

DURI DALAM DAGING

SINGAPURA DALAM MALAYSIA

Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud



PERSATUAN SEJARAH MALAYSIA
KUALA LUMPUR
2001

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Perpustakaan Negara

Senarai Singkatan

BS	Barisan Sosialis
CAB	Cabinet Office
CO	Colonial Office
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office
GEMALA	Gerakan Kebangsaan Melayu Singapura
FO	Foreign Office
FSKK	Fakulti Sains Kemasyarakatan dan Kemanusiaan
HMG	Her Majesty's Government
ISA	Internal Security Act
ISC	Internal Security Council
PAP	People's Action Party
MCA	Malayan Chinese Association
MIC	Malayan Indian Congress
MSC	Malaysian Solidarity Convention
PAS	Parti Islam Se-Malaya
PKM	Parti Komunis Malaya
PKMM	Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya
PMIP	Pan Malayan Islamic Party
PBB	Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu
PETA	Pembela Tanah Air
PREM	Prime Minister's Office
SAP	Singapore Alliance Party
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SUPP	Sarawak United People's Party
UKM	Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
UMNO	United Malays' National Organisation
UN	United Nations
UPP	United Peoples' Party
UPKO	United Pasukan Kadazan Organisation
USNO	United Sabah National Organisation

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Seungkap Kata

Saya mengucapkan tahniah kepada Profesor Dr. Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud kerana berjaya menghasilkan buku *Duri Dalam Daging: Singapura Dalam Malaysia*, yang walaupun ringkas tetapi padat dengan dokumentasi sejarah hasil penyelidikan beliau tentang peristiwa pemisahan Singapura daripada Malaysia serta pelbagai detik penting yang membawa kepada peristiwa itu.

Peristiwa yang berlaku pada 9 Ogos 1965 ini sudah diulas oleh banyak pihak sama ada oleh mereka yang terlibat secara langsung maupun yang hanya berperanan sebagai pemerhati sahaja. Walaupun peristiwa itu sudah berlaku lebih 30 tahun lalu, perbincangan tentangnya sentiasa menjadi isu yang menarik perhatian banyak pihak. Keadaan ini mungkin disebabkan hubungan Malaysia-Singapura mempunyai sejarah yang panjang, kerana Singapura atau Temasik merupakan sebahagian daripada Kesultanan Melayu Lama dan kini sebagai jiran terdekat hubungan tersebut pula sentiasa panas dengan pelbagai isu semasa.

Namun begitu ulasan yang diberi kemungkinan dipengaruhi emosi atau berkepentingan politik peribadi. Ada juga penulisan tentang peristiwa itu yang hanya berdasarkan perspektif individu sehingga gagal melihatnya sebagai satu peristiwa sejarah secara menyeluruh. Agak membimbangkan juga apabila penulisan yang sering mendapat perhatian bukannya berpunca daripada kita di Malaysia. Dalam keadaan kebanyakan tokoh penting Malaysia yang terlibat secara langsung dengan peristiwa itu sudah meninggal dunia, apakah sandaran kita untuk menyanggah hujah palsu atau membetulkan fakta yang dipesongkan.

Dari sudut inilah penulisan Dr. Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud ini begitu penting kerana buku ini dapat memberi gambaran yang lebih jelas dan menyeluruh tentang urutan sebenar peristiwa yang berlaku pada pertengahan tahun 1960-an itu. Buku ini menjadi bukti bagaimana seharusnya seorang sejarawan berperanan dalam pembinaan sebuah

bangsa yang memahami sejarah negaranya, terutamanya dari segi memberi penilaian terhadap peristiwa silam yang membawa kesan begitu mendalam. Pihak Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia bersetuju menerbitkan buku ini kerana diharapkan bahan seperti ini akan menjadi satu iktibar penting dan peringatan kepada generasi muda dan sebagai salah satu rujukan utama bagi pihak yang ingin mengkaji sejarah hubungan Malaysia-Singapura.

Dato' Haji Omar Mohd. Hashim

Pengerusi Jawatankuasa Eksekutif

Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia

9 Ogos 2001

Prakata

Asalnya Singapura adalah sebahagian daripada tanah jajahan kerajaan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga. Pada tahun 1824 pulau itu telah diserahkan oleh Sultan Hussain Muhammad Syah kepada British. Di bawah dasar pintu terbuka, Singapura telah berubah wajah. Daripada sebuah perkampungan Melayu, ia telah bertukar menjadi penempatan Cina. Pada tahun 1963 Singapura telah bercantum semula dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu melalui gagasan Malaysia. Kehadiran Singapura dalam Malaysia bagaimanapun telah menimbulkan pelbagai masalah sehingga diumpamakan bagai 'duri dalam daging'. Selepas dua kali berlaku rusuhan kaum di Singapura pada tahun 1964, Tunku membuat keputusan untuk memisahkan Singapura daripada Malaysia. Pada 9 Ogos 1965, Singapura dipisahkan daripada Malaysia.

Sebahagian besar daripada penyelidikan untuk menghasilkan buku ini telah dilakukan di *Public Record Office*, London, *National Archives*, Virginia dan juga Arkib Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Selain itu bahan yang terdapat di Perpustakaan Tun Seri Lanang, UKM juga telah dirujuk. Oleh itu dengan rasa rendah diri saya merakamkan penghargaan dan ucapan terima kasih kepada semua institusi tersebut atas bantuan dan kerjasama yang diberikan. Juga ucapan ribuan terima kasih kepada UKM kerana membiayai projek penyelidikan ini dan kepada Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia atas kesudian untuk menerbitkannya bagi mengisi khazanah sejarah negara. Saya ingin juga menyampaikan penghargaan kepada Nik Nur Adnin selaku Pembantu Penyelidik kerana banyak memberi pertolongan kepada saya dalam usaha menyiapkan kajian ini. Sokongan dan galakan rakan di Jabatan Sejarah, FSKK juga amat dihargai. Tidak lupa kepada keluarga saya, Rahilah, Adnin, Husna, Adham, Zafir, Anis, Hazlan dan Amira atas galakan dan semangat yang diberi untuk menjayakan penulisan karya ini.

Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud

Jabatan Sejarah

UKM

9 Ogos 2001

Dari Ketuanan Melayu ke Ketuanan Inggeris

Singapura pada asalnya adalah sebahagian daripada tanah jajahan kerajaan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga. Nama asalnya ialah Temasik, dan merupakan sebuah perkampungan nelayan Melayu. Berdasarkan *Sejarah Melayu*, Temasik telah dibuka oleh Sang Nila Utama pada tahun 1299. Sumber China pula menceritakan bahawa pada tahun 1349 pulau itu diperintah oleh seorang raja yang bernama Tamagi. Sultan Iskandar Syah (Parameswara), pengasas kerajaan Melayu Melaka, pernah menjadi pemerintah di pulau ini selama lebih kurang lima tahun (1391-1397) sebelum beliau membuka Melaka pada awal abad ke-15.¹ Setelah kerajaan Melayu Melaka ditubuhkan, Temasik kekal sebagai tanah jajahannya. Sebagai penempatan nelayan, jumlah bilangan penduduknya tidaklah begitu ramai. Pada awal abad ke-19, Temasik berada di bawah tanggungjawab Temenggung Abdul Rahman. Pada ketika itu kerajaan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga bersultankan Sultan Abdul Rahman Muazam Syah yang bersemayam di Lingga.

Kehadiran kuasa Eropah seperti Inggeris dan Belanda di perairan Johor-Riau pada awal abad ke-19 telah mengancam keutuhan kerajaan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga. Belanda yang datang lebih awal daripada Inggeris telah bertapak di Riau, manakala Inggeris pula telah bertapak di Pulau Pinang. Selepas tamat perang Napoleon (1815), Kompeni Hindia-Inggeris mencari tapak baru di Selat Melaka yang lebih strategik daripada Pulau Pinang. Kedudukan Temasik yang strategik telah mendapat perhatian Stamford Raffles, Leftenan Gabenor Bengkulu. Dengan bertapak di kawasan itu, kompeni telah dapat mengawal Selat Melaka yang merupakan laluan utama perdagangan antarabangsa.

Pada 28 Januari 1819, Raffles telah mendarat di Temasik. Selepas meninjau pulau itu, Raffles mengambil keputusan untuk menjadikannya sebagai pangkalan Kompeni Hindia Timur Inggeris. Raffles membuat perjanjian awal dengan Temenggung Abdul Rahman bagi membolehkan Kompeni membuka pangkalan di pulau itu dengan bayaran tahunan sebanyak 3,000 *dollar Spanish*. Perjanjian itu dibuat atas andaian bahawa perjanjian Belanda dengan Riau tidak meliputi Johor dan pemerintah Johor yang sebenarnya bukan Sultan Abdul Rahman tetapi Tengku Hussain Muhammad Syah, kekandanya. Pada masa Sultan Mahmud II mangkat (1810), Tengku Hussain Muhammad Syah berada di Pahang dan dengan itu adindanya Abdul Rahman telah ditabal sebagai Sultan baru. Oleh sebab Raffles telah diarah untuk berurusan dengan pemerintah Johor sahaja, maka beliau telah menabalkan Tengku Hussain Muhammad Syah sebagai Sultan. Pada 6 Februari 1819, Raffles memeterai perjanjian dengan Sultan Hussain bagi membolehkan Kompeni membuka pangkalan di pulau Temasik. Sebagai balasannya, Kompeni membayar sebanyak 5,000 *dollar Spanish* kepada Sultan dan sebanyak 3,000 *dollar Spanish* kepada Temenggung. Kompeni berjanji tidak akan mencampuri urusan dalaman Sultan manakala Sultan pula tidak akan membenarkan mana-mana kuasa asing bertapak di pulau itu. Kompeni juga berjanji akan mempertahankan kedudukan Sultan dan Temenggung daripada sebarang ancaman.

Pada bulan Jun 1823 satu lagi perjanjian dimeterai antara Kompeni dengan Sultan Hussain Muhammad Syah dan Temenggung Abdul Rahman. Perjanjian itu membenarkan kompeni menguasai keseluruhan pulau tersebut. Sebagai balasannya Kompeni membayar kepada Sultan Hussain Muhammad Syah dan Temenggung Abdul Rahman sebanyak 1,500 dan 700 *dollar Spanish*. Dengan perolehan itu Kompeni telah menukar nama pulau itu kepada Singapura.

Pihak Belanda telah membantah pendudukan Kompeni di Temasik kerana mereka mendakwa pulau itu berada di bawah naungan Sultan Abdul Rahman yang mempunyai perjanjian dengan Belanda. Dakwaan itu ditolak oleh Raffles atas alasan bahawa Temenggung Johor dan Bendahara Pahang tidak pernah mengiktiraf pertabalan Abdul Rahman sebagai Sultan Johor-Riau-Lingga. Bagi mengatasi perbalahan itu, rundingan telah berlangsung antara kerajaan Inggeris dengan Belanda di

London. Pada 24 Mac 1824 kedua-dua kuasa Eropah tersebut memeterai Perjanjian London. Nasib Singapura telah ditentukan oleh Artikel 12 dalam perjanjian itu yang berbunyi seperti berikut:

Raja Belanda menarik balik semua bantahan yang telah dibuat terhadap pendudukan rakyat Yang Mulia Raja Inggeris di Singapura. Walau bagaimanapun Yang Mulia Raja Inggeris berjanji bahawa tidak ada petempatan Inggeris yang akan dibuka di Pulau Karimon, Bantam, Bintang dan Pulau Linggi atau mana-mana pulau yang terletak di selatan Selat Singapura; juga pihak Inggeris tidak akan menandatangani sebarang perjanjian dengan ketua-ketua pulau ini.²

Artikel itu telah mengabsahkan pendudukan Inggeris di Singapura. Perjanjian London juga mengakibatkan keutuhan dan kedaulatan Kerajaan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga terjejas. Kerajaan yang besar ini telah terbahagi kepada dua, iaitu Kerajaan Melayu Johor dan Kerajaan Melayu Riau-Lingga.

Setelah termeterainya Perjanjian London, John Crawford, Residen Kompeni di Singapura telah memaksa Sultan Hussain Muhammad Syah dan Temenggung Abdul Rahman supaya menyerahkan Singapura sepenuhnya, kecuali kawasan kediaman Sultan Hussain Muhammad Syah dan Temenggung. Justeru tekanan dan desakan Crawford, pada 2 Ogos 1824, Sultan dan Temenggung terpaksa menandatangani perjanjian Persahabatan dan Perikatan dengan Kompeni. Dengan termeterainya perjanjian itu Singapura telah menjadi kepunyaan Kompeni buat selama-lamanya. Sebagai balasannya pihak Kompeni bersetuju untuk membayar kepada Sultan Hussain dan Temenggung masing-masing sebanyak 33,000 dan 26,800 *dollar Spanish*, termasuk bayaran bulanan setiap seorang sebanyak 1,300 dan 700 *dollar Spanish*. Fasal VII perjanjian itu memperakui penyerahan itu tidak membabitkan kawasan kediaman Sultan dan Temenggung di Kampong Gelam yang mempunyai keluasan lebih kurang 56 ekar.³

Sejak itu Singapura telah menjadi milik kompeni Hindia Timur British. Pada tahun 1867 Singapura, Pulau Pinang dan Melaka telah diletak di bawah Pentadbiran Negeri-negeri Selat yang berpusat di Singapura dan di bawah tanggungjawab seorang Gabenor. Singapura juga menjadi ibu pejabat Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British bagi Negeri-negeri

Melayu Bersekutu dan Negeri-negeri Melayu Tidak Bersekutu. Bagi memudahkan hubungan antara Singapura dengan Semenanjung, sebuah *causeway* telah dibina dan siap pada tahun 1923.

Di bawah pemerintahan British, Singapura telah membangun dengan pesat. Dari sebuah perkampungan nelayan, Singapura berubah menjadi pusat perdagangan serantau. Banyak syarikat asing telah membuka cawangan masing-masing di pulau itu. Antara yang awal ialah Syarikat *Johnston and Company*, *Guthrie, Syme and Company*, *Paterson* dan *Simons and Company*. Bilangan pendatang asing, khususnya kaum Cina, juga semakin meningkat. Pada tahun 1863 jumlah penduduk di Singapura telah meningkat kepada 80,000 orang. Daripada jumlah tersebut hanya 14% sahaja terdiri daripada bangsa Melayu. Bakinya adalah terdiri daripada kaum pendatang Cina (62%) dan India (16%). Menjelang tahun 1901, Singapura mempunyai 227,000 orang penduduk. Daripada jumlah itu, 72% adalah terdiri daripada kaum pendatang Cina. Di bawah ketuanan British, bangsa Melayu Singapura terus terpinggir dan dipinggirkan daripada arus pembangunan.

NOTA

1. Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, *Kesultanan Melayu Melaka*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1989, hlm. 106
2. Graham Irwin (terj. Mohd. Nor Ghani & Noraini Ismail), *Borneo Abad Kesembilan Belas: Kajian Mengenai Persaingan Diplomatik*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1986, hlm. 79.
3. Pada tahun 1897 berlaku perebutan kuasa dalam keluarga keturunan Sultan Hussain Muhammad Syah sehingga Mahkamah Tinggi dan Mahkamah Rayuan membuat keputusan meletakkan kawasan seluas 56 ekar itu sebagai 'Crown Land'. Satu rang undang-undang Sultan Hussain Muhammad Syah 1905 digubal bagi melindungi istana itu. Pada 12 Mac 1999 kerajaan Singapura telah mengumumkan cadangan kerajaan untuk menjadikan istana Sultan Hussain sebagai Pusat Warisan Melayu. Lihat, *Utusan Malaysia*, 4 Jun 1999.

II

Singapura menuju Pemerintahan Sendiri

(Peperangan tercetus di Tanah Melayu pada 7 Disember 1941 apabila tentera Jepun mendaratkan tenteranya di Kelantan, disusuli dengan serangan ke atas Pearl Harbour. Dalam tempoh 70 hari Singapura telah dikuasai oleh Jepun. British terpaksa mengaku kalah. Bermula pada bulan Februari 1942, Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan Negeri-negeri Selat telah diletak di bawah pentadbiran tentera Jepun dengan Singapura atau *Syonan* nama barunya, sebagai pusat pentadbirannya.

Setelah perang tamat, para pejuang Melayu khususnya Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya (PKMM) berusaha untuk mencantumkan semula Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu, tetapi dihalang oleh British. Di bawah perlembagaan Malayan Union atau Kesatuan Tanah Melayu, Pulau Pinang dan Melaka telah menjadi sebahagian daripada Tanah Melayu, tetapi Singapura kekal sebagai koloni British. Semenjak itu Semenanjung dan Singapura berkembang secara berasingan dalam bidang politik, perlembagaan dan ekonomi.

Keengganan British untuk memberi hak pemerintahan sendiri kepada Persekutuan Tanah Melayu telah mencetuskan bantahan di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Parti Komunis Malaya dan parti kiri Melayu seperti PKMM, PETA dan Hisbul Muslimin telah memelopori gerakan kemerdekaan. Pihak British telah bertindak balas dengan mengisytiharkan darurat, mengharamkan parti kiri dan menahan pucuk pimpinan dan ahlinya. Di Singapura pihak British juga telah menangkap ahli serta penyokong PKM dan parti kiri Melayu.) Antara tahun 1948 dan 1953, seramai 1,200 orang telah ditahan oleh pihak berkuasa British, termasuklah C.V. Nair dan James Puthucheary.¹

Pada tahun 1950-an, pihak British telah melonggarkan sedikit kekangan terhadap kegiatan politik sebagai persiapan ke arah pemerintahan sendiri. Pada tahun 1953, Pejabat Tanah Jajahan telah melantik Suruhanjaya Perlembagaan yang dipengerusikan oleh Sir George Rendell untuk menggubal perlembagaan Singapura. Dalam laporannya yang dikeluarkan pada awal tahun 1954, Suruhanjaya Rendell mencadangkan supaya Singapura diberi status pemerintahan sendiri yang terhad. Sebuah Dewan Legislatif yang mengandungi seramai 32 orang anggota telah ditubuhkan. Daripada jumlah itu seramai 25 orang akan dipilih menganggotainya melalui proses pilihan raya. Sebuah Majlis Menteri yang mengandungi 9 orang Menteri akan dibentuk. Majlis Menteri ini bertanggungjawab terhadap semua urusan pentadbiran melainkan hal ehwal keselamatan, undang-undang dan kewangan dan urusan luar negara yang masih menjadi tanggungjawab kerajaan British.

Apabila laporan Suruhanjaya Rendell diluluskan oleh Parlimen British, pilihan raya umum pertama telah dijadualkan pada April 1955. Justeru itu, beberapa parti politik telah ditubuhkan, seperti Parti Buruh Bersatu (*Labour Front*), *People's Action Party* (PAP), UMNO Singapura, Parti Buruh Singapura dan Parti Progresif. Antara parti politik yang paling berpengaruh ketika itu ialah Parti Buruh Bersatu dan PAP.

Parti Buruh Bersatu telah ditubuhkan oleh Lim Yew Hock dan David Marshall, seorang peguam. Lim Yew Hock adalah seorang aktivis Kesatuan dan ahli Majlis Legislatif manakala David Marshall pula adalah seorang peguam keturunan Yahudi yang terkenal serta berjiwa anti-penjajah. Dasar perjuangan Parti Buruh Bersatu ialah untuk membebaskan Singapura daripada penjajahan dan bercantum dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

PAP, saingan utama Parti Buruh Bersatu, telah ditubuhkan pada bulan November 1954 oleh siswazah lulusan universiti di United Kingdom. Sama seperti Parti Buruh Bersatu, matlamat perjuangan Parti PAP ialah untuk membebaskan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, termasuk Singapura, daripada belenggu penjajahan British. Antara tokoh PAP yang terkenal ialah Lee Kuan Yew, Goh Keng Swee, Toh Chin Chye dan S. Rajaratnam. Untuk mencapai matlamat perjuangannya, PAP merapatkan hubungan dengan golongan pendidik Cina dan pimpinan Kesatuan Sekerja yang dikuasai oleh Komunis. Oleh sebab itu PAP tidak bersikap anti-komunis.

Dalam satu kenyataan akhbar pada Mei 1955, Setiausaha PAP, Lee Kuan Yew, pernah mengatakan bahawa '*any man in Singapore who want to carry the Chinese-speaking people with him cannot afford to be anti-communist*'.² PAP mengisytiharkan dirinya sebagai sebuah parti yang bukan komunis. Walaupun PAP dianggap sebagai sebuah parti *reactionary*, tetapi justeru imejnya sebagai sebuah parti pro-kemerdekaan dan anti-barat, PKM memilih untuk menyokongnya.

*Although they are essentially reactionary, yet in the present phase of the anti-colonial struggle for the attainment of the rights of national self-determination, we shall support all PAP policies and measures that are beneficial to us and oppose those that are not. Every comrade must take this principle as a guide for his own utterances and activities.*³

Pilihan raya umum pertama diadakan di Singapura pada 2 April 1955. Parti Buruh Bersatu memenangi pilihan raya itu dengan 10 kerusi manakala PAP memenangi 4 buah kerusi. UMNO-MCA hanya memenangi 3 kerusi sahaja. Keputusan itu membolehkan Parti Buruh Bersatu membentuk kerajaan dengan David Marshall sebagai Ketua Menteri Singapura yang pertama.

