



PERBAHATHAN PARLIMEN DEWAN RA'AYAT YANG KEDUA

PENGGAL KELIMA

PENYATA RASMI

KANDONGAN-NYA

PEMASHHORAN² OLEH TUAN YANG DI-PERTUA:

Perutusan daripada Dewan Negara [Ruangan 2365]

Memperkenankan Rang Undang² [Ruangan 2367]

**Kematian Yang Berhormat Tuan Haji Abdullah bin Haji
Mohd. Salleh (Ahli Bagi Segamat Utara) [Ruangan
2368]**

**RANG UNDANG² DI-BAWA KA-DALAM MESHUA-
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USUL:

**Philippines' Claim to Sabah—Declaration of Philippines
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MALAYSIA

DEWAN RA'AYAT YANG KEDUA

PENGGAL YANG KELIMA

Penyata Rasmi

Hari Selasa, 15hb Oktober, 1968

Persidangan bermula pada pukul 10 pagi

YANG HADHIR:

- Yang Berhormat Tuan Yang di-Pertua, DATO' CHIK MOHAMED YUSUF BIN SHEIKH ABDUL RAHMAN, S.P.M.P., J.P., Dato' Bendahara, Perak.
- „ Perdana Menteri dan Menteri Hal Ehwal Luar Negeri, Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M. (Kuala Kedah).
- „ Timbalan Perdana Menteri, Menteri Pertahanan, Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri dan Menteri Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar, Y.A.B. TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSAIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ Menteri Kewangan, Y.A.B. TUN TAN SIEW SIN, S.S.M., J.P. (Melaka Tengah).
- „ Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Talikom, Y.A.B. TUN V. T. SAMBANTHAN, S.S.M., P.M.N. (Sungai Siput).
- „ Menteri Pengangkutan, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ Menteri Ke'adilan, TUAN BAHAMAN BIN SAMSUDIN (Kuala Pilah).
- „ Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI DR LIM SWEE AUN, P.M.N., J.P. (Larut Selatan).
- „ Menteri Hal Ehwal Sarawak, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI TEMENGGONG JUGAH ANAK BARIENG, P.M.N., P.D.K. (Sarawak).
- „ Menteri Buroh, TUAN V. MANICKAVASAGAM, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Kelang).
- „ Menteri Penerangan dan Penyiaran dan Menteri Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan, TUAN SENU BIN ABDUL RAHMAN (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ Menteri Pertanian dan Sharikat Kerjasama, TUAN HAJI MOHAMED GHAZALI BIN HAJI JAWI (Ulu Perak).
- „ Menteri Hal Ehwal Tanah dan Galian, DATO' HAJI ABDUL-RAHMAN BIN YA'KUB, P.D.K. (Sarawak).
- „ Menteri Hal Ehwal Sabah, DATO' GANIE GILONG, P.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
- „ Menteri Muda Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan, ENSKU MUHSEIN BIN ABDUL KADIR, D.P.M.T., J.M.N., P.J.K. (Trengganu Tengah).

Yang Berhormat Menteri Muda Pelajaran, TUAN LEE SIOK YEW, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Sepang).

- .. Menteri Muda Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri, TUAN HAMZAH BIN DATO' ABU SAMAH, S.M.K. (Raub).
- .. Menteri Muda Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, TUAN ABDUL TAIB BIN MAHMUD (Sarawak).
- .. Setia-usaha Parlimen kepada Menteri Kesihatan, TUAN IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN, J.M.N. (Seberang Tengah).
- .. Setia-usaha Parlimen kepada Menteri Kewangan, TUAN ALI BIN HAJI AHMAD (Pontian Selatan).
- .. Setia-usaha Parlimen kepada Timbalan Perdana Menteri, TUAN CHEN WING SUM (Damansara).
- .. NIK ABDUL AZIZ BIN NIK MAT (Kelantan Hilir).
- .. TUAN HAJI ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N. (Melaka Utara).
- .. TUAN ABDUL KARIM BIN ABU, A.M.N. (Melaka Selatan).
- .. WAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN DATU TUANKU BUJANG, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- .. TUAN HAJI ABDUL RASHID BIN HAJI JAIS (Sabah).
- .. TUAN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN (Lipis).
- .. DATO' ABDULLAH BIN ABDULRAHMAN, S.M.T., Dato' Bijaya di-Raja (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- .. Y.A.M. TUNKU ABDULLAH IBNI AL-MARHUM TUANKU ABDUL RAHMAN, P.P.T. (Rawang).
- .. TUAN HAJI ABU BAKAR BIN HAMZAH, J.P. (Bachok).
- .. TUAN AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N. (Muar Utara).
- .. TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SA'AID, J.P. (Seberang Utara).
- .. PUAN AJIBAH BINTI ABOL (Sarawak).
- .. WAN ALWI BIN TUANKU IBRAHIM (Sarawak).
- .. TUAN RAFAEL ANCHETA, A.M.N. (Sabah).
- .. DR AWANG BIN HASSAN, S.M.J. (Muar Selatan).
- .. TUAN HAJI AZIZ BIN ISHAK (Muar Dalam).
- .. PENGARAH BANYANG ANAK JANTING, P.B.S. (Sarawak).
- .. TUAN CHAN CHONG WEN, K.M.N. (Kluang Selatan).
- .. TUAN CHAN SEONG YOON (Setapak).
- .. TUAN CHAN SIANG SUN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Bentong).
- .. TUAN CHEW BIOW CHUON, J.P. (Bruas).
- .. TUAN FRANCIS CHIA NYUK TONG (Sabah).
- .. TUAN CHIN FOON (Ulu Kinta).
- .. TUAN D. A. DAGO ANAK RANDAN *alias* DAGOK ANAK RANDEN, A.M.N. (Sarawak).
- .. TUAN C. V. DEVAN NAIR (Bungsar).
- .. TUAN EDWIN ANAK TANGKUN (Sarawak).
- .. TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S. (Batu Pahat Dalam).
- .. DATIN HAJAH FATIMAH BINTI HAJI ABDUL MAJID (Johor Bahru Timor).

Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI HAJAH FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N.
(Jitra-Padang Terap).

Yang Berhormat TUAN S. FAZUL RAHMAN, A.D.K. (Sabah).

„ TUAN GANING BIN JANGKAT, A.M.N. (Sabah).

„ TUAN GEH CHONG KEAT, K.M.N. (Pulau Pinang Utara).

„ TUAN HAJI HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Kapar).

„ TUAN HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Kulim Utara).

„ TUAN HANAFIAH BIN HUSSAIN, A.M.N. (Jerai).

„ TUAN HARUN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N., J.P. (Baling).

„ WAN HASSAN BIN WAN DAUD, J.P. (Tumpat).

„ TUAN STANLEY HO NGUN KHIU, A.D.K. (Sabah).

„ DATO' HAJI HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, D.P.M.P., A.M.N.,
P.J.K. (Parit).

„ TUAN HUSSEIN BIN SULAIMAN, J.P. (Ulu Kelantan).

„ TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN, S.M.K.
(Kota Bharu Hulu).

Yang Amat Berbahagia TUN DR ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, S.S.M.,
P.M.N., S.P.M.J. (Johor Timor).

Yang Berhormat TUAN ISMAIL BIN IDRIS, J.P. (Pulau Pinang Selatan).

Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, P.M.N.
(Johor Tenggara).

Yang Berhormat PENGHULU JINGGUT ANAK ATTAN, K.M.N., Q.M.C., A.B.S.
(Sarawak).

„ TUAN KAM WOON WAH, J.P. (Sitiawan).

„ TUAN THOMAS KANA, K.M.N. (Sarawak).

„ TUAN KHOO PENG LOONG, O.B.E. (Sarawak).

„ TUAN EDMUND LANGGU ANAK SAGA (Sarawak).

„ TUAN LEE SECK FUN, K.M.N. (Tanjong Malim).

„ TUAN AMADEUS MATHEW LEONG, A.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).

„ DR LIM CHONG EU (Tanjong).

„ DATO' LING BENG SIEW, P.N.B.S. (Sarawak).

„ TUAN PETER LO SU YIN (Sabah).

„ DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD (Kota Star Selatan).

„ TUAN T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.M.N., J.P. (Port Dickson).

„ TUAN C. JOHN ONDU MAJAKIL (Sabah).

„ TUAN JOSEPH DAVID MANJALI (Sabah).

„ DATO' DR HAJI MEGAT KHAS, D.P.M.P., J.P., P.J.K.
(Kuala Kangsar).

„ DATO' HAJI MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA, S.P.M.K.
(Pasir Puteh).

„ ORANG TUA MOHAMMAD DARA BIN LANGPAD (Sabah).

„ TUAN MOHD. DAUD BIN ABDUL SAMAD (Besut).

„ TUAN MOHAMED IDRIS BIN MATSIL, J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P.
(Jelebu-Jempol).

- Yang Berhormat TUAN MOHD. TAHIR BIN ABDUL MAJID, S.M.S., P.J.K.
(Kuala Langat).
- „ TUAN MOHD. ZAHIR BIN HAJI ISMAIL, J.M.N. (Sungai Patani).
- „ WAN MOKHTAR BIN AHMAD, P.J.K. (Kemaman).
- „ TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).
- „ TUAN MUHAMMAD FAKHRUDDIN BIN HAJI ABDULLAH
(Pasar Mas Hilir).
- „ DATO' HAJI MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ABDUL JABAR, D.P.M.P., A.M.N.,
J.P. (Sabak Bernam).
- „ TUAN MUSTAPHA BIN AHMAD (Tanah Merah).
- Yang Amat Berbahagia TUN DATU MUSTAPHA BIN DATU HARUN, S.M.N., P.D.K.
(Sabah).
- Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI HAJI 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).
- Yang Berhormat TUAN NG FAH YAM, J.P. (Batu Gajah).
- „ TUAN ONG KEE HUI (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN HAJI OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH (Hilir Perak).
- „ TUAN OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).
- „ TUAN QUEK KAI DONG, J.P. (Seremban Timor).
- „ TUAN HAJI RAHMAT BIN HAJI DAUD, A.M.N.
(Johor Bahru Barat).
- „ TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID, P.J.K., J.P.
(Rembau-Tampin).
- „ TUAN SEAH TENG NGIAB, S.M.J., P.I.S. (Muar Pantai).
- „ TUAN D. R. SEENIVASAGAM (Ipoh).
- „ TUAN SIM BOON LIANG, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN SIOW LOONG HIN, P.J.K. (Seremban Barat).
- „ TUAN SENAWI BIN ISMAIL, P.J.K. (Seberang Selatan).
- „ TUAN SOH AH TECK (Batu Pahat).
- „ TUAN SULAIMAN BIN ALI (Dungun).
- „ TUAN SULAIMAN BIN BULON, P.J.K. (Bagan Datoh).
- „ TUAN SULAIMAN BIN HAJI TAIB (Krian Laut).
- „ PENGIRAN TAHIR PETRA (Sabah).
- „ TUAN TAI KUAN YANG, A.M.N. (Kulim Bandar Bharu).
- „ TUAN TAMA WENG TINGGANG WAN (Sarawak).
- „ DR TAN CHEE KHOON (Batu).
- „ TUAN TAN CHENG BEE, A.M.N., J.P. (Bagan).
- „ TUAN TAN KEE GAK (Bandar Melaka).
- „ TUAN TAN TSAK YU, P.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN TIAH ENG BEE (Kluang Utara).
- „ TUAN TOH THEAM HOCK (Kampar).
- „ TUAN YEH PAO TZE, A.M.N. (Sabah).
- „ TUAN STEPHEN YONG KUET TZE (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB, P.J.K. (Langat).

YANG TIADA HADHIR:

- Yang Berhormat Menteri Pelajaran, TUAN MOHAMED KHIR JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ Menteri Kebajikan 'Am, Y.B. TAN SRI HAJI ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, P.M.N., J.P. (Batang Padang).
- „ Menteri Kerajaan Tempatan dan Perumahan, TUAN KHAW KAI-BOH, P.J.K. (Ulu Selangor).
- „ Menteri Kesihatan, DR NG KAM POH, J.P. (Telok Anson).
- „ Menteri Muda Ta' Berjabatan, TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN (Kota Star Utara).
- „ Setia-usaha Parlimen kepada Menteri Buroh, TUAN LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N. (Segamat Selatan).
- „ WAN ABDUL KADIR BIN ISMAIL, P.P.T. (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ TUAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB, P.J.K. (Kuantan).
- „ TUAN JONATHAN BANGAU ANAK RENANG, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN CHIA CHIN SHIN, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN LIM KEAN SIEW (Dato Kramat).
- „ TUAN LIM PEE HUNG, P.J.K. (Alor Star).
- „ TUAN MOHD. ARIF SALLEH, A.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ (TUAN HAJI MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).
- „ TUAN HAJI MUHAMMAD SU'AUT BIN HAJI MUHD. TAHIR, A.B.S. (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN RAMLI BIN OMAR, K.M.N. (Krian Darat).
- „ RAJA ROME BIN RAJA MA'AMOR, P.J.K., J.P. (Kuala Selangor).
- „ DATO' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM, D.P.M.P., P.M.P., J.P. (Menglembu).
- „ TUAN SNG CHIN JOO (Sarawak).
- „ TUAN TAJUDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).
- „ TUAN TAN TOH HONG (Bukit Bintang).
- „ TENGGU ZAID BIN TENGGU AHMAD (Pasir Mas Hulu).

YANG HADHIR BERSAMA:

Yang Berhormat Menteri Ta' Berjabatan, TUAN ABDUL GHAFAR BIN BABA.

DO'A

(Tuan Yang di-Pertua *mempengerusikan Meshuarat*)

PEMASHHORAN² OLEH
TUAN YANG DI-PERTUA

PERUTUSAN DARIPADA DEWAN
NEGARA

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, saya hendak mema'alumkan ia-itu saya ada menerima satu Perutusan yang bertarikh 27hb Ogos, 1968, daripada Yang Di-Pertua Dewan Negara berkenaan dengan perkara²

yang tertentu yang ada di-hantar dahulu oleh Majlis ini kepada Dewan Negara meminta persetujuan. Setia-usaha Dewan akan membachakan Perutusan itu.

(*Setia-usaha Dewan Ra'ayat membachakan Perutusan*).

"Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

Dewan Negara telah bersetuju dengan Rang Undang² yang berikut tanpa pindaan:

- (1) Suatu Act bagi menggunakan wang daripada Kumpulan Wang Yang di-Satukan untuk perbelanjaan tambahan bagi

perkhidmatan tahun 1967 dan bagi memperuntukkan wang itu bagi maksud² yang tertentu;

- (2) Suatu Act bagi membuat peruntukan untuk Persekutuan atau pehak-berkuasa² berkanun tertentu mendapatkan pinjaman daripada Bank Pembangunan Asia dan untuk perkara² yang bersangkutan dengan-nya;
- (3) An Act to amend the Employees Provident Fund Ordinance, 1951;
- (4) An Act to amend the Excise Act, 1961;
- (5) An Act to amend the Tariff Advisory Board Act, 1963;
- (6) An Act to amend the Employees Provident Fund Ordinance, 1951;
- (7) An Act to amend the Constitution of the Federation;
- (8) Suatu Act bagi mengadakan peruntukan bagi menyekat daripada di-ambil bekerja dalam Persekutuan orang² bukan warganegara dalam kegiatan² urusan yang tertentu serta mengadakan peruntukan² bagi pendaftaran orang² sa-demikian dan perkara² yang berkenaan dengan-nya;
- (9) An Act to amend the Arms Act, 1960;
- (10) Suatu Act bagi memperbadankan Maktab Kerjasama Malaysia, bagi maksud mengembang dan menggalakkan latehan dan pengajian mengenai kerjasama dan bagi mengadakan peruntukan bagi perkara² yang berkenaan dengan-nya.

(Tt.) DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN BIN MOHAMED YASIN,
Yang di-Pertua, Dewan Negara."

MEMPERKENANKAN RANG UNDANG²

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, saya hendak mema'alumkan kepada Majlis ini bahawa Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong telah

memperkenankan Rang Undang² berikut yang telah di-luluskan oleh Parli-men baharu² ini:

1. Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1968.
2. Tariff Advisory Board (Amendment) Act, 1968.
3. Excise (Amendment) (No. 3) Act, 1968.
4. Employees Provident Fund (Amendment) Act, 1968.
5. Act Perbekalan Tambahan (1967) (No. 2), 1968.
6. Act Pinjaman (Bank Pembangunan Asia), 1968.
7. Employees Provident Fund (Amendment) (No. 2) Act, 1968.
8. Arms (Amendment) Act, 1968.
9. Act (Perbadanan) Maktab Kerjasama, 1968.
10. Act (Sekatan) Kerja, 1968.

KEMATIAN YANG BERHORMAT TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI MOHD. SALLEH, AHLI BAGI SEGAMAT UTARA

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, dengan sedeh-nya saya ma'alumkan kepada Majlis ini bahawa Yang Berhormat Tuan Haji Abdullah bin Haji Mohd. Salleh, Ahli bagi Segamat Utara, telah meninggal dunia. Bagi pehak Majlis ini saya suka melafadzkan perasaan kehilangan kita dan belas kasehan terhadap keluarga Allah yarham Yang Berhormat itu.

RANG UNDANG² DI-BAWA KA-DALAM MESHUARAT

Rang Undang² Kumpulan Wang yang di-Satukan (Perbelanjaan Pendahuluan)

Rang Undang² suatu Act bagi menggunakan sa-jumlah wang daripada Kumpulan Wang Yang di-Satukan untuk Perkhidmatan bagi tahun yang berakhir pada tiga puluh satu hari-bulan Disember, 1969; di-bawa ka-dalam Meshuarat oleh Setia-usaha Parlimen kepada Menteri Kewangan; di-bachakan kali yang pertama; akan di-bachakan kali yang kedua pada persidangan akan datang dalam meshuarat kali ini.

BORROWING COMPANIES BILL

Rang Undang² an Act to control the Activities of Borrowing Companies; di-bawa ka-dalam Meshuarat oleh Setia-usaha Parlimen kepada Menteri Kewangan; di-bachakan kali yang pertama; akan di-bachakan kali yang kedua pada meshuarat akan datang.

RANG UNDANG² (PINDAAN) TAFSIRAN

Rang Undang² an Act to amend the Interpretation Act, 1967; di-bawa ka-dalam Meshuarat oleh Menteri Ke'a-dilan; di-bachakan kali yang pertama; akan di-bachakan kali yang kedua pada persidangan akan datang dalam meshuarat kali ini.

RANG UNDANG² (PERBADANAN) PERSEKUTUAN BUDAK² PENGAKAP MALAYSIA

Rang Undang² suatu Act bagi memperbadankan Persekutuan Budak² Pengakap Malaysia (atau dalam bahasa Inggeris "Boy Scouts Association of Malaysia"), dan bagi maksud² yang berkenaan dengan-nya, di-bawa ka-dalam Meshuarat oleh Menteri Muda Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sokan; di-bachakan kali yang pertama; akan di-bachakan kali yang kedua pada persidangan akan datang dalam meshuarat kali ini.

USUL

PHILIPPINES' CLAIM TO SABAH— DECLARATION OF PHILIPPINES LEGISLATION ANNEXING SABAH AS NULL AND VOID

Perdana Menteri: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya pohon kebenaran Dato' Yang di-Pertua berchakap dalam bahasa Inggeris, kerana perkara ini penting dan saya kehendaki sa-boleh²-nya supaya dunia tahu apa yang saya sebutkan di-sini pada hari ini dan dengan kebenaran Tuan, saya pohon memulakan ucapan saya kepada Majlis ini.

Dato' Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

That this House views with grave concern the Philippine Act which was assented to by the President of the Republic of the Philippines on 18th September, 1968, and which

Act annexed Sabah as a territory of the Philippines. This claim is both unfounded and done without any lawful justification or excuse, calculated to convey to the Philippines a State which forms an integral part of Malaysia.

This Act therefore impinges upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Malaysia. It is illegal and, therefore, this House declares that the annexation of Sabah under the said Act is null and void.

That this House categorically rejects the Philippine claim to Sabah as without any legal foundation and as a denial of the inalienable right of self-determination of the people of Sabah.

That this House reiterates the firm determination of the people of Malaysia to uphold and defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Malaysia, of which Sabah is a constituent State.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the most singular and unilateral act of annexing another country's territory was recently enacted in the Philippines in the promulgation of the law that Philippines has acquired sovereignty and dominion over Sabah. This action on the part of the Philippine Government is unprecedented, in fact unknown in the history of international relation. This matter began with a simple request to member States of the United Nations from an *Ad-Hoc* Committee of the General Assembly regarding the exploitation of sea-bed for the Philippines to furnish the United Nations with a demarcation of her territorial limits.

That was a simple request. As a result of this request, the Philippine Senate initiated a Bill called, "An Act to Amend Section One of Republic Act numbered Thirty Hundred and Forty-Six, entitled 'An Act to Define the Baselines of the Territorial Sea of the Philippines' "Section One of this Bill describes the various latitude and longitude positions of the various baselines of the territorial waters. It was then that the Philippines decided to impose their right and dominion over Sabah.

Consequently, Section Two was included by the Senate to read—

Section 2. The definition of the baselines of the territorial sea of the Philippines as provided in this Act shall be without prejudice to any future delineation that may have to be made by virtue of the acquisition by the Philippines of sovereignty over the

territory known as Sabah situated in North Borneo".—That is, Section 2 of the Act which they amended.

