keempat-nya, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah Menteri Sharikat Kerjasama dan Pertanian kerana ini ada-lah bersangkut paut dengan pemasaran. Ini-lah yang sangat besar di-dalam kita hendak berniaga dan hendak memajukan perusahaan dan perniagaan kita kerana di-sini termasuk-lah perusahaan menanam tanaman² saperti sayur dan buahhan², kerana dalam negara kita ini segala pasaran itu maka tidak ada orang² kita yang menerima, kerana,

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, di-sini saya suka-lah hendak memberikan satu gambaran yang telah terjadi di-daerah dalam negeri Kedah bagaimana sedehnya ia-itu sa-orang kampong yang telah berusaha dengan sungguh² menanam tebu. Saya ingat hampir² 30-40 relong. Masa hamba Allah ini hendak pergi menchari beneh tebu maka pergi-lah beli kepada tauke² China yang sedang mengepit² ayer tebu itu dan tauke² ini mengaku apabila tebu ini telah chukup tua dan patut di-tebang kelak akan menerima sa-kian² sa-puloh ringgit pada satu² pikul. Tetapi, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, apabila sudah sampai masa-nya tebu ini di-tebang atau di-potong maka di-bawa-lah dengan lorry pergi ka-bandar dan bukan sahaja harga-nya murah langsung tidak mahu di-terima oleh pembeli² yang membuat ayer² tebu. Inilah yang terutama sa-kali, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya harap dalam MARA ini hendak-lah Kementerian² yang saya sebutkan tadi dapat bekerjasama antara satu dengan lain supaya dapat menjayakan sa-benar²-nya untuk faedah bumiputera ini yang sudah lama menganggor dan tidak dapat bersama² dengan saudara² kita daripada kaum² dan warga negara yang ada dalam negara kita sendiri.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam negara kita, walau bagaimana sa-kali pun, maka tentu-lah ada pehak² yang tidak ada kerja atau pun penganggoran. Jadi di-sini, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, pada fikiran saya sudah sampai-lah masa-nya yang Kerajaan kita ini atau pun Kementerian Buroh membuatkan undang² ia-itu memerentahkan segala majikan² atau pun kilang² perusahaan, sama ada yang daripada luar negeri atau pun yang di-jalankan oleh warga negara di-dalam negara kita sendiri mengambil pekerja² daripada bumiputera dalam negara ini sa-kurang²-nya 40%. Kerana, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya percaya kalau sa-lagi kita tidak adakan satu undang² yang memerentahkan supaya pekilang² atau pun perusahaan² dalam negara kita ini mengambil pekerja² daripada bumiputera dalam negara kita ini sendiri, sampai bila sa-kali pun mereka ini tidak ada belas kasehan kepada bumiputera ini.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, pada fikiran saya pehak majikan atau pun kilang² perusahaan ini tidak-lah mereka dapat menolak daripada Rang Undang² ini kerana yang kita minta pun pehak bumiputera ini memohonkan belas kasehan kepada pekilang² itu hanya sa-bagai sa-orang buroh, sa-bagai menjadi buroh di-dalam kilang² yang ada mendapat keuntungan di-dalam negara kita ini. Menjadi buroh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah untuk sa-suap nasi pagi dan sa-suap petang. Maka sa-patut sangat-lah, maka ini tidak dapat di-banggang dan senang sahaja di-terima oleh segala perusahaan² yang besar² dalam negara kita ini. Kerana, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, negara kita pehak Kerajaan kita dan juga pehak bumiputera ini sangat-lah lemah lembut dan sangat mengasahi, sangat berbaik budi, sa-hingga, ra'ayat bumiputera ini sendiri merayu dan meminta kepada pehak yang bukan bumiputera untuk hidup, tetapi, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, yang saya tahu-lah kalau negara² lain maka pehak yang mendatang itu-lah memohonkan belas kasehan, belas rahim kepada bumiputera atau pun kepada ra'ayat bumiputera atau pun kepada Kerajaan negara itu.

Maka ini-lah, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, yang saya harap dapat di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan ini. Pada fikiran saya sampai-lah masa-nya pehak Kementerian Buroh menetap atau pun membuatkan satu undang² memerentahkan supaya tiap² pekilang perusahaan yang besar mengambil pekerja² daripada bumiputera negara ini sa-kurang²-nya 40%.

Sekian-lah, Dato' Pengerusi, terima kaseh.

Enche' Khoo Peng Loong (Sarawak):
Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by the Honourable Member for Tanjong.

I find that the First Malaysia Plan appears to be too rosy for the benefit of the peoples of Malaysia, and to achieve full realisation of this Plan all Malaysians have been urged to work hard to accomplish it. Mr Speaker, Sir, we in the Opposition will no doubt do our utmost to work with the Government for the success of this Plan, for

we want to see to it that the standard of living of the people will be raised so as to help the poor and also that the great disparity between the "haves" and the "havenots" will be narrowed down.

Mr Speaker, Sir, just now I have heard from a Member from Sarawak that the Government of Sarawak is not helping enough the indigenous people, and he also touched on the issuing of motor licences by the Sibü Urban District Council to the non-indigenous persons instead of indigenous persons. At the beginning of this Session, Sir, I was asked by the Honourable Minister of Finance to close my mouth if I did not have any knowledge of anything I spoke of. So, I would like now to ask that Member to close his mouth if he has no knowledge of the things he spoke about just now. Sir, as Chairman of the Sibü Urban District Council, I wish to reiterate that the Council has no authority to issue any motor licences. This authority is vested in the hands of the Divisional Land Transport Committee, and I wish to say that none of the Councillors is a member of this Committee.

Enche' Chia Chin Shin (Sarawak): Mr Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion for the First Malaysia Five-Year Plan which is now tabled in this House for debate. This First Malaysia Five-Year Plan is welcomed by the people of Sarawak. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister for his good work in the preparation of this Plan and especially for the special attention given to the Borneo States. I would like also to congratulate all the officials working under his Ministry for their contribution of hard work towards this Plan.

According to this Plan, Sarawak could expect more allocation that what had been agreed in the Inter-Governmental Committee Report for development expenditure over the next 5 years. It was then agreed in the Inter-Governmental Committee Report that the Central Government undertook to allocate \$300 million over 5 years, but

now in this Plan Sarawak is being allocated with \$464 million of which \$63.5 million will be for defence. The people of Sarawak are most grateful to the Central Government for such a generous and substantial allocation to help in promoting their social and economic developments and raising their living standards. Let us hope that the Government will be able to recruit enough technicians to help develop Sarawak and make full use of the funds available for the next 5 years.

I have learned that it is the aim of the First Malaysia Five-Year Plan to provide plenty for all Malaysians irrespective of race, creed or political affiliations; it will also create 380,000 new jobs in Malaya and 80,000 in Sabah and Sarawak in the next 5 years, that is to say, a total of 460,000 jobs by 1970. This is most encouraging and gratifying. Normally, in a growing and developing nation like ours with a birth rate of 3% it means that the increase of our population will be double in less than 25 years. So we are faced with the great programme of creating jobs for our younger generations.

Sir, as we all know, Malaysia is an agricultural country. At the moment most of the States are, to a certain extent, still depending on imported rice, the staple food of the population. It is my sincere hope that in the next five years we will be able to grow enough rice for our own consumption.

As for Sarawak, I would like to touch on the question of agricultural schools. In view of the selection examination at the primary level, only 30% students are selected every year to go to Secondary Schools and the balance of 70% will either go to unaided and private schools or look for jobs somewhere.

However, due to their limited age of 12 to 14 years, it is difficult for them to seek employment, because they are too young. Since Sarawak is an agricultural State, I fervently hope that the Government will consider to establish more agricultural schools of post primary school level throughout the State to accommodate these pupils, so that when they come out they will be

able to do cultivation either on their own, or help the farmers to grow more food. They will feel proud when they are useful to the nation. I would urge the Government to take this matter into consideration.

Another point which I would like to touch on is the question of roads and bridges. All those who have been to Sarawak will agree with me that some long houses or kampongs in the ulu are situated in very remote areas. These people find it difficult to transport all their requirements into their houses or send their produce for sale to the markets this is so particularly when someone is sick in the long houses or kampongs. Unless they are often visited by travelling dispensaries, they would have to carry these patients for a long way in order to catch the transport to hospital. It is my fervent hope that more roads and bridges will be constructed for these people in Sarawak.

Last week, I touched on the telephone trunk call service in Sarawak, and I would like to repeat my appeal to the Honourable Minister to consider the improvement of this service in Sarawak. Furthermore, I was given to understand that the V.H.F. Radio Service is also very poor. This is mostly used by the shipping companies, the sawmills and timber camps. They also complained to me that this V.H.F. Radio Service is open only during office hours.

At this time, as the timber camps are working almost twenty-four hours by shifts in order to produce more logs for world market, they need to make use of V.H.F. Radio Services for communications of messages, even after office hours. In this connection I also refer to some outstations like Sibuti, Niah, and others which would also need 24-hour service. In view of this I would appeal to the Minister concerned to increase the working hours to provide for a 24-hour service, if it is possible.