Kemenangan Parti Buruh Bersatu mengecewakan pihak British yang mengharapkan Parti Progresif yang pro-British mengambil-alih teraju pemerintahan. Sikap David Marshall yang anti-kolonial dan keengganannya untuk bertindak terhadap puak kiri dan komunis menyebabkan beliau tidak begitu popular dengan pihak kolonial British di Singapura. Pada awal bulan Jun 1956, beliau telah meletakkan jawatannya sebagai Ketua Menteri apabila kerajaan British enggan memberi hak pemerintahan sendiri sepenuhnya kepada Singapura. Ketua Menteri tidak mempunyai saluran kepada laporan sulit Cawangan Khas. Oleh sebab sumber kewangan dikawal oleh pihak British, maka ketua Menteri mempunyai masalah untuk melaksanakan rancangan pembangunan dalam aspek perumahan dan pendidikan.

Pada 8 Jun 1956, pemangkunya Lim Yew Hock telah mengangkat sumpah sebagai Ketua Menteri. Pada 11 Disember 1957, Sir William Goode telah dilantik sebagai Gabenor Singapura. Menyedari bahawa kerajaan British tidak akan memberikan kemerdekaan kepada Singapura sehingga Komunis tidak lagi menjadi ancaman, maka Lim Yew Hock

memilih untuk bekerjasama dengan Gabenor dan Ketua Polis dalam menangani masalah komunis walaupun beliau dianggap oleh musuh politiknya sebagai 'boneka penjajah'. Beliau adalah Cina Peranakan yang berjiwa anti-komunis. Oleh sebab itu juga beliau dapat berhubung rapat dengan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Ketua Menteri bagi Tanah Melayu, seorang tokoh yang juga anti-komunis.⁴ Kerajaan Persekutuan agak bimbang dengan kegiatan komunis di Singapura. Walaupun PKM telah diharamkan, tetapi komunis masih berpengaruh di kalangan Kesatuan Sekerja dan sekolah Cina.

Sebaik sahaja dilantik sebagai Ketua Menteri, Lim Yew Hock, dengan kerjasama Gabenor Goode dan Ketua Polis, telah mengambil tindakan terhadap komunis. Pada 23 Ogos 1956, Lim Yew Hock mengeluarkan Kertas Putih tentang kegiatan dan matlamat Komunis di Singapura serta penyelusupan anasir itu dalam PAP. Pada bulan September, Kesatuan Sekerja seperti *Singapore Factory and Shop Workers* telah ditutup. Bermula 1 Oktober 1956, satu operasi besar-besaran telah dijalankan di Singapura untuk memberkas anggota komunis serta para penyokongnya.

Akibat tindakan keras Lim Yew Hock, gerakan komunis di Singapura hampir lumpuh. Operasi itu dikenali sebagai *Operation Photo*. Berikutan dengan berlakunya rusuhan di *Chinese High School* pada 26 Oktober 1956, Lim Yew Hock telah bertindak dengan menahan pemimpin kiri dan komunis dalam PAP dan Kesatuan Sekerja. Antara yang ditahan di bawah Akta *Preservation of Public Security* ialah Lim Chin Siong, S. Woodhull dan James Puthuicheary. Pada tahun 1957, lima orang ahli Jawatankuasa Tertinggi PAP turut ditahan. Dari satu segi, penahanan beberapa orang pucuk pimpinan tertinggi Jawatankuasa Pusat PAP yang pro-Komunis telah membolehkan Lee Kuan Yew, seorang tokoh moderat dan bekas Setiausaha Agung PAP, menguasai semula PAP. Lennox-Boyd, Setiausaha Tanah Jajahan, telah memuji Lim Yew Hock kerana berjaya membunuh '*the communist snake*'.⁵ Satu daripada senjata sulit pihak British dalam menangani masalah komunis ialah Akta Keselamatan Dalam Negeri ataupun *Preservation of Public Security Act*. Akta ini memberi kuasa sepenuhnya untuk menahan mana-mana individu ataupun menutup mana-mana persatuan atau kesatuan yang dipercayai mengancam keselamatan negara tanpa memerlukan perintah mahkamah.

Justeru itu akta tersebut telah ditentang oleh komunis dan menjadi isu utama dalam perjuangan politik di Singapura.

Perlembagaan Baru

Pada bulan April 1958 Lim Yew Hock telah mengetuai rombongan ke London. Turut mengiringi rombongan itu ialah Lee Kuan Yew. Pada 11 April 1957 perjanjian telah dimeterai antara kerajaan Lim Yew Hock dengan kerajaan British mengenai perlembagaan baru bagi Singapura. Perlembagaan baru itu membolehkan penubuhan sebuah Dewan Legislatif dengan 51 orang wakil yang dipilih. Seorang Perdana Menteri dan beberapa orang Menteri akan dipilih daripadanya. Dewan ini mempunyai kuasa dalam semua hal kecuali urusan pertahanan dan luar negara. Berkaitan soal keselamatan dalam negeri, sebuah majlis yang dikenali sebagai Majlis Keselamatan Negara akan dibentuk. Majlis ini akan dianggotai oleh tiga orang wakil British, tiga orang wakil dari Singapura dan seorang wakil dari Tanah Melayu. Singapura akan diketuai oleh seorang Yang di-Pertuan Negara dan bukan lagi Gabenor. Kerajaan British masih mempunyai kuasa untuk menggantung perlembagaan sekiranya keselamatan dalam negeri Singapura terganggu ataupun kerajaan Singapura menjalankan dasar yang bertentangan dengan Perlembagaan.

Tuntutan Melayu

Secara umumnya perlembagaan baru itu telah diterima oleh rakyat Singapura. Ini kerana perlembagaan itu telah mengubah status Singapura daripada sebuah koloni kepada Negara (*State*). Sempena dengan itu, Yusof Ishak telah dilantik sebagai Yang di-Pertuan Negara Singapura yang pertama. Sungguhpun begitu terdapat sekumpulan orang Melayu mempertikaikan perlembagaan itu atas alasan bahawa perlembagaan itu tidak menjamin kedudukan orang Melayu sebagai bumiputera di negeri itu malahan kedudukan orang Melayu akan semakin tenggelam. perlembagaan baru itu telah melonggarkan syarat-syarat kerakyatan. Kerakyatan Singapura telah dibuka seluas-luasnya kepada semua kaum. Syarat kerakyatan yang berasaskan prinsip *jus soli* telah diperkenalkan. Bagi rakyat United Kingdom dan Tanah Jajahan, mereka layak untuk

memohon kerakyatan selepas dua tahun bermastautin di Singapura manakala bagi rakyat asing pula ialah selepas bermastautin selama 8 tahun.

Apabila syarat-syarat kerakyatan ini dikuatkuasakan, seramai 325,000 orang asing telah diterima sebagai rakyat Singapura. Jelas bahawa peraturan kerakyatan baru itu meninggalkan kesan buruk kepada bangsa Melayu di pulau itu. Daripada 1,466,000 juta orang penduduk di Singapura, bilangan orang Melayu hanyalah dalam anggaran 228,000 orang sahaja. Tambah membimbangkan orang Melayu lagi ialah apabila perlembagaan itu tidak memberi jaminan terhadap kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu sebagai kaum minoriti akan dihormati, seperti yang termaktub dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Bimbang dengan masa depan mereka, pada 12 Mac 1959, satu pertubuhan yang dikenali sebagai *Gerakan Kebangsaan Melayu Singapura* atau GEMALA telah ditubuhkan di Singapura.⁶ Peranan utama GEMALA ialah untuk mempertahankan hak dan kepentingan bangsa Melayu di Singapura. GEMALA dipengerusikan oleh Hashim bin Salim manakala Setiausahanya ialah Othman Abdullah. Penaung GEMALA ialah Tengku Muda, cicit kepada Sultan Hussain.

Pada 19 April 1959, GEMALA menganjurkan satu persidangan di istana Kampong Gelam untuk membincangkan nasib dan masa depan orang Melayu di Singapura. Persidangan itu dihadiri oleh seramai 250 orang peserta. Antara keputusan penting yang dibuat oleh persidangan itu ialah desakan GEMALA supaya kerajaan British memulihkan taraf orang Melayu Singapura seperti pada zaman sebelum penjajahan dahulu. Kedua, mendirikan semula kerajaan bersultan. Ketiga, menuntut supaya Perlembagaan baru Singapura dibatalkan dan dengan itu mendesak supaya pilihan raya umum ditangguhkan.

Keputusan persidangan GEMALA untuk memulihkan semula kesultanan Melayu telah ditegur oleh PAS dan Parti Rakyat. Abdullah Zawawi, Yang diPertua PAS Singapura, menganggap cadangan itu sebagai tidak praktikal. Tegas beliau:

Kesultanan Singapura tidak akan tercapai. Hanya bila Singapura bercantum dengan Persekutuan maka tanah jajahan ini dapat kembali kepada bangsa Melayu.⁷

Berita Harian pula menganggap kepentingan utama perjuangan rakyat Singapura pada amnya dan orang Melayu khususnya adalah untuk 'memperjuangkan kemerdekaan rakyat yang terjajah' dan bukan memulihkan kesultanan Melayu.'

Kritikan dan teguran itu bagaimanapun tidak menghalang GEMALA daripada mengirimkan memorandum kepada baginda Queen Elizabeth II pada 25 April 1959.⁹ Seperti yang diputuskan dalam Persidangan itu, GEMALA mendesak kerajaan British melindungi hak dan kepentingan orang Melayu di Singapura, seperti yang termaktub dalam perjanjian antara Sultan Hussain Muhammad Syah dengan Raffles pada 30 Januari 1819 dan 6 Februari 1819. Salinan memorandum itu telah dikirim juga kepada Perdana Menteri British Harold MacMillan.

No doubt Your Majesty's Government must be fully aware of the provisions of both the Treaties, the principal burden of which was that in return for the right of the British to maintain its administrative machinery on the island, they were also responsible not only to safe-guard, but also to foster and actively encourage Malay rights, special privileges and advancement in the field of education, economic, political and social development.

GEMALA bimbang bahawa jika langkah tertentu tidak diambil untuk menangani kebimbangan kaum Melayu ditakuti orang Melayu akan menggunakan kekerasan untuk mencapai matlamatnya.

One apparent result which will adversely affect the Malay people if the new constitution of Singapore came into being, is the certain deprivation of their rightful claim to ownership of this island of 'equality' with the other immigrant races and we maintain that to be so placed would be to endanger our very position and would jeopardise our immediate future on this island. It would mean a compromise with death. We cannot at this juncture compete, with them on such a basis, because, presumably, through the accidents of history and the years of British neglect of our welfare, we are weak people, small in number and politically and economically 'insignificant'.

GEMALA mempertikaikan keputusan kerajaan British membuka hak kerakyatan kepada orang asing berjumlah 200,000 orang yang kesetiaan mereka masih diragui. Keputusan itu dibuat tanpa merujuk kepada orang Melayu. GEMALA bimbang bahawa jika pada masa hadapan tindakan

seumpama itu juga akan diambil, masa depan orang Melayu di Singapura adalah gelap. GEMALA merayu agar hak dan kedudukan orang Melayu diberi perlindungan yang sewajarnya bagi mengelakkan orang Melayu daripada terpusus di pulau itu.

Your Majesty's Government has a moral responsibility in safeguarding Malay interests, rights and privileges, notwithstanding the claims of the non-Malays on this island. How great then was their consternation and how helpless they felt, when they realised that though their rights and privileges are embodied in the Proposed Constitution, and rather loosely at that, there appeared to be no constitutional guarantees that those rights and privileges would be observed and carried out by the Government in power. In simple language the party that forms the next government is not legally bound to observe, much less to carry out its obligations to the Malays.

GEMALA mencadangkan supaya kerajaan British memulihkan semula kesultanan Melayu di Singapura serta memperkasakan kedudukan orang Melayu di pulau itu. Di samping itu tuntutan juga dibuat agar Kerajaan British membatalkan hasrat untuk mengadakan pilihan raya umum seperti yang dicadangkan.

Tuntutan GEMALA itu bagaimanapun tidak dilayan oleh pihak Istana Buckingham. Perlembagaan Baru telah dikuatkuasakan di Singapura seperti yang dijadualkan.

NOTA

1. Devan Nair dan James Puthuchery - telah dianggap oleh pihak Keselamatan British sebagai 'open front leaders' Parti Komunis Malaya. Lihat, Richard Clutterbuck, *Conflict and Violence in Singapore & Malaysia, 1945-1983*, Graham Brash (Pte) Ltd., Singapore, 1984. hal. 66.
2. *Ibid.* hal. 105.
3. Lim Chin Siong juga dikategorikan sebagai 'open front leader' untuk PKM tetapi tidak pernah membuat pengakuan terbuka bahawa beliau adalah seorang komunis. Lihat, Richard Clutterbuck, op. cit., hal. 99.
4. 'Rancangan Penubuhan Malaysia', ucapan Tunku Abdul Rahman di Perhimpunan Agung Khas UMNO pada 4 November 1961. hal. 394-401. Lihat, Wan Mohd. Mahyiddin & Haji Nik Mustaffa Yusoff (peny.), *Amanat Presiden: Landasan bagi Pembinaan Bangsa dan Negara*, Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd, Shah Alam, 1997.

5. Richard Clutterbuck, op. cit. hal. 112.
6. *Berita Harian*, 21 April 1959.
7. *Ibid.* 24 April 1959.
8. *Ibid.* 21 April 1959.
9. Memorandum Gerakan Kebangsaan Melayu Singapura, 25 April 1959
dlm. Buckingham Palace - CO, 3 Nov 1959, CO 1030/447.

III

Pilihan Raya 1959, PAP dan Komunis

Bersesuaian dengan perlembagaan baru itu, pilihanraya umum telah diadakan pada bulan Mei 1959. Penamaan calon telah berlangsung pada 25 April 1959. Pemimpin-pemimpin Perikatan di Tanah Melayu tidak begitu senang dengan kebangkitan PAP sebuah parti yang dianggap menjadi kuda tunggangan Komunis. Perikatan masih mengharapkan SAP, sebuah parti yang anti-komunis, akan terus kekal berkuasa. Pada Tunku hanya SAP sahaja yang dapat menjamin keselamatan orang Melayu di Singapura memandangkan SAP bersedia bekerjasama dengan UMNO dan Lim Yew Hock pula adalah seorang Cina Peranakan. Justeru itu Tunku telah memainkan peranan aktif dalam kempen pilihan raya di Singapura bagi memastikan SAP menang dalam pilihan raya tersebut.

Pencabar utama SAP dalam pilihan raya 1959 ialah PAP yang dipimpin oleh Lee Kuan Yew. PAP menjadikan isu pembebasan tahanan politik dan kemerdekaan melalui percantuman dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu sebagai agenda utama pilihan raya. Bagi memancing sokongan masyarakat Cina, Lee Kuan Yew berikrar bahawa sekiranya PAP menang pilihan raya tersebut beliau tidak akan membentuk kerajaan sebelum tahanan politik dibebaskan. Pendirian tegas PAP telah mendapat sokongan padu daripada pertubuhan-pertubuhan buruh. Tanda awal populariti PAP di kalangan pengundi Cina ialah apabila PAP memenangi 14 daripada 15 kerusi pilihan raya Majlis Perbandaran pada Disember 1957. Melalui kemenangan itu Ong Eng Guan telah dilantik menjadi Datuk Bandar pertama Singapura.

PAP dan Komunis

Pada awal 1959 tanda-tanda telah menunjukkan bahawa PAP akan memenangi pilihan raya. Menyedari bahawa kemenangan itu juga kerana sokongan Komunis, maka Lee Kuan Yew perlu memenuhi kempen pilihanrayanya, iaitu membebaskan tahanan politik. Menjelang pilihan raya Lee Kuan Yew telah mengadakan pertemuan dengan Gabenor Sir William Goode untuk mendesak supaya Lim Chin Siong dan beberapa orang lagi tahanan politik dibebaskan sebelum penubuhan kerajaan baru.¹ Lee Kuan Yew memaklumkan kepada Goode bahawa Lim Chin Siong dan rakan-rakannya bersetuju untuk menentang anasir komunis yang cuba mengganggu kegiatan parti serta menerima sistem pemerintahan demokrasi. Sekiranya Lim Chin Siong dan rakan-rakannya menyeleweng daripada ikrar tersebut, PAP mempunyai alasan politik yang kukuh untuk menghukum mereka.

Goode menganggap tuntutan itu sebagai tidak praktikal. Arahan pembebasan tahanan hanya boleh dibuat oleh Ketua Setiausaha atas nasihat Majlis Keselamatan Dalam Negeri ataupun Menteri Dalam Negeri atas persetujuan Kabinet. Lee Kuan Yew mendesak Goode menggunakan kuasa *reservenya* ataupun mendapatkan persetujuan anggota tidak rasmi Majlis tersebut untuk membebaskan tahanan politik tersebut. Lee menjelaskan tahanan politik tersebut perlu dibebaskan bersesuaian dengan ikrar pilihanraya. Andainya tahanan politik itu tidak dibebaskan kedudukan serta maruahnyanya sebagai pemimpin PAP di kalangan masyarakat Cina sudah pasti akan terjejas.

Dalam suratnya kepada Pejabat Tanah jajahan British bertarikh 15 Mei 1959, Goode menasihatkan kerajaan British supaya memenuhi permintaan Lee Kuan Yew sekiranya PAP memenangi pilihan raya umum.² Pejabat Tanah Jajahan bersetuju dengan pandangan Goode.

... We should not stand against PAP over this if they get a clear win at elections. To do so would precipitate public squabble immediately before introduction of new constitution. It might lead to embarrassing delay in introducing it and thus to public accusation that the British were dragging their feet because PAP had won elections. Meanwhile Lim and his colleagues would have resigned and Governor would be left to carry on with rump Council of three officials - a difficult situation in face of popular mandate to PAP.

On balance advice, which I think we should accept, is clearly in favour of our deciding now that if PAP have a clear win releases should be ordered forthwith by Governor and rump Council of three official members (and not in exercise of his reserve powers) and that this action should be explained in public statement as having been taken in the light of public pledges of new elected government to prevent a deadlock arising immediately new constitution is inaugurated. This should help to present our action now as taken from weakness but as based on a sensible appreciation of political realities and confirmation of our sincere intention to get new constitution off to a fair start.³

Pilihan raya telah diadakan pada 30 Mei 1959. SAP telah memasuki pilihan raya dalam keadaan yang lemah ekoran skandal bantuan politik asing dan krisis dalam UMNO ekoran isu rasuah Timbalan Ketua Menteri, Hamid Abdul. Seperti yang dijangkakan, PAP memperolehi undi terbesar dalam pilihanraya itu, iaitu 43 kerusi daripada 53 kerusi yang dipertandingkan. *Singapore Alliance Party* telah tewas teruk dengan hanya memenangi 4 daripada 39 kerusi yang dipertandingkan, termasuk kerusi Lim Yew Hock. UMNO dan MCA masing-masing memperolehi 3 kerusi. Satu lagi kerusi dimenangi oleh calon bebas.

Ekoran kekalahan itu, pada pagi 1 Jun 1959, Lim Yew Hock telah melepaskan jawatannya. Lee Kuan Yew telah diminta oleh Gabenor Sir William Goode untuk membentuk kerajaan. Tetapi Lee Kuan Yew bertegas bahawa beliau tidak akan membentuk kerajaan melainkan lapan orang tahanan politik, termasuk Lim Chin Siong, Fong Swee Suan, C.Devan Nair, S. Woodhull, James Puthuachery dibebaskan.

Lee Kuan Yew juga telah memaklumkan kepada Razak hasratnya untuk membebaskan tahanan politik serta memberi jaminan bahawa pembebasan itu tidak akan menggugat keselamatan Tanah Melayu.⁴ Antara jaminan itu termasuklah persetujuan bertulis tokoh-tokoh tersebut untuk tidak memasuki Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Lee juga berjanji akan mengambil tindakan tegas terhadap mana-mana individu yang melanggar perjanjian tersebut. Razak bagaimanapun memaklumkan bahawa kerajaan Tanah Melayu enggan terbabit dalam isu pembebasan itu.⁵

Pada 3 Jun 1959, lapan orang tahanan politik, termasuk Lim Chin Siong, S. Woodhull, James Puthuachery dan Fong Swee Suan telah dibebaskan. Sebaik saja meninggalkan pintu besar penjara, dua ekor

burung merpati putih telah dibebaskan sebagai lambang kebebasan. Dalam satu kenyataan akhbar yang dikeluarkan kemudian, Lim Chin Siong menyatakan sokongan penuh kepada cita-cita PAP untuk mewujudkan sebuah negara Malaya yang merdeka, demokratik dan bercorak sosialis. Beliau juga menyatakan sokongan terhadap PAP berhubung perkara undang-undang keselamatan umum, tidak akan mencampuri politik Semenanjung serta menyokong pucuk pimpinan PAP.