Now, when this Bill reached the House of Representatives,—from the Senate it has to go to the House of Representatives—the infamous Barbero Amendment was submitted by Congressman Barbero. This amendment incorporated into the dominion of the Philippines territories other than Sabah and some belong to Indonesia as well. They are:

- (a) Pulau Sebatik (Indonesian and Malaysian—half and half).
- (b) Noenoeakan (Indonesian).
- (c) Sibuku (Indonesian).
- (d) All the Malaysian waters on the East Coast of Sabah up to Pindassan River on the West Coast of Sabah—that means the whole of Sabah. Pindassan River is almost the boundary that divides Sabah and Sarawak and by that amendment of Barbero the whole of Sabah and some parts of Indonesia were acquired by the Philippines.

This amendment was adopted, although there were a few dissenting voices, on 26th August and this immediately received strong reaction from the Malaysian Government, who regarded such a move as constituting an invasion of Malaysia's sovereignty and integrity. Surprisingly the Philippines in its Note dated 29th August adopted an attitude of innocence that such a Bill was a "peaceful" legislation and "a legitimate exercise of the Philippine national right to make law, when such law or such legislation acquired a territory that belongs to Malaysia. Further the Philippines had the audacity to regard Malaysian justifiable show of anger as not in keeping with the "cooling off" period. Is this the right thing. I ask of the Philippines, to do in order to maintain or keep up the "cooling off" period, which had been agreed to between our Deputy Prime Minister and Mr Ramos in Jakarta?

Now, since the Senate Bill now differed from the House of Representatives Bill, it went to the Conference

Committee of both Houses for adjustment. The Barbero amendment was subsequently deleted and Section 2 was further amended to read:

"The definition of the baselines of the territorial sea of the Philippines as provided in this Act is without prejudice to the delineation of the baselines of the territorial sea around the territory of Sabah, situated in North Borneo, over which the Republic of the Philippines has acquired dominion and sovereignty".

This is the second amendment to Section 2 and you will see how this amendment works and why it has to be amended.

The Barbero amendment mentioned territories which were purported to have come under the jurisdiction of the Philippines. The amendment by the Conference Committee of both the Senate and the House of Representatives now claims "dominion and sovereignty" over the territory, only one territory, now known as Sabah. However, unlike the Barbero amendment, there is nothing in the Committee's amendment for which Indonesia could take offence because all these territories which they claim dominion and sovereignty, territories which belong to Indonesia, have been deleted by the Committee. So, Malaysia, being a small country, it is immaterial whether she takes offence or not, to what has been done; and so this Bill would pass into law as soon as President has endorsed it or as soon as the President endorses it. The amendment was made despite the provision of the Philippine Constitution Article 1, Section 1 which states that the Philippines comprises all territories ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris between Spain and America. Under this Constitution, the Philippines has no right or claim over any territory that does not comprise the territories ceded to the United States under the Treaty of Paris. That being so, the Constitution has to be amended to allow for the passing of the annexation Bill which is now the subject of my Motion.

On September 4th, 1968, the Malaysian Government sent a Note of protest and pointed out to the Philippines that the promulgation into law of Senate

Bill No. 954, as amended, would bring about a new situation in the relationship between Malaysia and the Philippines. The declaration by law to the effect that the Philippines had acquired "dominion and sovereignty over Sabah has ceased to become a matter of Philippine domestic affair but has gone far beyond it, and no self-respecting independent nation would tolerate such an act, and Malaysia naturally takes offence with this act of what we consider a debasement of our sovereignty.

The Malaysian Government therefore sought the affirmation of the Philippine Government that, in spite of the promulgation into law of the Senate Bill No. 954, as amended, it did not deny that Sabah is a constituent state of Malaysia, that the Philippines must continue to recognise and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Malaysia of which Sabah is a State within it and, further, to seek the understanding that diplomatic relations between Malaysia and the Philippines exist and can only exist on the basis of such affirmation. The Malaysian Government also stated that the adoption of both Houses of the Philippine Congress of Senate Bill No. 954, as amended, had already given rise to serious issues in the relations between Malaysia and the Philippines and that its promulgation into law without such affirmation would give rise to dangerous consequences for which the responsibility would rest solely with the Philippine Government.

The Philippine reply to our Note which came on 18th September, 1968, contains a curious anomaly in that with that official note is included a personal note from President Marcos to his Secretary of Foreign Affairs. This was obviously intended to take the sting from the violence of the other parts of the official Note. The President's note or memorandum to his Secretary of State states *inter alia* "In signing the measure, I have ascertained that the text and intent of the statute do not contemplate the physical incorporation of Sabah into the national territory of the Philippines. Section 2 of the statute simply re-states the long-held and well-known Philippine posi-

tion that the Republic has acquired sovereignty and dominion over the territory of Sabah in accordance with a series of events, acts, agreements and transactions, including the Deed of Cession of 1962". He went on further to declare that the basic policy of the Philippines is to pursue its right to Sabah by peaceful means and that the Philippine Constitution renounces war as an instrument of national policy and that they are bound by the United Nations principle of pacific settlement of international disputes.

That is the President's note. However, the last two paragraphs of President Marcos' Note to his Secretary of Foreign Affairs state—

"We expect the parties concerned to honour their international obligations in this regard in the spirit of neighbourliness, friendship and brotherhood.

Finally, the Philippines has consistently regarded regional co-operation as the key to peace, progress and stability in this part of the world. We shall endeavour to make ASEAN an effective and dynamic entity, truly responsive to the needs and aspirations of the ASEAN nations".

These are the words of the President. However, the official reply from the Philippine Government to the Malaysian Government which is contained in the second part of the Note reads among others—

"The Government of the Philippines, therefore, regrets its inability to make any of the affirmations sought by the Malaysian Government in Note No. 44/68 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs all of which would violate the letter and spirit of the solemn agreements contained not only in paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord of 31st July, 1963, and paragraph 8 of the Joint Statement accompanying it, but also in the exchange of notes between the Philippine Government and the Malaysian Government dated 7th February, 1966". "The Philippine Government deplores the highly abusive and provocative language used by the Malaysian Government in the Note under acknowledgement in an unabashed effort to exert pressure upon and compel the President of the Philippines to countermand a legitimate act of the Congress of the Philippines in the discharge of its sovereign legislative powers. This unwarranted interference by the Malaysian Government on a matter which is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the Philippine Government constitutes a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, condemned by United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 2225 (XXXI) dated 19th December, 1966, as a basic source of danger to the cause of

world peace. This most unfortunate and deplorable reaction of Malaysia to an act that is strictly within the internal jurisdiction of the Philippines only serves to underscore the existence of a serious legal dispute over North Borneo".

Now, this is the answer to our Note of protest—the Philippines, as you have heard from the Note, has taken serious offence with what Malaysia had to say. So, the President's private letter, while claiming Sabah as a territory of the Philippines, suggests that the Philippine Government will do nothing to provoke Malaysia into an open conflict in pursuing their claim, but the Note published for public consumption in reply to ours was to say the least, arrogant to the extreme in its tone and delivery and added insult to the injury already caused to us. Having annexed our territory by their law they suggested that we have interfered unduly in a matter which is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the Philippine Government and that by doing so we—not they—have committed a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and our action is condemned by United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 2225 (XXXI).

Now, who is the culprit? The person who steals or the owner of the goods? According to the Filipino, the owner of the goods is the culprit. Naturally, the reaction of Malaysia to an Act that impinges, as I said, upon our sovereignty and territorial integrity is considered by the Philippines as deplorable. What can be more deplorable than a nation which, while claiming to be a friend and pledging to work together in an association with other nations in South East Asia for the common good, the wellbeing, the economic stability and peace of this region of Asia, contrived by law to transfer a territory of Malaysia as a state within the Philippines? I repeat what President Marcos had said, "We expect the parties concerned to honour their international obligations in the spirit of neighbourliness, friendship and brotherhood". Is this the way to go about it? Is this the way that brothers go about it? Some brothers, perhaps, do. But international brotherhood is not supposed to do things like that.

So, assuming that what was legislated by the Philippines is purely their domestic right and it is entirely their own business and has nothing to do with us, and is not intended as a threat or an act of evil design against another country, then how can the President or the Government of the Philippines explain the Corregidor incident? You will recall what happened then that in 1967 the Philippine Government selected a number of Suluks to be trained as volunteers. The training included the use of small arms and guerilla tactics under the supervision of one Major Martalino, a member of the Philippine Armed Forces. The purpose of this training is to launch infiltration, subversion and sabotage in Sabah, in order to help the Philippines gain control of the State by surreptitious and treacherous means. This operation was called "Operation Might". On 21st March, 1968, this secret army came to light as a result of a report published in the Philippine Herald and the Manila Bulletin headlined "Camp Massacres". A lone survivor of the massacre, Jubin Arula, had revealed that he was among those recruited in Simunul, Sulu, by the Civil Affairs Officer for the purpose of training in jungle survival, warfare, infiltration tactics and sabotage. He disclosed that this special force was designed to infiltrate into Sabah and create a rebellion in that State. Two leading Muslim Congressmen Lukman and Salleh Ututalum confirmed this.

This is known as the Corregidor incident in which seventeen lives were lost and unaccounted for. According to report they were killed in cold blood when they demanded their pay and refused to go on with all this training until they received their pay. This is the mutiny referred to by the officer in charge, Major Martalino. The Malaysian Government immediately sent a Note of protest expressing grave concern to the Philippine Government on 23rd March, 1968 and made a request for a full explanation in the interest of continuing peaceful relations between Malaysia and the Philippines. The Malaysian Government urged upon the Philippine Government to make an investigation of the incident

and to examine not only the question of the so-called mutiny but also the objective of this Special Force.

To this Note of protest the Philippine Government replied on 30th March, 1968, to the effect that what happened was purely an internal affair of the Philippines and has nothing whatsoever to do with Malaysia. Is this the correct attitude of a country that aims to work with us to take in furthering the spirit of neighbourliness and brotherhood with us? Not only have they passed legislation to annex our territory but trained volunteers with a view to invade Sabah. Is this an act which concerns purely the internal affairs of the Philippines alone?

The passing into law of Senate Bill No. 954 annexing Sabah follows the Corregidor incident. Presumably, this law will provide a cover which will give legality to the creation of a special force in the eyes of the Filipino public, since Sabah is now under their law a territory of the Philippines. It gave the Philippine Government the right to train a special force and provide money in order to recover a territory, which they say belongs to them. You will remember the cause of the Corregidor massacre or incident was due to the lack of money—the men were not paid their salary—and so this legislation would enable the Philippines Government to provide funds for the training of the volunteers and to pay the salary of the recruits.

You will remember, too, the anger that was shown by the Philippines against the United States when Mr. McClosky, the spokesman of the Department of State made a statement on 19th September, 1968, to the effect that America recognised Malaysia with Sabah as a constituent State of Malaysia. The U.S. recognition of Malaysia in 1963 was made without qualification and there has been no change since then of the attitude of America towards Malaysia. Mr McClosky went on to say, "Our traditional policy is that we take no position on territorial disputes such as this and we have not in this instance departed from that policy in any way, and we maintain friendly relations

with both the Philippines and Malaysia". This statement gave rise to a lot of angry exchanges between the two countries, while in Manila demonstrations were held against the United States, because the Philippines felt that the United States would not subscribe to an open aggression and will give the Philippines no support against Malaysia, a country which the United States regarded as a friend. The Philippines, I may say, has to depend a lot on America, (in fact everything) in order to enable the Philippines Government to start any war or any acts of aggression, because they have to depend on America for the supply of fuel and for the supply of ammunition—in fact, for the supply of everything else, including money. So when America refused to promise them support, they got very wild with America and showed it by the many demonstrations which they held in Manila.

Then on 20th September, 1968, the British Government diverted a routine ferry flight of six RAF Hunter aircraft to overfly Kota Kinabalu on their way from Hong Kong to Singapore for staging at Labuan. The Philippine Government raised a hue and cry over this flight. This was interpreted to mean by the Philippine Government that the British Government would stand by her obligation to defend Malaysia in the event of aggression against this country. The British Commander-in-Chief came out with a statement while he was in Hong Kong that the British would stand squarely by Malaysia. As a result of this statement, the Philippine people and the Philippine Government took great offence and staged violent demonstrations against the British Embassy and the British Government, leading to acts of violence and also to arson when all the cottages within the British Embassy compound were burned.

Further, if the intention of the Philippine Government is one of peace, why then has she got troop concentration—this is a very important thing—on the islands of Simunul and Taganak which are close to the shores of Sabah, and a number of other islands within the vicinity of

Sabah? Why has she got all these troops concentrated? It is difficult to reconcile the utterances, the actions and the belligerent attitude taken by the Philippines with what the President has said that the Philippine Government would pursue their claim over Sabah and settle it in a peaceful manner. I would not disclose here how many troops they have, but I can tell this House that we have quite a good report on their number, where they are stationed, and how strong they are. I am not giving away our secret for the benefit of the Philippine Government.

In a letter to his Foreign Secretary contained in the Note given to us on 18th September, 1968, the President of the Philippines admitted that Malaysia has assumed all rights and obligations of the United Kingdom Government in respect of the State of Sabah as from 16th September, 1963, that is when Malaysia was formed. Indeed, the Malaysian Government could not have acquired more rights in North Borneo than those possessed by the United Kingdom and, what is more, the expressed desire of the people themselves to be in Malaysia is all that we claim to our right to have Sabah in Malaysia.

The President also stated in the Note that "in signing the measure, I have ascertained that the text and intent of the statute do not contemplate the physical incorporation of Sabah into the national territory of the Philippines. Section 2 of the statute simply re-states the long-held and well-known Philippine position that the Republic has acquired sovereignty and dominion over the territory of Sabah in accordance with a series of events, acts, agreements and transactions, including the Deed of Cession of 1962". This is what the President said and which I repeat for your benefit.

On April 24th, 1962, just before Malaysia was formed, when Malaysia was in the offing, the heirs of Sultan Jamalul Kiram II, Sultan of Sulu, so-called, namely Sultan Muhammad Ismail Kiram, Datu Rajamuda Punjungan Kiram, Putli Tarhata Kiram, Sitti Rada Kiram and Putli Sakinurin

Kiram, executed an Act or an Instrument or document which gave the Philippine Government the exclusive and unconditional right to initiate and institute and prosecute the claim to North Borneo, and in that document the heirs renounced and repudiated any contract which might have been made in favour of any individual or group of individuals which might contradict the purpose of this agreement which they signed with the Philippine Government. The Instrument of Cession so-called of the territory of North Borneo was executed on 12th September, 1962, in which Sultan Muhammad Ismail Kiram acting with the advice and authority of Ruma Bechara (Sultan's council) formally ceded and the Philippines formally accepted the territory of North Borneo, the sovereignty over which had been recognised previously by the aforementioned heirs in the Instrument of April 24, 1962, as pertaining to the Republic of the Philippines. There, you see, this document was executed in 1962.

It was also mentioned that another Instrument was executed before the Hon'ble Narciso Ramos on July 27, 1966, at the city of Manila, when Datu Ombra Amilbansa expressly associated himself with the Instrument of April 24, 1962, and the Instrument of Cession of September 12, 1962, and this document was signed in January, 1968, between Datu Ombra on the one hand and Narciso Ramos on the other, because it was found that there is another claimant to the throne of the State of Sulu, by the name of Datu Ombra Amilbansa; so he was brought in. There is another man also, who is supposed to be the sole, legitimate heir of the Sultan of Sulu, who is now living in Sabah under the protection of our kind and generous Chief Minister, Tun Datu Mustapha. That is the real legitimate heir who ran away and stays in Sabah (*Laughter*).

The 1968 document, which mentioned all the previous documents, was the one that transferred all the proprietary rights and benefits the heirs may be entitled to the Philippine Government. It transferred all the rights and benefits to the Philippine

Government—all the rights and benefits which accrued to the heirs, they transferred to the Philippine Government. What they got for it, I do not know. This indicated the determination of the Philippine Government to prosecute the Sabah claim at all costs. This document was signed on 1st February, 1968, soon after the visit of President Marcos to this country.

You will ask what kind of a Ruler Ismail Kiram considered himself to be, when he has no throne, he has no state, he has no crown, he has no authority—he has nothing to call his own except his name. And so, until the execution of these two documents in fact his presence was not known and, less still, his claim acknowledged. Now, the whole of the Sulu had been taken over and administered as a province of the Republic of the Philippines. In 1939, before the War, these heirs of the last Sultan of Sulu, Jamalul Kiram, filed a civil suit in the North Borneo High Court for a judgment that as private heirs they were entitled to the annual payments stipulated in the contract of 1878 and the confirmatory deed of 1903. So under these two documents their annuity was continued.

Now, what can the heirs of the Sultan of Sulu pass over to the Philippine Government when they themselves possess no right over the territory other than this grant in perpetuity, so to speak, which the British Government gave as an act of magnanimity, which now we have to continue. So the most they can pass over to the Philippine Government is that monetary grant only and, as I said just now, Malaysia is continuing with the payment.

And so certain politicians and certain business people in the Philippines conceived the idea of a financial gain whereby the annual payments arising out of the 1878 and 1903 contract could be compounded into one lump sum. A syndicate headed by the late Mr Nicasio Osmena, son of the former President Osmena, tried to obtain a lump sum of money from the British Government in complete settlement, so he said. If the British Government would pay them so much, then

they would hand over the whole of Sabah to the British Government for good. The next we heard was that the British turned a cold shoulder against his demand and told him, so to speak, to make himself scarce. The next we heard was that they tried to interest the members of the Philippine Congress on the merits of the claim. These people purported to represent the interests of the heirs of the Sultan of Sulu; they were attracted to the money side of it. All the documents were handed over to one gentleman, a lawyer, Mr Napoleon G. Rama, and on the 30th day of December, 1961, when Macapagal was installed President an article entitled "North Borneo belongs to us" appeared in the Philippines Free Press. From this onwards, the cry was taken up by those who hoped to profit from this claim and behind it all with fervour, with determination, with bright outlook for the future were ex-President Macapagal and the Philippine Representative in the United Nations, Mr S. P. Lopez; they were behind all this.

In September 1962, Mr Osmena was beginning to feel rather concerned. His case was taken up, other people were claiming it and he was, more or less, lost in the background. And so he came here; he came to Kuala Lumpur and asked for a talk with me. When I found out what was to be discussed, what he had in mind, and when I was told of the object of his mission, not only did I refuse to see him but I told him to get out of this country within 24 hours; if he didn't do that, I would have him arrested. That hurt him very much indeed and he went away feeling that one day he would take his revenge. But before he had time to do that, the unfortunate fellow died (*Laughter*).

At the end of September, 1962, the matter was raised before the United Nations General Assembly by Mr Pelaez, the then Vice-President of the Philippines. His initiative followed a further note to the British Government of September 12, in which he restated the claim and reiterated his request for a conversation with the British Government. Britain defended her stand in the United Nations not only in September

but also, again, before the General Assembly in November when this dispute was brought up by the Philippine Government before the Trusteeship Committee in the following month.

On 28th January, 1963, Vice-President and Foreign Minister of the Philippines, Mr Pelaez, had a talk in London over the Philippine claim to Sabah. He made little impression on the British Government, for the latter maintained that the claim was unacceptable. It was then suggested that this issue should go to the International Court of Justice by the Philippine Government. The British Government asked the Philippines for documents to substantiate or prove their claim and was not convinced that there was sufficient case or evidence to justify referring the matter to the International Court of Justice and so the British Government rejected completely the claim of the Philippines and the request to refer the matter to the International Court of Justice.

There then followed an exchange of notes between the British Government and the Philippine Government. Towards the middle of March, 1963, the British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Peter Thomas, arrived in Manila for further discussions and to see if the Philippines, as promised, could produce the documents they alleged they had in their possession in order to strengthen their claim to refer the matter to the World Court, and this was before the formation of Malaysia. They could not produce them, and President Macapagal, who had an appointment with Mr Peter Thomas, refused to see him because he had nothing new to offer; and so the net result was a statement by Mr Thomas to the effect that he envisaged no further talk at ministerial level or at any other level on the Philippines claim and the door was closed once and for all.

The Philippines had earlier raised this matter with Malaya on 2nd August, 1962, and we pointed out to them that we were unwilling to entertain the idea of the claim and that North Borneo had been under effective

and direct rule of the British Government for more than half a century and British rule over Sabah had never been questioned. In their dispute as affecting this territory, the Philippines must refer the matter to the British Government, because we had nothing to do with this. The British Government promised to allow the people of Sabah to determine their own fate and thus it was left entirely to the people of Sabah to decide. So, in short, the British Government had never concealed their disdain for what was formerly regarded as a weak-founded and ridiculous claim—and I think the position is the same today—and in so far as Malaysia is concerned, we concur with the British Government's attitude.

Malaysia was satisfied that the Cobbold Commission had made an appropriate assessment of the views and wishes of the people of Sabah in April, 1962, and the election in December, 1962, constituted an irrevocable evidence that the people's desire has been exercised through democratic machinery to determine their fate and properly made their choice in accordance with the principles and practice of the United Nations. The desire of the people of Sabah to determine their own future had been ascertained and Sabah became part of Malaysia. When Prince Sihanouk tried to play the part of a mediator, he brought both Macapagal and myself to Cambodia. Macapagal was trying to persuade me to allow this matter of Sabah claim to go to the International Court. He took every opportunity he had to persuade me to agree and also to assure me, "there is nothing to worry about it because the International Court would give in in accordance with the wishes of the people of Sabah themselves. So, why worry, let us go to the International Court of Justice". But I refused. I said, "If you have got evidence as wanted by the British Government and prove your claim, only then would I agree to allow this matter to go to the World Court." I also mentioned that a reference to the World Court was not the only remedy open to both countries.