Lastly, I would like to touch on the question of television for the Borneo States. I remember that last year I raised a question in this House on this subject. Now, I would like to speak on

it again. Radio Sarawak was established in the year 1954. After so many years, it is natural for the people of Sarawak to choose to have one stage of improvement or something new especially after Malaysia everybody would like to see some changes for the better take place. Moreover, communication is still slack and difficult. The best means to communicate with the ulu people, besides radio, will be television. I, therefore, hope that the extension of television to the Borneo States will receive urgent consideration. Mr Speaker, Sir, I fully support this motion. Thank you, Sir.

Enche' Mohamed Yusof bin Mahmud (Temerloh): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong usul yang dibawa oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri ia-itu satu usul membentangkan kepada Dewan ini segala kemajuan² yang telah dicapai pada masa yang lampau dan hasrat Kerajaan untuk menjalankan kemajuan² bagi faedah ra'ayat negara ini pada masa lima tahun yang ka-hadapan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, untuk mengulang kaji hasil daripada kemajuan² dua ranchangan sa-puluh tahun yang telah lampau, saya bersama yang kemajuan yang akan di-chadangkan pada lima tahun yang ka-hadapan ini akan berjalan dengan lebeh pesat, lebeh baik dan maju. Berdasarkan kepada ini kita melihat apa yang telah kita buat ia-itu segala chita² Kerajaan hendak memberi kema'amoran negara ini kepada ra'ayat-nya telah di-jalankan dengan mendapat kepuasan hati. Sebab itu kita tengok, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ranchangan yang pertama ia-itu ranchangan membuat segala pelan², ranchangan bagi menjalankan segala programme² yang telah di-ranchangkan, kita ra'ayat di-Tanah Melayu ini telah maju lebeh daripada negara yang telah merdeka dahulu daripada kita ia-itu di-sekeliling tanah ayer kita ini. Maka ini, rasa saya, satu kepujian yang patut kita berikan sa-tinggi²-nya kepada Kerajaan atas usaha yang telah di-majukan itu.

Dalam usul ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada satu ayat yang sangat menarek hati saya, ia-itu "mengakui

peri perlu-nya menggalak dan penyatuan ra'ayat² dan negeri² dalam Malaysia dan memba sa-buah negara yang lebeh bersatu". Ini satu ayat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang berkehendakkan supaya tiap² warga negara dalam negeri ini mesti memahami tujuan besar ra'ayat negeri ini hendak menjadikan Malaysia ini satu negara yang ma'amor, aman dan damai. Jadi dalam perkara ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada-lah timbul satu soal yang mengatakan yang Kerajaan patut menolong kepada satu² pehak, kepada satu² bangsa. Kewajipan Kerajaan ia-lah memberi perlindungan seluroh-nya kepada ra'ayat yang menderita—pada mereka yang berkehendakkan pertolongan wajib diberi pertolongan—tidak ada timbul soal mahu menolong Melayu atau pun siapa.

Dalam negara kita Malaysia ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ra'ayat yang tertindas sa-kali ia-lah tidak lain dan tidak bukan yang terdiri dari bumiputera ia-itu orang Melayu, orang Dayak, orang Kadazan dan seluroh native² yang negeri ini negeri-nya sendiri. Jadi dalam kita melancharkan kemajuan lima tahun ka-hadapan besok, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berharap tidak ada soal timbul, mengapa orang² yang daripada bumiputera yang berkehendakkan pimpinan itu mendapat halangan yang besar daripada mereka² yang bukan daripada bumiputera ini ia-itu hasrat Kerajaan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam ranchangan lima tahun yang ka-hadapan besok menolong bumiputera ia-itu dengan mengadakan khas Jabatan MARA yang akan memandu ra'ayat bumiputera supaya taraf hidup mereka sama dengan taraf hidup ra'ayat yang bukan bumiputera. Jadi saya harap kepada mereka yang bukan bumiputera jangan-lah berasa iri hati. Kalau mahukan negeri ini negeri yang aman, negeri yang damai, maka taraf hidup ra'ayat mesti-lah tidak ada perbezaan-nya yang jauh, mesti-lah ada sama rata. Pada masa ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ra'ayat daripada bumiputera segala²-nya kekurangan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua—pelajaran, iktisad dan segala²-nya ini berkehendakkan pimpinan. Maka dalam ranchangan lima

tahun ka-hadapan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, telah di-sediakan segala pertolongan². Jadi daripada ra'ayat yang bukan bumiputera mesti-lah ingat kalau mereka mahukan menjadi negara ini negara mereka sendiri maka tidak ada halangan akan timbul dalam masa hadapan besok kita perdebatkan segala perbelanjaan yang akan diberikan untuk menolong bumiputera. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu-lah saya katakan tadi ini, ini satu ayat yang sangat² menarek hati saya dan saya berdoa' mudah²an perkara ini dapat di-jalankan dengan elok dan baik.

Sa-lain daripada itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hasrat Kerajaan ada-lah untuk melancharkan Ranchangan Lima Tahun ini yang saya pandang satu usaha yang sangat² berani, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana saya katakan bagitu, Kerajaan kita atau pun negara kita sedang menghadapi beberapa masaalah di-luar negeri dan dalam negeri, hal luar negeri, hal berkenaan dengan Indonesia yang maseh lagi berkeras dan berdegil untuk hendak memecahkan atau menjahanamkan negara kita. Maka di-dalam ini ada di-bentangkan satu perbelanjaan yang besar juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, untuk pertahanan negara. Maka di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, usaha ini saya sa-kali lagi meminta seluroh ra'ayat negara ini memberi pertolongan, memberi kerjasama kepada Kerajaan dalam perkara ini.

Satu perkara yang saya bangkitkan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya nampak dalam menjaga negara, ra'ayat di-luar bandar sahaja nampak-nya yang memikul bebanan ini, ra'ayat di-luar bandar sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang di-kehendaki menjaga kampong², tetapi saya pandangkan ra'ayat dalam bandar tidak di-kehendaki. Ra'ayat di-dalam bandar yang terdiri daripada orang² yang kaya², terdiri daripada orang² yang senang sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tetapi ra'ayat di-luar bandar terdiri dari orang² miskin, orang yang tidak ada kemampuan di-paksa ia-itu menjaga negera, berjaga siang dan malam, tetapi mengapa ra'ayat di-dalam bandar tidak di-samakan juga bertanggung jawab menjaga negara kita.

Jadi ini, rasa saya, patut mendapat perhatian Kerajaan dalam perkara ini. Sebab rasa saya, tanggung jawab kita terhadap negara kita ia-lah menjaga negara kita. Jika ada ra'ayat yang tidak hendak menjaga negara, rasa saya, mereka itu bukan-lah ra'ayat negeri ini dan jikalau mereka bukan ra'ayat negeri ini tidak sa-mesti-nya mereka mendapat segala nekmata daripada negara ini. Ini-lah rasa saya satu perkara yang saya patut bantangkan ka-dalam Dewan ini supaya mendapat perhatian dari Kerajaan.

Sa-lain daripada itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam ranchangan ini kita berkehendakkan wang sa-banyak \$10,000 juta untuk menjayakan ranchangan² ini—di-sini ada menerangkan beberapa chara mendapatkan wang untuk menjalankan kemajuan ini, sa-belum kita menerima wang daripada luar negeri, sebab ada di-chadangkan dalam buku Ranchangan Lima Tahun ini, ada meranchangkan lebeh kurang \$1,900 juta akan di-chuba mendapat pinjaman daripada luar negeri. Saya rasa kita lebeh baik berusaha menggunakan tenaga kita sendiri dan menchari helah, jalan, supaya jangan kita berhutang dari luar negeri, sebab, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jika kita berhutang dari luar negeri, akibat-nya sadikit sa-banyak pun tentu-lah kita akan menerima perkara² yang akan menekan keadaan kita ia-itu kita terpaksa menerima sharat² yang di-tentukan oleh orang yang hendak memberi pinjaman itu. Kita chuba-lah menchari pendapatan kita sendiri ia-itu chara kita menjalankan perbelanjaan dengan jimat-chermat dan siasat lebeh halus akan segala perbelanjaan yang kita jalankan itu supaya betul² tidak membazir. Perkara ini telah saya ucapkan dalam masa Dewan kita membahathkan perbelanjaan tahun 1966. Maka saya tidak-lah lagi hendak membalekkan perkara ini, tetapi saya perchaya mendapat pandangan yang berat daripada Kerajaan chara² kita menjalankan chermat atau pun mengurangkan perbelanjaan yang membazir.