Pada masa yang sama, Pejabat Gabenor Singapura telah mengeluarkan kenyataan akhbar bahawa pembebasan tahanan politik itu adalah hak Gabenor Singapura dan tidak mempunyai kaitan dengan Kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Pada 4 Jun 1959 Lee Kuan Yew membentuk kerajaannya dan beliau sendiri menjadi Perdana Menteri Singapura. Sebuah Majlis Keselamatan telah ditubuhkan bagi mengurus soal keselamatan yang membabitkan Singapura dan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Majlis ini dianggotai oleh wakil kerajaan British, Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan Singapura. Kerajaan Tanah Melayu telah diwakili oleh Menteri Dalam Negeri, Dr. Ismail Abdul Rahman.

Pembebasan lapan orang pemimpin kiri/komunis pada bulan Jun 1959 masih belum memuaskan kehendak ahli serta penyokong PAP. Lee terus didesak supaya membebaskan lebih ramai lagi tahanan politik. Keadaan ini telah meletakkan Lee Kuan Yew dalam keadaan serba salah. Sekiranya beliau tidak memenuhi tuntutan itu, kedudukannya sebagai seorang pemimpin akan terjejas. Apabila hasrat itu dimaklumkan kepada kerajaan Tanah Melayu, ternyata ia telah mendapat bantahan keras lebih-lebih lagi apabila Lee Kuan Yew membelakangkan Majlis Keselamatan Dalam Negeri. Pada pandangan Kuala Lumpur sepatutnya Lee Kuan Yew membincangkan perkara itu dalam Majlis Keselamatan Dalam Negeri sebelum satu-satu keputusan dibuat. Mengulas keputusan Lee, Dr. Ismail Abdul Rahman menyatakan bahawa *'if I.S.C were to meet after fait accompli it would either have to accept Singapore Government's action and act in effect as a rubber stamp or else it would have to apply veto'*.⁶ Bantahan kerajaan Persekutuan telah disokong oleh Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan.⁷

Dalam mesyuarat pertama Majlis Keselamatan Dalam Negeri pada 28 Ogos 1959. Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman, wakil kerajaan Persekutuan,

telah secara rasmi mengemukakan bantahan terhadap cadangan itu atas alasan keselamatan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.⁹ Bagaimanapun, Lee merayu agar Majlis meluluskan cadangannya itu sebagai memenuhi janji pilihan raya. Sekiranya beliau gagal berbuat demikian, PAP akan dituduh mengkhianati ahlinya yang telah ditahan kerana memperjuangkan hak dan nasib mereka sebagai pekerja.

Many of the present detainees were clearly associate with the PAP command very strong loyalty among Trade Union and others... Thus, in the eyes of a large body of people, many of the detainees are regarded as persons who are suffering imprisonment because of their leadership or militant agitation on behalf of the workers. They are also regarded as having been the comrades in agitation of the present government. Nor does public opinion accept without question the allegations made by the previous Government at the time of their arrest that these persons were communists.⁹

Pada pandangan Lee, pembebasan tahanan politik tersebut tidak akan menjejaskan keselamatan negara sebab pengaruh komunis tidak lagi sekuat tahun 1956 kerana mereka tidak lagi mempunyai isu untuk diperalatkan. Di samping itu mereka sedar bahawa *'should they provoke a trial of strength leading to disorders they will be whelmingly crushed.'*¹⁰ Beliau memberi jaminan bahawa pengaruh komunis dapat dibendung melalui pendekatan politik dan perang psikologi.

Nampaknya pihak berkuasa British di Singapura, khususnya Goode, terpengaruh dengan hujah Lee Kuan Yew. Pada pandangan Goode, Kerajaan Lee Kuan Yew mempunyai kemahuan politik (*political will*) dan sokongan popular yang merupakan senjata penting untuk mengalahkan komunis secara terbuka.¹¹ Dalam suratnya kepada Pejabat Tanah Jajahan, Goode secara terus terang mengakui bahawa beliau simpati serta menyokong pendekatan Lee Kuan Yew dalam menangani masalah komunis di Singapura.

Personally I am sympathetic to the Prime Minister's approach to the problem of defeating communism in Singapore. His Government has the political skill and the popular support, which alone may make it possible to defeat communism in open political battle. The previous Governments have had no alternative to repressive measures which, so far from countering the communist appeal, have only served to

strengthen its growth and to give it the added glamour of danger. At last we have a positive approach which if successful can achieve lasting results. It may well be as the Prime Minister himself admits, that this effort will fail. In that event there still remain overwhelming security forces to retrieve the situation. But I accept the Prime Minister's assessment of probable communist tactics that covert clash with the present PAP Government, and that their main object will be to win the political battle for the support of the majority of the electorate at the next general election in five years time. If we now prevent the PAP meeting the communist threat in their own way, we shall risk ensuring their failure and we might well force the present PAP leaders into an increasingly anti-British line as the only alternative to their own political defeat. Moreover, we shall ourselves be politically vulnerable for refusing to allow the release of persons who have been detained without trial for over two years.

My considered recommendation therefore is that it should be our policy to allow the present Government the maximum possible latitude in fighting the Communist threat in their own way. I have no doubt of their sincerity, and I think that they provide the most hopeful possibility of preventing communist domination of this Chinese City. I do not deny that great risks are involved. But I see no alternative which offer any real hope of possible. If this is accepted by you, our difficulty of course will be with Federal government. I recommend that we should use all the influence we have to make them support or at least acquiesce .¹²

Semasa berbincang dengan Menteri-menteri kanan Persekutuan, Geoffrey Tory, Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British di Kuala Lumpur, berusaha untuk meyakinkan kerajaan Persekutuan agar memberi peluang kepada Lee Kuan Yew menangani masalah komunis mengikut kaedahnya sendiri. Tegas Tory: '*...given strong PAP mandate at election we might reasonably feel morally obliged to let Lee have a shot at tackling Communism in his own way.*'¹³ Dr. Ismail bagaimanapun menganggap pendekatan Lee sebagai '*ill-advised*' dan '*ineffectual*' untuk menangani ancaman komunis. Beliau tetap membantah kehendak Lee Kuan Yew untuk membebaskan lebih ramai tahanan politik yang pro-komunis.

Sejajar dengan itu, pada 10 September 1959 kerajaan Tanah Melayu melalui Kementerian Luarnya telah menyatakan pendiriannya terhadap soal pembebasan tahanan politik.

Any proposal to release in Singapore persons who constitute a security risk is matter of grave concern to Federation Government, imperil Federation's security and embarrass Federation Government in implementation of own policy in respect of Communist subversion. Federation Government not convinced that continual detention of persons who are security risk would prejudice Singapore Government having regard to facts publicly stated by Singapore Government that policy on detainees is a matter for Internal Security Council.

In paper for second meeting ISC (5) (S) 4 Singapore Government has stated in paragraphs 22 and 24 that CPM members and sympathisers if they cannot be brought round or neutralised will have to be detained or banished. It would assist Singapore Government in implementation of this policy if ISC refused to sanction release of security risks. Their release would not be in interests of Singapore or of Federation.¹⁴

Kenyataan Kerajaan Tanah Melayu kurang disenangi oleh Lee Kuan Yew. Beliau mengingatkan Goode bahawa sekiranya Tanah Melayu menghalang beliau daripada membebaskan tahanan politik beliau tidak lagi mahu bertanggung jawab dalam masalah keselamatan.¹⁵ Ancaman Lee Kuan Yew membimbangkan British. Ini kerana pihak British tidak bersedia untuk mengambil-alih tanggungjawab tersebut. Dalam telegramnya kepada Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, Goode menjelaskan:

I see great advantage in getting Lee and his Government publicly committed to definite act against the Communists and great disadvantage in allowing him to adopt policy of washing his hands of responsibility for internal security and for such repressive measures as may be needed. This would postpone the real struggle between the present leadership of the PAP and the Communists. It would merely be holding the ring and we should have to take much more repressive action than the PAP would to hold the position. It would also allow Lee to continue to exploit the political strength of seeming to be sympathetic to those in detention and thus to retain extremists and even possibly Communist support in the same way as the PAP has been able to build up its strength in the last four years. This could be very dangerous for us.¹⁶

Atas pertimbangan itu, Goode mendesak kerajaan British agar memberi peluang kepada kerajaan Singapura untuk menangani masalah komunis mengikut pendekatannya sendiri selagi ia tidak menjejaskan keselamatan Singapura dan Persekutuan. Sementara itu sebuah

Jawatankuasa *ad hoc* akan ditubuhkan oleh Majlis Keselamatan Dalam Negeri bagi meneliti individu-individu yang akan dibebaskan dengan mengambil kira pandangan dan bantahan kerajaan Persekutuan.

Pihak Persekutuan Tanah Melayu agak kecewa dengan sikap kerajaan British dan Singapura. Pendekatan Lee Kuan Yew terbukti gagal untuk membendung komunis. Malahan Lee Kuan Yew semakin terdesak apabila beliau ditekan oleh ahli PAP yang berfahaman komunis agar membebaskan lebih ramai lagi komrad mereka yang ditahan oleh Lim Yew Hock sejak tahun 1956. Kegagalan Lee Kuan Yew untuk memenuhi tuntutan itu menyebabkan puak komunis dalam PAP memberontak. Kedudukan Lee Kuan Yew sebagai Ketua Menteri dan PAP sebagai kerajaan semakin terganggu apabila Lim Chin Siong keluar daripada PAP dan menubuhkan Barisan Sosialis pada bulan Julai 1961. Terperangkap dalam kemelut itu, Lee Kuan Yew berpaling kepada Tunku Abdul Rahman untuk membantunya mempertahankan kerajaan PAP serta melumpuhkan golongan kiri/komunis melalui percantuman Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

NOTA

1. Singapura - CO, 15 Mei 1959, CO 1030/650.
2. Menteri Negara - Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, 27 Mei 1959, CO 1030/650.
3. Ibid.
4. Singapura - Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, 1 Jun 1959, CO 1030/650.
5. Ibid.
6. Kuala Lumpur - Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British, Singapura, 24 Jun 1959. CO 1030/650.
7. Singapura - CO, 1 Jun 1959, CO1030/650.
8. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 5 Sept.1959, CO 1030/650.
9. Singapura - Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, 3 Sept. 1959, CO 1030/650.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Kuala Lumpur - Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, 5 Sept. 1959, CO 1030/650.
14. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 10 Sept. 1959, 10 Sept. 1959, CO 1030/650.
15. Singapura - Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, 14 Sept. 1959, CO 1030/650.
16. Ibid.

IV

PAP, Komunis dan Perjuangan untuk Percantuman

Mengikut perancangan British, pada tahun 1963, Perlembagaan Negeri Singapura itu akan dikaji semula dan harus diubah. Perubahan ini merupakan satu penyerahan kuasa yang lebih besar kepada negeri Singapura oleh kerajaan British dan dibuat dengan cara yang sama ada diberi kebebasan pemerintahan sendiri tetapi masih di bawah naungan British ataupun diberi kemerdekaan penuh kepada negeri itu. Perkembangan politik di Singapura bagaimanapun menunjukkan bahawa kerajaan British terpaksa tunduk kepada tuntutan kemerdekaan penuh bagi Singapura. Namun begitu melihat kepada situasi politik dalam negeri dan antarabangsa, kerajaan British tidak bersedia untuk memberikan kemerdekaan kepada Singapura melainkan melalui percantuman dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Hanya melalui percantuman sahaja kepentingan strategik dan ekonomi British di Singapura akan terjamin.

Dari sudut itu, PAP sahaja yang menjadi harapan British kerana PAP sejak awal lagi memperjuangkan percantuman Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Dasar itu telah digaris dengan jelas dalam kertas dasar PAP bertajuk 'Ke Arah Satu Negara Malaya' yang diterbitkan pada 20 April 1959.¹ Dalam kenyataan itu PAP menyatakan bahawa percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu adalah 'satu perkara penting dan merupakan sebahagian daripada perjuangan membina sebuah negara Malaya'.

Bagi PAP, percantuman Singapura dengan Persekutuan adalah penting. Sebagai sebuah pulau kecil tanpa sebarang hasil bumi melainkan mempunyai pelabuhan semula jadi, PAP sedar bahawa kemakmuran dan keselamatan Singapura berpaut rapat dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu

yang berperanan menghidupkan ekonomi Singapura. Kemakmurannya adalah kerana Tanah Melayu menjadikan Singapura sebagai pelabuhan entreportnya. Singapura tidak mempunyai getah dan bijih timah atau tanah yang luas. Malah air yang diminumnya pun datang dari Tanah Melayu juga. Seperti dinyatakan oleh Lee Kuan Yew:

Kita tidak boleh hidup terencil. Sekiranya percantuman diperlambatkan, kita semua, tidak kira pekerja, kerani, tukang atau saudagar akan menderita. Perniagaan akan merosot. Keuntungan akan surut. Gaji mungkin dikurangkan. Pengangguran akan bertambah.²

Hasrat British dan PAP itu bagaimanapun disambut dingin oleh kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, khususnya Tunku Abdul Rahman. Terdapat dua sebab utama cadangan percantuman itu tidak dilayan. Pertama, dari segi politik, UMNO tidak mahu dianggap sebagai sebuah parti yang mengkhianati perjuangan bangsa Melayu. Sikap tolak-ansurnya dengan MCA dan MIC dalam soal kerakyatan pada tahun 1957 telah menyebabkan UMNO kehilangan sokongan orang Melayu dalam pilihan raya umum 1959. Malahan UMNO telah tewas di Kelantan dan Terengganu, dua buah negeri yang majoriti penduduknya Melayu. Percantuman dengan Singapura sudah pasti akan menenggelamkan bangsa Melayu di Semenanjung yang hanya berjumlah 49% daripada keseluruhan penduduk. Justeru itu Tunku amat sensitif apabila Lee Kuan Yew membuat kenyataan terbuka mengenai percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu. Perkara ini pernah dimaklumkan oleh Tunku kepada Geoffrey Tory, Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British di Kuala Lumpur.

... he found it very embarrassing politically whenever Mr. Lee Kuan Yew made a public statement implying that merger was a foreseeable possibility since it gave conform and encouragement to the Tunku's political opponents, the socialists, who were mainly Chinese and who were ongoing for the day when they could join forces with the PAP across the causeway. It also, I thought embarrassed the Tunku a little in relation to the Malay nationalists, including of course those who deserted the Alliance in favour of the PMIP during the last elections, since say hint that the Alliance Government was playing with the idea of some form of approachment with Singapore might well increase their fears that the Tunku was, by his Alliance policies, allowing the Chinese to swamp the Malays.³

Oleh sebab itulah setiap kali Lee Kuan Yew menyebut mengenai percantuman sebagai satu kemungkinan atau pun sebagai matlamat perjuangan PAP, Tunku dengan segera akan menafikannya.⁴ Selain itu pimpinan Tanah Melayu juga masih meragui kesetiaan kaum bukan Melayu terhadap Tanah Melayu. Malahan Tunku pernah mengatakan bahawa *'the people of Singapore would never be the friends of Malaya or become true Malaysians in a thousand years.'* Berkaitan perkara ini, Razak menambah:

Dasar kami yang terutama sekali ialah menimbangkan kepentingan negeri ini dan warga negaranya yang taat setia kepada negeri ini.

Selagi kami belum puas hati dengan sepenuhnya bahawa warga negara Singapura akan taat setia kepada Malaya dan bekerja untuk kepentingan negeri, maka soal percantuman itu hendaklah dibuat oleh Tunku Abdul Rahman sendiri.⁵

Keduanya, kerajaan Tanah Melayu menganggap Singapura sebagai pusat gerakan komunis. Sungguhpun gerakan komunis di Tanah Melayu telah dapat dilumpuhkan, tetapi komunis masih bergerak bebas di Singapura. Kekalahan kerajaan Lim Yew Hock yang anti komunis amat mengecewakan Tunku. Tunku tidak mempercayai kerajaan PAP yang dianggap bersekongkol dengan Komunis mampu membendung kebangkitan Komunis di negara itu. Tambah mengecewakan lagi apabila Lee Kuan Yew membebaskan anggota komunis yang ditahan oleh Lim Yew Hock walaupun dibantah oleh Kerajaan Persekutuan. Oleh sebab itu Tunku menganggap kerajaan PAP *'as little better than Communists.'* Adalah jelas kedua-dua kerajaan itu mempunyai pendekatan yang amat berbeza dalam menangani masalah komunis. Sebagaimana dijelaskan oleh Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British di Kuala Lumpur:

The Tunku bases his policy on the support of the Malays who are firmly anti-Communist and is convinced that Communism should be ruthlessly repressed whenever it shows its head. The Prime Minister of Singapore, where the electorate is almost purely Chinese, believes that he must aim at outbidding the attractions of Communism. Neither thinks that the other's policy will produce the desired result, and the result is that the Federation Government tend to distrust not only the policy of the Singapore Government but that of the United Kingdom in relation to

Singapore, since in the last resort the United Kingdom Government are responsible for Singapore.'

Kedudukan PAP Tertekan

Walau bagaimanapun, perkembangan politik di Singapura selepas pilihan raya 1959 telah mengubah pandangan Kerajaan Tanah Melayu terhadap Singapura. Pada tahun 1960, PAP digugat dengan perpecahan dalaman. Puak kanan dalam PAP yang dipimpin oleh Menteri Pembangunan, Ong Eng Guan, telah mengkritik kepimpinan Lee Kuan Yew yang didakwa telah menyelewengkan perjuangan asal PAP yang berlandaskan dasar 'Revolusinari 1954'. Akibatnya Ong Eng Guan telah dipecat sebagai ahli PAP pada bulan Julai 1960. Turut keluar daripada PAP ialah dua orang wakil rakyat PAP. Pada bulan Disember 1960, Ong Eng Guan telah meletakkan jawatannya sebagai wakil rakyat bagi kawasan Hong Lim.

Pilihan raya telah diadakan pada 29 April 1961. Dengan sokongan puak pendidikan Cina dan pengundi setempat, bekas Datuk Bandar, Ong Eng Guan memenangi pilihan raya tersebut dengan undi yang terbanyak. Selepas kejayaan itu Ong Eng Guan menubuhkan parti baru, *United Peoples' Party* (UPP). Berbeza daripada PAP, UPP memperjuangkan pemerintahan penuh dan kemerdekaan segera bagi Singapura.

Kemenangan Ong Eng Guan memberi satu tamparan kepada Lee Kuan Yew. Kedudukannya sebagai Perdana Menteri ternyata mula tergugat. Hanya Tunku sahaja yang dapat menyelamatkan kedudukannya, iaitu dengan menerima cadangan percantuman Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu bukan sahaja akan membolehkan Singapura mencapai kemerdekaan tetapi juga menjamin keselamatan kepentingan British di pulau itu.

Sikap dingin Tunku ternyata mengecewakan Lee Kuan Yew, dan kekecewaan itu lebih dirasakan oleh British. Dalam aduannya kepada pihak British, Lee mengingatkan bahawa sekiranya Tunku masih bersikap dingin terhadap isu percantuman, orang Singapura akan memilih untuk kemerdekaan berasingan, seperti yang diperjuangkan oleh Ong Eng Guan. Lee bimbang sekiranya Singapura diberi kemerdekaan penuh tanpa

bercantum dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, maka kerajaan Singapura yang akan muncul selepas PAP ialah kerajaan yang terlampau kiri dan menyokong blok Timur.

Sebenarnya kerajaan Persekutuan juga turut bimbang dengan perkembangan di Singapura, khususnya selepas British berundur dari pulau itu. Razak sebagai Timbalan Menteri pernah membincangkan persoalan ini dengan bekas Setiausaha Pertahanan Tanah Melayu, R.G.K. Thompson. Razak percaya bahawa satu daripada cara untuk menyelamatkan Singapura ialah dengan mencantumkan Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu mengikut model Ulster. Di bawah model ini Kerajaan Persekutuan akan bertanggungjawab dalam hal ehwal pertahanan, keselamatan dan hubungan luar. Kerajaan Singapura dikehendaki memberi sumbangan kewangan kepada kerajaan Pusat dalam jumlah yang akan ditetapkan. Pilihan lain ialah kerajaan Singapura diberikan kuasa penuh tetapi dihadkan perwakilannya di Parlimen Persekutuan.

(Justeru itu Lee Kuan Yew telah dinasihatkan oleh pihak British supaya berbincang dengan Razak mengenai masalah Singapura. Satu cara untuk mempengaruhi Tunku ialah dengan menghidupkan semula rancangan lama Tunku iaitu 'Grand Design' bagi menyatukan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Singapura dengan tanah jajahan British di Borneo dalam satu gagasan besar.)

Timbalan Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British di Singapura, P.B.C. Moore percaya bahawa idea percantuman Singapura dengan Persekutuan akan diterima jika Lee Kuan Yew dapat meyakinkan Razak bahawa pengaruh Komunis dalam PAP akan dihapuskan. Tokoh Komunis seperti Lim Chin Siong dan Fong Swee Suan, hendaklah disingkir daripada memegang sebarang jawatan penting dalam parti dan kerajaan ataupun ditahan di bawah Akta Keselamatan Dalam Negeri. Kesatuan Sekerja yang dikuasai oleh penyokong komunis juga akan dikawal. Lee Kuan Yew menerima baik cadangan itu. Bagaimanapun, Lee Kuan Yew mengakui kesukaran untuk mencari alasan untuk mengambil tindakan terhadap Lim Chin Siong. Walaupun begitu, beliau berjanji untuk terlebih dahulu menahan pemimpin-pemimpin Kesatuan Sekerja yang rapat dengan Lim Chin Siong.