In view of the opposition to Malaysia by the Philippines and Indonesia at that time, Indonesia under Soekarno, a summit meeting of three Heads of Government of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia was held in Manila from 30th July to 5th August, 1963. The Manila Accord and Joint Statement which provided the basis of the agreement reached by the respective Heads of Government made no progress on the settlement of the claim but merely took cognizance of the position regarding the Philippine claim after the establishment of Malaysia.

As a result of the Manila meeting of Heads of Government, Malaya agreed to postpone the establishment of Malaysia beyond the arranged date of 31st August, 1963, in order to allow once more the determination of opinion of North Borneo and Sarawak by an investigation team appointed by the United Nations Secretary-General. This was what they had asked for. Because of the delay caused by Indonesia and the Philippines, the investigation team did not begin its work until August, 26th. The result of the United Nations investigation at the instance of the Secretary-General, which was released on 13th September, 1963, confirmed that almost all the people of Sabah wished to join Malaya and form Malaysia.

However, Indonesia under Soekarno and the Philippines under Macapagal refused to accept the findings of this U.N. team on the ground that the facilities granted to observers were not adequate. Observers, I must remind you, were not part and parcel of the Ascertainment Exercise by the United Nations. It was a concession made by me personally to these two countries at the request of Mr Lopez and Mr Subandrio, who came to my room in Manila late at night and said that this was the least I could do for these two countries—to allow the observers to be on the spot when the United Nations team made the assessment of the wishes of the people of Sabah. So, I thought, just in order to win goodwill and friendship, it would be better to allow these observers to go and see how the assessment was made and see that the

assessment was impartial. But instead they made this an issue, and so Soekarno started his undeclared war against Malaysia by acts of aggression and also by an oath which he took, which he often repeated, to crush or *ganyang Malaysia*.

On September 15, 1963, the Philippine Government, contrary to her solemn commitment in the Manila Agreement to welcome Malaysia, decided to defer action on recognition of Malaysia and when Soekarno started his act of confrontation against us, the Philippines reduced its representation in Kuala Lumpur to consular level which in effect meant that the Philippines broke off diplomatic relations with Malaysia. Malaysia had no choice but to do the same.

During the intervening years 1963-1966 various efforts were made to reconcile Philippine/Malaysia relations which were finally resumed in June 1966 in an exchange of notes between Malaysia and the Philippines. As a result of this resumption of diplomatic relations, Malaysia in June 1966, after the fall of Soekarno, then agreed to co-operate with the Philippines in the eradication of smuggling and subsequently entered into an Anti-Smuggling Pact and a Protocol on Border Crossing with Philippines without any *quid pro quo*—this is done for the sake of peace. In short, we made concessions to the Philippines at the expense and loss of our national prestige and monetary loss too, in order to be on terms and to win their friendship. This we thought would satisfy the Philippine Government and they would be happy and satisfied with what we have done for them; and so the least we could expect of them was some form of appreciation as an acknowledgment, but instead now they have legislated and made Sabah itself their territory.

We agreed that both sides should sit down together as soon as possible for the purpose of clarifying the claim and discussing ways and means of settling it to the satisfaction of both parties. However, since June, 1966 the Philippines had requested for a series of postponement of the proposed talk

until April this year, after the Corridor incident, when a definite move was made by the Philippines to hold a meeting in Bangkok.

The Bangkok talks which were held in June-July, 1968, broke down because the Philippines had refused to clarify her claim. It also showed that this claim has no legal or political basis whatsoever, and our delegation had no choice but to categorically reject their request to refer the case to the International Court of Justice.

Then followed verbal attacks through the press and other media on Malaysia and the consequential suspension of diplomatic relations between the two countries, as the Philippine Government considered—I quote—"the abrupt and arbitrary rejection of the Philippine claim by the Malaysian delegation as unreasonable, totally unjustifiable and in violation of existing agreements. The Government of the Philippine is constrained under the circumstances to withdraw the head of mission and members of the diplomatic staff of the Philippine Embassy in Kuala Lumpur". That amounted again to a rupture in the diplomatic relations between the two countries. The Embassy has been reduced to nothing, as a result of this note from the Philippines.

Now, at the ASEAN ministerial meeting in Jakarta on 6th-7th August, 1968, the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, met Mr Ramos. You have heard the report from Tun Razak here, but I would like to repeat that the object was to discuss the possibility of peace between our two countries, at the latter's request—at Philippine's request—and to try and arrive at an understanding for a "cooling off" period. At the end of the "cooling off" period, so say the Philippines, talks could be held in order to find ways and means to reconcile relations between our two countries, and so, an understanding was reached, but on 26th August 1968, came the bombshell, the Philippines House of Representatives, as I said, passed a Bill annexing Sabah—that was during the agreed period of a "cooling off". The violation of this

agreement, the annexation of Sabah by the Philippines, I need not tell you, shocked us all. The violent reaction shown by the people had never before been witnessed in this country. In Sabah, in particular, there was a feeling of anger and a cry of treachery was raised against the Philippines, and tempers were further raised when it was known that the Philippines poured into those islands around Sabah, Simunul and Taganak, troops and planes.

Of course, Malaysia countered by sending whatever we have in the way of forces, for we cannot afford to spare very much, but we were determined to defend Sabah. Then a call was made for volunteers and the people of Sabah—in fact, the people throughout the length and breadth of this country indicated that they would join the Home Guard and the Vigilante Corps, in order to defend their villages and areas exposed to Philippine infiltration. In fact, the whole country rose as one in a violent outcry against the Philippines and declared their readiness to defend Malaysia.

Now, this is the situation as at present. I cannot help but feel that while this issue of Sabah is alive and while the Philippines entertain the idea of prosecuting her claim, and what's more having annexed Sabah already, whatever promise made by the Philippines for the achievement of friendly relations cannot hope to be fulfilled. That is my feeling and I think many people share that feeling with me. The Philippines who initiated this claim did not have a sense or vision as to what extent their claim will damage the future good relations between the two countries and to the wellbeing and peace in this region of South East Asia.

It is obvious that Malaysia will never give up one inch of her territory to the Philippines (*Applause*). The views of the Sabah people had already been made known. Their views had been assessed and leave no room for doubt as to the legality and the desirability for the inclusion of Sabah in Malaysia. No world court, no world body, with any sense of justice, will

compel the people of Sabah to join the Philippines as against Malaysia, the country of their choice.

The United Nations General Assembly in 1960 had unanimously adopted the resolution 1514 (XV) on de-colonization. It was voted by both Philippines and Malaya. Among the terms of the resolution is the following declaration:

"Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory declares that—All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

Therefore, if the Philippines are serious and sincere about maintaining peace in this region of the world, and promoting goodwill and friendship among the countries in this part of the world, they must put aside their claim to Sabah, and respect the wishes of the people of Sabah, who in the exercise of their right of self-determination joined Malaysia. Without the exercise of that right there would never have been Malaysia.

A proposal has now been made by the Philippines for me to meet President Marcos, as you have heard these last few days, but before such a meeting is possible it is necessary to ascertain the purpose of the meeting and the subject matter which is proposed to be discussed between the President and I. So, it has been suggested that a ministerial meeting be held between Tun Abdul Razak and Foreign Secretary Ramos to precede the Summit Meeting between President Marcos and I. This is of course not the first time that Tun Razak has met Mr Ramos; this is not the first time that they have made an agreement; I have no doubt that when they meet they will reach agreement, but whether the agreement will be observed and honoured, I cannot say at this moment. However, I would suggest that in the course of debate we will not treat the Philippines harshly in the hope that the talk between Tun Abdul Razak and Mr Ramos will come to some conclusion

which would be of benefit to both countries.

If we are too hard on the Philippines in the course of the debate, the Philippines might be offended again, because we have, as they say, no reason to be offended with what they have done as it is a matter of their domestic affair. So, when you talk—I would suggest to Honourable Members of the House—do not release your feeling without restriction but just to say what you think is the right thing to say, so that Tun Razak would go and meet Mr Ramos without Mr Ramos getting angry before the meeting.

Our Ambassador in Washington had already met Mr Ramos and the result is that Mr Ramos will meet Tun Abdul Razak in Tokyo, in order to find means for the "easing of tension" between the two countries and to examine the possibility of a Summit Meeting between President Marcos and I—that is the object of the meeting. And so Tun Razak will leave for Tokyo on the 22nd of October and we wish him *bon voyage*, a happy time in Tokyo, and a happy meeting with Mr Ramos. Let us hope that his mission will at last be a success, because we have had so many meetings and we have never found success with anyone of them. So, this time I hope the meeting will at last be a success and there is no need for me to emphasize that it is wrong for the Philippines to pass a Bill annexing a territory that belongs to some other country. No amount of explanation, I think, could put what they have done right in the eyes of the law and in the eyes of the world; and under the circumstances, I feel that while this issue remain alive, I cannot for the life of me see how we can reduce the tension, how we can ease the tension, unless and until the Philippines realise that to annex another person's territory is wrong and so agree to accept our sovereignty with Sabah as a State within Malaysia.

While we pray and we hope for peace, we must be prepared for the worst, because there is no knowing as

to what extent the Philippine Government will go in order, I repeat, "to initiate, to institute and prosecute their claim to North Borneo (Sabah)." Money, I suppose, will have to be found somewhere. It is not easy to come by according to our Finance Minister, but money will have to be found in order to enable us to defend our country against any act of aggression from a foreign country. There is no dearth of men, who are willing to come forward and die for their country. But, we pray it will not come to pass that we have to fight one another, when the situation in this part of the world demands that we must work together in close co-operation with one another not only to better the lot of people of this region, the lot of the peoples close to our country, but to make sure of our very survival in the face of a serious threat from enemies from without and enemies from within.

So, Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the motion standing in my name. *(Applause).*

Persidangan di-tempohkan pada pukul 11.30 pagi.

Persidangan di-sambong sa-mula pada pukul 11.55 pagi.

(Tuan Yang di-Pertua mempengerusikan Meshuarat)

Dr Tan Chee Khoo (Batu) *(dengan izin)*: Mr Speaker, Sir, in rising to second the motion of the Honourable Prime Minister, I am happy to say that this is an occasion where this House can debate an issue irrespective of partisanship, irrespective of whether you are Alliance, we are Opposition, but in doing so, Mr Speaker, Sir, as I made it clear to the Honourable Prime Minister, in seconding this motion I reserve the right to castigate the Government on certain methods that we in the Gerakan do not see eye to eye with the Government. But that does not vitiate the principle of the thing, that is, we in this House today are completely behind the Government in the motion that has been brought forward by the Honourable Prime Minister.

I am also happy, Mr Speaker, Sir, as we all listened raptly to the lengthy speech by the Honourable Prime Minister, that he ended up his sober speech with a request to us in this House not to speak too harshly, not to give vent too much to our feelings in order to create a right climate for the talks that Mr Ramos will soon be having with our Deputy Prime Minister in Tokyo.

Mr Speaker, Sir, since the turn of the second quarter of this century this country has been beset by one crisis after another. In the middle of the twenties there was the Rubber Slump which plunged this country into an economic depression. We had hardly recovered from it when the Great Depression in the United States took place and we, too, were to a certain extent affected by it as well. Just when we had recovered from the effects of these two depressions, the Japanese chose to unleash the war in Asia. For more than three years this country lived in terror and we were then living in a police state to put it mildly. Then after peace had been restored, the Communists started the Emergency which lasted for twelve long years. In 1960 when the Communist militancy was vanquished we thought we would be left in peace to sorts things out, but alas, in 1963 Indonesia started her Confrontation against us. Happily this too has ended and we now are the best of friends with the Indonesians. We had hardly settled down when the Philippines chose to annex Sabah through action in the legislature and thus grab what she could not gain at the conference table in her talks with us. Thus we can see that we have been plagued with one crisis after another and I am happy to say that it is a measure of the resilience and strength of character of our people that we have managed to overcome the crisis that I have enumerated and survived as a nation.

It is not my intention to speak at length on the tortuous train of events that have been sparked off by the formation of Malaysia. This House has already heard the Deputy Prime

Minister speak at length on the Sabah issue on Wednesday, 21st August, 1968, and this House too this morning had the benefit of a lucid explanation from the Prime Minister on the Sabah Grab.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Gerakan is solidly behind the Government in rejecting the Philippine claim on Sabah. The claim is unfounded and has no moral or legal justification. It has been made against the expressed wishes of the Sabahans who have time and again declared in no uncertain terms that they want to be a part of Malaysia and certainly do not want to live under the imperial edict of Manila. The Sabahans do not want their country to be treated as a back-yard of Manila, and they cannot be bought or sold or exchanged or bartered at the whims and fancies of the Filipinos.

Worse still, during the cooling off period agreed to in Jakarta, the Filipino Congress proceeded to annex Sabah, as a territory of the Philippines. Such an act has no precedent in International Law and practice and must make the Filipinos a laughing stock to the rest of the world. Having failed to get what they wanted at the conference table at Bangkok in April this year, they have proceeded to lay hands on Sabah through their legislature. If the Filipinos think that it is perfectly all right for them to do that, I wonder what they will react if this House, in its wisdom, passes an Act that will annex a few of the southern islands of the Philippines. After all, Mr Speaker, Sir, there is much in common between the Southern Filipinos and us culturally, linguistically and religiously. If this House were to do that, I venture to say that the Filipinos would raise a howl and would be up in arms against us, and rightly so. And yet this is what they have done against us.

It is incredible that the freedom-loving Filipinos have acted like twentieth century conquistadors. After all, they have fought heroically against the Spaniards, the Americans and the Japanese and it was not so very long ago that they themselves have thrown

off the colonial yoke imposed on them by the Americans.

It is equally incredible that the Hero of Bataan, who had participated in the Bataan Death March and who is probably the most decorated soldier in the Philippines, should be a party to an act which seeks to impose the imperial yoke on Sabah.

Caesar, when he went to Gaul, said "*Veni, Vidi, Vici*". Freely translated it means "I came, I saw, I conquered." The Spaniards when they went to the Philippines too conquered what they saw. Now the Philippines have sought to emulate their forebears by annexing Sabah through an act of their Congress.

The Gerakan has made it quite clear that Sabah is an integral part of Malaysia and any act to grab Sabah violates our territorial integrity and sovereignty. We have also stated categorically that the Sabah issue is not a subject for dispute and the Sabah Claim should have been rejected out of hand right from the start. There is no doubt that every political party and the whole nation is solidly behind the Government in rejecting the Sabah Grab by the Filipinos.

It would be true to say, Mr Speaker, Sir, that the nation has never been so solidly united as it is today on this issue. During the Emergency there were a number of people who had helped the M.C.P. During the Indonesian confrontation there were a number of Opposition Parties which did not quite agree with the Alliance Government on the manner on which Malaysia was formed. But on the Sabah Grab by the Filipinos the whole nation is solidly behind the Government.

But while the Gerakan is solidly behind the Government in rejecting the Sabah Claim, it wants to make it clear that it is not in complete agreement with the methods adopted, at least some of the methods adopted, by the Alliance Government in solving this issue. Thus it is regrettable that although the Philippine Act annexing Sabah was signed by President Marcos on the 18th September, 1968, it was

nearly a month later that the Government had thought it fit to convene this House to discuss and debate the Sabah Grab. If the Government is anxious to have the whole country and Opposition solidly behind it, it should have convened a meeting of Parliament much earlier to debate the issue. But as I have stated before, better late than never.

It is also regrettable that up to today the Alliance Government has not thought it fit to have consultations with the leaders of the Opposition or to take the Opposition into its confidence in this matter. I do know that we are a nascent democracy and that consultation with the Opposition is unthinkable or alien to the Alliance concept of Parliamentary democracy. But in other countries which practise Parliamentary Democracy, in a national crisis and this is a national crisis—the Opposition is always brought into consultation. Perhaps the Alliance think that they have all the brains and support in this country and that they can go it alone. If this is so, they are making a serious blunder. This is a national crisis that affects all of us and all of us—and this includes the Opposition—should have a sense of participation in all that the Government is doing to combat the Sabah Grab.

Thus why was it that the Tunku, when he went to Sabah, did not think it fit to invite one of the Opposition benches to accompany him there? I am sure if the President of the PMIP had been asked to go along it would have added more weight to what the Tunku said and did in Sabah.

Then why were the Opposition leaders not given a chance to air their support of the Government on Radio and TV? Are these two mass media the monopoly of Alliance Ministers and party leaders that even in a national crisis like this the Opposition leaders are not invited to voice their support of the Government over Radio and TV? The Government missed a grand opportunity by not staging an all-party forum to discuss the Sabah Grab on TV and Radio. The Alliance Government should shed

their parochialism and think of the wider interests of the country. Above all, it should take the Opposition into its confidence in this hour of national crisis.

The other danger that we should take care of is not to over react to what the Filipinos have done. We have a perfectly good case both internally and internationally. Let us not spoil it by over reacting to the Filipino Sabah Grab.

Thus almost within hours of Marcos signing the Act we asked the British to send the Hunter jets to fly over Kota Kinabalu. This has only served to make the volatile Filipinos see red and has soured up relations between the Philippines and the British.

Next, we have allowed the Australians to announce the stationing of one more squadron of Mirage Bombers at Butterworth. By both these acts what do we hope to accomplish—show the Filipinos that we have muscles to defend ourselves?

In the past, we have unnecessarily flexed our muscles when there was no need to do so, but in these two cases that I have quoted, it so happens that the muscles do not belong to us. Then, with the connivance of the Government, we have staged rallies and burned effigies. It is but right that we should show our indignation against the Filipinos, but let us not go too far and certainly let us not tamper with their flag. Let us not spoil a perfectly good case by over-reaction. I suppose this is what the Prime Minister had in mind when he stated, or almost pleaded with this House, that we should not in the course of this debate, be too harsh on the Filipinos and thus heat them up almost before the Deputy Prime Minister had a chance to talk with Mr Ramos.

We have quite rightly accused President Marcos in cooking up the Sabah crisis in view of the Philippines Presidential Election next year. But the Government must also be careful in not doing anything that will allow others, and this includes the Filipinos, to point the same accusing finger at

us. We too have our elections next year, and let it not be said that the Government is interested in keeping the Sabah crisis boiling in their search of a national issue for the next General Election.

The Gerakan welcomes the offer by President Marcos to talk with the Tunku any time and anywhere without pre-conditions. President Marcos in saying this was but repeating the offer that President Johnson had made to Ho Chi Minh at San Antonio. Only that the whole world knows that Johnson had dragged his feet after that. We do hope that President Marcos will not drag his feet over this offer to meet the Tunku any time, anywhere, without pre-conditions.

The Gerakan also welcomes the coming meeting between the Deputy Prime Minister and Mr Ramos at Tokyo. The Gerakan urges the Government to leave no stone unturned to resolve our quarrel with the Philippines however long and dreary the road may be. The Gerakan also calls on the Government not to do anything that may heighten the tension that already exists but on the other hand to do everything that is within our power to defuse the situation. Let us hope that the atmosphere in Tokyo will be right for the two elderly Gentlemen, namely, Mr Ramos and our Deputy Prime Minister, to get together and have a good *cherita* between themselves. I do know that the Ginza District provides a very delectable atmosphere and relaxation for those who have been there and let us hope that, in view of what delights Tokyo can offer, the meeting between Mr Ramos and our Deputy Prime Minister will be a fruitful one.

Mr Speaker, Sir, let me warn President Marcos not to read too much into my criticism of the handling of the Sabah crisis by the Alliance Government as a sign of disunity amongst us. The Gerakan wishes to tell President Marcos that the whole Opposition, and indeed the whole country, is solidly behind the Government on this issue. We may only differ on some of the methods that have been taken by the Government so far. But if the Filipinos

were to be so foolish as to take this as a sign of weakness and if they were to attack us and if the Tunku were to offer us nothing but "blood and toil, tears and sweat", I will say that the whole country will rally to the clarion call by the Tunku in order to guard our territorial integrity and protect our national sovereignty. (*Applause*).

Finally, Mr Speaker, Sir, if madness were to possess the Filipinos and they should invade Sabah, let me quote Churchill, who after the fall of France said this in the House of Commons on the 4th of June, 1940:

"We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender." (*Applause*).

Mr Speaker, Sir, with the permission of the Honourable Prime Minister, under Standing Order 33 (4), I would like to propose the following amendments which I hope the House will accept:

- (a) In paragraph 2, delete the words "declares that" and insert the word "deplores";
- (b) after the words, "the said Act" delete the words "is null and void", and add the words, "and declares that the Act is null and void in accordance with international practice."

If I may make it more clear, I will read this amendment in toto:

"This Act therefore impinges upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Malaysia. It is illegal and therefore this House deplores the annexation of Sabah under the said Act and declares that the said Act is null and void in accordance with international practice."

Thank you, Sir.