Lagi satu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-sini dalam ucapan untuk memberi ketegasan berkenaan dengan usul ini ada mengatakan kita di-sini kekurangan

tenaga manusia yang chekap. Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, untuk kemajuan² satu ranchangan maka satu daripada unsor-nya ia-lah tenaga manusia yang chekap yang di-kehendaki, tetapi apakah chara atau apa-kah persediaan kita untuk memberi kechekapan kepada tenaga² buroh kita. Sunggoh pun, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita telah melancarkan satu sistem pelajaran comprehensive policy atau satu pelajaran aneka jurusan semenjak dua tahun yang sudah, tetapi pada pandangan saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, chuma di-jalankan sekolah² yang di-dalam bandar, tetapi di-sekolah² di-luar bandar maseh lagi berchorak lama dan tidak ada lagi nampak-nya chara² yang boleh mendedek anak² akan menjadi buroh yang chekap ia-itu seperti mengadakan pelajaran teknikal, pelajaran vocational atau pelajaran pertukangan dan sa-bagai-nya yang banyak sekolah² di-luar bandar. Maka satu chara-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, untuk mendapat buroh yang chekap ini ta' lain dan ta' bukan ia-lah pendidekan atau pelajaran khas kepada anak² sekolah yang di-bangku sekolah atau pun yang telah keluar sekolah yang belum dapat didekan ini patut lebeh banyak lagi di-adakan sekolah² teknikal, sekolah pelajaran berkenaan dengan vocational ini di-adakan lebeh banyak di-luar bandar. Mereka dalam bandar bernasib baik, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerana mereka ada perusahaan² di-sekeliling mereka, ada banyak bangunan² yang mana buroh² ini boleh melatehkan diri mereka untuk masok menjadi buroh yang chekap, tetapi mereka yang di-luar bandar, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bernasib kurang oleh sebab tidak ada peluang sa-macham ini, yang kedua tidak ada sekolah² yang boleh mereka masok.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-lah saya rasa untuk menchari tenaga buroh yang chekap, maka saya menchadangkan tadi ia-itu kita mula² pada hari ini, pada tahun hadapan, tiap² sekolah daripada sekolah rendah sampai menengah rendah, maka pelajaran² ini patut-lah di-utamakan oleh pehak Kerajaan.

Sekarang saya berchakap atas satu perkara lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

ia-itu berkenaan dengan hasrat Kerajaan. Dalam ini ada mengatakan ia-itu hasrat Kerajaan sa-boleh²-nya segala barang² keperluan ra'ayat negara ini hendak-lah kita sendiri mengadakan, tidak berkehendakkan kepada pembawaan dari luar negeri. Ini saya rasa satu chara yang sangat² mustahak bagi negeri kita. Hasrat ini ada tertulis dalam Buku ini, maka saya rasa ini-lah satu perkara yang sangat mustahak. Sungguh pun banyak ahli² daripada sahabat saya telah mengatakan berkenaan dengan pembawaan staple food, ia-itu barang² keperluan hidup ra'ayat di-negeri ini seperti beras dari luar negeri patut di-kurangkan, tetapi sebelum kita menjalankan itu, maka kewajipan kita ia-lah membanyakkan lagi ra'ayat ini bertanam padi supaya kita tidak lagi menumpukan kepada pembawaan dari luar negeri. Usaha ini saya rasa sedang giat di-jalankan oleh Kementerian Pertanian, sungguh pun usaha itu memang giat, tetapi belum lagi luas atau besar keadaan-nya, sebab di-negeri saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, banyak lagi tanah² yang boleh di-jalankan perusahaan menanam padi ini yang kalau di-usahakan saya perchaya-lah mendapat kejayaan yang penoh dan ini juga akan mengurangkan lagi keadaan buroh yang menganggor dalam negeri kita ini.

Sa-lain daripada perkara yang mustahak ini ia-itu beras. Ini ada lagi banyak perkara yang lain yang kita tidak berkehendakkan masuk dari luar negeri ini seperti saya cheritakan dahulu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, makanan jagong dan sa-bagai-nya yang tidak di-kehendaki di-bawa ka-dalam negeri ini yang boleh di-tanam dalam negeri ini—ini 2-3 perkara—tetapi kita banyak lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang boleh di-buat di-negeri ini, dan dengan chara ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menuju bagaimana kehendak dan hasrat economic planning yang ada dalam Buku ini.

Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu perkara saya merayu kepada Kerajaan ia-itu kita sekarang ada economic planning atau peranchang ekonomi ia-lah bagi pehak Persekutuan sahaja. Jadi, saya berharap juga dapat tiap² negeri, terutama negeri saya

satu jabatan berkenaan dengan menjalankan economic planning atau pun dasar ekonomi kita yang di-ranchangkan di-Persekutuan ini di-adakan di-tiap² negeri supaya segala planning yang di-buat oleh Persekutuan ini dapat di-jalankan oleh negeri dan juga ada masaalah² yang baharu yang akan timbul dalam negeri, pegawai² ini boleh meranchangkan bagi negeri itu. Ini akan memberi satu faedah yang besar, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, untuk melancharkan, melichinkan, perjalanan ranchangan economic planning daripada Persekutuan ka-Negeri². Jadi saya rasa Ranchangan Lima Tahun ini saya perchaya-lah sa-mesti-nya akan berjalan dengan baik bagaimana juga Ranchangan Yang Pertama dan Yang Kedua bagaimana ada terchatit dalam ucapan ini mengatakan sudah mendapat kejayaan lebeh yang telah di-fikirkan. Bagitu juga saya harap Ranchangan Lima Tahun hadapan juga akan mendapat lebeh kejayaan sa-bagaimana yang telah kita buat pada masa lampau. Jadi, sa-kali lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mengalu²-kan usul yang di-bawa oleh Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri ini dan saya berdo'a mudah²an Ranchangan Lima Tahun ini akan berjaya. Terima kaseh.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah (Bachok): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan izin tuan, saya mengambil peluang berchakap sadikit berkenaan dengan usul yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita atas tajok Ranchangan Malaysia Yang Pertama.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-belum daripada saya menempoh sadikit sa-banyak perkara² yang sempat saya hendak tempoh, saya terlebih dahulu minta izin kepada Tuan hendak menyatakan dukachita yang amat besar terhadap bentok atau pun chara ucapan yang telah di-buat oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri pagi tadi ia-itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita semak dalam muka yang kedua, muka ketiga dan muka yang keempat, kita dapati satu perkataan pun tidak ada yang di-ucapkan oleh Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita yang menggambarkan terima kaseh kepada

pehak Pembangkang. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Timbalan Perdana Menteri di-ketika dia mengemukakan ucapan itu bukan-lah dia itu Timbalan Perdana Menteri bagi Parti Perikatan, tetapi dia ia-lah Timbalan Perdana Menteri bagi negara Malaysia yang kami, terutama-nya daripada pehak P.M.I.P. ini juga berketuakan kepada beliau itu. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Amat Berhormat itu memberi terima kaseh kepada beribu² orang, bermacam² lapangan, tetapi dia lupa langsung kepada parti Pembangkang, padahal di-dalam Parliament yang sa-macam ini di-ketika membuat satu ucapan yang berupa ucapan pembangunan nasional bagi masa 5 tahun atau pun 20 tahun, tidak-lah patut di-nafikan penting-nya kerjasama pehak Pembangkang di-dalam menolok menjayakan plan yang tersebut. Sa-olah²-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami ini datang ka-dalam Dewan ini sa-mata²-lah hendak menunggu \$35 sahaja pada satu hari, sedang kami juga walau pun kecil khidmat kami, kami juga telah memberi atau pun *contribute* kepada pembangunan negara ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menyatakan dukachita

Enche' Mohamed Yusof bin Mahmud (Temerloh): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada muka 2 Yang Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri, ada menyatakan berkenaan *Opposition*—saya bachakan :

“The *Opposition*, particularly those who are blind followers of outdated doctrines and political philosophies formulated many years ago—by such people as Karl Marx and Engels, allege that the Alliance Government has no political philosophy and therefore any development plan without a philosophy cannot possibly succeed and cannot benefit the people. To those intellectuals who are so philosophically conscious, I say categorically that the Alliance has a philosophy that is bearing fruit in actual practice and the evidence of its success lies in the progress that we, as a young nation, have achieved since Independence.”

Jadi, kalau kata tidak ada, memang ada.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya pun ada juga salinan itu, ma'ana the *Opposition* ini erti-nya *Opposition* ini menudoh

Kerajaan tidak mempunyai philosophy, *particularly* itu, dia memberatkan kepada satu pehak yang tertentu tetapi the *Opposition* itu tidak termasuk juga. Jadi, erti-nya kami ini betul² manusia yang *out-dated* punya pemegang *philosophies* dan langsung tidak memberi kerjasama. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya amat-lah dukachita dan betul kalau saya hendak di-tudoh sa-bagai sa-orang ahli yang jiwa-nya terlampau *emotional* tetapi saya mengaku, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ucapan yang sa-macam ini tidak-lah patut dan saya, kalau ada Menteri itu, saya hendak minta kepada beliau menarek balek ucapan yang melupakan kami yang sama² turut dalam Dewan ini dan besok kalau beliau hadir saya akan tuntutan lagi perkara ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami kata bagitu ia-lah di-dalam ucapan-nya, saya ulaskan dengan rengkas, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-itu di-dalam ucapan Timbalan Perdana Menteri, muka 2 juga mengatakan waktu hendak menjalankan ranchangan ini, Kerajaan berharap kepada semua pehak supaya memberi kerjasama tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila berjaya daripada tahun 1961 sampai tahun 1965, harapan yang di-minta itu telah kami beri walau pun tidak di-hargai oleh Perikatan, tetapi tidak ada langsung terima kaseh di-dalam perkara ini dan kami rasa, terutama bagi pehak saya sendiri, amat-lah dukachita dan saya rasa langsung tidak ada harga saya sa-bagai Member Parlimen dalam negeri Malaysia ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, lagi pada muka 3, satu pukulan yang amat hebat ia-itu kata-nya: “Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to give credit to those many Members of Parliament on the correct side of this House” Jadi, erti-nya Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita ini memberi terima kaseh kepada Member² Parlimen dan saya menunggu dengan minat kalau² terima kaseh itu termasuk juga Member Parlimen daripada *opposition* tetapi dengan perkataan “on the correct side of this House” saya tidak tahu-lah yang mana correct side-nya, saya tahu ia-lah pehak