Lee Kuan Yew kemudiannya telah mengadakan pertemuan dengan Razak dan juga Dr. Ismail. Hasil daripada perbincangan itu, masalah Singapura hanya dapat diselesaikan melalui pakej 'Grand Design'. Pada pandangan Razak, penyatuan negeri-negeri berkenaan hanya dapat dilakukan secara berperingkat kerana Kerajaan Persekutuan tidak mampu untuk mengasimilasikan negeri-negeri itu secara serentak.

Sementara itu Razak dan Dr. Ismail telah mengadakan perbincangan dengan Tunku Abdul Rahman mengenai situasi di Singapura serta rancangan Lee Kuan Yew untuk menghalang Singapura daripada menjadi 'an independent Chinese City State' di bawah pemerintahan parti yang pro-Komunis. Jika berlaku kejadian itu, bererti Persekutuan Tanah Melayu akan menghadapi satu kedudukan yang amat sulit. Razak mencadangkan penyelesaian masalah Singapura itu dalam pakej 'Grand Design' yang akan mengandungi Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Singapura, Borneo Utara, Brunei dan Sarawak. Tanpa pakej itu, 'Singapore could not be assimilated without the addition also of non-Chinese peoples from some or all of the Borneo territories.'¹⁰

(Pada 23 April 1961, Tunku telah mengadakan perbincangan dengan Lee Kuan Yew dan rombongan di Kuala Lumpur tentang situasi politik di Singapura dan Gagasan Malaysia. Selepas berbincang lanjut, Tunku telah meminta Lee Kuan Yew menyiapkan kertas cadangan mengenai gagasan tersebut serta cara untuk merealisasikannya. Persetujuan Tunku itu merupakan hadiah yang cukup bermakna kepada Lee Kuan Yew. Pada prinsipnya perjuangan percantuman telah menampakkan kejayaan.)

Dengan bantuan Moore, Lee Kuan Yew telah menyiapkan kertas cadangan dalam masa yang singkat sahaja. Kertas itu mencadangkan dua alternatif. Alternatif pertama ialah setiap wilayah mencapai taraf kemerdekaan secara berasingan, dan selepas itu bercantum dalam Gagasan Malaysia. Alternatif kedua ialah dengan mencantumkan tiga wilayah itu dalam satu gagasan. Jika alternatif pertama dipilih, Lee bimbang Singapura akan dikuasai oleh sebuah parti Cina yang pro-Komunis dalam pilihan raya yang akan datang.

In the opening phase, it may be that an independent Singapore Government may come to some defence treaty arrangements with the British, but being independent these treaty arrangements would be

discarded and revoked and replaced by ties with the Chinese mainland. This would ultimately lead to a Chinese Communist base right in the heart of South East Asia which incalculable consequences to all territories of the whole region. Knowing this, it is not unlikely that the British and even the Americans may go to great pains to prevent an independent Singapore from ever emerging. However, if the desire of the people in Singapore for political independence through merger with the Federation is constantly frustrated and no progress is apparent either in common economic links, let alone political links, then frustration and desperation would drive them to the extremes of Communist policy and help the Communist pay the price in blood if necessary, to secure their political objective of an independent Singapore from which to undermine and subvert the Federation of Malaya."

Melihat kepada kelemahan alternatif pertama, Lee mencadangkan alternatif kedua. Pada fikirannya alternatif kedua bukan sahaja dapat memenuhi hasrat penduduk di wilayah Borneo tetapi juga dapat menyelesaikan masalah Singapura.

This is the most satisfactory solution for the peoples of the three territories and also one, which the British could accede to. It would also preserve the common economic, social and political ties that have existed between these territories as part of a common Empire in this region. But in working out the constitutional arrangements, care must be taken not to upset the sense of security and stability of the people of the Federation of Malaya, nor to arouse fears among the peoples of the Borneo territories that they are being swamped by more active and sophisticated people from the big cities of Singapore and the Federation.

Lee Kuan Yew mencadangkan satu persetujuan awal perlu dicapai tentang asas-asas perlembagaan. Gagasan Malaysia memandangkan pada awal pertengahan tahun 1963, Perlembagaan Singapura akan dikaji semula. Langkah susulan selepas itu ialah pemberian kemerdekaan kepada Singapura. Yang membimbangkan Lee Kuan Yew ialah sekiranya rundingan perlembagaan itu gagal mencapai sebarang persetujuan, PAP kemungkinan akan kecundang dalam pilihanraya umum dan akan diganti oleh parti atau kerajaan yang pro-PKM atau pro-China. Pada peringkat awal kerajaan tersebut tidak akan berkonfrontasi dengan British sebelum

mendapat bantuan langsung daripada China. Jikalau keadaan ini berlaku, rusuhan kaum pasti akan berlaku di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Keadaan ini juga akan membawa kepada kemerdekaan Singapura.

A Singapore independent by itself must pander to its 75% Chinese population and will end up with greater appeals to Chinese chauvinism and eventually all talk of Malayan culture, national language, national solidarity and nation-building will disappear with tremendous repercussions on the Chinese in the Federation of Malaya. The consequences are incalculable and would certainly put an end to any hope of building a united community composing of Malay, Chinese, Indian and other races in Malaya. The solution lies in the larger federation, with the strength and stability from the centre. This course of events can only be avoided if Singapore is merged into the larger entity...

Dalam kertas cadangan itu, Lee Kuan Yew juga mengemukakan susunan perlembagaan bagi menjamin kepentingan wilayah serta pelbagai kaum di wilayah Borneo, serta bidang kuasa kerajaan pusat. Kertas itu seterusnya mencadangkan supaya sebuah Jawatankuasa Kerja dibentuk bagi menyediakan kertas kerja untuk dipertimbangkan.

Kertas itu telah diserahkan kepada Tunku untuk pertimbangannya. Nampaknya Tunku berpuas hati dengan kertas cadangan itu. Dalam satu pertemuan dengan Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British, Geoffrey Tory, beliau memaklumkan hasratnya untuk membuat kenyataan penting mengenai 'Grand Design'.¹²

NOTA

1. *Berita Harian*, 27 April 1959.
2. Lee Kuan Yew. *Perjuangan untuk Perchantuman*, Singapura, 1961, hal. 4-9.
3. M.J. Moynihan - Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, 13 Oktober 1961, PREM 11/3422.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Berita Harian*, 14 Oktober 1961.
7. M.J. Moynihan - Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, 13 Okt. 1961, PREM 11/3422.

8. Ibid.
9. Minit oleh P.B.C. Moore, 7 Apr. 1961, CO 1030/979.
10. Ibid.
11. 'Paper on the future of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories' dlm. CO 1030/979.
12. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 26 Mei 1961, Co 1030/979.

Tunku, Gagasan Malaysia dan Reaksi British

Pada 27 Mei 1961, semasa berucap di Kelab Wartawan Asing bagi Asia Tenggara di Singapura, Tunku telah membuat 'kejutan' dengan mengumumkan cadangan untuk mewujudkan gagasan Malaysia. Menurut Tunku :

Sebagai satu bangsa, Malaya hari ini sedar bahawa dia tidak dapat berdiri sendiri dan hidup bersendirian. Di luar bidang politik antarabangsa, maka politik kebangsaan kita hendaklah didasarkan pada konsep yang luas. Lambat-laun Malaya akan dapat mencari persefahaman dengan British dan dengan rakyat-rakyat di wilayah Singapura, Borneo Utara, Brunei dan Sarawak.¹

Pengumuman Tunku tentang Gagasan Malaysia telah mengejutkan PKM. Memang telah menjadi dasar jangka panjang PKM untuk melihat Singapura bercantum dengan Tanah Melayu. Ini kerana percantuman itu akan memudahkan PKM menguasai Tanah Melayu jika percantuman itu mengikut syarat-syarat PKM, yakni apabila kedudukan barisan bersatu komunis di Tanah Melayu dan Singapura telah kuat dan berupaya untuk membentuk kerajaan. Percantuman seperti yang dicadangkan oleh Tunku itu dibimbangi akan mengukuhkan lagi kekuasaan kerajaan pusat untuk menekan kegiatan komunis di Tanah Melayu dan Singapura.

Pengumuman percantuman telah meletakkan badan-badan bersatu Komunis di Singapura dalam keadaan yang mengelirukan. Keadaan ini memaksa PKM mengkaji semula asas-asas kerjasama antara komunis dengan PAP.

Pada 3 Jun 1961, Lim Ching Siong dan penyokong-penyokongnya dalam Kesatuan Sekerja, S. Woodhull, Dominic Puthucheary, Jamit Singh, Fong Swee Suan dan S.T. Bani, telah mengeluarkan kenyataan

menuntut kerajaan British memberikan hak pemerintahan penuh serta bertanggungjawab dalam hal ehwal keselamatan.² Lim Chin Siong memberi amaran bahawa sekiranya Lee Kuan Yew enggan berbuat demikian beliau dan rakan-rakannya akan keluar daripada PAP. Tuntutan Lim telah disokong oleh lapan wakil rakyat PAP yang terdiri daripada Dr. Lee Siew Choh (Queenstown), Wong Soon Fong (Toa Payoh), Tee Kim Teng (Pasir Panjang), Tan Cheng Tong (Jalan Kayu), Teo Hock Guan (Changi), S.T. Bani (Thompson), Lin You Eng (Moulmein) dan Cik Fung Ying Ching (Stamford). Kumpulan Enam menuntut supaya persidangan khas PAP diadakan bagi membincangkan usul percantuman dan Gagasan Malaysia. Tindakan Lim Chin Siong itu bercanggah dengan dasar asal PKM untuk melihat Singapura bercantum dengan Tanah Melayu.

Lee Kuan Yew nampak panik dengan ugutan Lim Chin Siong. Berbanding dengannya Lim Chin Siong adalah seorang pemimpin yang mempunyai pengaruh besar di kalangan masyarakat Cina. Hakikat ini diakui oleh Lee Kuan Yew. Oleh sebab itu beliau tidak segan-silu mengingatkan pihak British bahawa sekiranya PAP tewas dalam pilihan raya kecil di Anson, beliau terpaksa membubarkan Parlimen bagi membolehkan satu pilihanraya baru diadakan. Tindakan itu perlu diambil atas alasan bahawa sebuah kerajaan yang telah kehilangan '*moral authority to rule*' tidak perlu lagi bergantung kepada kuasa yang sedikit untuk mempertahankan kedudukannya, sebaliknya satu pilihan raya baru perlu diadakan bagi mendapat mandat baru atau PAP akan menghadapi perpecahan yang serius.³ Bagaimanapun Lee Kuan Yew dinasihatkan supaya tidak terlalu emosional dalam menghadapi cabaran itu. Lee Kuan Yew akur dengan nasihat itu. Lee Kuan Yew juga memberi jaminan bahawa cadangannya untuk percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu akan diteruskan walaupun PAP tewas dalam pilihan raya di Anson. Bagi tujuan itu beliau akan mengemukakan kepada Dewan Legislatif pada 20 Julai 1961 usul kepercayaan kepada kerajaan berhubung dengan isu percantuman dan Gagasan Malaysia.⁴

Beliau juga meminta kerajaan British memastikan rancangan Malaysia menjadi kenyataan, sekurang-kurangnya percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu. Moore, pemangku Pesuruhjaya British, menasihatkan Lee Kuan Yew supaya bersabar dan tidak

mengambil sebarang tindakan yang akan menjejaskan hubungan baik beliau dengan Tunku Abdul Rahman. Nasihat beliau lagi:

Greater Malaysia could not be achieved over night and he would have to do his best to hold the situation in Singapore, supported by his overwhelming majority in the assembly, for some time to come.⁵

Sementara itu pada 17 Julai 1961, Lee Kuan Yew telah mengadakan pertemuan dengan Selkirk yang kemudiannya menggambarkan keadaan Lee dan rakan-rakannya pada masa itu sebagai *'pretty broken men, extremely jumpy and uncertain of their political position'*.⁶ Melihat kepada perpecahan dalam parti, Lee Kuan Yew membayangkan bahawa kerajaannya hanya dapat bertahan selama tiga bulan sahaja. Selepas itu puak Komunis di bawah pimpinan Lim Chin Siong akan mengambil alih kerajaan dengan Dr. Lee Siew Choh sebagai bakal Perdana Menteri. Dalam pertemuan itu Lee juga memaklumkan keputusannya untuk memecat setiausaha-setiausaha politiknya, termasuklah Lim Chin Siong, Fong Swee Suan dan S.Woodhull. Lee Kuan Yew juga mengulangi sekali lagi harapannya agar Tunku akan membuat komitmen untuk percantuman Singapura dengan Malaysia bagi membolehkan beliau mengadakan pungutan suara di Singapura atas isu tersebut. Setelah itu, proses percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu akan dilaksanakan dalam kadar yang segera walaupun ditentang oleh komunis. Jika anggota komunis bertindak ganas, beliau akan bertindak balas dengan menghantar Fong Swee Suan, Woodhull, D. Puthucheary dan Jamit Singh pulang ke Tanah Melayu. Tindakan itu akan memaksa Lim Chin Siong mendedahkan muslihatnya yang sebenar dan mungkin beliau akan bertindak secara terbuka. Apabila keadaan itu berlaku, kerajaan Singapura akan dibubarkan bagi membolehkan kerajaan British mengambil-alih kuasa. Mengulas cadangan Lee Kuan Yew, Selkirk berpandapat:

On the whole, I think Lee Kuan Yew is right when he says that the successors to himself, whether by internal PAP reshuffle, or by general election, will be manipulated by the Communists. Nevertheless, the plan proposed by Lee is unsavoury. We have agreed that we cannot be party to a further lie about the detainees...

Nor can we party to a policy, which envisages the certainty that we shall have to suspend the Singapore Constitution and reintroduce direct rule. I think that if Lee Kuan Yew survives, we should give him as much support as we can in pressing with the Tunku the need to make quick progress on merger between Singapore and the Federation. What is so unsatisfactory, however, is that, even if this were achieved, Lee is not himself prepared ultimately to face the music and to carry through merger in the face of Communist opposition. I pressed him strongly on this, pointing out that the effect of a plebiscite in favour of merger would be completely lost if the British or the Federation had to introduce direct rule in Singapore.

Perjumpaan Lim Chin Siong dengan Selkirk di Eden Hall

Seperti yang dijangkakan, dalam pilihan raya di Anson, calon PAP Mahmud Awang tewas di tangan David Marshall dari Parti Pekerja (*Workers' Party*). Kekalahan PAP meyakinkan Lim Chin Siong bahawa PAP telah mula kehilangan pengaruhnya di kalangan pengundi Cina, malah beliau juga yakin apabila usul kepercayaan dibawa ke Dewan Legislatif, pasti usul itu akan ditolak dan Lee Kuan Yew terpaksa melepaskan kuasanya.

Atas kepercayaan itu, Lim Chin Siong telah mengambil keputusan untuk mengadakan perjumpaan dengan Lord Selkirk di Eden Hall bagi mendapatkan penjelasan mengenai dasar British terhadap Singapura.* Turut sama dalam perjumpaan itu ialah James Puthuchearry, Fong Swee Suan dan S. Woodhull. Lord Selkirk ditemani oleh timbalannya, Moore. Puthuchearry berperanan sebagai juru cakap kumpulan itu. Tujuan utama perjumpaan itu adalah untuk mendapatkan jaminan bahawa sekiranya kerajaan Lee Kuan Yew jatuh, kerajaan British tidak akan mengambil alih Singapura. Jaminan itu perlu diperolehi kerana umum mengatakan bahawa kerajaan British tidak akan membenarkan komunis mengambil alih kerajaan, dan sekiranya berlaku perpecahan dalam PAP, kerajaan British akan mengambil-alih pemerintahan daripada membenarkan orang lain menjadi Perdana Menteri. Lord Selkirk menjawab bahawa tugas utama beliau sebagai Pesuruhjaya British ialah untuk memastikan Perlembagaan Singapura itu dilaksanakan. Selkirk memberi jaminan

bahawa mana-mana parti baru akan dibenarkan memerintah Singapura asalkan ia memenuhi kehendak Perlembagaan. Bagaimanapun, beliau mengingatkan bahawa sekiranya Singapura hendak selamat, ia mesti mengatasi masalah ekonominya dan keadaan itu hanya akan dapat diatasi sekiranya keadaan politik stabil. Selkirk bertanya kepada Lim Chin Siong dan Fong Swee Sun sama ada mereka itu komunis atau menerima arahan dari China Komunis untuk mengambil-alih Singapura dan Tanah Melayu. Mereka menafikan bahawa mereka adalah komunis sebaliknya mereka adalah warga negara Tanah Melayu yang baik.

Lord Selkirk kemudiannya bertanya sama ada mereka menyokong percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu. Mereka menyatakan mereka menyokong tetapi tidak bersedia untuk memberi sokongan kepada Lee Kuan Yew tanpa syarat.

Puthuchery dan Woodhull kemudiannya membangkitkan soal tahanan politik, Majlis Keselamatan Dalam Negeri dan hak pemerintahan penuh, tetapi tidak dilayan oleh Selkirk.

Dalam kenyataan akhbar yang dikeluarkan selepas perjumpaan itu, Lim Chin Siong menegaskan bahawa beliau tidak sekali-kali menentang percantuman semula antara Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu.

I was not, I am not and I shall not be against the unification of our country (Singapore plus the Federation).

I realise that the aspiration of our people is to see a merger taking place between the Federation and Singapore. It has long been my dedication that I should do everything in my power to realise the aspiration of the people of Malaya. Mr. Lee know this to be a fact.⁹

Perjumpaan Lim Chin Siong dengan Selkirk dipandang serius oleh kerajaan Persekutuan, khususnya Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri, Dr. Ismail Abdul Rahman. Beliau berpandangan bahawa kerajaan British pasti mempunyai muslihat tertentu dalam mengadakan perjumpaan tersebut. Dr. Ismail khuatir bahawa sekiranya Lim Chin Siong mengambil-alih teraju pemerintahan di Singapura kemungkinan besar rancangan Gagasan Malaysia tidak akan menjadi kenyataan.¹⁰ Keadaan itu juga bererti Singapura akan dikuasai oleh Komunis. Kuasa-kuasa Komunis akan mengiktiraf serta menjalinkan hubungan diplomatik dengan Singapura. Jika keadaan ini berlaku Kerajaan Persekutuan

terpaksa mengukuhkan pertahanannya. Di samping itu Dr. Ismail juga tidak bersetuju dengan cara Lee Kuan Yew menangani masalah komunis di Singapura. Pengalaman menunjukkan bahawa orang Cina hanya menghormati kekuatan dan ketegasan. *'This has been proved in emergency and was being proved again in connection with Federation Government's Chinese education policy...appeasement of Communists in Singapore would lead to slow and ignominious defeat'*, tegas Dr. Ismail.¹¹ Beliau mencadangkan kerajaan bertindak segera bagi mengelakkan komunis daripada mengambil-alih Singapura pada ketika Lee Kuan Yew masih berkuasa. Jika Singapura dikuasai oleh Komunis, kepentingan British di Singapura sama ada dari segi keselamatan ataupun ekonomi pasti akan terjejas.

Sementara itu, pada 20 Julai 1961, Lee Kuan Yew telah meminta Dewan Legislatif memberikan undi kepercayaan kepada kerajaan. Isu percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu telah dibahas dengan hangat oleh para perwakilan. Wakil pro-komunis telah menentang cadangan percantuman atas alasan ia adalah plot kuasa imperialis. Apabila undi diadakan, kerajaan memenangi 27 undi. Bagaimanapun 13 orang ahli PAP dan tiga yang lain mengambil sikap berkecuali. Pada 21 Julai 1961, Lee Kuan Yew bertindak balas dengan memecat tiga orang Setiausaha Politik, lima orang Setiausaha Parlimen, dan lapan ahli Dewan daripada PAP. Lee Kuan Yew juga telah menggantung 14 buah cawangan PAP. Sementara itu Lee Kuan Yew memaklumkan kepada Selkirk hasratnya untuk membebaskan tahanan politik seperti yang dicadangkan pada bulan Ogos 1959 dulu. Dengan cara itu, beliau percaya kedudukan kerajaannya akan menjadi kukuh. Beliau bercadang untuk membentangkan cadangan itu dalam mesyuarat Dewan Legislatif akan datang.¹² Cadangan itu tidak dipersetujui oleh pihak British dan dibantah keras oleh Kerajaan Tanah Melayu. Malah Tunku mengugut untuk menarik keluar perwakilan Tanah Melayu dalam Majlis Keselamatan Dalam Negeri jika Lee Kuan Yew membelakangi Majlis tersebut dalam mengambil sebarang keputusan. Tunku juga mula tidak percaya dengan Lee Kuan Yew yang dianggap sering memeralatkan kerajaan Persekutuan untuk kepentingannya. Ugutan Tunku telah memeranjatkan pihak British. Sekiranya Kerajaan Persekutuan menarik diri daripada Majlis itu, kerajaan British terpaksa menggantung Perlembagaan untuk

mengawal keselamatan di Singapura. Ini kerana, pihak British tidak mempunyai kuasa perlembagaan untuk mengawal keselamatan dalam negeri melainkan menggantung Perlembagaan. Perkembangan ini sudah pasti akan menguntungkan pihak komunis *'in that it would be likely to solidify resistance of entire left wing in Singapore under communist leadership against recrudescence of imperialism'*¹³. Muhammad Ghazali Shafie, Setiausaha Tetap Kementerian Luar Tanah Melayu juga menegur pihak British kerana tidak bertindak tegas terhadap komunis, dan menuduh kerajaan British seolah-olah memberi jaminan kepada Lim Chin Siong bahawa jika kerajaan Lee Kuan Yew tumbang, parti lain akan diberi peluang untuk mengambil-alih teraju pemerintahan. Justeru jaminan British itulah yang menyebabkan pihak Komunis besar kepala.