Tuan Amadeus Mathew Leong (Sabah): Mr Speaker, Sir, I stand to give my full and enthusiastic support to the Motion moved by our Prime Minister for condemning the Sabah Annexation Bill as null and void. Furthermore, we in Sabah would like to assure this House that we are fully confident that our Prime Minister, the Tunku, our Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, and our Chief

Minister, Tun Datu Haji Mustapha bin Datu Harun will see to it that our national honour will remain intact in the eyes of the world, and we in Sabah will come forward to meet any threat wherever it may come from.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we totally resent the so-called Sabah Annexation Bill by Marcos and we consider it as not only baseless but shameful and aggressive. Marcos' stupid action has actually provoked the wrath of all the people in Sabah, and, in response to the signing of the Congressional Act by Marcos, we have these facts to declare to Marcos and his Government:

That we have made our determination once and for all to live in peace, to choose our own way of life, our own path to the future entirely free from coercion and subjugation within Malaysia in 1963, and in this determination of ours we claim our right to make our own choice of political life and nothing can make us to change our mind;

that we are happy as Malaysians and as Malaysians we will remain forever. We are enjoying the achievement of progress and improvement in Sabah and the projects laid down waiting to be implemented are evident factors that give promise to a very happy and prosperous Sabah;

that in the face of the Philippines' inadequacies and insufficiencies, Marcos should attend to his own country's problems rather than executing his aggressive policy of wresting his neighbour's legal territory;

that the launching of public demonstrations and the burning down of Marcos' effigies throughout Sabah should be sufficient proof that we condemn the imperialist act by Marcos and that we want no part of Philippines' rule and at the same time to indicate to the world and to Marcos and his colleagues, in particular, of our unwavering determination to remain in Malaysia forever. We will swim or sink with Malaysia.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish also to declare that we could not and would never recognise the prerogative taken by the Philippines Congress in passing the Sabah Annexation Bill, for this aggressive action taken was clearly an attempt of Marcos to deny us of our parliamentary rights, freedom and independence and thus constitutes a scandalous violation of the Charter of the United Nations of the International Covenants on Human Rights.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Marcos should also be made to understand that as far as the people in Sabah are concerned, we

only know that we had been under the British rule for almost a century and later, out of our own free will, we chose to join Malaysia and through Malaysia we declared our independence in 1963. Such a thing as sovereignty of the Sultan of Sulu over us never existed in our minds, and neither would we ever accept the Philippines' sovereignty over our Sabah. Marcos should also know that we in Sabah irrespective of race, creed and religion under the capable leadership of our Chief Minister, Tun Datu Haji Mustapha bin Datu Harun are more united than ever, and we will fight Marcos or any aggressors and defend our country, Sabah, until the last drop of our blood. However, Mr Speaker, Sir, we call upon Marcos to come to reason and cancel the stupid legislation for the sake of neighbourly brotherhood, peace, stability and prosperity of the countries in South-East Asia. Thank you, Sir (*Applause*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: I must make it clear to the House that the Honourable Member for Batu considers that he has placed an amendment to the motion and he has given me this paper, but I am afraid—he is not here now—I cannot accept his amendment as he was seconding the motion as it is. Until the motion has been seconded as it is written in the Order Paper, nobody can amend it; he was seconding the motion as he said at first and then he proceeded to the amendment. It cannot be done.

Dato' Abdullah bin Dato' Abdulrahman (Kuala Trengganu Selatan): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong usul Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri yang ada di-hadapan kita ini. Walau pun negara Malaysia ada-lah satu negara yang kecil, kita ra'ayat di-Malaysia tidak suka negara kita di-permain²kan oleh satu negara lain yang berjiran dengan kita.

Kalau negara kita ini di-cherobohi dengan kekerasan oleh orang² Philipina, saya perchaya pencherobohan itu akan di-tentang dengan hebat-nya oleh ra'ayat di-negeri ini.

Perbuatan President Marcos menyain Undang² yang menjadikan Sabah sa-bahagian daripada negara Philipina itu

ada-lah mengejutkan dunia dan itu ada-lah satu perbuatan yang kejam dan bertentangan dengan tata-tertib antara bangsa. Saya rasa tidak patut ada satu undang² di-dalam dunia ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang boleh mengizinkan satu negara, seperti Philipina, untuk merampas satu negara hak kepunyaan orang lain. Kalau keadaan yang ada sekarang ini makin bertambah burok, saya berharap, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan akan mengambil langkah mengadakan kerahan tenaga sa-chara besar²an untuk menjadikan ra'ayat di-negara Malaysia kita ini sa-bagai tentera untuk mempertahankan kedaulatan bangsa dan negara Malaysia.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerahan tenaga yang saya maksudkan ini bukan sahaja tertumpu kepada negeri Sabah, bahkan juga di-seluruh Malaysia kalau keadaan makin bertambah burok. Dengan jalan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kurang-lah sedikit bebanan perbelanjaan Kerajaan terhadap pertahanan negara ini. Juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau keadaan yang ada sekarang ini makin bertambah burok, saya berharap Kerajaan akan melancharkan sa-chara besar²an kutipan derma perwira bagi maksud pertahanan negara Malaysia ini. Saya berseru kepada semua parti² politik di-dalam Malaysia supaya melupakan ideologi politik-nya untuk kepentingan perpaduan ra'ayat di-negara ini. Dengan ada-nya perpaduan di-kalangan ra'ayat ini maka akan menjamin keselamatan bangsa dan negara Malaysia.

Pada masa² dahulu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan Malaysia telah pun menyampaikan hajat negara Philipina dengan mengadakan pilihan untuk menentukan hasrat penduduk² Sabah dan sa-bagai-nya, tetapi sekarang perbuatan hendak merampas Sabah dengan jalan kekerasan oleh President Marcos ada-lah satu perbuatan yang sudah melampaui batas. Saya perchaya perbuatan President Marcos mengadakan undang² ini ada-lah satu perbuatan yang di-kutok oleh semua negara di-dalam dunia ini. Sa-bagai negara sahabat, saya berseru kepada negara² besar seperti England, Amerika dan lain² yang menda'awa chintakan keamanan dan demokrasi supaya mendesak President Marcos dari Philipina supaya

menggugorkan tuntutan-nya ka-atas Sabah ini, bukan sa-kadar datang kahadapan sahaja dan mengakui Sabah itu sa-bahagian daripada Malaysia.

Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berharap pertemuan di-antara Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri dengan Tuan Ramos dan kemudian-nya di-antara Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri dengan President Marcos akan menelorkan hasil yang baik bagi kepentingan negara kita dan juga negara Philipina sendiri. Sekian.

Tuan D. R. Seenivasagam (Ipoh)
(dengan izin): Mr Speaker, Sir, the Motion before this House is interesting and may I refer to paragraph 3 of the motion—"That this House categorically rejects the Philippine claim to Sabah as without any legal foundation and as a denial of the inalienable right of self-determination of the people of Sabah."

Mr Speaker, Sir, I will be moving an amendment to paragraph 3 at a later stage, but may I say this: that it is strange, very strange, that though the claim to Sabah by the Republic of the Philippines was made years ago, this House has never been asked, and indeed this Government has never categorically rejected the claim of the Philippines Government to Sabah, until we are asked to do so today. I fully agree that there must be a categorical rejection of the claim by the Philippines to Sabah, but I say that it is a pity that this Government did not think earlier of categorically rejecting the claim by the Philippines and I say that if at the time the claim had been made it had been rejected categorically, then we would not find ourselves in the situation that we today find ourselves in.

Mr Speaker, Sir, this House meets today in very special circumstances and Malaysia once again finds herself faced with an international crisis. However, this is not the first time since Independence that we find the country in such a situation. We are now in our eleventh year of independence and within that period of time two Asian nations, that is Indonesia and the Republic of the

Philippines, have thought it fit and proper to take steps, in one case, the case of Indonesia, to crush Malaysia itself, and in the case of the Philippines to claim part of what is Malaysian territory.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a parallel anywhere in Asia similar to the situation that has faced Malaysia within the last eleven years. Therefore, one must surely ponder and ask oneself, why is it that we, who are obviously a peaceful nation with no territorial ambitions, within eleven years, have to face the wrath, the anger, of two large Asian Nations. Could it be that there is something wrong with our foreign policy? Could it be that in our dealings with foreign problems, we have been wavering and we have never given a categorical answer to any disputes that have arisen within the country? Could it be that somebody in charge of foreign affairs is to blame for Malaysia, within eleven years, having to face a claim by two Asian nations? I would not like to answer that but, perhaps, those responsible could answer it themselves. The Philippines want Sabah. We refuse to give Sabah to the Philippines.

Mr Speaker, Sir, on this question of whether Malaysians are ready to defend Sabah, I do not think it is necessary for us to stand up here, perhaps, like parrots to repeat again and again that we are ready to fight to the last drop of our blood. I do not think that is necessary, because I think it is presumed that every Malaysian will be ready to defend Malaysian territory from aggression from any other nation from any part of the world. I think that is a matter which Government must presume and which each person must be presumed to be ready to do and it is only if he exhibits contrary intention that his loyalty or his desire to preserve Malaysia as it is should come into issue.

Mr Speaker, Sir, again in the last eleven years, two Asian nations, i.e., Malaysia and the Philippines, have adopted defined attitudes towards each other, have exchanged angry words and

threats are being hurled towards each other. Mr Speaker, Sir, while President Marcos speaks of war weapons such as missiles, we in Malaysia and the Malaysian Government stress the point that we expect our friends to come to our aid in the hour of need. All these actions and all these statements are, of course, received jubilantly by the Western powers who must be laughing to themselves and saying how ridiculously Asian nations can behave, because the whole of the Sabah incident, the Annexation Bill itself, is a ridiculous piece of legislation, leaving aside the legality or otherwise of it to be passed by a nation.

Britain, of course, has treaty obligations to Malaysia and one can expect that they will be honour bound to come to our aid if necessary, and they have so declared. However, it is pertinent to ask whether any of our other so-called friends, be they white, be they brown, or be they black, have any of them given an assurance to us that militarily they will give us support if and when needed? Moral support you will get from the sidelines. It is simple. But I think that if we expect to get military support from nations other than Britain in the dispute with the Philippines, I think we are going to be greatly disappointed on this matter.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Indonesian confrontation ended. It really ended at the Subang International Airport when Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie embraced the long lost brothers when they arrived at Subang Airport. Let us hope that it will not be long before the same Tan Sri is at Subang International Airport to receive the long lost brothers and embrace them from the Philippines.

Mr Speaker, Sir, hopes for a peaceful and logical solution of the strained relationship now existing between Malaysia and the Philippines have risen greatly with the announcement that the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister will be meeting Mr Ramos in Tokyo. We in Malaysia, as a civilized nation, must see that nothing is said or done which will impede, embarrass or make it difficult for these two leaders to talk at a round table with

the true spirit of negotiations and solve the problems which face both countries.

I was, therefore, particularly happy to read in the *Straits Times*—though I do not like to read the *Straits Times*, I am still forced to read it—on the 12th of October that the Honourable Mentri Besar of Selangor had said that all protest rallies in his State would be called off, so that the situation would be more favourable for the Deputy Prime Minister to have his talks with Mr Ramos. The next morning I was indeed shocked to hear Radio Malaysia—well, I use the word advertise—advertise that about 20,000 people at Malacca attended an anti-Marcos rally, burning effigies and the usual beating of drums.

Mr Speaker, Sir, let us have a uniform policy. Do you want to have a period of cooling off? Do you want to give the talks at Tokyo a chance to succeed, or do you want to sabotage those talks? If you want those talks to succeed, then all these protest rallies, all these burning of effigies, all these insults should be called off, at least until those talks are over, because they can do no good. They can do considerable harm. However, one might ask, and I think the Honourable Member for Batu did ask, is this going to be the gimmick for the Alliance in the 1969 elections? Is it going to be once more the gimmick by saying, "If you want to save Malaysia from the Republic of Philippines, vote Alliance."? It may have worked in the Indonesian confrontation. I do not think that the same gimmick can work a second time. So, let us not try, irrespective of the suffering of the people, to use an issue of this nature as a political gimmick, because I know that although these protest rallies are organised by private persons, Action Front, Umno Youths, Governments—State Governments are sending circulars round telling Government servants to take the day off to attend these rallies—surely you are playing politics on a matter of such great importance to the country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, now we come to the actual Motion before us for approval.

Before a person can discuss this Motion logically, one must consider whether the factual statements contained in the Motion are correct or give a true picture of the background of the Sabah issue. One must consider a series of events which led up to the passing of the Annexation Bill by the Philippines. The passing of the Bill is condemned—that fact is condemned. But, let us consider the events which led up to the passing of that Bill. Before I do this, let me say that I speak for my Party and for those who sent me into this House to speak for them. On behalf of these people, I say categorically that Sabah is constitutionally a State of Malaysia and become so on the date Malaysia came into being. Our stand by our previous statements in this House when the formation of Malaysia was debated was that it was ill-conceived and it would lead to troubled times for us. We stand categorically with those statements today. History has proved that we were right and correct and the events both in Sabah and Sarawak over the years have proved this. However, that period is now only history for the reading.

Very early in Malaysia's history, the Republic of Philippines laid claim to Sabah. It became a dangerous issue. Conferences were held between nations and I think it is fair to say that the Philippines claim was at no time categorically rejected by the Malaysian Government, although it was certainly strongly resisted. This Government, perhaps, thought it better to postpone the evil day by saying that negotiations could be held to settle the Sabah claim. The ultimate result was the famous Bangkok talks, where the Malaysian delegation was led by none other than Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie. The weak stand taken by Malaysia, when the claim to Sabah was first made, was perhaps a fatal and unpardonable error into which the Malaysian Government fell headlong. Had we rejected totally the claim to Sabah, when the claim was made or within a reasonable period of its being made, then there would have been no question of negotiations, there would have been no question of talks, and the issue would have been settled one way

or the other long, long ago. Why the Government did not do that, I cannot understand. Perhaps, being a peaceful country, being a country with no territorial ambition, we thought that if we keep on talking something will come out of it. The Malaysian Government was, therefore, honour bound to hold the Bangkok talks because the Malaysian Government agreed to have talks on this claim, and the Bangkok talks were held. Now, the Bangkok talks failed. Its failure is not important, but what is important is the aftermath, the after effect of the failure of the Bangkok talks.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Bangkok talks failed for many reasons. Some of the faults are the faults of the Philippines delegation; some of the faults are the faults of the Malaysian delegation at the talks; but one thing was outstanding, that is the leader of the delegation adopted an overbearing attitude, was arrogant and adopted a policy of telling the Philippine delegation that they could take it or leave it. The leader of the Malaysian delegation went so far as to tell the Philippine delegation that they had no claim to Sabah and that they should all go home and keep quiet. Mr Speaker, Sir, is that the manner in which you treat the Republic of Philippines, or any other nation that comes to negotiate? You disagree with their claim—good enough; but do not try to insult them, because the Republic of the Philippines, as much as Malaysia, wants to maintain their honour, their dignity and their self-respect. I say this—that the Philippine delegation was insulted, abused at the Bangkok talks unnecessarily, and rather than making friends—and I think the blame must fall squarely, perhaps, on the shoulders of Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie for the Annexation Bill which was passed on Sabah.

The Philippine delegation went home; our delegation came back. The situation had not been improved by the Bangkok talks; it had been worsened. Did any of us honestly, reasonably, expect that this was the last we were going to hear of the Sabah claim? I do not think anybody would have expected that this was the last of the Sabah

claim. I think a reasonable person would have expected a violent reaction on the part of the leaders of the Philippines and their violent reaction was, of course, the ultimate passing of the Annexation Bill. Had there been a more cordial meeting at Bangkok, not necessarily a more successful one, but a more cordial one, it is, I say, an even bet that the Annexation Bill would never have been thought of, or would never have been passed in the Philippine legislature. It was retaliation; it was revenge; it was passed in anger.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we seem to be bothering a bit too much about the legality or otherwise of that Annexation Bill. I do not think it matters two hoots to us whether it is legal as far as the Philippines are concerned or not concerned. It is a Bill which is a piece of useless paper which cannot be enforced except by the force of arms because Malaysia, as has been said, and I repeat, will not give up one square inch of her land. Therefore, I do not think we should be too bothered whether the Annexation Bill is legal or illegal. All we say is, "We are not interested in your Annexation Bill, we are not going to give you Sabah". That is all.

I come to the Motion in detail. There are four paragraphs. I find no objection to paragraph 1, paragraph 2 and paragraph 4. However, paragraph 3 is somewhat objectionable, because I do not think it is a correct statement of fact. Paragraph 3 reads:

"That this House categorically rejects the Philippines claim to Sabah as without any legal foundation and as a denial of the inalienable right of self-determination of the people of Sabah."

I am not going to propose an amendment, as I thought I would. I would suggest it to the Government. I suggest that paragraph 3 should read this way:

"That this House categorically rejects the Philippine claim to Sabah as without any legal foundation."

Delete the words,

"and as a denial of the inalienable right of self-determination of the people of Sabah".

What we pass in this House will be read internationally, not only by President Marcos, but it will be read by

other parts of the world. I do not know how a claim can mean a denial of rights to other people. A mere claim can never amount to a denial of rights. Therefore, it is senseless to say that the claim is a denial of the inalienable right of self-determination of the people of Sabah. It is disconnected and illogical. A claim in itself can never deny something to somebody else. The manner in which the claim is made and the manner in which it is proposed to enforce that claim are the matters which may result in denial of fundamental rights, in this case, to the people of Sabah. I hope it will be considered as a point to clear this motion to read more properly.

However, there is also another objection. Were the people of Sabah ever given their inalienable right of self-determination even by the Malaysian Government, even by the Secretary-General of the United Nations? I say, they were not. Never was the issue put to them as a plebiscite or as a referendum whether they wanted to come into Malaysia or they did not want to come into Malaysia. I am not arguing for a moment that the majority of the people of Sabah, may be, wanted to come into Malaysia, but they were never given that as a specific question, or as a specific point, to be answered by the people of Sabah. Neither were they ever given the specific question of whether they wanted to join the Philippines, no plebiscite was ever held; no referendum was ever made in the State of Sabah as to whether they wanted to join the Philippines. Mr Speaker, Sir, these are facts which are indisputable. I mention them, so that the record may be straight for the reading.

Now, President Marcos and the Philippines have constantly said, at one stage or another, "Let us have a plebiscite, let us refer this matter to the World Court." We know what the answer of the people of Sabah will be. The answer will be, "We don't want the Philippines; we don't want to join the Philippines." From our legal experts, we know that the answer from the World Court will be that the Republic of the Philippines has no legitimate claim to Sabah.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we are now come to an impasse, where either the Philippines has to give way, or Malaysia has to give way. Malaysia will not give way, and rightly so, because Malaysia stands on rights and rights will triumph over, perhaps, even might. Right must triumph in the end. So, it is obvious that Malaysia cannot and will not give way to the Philippines claim to Sabah.

Now, the situation has come to a deadlock. We hope that President Marcos having seen the opposition to his Bill from, I would say, almost the entire world, including China I think, who told him that he better start getting the Americans out of his country before he tries to take other peoples country. For one reason or another, all the world is against the claim to Sabah. In his homeland of the Philippines itself, there are large sections, powerful sections, respected leaders, who are against the claim to Sabah. Let us hope that these factors will weigh heavily on the minds of Philippine leaders of today and Mr Ramos, when he meets our Honourable Deputy Prime Minister at Tokyo, will not only pave the way for a Summit Meeting between the Honourable Prime Minister and the President of the Republic of Philippines but will also make it clear that such a meeting will once and for all solve the differences between these two countries, whether or not the Sabah issue is discussed at that Summit Meeting. If it is not discussed, we in Malaysia would like, after such a Summit Meeting, for the Philippines to make a categorical statement that they, in the interests of peace, perhaps world peace, in the interests of ASEAN, have given up their claim to Sabah. Those are our hopes, those are our desires.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it has been said by the Honourable Prime Minister in moving this Motion today that there was justifiable anger in this country and it was demonstrated by public meetings and demonstrations I agree that there was justifiable anger. I agree that people should be allowed to demonstrate within reason and within the law, but I think in this case some demonstrators went a bit too far, and I think they cannot be condoned and

they must be distinguished from the others who managed to control themselves, for civilization means controlling your emotions.

I refer to the University student bodies who went to foreign territory, the Philippine Embassy, invaded the sanctity of the Embassy to pull down the sacred flag of the Philippines, in the course of which two of them got broken heads, but that is another point. However, I would not be doing my duty if I do not stand here and say that my Party and those who sent me to this Parliament condemn that action on the part of those university students. We are, of course, grateful to them that they demonstrated their desire to defend this country, but that demonstration should have been more orderly, should have been more guarded.