Kerajaan sendiri. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, chukup-lah sa-takat itu hendak mengulas rasa tidak puas hati saya kepada Menteri yang mewakili negara kita membuat ucapan pada hari ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila saya hendak menyentoh sedikit sa-banyak berkenaan dengan isi ucapan Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita ini, kita dapat lihat di-dalam muka 4 ia-itu satu perkara yang amat menyedehkan yang bunyi-nya "We are a nation of many races, many cultures; a country in which all are allowed to practise many religions". Itu yang tersebut-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, muka yang keempat paragraph yang ketiga. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau-lah di-dalam negara kita ini betul² di-amalkan demokrasi dan di-benarkan semua orang itu menjalankan agama masing², saya amat-lah menguchap dukachita kepada Kerajaan yang telah menegah beberapa ayat Quran di-bacha di-dalam negara ini konon-nya ayat Quran itu menimbulkan atau boleh menimbulkan huru-hara di-dalam negara kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak berchakap di-atas tangkapan² yang di-lakukan ka-atas tokoh² PAS atau pun ulama² yang berkaitan dengan PAS. Dan saya memberi peluang kepada Kerajaan menimbangkan bahawa tentulah ada bokti² yang dapat di-tunjokkan oleh Kerajaan sama ada di-aku² oleh orang lain atau pun tidak, tetapi dengan jalan menentukan beberapa ayat tidak boleh di-bacha pada orang ramai; erti-nya sikap itu sudah berlawanan dengan kebebasan beragama dan tidak ada ma'ana kita mengadakan "ugama rasmi" ini apabila sa-bahagian daripada Quran itu di-tegah dan inilah yang Quran telah memberi tahu bahawa akan timbul satu pemerintah yang sa-paroh daripada Quran itu digunakan dan sa-paroh lagi di-buang seperti mana perman Tuhan (Bahasa Arab). Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, amat-lah menyedehkan dan saya harap Kerajaan akan mengkaji sa-mula ucapan² yang di-buat pada hari ini dengan tindakan yang telah mereka jalankan di-dalam negara kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, lagi satu perkara berkenaan dengan perpe-

chahan Singapura. Saya tidak-lah hendak mengaitkan ucapan Yang Berhormat Ahli daripada Tanjong atau pun saya rasa tidak munasabah saya hendak berchakap dari hal Singapura di-sini, tetapi oleh kerana Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita menyebut di-dalam paragraph yang kedua, muka 5, barisan yang kedua di-bawah—kata-nya: "perpechahan Singapura itu telah berlaku atau pun di-lakukan sa-chara berperlembagaan dan dengan aman dan damai." Jadi, ini Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa hairan bagaimanakah perpechahan boleh di-lakukan dengan berperlembagaan? Atau pun ada-kah di-waktu kita membuat Malaysia hari itu sudah ada satu clause yang tertentu bahawa apabila kita hendak berpechah, kita berpechah dengan dasar clause itu? Atau pun apa-kah ucapan Timbalan Perdana Menteri ini berlawanan pula dengan ucapan atau pun kata² yang telah di-terbitkan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita ia-itu kata-nya perpechahan Singapura itu ia-lah kerana "I am not strong enough" Jadi, erti-nya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila Kerajaan Perikatan atau pun Kerajaan kita ini merasa diri-nya "not strong enough" maka ada-lah clause di-dalam Perlembagaan itu yang boleh berpechah sa-chara berperlembagaan. Saya fikir pula saya takut dan saya bimbang kalau² apabila opposition PMIP ini kuat dan Kerajaan Pusat berasa pula "not strong enough" maka dia akan pechahkan kami dengan alasan ada clause² berperlembagaan. Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, amat-lah susah dan kami memandang berat di-atas pengakuan bahawa Singapura itu berpechah dengan sa-chara berperlembagaan. Pada hal kita tahu perpechahan Singapura itu ia-lah salah satu daripada sebab²-nya, sa-kurang²-nya dapat kita sebutkan di-sini ia-lah dia tidak mahu langsung memberi "contribution" yang patut di-beri kepada kita—40%-kah, 60%, saya lupa—tetapi itu-lah satu perkara yang besar-nya. Apa-kah apabila satu unit di-dalam negara kita ini tidak mahu menunaikan "contribution"-nya maka perpechahan itu dapat di-lakukan dan di-sebut sa-bagai berperlembagaan?

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, rengkas-nya lagi ia-lah berkenaan dengan muka 6 paragraph 4, barisan 5 ia-itu Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita menyebut: "The first steps have been taken in the process of reducing the dependence of the economy on rubber and tin. Agricultural production has begun to be diverted."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam menggambarkan kema'amoran atau menggambarkan sa-buah negara Malaysia yang ma'amor, salah satu daripada langkah² utama yang hendak di-buat ia-lah kita hendak mengurangkan gantungan ekonomi kita kepada getah dan bijeh dan untuk menampong hal ini kita kemukakan polisi² tanah ia-itu "diversification policy" untuk hendak menambah-lagi hasil² yang berchorak agriculture. Tetapi Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang dapat saya lihat di-dalam buku Rancangan Lima Tahun Yang Pertama Malaysia, ia-itu untuk maksud² "diversification policy" ini hanya-lah sa-ribu juta ringgit sahaja itu pun ia-lah dengan jalan loan—dengan jalan hutang. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua—sudah tentu-lah timbul satu perkara yang sa-kurang²-nya saya rasa tidak puas hati ia-itu bahagian ucapan ini termasuk di-dalam "public sector expenditure" ia-itu modal² yang akan di-modali oleh Kerajaan dalam pembangunan ini. Jadi biasa-nya kalau dalam public sector ini kita bergantung kepada sumbar² dalam negeri lebeh kuat daripada kita hendak meminjam daripada negara² yang lain—wang² daripada luar—daripada "foreign sources." Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nampak-nya pembangunan negara kita ini tidak begitu sangat di-ambil berat oleh pehak Kerajaan dengan jalan "public sector", tetapi dia akan meninggalkan kerja² pembangunan ini kepada permodalan sendiri atau private sector. Saya nampak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, negara kita ini akan menyerahkan nasib-nya kepada capitalist² yang merupakan entrepreneur di-dalam negara ini; sebab Kerajaan menyerahkan kemajuan yang sa-benar-nya itu kepada private sector di-dalam expenditure kita dan ini amat-lah merbahaya dan akhir-nya apabila private sector yang merupakan entrepreneur

kuat gulungan entrepreneur ini akan dapat membeli Kerajaan sendiri bukan sahaja membeli kekayaan² di-dalam negara ini, dan ini sudah berlaku di-dalam negara² lain dan sejarah ada membuktikan, chuba-lah Kerajaan dengan insaf membalekkan sejarah neschaya bukti²-nya akan nyata.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, untuk merengkas ucapan saya ini, saya suka-lah hendak mengemukakan sedikit berkenaan dengan tujuan Rancangan Malaysia Yang Pertama ia-itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dapat kita mengerti keseluruhan-nya, sebab saya tidak sempat hendak membaca buku ini dengan sa-penoh-nya kerana buku yang besar sa-bagini dan untuk lima tahun di-beri sama dengan buku budget expenditure kita, sa-patut-nya benda ini di-beri sa-bulan dahulu supaya dapat kita sama² memikirkan dan membuat "break down" yang sehat, tetapi saya mari terutama di-kawasan saya kena ayer bah dan saya balek saya dapat baca buku ini dalam tiga hari sahaja dan saya hendak buat "break down" pun saya tidak sempat hendak membuat dengan sa-benar oleh itu saya khususnya ucapan saya atau pun saya "confinekan" ucapan saya sa-mata² kepada bahagian "public sector" sahaja dan "private sector" itu saya serahkan-lah kepada taukeh² dan kawan² mereka itu yang ada di-dalam Kerajaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita tengok perbelanjaan kita di-dalam rancangan ini berjumlah \$10,500 million ia-itu bagi public sector sa-banyak \$4,550 million dan private sector ia-lah sa-banyak \$5,950 million. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang pelek-nya di-dalam hal ini bila kita buat "break down" kita dapati Defence sahaja ada \$600 million dan Education ada \$450 million. Jadi di-manakah chontoh-nya di-dalam dunia, sa-bagaimana yang di-katakan oleh Timbalan Perdana Menteri pagi tadi bahawa di-mana² developing country erti-nya negeri² yang sedang maju, mengadakan rancangan lima tahun, di-mana-kah sa-buah negara di-dalam membentok—di-dalam membuat satu design bagi plan yang sa-macam ini

melebhkan Defence daripada Education ini tidak pernah kedengaran, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, melainkan negara Malaysia kita sahaja, sebab di-mana² pun kalau kita hendak promote—hendak meninggikan “standard of living” bagi satu² masyarakat negara, bukan-lah dengan jalan membanyakkan wang untuk Defence dan Internal Security tetapi ia-lah dengan mem-banyakkan.