Reaksi British terhadap Usul Gagasan Malaysia

Perkembangan di Singapura turut membimbangkan Tunku. Pada 26 Jun 1961 melalui tulisannya kepada MacMillan, Tunku meminta supaya diberikan keputusan tentang cadangannya mengenai *'Grand Design'* itu.¹⁴ Sebagai langkah awal, Brunei, Borneo Utara dan Sarawak akan dibawa masuk ke dalam Persekutuan sebagai unit yang mempunyai hak dan keistimewaan yang sama dengan negeri-negeri lain di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Selepas percantuman itu barulah Singapura diterima sebagai anggota Persekutuan. Tunku mencadangkan rundingan tentang kemasukan Singapura diadakan sebelum perlembagaan negeri itu dikaji pada pertengahan tahun 1963. Tunku menganggap keadaan pada ketika itu amat sesuai untuk melaksanakan gagasan tersebut. *'A delay'*, tegas Tunku, *'will only result in many undesirable consequences.'*¹⁵ Tunku mengharapkan kerajaan British memberi pertimbangan wajar terhadap cadangan *'Gagasan Malaysia'*. Pada pandangan Tunku:

*such a federation of territories as proposed will do much to arrest the spread of Communism in this region of Asia, and this is particularly urgent in view of the recent intensive Communist activities in South East Asia as a result of their success in Laos.*¹⁶

Ucapan Tunku di Singapura telah mendapat perhatian serius pegawai kerajaan British di Singapura dan di London. Sebenarnya mereka tidak

menjangka bahawa Tunku akan membuat kenyataan terbuka mengenai percantuman. Pada 26 Jun 1961 satu mesyuarat pegawai kanan British telah diadakan di Singapura yang dipengerusikan oleh Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British, Lord Selkirk. Pada prinsipnya mesyuarat menerima gagasan Malaysia, tetapi menolak pembentukan gagasan itu yang melibatkan tanah jajahan British di Borneo. Dalam memorandumnya kepada MacLeod pada 21 Julai 1961, Lord Selkirk berhujah bahawa percantuman wilayah-wilayah Borneo dengan Tanah Melayu tidak perlu disegerakan kerana beliau bimbang cadangan ini akan ditentang oleh Indonesia. Selkirk berpendapat bahawa *'the possibility cannot, however, be ignored that developments on Grand Design may antagonise the Indonesian Government and might conceivably lead them to attempt an irredendist movement in the Borneo territories'*.¹⁷ Selain itu penduduk di Wilayah tersebut juga perlu diberi peluang terlebih dahulu untuk menentukan nasib mereka. Mengikut laporan yang diterimanya, penduduk di wilayah Borneo itu tidak mahu menjadikan wilayah mereka *'an additional states of the Federation'*.¹⁸

Memorandum itu telah diteliti oleh para pegawai British di London. Lord Selkirk masih berpendapat bahawa wilayah Borneo belum sesuai untuk dicantumkan dengan Tanah Melayu dan Singapura kerana wilayah itu masih mundur.¹⁹ Selkirk menambah bahawa jika Sultan Brunei membawa negeri itu ke dalam Persekutuan tanpa persetujuan rakyat kemungkinan besar kekacauan akan berlaku. Pandangan Selkirk turut disokong oleh Geoffrey Tory. Beliau mencadangkan supaya kemasukan wilayah Borneo perlu dibuat secara berhati-hati kerana penduduk di wilayah tersebut masih lagi belum dapat menerima orang Melayu Semenanjung.

Berpandukan pandangan tersebut, pada 3 Ogos 1961 MacMillan menjawab memorandum Tunku. MacMillan menasihatkan Tunku agar bertindak secara berhati-hati berhubung dengan penyertaan wilayah Borneo. Ini penting untuk mengelakkan kerajaan British dan Tanah Melayu daripada dituduh menafikan hak penduduk di wilayah tersebut.

Tunku terbukti amat kecewa dan marah dengan jawapan MacMillan. Secara spontan Tunku mengingatkan Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British di Kuala Lumpur, Tory bahawa Tanah Melayu tidak akan bercantum dengan Singapura melainkan melalui gagasan Malaysia.

*His Malays would never forgive him if he were by connection with Singapore alone to create at any time a Chinese majority in the two territories. To press him to agree to some bilateral arrangement with Singapore in the short term was to invite him to do great political damage to himself.*²⁰

Kenyataan Tunku itu dimaklumkan oleh Tory kepada MacMillan. Katanya: *'I know Tunku's present intention is to tell Lee plainly that Federation will have none of Singapore by itself and that it is all of Gagasan Malaysia or nothing'*.²¹

Dalam jawabannya kepada Harold Macmillan pada 11 Ogos 1961, Tunku mengulas dengan agak panjang tentang percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu.

As you know, the question of the integration of Singapore and the Federation is not a new one; indeed since independence, the idea of merger, to give its popular name, has been constantly mooted, but I have stood against it because of my fear that communal politics of Singapore based on Chinese chauvinism would upset the balance of political thinking in the Federation, and destroy our hopes for the peace and well-being and harmony of our peoples. The politics of this region, however, would not allow for isolation and the idea of greater co-operation and association between the Borneo territories, Singapore and the Federation has been exercising my mind for some considerable time.

While I agree that the pace for such a development should not be forced, I am at the same time most concerned about the Communist threat in Singapore which becomes more menacing as time goes on, and I feel very strongly that before long the question of the future of Singapore will have to be settled. I am convinced that an independent Singapore will be drawn towards China; unless that is forestalled, it is needless for me to say the Federation, as well as the region, will be exposed to grave dangers.

If we are to take in Singapore, it would be necessary first to strengthen our position, and we can only do that if the three territories of Borneo join us. This would provide a measure of such confidence in our people and would correct the imbalance in the population. The Malays and the Dayaks are of the same racial origin while the Chinese in those territories have not as yet been seriously penetrated by Chinese

Communist politics. Without the Borneo territories I would find it impossible to contemplate the integration of Singapore and the Federation and to persuade my political colleagues and the country to accept it.

You were right, of course, in emphasizing that the Borneo territories should be associated under the proposed arrangements only as a free and willing partners. I have no doubt that once they are persuaded that such a merger would be in their interest, they would only be happy to join us. The difficulties to which you have referred are no more serious than those, which existed in the Federation before independence. They are purely parochial and create no insuperable barrier. These susceptibilities and demands can be met and provided for under the Federation Constitution, and assurances to that effect will, I think, satisfy the territories concerned.²²

Dalam pada itu, Tunku telah mengadakan perbincangan dengan Lee Kuan Yew pada 23 Ogos 1961 mengenai surat MacMillan. Berasaskan perbincangan itu, dalam suratnya kepada MacMillan pada 6 September 1961, Tunku meminta supaya kerajaan British menubuhkan sebuah Jawatankuasa kerja bagi meneliti gagasan itu. Tunku mengingatkan bahawa jika perkara itu tidak dibincangkan segera kemungkinan gagasan Malaysia tidak akan dapat dilaksanakan selama-lamanya dan Singapura tidak dapat diselamatkan daripada dikuasai oleh pihak pro-Komunis.

I am fully convinced that this subject must now be pursued with the utmost vigour and urgency and I am hoping, therefore, that the working party will be able to meet in the very near future. As you are no doubt aware there are elements in Singapore owing allegiance beyond these shores who are now working very actively to arouse chauvinist and anti-merger sentiment; as they realised that the real object of the merger was to combat Communism in this region. For my part I am equally determined to keep ahead of their moves and my recent meeting with Mr. Lee was partly designed to keep the issue alive. A respite will only work to their advantage. However, before we meet it may perhaps be best to settle beforehand the basis for our talks. It is extremely important that we should do all we can in advance to ensure the success of our discussions, as their failure will be a serious setback, of which the Communists will make full use, and to their advantage. I wonder, therefore, if at this stage, you could say whether the British Government would agree to relinquish its sovereignty over the Borneo territories

*and Singapore in the immediate future to enable them to become member states of Malaysia. At the same time, I think it would be important to know whether the British Government would contemplate the use of the Singapore base within the framework of our mutual defence agreement, including the fulfillment of Commonwealth obligations.*²¹

Menjawab surat Tunku, MacMillan menyatakan bahawa beliau memerlukan masa untuk meneliti implikasi rancangan Malaysia sebelum sebarang keputusan dibuat tentangnya.

Jawapan MacMillan itu tidak memuaskan Tunku. Dalam suratnya kepada MacMillan pada 28 September 1961 Tunku menegaskan pendirian Persekutuan Tanah Melayu berhubung dengan konsep Malaysia.

...our concept of Malaysia implies the integration of the three Borneo territories on the same basis as the other existing states of the Federation of Malaya while Singapore may be merged with certain powers reserved for the state in matters of education and labour. The integration of the Borneo territories with the Federation should be agreed now and take effect before or at least simultaneously with Singapore. The main issue and in fact the only issue is whether the British Government would be ready to relinquish their sovereignty over the Borneo territories before or at least simultaneously with Singapore in favour with Malaysia. Any preliminary discussion between us would serve no useful purpose unless this issue is first settled. From my conversation with Sir Geofroy Tory I had obtained the impression that the British Government would not be able to decide until they are certain that they can get a whole hearted support from Parliament and the people of Borneo territories. I hope it is appreciated that as far as my Government is concerned the main reason for the merger of the Borneo territories is to prevent Singapore from falling into the hands of the Communists, which we are sure would happen if she were to be given independence. With the exception of the Communist elements and their proxies all Singapore politicians realise that in such an event disaster would follow which will affect the rest of South East Asia. I have emphasised that my Government would not be able to carry the idea of merger of Singapore unless the Borneo territories are merged with the Federation as well. Frankly, if we were prone to think in terms of balances, even the Borneo territories would not be an adequate compensation for our trouble in the event of a merger with Singapore.

Perhaps I should venture to propose that it would be best if you have a little time after some of the more serious of the world crises had blown over to visit those territories and this part in order that you may gather a first-hand information. If it is not possible for you to come here, then I would suggest that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and the present leaders or representatives of the Borneo territories be invited to London for a discussion with you. Your visit to this area or a meeting in London with the leaders of Singapore and Borneo territories, I think would materially assist you in arriving at your decision. Our meeting should take place only after you are in a position to give a firm commitment to the British Government in favour of Malaysia. The question of the Singapore base within the framework of the mutual Defence Agreement, constitutional procedures and administration arrangements are matters which will naturally have to be sorted out once the position is clear regarding the future of these territories but these, as I have said before, are not insurmountable.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew is worried about his position and the future of Singapore but I am afraid I cannot help him much until I have received a firm answer from you about the transfer of the sovereignty over the Borneo territories to the Federation.²⁴

Mengulas surat Tunku, M.J. Moynihan dari Pejabat Pesuruhanjaya Tinggi British di Kuala Lumpur mengingatkan kerajaan British bahawa keputusan yang diambil oleh Tunku untuk membentuk Malaysia adalah 'a very big and a nicely calculated risk'.²⁵ Rakan-rakan Tunku telah memberitahunya bahawa 'the Borneo territories will not compensate him for the added problems of Singapore and he already half believes this'.²⁶

With the deterioration in Lee Kuan Yew's political position and with growing fears of the eventual loss of Singapore to Communism, merger between the Federation and Singapore, whether by itself or as part of a wider federation embracing the Borneo Territories, began to seem to us to offer the only hope of saving Singapore and of halting a process which if not checked could undermine the freedom and stability of the whole of South-East-Asia.²⁷

Atas perkiraan itu, beliau menasihatkan agar kerajaan British menimbangkan persoalan kemasukan wilayah Borneo dalam Malaysia secara praktikal.

Selkirk juga telah mengubah pandangannya terhadap kemasukan wilayah Borneo dalam Malaysia. Beliau menasihatkan Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan British memberi keputusan segera tentang percantuman wilayah Borneo dengan Tanah Melayu.

If I am correct in reading the situation, there is at least some logic in what he is doing and his move has the advantage of dispelling any suggestion that Gagasan Malaysia is a deep laid plot in which the Tunku is acting as British puppet. What he wants is control over the internal security of Singapore, but he cannot sell this to his Malay political supporters unless, as he says quite blatantly in his recent letter to you, he can show some makeweight of non-Chinese to balance the solid lump of Chinese in Singapore. I do not believe he has the slightest interest in the Borneo territories as such, except to show the people of Malaya some definite and ostensible bond of association...²⁹

Atas nasihat itu, pada 4 Oktober 1961 MacMillan menegaskan sokongan kerajaan British terhadap Gagasan Malaysia yang akan merangkumi Tanah Melayu, Singapura dan tiga buah wilayah British di Borneo.

I agree with you that there would be great dangers to stability in the area as a whole and in Singapore in particular if the present opportunity is let slip. It is therefore urgent that you and we should consider jointly what means are best calculated to achieve our objectives as quickly as may be possible.

We have much to plan together. We shall wish to discuss with you what might be put the consultation position of the Borneo territories within a Gagasan Malaysia and the best means of preparing the ground in them and presenting our ideas to their peoples.

There are real problems to be surmounted in bringing it about, and I am sure that the best way of making early progress would be for us to meet as soon as possible and talk over together how best to handle them. My colleagues and I are therefore holding ourselves in readiness for a meeting in the week beginning the 23rd October.²⁹

Pada 13 Oktober 1961 Pejabat Perdana Menteri British telah mengeluarkan kenyataan rasmi mengenai gagasan Malaysia.

Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, has accepted an invitation from the Prime Minister to come to London early in November for exploratory talks about the Tunku's suggestion for a closer future association between the Federation, Singapore, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak.

These discussions will naturally take into account the proposals published recently in Singapore and Malaya for a merger of these two territories.

Her Majesty's Government has welcomed Tunku Abdul Rahman's constructive proposals, which would bring the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, North Borneo, and Sarawak into close political and economic association. Obviously this idea has great possibilities for the well being of all territories involved. The many important implications of such a far-reaching scheme as well as its form and timing need careful consideration. The object of the discussions with Tunku Abdul Rahman is to reach an understanding with him on the broad issues and to prepare the way for consultation with the Borneo territories, without which no commitment can be entered into.⁸

Keputusan MacMillan untuk mengadakan rundingan di London memuaskn Tunku. Dalam suratnya kepada MacMillan pada 8 Oktober 1961, Tunku berkata:

As you are already aware we have to reckon with the fact that the status of Singapore would be the subject of review in 1963. It cannot be ruled out that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's Government might not last time and a general election might perhaps return a Government not so well disposed towards the merger of Singapore with the Federation or vice versa. This is therefore makes me feel that we cannot wait for 1963 but that Malaysia should be brought into being as early as reasonably convenient to both our Governments. Hence my anxiety that there should be a firm commitment on the part of the British Government now in the belief that a delay might defeat our common objective.⁹

Usul Gagasan Malaysia di Parlimen dan Perhimpunan Agung Khas UMNO

(Setelah mendapat persetujuan British, pada 16 Oktober 1961 Tunku mengemukakan usul gagasan Malaysia di Parlimen. Tunku meminta

Parlimen memberi persetujuan secara prinsip terhadap konsep Gagasan Malaysia yang merangkumi sebelas buah negeri, iaitu Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Singapura, Brunei, Borneo Utara dan Sarawak serta mengesahkan usaha Kerajaan untuk menjayakannya.³²

Tunku menganggap Singapura sebagai koloni yang penting kerana kedudukan dan keadaannya yang agak unik dan kompleks. Tunku menegaskan bahawa idea Malaysia bukan menjelma dengan tiba-tiba. Idea itu telah lama difikirkan dan dibincangkan secara serius dengan pemimpin tempatan dan Singapura dari semasa ke semasa dari sudut ekonomi, politik dan kesejahteraan bagi Tanah Melayu untuk keseluruhannya. Pada awalnya Tunku menjelaskan bahawa beliau tidak berminat dengan idea percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu kerana percantuman itu akan menimbulkan masalah politik dan keselamatan kepada Tanah Melayu. Perbezaan pandangan antara penduduk di Singapura dengan di Tanah Melayu adalah sangat ketara sekali dan keadaan itu tidak memungkinkan percantuman pada ketika itu. Penduduk di Tanah Melayu telah menerima idea kesultanan Melayu, bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa kebangsaan, dan Islam sebagai agama rasmi. Tunku mengakui bahawa amat sukar baginya untuk mempengaruhi penduduk Singapura yang 70% daripadanya adalah bangsa Cina untuk menerima idea tersebut.)

Walaupun majoriti ahli Parlimen menyokong usul itu, tetapi PAS menolaknya atas alasan bahawa usul itu 'bertentangan dengan kepentingan negeri itu sendiri dan juga bertentangan dengan kepentingan rakyat Melayu yang menjadi tonggak dalam negeri ini'.³³ Wakil PAS, Zulkiflee bin Muhammad, mengingatkan Kerajaan agar tidak terperangkap dengan strategi politik Lee Kuan Yew. 'Lupakah Yang Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita bahawa Lee Kuan Yew itu adalah *politician*, seorang ahli politik yang mempunyai kepentingan politiknya sendiri, yang bila ia hendak mencantumkan diri-nya dengan Tanah Melayu yang di-fikirkan-nya ia-lah kepentingan penduduk Singapura itu' tegas Zulkiflee.³⁴

Mohamed Asri Hj. Muda, wakil PAS pula mempersoalkan kebijaksanaan mencantumkan Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu atas alasan untuk menyelamatkan koloni itu daripada jatuh ke tangan Komunis. Beliau tidak percaya bahawa dengan berbuat demikian 'orang-

orang Komunis itu akan membuang fahaman komunis, bahkan pada pandangan saya sa-balek-nya ia akan menjadi penyakit *cancer* yang akan menyebabkan seluruh badan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu akan menderita kerana-nya'.³⁵ Untuk mempertahankan ketuanan Melayu, PAS mencadangkan agar konsep Melayu Raya diperluaskan hingga meliputi juga Negara Republik Indonesia, Filipina dan gugusan pulau Melayu yang lain. Peringatan PAS itu bagaimanapun telah diketepikan oleh Kerajaan. Tunku memberi jaminan bahawa percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu dalam Malaysia tidak akan merugikan orang Melayu. Perkembangan yang berlaku kemudiannya bagaimanapun membuktikan peringatan PAS itu adalah berasas dan bukan omong kosong seperti yang didakwa oleh wakil-wakil Perikatan pada ketika itu.

Perhimpunan Agung Khas

Pada 4 November 1961 UMNO telah mengadakan Perhimpunan Agung Khas bagi membahaskan rancangan penubuhan Malaysia yang dianggap oleh Tunku sebagai 'satu masalah yang terbesar sekali yang kita hadapi dari semenjak negara kita mencapai kemerdekaan'.³⁶ Dalam ucapannya Tunku meminta ahli UMNO menyokong hasrat kerajaan yang 'mempunyai niat dan tujuan yang bersih terhadap negeri' Singapura dan Borneo 'untuk melepaskan mereka daripada takluk penjajah'. Pada mulanya pihak British hendak memberi pemerintahan sendiri terlebih dahulu kepada negeri-negeri itu dan setelah difikirkan anak negeri itu sendiri layak memegang pemerintahan, barulah percantuman dengan Tanah Melayu atas kehendak penduduk negeri itu. Sebaliknya Tunku berpendapat bahawa jalan yang hendak dibuat oleh British itu memerlukan masa yang panjang, dan kelewatan itu akan menyebabkan anasir komunis masuk menyeludup dan merebak di wilayah itu.

Merujuk pada percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu, Tunku menegaskan bahawa sekiranya Singapura diberikan kemerdekaan penuh tanpa bercantum dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, kemungkinan besar dengan adanya aliran fahaman politik yang terlampau kiri dan menyokong blok Komunis, kerajaan Singapura yang akan muncul kelak akan bebas membuat pertalian dengan pihak Komunis. 'Jika berlaku kejadian itu', tegas Tunku, 'berertinya Persekutuan Tanah Melayu akan

menghadapi satu kedudukan yang amat sulit'.³⁷

Tunku menganggap percantuman Singapura dan Borneo sebagai patut dan munasabah 'kerana negeri kita dan negeri-negeri yang tersebut itu mempunyai penduduk-penduduk yang sama - mereka adalah saudara sedarah daging dan seketurunan dengan kita'.³⁸

Perhimpunan itu telah memberi mandat yang penuh kepada Tunku untuk berunding dengan kerajaan British bagi menghasilkan tujuan menubuhkan sebuah negara Persekutuan Malaysia yang terkandung di dalamnya sebelas buah negeri Persekutuan, Singapura, Sabah, Sarawak dan Brunei.