Mr Speaker, Sir, what was the retaliation? The retaliation from the Philippines was not a hundred students but 20,000 students demonstrated. Is that the way in which we cool down, in which we want a cooling down period? That is not the way, and I do hope that in future, where offences are committed, whether they are committed in support of the Government, or against the Government, they are still offences, and I do hope that necessary steps will be taken to see that they do not occur again. But it is a redeeming feature that throughout the country, although very large numbers of persons demonstrated, there was orderliness, there was rule and there was good sense displayed. We showed them that we resent their actions and at the same time we controlled ourselves in our actions.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I disagree: the Cobbold Commission or the Secretary-General of the United Nations, all their investigations and all their reports, I say, did not at any time deal with the Sabah issue. Therefore it would be strictly incorrect to say that the Sabah issue as related to the Republic of the Philippines was ever put to the people of Sabah at any stage in its history with Malaysia.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I have no doubt that the people of Sabah, as the people of West Malaysia, do not want Philip-

pine rule over Sabah or any part of Malaysian soil, but this issue must be solved. Bangkok is a hot place, a very humid place, perhaps, so that the Tan Sri lost his temper because it was so hot. But Tokyo at this stage is cool, it is a pleasant place to stay in, and I hope that both leaders will come to a satisfactory preliminary session, after which the Sabah issue will be solved once and for all, because we would be failing in our duty, if we allow the Malaysian people to have this hanging over their heads any more. As I said earlier, it is a pity that the Malaysian Government did not categorically reject the Sabah claim in its earlier stages. It has never been done. You can look up records, you can look up anything you like, but we have never rejected the claim categorically, and I am happy to see that in the motion today, for the first time, surprisingly after so many years, a categorical denial of the claim has been put in. It is the right thing to have done many years ago.

Mr Speaker, Sir, subject to those comments on the Motion, and subject to the suggestion, which I made and which I do not intend to propose, which I leave it to the Government to accept or think over it, I say this: that the peoples of Malaysia will fight, if necessary, to defend Malaysian soil. The people from Malaysia do not want to fight, not because they are cowards, but because they are a peaceful race, a peaceful people, who want advancement in their own country. We have no territorial ambitions. It is my hope that as in the case of Indonesia, the Philippine dispute will be settled and that, as I said before, before long the same Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie can embrace our Philippine brothers at the Subang International Airport, when they arrive. Thank you, Sir.

Perdana Menteri: I do not know whether the Honourable Member intended to move amendments to the Motion or he just mentions it in the course of his speech.

Tuan D. R. Seenivasagam: I just mentioned it, I think the Minister of Information took it down.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Persidangan ini di-tempohkan hingga pukul 4.00 petang hari ini.

Persidangan di-tempohkan pada pukul 1.00 tengah hari.

Persidangan di-sambong sa-mula pada pukul 4.00 petang.

(Tuan Timbalan Yang di-Pertua
mempengerusikan Meshuarat)

USUL

PHILIPPINES' CLAIM TO SABAH— DECLARATION OF PHILIPPINE LEGISLATION ANNEXING SABAH AS NULL AND VOID

Perbakhathan di-sambong sa-mula.

Tuan Ong Kee Hui (Sarawak): Mr Speaker, on the 2nd day of October, a crowd of 5,000 people, according to the Sarawak newspaper reports, gathered at the Central Padang at Kuching, Sarawak, to protest against the passing of the Bill by the Congress of the Philippines making Sabah a part of that country. As the leader of the S.U.P.P., I had the privilege with other party leaders of addressing that gathering, and I would like, Sir, if I may to reiterate what I had said on that occasion on the stand of the S.U.P.P. on this issue.

We, in the S.U.P.P., welcome this opportunity of stating what we feel and think in this House on the Philippines claim on Sabah. We have always believed, Sir, in the fundamental and inalienable right of a people to determine their own future. The people of a country should not be treated like chattels, or real estate to be disposed of by any colonial masters, imperial power or despot or potentate, for profit or at the whims and fancies of any title holders or masters.

After listening, Sir, to the Honourable Prime Minister's very lucid statement this morning, this appears to be the whole basis of the Philippine claim to Sabah—a title to the land, that is Sabah, which they have somehow acquired. This is against the principle of self-determination for

colonial people as decided by the United Nations resolution to which, I think, the Philippine Government had itself referred to and to which the Philippine Government had itself subscribed. Indeed, the same principle is, I understand, enshrined in the Constitution of the Philippines itself. The Philippine claim is, therefore, Sir, in the view of the S.U.P.P. untenable and must be resisted. It is, Sir, because we believe in this principle that we in the S.U.P.P. had in the past opposed the inclusion of Sarawak in Malaysia in the first place. We insisted that the people of Sarawak should be consulted, not merely a handful of so-called leaders of the different communities, but the people as a whole should be allowed to determine whether they wish to be included in Malaysia or not. We are, therefore, Sir, not anti-Malaysia as such, but firmly opposed to the way in which Malaysia was formed. Unfortunately, Sir, the label has stuck and to this day we have been called Anti-Malaysia. As a result of the objections raised by us, we had the Cobbold Commission and the despatch of a United Nations team to assess the feeling of the people. But, as the Honourable Member from Ipoh has pointed out, neither in Sabah nor in Sarawak had the proper procedure of a referendum or plebiscite been held. If this had been done, as we had demanded of the colonial government, we would have been in a better position, Sir, to resist Indonesia confrontation over Sarawak and now the Philippine claim on Sabah.

However, this is now part of history. Since Malaysia Day, we in the S.U.P.P., as a responsible loyal Opposition, have taken our seats in both the State Council Negri and here in Parliament and taken our oath to uphold the Constitution. As a loyal Opposition, we have dissociated ourselves from those who work against the security and integrity of the nation, and we would not countenance violation of our territorial integrity.

We made this quite clear during the Indonesian confrontation and we will make it clear in no uncertain terms now in this violation of our territorial

integrity by the legislative annexation of Sabah by the Philippines.

The protest rally held at Kuching was in many ways a unique and memorable occasion, for gathered there were the people of Sarawak of all races and all party affiliations who were so united by the external threat to our survival as a nation that even Ministers of the Government and Alliance Party members joined me in shouting "SAATTI", which is our Party slogan. If, Sir, we can show such unity of purpose, I say our chances of survival as a nation are excellent. On that occasion, Sir, I declared, in conclusion, and I would like to repeat it now, "We stand solidly behind the Government and the people of Sabah in resisting this attempt by the Government of the Philippines to annex Sabah." We therefore joined in the protest against the attempt to violate the territorial integrity of our sister State of Sabah, and if our brothers in Sabah feel that standing solidly behind them is not good enough, I am confident that we in Sarawak are prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder in front to face any aggressors.

Sir, I fully support the motion.

Tuan Haji Abu Bakar bin Hamzah (Bachok): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan izin tuan, saya turut menyokong Usul yang di-bawa oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri atas nama negara Malaysia dalam perkara tuntutan Philipina ka-atas wilayah Sabah.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana biasa saya sa-bagi sa-orang Ahli Pembangkang, yang baik itu saya menyokong dan yang tidak baik saya membangkang, sama ada dalam ketika menyokong, atau membangkang, ada perkara² yang saya chuba mengatakan kapada Kerajaan menurut pendapat saya yang saya pandang baik. Salah satu daripada-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada Ahli² Yang Berhormat ketawa jikalau saya sebutkan, ia-itu malang-nya tuntutan Philipina terhadap Sabah telah berlaku di-ketika saya tidak ada dalam Malaysia, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Di-ketika saya meninggalkan Malaysia, saya perchaya Perdana Menteri ada, Timbalan Perdana Men-

teri ada, beberapa Menteri² Perikatan ada, Menteri yang berjawatan, Menteri yang tanpa Jabatan, yang masoh Menteri dan yang sudah berhenti daripada Menteri, saya merasa mereka ini dapat mengawal negara ini, tiba² apabila saya tidak ada, maka tuntutan itu pun berlaku (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang saya berasa sedih ia-lah apabila saya balek ka-negeri ini, maka saya dapati semangat Kerajaan kita, saya tidak sebutkan Perikatan, saya tidak sebut PAS, UMNO, Kerajaan kita tidak begitu berminat dan tidak begitu tegas sa-bagaimana suara² yang tidak rasmi di-dalam surat khabar.

Saya rasa² terbayang dalam kepala saya reciprocal action yang akan diambil oleh Kerajaan ia-lah dengan memasukkan beberapa pulau² kepunyaan Philipina ka-dalam wilayah Malaysia sa-bagaimana Philipina memasukkan Sabah, kita meluluskan satu Rang Undang² bagi memasukkan pulau² Luzon atau pun Lasbano ka-dalam negara kita dan apabila ada perundingan hendak mengambil Sabah, maka kita boleh tawar-menawar. "Kalau kamu mahu Sabah, beri yang ini, kalau kamu tidak mahu, ambil balek negeri kamu." Tetapi benda yang sa-macham ini tidak berlaku dan saya pun tidak berniat hendak menyuruh Kerajaan membuat begitu, kerana mereka sendiri tidak bersedia untuk membuat begitu.

Yang kedua, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-lah akibat-nya, di-masa kita membentok Malaysia dahulu pehak² Pembangkang ini tidak di-ajak sama berunding dan sa-lepas itu pun berkali² saya mengatakan bahawa patut-lah di-bawa pehak Pembangkang ini turut sama dalam rundingan² atas masaalah national—dalam peringkat international yang sa-macham ini. Saya tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, banyak perbezaan di-antara pendapat pehak Pembangkang dengan Kerajaan, tetapi saya sa-kali pun tidak pernah terlintas dalam kepala saya bahawa pehak Pembangkang ini akan berselisih faham dalam masaalah² national. Berkali² saya berkata dalam hal ini, tetapi Kerajaan memandang kata² itu sa-bagai satu kata² yang tidak berguna.

22 haribulan Oktober, 1968 ini, kalau tidak salah saya, Timbalan Perdana Menteri akan pergi ka-Tokyo. Apa salah-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau di-bawa pula Ahli² Pembangkang ini turut sama sa-kurang²-nya memandang dan mengikuti perkara² yang berlaku oleh kerana kalau-lah di-takdirkan jadi peperangan, maka peperangan itu dia tidak memilih parti Pembangkang, atau pun parti pemerintah, benchana-nya akan menimpa kita.

Yang ketiga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bukan sa-orang ahli undang², tetapi saya rasa pelek juga sebab President Marcos sa-orang ahli undang², kerana dia sendiri mencheritakan kapada saya, bahawa dia sa-orang ahli undang² ia-itu memasukkan wilayah yang kepunyaan sa-buah negara lain, yang sah, ka-dalam negeri kita samalah umpama-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau Tuan Yang di-Pertua izin saya katakan, kita melihat isteri orang chantek juga, maka kita pun pergi register bahawa yang itu isteri aku. Jadi, bagini-lah juga Philipina meregisterkan Sabah sa-bagai satu wilayah di-dalam Philipina, maka dia akan tuntutan: tuntutan ini hanya akan berjaya kalau si-suami itu sa-orang pengechut dan tuntutan Philipina ka-atas Sabah ini hanya akan berjaya, kalau Kerajaan kita bersikap sa-bagaimana yang saya umpamakan tadi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya memerhatikan perkara yang kechil ini berlaku ia-lah kerana kurang kerjasama-nya antara Kerajaan dengan pehak Pembangkang, ia-itu apabila kita telah mengadakan tunjok² perasaan mengatakan hasrat dan pendirian ra'ayat di-Malaysia Barat; ini yang saya tengok di-Kelantan ia-itu ada 50,000 orang lebeh telah hadir, tetapi tidak di-siarkan dalam talivishen langsung, yang masok-nya ia-lah di-tempat² lain, tetapi di-Kelantan tidak di-masokkan, sebab ada banyak bulan bintang pada hari itu. Dan orang Perikatan tidak bersunggo² di-Kelantan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sebab itu mereka kalah—tidak bersunggo², tidak ada poster-nya, tidak ada sepandok-nya, hanya mereka bekerjasama tolong membawa sepandok² PAS itu. Mereka takut menunjokkan kalau² orang² UMNO itu

membawa sepandok² PAS. Jadi ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sentimen politik yang kechil macham ini berlaku yang saya nampak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Yang Kelima, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak-lah bagitu gembira sangat dengan sa-tengah chakap² pehak yang bukan rasmi, tetapi orang itu rasmi, berchakap dalam capacity yang tidak rasmi. Mithal-nya, Ketua Menteri Sabah, kalau saya tidak salah, mengatakan bahawa langkah mayat ra'ayat Sabah dahulu, baharu Philipina boleh mengambil Sabah. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara yang samacham ini berlaku di-kalangan pehak² sa-belah sana di-ketika Singapura hendak keluar dahulu; langkah mayat kami di-Selat Tebrau dahulu, baharu boleh ambil Singapura. Akhirnya orang² yang berchakap yang samacham itu sekarang ini berubah daripada parti politik menjadi parti kesenian, operasi talkin, operasi chat batu nisan, operasi tanam kubor—ini berlaku di-Singapura, dan saya bimbang chakap² yang samacham ini Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak dapat di-tunaikan, ia-itu manusia ini memang berani dalam chakap-nya, lebeh daripada dia berani dalam bertindak. Ini telah berlaku dan saya suka-lah chakap² orang² yang mempunyai jawatan politik yang rasmi, kalau tidak rasmi di-sukat²kan chakap-nya, sa-bagaimana Ketua Kerajaan kita berchakap lemah lembut dan saya berharap pula walau pun lembut sa-bagaimana Perdana Menteri berchakap, tetapi tidak usah-lah dia membuat statement sa-bagaimana di-tanya apakah kalau China menyerang, maka dia hendak serah negeri ini, dan apabila di-tanya pula kalau Philipina hendak serang, dia takut banyak orang akan mati—serah. Jadi perkara yang samacham itu saya tidak bersetuju. Dan saya tidak pula menganjorkan supaya ishtiharkan perang. Saya bimbang nanti surat² khabar tersilap tulis mengatakan Ahli dari Bachok mengusulkan kapada Kerajaan supaya mengishtiharkan perang dengan Philipina. Saya tidak berkata bagitu. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau di-serang, kita mesti menyerang.

Yang keenam, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya membaca usul ini saya dapati tidak bersungguh² hendak mempertahankan negara kita, boleh jadi saya silap, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tetapi itu pendapat saya, ia-itu kalau sa-sabuah negara itu sudah mengakui sa-sabuah negara yang lain seperti mana Philipina mengakui Malaysia dan dia sudah ada perhubungan diplomatik dan tahu Sabah itu satu bahagian daripada Malaysia, kemudian mereka itu memasukkan satu Rang Undang² supaya memasukkan wilayah Sabah, saya rasa, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini ada-lah satu perishtiharan perang terhadap kedaulatan Malaysia; chuma perishtiharan perang sekarang ini tidak sa-bagai dahulu sangat, ia-itu kita membawa senapang atau pun bom, tetapi sekarang ini di-perangkan di-atas meja, ia-itu dengan meluluskan undang². Dan yang pelek-nya negara kita pula mengatakan tidak, jadi erti-nya kita menafikan dan tidak begitu aggressive, ma'ana saya sebut aggressive itu tidak-lah bererti kita mengachau orang, tetapi dia mesti ada kekuatan, reciprocal itu mesti sama, ia-itu dia mithal-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita mengatakan di-sini tuntutan ini dalam paragraph yang kedua bahawa tuntutan ini bukan sahaja tidak berasas bahkan di-buat dengan tidak berpatutan. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-buah negara yang mengishti-harkan sa-bahagian negara kita menjadi sa-bahagian negara-nya, jawapan yang sa-macam ini ada-lah terlalu ringan; sa-patut-nya kita mengatakan Rang Undang² yang di-luluskan itu merupakan sa-bagai satu pengishti-haran perang kapada kita, maka di-waktu itu baharu-lah ra'ayat kita berasa bersungguh² mempertahankan negara kita ini.

Yang ketujuh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua,—tidak banyak, Tuan Yang di-Pertua—ada dalam sa-puluh sahaja. Yang ketujuh, saya teringat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mengapa Philipina bersetuju pula mengadakan rundingan dengan Malaysia merundingkan sa-suatu perkara ia-lah menuntut, tetapi dia sudah tidak tuntutan, dia sudah luluskan satu Rang Undang² dalam negara-nya, hendak berunding pula di-atas itu. Jadi, dia sendiri sa-olah² tidak perchaya kapada apa yang di-lakukan di-dalam

Congress-nya, atau pun dia memandang Malaysia ini boleh di-main²kan. Saya perchaya Kerajaan tidak begitu sangat berminat untuk bersungguh² kerana boleh jadi dari satu segi. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau saya di-izinkan menyebut ia-itu Kerajaan akan menggunakan Sabah issue ini dalam Pilehanraya yang akan datang sa-bagaimana juga dahulu-nya di-buat konfrantasi Indonesia. Susah bagi parti saya tidak sokong Kerajaan—Indonesia konfrantasi pada masa zaman Sukarno hendak sokong, masok bakul Kerajaan. Ini pula dekat dengan pilehanraya ada lagi satu; saya pun tidak tahu tuah Kerajaan Perikatan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bila hendak ada pilehanraya ada sahaja tuah dia datang—dia sekarang ini sudah tidak kuat, tetapi tuah itu menolong dia. Jadi, ini pun satu perkara, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dunia lain memandang perkara yang sa-macam ini satu permainan yang sa-mata² memainkan ra'ayat yang tidak bersungguh².

Saya bimbang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mengikut ulasan renchana pengarang *Utusan Melayu* pada hari ini, bertanya apa-kah ada rahsia perundingan yang di-jangka ini di-antara pehak Malaysia dengan pehak Philipina di-Tokyo. Apakah rahsia-nya? Saya bimbang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, oleh kerana mentality, atau pun watak pemimpin² di-Philipina yang saya baca dan saya lihat sedikit sa-banyak dan yang saya bertemu, ia-itu mereka itu sudah menjadi kebiasaan menjual negeri. Mengikut sejarah pada 10hb Disember, 1898, apabila perundingan di-adakan di-antara Amerika dengan Spain di-Paris, maka US\$20 juta telah di-bayar kapada Spain untuk memberi Philipina ini kapada Amerika dan orang² Philipina pun bersetuju. Jadi, dalam perundingan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bimbang pula, tawar-menawar dan beli-membeli Sabah itu akan berlaku, kerana mereka itu sudah mempunyai tradition, sudah pernah membuat perkara yang sa-macam itu. Kalau ini-lah berlaku, maka akan susah-lah kita dalam menghadapi kenyataan yang sa-benar-nya.

Ada pun masalah kekuatan tentera, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila kita menyentoh Sabah dalam tuntutan

Philipina ini, maka berkaitan-lah kita kepada beberapa perkara dalam peringkat international. Kita tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Philipina ahli di-dalam SEATO dan di-samping itu kita tahu juga bahawa pada tahun 1951 ada satu Defence Mutual Treaty di-antara Philipina dengan Amerika. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagaimana politik di-Philipina itu lichin-nya pada masa ini, ia-itu negara Philipina marahkan Amerika mengatakan bahawa Amerika tidak baik, tetapi mereka ini mempunyai treaty² yang kita tidak tahu dan ini bukan sahaja membawa kepada perselisihan Malaysia dengan Philipina, tetapi akan mewujudkan kedudukan² yang tidak baik dalam kawasan ini, tambahan pula saya baca dalam akhbar bahawa Perdana Menteri Singapura berada di-Hong Kong dan berunding memindahkan beberapa orang dari sana ka-dalam Singapura. Ini kesemua-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, patut Malaysia memasokkan dalam perhetongan dalam perundingan-nya di-Tokyo.

Bagi mengakhiri ucapan saya yang ringkas ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah saya tidak bersetuju dengan Kerajaan, kalau Kerajaan hendak mengadakan tentera² yang lebih banyak kerana hendak mempertahankan Sabah.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita sediakan tentera yang banyak pun, kalau menjadi perang, maka kedua² itu akan musnah—yang menang menjadi abu, yang kalah menjadi arang.

Apa yang kita harap ia-lah perundingan yang akan di-adakan di-Tokyo itu merupakan perundingan yang betul² untuk mencari keamanan dan kita di-pehak Malaysia boleh membach diri kita sa-mula kalau² ada apa² yang kita pernah membuat kesalahan. Politik dalam negeri kita sendiri hendak-lah benda itu di-jauhkan.

Dan yang kedua, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak suka kesemua pehak bebas mengeluarkan statement terhadap Philipina dan mengatakan itu dan mengatakan ini, terkadang² pehak orang yang tidak rasmi itu mengeluarkan kenyataan² yang menjadikan Kerajaan kita di-dalam serba salah,

atau pun di-dalam keadaan state of dilemma. Itu terasa sangat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam masa yang akhir² minggu ini.

Yang ketiga, yang saya harapkan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam akhir² ini, kita bahathkan masalah ini masak² sampai dua tiga hari dan saya tidak mahu di-masokkan urusan² yang lain—business yang lain, sa-bagaimana motion itu dan motion ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak bersungguh²—bawakan satu meshuarat khas untuk masalah Sabah; yang lain itu kita tinggalkan dahulu, baharu-lah ra'ayat nampak Kerajaan Malaysia, Perikatan yang memerintah sekarang ini bersungguh² dalam perkara ini. Ini masokkan motion itu, masokkan motion ini dan tidak payah di-adakan meshuarat dalam bulan Disember, kemudian daripada itu motion² hak Kerajaan sahaja, yang bukan Kerajaan tidak boleh bawa masok, alang-kah rugi-nya kami yang ada motion; elaun barangkali pehak Perikatan tidak boleh dapat dalam bulan Disember—mithal-nya, saya katakan. Jadi erti-nya banyak-lah perkara² yang Kerajaan buat tidak menunjukkan sunggoh².