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussin (Lipis): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak-kah Yang Berhormat tahu keadaan negeri kita ini dalam konfrantasi, kita patut mempertahankan diri kita di-samping memajukan negeri kita sendiri.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sedang hendak menuju ka-situ tetapi yang kita berchakap ini ia-lah berkenaan dengan Economic Development. Jadi, oleh kerana Defence dan Internal Security ini bagi saya ia-lah “unproductive project” sebab itu saya comment di-atas ini, bukan saya tidak sedar, tidak munasabah—sa-bodoh² Ahli Parlimen pun tahu bahawa kita ini di-dalam keadaan konfrantasi oleh Indonesia tetapi dari segi “economic development” untuk pengetahuan Ahli Yang Berhormat itu bahawa Defence ini termasuk di-dalam unproductive project. Saya bimbang saudara saya itu tidak dapat membezakan antara “unproductive project” dengan “productive project” dalam public sector expenditure. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, . . .

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussin: Oleh sebab chara preamble—chara dia mengeluarkan itu menjadi satu bahan bagi mengelirukan, maka itu-lah yang saya tegor. Saya faham, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat ini chukup bijak sa-hingga misai-nya pun dia jarang chukor.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Saya hendak marah pun sudah lembut, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kemudian kita tengok pula ia-itu satu chara yang kita hendak meninggikan taraf hidup kita ia-lah kita membanyakkan pem-bangunan dari segi economic dan

social development, dan untuk ini kita ada hanya \$3,810 million dan apabila kita tolak bagi social services kita ada \$835 million dan kita tolak lagi pula education \$405 million dan sa-bagai-nya maka yang tinggal bagi economic services yang sa-benar-nya ia-lah sa-mata² \$2,775 million. Daripada \$2,775 million ini untuk agriculture; dan ini-lah yang di-katakan agriculture kita ini “has begun to be diverted” ini-lah daripada \$1,000,000,000 tadi. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau-lah dalam \$1,000,000,000 ini yang kita hutang—hendak membuat polisi² untuk tanaman kita atau agriculture, maka tinggal berapa-lah lagi yang sa-benar-nya daripada “economic services” dan bahagian² seperti yang di-katakan fishery, perhubungan, jalan² dan radio²; dan saya ingat perkara ini tidak langsung boleh di-buat dengan “balance” yang ada sedikit. Jadi tidak ada yang sa-benar-nya untuk orang² di-luar bandar sa-barang nikmat dengan chara kalau kita mengadakan “break down” di-dalam public sector expenditure ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, jadi gambaran yang sa-benar-nya kita mengaku dan Timbalan Perdana Menteri sendiri mengaku bahawa negeri kita ini ia-lah negeri “undeveloped” atau pun “developing country” negeri yang baharu sedang maju. Kita tahu bahawa sa-sabua negara yang di-dalam keadaan maju kapada pembangunan ada beberapa sifat yang utama yang kita tidak boleh lupakan. Ia-itu yang pertama-nya, penduduk² negara itu bergantung kapada agriculture atau pun “climatic product” lebeh banyak daripada bergantung kapada sumber² yang lain. Yang kedua, bertambah-nya penduduk² daripada satu masa kasatu masa dan “per capita income”-nya terlalu rendah. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sama ada kita dapat per-chaya atau pun tidak kapada plan ini dapat-lah kita bandingkan dengan “economic problem” di-dalam muka surat yang pertama, economic problem dengan objective of the First Malaysia Plan.

Jadi kalau kita bandingkan masa-lah² economic dengan tujuan² daripada

plan ini kemudian kita tengok apa yang Kerajaan hendak buat "the long term prospect", muka 14, kita dapati, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masalah² atau problem itu sangat banyak, tetapi tujuan² objective plan ini terlalu general, terlalu luas merupakan kata² imaginative sa-mata². Ini di-buktikan oleh "long term prospect"-nya sebab dalam long term prospect ini ada enam perkara yang kita hendak buat; ia-itu yang pertama meninggikan *per capita* income; yang kedua, full employment; yang ketiga income distribution; yang keempat social and community services; yang kelima economic infra-structure dan yang keenam population and family planning.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau masalah² itu bagitu dudok-nya dan tujuan daripada plan ini pula bagitu dudok-nya sa-bagai mana dalam muka 2, dan kerja² yang hendak di-buat itu ia-lah seperti mana muka yang 14 ini, maka peruntokan bagi "public sector" itu langsung² tidak sound, tidak matang. Sebab itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita dapati tidak ada, bagi saya tidak ada harapan kalau saya hendak ulaskan prospect yang pertama ia-itu "*per capita* income". Kita harapkan pada tahun 1985 sa-kurang²-nya kita akan dapat \$1,500 bagi sa-orang. Tetapi masalah yang besar-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bukan masalah hendak meninggikan *per capita* income—itu boleh berlaku di-dalam negeri capitalistic yang tebal. Tetapi masalah-nya yang akan berlaku yang di-hadapi oleh Kerajaan ia-lah "uneven distribution" ia-itu pembahagian *per capita* income kepada tiap² sa-orang itu tidak betul. Dan ini di-akuai oleh pehak Kerajaan, tetapi ini tidak pula tersebut di-dalam prospect yang hendak di-buat-nya. Yang ada-nya ia-lah hendak meninggikan lagi *per capita* income, tetapi langkah² untuk hendak membetulkan distribution tidak-lah tegas dan tidak menjaminkan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kemudian baharu² ini saya dapati dalam sa-buah surat khabar, Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita mengatakan pula "*per capita* income \$300 pada sa-bulan dekat² dengan reality". Jadi yang \$300 *per capita* income itu dekat² dengan real-

ity. Tambah-lah \$972, lagi jauh pula daripada reality-nya. Jadi ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kepada gambaran-nya amat mengelirukan ra'ayat lebeh banyak daripada apa yang di-takutkan oleh sahabat saya tadi dalam ucapan saya yang di-katakan hendak mengelirukan orang, pada hal negara dan Kerajaan-nya sendiri tidak rasa bahawa ucapan yang sa-macam Timbalan Perdana Menteri ini dapat mengelirukan ra'ayat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang kedua ia-lah berkenaan dengan memberi kerja atau pun hendak menchegeh penganggoran atau pun hendak memberi full employment. Saya tidak dapat satu apa pun jaminan atau pun security kepada pehak kaum buroh. Apa yang ada ia-lah beberapa peratoran yang di-buat untuk mengatasi satu² masalah yang berlaku pada masa itu. Tetapi-nya bukan hendak "prevent" bukan hendak "cure" satu² perkara yang berlaku itu. Yang kita mahu ia-lah "to prevent unemployment", bukan "to cure". Jadi ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah satu langkah untuk melepaskan batok di-tangga sa-mata², tidak merupakan satu programme yang sa-benar. Jadi dalam perkara ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak dapat perkara² yang saya kehendaki dan saya harap-lah Menteri Buroh supaya dapat menjawab dalam perkara ini. Ia-itu full employment ini tidak akan berlaku walau pun pada tahun 1985 sa-kali pun, kalau Kerajaan tidak dapat membuat satu jabatan apa yang di-namakan pertukaran buroh ia-itu employment exchanges. Ada sekarang ini pejabat pendaftaran buroh², tetapi dia tidak merupakan exchange yang sa-benar, dia merupakan mendaftarkan beberapa orang penganggor yang tidak ada kerja. Tetapi jenis² atau pun skilled dan tidak skilled-nya buroh² itu tidak mempunyai daftar yang terator dan tidak dapat di-tukar daripada satu majikan kepada satu majikan. Dan tidak pernah berlaku majikan ini meminta kepada majikan itu buroh² yang tidak ada kerja; tidak pernah berlaku—saya tidak pernah dengar. Kemudian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagaimana-lah Kerajaan hendak menjamin yang Kerajaan boleh memberi

full employment kepada ra'ayat kita yang condition atau pun peluang² bekerja itu tidak di-jadikan, tidak di-adakan, tidak di-creatkan. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menjaminkan kerja² berpuluh² ribu jenis kerja yang belum ada lagi; ini akan menyebabkan ra'ayat lebeh kechewa apabila kita tidak dapat memberi kerja² yang sa-macham itu.

Tidak ada, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam hendak menjalankan full employment ini tidak ada jaminan² atau pun security yang berlaku di-kalangan buroh. Mithal-nya, yang saya dapat tahu dalam negara kita ini ada lima jenis unemployment, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang amat merbahaya. Yang pertama ia-lah unemployment jenis "casual" ia-itu yang berlaku daripada satu masa ka-satu masa oleh keadaan². Yang kedua unemployment yang berchorak seasonal—musim²—daripada musim menanam padi sampai musim menanam padi kali yang lain pula. Buroh² kita itu menunggu peluang, tidak ada peluang hendak bekerja. Dan mereka itu terpaksa kena tunggu musim yang lain dan ini tidak pernah di-buat jaminan oleh Menteri Buroh kita. Yang ada ia-lah untuk hendak menjaga factory² yang kecil² di-dalam bandar ini—itu yang ada. Tetapi jaminan yang sa-macham saya mahu ini tidak ada. Kemudian daripada itu pula "Technological unemployment"—banyak-lah orang² yang mempunyai pengalaman technology tidak tahu ka-mana hendak pergi. Dan ini juga menyebabkan satu² unemployment yang boleh di-ubati tetapi oleh kerana tidak ada undang² atau tidak ada peratoran, maka mereka itu terbiar begitu sahaja. Dan lagi satu ia-lah "fractional unemployment" ia-itu berhenti kerja di-satu tempat tidak tahu hendak chari kerja di-tempat yang lain. Pada hal di-tempat lain itu ada peluang, chuma oleh kerana tiada ada peratoran² ini maka buroh² kita akan menjadi mangsa. Sa-lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, security² atau pun jaminan² yang saya sebut tadi atau pun yang saya tidak sebut, tetapi ada, tidak di-jalankan saya perchaya mengubati employment ini tidak akan berlaku dalam negara kita. Dan apa yang bertulis di-dalam

buku ini hanya-lah tulisan² da'awat di-atas persada sa-mata².