Rundingan London

Setelah mendapat restu Parlimen dan UMNO, Tunku dan rombongan telah bertolak ke London pada 16 November 1961.

Rundingan telah berlangsung antara Tunku dengan Perdana Menteri British, MacMillan di London pada 19 hingga 21 November 1961. Rundingan itu bersetuju untuk melantik Suruhanjaya Penyiasat bagi meninjau pandangan penduduk di Borneo terhadap cadangan Malaysia. Suruhanjaya ini dipengerusikan oleh seorang pengerusi yang akan dilantik bersama oleh kedua-dua kerajaan dan mengandungi empat orang ahli. Laporan Suruhanjaya ini akan menjadi asas kepada kedua-dua kerajaan untuk membuat keputusan tentang kerangka atau bentuk Persekutuan itu.

Pada 23 November 1961, Perdana Menteri, MacMillan dan Tunku telah mengeluarkan kenyataan bersama.

In a series of meetings in London this week British and Malayan Ministers examined the proposal to create a 'Federation of Malaysia' which would embrace the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei.

In the light of a full study of the problem which has been going on for some months, the British and Malayan Governments are convinced that this is a desirable aim.

The Ministers took note with satisfaction of the heads of agreement recently negotiated between the Governments of Malaya and Singapore for the merging of the State of Singapore with the Federation.

Before coming to any final decision it is necessary to ascertain the views of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak. It has accordingly been decided to set up a Commission to carry out this tasks and to make recommendations. The Commission will be composed of a Chairman and four members, two nominated by the British Government and two by the Malayan Government. In the light of the Commission's report the two Governments will decide what further steps should be taken.

At the same time the views of the Sultan of Brunei are being sought.

In regard to defence matters it was decided that, in the event of the formation of the proposed Federation of Malaysia, the existing Defence Agreement between Britain and Malaya should be extended to embrace the other territories concerned. It was, however, agreed that the Government of the Federation of Malaysia will afford to the Government of the United Kingdom the right to continue to maintain bases at Singapore for the purpose of assisting in the defence of Malaysia, and for Commonwealth defence and for the preservation of peace in South East Asia."

NOTA

1. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 31 Mei 1961, PREM 11/3418.
2. Lord Selkirk - Iain MacLeod (CO), 27 Jun 1961, PREM 11/3418.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Singapura - Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, 17 Julai 1961, CO 1030/1149.
7. Ibid.
8. 'Note of a Meeting held at Eden Hall, 18 July 1961', dlm. CO 1030/1149.
9. Straits Times, 19 Julai 1961.
10. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 11 Ogos 1961, CO 1030/1149.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Tunku Abdul Rahman - Harold MacMillan, 26 Jun 1961, PREM 11/3418.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Lord Selkirk - Iain MacLeod, 27 Jun 1961, PREM 11/3418.

18. Ibid.
19. Note of Meeting: The Possible Future Political Association of the Federation of Malaya, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo, Colonial Office, 5 July 1961, CO 1030/980. Note of Meeting: The Possible Future Political Association of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo, Colonial Office, 7 July 1961, CO 1030/980. Light jug, Note of Meeting: The Possible Future Political Association of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo, 11 July 1961, Colonial Office, CO 1030/980.
20. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 22 Julai 1961, CO 1030/1149.
21. Ibid.
22. Tunku Abdul Rahman kepada Harold MacMillan, 11 Ogos 1961, PREM 11/3418.
23. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 6 Sept. 1961/CO 1030/982.
24. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 29 Sept. 1961, PREM 11/3422.
25. Singapore - CRO, 28 Sept 1961, PREM 11/3422.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Selkirk - Harold MacMillan, 3 Okt 1961, PREM 11/3422.
29. CRO - Kuala Lumpur, 4 Okt 1961, PREM 11/3422.
30. CRO - Singapura, 13 Oktober 1961, PREM 11/3422.
31. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 8 Oktober 1961, PREM 11/3422.
32. Penyata Dewan Rakyat, Oktober 1961.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ucapan Tunku Abdul Rahman dlm. Persidangan Khas UMNO, 4 November 1961.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Kenyataan Bersama Kerajaan British dan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, 23 Nov. 1961, CAB 129/107.

VI

Menangani Bantahan

Parti pembangkang, khususnya, Barisan Sosialis dan Parti Pekerja, telah menyambut pengumuman London mengenai penubuhan Malaysia dengan bantahan. Kedua-dua parti itu menganggap rancangan Malaysia bertentangan dengan aspirasi rakyat yang menuntut kemerdekaan penuh bagi Singapura. Justeru, kedua-dua parti berkenaan memainkan peranan utama dalam gerakan bantahan.

Barisan Sosialis telah ditubuhkan pada 17 September 1961 dengan Dr. Lee Siew Choh sebagai Pengerusi, Lim Chin Siong sebagai Setiausaha Agungnya dan James Puthuchearry sebagai penasihatnya. Barisan Sosialis merupakan cabaran terbesar kepada PAP. Parti itu mempunyai 17 kerusi di Dewan Perwakilan.

Sejak penubuhannya Barisan Sosialis telah memainkan peranan utama dalam kempen menentang percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu. Beberapa persidangan diadakan di Singapura mengenai isu percantuman dan Gagasan Malaysia. Pada 14 Oktober 1961 satu Persidangan Kesatuan Sekerja diadakan di Singapura yang turut dihadiri oleh 6,000 orang peserta. Tujuan persidangan ini diadakan adalah untuk menunjukkan bahawa Kerajaan Lee Kuan Yew tidak mempunyai mandat untuk melaksanakan percantuman dan dengan itu tuntutan dibuat agar satu pilihan raya diadakan bagi membolehkan mandat diperolehi daripada rakyat.

Dalam menghadapi puak pembangkang, kempen 'perjuangan untuk percantuman' telah dijalankan secara besar-besaran melalui radio dan media massa. Lee telah menggunakan faktor keselamatan dan ancaman komunis sebagai senjata untuk mempengaruhi rakyat Singapura supaya menyokong rancangannya itu.

Tunku dan pemimpin Persekutuan juga turut berkempen di Singapura. Tunku mengingatkan penduduk Singapura bahawa jika mereka tidak menyokong PAP dan menolak percantuman Singapura dengan Semenanjung melalui gagasan Malaysia, beliau terpaksa menutup *causeway* bagi menghalang anasir komunis daripada menyusup ke Semenanjung

Delay in merger would increase the problem of unification of Singapore and Malaya created by extremists. The merger offer would not be open forever and he urged the people of Singapore to make up their minds. If the realisation of Malaysia proceeded smoothly and peacefully, God willing, the way would be clear for the people of the five territories to work jointly for their prosperity and happiness. But even if the extremists and opposition parties wanted to create trouble and cause bloodshed after merger and Malaysia, then it would be better not to have merger. In such an event Malaya would have to close its gateway at the Johore Causeway and many inconveniences to the people.¹

Tindak-tanduk pemimpin Sosialis dan Komunis dalam kempen anti-Malaysia amat membimbangkan Lee Kuan Yew. Ketika berbincang dengan Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan pada 14 Mei 1962, Lee Kuan Yew mencadangkan supaya sebelum pembentukan Malaysia dilaksanakan, tindakan mesti diambil terhadap tokoh parti pembangkang. Tokoh pembangkang dari Tanah Melayu seperti Sydney Woodhull, Fong Swee Suan dan Dominic Puthuchearry akan dihantar pulang ke Tanah Melayu. Bagaimanapun Pejabat Tanah Jajahan tidak bersetuju dengan cadangan itu atas alasan bahawa *'such action would have the very opposite effect to that which the Malaysians wish, and that the best hope of achieving merger peaceably lies in keeping the local political temperature down, by denying the Barisan Sosialis any opportunity for provoking communal strife and by avoiding action which might cement the opposition to merger'*.² Sikap berlembah British tidak memuaskan kerajaan Persekutuan. Sikap British itu telah menyebabkan Tunku menganggap British mempunyai muslihat tertentu di Singapura.

Selain Barisan Sosialis, Parti Buruh juga telah mengemukakan bantahan terhadap cara kemasukan Singapura dalam Malaysia. Beliau menganggap pungutan suara yang sedang diatur oleh kerajaan Lee Kuan Yew sebagai tidak telus. Berdasarkan pendirian itu, pada 6 Julai 1962,

David Marshall, pemimpin Parti Buruh, telah menghantar surat kepada Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu menuntut supaya seorang pemerhati dihantar untuk meninjau pungutan suara di Singapura.

It is in this context and in the light of Resolution 1514(XV) of the United Nations which states that transfer of sovereignty must be in accordance with the will of the people freely expressed, that we appeal to you to take cognisance of the fact that the manner in which the United Kingdom will be seeking to transfer sovereignty over Singapore is not in accordance with the will of the people freely expressed, that in fact it is making arrangements with a minority government which has lost the confidence of the people and it will be transferring sovereignty in accordance with the results of a completely fraudulent referendum.

*The people of Singapore through the nineteen elected representative signatories to the letter herewith attached, two of whom have been returned in two by-elections, appeal to the United Nations and its Committee on Colonies, to send an observer to Singapore on a basis of urgency in order to ascertain the true position and to advise the nations of the world who are members of the United Nations of the perfidy which is sought to be perpetrated upon the subject people of Singapore through a dishonest referendum.*⁴

Tindakan David Marshall itu dipandang serius oleh pihak British. Pada pandangan British, Singapura adalah masalah dalaman British dan pihak luar tidak seharusnya campur tangan. Rancangan penubuhan Malaysia juga mungkin akan terjejas jika PBB campur tangan.

Walau bagaimanapun British gagal untuk menghalang PBB daripada campur tangan. Pada bulan Julai 1962, perayu dan Lee Kuan Yew telah dipanggil oleh Jawatankuasa 17 untuk disoal. Jawatankuasa ini berpuas hati dengan penjelasan Lee Kuan Yew tentang rancangan penubuhan Malaysia serta jaminan bahawa pungutan suara itu akan dijalankan dengan telus.

Pada 1 September 1962 pungutan suara telah diadakan di Singapura. Para pengundi telah dibenarkan menghantar undi kosong. Berkaitan perkara ini kerajaan Singapura mengatakan bahawa undi kosong ataupun undi rosak akan dikira sebagai undi untuk bergabung di dalam Malaysia. Keputusan pungutan suara memihak kepada PAP. Sebanyak 71 peratus undi menyokong percantuman Singapura dalam Malaysia. Dengan

keputusan selesa itu, Lee Kuan Yew tidak lagi menghadapi halangan untuk membawa masuk Singapura dalam Malaysia. Walaupun begitu Lee Kuan Yew masih bimbang dengan ancaman Barisan Sosialis terhadap kedudukan PAP.

Operasi Cold Store

Pada awal bulan Disember 1962 pemberontakan telah tercetus di Brunei. Parti pembangkang telah memberi sokongan terhadap pemberontakan tersebut serta mendakwa bahawa cadangan Malaysia ditolak oleh rakyat Brunei. Peristiwa tersebut dipandang serius oleh pihak British, Tanah Melayu dan Singapura. Pada 13 Disember 1962, satu mesyuarat tergepar diadakan di Singapura antara Lee Kuan Yew, Dr. Ismail dan Selkirk berhubung dengan pemberontakan di Brunei dan implikasinya terhadap Singapura dan Tanah Melayu. Dr. Ismail memaklumkan kebimbangan Kuala Lumpur tentang keadaan keselamatan di Singapura dan sekiranya tindakan tidak diambil terhadap komunis kemungkinan besar rancangan penubuhan Malaysia akan terjejas. Lee Kuan Yew menyokong pandangan Dr. Ismail dan turut mendesak supaya anasir komunis di Singapura ditahan. Beliau menekankan bahawa '*in view of the revolt in Brunei and the evidence of foreign participation, the action could now be presented as taken by national governments of the Federation and Singapore against anti-nationalists who had threatened the national security of Malaysia*'.² Selkirk bersetuju dengan cadangan itu. Mereka akan ditahan atas alasan keselamatan kerana sokongan mereka kepada pemberontakan di Brunei. Beberapa keputusan penting telah diambil hasil mesyuarat tersebut. Pertama, seramai 180 orang anggota pembangkang termasuk Ahmad Boestamam dan Lim Kean Siew akan ditahan. Kedua-dua penahanan itu akan dijalankan serentak di Singapura, Tanah Melayu dan Sarawak selepas Hari Raya Cina. Ketiga, penahanan itu tidak akan melibatkan ahli Dewan Legislatif dan juga pengharaman parti politik. Akhir sekali, mesyuarat juga bersetuju untuk mengharamkan penerbitan sosialis, iaitu *Plebian* dan *Barisan*.

Dalam perbincangan lain dengan Moore dan ketua *Special Branch* Singapura pada 29 Januari 1963, Lee Kuan Yew mencadangkan supaya

tiga orang ahli UPP juga turut ditahan.⁶ Lee Kuan Yew mengakui bahawa tujuan utama penahanan ahli UPP adalah untuk mengukuhkan kedudukan politiknya. Beliau bimbang apabila kerajaan melancar operasi menangkap ahli parti pembangkang dan komunis, UPP akan mengaut keuntungan. Pasti UPP akan menjadikan isu penangkapan itu untuk mengkritik PAP. Malahan UPP mungkin akan menjadi tempat perlindungan anggota Komunis atau ahli Barisan Sosialis. Dengan cara ini, Lee Kuan Yew berharap pengundi-pengundi Cina akan mengambil sikap berhati-hati dalam memberikan sokongan kepada UPP. Ketua *Special Branch* bagaimanapun tidak menyokong cadangan itu kerana kenyataan menunjukkan bahawa ahli UPP tersebut bukan komunis dan dengan itu tidak menjadi satu ancaman kepada keselamatan. Selkirk bersependapat dengan pandangan Ketua *Special Branch*.

Mereka juga berbincang tentang Lim Chin Siong, dan Lee Kuan Yew mencadangkan supaya Lim Chin Siong tidak ditahan tetapi diberi peluang untuk meninggalkan negara.⁷ Lim Chin Siong akan diberikan tempoh selama 24 jam untuk membuat keputusan itu. Tawaran itu terpaksa dibuat bersesuaian dengan adat resam masyarakat Cina terhadap rakan lama yang telah bertukar menjadi musuh. Cadangan itu bagaimanapun dibantah oleh Dr. Ismail. Kerajaan Persekutuan mahu supaya Lim Chin Siong ditahan dahulu sebelum sebarang tawaran dibuat untuk beliau meninggalkan negara.

Melalui surat yang ditulisnya kepada Geoffrey Tory pada 31 Januari 1963, Tunku mengingatkan kerajaan British bahawa jika Majlis Keselamatan Negeri tidak bersidang untuk meluluskan penahanan tersebut, kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu tidak teragak-agak untuk membatalkan cadangan percantuman Singapura dengan Malaysia.⁸

Amaran Tunku itu cukup memeranjatkan pihak British. Apabila Dr. Ismail ditanya tentang kata dua itu, beliau menjawab: *'Indeed, if Malaysia were called off, the Federation would be saved many headaches. "We are happy as we are".'*⁹

Setelah mendapat kelulusan Majlis Keselamatan, pada 2 Februari 1963, Operasi *Cold Store* untuk menahan pembangkang telah dilancarkan di Singapura. Seramai 113 orang aktivis puak kiri telah ditahan di bawah *Preservation of Public Security Ordinance*. Antara yang ditangkap ialah Fong Swee Suan Setiausaha Agung SATU, Tan

Teck Wah, Presiden Kesatuan Sekerja Gudang perniagaan Singapura, D. Puthuachary, Abd. Wahab, Setiausaha Agung Parti Rakyat, Said Zahari, bekas pengarang akhbar *Utusan Melayu*, Hussein Jahidin, bekas anggota Jabatan Pengarang *Utusan Melayu*, Arunasalam Mahadeva, Setiausaha Agung Kesatuan Kebangsaan Wartawan Singapura, dan Lim Chin Siong. Tawaran untuk meninggalkan Singapura telah dibuat kepada Lim Chin Siong tetapi tawaran itu telah tolak. Dalam masa yang sama, kerajaan Singapura telah mengeluarkan kenyataan tentang operasi penahanan itu.

Since the formation of the Barisan Sosialis in July 1961, it has been increasingly evident that the party and associated United Front organisations are under the control of the Communists. These Communists and their supporters in Singapore, working through the Barisan Sosialis and associated United Front organisations, have done their utmost to sabotage the formation of Malaysia. They have continued their subversive activities even after the referendum in September in defiance of the wishes of a decisive majority of the people of Singapore. They have professed to be working constitutionally for democratic ends. But their open support for armed revolt in Brunei and their close connections with leaders of the revolt show that they are ready when the opportunity occurs to depart from constitutional methods and to jeopardise national defence and Singapore's security by joining with groups resorting to violence and bloodshed as in the Borneo Territories.

The Government of the Federation has consistently in recent years taken action against Communist and subversive elements in the Federation, and recently this action has been intensified. The Government of Sarawak had also taken preventive security action recently. All members of the Council agreed that action must be taken to safeguard the defence and security in Singapore and of the territories of the proposed Federation of Malaysia. This action must be taken immediately and cannot be left until after 31st. August 1963. The Internal Security Council therefore decided that certain persons in Singapore known to the security authorities of the three Governments represented on the Council to be deeply implicated in the United Front working for Communist or in some cases for other subversive ends must be arrested. The Council also decided that certain Communist United Front publications must be banned.

These measures, following upon the internal security actions in the Federation of Malaya and Sarawak, will safeguard against any attempt by the Communists to mount violence or disorder in the closing stages of the establishment of the federation of Malaysia and will ensure that Singapore enters Malaysia on the 31st. August 1963, in a more secure and sound state.

The persons detained are being held under the provisions of the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance. All those of federation origin are to be sent back to the Federation of Malaya.¹⁰

Sehingga bulan April 1963, seramai 120 orang telah ditahan. Mereka ditempatkan di Penjara Changi dan Ibu Pejabat Polis Pusat. Semua tahanan tersebut seperti biasa telah dihalang daripada berhubung antara mereka sehingga selesai proses soal siasat. Dalam perkataan lain tahanan itu telah dikenakan '*solitary confinement*'.

PAS Bantah Penyertaan Singapura

Rundingan di London telah berlangsung pada 27 Jun hingga 7 Julai 1963. Pada 9 Julai 1963 perjanjian mengenai Malaysia telah ditandatangani di Rumah Marlborough. Sultan Brunei bagaimanapun telah mengambil keputusan untuk tidak menyertai Malaysia.

Pada 17 Ogos 1963, Rang Undang-Undang Malaysia telah dibawa ke sidang Parlimen untuk mendapatkan pengesahan. Rang Undang-Undang itu telah dibahas dengan hangat oleh parti pembangkang dan wakil kerajaan. Pihak PAS sekali lagi mempersoalkan kewajaran Singapura menyertai Malaysia. Zulkiflee Muhammad, wakil PAS, berpendapat bahawa di bawah rancangan Malaysia bilangan bangsa Melayu akan berkurangan dengan kemasukan Singapura dalam Malaysia. Keadaan tersebut akan menyebabkan keselamatan bangsa Melayu tidak akan terjamin. Di bawah sistem demokrasi, tegas Zulkiflee, 'peti undi tidak tahu *quality*, dia tahu *quantity*'.¹¹

Tuan Yang diPertua, kedudukan orang Melayu dalam bilangan akan kurang. Itu satu fact dan bagi sa-tengah orang yang tidak memandangkan kepada kurang lebeh-nya bangsa Melayu dalam negeri ini, ia-itu perkara kechil. Mari kita hadapi, kata-nya biar hanchor, kita hadapi. Tuan Yang diPertua, chara yang seperti ini chara yang sesat. Sa-

telah kita mengetahui bahawa perimbangan kedudukan bilangan ra'ayat negeri itu seperti yang ada sekarang ini pun berkehendakkan layanan, maka sudah pada tempat-nya kita insaf dan kita sedar, jangan oleh kerana khayal ita, maka kita melakukan sa-suatu yang akan memberi keburokan kepada bangsa kita sendiri.¹²

Berhubung dengan kedudukan orang Melayu di Singapura, Zulkiflee bertanya 'apa-kah agak-nya yang akan dibuat oleh Singapura bagi menjaga kepentingan orang Melayu Singapura'.¹³ Beliau mengingatkan bahawa di Singapura orang Melayu digolongkan sebagai kaum minoriti seperti orang Nasrani, Yahudi dan sebagainya. Beliau tidak nampak bahawa kepentingan orang Melayu dalam bidang sosial, ekonomi, pelajaran dan politik akan dijaga seperti di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Pada pandangan Zulkiflee, janji kerajaan Singapura untuk menaikkan ekonomi, pelajaran, hak kemasyarakatan dan politik adalah satu 'mockery' atau permainan. Dari sudut itu, beliau tidak nampak orang Melayu di Singapura akan beruntung dengan kemasukan koloni itu dalam Malaysia.

Zulkiflee juga mempersoalkan kebijaksanaan dalam memberi kuasa bersendirian kepada Singapura dalam bidang pelajaran. Mengapakah Singapura diizinkan mempunyai dasarnya sendiri sedangkan dasar pelajaran kebangsaan menuju kepada perpaduan bangsa dalam negeri.