Dan yang akhir sa-kali, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta dengan hormat-nya dalam masalah rundingan ini supaya Kerajaan membawa sama Ahli² Parti Pembangkang. Saya tidak peduli-lah di-bawa daripada Parti PAS, daripada Parti mana-kah, sebab ratio dia sudah ada, tidak payah saya sebutkan sangat. Jadi kalau-lah kita membawa Ahli² Pembangkang kepada perundingan² international yang sa-macam itu, maka nampak-lah kepada kita bahawa di-Malaysia ini Pembangkang dan pemerintah-nya dalam masalah international ada-lah berpendirian yang sama, bersatu dan bekerjasama. Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara ini sudah tentu-lah tidak akan menjadi satu issue yang berlanjutan².

Terima kasih, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Dato' Dr Haji Megat Khas (Kuala Kangsar): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin mengambil bahagian sedikit di-dalam perkara Usul yang telah dikemukakan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia

Perdana Menteri pada pagi ini dan memberi sokongan yang sa-penoh²-nya yang dapat di-berikan kepada usul ini. Kemudian daripada itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya meminta izin supaya saya dapat berucap di-dalam bahasa Inggeris kerana kita sedia ma'alum boleh jadi tersilap laporan yang di-buat di-dalam surat² khabar di-dalam bahasa Melayu kepada bahasa Inggeris.

Tuan (Timbalan) Yang di-Pertua:
Ya.

Dato' Dr Haji Megat Khas: Terima kasih. First of all, Sir, the form of politics, as has been played by President Marcos in bringing this Bill of Annexation to the Philippine Parliament and passing it, I think, is a ridiculous, a puerile and also an immature gesture on the part of the person responsible. I say immature because, as has been pointed out by many other speakers this morning and this afternoon, the grounds are non-existent, the logic is not there and it is on the top of all not supported by the mass of the Philippine people. Now, is it his intention to be another dictator? If so, then he should also be aware of the fate of past dictators—and I think he is aware of it. Malaysians, irrespective of their racial origins, colour, creed and political affiliations have made it very clear in the course of the past weeks that they are of the opinion that the designs of President Marcos are not only futile, infantile and illogical but also a challenge and an insult to the intelligence of people who have any grey matter in their heads. If President Marcos could be persuaded to exercise common horse sense and cause the withdrawal of this Bill or its rescission, then I think he will be showing his sincerity and he also will not lose too much face in this political game that we are faced with.

In regard to the Honourable Member for Ipoh, who brought up the subject of the weaknesses of the Foreign Affairs Department, I would like to assure him that this is completely untrue. As you all know, the portfolio of Foreign Affairs is being held by the Prime Minister himself and we are also

familiar with his philosophy in life. In regard to our beloved country and his own personal philosophy, he has said, "We are a small country. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our friends and neighbours. We have no territorial ambitions and if we are invaded by a bigger power, it may be necessary for us to say 'Come in and walk in'"—and I was just in time to hear the Honourable Member for Bachok, who disagreed with the preparations made to defend Sabah and Malaysia from possible attack from a bigger country.

I would, Sir, also like to touch upon the problems of the forthcoming meeting at Tokyo between Mr Ramos and the Deputy Prime Minister. As we all know, our Deputy Prime Minister has been given a title—"The Peacemaker" or "The Father of Peace". He has a large amount of experience in dealing with people of all sorts of disposition and he has got a lot of wisdom, and if anybody can persuade anybody else, I think our Deputy Prime Minister is the right person. However, if the talks between the Foreign Minister of the Philippines and our Deputy Prime Minister at Tokyo is just an act of make-believe to the world without any sincerity, I am afraid the results will be not worthwhile looking forward to. If they are stalling for time—they may be playing to a gallery of their own in their own country by the show of confrontation in the putting up of a claim to Sabah which is something that will detract the attention of the people of the Philippines from the personalities that will take part in the general elections of 1969—then I think the meeting at Tokyo will be less than fruitful. However, it is only fair to the world and to Malaysia that we should exhibit our sense of moderation and send our people to the talks whatever the results may be. We are still very much in the void as to what may happen.

There are many other things that I should like to cover, but I think the salient points have been covered by many people, but I would like to repeat here, Sir, that I, as one of the members

of the Alliance, will give the fullest support possible to the Motion that has been put forward by the Honourable Prime Minister in this House. Thank you.

Tun Dr Ismail bin Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman (Johor Timor) (*dengan izin*): Mr Speaker, Sir, it is unfortunate that this country has had to face another confrontation so soon after she has just recovered from the effects of the last one. However, we can take consolation that in both cases the confrontation is the handwork of leaders, who cannot maintain the leadership of their countries without embarking on dangerous adventures in international affairs. Both Soekarno and Marcos find their political position in their countries being eroded, because they are frustrated by the problems of corruption and mal-administration, and, instead of persisting in facing these issues squarely in the face and finding remedies for them, they chose the easier way through the dangerous path of confrontation with our country.

Sir, in both these confrontations, our case, I think, is unassailable. We have the sympathy and support of freedom-loving and peace-loving countries of the world. This is even more so in the present confrontation with the Philippines because, among other things, unlike Soekarno, Marcos is little known internationally. Although we still have to present our case internationally, lest we should lose it by default, our priority, I think, in meeting this confrontation with Marcos and other like-minded politicians in the Philippines who share Marcos' pathological approach on the Sabah problem must be directed to the Filipinos themselves. We must tell them, as we had told the Indonesians during the last confrontation that our quarrel is not with the people of the Philippines but with Marcos and those Filipino leaders who share Marcos' views. We must tell them that in their own interests and in the interest of the peace of the region they must not elect Presidents like Marcos, and we must draw their attention to the harmony and amicable relationship we are now having with Indonesia after

the removal of Soekarno and installation of the present Suharto's government, a government sane in its approach to domestic and international problems. Further, we must emphasise to the people of the Philippines that this kind of relationship that we are having with the Indonesians is theirs for the offering, if only they will have the guts to choose a sane, sensible president. We must tell the Filipino people how isolated internationally their country is during this period of confrontation over Sabah. We must see to it that the people of the Philippines see with their own eyes, hear with their own ears, the solidarity of the people of Malaysia in meeting Marcos' confrontation over Sabah. We must explain to them the absurdity and futility of Marcos' claim made on pretext on their behalf over the sovereignty of Sabah, which is ours. We must keep on repeating, telling them in no uncertain terms that we shall not yield over Sabah.

I submit, Sir, that having told them all this, we must also demonstrate to them what we had done in the past to promote friendship between our two countries. Further, we must stress that once confrontation is over we are prepared to co-operate and to work for the prosperity of our two countries. As two independent democratic countries, we are subjected to militant communist subversion. In fact, we both have had experience of this militant communist subversion. We must, therefore, have joint measures to ensure that our independence is secure. If perchance this confrontation should lead to some form of fighting, whether it be declared or undeclared war, the only people who can benefit will be the militant communists who have tried to subvert our two countries.

Sir, here I must say with some trepidation about my dissent over the method by which the Government terminated the Anti-Smuggling Agreement with the Philippines. Sir, I agree that in the interests of our own security, the Agreement cannot be implemented as hitherto it has been implemented. For example, we cannot allow the

Filipino Customs officials to be stationed in Sabah. I would, however, instead of abrogating the Agreement rather suspend it. At the same time, I would make it clear to the people of the Philippines that we are not going to prosper at their expense. I would make it clear to them that as far as we are concerned, smuggling into the Philippines is not illegal but in the interests of good neighbourliness and because we consider it morally wrong, however legal it may be, to prosper at our neighbours' expense, we had entered into the Anti-Smuggling Agreement and that we even went so far as to allow Filipino Customs officials to be stationed in Sabah, a practice surely unique in international relations. We did it because we wanted to help the Filipinos.

Next, I would emphasise to the Filipinos that, although we have suspended the Anti-Smuggling Agreement, we would instruct our own Customs officials to suppress, as far as it is possible, smuggling into the Philippines. We do this because we know the people of the Philippines would expect us to do so in the interests of good neighbourliness. I think in this way too we can demonstrate to the Filipinos that although Sabah is ours, we will not permit Sabah to be used as a base for smuggling into the Philippines. Sir, although it is too late for us to suspend the Agreement, because it has been abrogated, I submit it is not too late for us to stop this smuggling on our own. I am sure this single gesture would earn for us not only the gratitude of the people of the Philippines but would impress the world with our sincerity not to prosper at the expense of our poor neighbours.

Next, Sir, as we have not broken diplomatic relations, only suspending it with the Philippines, I think the Government should consider inviting as our guests those Filipino leaders and politicians who do not support Marcos' illusory claim over Sabah to Malaysia. We can show them the solidarity of our people in rejecting Marcos' claim. We can take them on a tour of Sabah to see how happy the people in Sabah

are to be in Malaysia and how hostile they are to Marcos, because the latter will not accept the verdict of the people of Sabah. We can ask the Filipino workers in Sabah to meet these visitors, to explain to them how happy and prosperous they are working in Sabah in comparison with their brothers in the Philippines. All these and more we can show these Filipino visitors to demonstrate how solid our people are on this Sabah problem; at the same time we can explain to them what benefit our two countries can derive, once the Sabah claim is dropped by the Philippines. When co-operation and mutual understanding are restored between our two democratic countries in South-East Asia, prosperity is bound to be our lot.

Sir, the latest move or manoeuvre by the Philippines is to have, first, at the ministerial level a dialogue with our Deputy Prime Minister. I would suggest to the Government that we must go there and take the initiative. We must not go there and wait for the initiative to come from the Philippines. We must tell the Foreign Secretary of the Philippines that we will not yield an inch of our territory to the Philippines, but in the common interests of the security of the region, since we both have experienced the subversion of militant communism, we should discuss ways and means of how to stamp out this subversion. In other words, the talk in Japan should be confined to economic co-operation and how best we can defend our two countries in South-East Asia and how best we both can contribute to the peace of the region.

Sir, I would like to conclude by supporting the motion in the name of the Honourable Prime Minister (*Applause*).

Tuan Sim Boon Liang (Sarawak): Mr Speaker, Sir, I feel on this occasion that I have to say something, because I would be failing in my duty towards our nation, if I do not at this stage voice what I have felt very strongly about the unilateral passing of the Sabah Annexation Bill by the Philippine Parliament and signed by President

Marcos into law, a Bill taking away Sabah to become a part of the Philippine territory. This is a childish play and very dangerous politics. It is not only attacking the people of Sabah but the people of Sarawak and Malaysia as well. I, as a Member of this House, deplore President Marcos' act in signing the Bill annexing Sabah as his territory and regard the action as tantamount to a violation of the United Nations Charter on the Declaration of Human Rights. This had been spoken by an Honourable Member from Sabah this morning. If the Philippine Parliament could play such a childish play to pass a Bill so easily to snatch our property as part of her territory, then what would the Philippines feel if this, our House, were to pass a Bill incorporating a part of the Philippine territory to Malaysia? Why would not the Philippines raise its claim when Sabah was a British colony? Now, every one and even the whole world know that the people of Sabah have already shown their wishes to join Malaysia as an independent State during the last two general elections held in Sabah. If I am not mistaken, the Philippine Government had also recognised Malaysia during that time. How could the Philippine claim now that Sabah is part of the Philippines? The Philippines should be told not to interfere in the affairs of Malaysia and that they should respect the right to self-determination by the people of Sabah. I hope President Marcos should consider to drop the claim and to persuade the Philippine Parliament withdrawing the Bill; otherwise I am afraid he would have the same fate as the ousted Indonesian President Soekarno.

Now, I would like to inform this House that we, the Sarawak National Party, had recently passed a resolution at the Central Executive Committee meeting deploring and condemning the signing into law by President Marcos the Congressional Bill annexing Sabah and to give our full assurance that we in the SNAP will stand solidly by Sabah and the Government of Malaysia in defending the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation. In this hour of difficulty, our Party has

extended to the people of Sabah our fullest sympathy, support and understanding of the difficult period through which they are passing. In times of national danger, we should discard our differences. No matter to what political party we belong, we must all unite to protect the sovereignty of our nation. At this crucial moment, let us all be united on this national issue. We in the SNAP voice our full support to the nation in view of the Philippine legislation on annexation which is a violation of Malaysia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and as such is a highly provocative act tantamount to aggression. We are prepared to make any necessary sacrifice for the ultimate aim of a prosperous and harmonious Malaysia. We are too willing to co-operate with the Central Government in all ways compatible to our duty to the people of Sarawak and Malaysia as a whole, in order to ensure a successful, dynamic and happy Malaysia.

As a motion has been put in front of us today by the Honourable Prime Minister, we, in the SNAP, support the motion declaring that the annexation of Sabah under the Philippine Act which was assented to by President Marcos on 18th September, 1968, is "null and void" and to reject the Philippine claim to Sabah. Now, let me assure this House and all fellow Malaysians that we shall consistently fulfil our duties as loyal Malaysian citizens and this is actually what we are doing now. As loyal Malaysian citizens we are backing the Government in defending the nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Lastly, let us hope that the dispute between Malaysia and the Philippines, both being members of ASEAN, will be settled amicably and harmoniously. Let us exercise restraint for the sake of peace, progress and prosperity of this particular region of South-East Asia. I hope that both the Malaysian and Philippine leaders will find "the wisdom and inspiration" to solve the dispute. Thank you, Sir.

Tuan Haji Mokhtar bin Haji Ismail:
Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun

memberi sokongan penuh di-atas Usul yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri di-dalam Dewan ini.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sa-lanjut-nya saya suka menyambung di-dalam hal yang tersebut bahawa semenjak Kongres Philipina telah mengesahkan satu Undang² bahawa Sabah menjadi sa-bahagian daripada wilayah Philipina, maka seluruh ra'ayat Malaysia bangun sa-rentak-nya menentang Rang Undang² yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Kongres Philipina itu dan, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana yang kita sama² mengetahui bahawa sa-rentak dengan itu beberapa tunjok perasaan telah berlaku dalam negara kita kerana menentang usul yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Kongres Philipina itu sa-hingga kanak² yang berumur 6 tahun turut bersama mengambil bahagian yang mana belum pernah berlaku di-dalam sejarah negara kita di-masa² yang telah lalu. Sa-bagai kanak² yang berumur 6 tahun, tentu-lah kita rasa bahawa mereka tidak harus mengeluarkan perkataan² seperti yang tersebut itu, tetapi oleh kerana mereka juga mengetahui bahawa Sabah ada-lah sa-bahagian daripada Malaysia, maka perkataan² dan kalimah² yang mereka telah keluarkan, ia-lah umpama-nya; "President Marcos pergi mampus", dan bagitu-lah perkataan² yang di-mainkan oleh kanak² kampung pada hari ini dengan semangat mereka yang berkubur² berkenaan dengan perbuatan President Marcos itu.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita kaji dengan sa-luas²-nya, maka kita akan dapat membuat perhitungan apa-kah sebab-nya yang President Marcos hendak menjadikan Sabah sa-bahagian daripada negara Philipina, kerana kita sama² telah mengetahui bahawa di-dalam pilihanraya President yang lalu, President Marcos berharap akan mendapat kemenangan jika beliau mendapat sokongan yang penuh daripada pengundi² 4 juta umat Islam yang tinggal di-dalam Pulau Mindanao dan beliau telah membuat bermacam² janji di-masa pilihanraya yang telah lalu, tetapi apa telah terjadi, apabila beliau telah mendapat kemenangan sa-bagai President di-dalam pilihanraya yang telah lalu, maka janji² itu tidak

dapat di-tunaikan. Maka oleh sebab itu beliau berchita² hendak menjadi sa-kali lagi President Philipina, maka tidak ada jalan yang lain lagi bagi beliau untuk menarik pengundi² Islam di-dalam Pulau Mindanao itu, tetapi, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, umat Islam sendiri telah sedar bagaimana burok-nya nasib mereka, ia-itu 4 juta umat Islam yang ada dalam Pulau Mindanao, jikalau di-bandingkan kemajuan dan segala perkembangan yang ada dalam Pulau Mindanao dengan Pulau Luzon, maka boleh-lah kita katakan ibarat langit dengan bumi.

Saya, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sa-masa lawatan sambil belajar di-beberapa tahun yang telah lalu, saya dapat juga melawat ka-Pulau Mindanao dan dapat juga berchakap², bertukar² fikiran dengan pendudok² Islam di-Pulau itu. Mereka telah mengatakan bahawa sa-lagi ada iman kami dalam dada, maka kami umat Islam di-dalam Pulau Mindanao tetap akan berjuang mengasingkan Pulau Mindanao menjadi sa-bahagian daripada negara Kepulauan Philipina.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, maka oleh sebab itu-lah seperti saya sebutkan tadi, President Marcos berchita² hendak menarik pengundi² di-Pulau Mindanao, tetapi saya perchaya umat Islam di-Pulau Mindanao itu tidak akan tertipu lagi dengan President Marcos dengan umpan mengadakan satu Undang² yang hendak menjadikan Sabah sa-bahagian daripada wilayah Philipina.

Yang kedua, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita memerhati dari segi sejarah di-masa 200 tahun, atau 300 tahun yang telah lalu, maka kita akan dapat mengkaji bahawa Kepulauan Philipina itu telah hanyut lebeh jauh daripada berdamping rapat dengan bangsa² di-dalam Asia ini. Mereka memandang diri mereka sa-bagai keturunan bangsa Eropah atau berdamping rapat dengan Kerajaan Sepanyol dan bagitu juga dengan Kerajaan Amerika. Jadi daripada hal yang tersebut bagi pehak penganjur² Philipina pada hari ini mereka telah sedar bahawa mereka telah hanyut jauh daripada bangsa² di-dalam Asia dan oleh kerana itu

mereka menchari jalan supaya nama Philipina akan menjadi sa-bagai "advertisement" antara bangsa, dan oleh kerana itu di-jadikan-lah bahawa tuntutan Philipina ka-atas Sabah itu sa-bagai helah parti politik-nya.

Philipina harus berterima kasih kepada Malaysia, kerana Malaysia-lah yang telah membawa Philipina ber-damping rapat dengan negara² di-dalam Asia atau bangsa² Asia dengan mengadakan ASA dan ASEAN maka dengan ASA dan ASEAN ini-lah bangsa Philipina atau negara Kepulauan Philipina pada hari ini telah mulai di-kenal atau terzhahir dalam surat² Khabar bahawa negara Kepulauan Philipina itu sa-bahagian daripada Asia. Mereka patut berterima kasih, tetapi, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kita sangat-lah berasa dukachita di-atas apa yang telah di-buat oleh President Marcos terhadap negara kita Malaysia, walau pun begitu sa-bagaimana kata Tunku Perdana Menteri bahawa Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri akan pergi ka-Tokyo bagi merundingkan dalam hal yang tersebut. Saya merayu-lah kepada Yang Amat Berhormat Timbalan Perdana Menteri dalam masa perundingan beliau di-Tokyo nanti, maka jadikan-lah masaalah perbincangan di-antara beliau dengan pemimpin Philipina itu sa-bagai masok ikut telinga kanan, keluar ikut telinga kiri. Jadi jangan-lah menjadikan perbincangan kita sa-masa di-Tokyo itu sa-bagai perbincangan yang bersungguh², kerana apa yang telah di-dzahirkan oleh beberapa orang Ahli² Yang Berhormat di-dalam Dewan ini ia-itu tidak ada guna dan faedah-nya bagi kita mengadakan perundingan² dengan President Marcos, kerana kita tahu bahawa di-masa² yang telah lalu beberapa banyak rundingan² yang telah kita lakukan, tetapi segala rundingan² yang tersebut itu hanya kosong sahaja. Jadi itu-lah sahaja, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya menyokong penoh di-atas usul yang telah di-kemukakan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri di-dalam Dewan ini.

Tuan Tan Tsak Yu (Sarawak): Mr Speaker, Sir, in signing into law a bill annexing Sabah, President Marcos has

tried to set the clock back at least a century, when the law of the jungle prevailed and territories could be acquired by the use of force. If such a situation exists, I warn Marcos that he is treading on dangerous ground, and some big power might claim on the sovereignty of the Philippines, and then where would Marcos be? At the present time, such lawlessness cannot be allowed. Self-determination of the people in the territories concerned should be respected.

Sir, Sabah is part of Malaysia. The people of Sabah have reaffirmed to the United Nations their wishes to join Malaysia. To-day the Sabahans are happy to remain in Malaysia. The people of Sabah, indeed the people in other States of Malaysia, have shown that they are solidly behind the Central Government on the Sabah issue and they are ready to sacrifice their lives in the defence of the nation.

In Sarawak such a patriotic feeling was expressed by all political parties and men in all walks of life in a rally held in Kuching on 2nd October, 1968, where over 5,000 people took part. With one voice and one heart all strongly condemned the annexation bill passed by the Philippine Congress. Never before has such solidarity existed among the various political parties and the people of Sarawak on a national issue.

Sir, although we are a small nation, we are united, and we are determined to defend our sovereignty and honour—"Unity is Strength".

In conclusion, I would like to thank our Honourable Prime Minister in introducing this Motion which, I am sure, will have the full support of this House. We are indeed fortunate to have such a wise and able Prime Minister who has always been patient but firm in dealing with the Sabah issue, and in him we have full confidence that he will eventually lead us through our present difficulties with the Philippines as he did in the Indonesian confrontation under the Soekarno regime.

Thank you, Sir.

Tuan (Timbalan) Yang di-Pertua: Persidangan ini di-tanggohkan sa-lama 15 minit.

Persidangan di-tempohkan pada pukul 5.15 petang.

Persidangan di-sambong sa-mula pada pukul 5.38 petang.