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila kita datang kepada income distribution sa-bagaimana yang telah saya katakan tadi, kalau kita hendak jadikan benda ini realistic, terpaksa-lah kita merapatkan kedua² hujong-nya. Ia-itu hujong yang paling rendah sa-kali minimum-nya dengan hujong yang paling tinggi sa-kali maximum-nya. Maximum kita apabila kita buat average kita dapati \$970 atau pun yang kita harap ia-lah \$1,400 atau pun \$1,500—itu average-nya tetapi maximum-nya kita tidak tahu, minimum-nya kita tidak tahu.

Dan saya percahya Menteri² yang ada di-dalam Rumah yang mulia ini pada hari ini mengaku bahawa minimum pada average-nya kita boleh dapati kurang daripada \$50 sa-bulan bagi satu keluarga. Jadi ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagaimana-lah kita hendak distribute dengan 'adil-nya kalau sa-mata² kita mengaku kepada ketinggian *per capita* income, pada hal pembahagian yang sa-benar-nya tidak di-usahakan dengan chara yang berkesan. Saya mengaku Kerajaan akan berusaha, tetapi jaminan Kerajaan itu tidak dapat di-pegang melainkan kalau ada "ways and means" yang sa-benar-nya yang boleh membawa kepada berlaku-nya distribution yang sa-macham itu. Jika tidak, janji² ini juga tidak akan berlaku, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Ra'ayat akan menangis apabila mendengar bahawa negara kita ini boleh menjamin, pada tahun 1967, sa-kurang²-nya \$1,400 sa-bulan, sedangkan pada tahun 1967 mereka itu akan dapat \$50, \$60 sa-bulan; mereka akan menangis; mereka akan tudoh bahawa kekayaan akan di-bolot oleh Kerajaan atau pun oleh satu² sector yang tertentu. Ini amat-lah merbahaya. Dan jika sa-kira-nya "silent revolution" berlaku di-dalam pembangunan, sa-bagaimana yang di-katakan oleh Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita tadi, saya perchaya benda itu baik; maka saya takut ada pula "counter-silent revolution" berlaku, terhadap kemajuan ekonomi kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkenaan dengan social community services, perbelanjaan yang di-bawa di-dalam ini

ia-lah berkenaan dengan kita katakan health, perubatan, bagitu bagini. Saya mengaku-lah bagaimana Yang Berhormat Menteri Kesihatan kita selalu berkata, bahawa benda ini, oleh kerana orang² ini orang teknik dan orang yang akedemik yang sa-benar-nya maka tidak dapat-lah kita menchari dengan serta-merta sa-bagaimana kita menchari buroh kasar. Saya mengaku hal itu. Tetapi, sa-bagai chontoh, di-kawasan saya 56,000 orang penduduk, tidak ada sa-orang pun doktor. Dan hospital assistant-nya sa-orang sahaja. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua ini saya tidak-lah hendak menekan Menteri kita tetapi saya minta dia ingat dalam perkara ini. Sebab, kalau benda ini tidak di-ingat, maka doktor² palsu (quack doctor) akan maju. Dan penguabatan yang di-beri oleh Doktor² Pa' Belalang ini amat merbahaya. Tetapi dari segi ekonomik service-nya, itu di-kira ekonomik juga—di-kira productive juga. Sebab service Doktor Pa' Belalang ini di-hajati dan di-bayar, merupakan scarcity kapada ra'ayat. Jadi, khidmat yang tidak baik itu terpaksa kita akui dalam negara kita ini, sa-bagai satu hajat yang perlu di-bayar dalam segi ekonomi. Jadi, erti-nya, terpaksa Menteri kita itu mengaku Doktor² Pa' Belalang itu mengambil satu role atau pun peranan yang penting dalam Kementerian Kesihatan.

Enche' Ahmad bin Arshad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masalah Doktor Pa' Belalang ini, sa-tahu saya tidak ada Doktor Pa' Belalang dalam negeri ini. Chuma nujum Pa' Belalang sahaja yang ada.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Doktor Pa' Belalang itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang saya maksudkan ia-lah doktor² yang tidak bertauliah. Erti-nya, dia tahu sedikit², kemudian dia berlagak sa-bagai doktor yang bertauliah. Bagitu juga nujum kita yang di-katakan Pa' Belalang itu, sebab dia lompat lebeh kuat daripada dia dudok sebab itu di-katakan Pa' Belalang. Dan Nujum² Pa' Belalang ini pandailah meneka berkenaan dengan hantu² toyol. Ka-semua ini merosakkan mashaarakat kita dari segi ekonomi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila kita datang kapada Ekonomik infra-structure, saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam buku ini bila sampai sahaja ekonomik infra-structure, di-gambarkan satu kemajuan akan berlaku, ia itu dari segi transport, communication, bagitu, bagini. Tetapi di-tujukan kapada 20 tahun kemudian. Yang untuk lima tahun—First Five-Year Plan ini, yang lima tahun yang pertama ini tidak di-gambarkan. Jadi, tidak dapat-lah kita hendak merasa ni'mat kemajuan itu, kerana ni'mat kemajuan sa-sabuah negara itu bergantung kapada banyak-nya belanja di-dalam Public Sector Expenditure untuk Treasury—untuk Infra-structure. Jadi, saya tidak tahu berapa puluh million yang hendak di-gunakan dan untuk next 20 years itu. Untuk lima tahun yang pertama ini, apa yang hendak di-buat, saya tidak tahu lagi. Yang saya tahu ia-lah Kerajaan kita boleh-lah memberi jalan sedikit sa-banyak, electricity ka-kampong². Tetapi dengan melupakan pendapatan harian orang di-kampong yang mana apabila dia dapat kemudahan² ini, dia terpaksa membayar di-atas ni'mat itu, sedangkan income dia sa-macham lama juga. Niat Kerajaan hendak menolong orang itu supaya senang. Dan oleh kerana di-beri kapada orang itu dengan harga yang murah, pada hal orang itu tidak ada wang, maka pemberian itu akan memberatkan-nya lagi. Dari segi ekonomi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masalah barang murah atau pun mahal, bukanlah tentang harga-nya; tetapi ia-lah tentang hajat orang itu "relative" bukan-lah harga barang itu sendiri. Kalau bagi kita yang tidak tahu main guitar, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, guitar yang \$100 itu, \$20 saya tidak beli. Saya hendak tanggung terok sahaja, hendak buat apa? Kerja yang sa-macham itu membunuh ra'ayat. Betul-lah bagi orang yang tahu harga, guitar itu mahal. Bagitu juga kalau jual kasut² Barret murah kapada ra'ayat di-kampong. Yang kita beli \$25 kita jual kapada dia \$8. Apa dia hendak buat dengan kasut itu? Dari segi pasar, betul-lah "price at market", ini chukup murah, kita kata boleh gunakan benda ini. Sebab dia itu sudah murah—\$25 turun \$8. Tetapi, what does it mean

to the kampong people? Apa guna-nya dalam perkara itu? Jadi, ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya harap berchermat-lah Kerajaan kita didalam menjalankan infrastructure ini, supaya niat baik-nya itu tidak terkandas.

Saya tidak mengatakan Kerajaan kita ini melupakan ra'ayat. Tetapi saya kata masaalah niat ini tidak berlaku, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, melainkan dengan action. Saya boleh mengaku dihadapan Tuan pada hari ini saya hendak membunuh Menteri Transport kita. Tetapi tidak ada action yang saya lakukan. Maka tidak boleh buat—manusia tidak pernah di-hukum kerana niat-nya sa-mata², Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Kalau bagitu, saya niat hendak menjatuhkan orang ini semua, tiap² hari saya kena hukum. Jadi, Kerajaan kita sekarang ini menggambarkan hasrat-nya—hasrat kami, niat kami, “if”—kalau kita punya ini dapat, kalau sini dapat jadi bagini, kalau kita dapat bagini jadi bagini. Ke-semua-nya didasarkan di-atas presumption sa-mata²—di-atas kalau! Orang Arab berkata, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masaalah “kalau” ini: (Bahasa Arab). Kata-nya: Tanam pokok—“jikalau”. Kemudian tanaman itu hendak-lah di-satu lembah, moga”. Kemudian di-siram pula dengan ayer, “mudahan²”. Akhir-nya tidak ada apa yang timbul, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Jadi, ini-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan kita hendak membuat, yang saya nampak. Yang saya tidak nampak itu memang ternampak oleh Kerajaan.

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussin: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ayat yang di-bacha oleh Yang Berhormat itu, betul atau tidak? (*Ketawa*).

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ayat ini ada dua. Satu, ayat Quran. Yang saya sebutkan ini pepatah bahasa Arab. Dan kalau saya hendak kata betul tidak betul pun, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tidak ada nuracha hendak menghukum-nya (*Ketawa*).