Beliau juga mempersoalkan kesahihan dakwaan bahawa percantuman Singapura dengan Malaysia adalah bertujuan mengelakkan pulau itu daripada dikuasai oleh Komunis dan menjadikan Singapura sebagai Cuba kepada Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Kalau mereka itu - komunis, kechenderongan mereka kapada komunis, dan kemudian-nya akan menjadi komunis, maka sudah pada tempat-nya kita mengasingkan mereka itu supaya tidak merosakkan negeri itu.¹⁴

Sekali lagi Zulkiflee mengingatkan bahawa dalam usaha untuk menolong orang, 'maka menolong orang jangan-lah sampai kita tenggelam'.

Tunku bagaimanapun menolak dakwaan Zulkiflee bahawa selepas merdeka kedudukan orang Melayu di Semenanjung semakin terdesak.

As far as we know from the feelings of the Malay population in the country, they appear to be satisfied, and they appear to be hopeful that,

*with the present Government and with Malaysia coming into being, there is greater prospect of the Malays getting a better livelihood.*¹⁵

Razak turut melibatkan diri dalam perbahasan Rang Undang-Undang Malaysia. Beliau mengingatkan wakil PAS bahawa 'tujuan kita hendak menubuhkan Malaysia ini ia-lah hendak mengadakan keamanan dan kesenangan bagi penduduk di wilayah-wilayah ini, sebab tujuan utamanya ialah hendak memberi kemerdekaan kepada negara Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak...'¹⁶ Mengenai kedudukan orang Melayu di Singapura, Razak memberi jaminan bahawa kedudukan mereka tidak akan terjejas malah mereka akan menikmati keistimewaan seperti orang Melayu di Semenanjung. Persoalan sama ada pihak Perikatan benar ataupun tidak dalam penubuhan Malaysia, tegas Razak, 'sejarah-lah yang boleh menentukan'. Beliau yakin bahawa dengan adanya Malaysia dapatlah diadakan keamanan, ketenteraman dan kemakmuran bagi tanah jajahan British itu.

Apabila diundi, Rang Undang-Undang Malaysia telah mendapat sokongan majoriti ahli Parlimen. Ahli PAS bagaimanapun menolak Rang Undang-undang tersebut yang dianggap merugikan bangsa Melayu.

PAP Menderhaka?

Dalam pada itu, rancangan asal untuk menubuhkan Malaysia pada 31 Ogos 1963 terpaksa ditangguh bagi membolehkan Rombongan Sekretariat PBB di bawah Lawrence Michelmore memastikan sama ada rakyat di Sarawak dan Borneo Utara benar-benar mahu memasuki Malaysia. Keputusan penghantaran rombongan itu telah dibuat bagi memenuhi keputusan Persidangan Manila yang telah ditandatangani oleh Razak dengan Menteri Luar Indonesia dan Filipina. Berikutan dengan jaminan yang diberikan oleh U Thant, Yang diPertuan Agung telah menandatangani Pengisytiharan Diraja bahawa Malaysia akan dibentuk pada 16 September 1963.

Lee Kuan Yew bagaimanapun membantah perubahan tarikh tersebut. Beliau bertegas untuk mengisytiharkan kemerdekaan Singapura pada 31 Ogos 1963 seperti yang diputuskan dalam Rundingan London. Pendirian

Lee itu memeranatkan Tunku. Tanpa mempedulikan bantahan Tunku, pada 31 Ogos 1963, Lee mengisytiharkan kemerdekaan Singapura. Dalam ucapannya, Lee menegaskan bahawa:

Now Malaysia is to be proclaimed finally on 16 September. Nevertheless August 31st has been made a significant date in the history of Malaysia. Sabah and Sarawak elected leaders today assumed powers of self-government. All federal powers in Sabah and Sarawak will be reposed in the Governors. In Singapore on the same principle all federal powers over defence and external affairs with, as from today till the 16th September, be reposed in our Yang DiPertuan Negara. We look upon ourselves as trustees for the Federal Government of Malaysia in these 15 days. We will exercise these powers in the interests of Malaysia. And in accordance with the Malaysia Agreement signed in London on 8th July the defence arrangements have for practical purposes come into operation.¹⁷

Tindakan Lee itu melukakan hati Tunku. Kabinet Kerajaan Persekutuan dalam mesyuaratnya pada 2 September 1963 telah memutuskan bahawa tindakan kerajaan Singapura mengisytiharkan kemerdekaan itu sebagai tidak sah dan tidak berperlembagaan. Kabinet telah mengemukakan bantahan kepada kerajaan British – ‘a strong worded letter’, membantah kegagalan kerajaan British untuk merujuk kepada kerajaan Tanah Melayu berhubung perkara tersebut sambil mengingatkan bahawa kerajaan Tanah Melayu tidak lagi terikat dengan perjanjian Malaysia melainkan kerajaan British ‘repudiate categorically any change in status of new state before establishment of Malaysia’.¹⁸

The operating of internal self-government is not part of the arrangements and seriously undermine the whole basis upon what the territories were to enter Malaysia. Apart for its legal and constitutional implications this step has caused considerable apprehension to my government, which is now faced with a situation in which the Singapore Government has been given power in relation to matters, which if Malaysia is forced will be federal representatives.¹⁹

Lee tidak melayan bantahan kerajaan Persekutuan sebaliknya menganggap bantahan kerajaan Persekutuan itu sebagai sesuatu yang menyedihkan.

It is a matter of regret that the Federation Government which does not have authority over Singapore until Malaysia is officially promulgated, instead of welcoming the step forward taken in Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak on August 31, has expressed its concern over legal and constitutional niceties.²⁰

Pada 3 September 1963 kerajaan Singapura telah menasihatkan Yang diPertuan Negara untuk membubarkan Majlis Legislatif dan mengeluarkan arahan untuk mengadakan pilihan raya pada 12 September 1963.

Selkirk telah mengadakan pertemuan dengan Lee Kuan Yew pada 4 September 1963. Dengan sombongnya, Lee menegaskan:

Singapore had enough documents to show that what they had done was not only being justified but was morally right. One of the sad things about Malaysia was the naive approach of some people to whom power was handed 'a silver platter with red ribbons by British royalty in uniform'. That was not the way the new great nations of Asia and Africa had been born. The new Malaysian date was irrevocable. He had, on 31 August, proclaim de facto independence, taking over control of defence and external affairs. Proclamation this on behalf of the people whom he representative of the people whom he represented and he would like to see who would say 'no'. Power was not a little jewel, it had to be fought for, and Singapore had earned the right to independence and place in Malaysia. Great men like George Washington or Lenin did not make their nations great by getting power in ceremonial obeisance.²¹

Bantahan Tunku telah mendapat perhatian kerajaan British. Dalam suratnya kepada Tunku, MacMillan menganggap tindakan Lee Kuan Yew itu sebagai tidak sah sama ada dari segi undang-undang ataupun perlembagaan. Jaminan MacMillan itu melegakan sedikit perasaan marah Tunku terhadap Lee Kuan Yew. Jika diikuti perasaan Tunku, Malaysia akan ditubuhkan tanpa penyertaan Singapura justeru tindak tanduk Lee Kuan Yew yang angkuh dan tidak mengenang budi itu. Akibat rancangan itu juga kerajaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu terpaksa bermasam muka dengan jirannya Indonesia dan Filipina. Walaupun begitu rancangan penubuhan Malaysia perlu diteruskan juga kerana desakan pihak British.

Pada 16 September 1963, Malaysia telah diisytiharkan penubuhannya. Dengan itu secara rasmi Singapura, Sabah dan Sarawak telah menjadi negara merdeka.

NOTA

1. Singapura - Kuala Lumpur, 14 Mei 1962, PREM/11/4346.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Singapura - Kuala Lumpur, 6 Julai 1962, PREM 11/4346.
5. Singapura - CRO, 14 Dis. 1962, PREM/4346.
6. Singapura - CRO, 4 Feb. 1963, PREM 11/4346.
7. Singapura - Setiausaha bagi Tanah Jajahan, 28 Januari 1963, CO 1030/1576.
8. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 31 Januari 1963, CO 1030/1577.
9. Kuala Lumpur - Singapura, 1 Februari 1963, CO 1030/1577.
10. Singapura - CRO, 4 Februari 1963, PREM 11/4346.
11. Penyata Dewan Rakyat, 19 Ogos 1963.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Kuala Lumpur - Singapura, 2 Sept. 1963, PREM 11/4351
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Singapura - CRO, 4 Sept. 1963, PREM 11/4351

VII

Duri dalam Daging

Ternyata bahawa Lee Kuan Yew telah mengambil kesempatan daripada kejujuran Tunku untuk memenuhi agenda politiknya. Dengan sokongan Tunku, Lee Kuan Yew bukan sahaja dapat membebaskan Singapura daripada penjajahan British melalui Malaysia, tetapi juga telah dapat melumpuhkan musuh politiknya baik dari sayap kiri ataupun kanan. Setelah berjaya memenuhi agenda politiknya, Lee Kuan Yew berusaha pula untuk mengukuhkan kedudukannya di Singapura dan mengembangkan pengaruhnya ke Semenanjung. Untuk mencapai matlamatnya, PAP telah menggunakan cogan kata '*Malaysian Malaysia*' yang mereka harap akan mendapat sokongan orang bukan Melayu. Perbuatan itu bagaimanapun telah menjejaskan hubungan antara Tunku dengan Lee Kuan Yew hingga membawa kepada perpisahan Singapura daripada Malaysia pada 9 Ogos 1965.

PAP Mengukuhkan Kedudukan di Singapura

Setelah Singapura mencapai kemerdekaan, Lee Kuan Yew berusaha pula untuk mengukuhkan kedudukan politiknya di Singapura. Ekoran krisis yang melanda parti, kedudukan PAP dalam Majlis Legislatif agak lemah. PAP hanya mempunyai 25 daripada 51 kerusi. Kerajaan PAP pada bila-bila masa sahaja akan tumbang jika ada ahlinya yang berpaling tadah kepada pihak pembangkang. Walaupun pembangkang tidak cukup kuat, khususnya Barisan Sosialis yang menjadi lemah ekoran penahanan beberapa orang tokoh pentingnya di bawah Akta Keselamatan Dalam Negeri, tetapi pihak pembangkang masih menjadi ancaman kepada PAP. Jika Barisan Sosialis berpakat dengan Parti Perikatan Singapura, Parti

Pekerja, UMNO Singapura dan MCA, kemungkinan besar kedudukan PAP sebagai kerajaan akan tergugat. Justeru itu pada ketika rakyat Singapura sedang ghairah menyambut hari kemerdekaan, Lee Kuan Yew mengadakan pilihanraya umum pada 21 September 1963. Keadaan itu meletakkan Barisan Sosialis, UMNO, Parti Perikatan Singapura serta parti pembangkang lain dalam keadaan kelam kabut. Mereka hanya mempunyai sembilan hari berkempen.

Apabila keputusan diumumkan, PAP telah memenangi 37 daripada 51 kerusi yang dipertandingkan. Semua calon UMNO-PERIKATAN Singapura tewas di tangan calon PAP. Sementara itu parti Barisan Sosialis hanya mendapat 13 kerusi atau mendapat sebanyak 33 peratus daripada jumlah undi.

Kekalahan UMNO dan juga MCA yang bertanding atas tiket parti Perikatan Singapura amat memeranjatkan Tunku. Lebih mengecewakan lagi ialah calon UMNO itu dikalahkan oleh calon Melayu PAP.¹ Harapan Tunku untuk melihat UMNO Singapura menjadi pembela kepada orang Melayu Singapura yang daif itu berkecai. Tunku melihat parti UMNO Singapura ditolak dan dihancurkan oleh orang Melayu sendiri kerana terpengaruh dengan kempen PAP. Ketua Penerangan UMNO, Syed Jaafar Hasan Albar telah meletakkan jawatan atas kekalahan UMNO itu. Sejak itu UMNO Singapura telah diletakkan di bawah tanggung jawab Tunku.

Kemenangan besar PAP dalam pilihan raya itu telah disambut meriah di Singapura. Ibu Pejabat UMNO di Geyland Serai dikatakan telah diceroboh manakala papan tanda UMNO pula diconteng dan dikoyak oleh pihak yang tidak bertanggung jawab. Dengan itu tidaklah menghairankan apabila UMNO Singapura menerima kekalahan itu dengan penuh emosional. Patung Lee Kuan Yew telah dibakar.

PAP Bernafsu Besar

(Hasil kemenangan dalam pilihan raya umum itu, PAP telah menubuhkan sebuah kerajaan yang kuat. Setelah berasa kedudukannya kukuh, PAP mengambil keputusan untuk mengembangkan sayapnya ke Semenanjung. Cawangan PAP telah ditubuhkan di Semenanjung sebagai persiapan pilihan raya umum pada tahun 1964.) Melalui kerja kuat dan

tipu helah politik PAP menonjolkan diri sebagai pembela kaum Cina. Secara terbuka Lee Kuan Yew mengumumkan hasratnya untuk bekerjasama dengan UMNO tetapi enggan menyertai Perikatan jika MCA dan MIC terus menjadi anggota Perikatan. Kenyataan Lee Kuan Yew telah diselar oleh Tunku sebagai tidak bertanggungjawab yang bertujuan untuk memecahkan Perikatan. Tunku memberi jaminan bahawa UMNO akan tetap bersama MCA dan MIC selama-lamanya.

Apabila tidak diterima oleh UMNO, PAP mengambil keputusan untuk bertanding dalam pilihan raya umum dengan menonjolkan dirinya sebagai parti yang mewakili orang Cina. Pengumuman pertandingan itu dibuat oleh Pengerusi PAP, Toh Chin Chye pada 1 Mac 1964. Keputusan itu memeranjatkan Tunku kerana mengikut persetujuan pada bulan Ogos 1963 PAP tidak akan bertanding dalam pilihan raya di Semenanjung. Tindakan PAP dilihat sebagai suatu keputusan yang sengaja diambil bagi mencabar keutuhan kerajaan Perikatan di Semenanjung, dan juga sebagai suatu cabaran terhadap ketuanan Melayu. Para pemimpin UMNO menyelar Lee Kuan Yew sebagai menyimpan cita-cita bukan sahaja untuk memusnahkan MCA, UMNO dan MIC, tetapi juga untuk menjadi Perdana Menteri. Tunku Abdul Rahman pernah melafazkan kekecewaannya dengan sikap Lee Kuan Yew yang tidak mengenang budi. Semasa berucap di Persidangan Parti Perikatan di Kuala Lumpur pada 17 April 1964, Tunku mengingatkan kembali detik-detik keputusan dibuat untuk menerima Singapura dalam Malaysia. Kerajaan Persekutuan terpaksa berkorban bukan sahaja untuk menyelamatkan Singapura daripada komunis, tetapi juga mempertahankan PAP, sebuah parti kiri yang amat ketara disokong oleh komunis daripada kecundang dalam arena politik. Tunku terus nekad dengan rancangan itu walaupun banyak antara anggota partinya menentang cadangan tersebut. Sebaliknya setelah Singapura menyertai Malaysia, Lee Kuan Yew mendapati dia tidak mendapat kuasa seperti yang dikehendakinya iaitu mahu menjadi Perdana Menteri, dan akibatnya dia mula menimbulkan kekacauan.²

Pada 19 Mac 1964, PAP mengumumkan manifestonya. Antara lain PAP berjuang untuk menubuhkan sebuah negara sosialis Malaysia yang bersatu. PAP telah meletakkan 9 orang calon untuk menentang MCA dalam pilihanraya umum. Dalam kempen pilihanraya, Lee menyeru para pengundi supaya menyokong PAP *'so that UMNO leaders would have to*

adjust their social and economic policy to take into account the wishes of the people in the towns'.³ Kempen PAP bagaimanapun tidak berkesan. Pemimpin UMNO berjaya meyakinkan pengundi bahawa dasar PAP itu berbahaya untuk negara berbilang bangsa seperti Malaysia, dan akan memecahkan perpaduan rakyat. Malahan pengundi juga diingatkan bahawa menentang Perikatan bererti menyokong Sukarno.

Pilihan raya diadakan pada 25 April 1964. Lebih daripada 77% pengundi keluar mengundi. Seperti dijangkakan Perikatan memenangi 89 daripada 104 kerusi yang dipertandingkan manakala PAS memperolehi 9 kerusi parlimen. PAP hanya memenangi satu kerusi Parlimen di Bangsar yang ditandingi oleh Devan Nair. Kebanyakan calonnya hilang wang pertaruhan masing-masing. Dengan kekalahan itu PAP terpaksa berdiam diri untuk sementara waktu. Seorang pemerhati politik menganggap campur tangan PAP dalam politik di Semenanjung adalah satu kesilapan besar Lee Kuan Yew.⁴ Sejak itu Lee Kuan Yew mula dipandang serong oleh Perikatan.

Perhimpunan Melayu

(Sementara itu UMNO Singapura menyusun strategi untuk bangkit semula setelah ditewaskan dengan teruk oleh PAP dalam pilhan raya yang lalu. UMNO cuba menjadi juara bagi orang Melayu dalam mempertahankan hak mereka yang terjejas akibat dasar kerajaan PAP. Perasaan tidak puas hati semakin membara apabila pada awal bulan Mei 1964, penduduk di Java Road dan Palembang Road telah diarahkan supaya berpindah ke penempatan baru.) Selain kawasan itu, perintah berpindah juga telah menjalar ke kawasan lain, seperti Kallang West Coast dan Kampong Bendong. UMNO Singapura mengecam tindakan kerajaan PAP yang dianggap bertindak secara kejam dan pilih kasih. Dalam kenyataan yang diedarkan kepada ahli UMNO cawangan Rochore, Ketua Cawangan, Abdul Rahman Mohd. Din menganggap arahan berpindah yang dikeluarkan kepada penduduk di Java Road dan Palembang Road sebagai 'yang paling kejam sekali pernah dilakukan oleh kerajaan PAP terhadap orang Melayu). Ini kerana penduduk di kawasan itu tidak diberi peluang langsung untuk memikirkan cara perpindahan itu dan masa depan kehidupan mereka.)

Ahli UMNO Rochore berasa bahawa mereka menjadi sasaran Kerajaan PAP bersama-sama dengan kapitalis bangsa Cina yang sedang merancang penindasan dan pengusiran terhadap orang Melayu dari tempat-tempat yang mereka sudah mendiaminya sejak datuk nenek mereka, sedangkan kawasan-kawasan lain yang terdiri dari bangsa Cina tidak pernah diberikan arahan pemindahan.

UMNO memperingatkan para kapitalis berkenaan dan Kerajaan PAP supaya perbuatan sewenang-wenangnya untuk menindas bangsa Melayu dalam negeri ini hendaklah dihentikan dengan segera, kalau tidak maka cita-cita yang dilaung-laungkan oleh Kerajaan PAP untuk menyatukan bangsa Malaysia pasti akan gagal.⁵

Pada 27 Mei 1964, Kesatuan Kebangsaan Anak-Anak Bumi Putera Singapura, dalam suratnya kepada Lee Kuan Yew memperingatkan kerajaan agar berlaku adil terhadap orang Melayu untuk mengelakkan daripada berlakunya kekacauan di pulau itu.

Jangan lupa tuan huru hara yang menggemparkan dunia sudah terjadi di Singapura dengan tidak disangka-sangka dari hal Nadra itu cuma sebahagian kecil dari kalangan pemuda-pemuda sahaja. Tetapi mungkin akan terjadi di bahagian yang besar yang luas seperti gunung berapi kalau sudah meletus membongkar alam negara ini tidak dapat sesiapa yang menahannya melainkan dengan kuasa 'Tuhan' barulah ia dapat dikawal dan ditawan. Masanya akan tiba jangan lupa kalau luka sudah hilang parutnya tinggal juga.⁶

(Memandangkan ketidakpuasan orang Melayu semakin membara justeru dasar 'diskriminasi' kerajaan PAP, maka UMNO Singapura telah mengundang pertubuhan Melayu dan Islam seluruh Singapura bagi membincangkan 'kedudukan orang Melayu Singapura' pada 12 Julai 1964. Perhimpunan itu diadakan di Panggung New Star, Pasir Panjang Road, Singapura. Lebih daripada 1000 orang hadir dalam majlis itu yang dirasmikan oleh bekas Ketua Penerangan UMNO, Syed Jaafar Albar. Dalam ucapan perasmianya yang penuh bersemangat itu, Syed Jaafar Albar telah menyeru supaya orang Melayu Singapura bersatu bagi mempertahankan hak mereka daripada dicerobohi oleh kerajaan PAP.

We Malays in Singapore have for a very long time been suppressed and oppressed, either subtly or blatantly... We Malays believed that they (the

*British) colonised us in order to protect and look after us, but they have betrayed our trust, and today, although Singapore has achieved independence through Malaysia, the fate of the Malays is even worse than it was during the Japanese occupation. This is the reason why UMNO feels it necessary to hold this convention.*⁷

Syed Jaafar seterusnya mengingatkan hadirin supaya bersatu. Dengan bersatu, tegasnya, tidak ada kuasa yang dapat memecah-belahkan mereka, 'hatta seribu Lee Kuan Yew sekali pun'.