Tuan Timbalan Yang di-Pertua
mempengerusikan Meshuarat)

Perbahathan di-sambong sa-mula.

Tuan Garing bin Jangkat (Sabah): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun mengambil peluang berchakap di-dalam Dewan yang mulia ini untuk menerangkan pendirian ra'ayat Sabah berkenaan dengan Rang Undang² yang di-tanda-tangani oleh President Marcos yang mana negeri kami ia-itu Sabah di-masokkan-nya ka-dalam wilayah Philipina dan di-anggap oleh President Marcos sa-bagai di-bawah pemerentahan-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, negeri Sabah ada-lah hak mutlak ra'ayat Sabah sendiri dan ra'ayat Sabah sendiri-lah yang akan bertanggung-jawab atas negeri itu bagi memutuskan kedudukan negeri Sabah sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, suara ra'ayat Sabah sudah dua kali mengambil keputusan, sa-kali pada tahun 1962 dan sa-kali lagi pada tahun 1967. Ra'ayat Sabah mengatakan bahawa timbul atau tenggelam-nya Kerajaan Negeri Sabah, ra'ayat negeri Sabah tetap kekal di-dalam Malaysia sa-lama²-nya dan ra'ayat negeri Sabah sudah pun berikrar di-hadapan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri dan di-hadapan Yang Amat Berbahagia Tun Datu Haji Mustapha bin Datu Harun dengan menentang habis²an atas tuntutan President Marcos kat-atas negeri Sabah.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami ra'ayat Sabah tidak suka bermusoh²an dengan ra'ayat Philipina sa-bagaimana dunia tahu bahawa ra'ayat Philipina yang ada di-Sabah bersama² dengan ra'ayat yang bekerja untuk menchari nafkah hidup keluarga mereka dan bekerja sama untuk pembangunan negeri, juga bersama² menentang Rang Undang²

yang di-tanda-tangani oleh President Marcos memasokkan negeri Sabah ka-dalam pemerentahan Republik Philipina.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami perchaya bahawa ra'ayat Philipina sendiri tidak setuju Rang Undang² yang di-tanda-tangani oleh President Marcos itu kerana membawa ra'ayat Philipina ka-jurang peperangan dengan Malaysia dan sa-terus-nya membawa ra'ayat Philipina ka-dalam hidup yang tidak aman, malahan akan kuchar-kachir. Oleh itu kita perchaya, bahawa ra'ayat Philipina akan menggulingkan Kerajaan President Marcos dalam pilehan-nya di-Philipina pada masa yang akan datang ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menyentoh soal di-mana President Marcos mengatakan konon-nya bahawa British North Borneo ia-itu Sabah, di-serahkan oleh Kerajaan British kepada Kerajaan Malaya. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, suka saya menerangkan kepada President Marcos dan sa-terus-nya kepada dunia yang mana Sabah bukan-lah sa-bidang tanah, atau sa-keping geran tanah yang boleh di-jual beli dan ra'ayat negeri Sabah juga bukan sa-bagai sa-ekor lembu, atau kerbau yang boleh di-chuchok hidong-nya dan senang sahaja di-tarek ka-sana ka-mari mengikut kehendak tuan-nya. Ra'ayat negeri Sabah sa-bagaimana ra'ayat di-negeri lain juga tidak senang di-bodoh²kan oleh orang² luar dari negeri Sabah sendiri. Ra'ayat Sabah ada-lah dengan sa-bulat suara hendak mencapai kemerdekaan dengan chepat melalui atau bergabung dalam Kerajaan Malaya yang mana di-ubah nama-nya hari ini ia-itu Malaysia dengan di-ketuai oleh pemimpin² ra'ayat Sabah yang jujur terutama sa-kali kepada Yang Amat Berbahagia Tun Datu Haji Mustapha bin Datu Harun dan rakan²-nya dalam Parti Perikatan Sabah dan tidak-lah benar sama sa-kali yang negeri Sabah telah di-serahkan oleh Kerajaan British kepada Kerajaan Malaya.

Akhir sa-kali, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kami ra'ayat Sabah menguchapkan ber-banyak² terima kaseh kepada negeri² luar yang bersimpati dengan ra'ayat Sabah untuk mengutok Rang Undang² yang di-tanda tangani oleh President

Marcos terutama sa-kali ra'ayat di-Malaysia Barat dan sa-terus-nya ra'ayat negeri Sarawak yang mana menjunokkan semangat dan kesanggupan mereka untuk berdiri tegoh di-belakang ra'ayat Sabah yang di-pimpin oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku dan Yang Amat Berbahagia Tun Datu Haji Mustapha sa-kira-nya negeri Sabah di-ancham, atau di-serang oleh Philipina. Dan bersama² ini juga saya ucapkan terima kaseh pada Tuan yang mana telah memberi saya peluang berchakap di-Dewan yang mulia ini.

Terima kaseh.

Tuan Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussin

(Lipis): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun mengambil peluang membahath dan menyokong atas usul Tunku Perdana Menteri pada pagi ini, bahawa Parlimen kita ini mengambil ketetapan bahawa langkah yang di-ambil oleh Philipina menjadikan Sabah sa-bahagian daripada wilayah-nya melalui badan Perundangan-nya ada-lah tidak sah. Maka dengan langkah membawa soal Sabah ka-Rumah yang bertuah ini ada-lah satu langkah yang sangat bijak kalau Philipina menjadikan Sabah milek-nya melalui badan Perundangan-nya, maka amat-lah betul kita di-Malaysia ini memperkatakan sa-suatu-nya melalui badan Perundangan atau Parlimen kita, maka keputusan menjadikan Sabah wilayah Philipina itu ada-lah tidak betul.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam masa dunia yang sedang modern ini kadang² kita berfikir bahawa manusia dan alam-nya sedang menuju kembali ka-zaman purba di-mana manusia di-zahirkan dengan bentok berbogel, maka hari ini kita kedapatan manusia menuju ka-arrah atau ka-alam—kalau pada satu zaman dahulu satu bangsa menjajah kepada satu bangsa dengan tujuan hendak meluaskan penjajahan ta'alok umpama-nya dengan berperang, berjual-beli dengan tipu-helah, tetapi hari ini dunia ketawa bahawa Philipina mendapatkan Sabah hanya dengan mengubah peta kawasan sempadan-nya, sambil mengatakan "Sabah aku punya". Marcos mengatakan, "Kongres Philipina telah meluluskan dan aku telah menanda-tangani yang Sabah milek Philipina". Kalau

bagitu-lah keadaan-nya yang dunia ini boleh berubah dengan mudah bertukar tangan dari satu ka-satu tangan, daripada sa-buah Kerajaan kepada sa-buah Kerajaan, ibarat ayer pasang-surut. Tetapi ketahuilah oleh mu ayohai President Marcos bahawa Sabah ada-lah sa-bahagian daripada Malaysia yang kami akan pertahankan inchi demi inchi. Bagi kami tindakan President Marcos menanda-tangani Undang² menjadikan Sabah sa-bahagian daripada wilayah Philipina itu ada-lah satu perbuatan menchabol kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan Malaysia ini yang tidak boleh di-ampuni.

Kita ketahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bahawa ra'ayat Philipina sendiri umumnya tidak bersetuju dengan keputusan Kerajaan-nya menanda-tangani Undang² menjadikan Sabah sa-bahagian daripada kawasan Philipina, kerana dengan menanda-tangani perkara yang sa-umpama itu akan mendatangkan permusohan yang akan merosakkan keadaan politik dan stability di-rantau ini. Kerana kita ada-lah sama² menghadapi chabaran zaman, kita mempunyai musuh yang sama dan menumpukan pembangunan di-rantau ini, hanya kita boleh berjaya, kalau ada kerjasama yang erat, rasa perchaya-memperchaya dan hormat-menghormati. Tetapi dengan langkah dua atau tiga orang pemimpin Philipina yang gila kuasa dan mahu berkuasa lagi, apa-tah lagi kalau menjadi President dua kali di-Philipina yang belum pernah berlaku di-dalam sejarah Philipina, maka perkara yang di-bangkitkan ia-lah dengan tujuan supaya mendapat perhatian ra'ayat Philipina sendiri, sedangkan tuntutan itu, tuntutan yang di-kemukakan itu tidak mempunyai asas yang kokoh dari segi undang² mahu pun dari segi politik.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya rasa tidak lengkap kalau saya tidak menyatakkan sukachita atas penghargaan yang tinggi kepada perwakilan kita sa-masa di-adakan perundingan di-Bangkok dahulu. Mereka telah menjalankan tugas negara dengan sangat chemerlang. Mereka telah menunjukkan kepada dunia akan pendirian Malaysia yang tegas dalam masaalah Sabah ini. Mereka telah menunjukkan ketabahan

hati, kecekapan berfikir dan kebijaksanaan dalam masa perundingan itu di-jalankan. Kalau ada pihak yang tertentu mengatakan bahawa Malaysia telah menghantar satu perwakilan yang lemah, maka alasan yang di-kemukakan itu bukan sahaja tidak patut, tetapi ada-lah menepok ayer di-dulang, ter-perechek kepada muka-nya sendiri. Sa-bagai ra'ayat Malaysia, kita harus berbangga dengan perwakilan yang kita hantar, satu perwakilan yang sangat tegas, kuat dan sa-fahaman. Dengan pendirian mereka itu-lah dapat menun-jukkan kepada dunia, bahawa asas itu-lah menunjukkan kepada dunia bahawa tuntutan kita tidak berganjak, walau barang sa-inchi pun, lebeh² lagi perkara yang membanggakan kita ra'ayat Malaysia umum-nya ia-lah atas pimpinan Tunku Perdana Menteri bahawa kita tidak akan menyerahkan bumi Sabah itu, atau bumi Malaysia ini barang sa-inchi pun kepada kuasa² luar. Walau pun ia-nya dari rumpon kita, dari rumpon Melayu, atau sa-barang rumpon yang lain, bahawa kita tegak dengan hak kita, kemerdekaan kita, kita akan jaga sampai kepada titisan darah yang akhir.

Dalam masa yang akhir² ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tawar-menawar politik telah di-usulkan oleh President Marcos supaya sidang kemunchak di-antara-nya dengan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku di-adakan, bagi merintis jalan. Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak akan menemui Tuan Ramos mengadakan rundingan pada perengkat Menteri di-Tokyo dengan syarat masa-lah Sabah tidak akan di-binchangkan dalam perundingan itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ketegangan akan dapat di-kendorkan dan keadaan berbaik² akan dapat di-lahirkan kira-nya masalaah pokok dapat di-selesaikan, ia-itu Philipina mesti-lah menarek sa-mula ke-putusan-nya yang di-ambil dengan memansokhkan undang² memasokkan Sabah menjadi wilayah Philipina. Jika tidak, kalau pun perundingan itu dapat mengendorkan ketegangan dan sidang kemunchak berjaya di-adakan, maka ketegangan yang di-kendorkan itu me-rupakan satu kekendoran bagi semen-tara waktu dan tidak kekal bagi sa-lama²-nya.

Perkara yang perlu yang patut men-dapat perhatian Menteri kita, Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak dan juga Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku, pokok persoalan ia-lah menggugorkan tuntutan itu dan tidak akan di-bangkit-kan sa-hingga masa yang akan datang, maka baharu-lah kekendoran itu akan dapat di-kendorkan buat sa-lama²-nya. Apa yang saya nyatakan di-atas tadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah berdasar-kan atas pertemuan Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak dengan Menteri Luar Philipina, Tuan Ramos, di-Jakarta yang melahirkan masa ber-tenang, tetapi umur-nya tidak sa-panjang yang kita jangkakan. Kete-gangan timbul sa-mula. Ramos tidak dapat memberi kepercayaan kepada Kerajaan-nya di-atas apa yang di-persetujui di-Jakarta dalam masa ber-tenang itu di-kemukakan.

Jadi dari apa yang telah berlaku itu, saya sentiasa berdo'a Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mudah²an perundingan Tun Abdul Razak di-Tokyo, mudah²an Allah berkat, tetapi telatah Ramos tempoh hari kurang memberi keya-kinan. Yang demikian saya sangat berharap pengalaman yang telah lalu sa-bagai satu pengajaran pada masa yang akan datang. Hendak-nya pisang tidak akan berbuah dua kali. Kalau sa-kira-nya perkara ini di-pandang sa-bagai satu kehormatan kepada negara jiran, tetapi kehormatan kita juga perlu di-beri perhatian berat di-samping menunjukkan kepada dunia bahawa Malaysia ini sedia memperchayai sa-suatu-nya kalau sa-kira-nya di-beri dan di-unjukkan kepada satu gambaran yang nyata kepada-nya.

Jadi ini-lah ingatan saya yang ikhlas, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan pada akhir-nya saya menyokong chadangan ini dengan rasa yang penoh hati. Kepada Allah saya memohon supaya keadaan ini berjalan dengan baik, kembali puleh pada masa yang akan datang ini dalam perundingan yang akan di-adakan baik pada perengkat Menteri, mahu pun pada perengkat kemunchak. Dengan jalan demikian sa-bagaimana saya kata tadi, kita mempunyai musuh yang sama dan apa² chakaran yang berlaku di-antara kita sama kita, di-

antara Philipina dengan Malaysia, hendak-lah Philipina memahami apa yang telah berlaku di-antara Malaysia dengan Indonesia tempoh hari. Suatu kuasa yang kita tidak ingin akan mengambil tempat yang menghanchor-kan semua harapan bagi membaiki dan memulehkan keadaan di-rantau ini, baik dalam segi politik mahu pun dalam segi kemakmoran di-daerah ini khas-nya.

Dengan demikian sa-kali lagi saya memberi pandangan supaya Philipina sendiri mengambil pengajaran daripada apa yang berlaku tempoh hari. Dengan demikian kita harap bahawa rumpon Melayu akan kembali bersatu. Dan akhir sa-kali, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi sokongan penuh dengan hati yang terbuka dan saya iringi dengan do'a mudah²an berjaya. Terima kaseh.

Pengiran Tahir Petra (Sabah): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya juga mengambil peluang mengalu²kan dan menyokong usul menolak dan membatalkan Rang Undang² haram Philipina merampas Sabah yang telah di-tanda-tangani oleh President Marcos itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ra'ayat Sabah umum-nya memberi sa-tinggi² pujian dan penghargaan atas kebijaksanaan pemimpin² kita terutama sa-kali Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri yang mengemukakan usul pembatalan ka-Dewan yang mulia ini dan dengan ada-nya usul ini juga menunjukkan yang kita berkebolehan untuk mempertahankan hak dan kedaulatan serta berkebolehan bertindak balas ka-atas apa juga usaha jahat dan tindakan yang chuba mencheroboh kedaulatan negara dan bangsa kita, sama ada dengan chara halus, atau pun kasar.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dalam menghadapi tuntutan President Marcos ini, pehak Malaysia chukup bersabar sehingga kita sanggup datang berunding di-Bangkok. Kita juga bersetuju dengan chadangan supaya kedua² negara mengambil tempoh bertenang sa-bagai satu langkah menyejok dan mengendorkan sengketanya antara kedua negara itu, tetapi dalam tempoh bertenang itu,

sa-kali lagi President Marcos membuat fasal dengan menanda-tangani Rang Undang² merampas Sabah. Dalam pada itu ada pula pengikut² President Marcos yang berchakap sombong dan takbor dengan menggertak² kita konon-nya Philipina boleh mena'aloki Sabah dalam masa 72 jam dan kita juga ditakut²kan pula dengan mereka menghantar beribu² tentera berlateh perang di-pulau² yang berdekatan dengan Sabah dan juga kita di-gertak² dengan peluru berpandu yang di-katakan mereka akan terima daripada Amerika.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-Dewan yang mulia ini, kita memberitahu Marcos bahawa kami ra'ayat Sabah dan Malaysia umum-nya ada-lah satu²-nya bangsa yang tidak sa-kali² takut dan gentar dengan di-gertak dan ugutan, sa-balek-nya gertak dan ugutan, Marcos dan kunchu²-nya itu yang menambahkan tinggi dan kukuh-nya lagi semangat dan perpaduan ra'ayat Malaysia bagi menentang segala pencheroboh² terhadap negara.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ra'ayat Sabah dan Malaysia umum-nya sudah ber-kali² berikrar dan bersumpah ia-itu sanggup berjuang bagi mempertahankan negara hingga ka-titisan darah yang akhir.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-Dewan yang mulia ini saya suka memberitahu Marcos bahawa kami ra'ayat Sabah masok Malaysia tidak sa-kali² dengan chara paksaan atau pun ugutan malah Sabah merdeka menurusi Malaysia ada-lah dengan hasrat dan kemahuan ra'ayat Sabah sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hasrat dan keinginan kami memasoki Malaysia ini tidak kami sembunyi²kan kepada negara² jiran kami, bahkan kepada dunia seluruh-nya. Kemahuan dan keinginan kami ini terlebih dahulu telah pun kami tunjukkan dan huraikan dengan sa-jelas²-nya kepada dunia dengan menerusi Surohanjaya Cobbold dan Utusan Bangsa² Bersatu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, wujud-nya Malaysia yang Sabah termasuk di-dalam-nya ini telah pun di-alu²kan dan di-aku²i oleh dunia termasuk Amerika Sharikat yang sa-bagai bapa angkat

Philipina yang pernah mengasoh dan mendidik mereka yang di-harap²kan oleh Marcos memihak dan menyokong tuntutan-nya itu telah juga mengakui bahawa Sabah ada-lah sa-bahagian daripada Malaysia.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Sabah sekarang sudah lebih lima tahun merdeka dalam Malaysia. Kami sudah merasa perbezaan hidup di-jajah dengan hidup bebas dan merdeka. Sekian lama kami hidup tertekan dan menderita di-bawah belunggu penjajah, tetapi sekarang kami merasa gembira dengan kemerdekaan di-dalam Malaysia. Kami telah menerima dan merasa faedah nikmat kemerdekaan. Kami benchi dan kami menentang habis²an segala perhubungan hendak menjajah negeri kami dan kami berazam akan terus kekal di-dalam Malaysia sa-lama²-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berlaku-nya pertelingkahan atau persengketaan kita dengan Philipina ada-lah dari kesalahan President Marcos dan kunchu²-nya sendiri. Kesalahan mereka ini telah di-ketahui dunia, bagi pihak kita tidak pernah bersalah dan berdosa kepada Philipina. Kita membantah dan menentang mereka ada-lah dengan hak dan berdiri di-atas kebenaran kita. Kebenaran kita ini juga sudah di-ketahui dunia. Ini menyebabkan banyak negara² yang chintakan keamanan dan keadilan telah bersimpati dan memihak kepada kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau bagaimanapun sa-kira-nya President Marcos sudah terasa yang dia sudah terlanjur membuat kesalahan kepada kita, maka kita berharap beliau berundur balek ka-pangkal jalan supaya tidak tersesat jauh ka-jalan yang amat merbahaya lagi. Kalau beliau mahu berbuat demikian kita akan lupakan kesalahan-nya yang sudah itu dan jika beliau meminta ma'af, maka kita akan sedia mema'afkan-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, keadaan persengketaan kita dengan Philipina hari ini telah mulai kendor sedikit. Setiausaha Luar Philipina, Enche' Ramos, meminta Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita datang bertemu dan berunding dengan-nya di-Tokyo. Permintaan

Philipina ini juga kita alu²kan, kerana memang sa-lama ini kita sedia mahu berunding dan kita perchaya rundingan ini akan berjaya, asalkan Philipina tidak menyentuh hal tuntutan Sabah.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-lepas rundingan di-Tokyo itu nanti President Marcos menhadangkan di-adakan sidang kemunchak di-mana beliau akan bertemu dan berunding dengan Tunku Perdana Menteri. Ini juga kita alu²kan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu jalan yang amat baik yang tidak lagi akan meragukan Malaysia sa-balek-nya boleh melichinkan rundingan di-sidang kemunchak itu nanti ia-lah dengan jalan President Marcos terlebih dahulu menarek atau menggugorkan tuntutan-nya yang tidak berasas itu dan membatalkan Rang Undang² mena'alok Sabah itu. Sakian terima kaseh.

Dato' Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda (Pasir Mao): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, soal Sabah ini, pada pandangan saya, sudah sampai-lah kepada kemunchak. Sudah lama soal Sabah ini di-bangkit²kan oleh pihak Philipina dan sudah lama soal Sabah ini pihak Malaysia menghadapi-nya dengan chara-nya sendiri. Kemunchak daripada persoalan Sabah ini ia-lah apabila Rang Undang² yang terma'alum itu telah di-tandatangani oleh pihak President Marcos sendiri dan dengan demikian merupakan satu kemunchak yang tidak ada tara-nya dari segi konfrontasi antara satu negara jiran dengan negara jiran yang lain.

Saya tidak fikir bahawa kemunchak daripada soal Sabah ini akan berpanjangan sa-hingga sampai kepada menimbulkan pertentangan senjata antara dua buah negara ini. Sebab, kalau kita kaji daripada tujuan, atau pun niat dan maksud yang tersimpan di-dalam jiwa pemimpin² politik di-Philipina itu sendiri tentang asas tujuan-nya, tuntutan mereka ka-atas Philipina itu kita tidak nampak sedikit pun bahawa tuntutan mereka ka-atas Sabah benar² di-asaskan kepada tuntutan yang hak dan mutlak, ia-itu sa-lain daripada menjadikan tuntutan itu sa-bagai satu issue politik, sa-bagai satu tuntutan politik untuk memperkuat kedudukan kempen mereka dalam menghadapi

pilehanraya President yang akan datang.