Enche' Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussin: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada satu ketika Yang Berhormat ini mem-

buat satu ayat dalam Dewan ini. Kebetulan-nya dia tertinggal satu ayat di-tengah² antara ayat yang banyak itu. Jadi, penterjemah kita terpaksa berjumpa Ahli Yang Berhormat. Ada-kah betul ayat yang tuan baca ini? Bila saya bandingkan dengan Al-Quran yang jadi perbandingan ini, satu daripada patah itu tertinggal. Kemudian-nya Yang Berhormat ini telah betul-kan sa-mula. Ini-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bertanya ada-kah benda itu betul pada hemat Tuan?

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-itu saya mengaku ada satu silap pada hari itu dan sebab itu saya minta kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua hari itu mengadakan kerani bahasa Arab. Perkara itu saya mengaku, tetapi ayat ini betul, Yang Berhormat itu tidak usah-lah bimbang dalam perkara ini. Yang betul saya mengaku, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Sekarang saya pergi kepada yang ke-enam ia-itu “Population and Family Planning”. Family planning ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak berchakap dari segi hukum-nya tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, amat-lah silap bagi manusia berfikir bahawa oleh kerana dia tidak dapat meninggikan “*per capita income*” bagi masharakat-nya maka dia hendak membunuh manusia yang belum ada lagi. Jadi kejam-nya manusia dalam dunia ia-lah membunuh orang yang bergaduh dengan dia yang lebeh kejam-nya ia-lah membunuh manusia yang tidak bergaduh dengan dia, yang lebeh kejam lagi ia-lah dia membunuh budak² kechil, tetapi kekejaman yang akan dibuat oleh Kerajaan Perikatan ini membunuh manusia yang belum ada lagi. Jadi ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu kekejaman yang tidak pernah berlaku dalam dunia. Kalau dengan alasan sa-mata² takut tidak berjaya hendak meninggikan “*per capita income*” kepada \$1,500 dan Tuhan pun ada berkata dalam Quran: (Bahasa Arab) “Kamu jangan membunuh anak² kamu atau bakal² anak kamu itu kerana sa-mata² takut kepapaan ‘*per capita income*’ tidak sampai”. Tuhan berkata (Bahasa Arab) “Kami memberi rezeki kepada kamu dan kepada mereka itu,

ia-itu memberi rezeki dengan jalan membanyakkan 'diversification policy' dalam agriculture dan bukan dengan mengurangkan anak." Jadi tidak ada langsung, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, unsur² keimanan dan ketuhanan.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health (Enche' Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam masalah Family Planning atau Peranchang Keluarga, saya telah beritahu pada tempoh hari bukan untuk menjarangkan anak—kita tidak mahu anak, orang yang mandol hendak membanyakkan anak pun boleh, orang yang mandol tidak ada anak—macam saya telah bagi keterangan tempoh hari, bukan untuk menjarangkan anak samata², tetapi mengadakan anak sama.

Enche' Abu Bakar bin Hamzah: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, untuk membanyakkan anak tidak buat planning pun saya rasa boleh (*Ketawa*). Tetapi sa-jauh mana yang kita kena-mengena dengan "*per capita income*"—as far as we are concerned with the "*per capita income*" erti-nya kita hendak mengurangkan bilangan population kalau sa-kira-nya kita hendak membiarkan population itu banyak tentulah kita tidak takut dan tidak was² target *per capita income* itu tidak boleh datang. Jadi jawapan itu dari segi health dan hygiene yang dia mngaji tetapi yang kita berchakap ini dari segi "economic development" dan bagaimana pun maksud pun yang kita hendak mengadakan "family planning" ini ia-lah kerana kita takut *per capita income* itu tidak sampai atau pun sakurang²-nya pemberian kita kapada ra'ayat akan kurang dengan pertumbuhan yang lebeh banyak itu. Jadi Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau-lah kita hendak menjalankan juga "family planning" ini saya rasa akan menjadi perkara yang lain daripada yang kita berhajat. Ia-itu masalah "family planning" ini pada pendapat saya akan maju di-kalangan bandar, tidak maju di-dalam kampong² kerana orang kampong jika hendak mencheritakan dia tidak dapat anak atau pun dia banyak anak, orang kampong malu tetapi dalam pekan orang boleh cherita benda² itu semua dia rasa perkara biasa sahaja dalam perkara itu.

Jadi maju-nya "planning" ini ia-lah di-kalangan penduduk² dalam bandar, penduduk² dalam bandar "*per capita income*-nya" tinggi. Jadi orang² yang tinggi "*per capita income*-nya" dapat menyusun keluarga dengan terator. Maka keadaan mereka samakan senang lagi. Orang kampong tidak akan menerima "planning" ini dengan mudah kalau orang bandar menerima dalam satu tahun, dia mesti empat tahun erti-nya perbeadaan di-antara "*per capita income*" di-dalam bandar dengan di-luar bandar itu maseh berjalan terus kalau di-kampong itu menerima maka yang di-sini makin tersusun lagi. Jadi macham kita lawan lari 5 batu, di-sana jadi 105 batu. Sampai bila pun tidak boleh kita hendak sampai bersama dengan dia sebab kedudukan watak hendak menerima "family planning" itu tidak sama di-antara orang² kampong dengan orang² bandar.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, untuk mengakhiri ucapan saya ini saya mintalah pehak Kerajaan supaya menerangkan bahawa apa-kah langkah² yang belum bertulis di-dalam buku ini yang akan di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan untuk mengubahkan chorak negara kita sa-bagai negara "undeveloped" kapada negara yang "developed". Negara yang tidak maju kita tahu bergantung kapada agriculture 50% income-nya kemudian kapada industry, perusahaan pula sa-tinggi²-nya kita bergantung 25%; dan dari segi kemudahan² yang lain—utilities—atau pun infra-structure atau pun fishery yang kita bergantung 15% sa-mata²; ini yang berlaku dalam negara kita. Kalau bagitu kita hendak ubahkan negara kita ini kapada "developed" yang mesti-nya, kalau mengikut saya, ia-lah pada agriculture kita hendak bergantung tidak lebeh daripada 35% dan kapada industry 30% dan kemudahan 35%. Mengikut plan yang ada sekarang ini tidak sampai kapada target itu terutama kerana kita memberi peruntukan industry yang tidak di-jalankan oleh "public sector" tetapi kita tinggalkan-nya kapada private sector. Jadi permodalan sendiri itu tidak dapat menjamin kerana dia akan terpengaruh dengan hubungan² luar

negeri lebeh banyak daripada ter-pengaruh dengan keadaan² di-dalam negeri. Oleh itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya amat-lah dukachita dengan plan yang di-buat sa-macam ini yang "preamble-nya" atau pun pendahuluan-nya terlalu-lah memberi harapan optimistik tetapi apabila kita bacha isi-nya, bukan sahaja saya tetapi Menteri² kita pun sayu muka-nya, merasa pesimiotik belaka di-atas perkara² yang hendak di-jalankan kelak.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini membayangkan dengan sendiri-nya bahawa plan yang sa-macam ini belum dapat di-terima oleh ra'ayat dan oleh Rumah ini kechuali-lah kalau Kerajaan boleh menunjokkan perkara yang belum di-sebutkan di-dalam buku ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak pergi sedikit lagi berkenaan dengan "Education". Saya tidak malu², Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menyatakan saya "condemn" plan ini kerana peruntokan bagi "Education" tersadikit daripada peruntokan yang di-buat kepada "Defence". Kita tahu "defence" yang ada kena-mengena dari segi ekonomi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak berchakap dari segi politik dan dari segi konfrantasi. Saya hendak membahathkan segi "ekonomik development", saya minta-lah Ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada pehak sana jangan mengatakannya saya lupa kepada confrontation ia-itu Tuan Yang di-Pertua, betul "public sector" ini termasuk-lah di-dalam bahagian² yang akan dibelanjakan oleh Kerajaan yang akhirnya akan merupakan perbelanjaan hangus. Tetapi "education" tidak sama dengan "defence" walau pun dibelanja oleh Kerajaan sebab "defence" ini merupakan betul² "unproductive project" sedang "education" walau kita membelanjakan dan, orang² itu bertambah pandai dan dia dapat memberi "services" kepada negara kita, maka dari segi ekonomi walau pun dia tidak memberi wang kepada kita membayar balek peluang² yang dia mengaji itu, tetapi dengan perkhidmatan yang di-beri maka itu juga satu keuntongan ekonomi kepada negeri kita. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mengadakan satu peruntokan di-bawah economic

dan social development, membesarkan satu project yang "unproductive" berbanding dengan project yang "productive" maka itu tentu-lah tidak lojik—tidak lojik sebab tidak akan datang keuntongan economic itu. Jadi, di-mana-kah dudok-nya "soundness" atau pun kematangan plan ini?

Dan ini ada-lah satu perkara yang saya perchaya Ahli² daripada pehak sana sendiri pun akan termenong panjang dan memikir di-atas hakikat yang berlaku yang sa-macam ini. Kemudian daripada itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, "education" yang kita hendak beri ini dapat-lah kita katakan sekarang ini mempunyai satu polisi baharu atau pun sistem baharu—comprehensive—Sekolah Anika Jurusan yang kita harap orang² ini apabila keluar besok dapat di-beri kerja kerana mereka itu mempunyai kelayakan² atau pun bakat kelayakan.

Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam kita menyediakan peluang ini kita maseh lagi tidak berani mengemukakan "heavy industries". Pada hal tiap² tahun, mula² tahun hadapan kalau tidak salah saya, budak² yang akan terbit daripada sekolah tidak kurang daripada 100,000 pada tiap² tahun. Jadi di-mana-kah budak² ini hendak pergi—di-mana budak² ini hendak dapat opportunity atau pun peluang employment—di-mana? Tidak ada jalan melainkan kalau kita membuat heavy industries, Tetapi tidak ada heavy industries di-sini malah saya ada satu buku, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pagi tadi saya tengok ia itu, *Studies in the Rural Economy of South East Asia*, kata-nya dalam muka 4 kita ada industry tetapi ini bukan daripada negara kita sendiri ia-itu ia-lah dari negara² luar yang memberi pengaruh, kata-nya, "In fact towns as centres of commerce and industry are almost entirely exogenous in the rank and have been grown up in response mainly to foreign influence"—ini berkenaan dengan Tanah Melayu dan di-karang oleh E.K. Fisk yang keluar di-London, dan saya perchaya sa-suatu yang lulus dari London itu merupakan wahi kepada Kerajaan Perikatan—dan dia tidak dapat menolak wahi-nya, kalau dia

menolak berarti dia kufur dengan tempat wahi-nya (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh itu saya bimbang sangat, perkembangan population kita, terutama budak² sekolah yang hendak keluar 100,000 pada tiap² tahun dengan tidak kita menyediakan peluang² melalui heavy industry, maka budak² ini akan menjadi penganggor² dan apabila menjadi panganggor² akan bertambah-lah lagi susah-nya Parlimen ini hendak bertanggung jawab di-atas penganggoran itu dan ke-susahan itu bukan sahaja di-tanggung oleh Kerajaan tetapi juga di-tanggung oleh pehak yang sa-belah sini ia-itu Opposition. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada satu jalan yang saya hendak shorkan kepada Kerajaan kita untuk mengatasi perkara ini dan ahli daripada Kulim-kah, Baling-kah tadi saya sudah lupa, menyuarakan supaya Kerajaan ini menjalankan beberapa peratoran untuk mengambil buroh², kata-nya patut-lah kilang² atau pun gedong² itu mengambil buroh² daripada bumiputera.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara ini saya tidak hairan sebab PAS sudah membawa usul dalam Dewan ini, tetapi bila kita berchakap berkenaan dengan national project tidak-lah kita timbulkan perkara² kecil atau pun sector² yang kecil, kaum² yang kecil; apa yang kita timbulkan ia-lah problem the very problem itu sendiri, masalah itu sendiri, bukan orang yang sa-bahagian kecil yang terlibat dalam masalah itu, tetapi masalah itu sendiri yang kita timbulkan. Kalau begitu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila usaha² diversification policy ini kurang di-dalam agriculture dan tidak ada pula heavy industry, maka mesti-lah kita menchari jalan lain dan jalan lain inilah saya mengshorkan bahawa kita mengadakan satu langkah—regimentation—ia-itu membuat regiment betul bagi membuka tanah² sesuai dengan apa yang perhah saya sebutkan mengadakan Development Brigade begitu dan bagini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, boleh jadi saya di-tudoh bahawa saya menarek Kerajaan atau pun memaksa Kerajaan atau pun hendak memborak kepada Kerajaan supaya Negara kita ini memakai Planned Economy tidak mahu lagi

memakai Free Economy atau pun kita hendak pakai Guided Economy supaya kita hendak mengarahkan segala enterpreneur dan segala majikan² kita membuat sa-bagaimana yang kita kehendaki dan supaya kita hendak nationalisekan harta² orang² itu dan segala projek pembangunan mesti-lah merupakan hak Kerajaan.

Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada ubat kepada negara yang developing atau pun yang undeveloped yang sa-macham ini melainkan Kerajaan berani lagi membelanjakan di-dalam public sector-nya lebeh banyak dan saya—kalau saya hendak di-tudoh terlampau extremist atau pun terlampau sangat hendak menyerahkan kuasa kepada Kerajaan—saya menerima tuduhan itu dan saya menyeru Kerajaan, di-dalam development Estimate kalau yang sudah berchetak maka tidak sempat di-ubah barangkali tahun hadapan saya minta Kerajaan menunjukkan bahawa public sector yang akan di belanjakan oleh Kerajaan itu lebeh banyak lagi daripada private sector kalau sa-kira-nya masalah² ini tidak dapat di-jalankan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tahu bahawa Kerajaan hendak melarikan diri daripada tanggung jawab ia-itu hendak menyerahkan kemajuan ekonomi dan kemajuan negara kita ini dari segi pembangunan-nya kepada private sector, tetapi kita tahu di-dalam negeri kita ini faham kapitalistik terlalu tebal dan kalau kita serahkan kepada private sector saya rasa perjalanan negara kita ini yang sa-benar-nya ialah oleh golongan² enterpreneur itu, bukan oleh pelan yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan kita. Sebab itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya amat-lah dukachita dengan peruntokan² yang di-beri di-bawah public sector terutama apabila kita bahagikan kepada ekonomi dan social development, kita bandingkan pula dengan defence-nya dan kita bandingkan dengan Internal Security-nya dan baki yang kecil bagi Economic Services dan bagi Agriculture itu amat-lah menipiskan harapan kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masalah defence, boleh jadi orang bertanya kalau tidak mahu melipat gandakan

pertahanan kita apa-kah bagi pehak ahli yang berchakap itu dapat menjamin bahawa confrontation atau pun konfrantasi di-Indonesia itu tidak membimbangkan kita? Saya tentu-lah menjawab "no!" sebab saya tahu negara kita ini kecil dan confrontation itu nampak-nya sa-makin hari sa-makin kuat dan bermacham² perchubaaan untok menghanchorkan negara kita ini. Perundingan² yang di-dalam-nya terselit puncha² hendak memecah belahkan kita sudah terbayang tetapi alhamdullilah-lah Kerajaan kita ia-itu yang di-pimpin oleh ketua² ini sedar bahawa chara berunding dengan perasingan itu menjadi bebet perpechahan tetapi silap-nya dalam perkara ini perpechahan dengan Singapura itu kerana menurut perlembagaan—di-lakukan sa-chara perlembagaan, sa-waktu² yang lain Perdana Menteri mengatakan "I am not strong enough." Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, seteru kita mengambil kesempatan bahawa boleh di-lakukan perpechahan ini kalau tidak Kerajaan itu "not strong enough" boleh di-lakukan dengan berperlembagaan sebab itu-lah orang itu berkehendakan kita berunding berasing supaya saloran memecahkan Malaysia ini dapat di-lakukan dengan aman dan damai. Saya menerima kaseh kapada Kerajaan di-atas chepat-nya sedar orang² ini terhadap tipu helah yang akan di-lakukan oleh seteru² kita.

Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kesadaran ini sudah lewat ia-itu sa-telah kita mengorbankan beratus² juta ringgit, sa-telah kita mengorbankan tenaga kita, jiwa kita, baharu-lah kita sedar dan dengan demikian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita hendak melawan senjata dengan senjata sebab itu-lah kita mengadakan peruntokan sa-hingga defence sahaja ada \$600,000,000 dan Internal Security sa-banyak \$140,000,000. Defence, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, boleh kita bertolak ansor, tetapi yang memalukan kita ia-lah Internal Security yang sampai bagitu banyak million, ini menunjukkan bahawa Kerajaan kita ini sedar yang di-dalam negeri kita ini tidak ada keselamatan sedang di-katakan Malaysia ini satu

negeri yang prosperous, aman, ma'amor, damai. Damai macham mana, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau defence-nya lebeh besar daripada perbelanjaan Education dan Internal Security-nya melarat sampai kapada beratus² million yang belum pernah berlaku dalam sejarah negara kita ini.

Jadi ini-kah keamanan, ini-kah ketenteraman? Membanyakkan perbelanjaan untok Internal Security dan Defence menunjokkan negara kita ini aman dan damai "Buaya yang dudok menyelam di-dalam sungai pun turut ketawa" jangankan manusia yang tengok dia di-atas darat dalam perkara ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mengulangkan lagi ia-itu berkenaan dengan defence ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita boleh menjalankan dengan chara politik dan saya perchaya ketua² kita ini tidak-lah bodoh sangat kalau dia berunding dengan orang lain kita sudah tengok mereka itu telah pergi berunding dan balek, kalau dia tidak menang pun dia tidak terikat, erti-nya kalau kita lepaskan ayam dia tidak menang pun dia dapat menyelamatkan diri daripada mati, pun kita kira sudah pandai bagi negeri kita ini, jadi kebanyakan pemimpin² kita pergi keluar negeri membicharakan masaalah konfrantasi, kalau dia tidak menang pun dia tidak terjerat; itu pun kita sudah bershukor dalam perkara itu.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya katakan kita boleh selesaikan masaalah politik, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Indonesia sendiri sekarang ini mengaku bahawa konfrantasi-nya sudah berlain daripada dahulu, terhadap Malaysia ini kerana pechah-nya Singapura, erti-nya—agak-nya kalau Malaysia kita ini pechah maka konfrantasi-nya, itu boleh selesai atau pun dia suka bagi kita selesai supaya mudah dia hendak menelan. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau bagaimana pun erti-nya pintu perundingan itu maseh ada.

Mr Speaker: Meshuarat ini ditanggohkan hingga pukul 10.00 pagi besok.

House adjourned at 8.02 p.m.