Memang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, siapa sahaja pun yang hendak menang dalam Pilehanraya President di-Philippina, mereka mesti-lah mengemukakan soal Sabah ini sa-bagai satu soal yang pokok dan soal yang pertama sa-kali. Tetapi, pada pandangan saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-dalam menjadikan soalan Sabah ini sa-bagai soal pokok untuk kempen pilehanraya, soalan pokok untuk politik, President Marcos sudah mengambil jalan yang salah, telah menempoh satu jalan yang silap apabila beliau telah menanda-tangani Rang Undang² atau pun Bil yang memasukkan Sabah menjadikan sa-bahagian daripada Philipina. Sebab dengan chara perbuatan saperti demikian menimbulkan suatu keadaan yang luar biasa tentang perhubungan antara dua buah negara sa-kurang²-nya menimbulkan pemandangan yang tidak enak dan tidak baik daripada negara² yang berada di-rantau ini.

Memasukkan sa-bahagian daripada negara asing ka-dalam negara kita dengan menjadikan Undang² atau meluluskan satu Undang² dalam Parlimen, satu perkara yang mudah, memang-lah mudah membuatkan satu Bill atau satu Rang Undang² memasukkan sa-bahagian daripada negara lain ka-dalam negara kita. Akan tetapi, impelikasinya ada-lah berat sa-kali dan tentu-lah saya kira President Marcos dan kawan²-nya sendiri tentu-lah telah dapat menduga lebeh awal apa-kah kesan balas yang mungkin timbul daripada pehak Malaysia sendiri apabila mereka telah menanda-tangani Rang Undang² yang tersebut, dan sekarang ini mereka telah nampak dengan nyata dan tegas bagaimana akibat-nya menimbulkan satu perpaduan yang kuat dan kukoh dalam Malaysia sendiri. Akibat-nya menimbulkan bahawa pehak Malaysia terpaksa mengambil pendirian tegas, akibat-nya menimbulkan pro yang begitu banyak daripada dunia² luar, atau negara² luar yang telah memberikan sokongan kepada Malaysia sendiri. Dan kalau kita saksi dalam masharakat Malaysia sendiri, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tunjok² perasaan yang timbul

di-mana² tempat telah merupakan tunjok perasaan ra'ayat tidak lagi merupakan tunjok perasaan satu² gulongan, atau pun satu bahagian daripada anggota parti politik dalam Malaysia ini, tegas-nya tidak lagi menunjukkan tunjok perasaan pengikut² Perikatan sa-mata², tetapi telah merupakan tunjok perasaan ra'ayat. Ini ada-lah satu daripada 'alamat baik tentang bagaimana ra'ayat, atau gulongan² politik dalam negara kita ini dapat melupakan pertentangan politik mereka apabila mereka menghadapi atau di-hadapkan kepada mereka masaalah² kebangsaan, masaalah² national yang menyentuh soal hidup, atau mati negara mereka, atau pun soal hidup, atau mati maruah negara mereka sendiri. Memang-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua

Tuan (Timbalan) Yang di-Pertua: Boleh berchakap kuat sadikit? Tolong kuat sadikit.

Dato' Mohd. Asri bin Haji Muda: Ya. Memang-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau sa-bahagian daripada negara kita sudah dengan begitu berani di-rampas oleh orang, rampas pada nama, bukan rampas sa-benar, di-rampas pada nama-nya, ia-itu dimasukkan negara sa-bahagian daripada negara kita ka-dalam Undang² menjadikan sa-bahagian dari negara mereka, ini satu soal pencherobohan sa-chara Undang², satu pencherobohan yang ganjil. Saya kira ini jarang berlaku dalam dunia ini semenjak dunia ini berkembang. Ini satu perkara yang paling ganjil dan tidak mustahil-lah kalau negara yang terlibat saperti Malaysia ini yang menempoh soal² saperti itu bertindak dengan sa-kuat² hati-nya bersatu dalam sa-genap jurusan lapangan bagi menghadapi keadaan demikian dan memang-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dayus-lah nama-nya bagi ra'ayat Malaysia ini kalau mereka tidak bersatu lagi menghadapi soal² saperti ini.

Sekarang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita mengkaji tujuan tuntutan daripada President Marcos. Kita tahu dengan hasil kajian kita apa-kah pehak Philipina dengan pimpinan President Marcos memperjuangkan soal Sabah

ini benar², dengan tujuan hendakkan sunggoh² Sabah itu masuk ka-dalam wilayah-nya, atau pun hanya sa-bagai satu tuntutan politik. Memang-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau di-kajikan perasaan hati batin, siapa yang ta' hendak negeri orang, luas daerah sendiri, memang-lah mereka berkehendakkan-nya, akan tetapi soal mithalan yang di-katakan tadi apa-kah benar² dari segi nilai politik-nya. Kalau benar² mungkin-kah tuntutan mereka itu akan berhasil, sebab Sabah ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bukan-lah satu kawasan yang kosong, bukan satu kawasan yang kaya dengan isi bumi, tetapi kosong daripada manusia; Sabah ada-lah sa-buah negara yang mempunyai penduduk, mempunyai manusia, manusia yang mempunyai perasaan, manusia yang mempunyai pendirian, manusia politik yang tahu menilai sa-suatu. Jadi menuntut suatu bahagian yang di-penohi oleh manusia² saperti ini dengan chara saperti politik Philipina itu amat-lah ganjil.

Sa-benar-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak hendak persoalan perkara ini lagi sebab perkara ini sudah jelas, sudah jelas tentang silap-nya politik Philipina pada masa² yang akhir. Tetapi soal-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa-kah keadaan ini dapat kita biarkan berlarut²? Apa-kah Philipina sendiri berkehendakkan soal pertentangan antara Malaysia dengan Philipina tentang Sabah ini mahu di-lanjut²kan dan apa-kah kita pehak Malaysia sendiri suka perkara ini di-lanjutkan dengan di-panjang²kan. Mungkin pehak Philipina sendiri akan meredakan tuntutan ini apabila selesai sahaja pilihanraya. Ini satu kemungkinan yang banyak peratus kebenarannya, tetapi apa-kah dengan chara saperti demikian ini dapat menguntungkan, dapat menguntungkan dari segi muslihat negara² di-rantau ini lebeh² lagi apabila Philipina, Malaysia dan beberapa buah negara jiran yang lain terikat dalam satu ikatan persaudaraan persahabatan dalam ASEAN, apa-kah tuntutan saperti ini menguntungkan? Apa-kah dapat di-jadikan satu tuntutan yang merupakan tuntutan kebangsaan bagi mereka tetapi menyentoh semangat dan maruah kebangsaan negara jiran yang lain,

dapat di-jadikan satu alat politik yang mungkin berkesan, atau pun tidak, dalam tujuan² politik mereka sendiri.

Saya perchaya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-sudah soal ini sampai ka-kemunchak-nya yang saperti ini, President Marcos tidak lagi dapat menjadikan soal Sabah ini sa-bagai satu issue politik-nya yang terbesar dalam menghadapi Pilihanraya President. Pengundi² di-Philipina akan dapat menggunakan fikiran mereka sendiri dan ini semua bergantung-lah kepada kesedaran politik mereka untuk menghadapi soal² dalam negeri mereka sendiri. Chuma sekarang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saperti kata saya tadi, kita telah sampai ka-hujung peringkat yang terakhir dan Timbalan Perdana Menteri kita akan pergi ka-Tokyo mengadakan pertemuan dengan Menteri Luar Philipina dan tentu-lah pehak kita semua-nya akan sama² melepaskan Timbalan Perdana Menteri ini dengan do'a restu mudah²an pertemuan dan perundingan itu akan mendapat kejayaan yang gilang-gemilang.

Sa-benar-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau pun ada suara² dari Rumah yang mulia ini mengatakan perasaan yang tawar hati dan tidak mempunyai perasaan yang sa-penoh harapan akan kejayaan pertemuan peringkat Menteri yang akan di-adakan pada hari ini. Sa-benar-nya dalam menghadapi saperti masaalah ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perasaan tawar hati atau pun harap² chemas itu kita ketepikan dahulu, apabila kita telah menyatakan kesanggupan kita untuk menghadhiri satu pertemuan peringkat Menteri saperti ini biar-lah kesanggupan itu benar² berisi; biar-lah kesanggupan itu benar² berisi dalam erti-kata benar² di-lakukan dengan hati yang sunggoh² untuk menchapai sa-suatu yang sunggoh². Tidak-lah pergi sa-mata² untuk melepaskan batok di-tangga; tidak-lah pergi dalam perasaan harap² chemas, atau perasaan tawar hati, sebab perundingan yang di-adakan dengan perasaan tawar hati, dengan penoh prejudice, dengan penoh pessimistic dalam menghadapi masaalah saperti itu tidak akan membuahkan hasil yang gemilang, atau pun hasil yang baik. Saya perchaya dengan sifat² yang

ada pada Timbalan Perdana Menteri soal² tawar hati, soal² tidak mempunyai harap yang penoh atau harap² chemas itu tidak akan timbul dalam jiwa Timbalan Perdana Menteri ini sa-waktu menghadapi perundingan peringkat Menteri di-Tokyo dan mudah²an sa-sudah selesai-nya pertemuan peringkat Menteri ini atau pun pertemuan apa lagi yang akan di-adakan akan datang soal pertentangan antara kita dengan Philipina akan dapat ditamatkan dengan begitu sahaja.

Sa-benar-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perasaan batin saya sendiri kalau-lah Philipina itu hendak bertempek sa-ribu kali sa-kali pun mengatakan Sabah itu hak Philipina, hendak menuntut sana, menuntut sini, melaong sana melaong ka-mari, itu ada-lah soal dia, tidak-lah menjadi kudis gatal kepada kita, tidak menyakitkan hati. Tetapi hak yang sampai menyakitkan hati ini ia-lah oleh kerana tersalah langkah-nya bagi memasukkan Sabah ini ka-dalam wilayah Philipina, memasukkan Sabah ini ka-dalam wilayah Philipina melalui satu undang² dalam Parlimen. Ini sudah melampau. Kalau dia hendak melaong sahaja itu, laong-lah! Sebab itu tidak menjadi kudis gatal, laong-lah! Kalau dia hendak jadikan soal Sabah itu soal politik-nya dalam negeri sa-mata², buat-lah kerana tidak menjadi masalah kepada kita oleh sebab Sabah, tetapi sa-bahagian daripada Malaysia, sa-balek-nya memasukkan undang², memasukkan Sabah menjadikan sa-bagai dari negeri Philipina dalam undang² ini satu perbuatan melampau, dan perbuatan kebudak²an. Dengan usul yang di-kemukakan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku pada hari ini akan dapat menjelaskan pendirian kita kepada dunia bukan kepada Philipina sahaja sebab Philipina telah tahu pendirian kita, akan dapat menjelaskan pendirian kita, Malaysia, kepada dunia tentang hakikat yang sa-benar-nya tuntutan Philipina atas Sabah dan mudah²an dengan sa-bulat suara daripada semua pehak yang ada dalam Dewan yang mulia ini dari pehak Kerajaan dan semua pehak parti² Pembangkang bersatu menyatakan kesal dan mengutok di-atas perbuatan demikian dan bersatu menyokong usul daripada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Per-

dana Menteri akan jelas-lah dapat menunjukkan kepada dunia bahawa Malaysia mampu menunjukkan bagaimana wujud-nya keadaan solidarity dalam negara ini walau pun kita berpechah dalam berbagai² ideology dan faham politik, mudah²an negara kita akan selamat, mudah²an tidak akan timbul sebarang pertentangan bersenjata dengan mana² pehak pun, mudah²an Philipina akan sedar dan menarek balek langkah²-nya yang telah silap dan mudah²an perundingan peringkat Menteri di-Tokyo akan berjaya. Terima kaseh.

Tuan Wan Alwi bin Tuanku Ibrahim (Sarawak): Mr Speaker, Sir, the passage of the Philippine ludicrous annexation Bill through the Congress and in particular the signing of the same by President Marcos, annexing our State of Sabah as part of the Philippines territory, was an act purposely, to say the least, to embarrass Malaysia in the eyes of the world, in order to give the President a further opportunity to drag on his illegal and baseless claim to Sabah, undoubtedly, to further his own personal ambition.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Bangkok talks have clearly indicated that the Philippines have nothing to offer to substantiate their illegal claim to Sabah. They were never serious, Mr Speaker, Sir, and were evasive and this was because, in my opinion, they had nothing and no legal basis for their claim at all. We were, therefore, absolutely right, if we did, in leaving the conference table in Bangkok and closing the matter once and for all.

Mr Speaker, Sir, from all available evidence the Philippines claim for "dominion and sovereignty" over Sabah, if at all disappeared with the grant of the Sultan of Sulu to the North Borneo Company in 1878. The President surely realises this simple fact, and there are a series of other facts and circumstances indicating the same, *inter alia*, that the Philippines constitution never included Sabah as part of Philippines territory. Philippines have never directly made known her intention to claim Sabah until 1962, although they achieved their independence in 1947, or 1948; and this

intention to claim Sabah was never entertained and, in fact it was sharply rebuffed by the British as being baseless.

Mr Speaker, Sir, President Marcos knows that he and his country have no claim, moral, legal or otherwise at all, over Sabah but the President knows even better that out of this unfortunate and confusing state of affairs in relationship between Malaysia and the Philippines which he undoubtedly has greatly enhanced he could feather his own nest. That mysterious Corregidor affair was an act of preparation perpetrated in order to create a tense situation between Malaysia and Philippines, but obviously the Philippines or the President himself did not score much success in this attempt. Thank God; and the Bangkok talks too showed what a poor claimant the President was.

The President has ignored completely world's opinion in his illegal pursuit of Sabah. We are yet to hear any country in this world in support of his claim. Why is the President so persistent in spite of disapproval internationally? This is, perhaps, because the President has been blinded by the big stake, namely; in my opinion, his personal ambition. Now, that he has signed the Philippines Sabah Annexation Bill into law, albeit that even by the Philippines legal standard the law is questionable, it is nevertheless law in the eyes of the Philippines. The President has now attempted to draw cotton wool over the eyes of his people to avoid them to see the truth. He has created an illusory dream for his people that the prize is Sabah, which they would get for themselves. But who would carry or see this dream through? The creator, President Marcos himself as long as they would continue to support him as President—and what is more vital, Mr Speaker, Sir, is to support him for the second term of office as President. This is Marcos' game. What a dirty game it is to play against a friendly neighbour, whose sole aim is to stand by justice and truth and live in peace with her friendly neighbours and to pursue her own way of life and belief in freedom, progress and prosperity.

Sir, we are all out to assist the Philippine for instance in the Anti-Smuggling Pact—this is to our loss. What do we get in return? It is reported, Mr Speaker, Sir, that the three Filipino officials in Sabah have received instructions to ignore Sabah authority, because they say Sabah belongs to the Philippines. The ridiculous annexation law passed by the Philippines Congress and approved by President Marcos is unprecedented in the annals of international law. Internationally, this law has brought nothing upon the Filipino people except shame, and has opened the door for contempt and ridicule upon the Filipino President himself. That the President should consider it fit to play this game against his peaceful neighbour, and particularly that both being members of the Association of South East Asia Nations was unexpected and unthinkable.

As to the Philippine request or demand that the so-called dispute should go to the World Court in the Hague, to give in to this demand, Mr Speaker, Sir, would, in my opinion be tantamount to permitting slavery in our midst. The Sabahans are not chattels; they cannot be bought and sold; Sabah is a sovereign state within Malaysia; and they have chosen to become Malaysians and remain as Malaysians. These are their wishes and must remain the prime consideration, and this is so under the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights.

From all available evidence the Philippines have no legal claim and I fully support our Government's refusal to discuss the matter further than the Bangkok talks and treat the matter as closed.

Mr Speaker, Sir, however, if I may say so, we are here to-day not to sit in the capacity of an international court, so to speak, and to adjudge that what has been passed by the Philippine Congress as illegal, void, or of no effect or otherwise. This is a matter strictly for the Philippine Congress, but as far as we are concerned as a matter of law internationally or otherwise, their passing of the law of the annexation bill supposedly to affect us does not

mean a thing as long as the same remain only on paper. We are a sovereign nation and no other country can legislate for or against us without our consent except ourselves. What we do here to-day is to reiterate and to reassert that Sabah is an integral part of Malaysia, as the Sabahans themselves have freely chosen, and has been part of Malaysia since Malaysia Day in 1963 and will always remain part of Malaysia and we deplore the Philippines Marcos interference in our affairs, if I may say so, as a crime and we will hold, Mr Speaker, Sir, and as the whole world will, I believe, the Philippines solely responsible for the creating of the tense situation in this region especially between our two countries. Mr Speaker, Sir, I support the Motion.

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad (Kota Star Selatan): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mengucapkan tahniah dan terima kasih kepada Kerajaan yang telah memanggil Dewan ini bersidang bagi membincangkan soal Sabah. Kita tahu bahawa semua ra'ayat telah pun menunjukkan bahawa ra'ayat menyokong Kerajaan di-dalam tindakan yang telah di-ambil oleh Kerajaan berkenaan dengan satu Bill yang di-luluskan oleh Kongres Philipina. Walau pun begitu di-dalam satu negara yang mengamalkan demokrasi, maka patut-lah juga wakil² ra'ayat bersidang dan mengeluarkan fikiran mereka berkenaan dengan perkara ini. Jadi ini-lah sebab-nya yang kita bersidang di-sini supaya dapat kita mengeluarkan fikiran² kita berkenaan dengan perkara masaalah Sabah ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan *izin* Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin menyambungkan ucapan saya dalam bahasa Inggeris.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Philippines is no great military power. Neither is it a disciplined nation capable of waging a war of aggression. We also know that much of the vituperations directed against Malaysia by her politicians are meant for internal consumption, meant to show Filipinos that they are now independent of America, meant to give them a certain identity, meant above all to win votes for politicians with no

ideals or causes. Knowing all these, Sir, Malaysians can very well ignore the passage of the Bill that has included Sabah within Filipino territory. But Malaysians, Sir, have not chosen to ignore the stupidity committed by the Philippines. Malaysians have reacted, and reacted violently. All over the country there have been spontaneous demonstrations of people of all races and of all political beliefs. Never in the short history of Malaysia has there been such a cohesion and unity of its people. If there is one thing that is certain, it is that the people of Malaysia take very strong exception indeed to the provocative and escalatory nature of the act of the Philippines Congress and the President of that country.

Sir, there is a tendency in certain foreign quarters and even among some local people to criticise us for having over-reacted. It is said that by our behaviour and the pronouncements of our leaders, we have not contributed towards lessening the tension between our country and the Philippines. Mr Speaker, Sir, I am not very warlike but I cannot help feeling the way I do about the Philippines. This country, Sir, is a very young country. We are an eminently peaceful people. All we have asked for is to be left alone to attend to our affairs. God knows we have any number of legal territorial claims, but we are not interested in claims. We are only interested in running our affairs smoothly, in giving our people the good things of life, in strengthening our economy and, above all, in being on friendly terms with our neighbours and indeed the whole world.

But, Sir, since our independence we have had more than our fair share of irritations. Almost as soon as we had defeated the Communist menace, Soekarno launched his confrontation against us. We had to divert our energies to the useless and unnecessary task of fighting against a neighbour for whom we have nothing but the greatest respect and feelings of friendship. From 1962 until 1966, we waged a war on the military as well as the diplomatic fronts to achieve, not victory, but friendship with Indonesia. We had to maintain a costly army and an unduly large police

force. We had to detain some of our own people, who had been misled we had to send missions abroad to do nothing more than explain what confrontation was. We had to spend money on embassies, which serve no useful purpose except to show the flag and fend off hostile propaganda. And off and on, Sir, we lost friends unnecessarily.

It was during confrontation that our relationship with Pakistan was strained and finally broken. There were other countries which became cool in their relations with us. Throughout all the difficulties and strains, Malaysians have worked to maintain an image of level-headedness, of tolerance and understanding. We had maintained that we had no quarrel with the Indonesian people that we wish for nothing but their friendship.

Mr Speaker, Sir, while confrontation was going on and draining our energies, we were faced with economic difficulties due to falling rubber and tin prices. We had to attend to this too. With the costly confrontation going on, we had to think about diversification of crops, of industrialisation, of export drive. We had to maintain a reasonable tempo of development. We had to cater to the tremendous demand for education and

the ever-increasing employment problem that education and a young population create.

Sir, all these things were too much for a small nation like ours to bear. The responsibilities we had to bear were too great for our narrow young shoulders. Our leaders, our Government machinery, our armed forces and our people were called upon to face far too great a trial. It would have been easier, if such a trial was necessary, but all along we knew that it was all so unnecessary. It was, Mr Speaker, Sir, with a tremendous sigh of relief that we welcomed the end of confrontation. The detente between Malaysia and Indonesia seem to us to herald a period of prosperity for both our nations. We could, once again, settle down to building a strong economy, to creating a climate of regional stability, to development, to technical and industrial advancement.

Mr (Deputy) Speaker: Panjang lagi?

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad: Panjang.

Mr (Deputy) Speaker: Meshuarat ini di-tanggohkan hingga pukul 10 pagi esok.

Dewan di-tanggohkan pada pukul 6.30 petang.