Turut berucap ialah Hassan Adli, Naib Presiden PAS. Beliau menyeru orang Melayu supaya menentang PAP demi keselamatan mereka pada masa depan. Timbalan Setiausaha UMNO, Ali Haji Ahmad pula menuduh PAP hendak menjadikan Singapura sebuah negara Israel di Asia Tenggara.

Perhimpunan itu telah merayu Lee Kuan Yew agar tidak mengeneipkan kewajibannya terhadap orang Melayu sebagai anak bumiputera Singapura. Ini penting agar mereka tidak terpinggir dalam arus pembangunan negara yang semakin pesat itu.

PAP bertindak balas dengan mengadakan perhimpunan pada 19 Julai 1964 bagi menjawab segala tohmahan yang dilemparkan terhadap PAP dan Lee Kuan Yew sendiri menafikan dakwaan UMNO bahawa PAP menganaktirikan orang Melayu di Singapura. Beliau menegaskan bahawa PAP akan terus membela nasib orang Melayu di Singapura sejajar dengan kehendak Perlembagaan.

Rusuhan

Pada petang Selasa 21 Julai 1964, lebih daripada seribu kaum Muslimin telah berkumpul di Padang untuk menyambut peristiwa keputeraan Nabi Muhammad SAW. Perhimpunan itu disusuli oleh perarakan. Lee Kuan Yew memandang serius terhadap perhimpunan itu kerana diadakan beberapa hari selepas peristiwa rusuhan di Bukit Mertajam pada 12 Julai 1964. Lebih merisaukan beliau apabila terdapat risalah-risalah haram yang dikeluarkan oleh Kesatuan Kemajuan Islam telah diedarkan di kawasan Kampung Gelam. Risalah ini menyeru orang Melayu supaya bersatu dan menghancurkan kerajaan diktator PAP.

Dalam suasana berwaspada itu, tiba-tiba rusuhan tercetus di Kampung Gelam apabila seorang anggota polis Melayu telah diserang

oleh 'ahli' PAP ketika mengawal perarakan Maulidur Rasul.⁹ Rusuhan itu mengorbankan dan mencederakan beratus orang. Kerajaan bertindak cepat untuk mengawal keadaan. Perintah berkurung diisytiharkan di kawasan terbabit.)

Sebaik sahaja mendapat berita mengenai rusuhan itu, Razak telah terbang ke Singapura. Dalam ucapannya di Radio Malaysia, Razak menyeru semua kaum di Singapura dan Tanah Melayu supaya bersatu.

I can't help but think that there must be an insidious enemy responsible for all this. The procession to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet has been held year in and year out but never has there been anything untoward which has marred the procession. So why must it happen now? It is more than a coincidence that while we are having confrontation from Indonesia these communal clashes should have all of a sudden flared up.⁹

Pada masa yang sama melalui kerjasama kerajaan Amerika Syarikat, Tunku yang berada di London, telah menyampaikan amanatnya kepada rakyat di Singapura melalui siaran *Voice of America*. Dalam ucapan ringkas itu, Tunku menyalahkan agen asing sebagai bertanggungjawab mencetuskan rusuhan.

Lee Kuan Yew bagaimanapun mempunyai pandangan yang berbeza berhubung dengan peristiwa tersebut. Beliau menyalahkan puak pelampau dalam UMNO, khususnya Syed Jaafar Albar, dan *Utusan Melayu* kerana mengapi-apikan sentimen perkauman sehingga tercetusnya rusuhan antara kaum Cina dan Melayu di Kampung Gelam.

What I want to know in the long run is whether this agitation by the Malays Action Committee or are they following...UMNO. The 22-man Malay Action Committee is going right to the brink.¹⁰

Dalam perbualannya dengan wakil asing, Lee Kuan Yew mendakwa bahawa rusuhan itu sengaja dicetuskan oleh puak pelampau dalam UMNO dengan tujuan untuk membolehkan kerajaan Pusat mengisytiharkan darurat dan kemudiannya meletakkan Singapura di bawah pemerintahan tentera.¹¹

Bagaimanapun tuduhan itu dinafikan oleh Syed Jaafar Albar yang sebaliknya menyalahkan Lee Kuan Yew yang merancang rusuhan itu

untuk memenuhi tuntutan politik peribadinya. Dalam suratnya kepada wartawan *The Observer*, Dennis Bloodworth, Syed Jaafar menulis:

*Lee's intention is to create disorder in Singapore at a time when the Malays are gathering to celebrate the Birthday of Prophet Mohammed, so as to give the impression to the world outside that the Malays are already influenced by Indonesia. And with this, he is trying to impress on the Chinese that the Malays have bad intention towards them.*¹²

Pada 28 Julai 1964 Razak telah mengadakan pertemuan dengan Timbalan Perdana Menteri Singapura, Goh Keng Swee.¹³ Razak mengemukakan dua pilihan untuk menyelesaikan masalah antara Kuala Lumpur dengan Singapura. Pertama, pembentukan kerajaan campuran tetapi dengan syarat Lee Kuan Yew melepaskan jawatan sebagai Perdana Menteri, dan kedua, perjanjian politik dengan kedua-dua kerajaan tidak akan campur tangan dalam urusan politik negeri masing-masing. Razak meminta PAP menguruskan hal ehwal masyarakat Melayu di Singapura melalui Ketua Penerangan UMNO, Muhammad Khir Johari. Di samping itu, PAP juga diingatkan supaya tidak mempengaruhi orang Melayu supaya menyokong PAP. Cadangan Razak itu bagaimanapun ditolak oleh PAP kerana dianggap tidak praktikal.

Campur Tangan British

(Kerajaan British memandang serius perkembangan yang berlaku di Singapura. Ekoran peristiwa itu, pada 6 Ogos 1964, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Perdana Menteri British, telah mengadakan perbincangan dengan Tunku di London tentang situasi di Malaysia. Lord Home agak bimbang dengan kemerosotan hubungan antara Kuala Lumpur dan Singapura yang jika tidak ditangani dengan bijak kemungkinan besar akan menjejaskan keutuhan Malaysia. Lord Home mencadangkan supaya Lee dilantik sebagai anggota kabinet Kerajaan Pusat. Secara terus terang Tunku memberitahu Home bahawa beliau tidak dapat melantik Lee dalam kabinetnya kerana '*he was very unpopular among Malays and Chinese alike*'.¹⁴ Bagaimanapun Tunku bersetuju untuk menambah bilangan perwakilan dari Singapura, Sarawak dan Sabah dalam Majlis Pertahanan.

Tunku pulang ke Kuala Lumpur pada 14 Ogos 1964. Pada 18 Ogos Tunku terbang ke Singapura untuk berjumpa dengan Lee Kuan Yew. Tunku mencadangkan kepada Lee Kuan Yew supaya mengosongkan kerusi parlimennya. Sebagai balasannya kerajaan Pusat akan memberi kuasa autonomi dalam hal ekonomi, kewangan dan keselamatan kepada kerajaan Singapura.¹⁵ Selain itu, Lee Kuan Yew diminta agar tidak melibatkan diri dalam kegiatan politik di Semenanjung dan Borneo.

Perbincangan itu diketahui oleh pihak British yang tidak bersetuju dengan cadangan Tunku. Pada pandangan mereka *'Such major change would be likely to have serious repercussion on international opinion as indicating an internal weakening, and possibly ultimately collapse of the Federation. They would be a godsend to Indonesian propaganda. Relations with Sabah and Sarawak would also be upset'*.¹⁶ Dengan serta merta, Lord Home telah diarahkan supaya berjumpa dengan Tunku dan Lee untuk berbincang tentang hal tersebut.

Semasa bertemu dengan Tunku, Lord Home memaklumkan pandangan kerajaan British terhadap cadangan penyerahan kerusi parlimen Singapura kepada kerajaan pusat. Tunku menjawab bahawa perubahan status Singapura dalam Persekutuan perlu dibuat untuk menyelesaikan krisis antara Kuala Lumpur dengan Singapura.¹⁷

Apabila gagal untuk meyakinkan Tunku tentang keburukan rancangan itu, Lord Home dan Lord Mountbatten kemudiannya berjumpa pula dengan Lee Kuan Yew. Selepas mendengar pandangan Lord Home dan Lord Mountbatten, Lee Kuan Yew bersetuju untuk menolak cadangan Tunku. Sebaliknya, Lee Kuan Yew mencadangkan agar Singapura diberikan kuasa penuh berhubung urusan dalam negeri, kecuali bidang pertahanan dan hubungan luar. Dalam masa yang sama beliau akan memberikan kenyataan bertulis kepada Tunku bahawa Singapura tidak akan menggunakan kedudukannya di Parlimen untuk menyerang Kerajaan pusat, dan jika ikrar itu dilanggar, Lee bersedia untuk menyerahkan semula hak ke atas urusan dalam negeri kepada kerajaan Pusat. Berhubung dengan kerusi parlimen, Lee bersedia untuk menimbangkannya selepas tamat konfrontasi. Semua cawangan UMNO dan MCA di Singapura akan ditutup dan PAP juga akan menutup cawangannya di Semenanjung.

Sementara itu, persoalan Malaysia-Singapura telah dibincangkan dengan serius oleh Jabatan Perdana Menteri British. Jabatan Perdana Menteri berpendapat bahawa kedua-dua cadangan itu sama ada cadangan Tunku atau Lee akan membawa kepada perpecahan Persekutuan Malaysia malah cadangan tersebut bukan sahaja akan menjejaskan imej Malaysia di mata dunia tetapi juga akan menjejaskan tanggung jawab British dalam mengurus soal keselamatan dalam negeri dan pertahanan wilayah Malaysia daripada ancaman Indonesia. Jabatan itu mengesyorkan kedua-dua rancangan itu hendaklah ditolak.

Justeru itu Lord Head telah diarahkan supaya berjumpa dengan Tunku dan Lee bagi menjelaskan tentang keburukan kedua-dua cadangan tersebut.

Your immediate aim must in short be to press for abandonment of any radical changes in constitutional, defence or internal security fields. On this you will be best judge as to how far Tunku's colleagues may be of further help.

Your secondary objectives in event of Tunku proving unresponsive should be at least to ensure that he gives us firm undertaking that we shall have ample opportunity to express our views on any major changes on which he and Lee may still insist.¹⁸

Pada 23 Februari 1965, seperti yang diarahkan Lord Head telah berjumpa dengan Tunku. Dalam pertemuan itu Tunku memberi jaminan bahawa kerusi Singapura di Parlimen akan dikekalkan. Berhubung dengan soal keselamatan dalam negeri dan kewangan, Tunku memaklumkan yang beliau masih berbincang dengan anggota kabinetnya.

Selepas pertemuan itu, Lord Head telah menulis kepada Tunku mengulangi jaminan Tunku tentang kedudukan kerusi Parlimen Singapura. Surat itu berbunyi seperti berikut:

I was much encouraged in my talk with you yesterday when you said that there would be no question of the Singapore representatives leaving the Federal Parliament. As I told you my Government had considerable apprehensions about such a possibility largely because of its effect on world opinion and confidence about future unity of the Federation.¹⁹

Setelah mendapat persetujuan kabinet, pada 2 Mac 1965 Tunku telah menulis surat kepada Harold Wilson, Perdana Menteri British, memberi jaminan bahawa cadangan perubahan dalam hubungan Pusat dengan Singapura itu tidak akan memberi kesan buruk sebaliknya mengukuhkan lagi pentadbiran.

When Earl Mountbatten called on me in Kuala Lumpur recently, he discussed certain matters about which you and your colleagues have expressed deep concern, and that is with regard to the news that I was contemplating a break-up with Singapore. This news, according to him, would cause serious alarm to all those who have the interest of Malaysia at heart and if it were to leak out it would give the Indonesian s moral advantage. I have very much in mind that aspect of the matter and you can rest assured that I will do nothing to give Indonesia a sense of victory.

What I have in view is that there should be a re-arrangement of the State and Federal powers as between Singapore and the Central Government without affecting the status of Singapore as a member State of Malaysia. We found out after one and half years of experience in the working of the Constitution that this arrangement is necessary for the effective and smooth running of the administration. It would not change in any way Singapore's relation with the Central Government. On the other hand, it will give Singapore greater autonomy with which to administer the State having in mind the peculiar situation obtaining in that State. The changes, if any, will be worked out in easy stages without giving any indication that there is any conflict of interest between the State and the Central Government.

I am convinced, so does the Prime Minister of Singapore, that this reshuffling of State and Federal powers will bring about better relationship between the State and Central Governments.²⁰

Isu Malaysian Malaysia

Hubungan Kuala Lumpur-Singapura kembali tegang apabila Lee Kuan Yew mengumumkan hasratnya untuk menubuhkan pakatan parti politik untuk menentang Parti Perikatan dalam pilihan raya umum ke-4 yang dijadualkan berlangsung pada tahun 1969. Turut serta dalam mesyuarat yang berlangsung di Singapura pada 8 Mei 1965 ialah *United*

Democratic Party dan SUPP. Pada 9 Mei 1965, *Malaysian Solidarity Convention* (MSC) telah ditubuhkan dan slogan '*Malaysian Malaysia*' dijadikan sebagai dasar perjuangan mereka. Andainya menangi pilihan raya dan dapat membentuk kerajaan, Lee Kuan Yew berikrar akan mewujudkan pemerintahan yang adil dan sama rata atas semangat '*Malaysian Malaysia*'. Perlembagaan Negara akan dikaji semula bagi membasmi sebarang peruntukan yang dianggap bersifat diskriminasi terhadap kaum tertentu. Malahan Lee Kuan Yew juga mempersoalkan status orang Melayu yang didakwa bukan anak jati negeri ini.)

Ahli UMNO memandang serius terhadap penubuhan MSC yang berjuang bukan sekadar untuk menjatuhkan Perikatan tetapi untuk menghapuskan kedudukan keistimewaan orang Melayu dan bumiputera yang telah dijamin oleh Perlembagaan. (Dengan itu tidaklah menghairankan apabila terdapat ahli UMNO yang mendesak supaya Lee Kuan Yew dikenakan tahanan ISA kerana mencetuskan ketegangan dalam masyarakat. Malah PAS turut mengecam Tunku dan Dr. Ismail kerana gagal mempertahankan hak ketuanan Melayu.)

Dalam menghadapi cabaran PAP dan MSC, Tunku meminta ahli UMNO supaya tidak membesar-besarkan politik perkauman Lee Kuan Yew sebaliknya menangani isu itu secara demokratik. Semasa berucap di Perhimpunan Agung UMNO pada 15 Mei 1965, (Tunku menganggap perbuatan Lee Kuan Yew mencabar hak ketuanan Melayu sebagai melampau. Beliau juga mengulangi peringatannya kepada Lee Kuan Yew tentang pengorbanan UMNO dalam menerima Singapura ke dalam Malaysia walaupun dibantah oleh ahli UMNO sendiri, termasuk juga oleh PAS. Yang paling mengecewakan Tunku ialah apabila Lee Kuan Yew tanpa segan silu dan perasaan hormat, berani mengatakan bahawa 'orang Melayu di sini pun bukan anak jati negeri ini'.⁷ 'Ini cakapan budak-budak', tegas Tunku, 'kerana kita semua tahu bahawa menurut perlembagaan, kedudukan Raja-raja Melayu dalam negeri masing-masing ialah mengikut keturunan. Itu pun sudah cukup untuk menunjukkan bahawa orang Melayu adalah bumiputera yang jati negeri ini.)

Tunku juga menyeru orang Cina agar tidak terpengaruh dengan dakyah Lee Kuan Yew.

Orang Cina tahu semua perkara ini dan kalau mengatakan sama ada secara langsung atau tidak langsung yang orang Cina tidak diberi layanan adil, adalah tidak benar dan mereka tahu yang perkara itu tidak benar. Dasar UMNO dan rakan-rakan kita MCA dan MIC ialah bertimbang rasa dan adil kepada semua.²²

Walau bagaimanapun Tunku cukup kecewa dengan sikap Lee Kuan Yew yang tidak mengenang budi. Tunku telah mengambil risiko tinggi apabila bersetuju untuk menyelamatkan Lee Kuan Yew dan PAP daripada komunis dengan menerima Singapura sebagai sebahagian daripada Malaysia. Tindakan nekad Tunku itu telah dikecam bukan sahaja oleh PAS tetapi juga oleh ahli UMNO.

Tuan David Marshall semasa dia menjadi Ketua Menteri di Singapura dulu, cuba hendak memujuk saya mengambil Singapura kerana pada fikirannya Singapura tidak boleh bersendirian-sendiri dan katanya sangat aib bagi Singapura terus-menerus menjadi tanah jajahan. Ketua Menteri yang satu lagi Tuan Lim Yew Hock yang semakan seminum dengan saya dan bolehlah dikatakan sebagai kawan baik saya, memujuk saya mengambil Singapura.

Tetapi saya katakan pada dia ini sangat berbahaya kerana Singapura boleh dikatakan sebuah negara China dan pentadbiran Singapura mestilah berlainan dengan yang ada di Malaya. Kalau kita cuba hendak memaksa Perlembagaan Malaya ke atas Singapura, boleh jadi tidak akan diterima oleh orang Cina di sana.

Encik Lee Kuan Yew mula capai kuasa di Singapura terang-terang dengan sokongan Komunis dan orang yang bersimpati dengan Komunis. Bila dia cuba hendak mentadbirkan Singapura dengan tidak mengikut dasar komunis, separuh daripada ahli-ahlinya telah berpecah daripada PAP. Pada saya bahayanya terang, iaitu kita mesti mengambil langkah untuk menyelamatkan Singapura daripada komunis.

Oleh sebab itu anggota-anggota Perikatan telah diminta membantu kerajaan PAP supaya jangan tumbang. Memanglah nyata, hanya satu jalan sahaja untuk mengelakkan Singapura daripada menjadi Cuba yang kedua, iaitu memasukkan Singapura ke dalam Malaysia. Saya beranikan juga dengan rancangan ini sungguhpun banyak di antara anggota-anggota parti saya menentangnya. Kita telah bekerja keras menggubal perlembagaan yang kita percaya memuaskan hati semua pihak. Selepas Singapura masuk Malaysia, Encik Lee Kuan Yew dapati

dia tidak dapat kuasa ikut hatinya mahu sebagai seorang Perdana Menteri dan mulalah kacau. Kita tidak pernah menyalahgunakan perlembagaan atau mungkir janji dengan Menteri-menteri Singapura dan kita harap Encik Lee Kuan Yew pun akan berbuat demikian juga, tetapi malangnya bila dia dapati dia tidak dapat kawan UMNO dan mentadbirkan kerajaan bersama-sama dengan UMNO, dia pun menentang kita. Kadang-kadang dia menggunakan politik perkauman.²¹

Peringatan Tunku bagaimanapun tidak dipedulikan oleh Lee Kuan Yew yang sebaliknya meneruskan kempen '*Malaysian Malaysia*'nya serta bertekad untuk memastikan M.S.C berjaya dalam pilihan raya umum akan datang bagi membolehkannya menumbangkan kerajaan Perikatan.

Perdebatan di Dewan Rakyat

Persidangan Dewan Rakyat pada awal dan akhir bulan Jun 1965 adalah kemuncak kekeruhan hubungan antara Kerajaan Persekutuan dengan Singapura. Sudah menjadi tradisi, berdasarkan sistem Parlimen, setelah tamat ucapan di Raja penyokong kerajaan akan membawa usul tahniah kepada Agong. Sebaliknya sidang Dewan Rakyat bulan Jun 1965 telah mencatat sejarah apabila Lee Kuan Yew membawa usul supaya ucapan Agong dipinda. Lee Kuan Yew meminta Dewan menyatakan kekesalan kerana titah Agong tidak menyebutkan tentang kepentingan membina *Malaysian Malaysia*, satu konsep politik yang menjadi falsafah perjuangan *Malaysia Solidarity Convention*. Titah Agong dan syor pindaan Lee Kuan Yew telah menarik perhatian ahli Dewan. Bermula dari situ perdebatan tertumpu kepada soal hubungan Kuala Lumpur-Singapura, masa depan Perikatan dan PAP, dan akhir sekali kedudukan dan hak kaum Melayu dan Cina di Malaysia. Dalam arus perdebatan itu, pelbagai kenyataan yang sensitif dan menyentuh sentimen kaum tertentu telah dibangkitkan.

Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, wakil Rakyat UMNO (Kedah) telah membuka perbahasan dengan merujuk kepada titah Agong berhubung soal keselamatan negara. Semasa merasmikan pembukaan Parlimen, Agong telah menyebut :

keselamatan negara kita sedang diancam dari luar negeri ia-itu Indonesia. Dan lagi negara kita sedang menghadapi juga ancaman dari dalam negeri. Kedua2 ancaman itu tujuannya ia-lah hendak menimbulkan kekacauan, Jika pihak2 yang membuat ancaman2 itu berjaya, maka huru-hara akan timbul dan demokrasi akan berakhir.²⁴

Dr. Mahathir menganggap PAP setaraf dengan *Socialist Front*, pro-kaum Cina, condong terhadap Komunis, dan anti-orang Melayu. PAP yang gagal untuk menyertai Perikatan bagi mengambil-alih tempat MCA, dan gagal untuk menewaskan MCA dalam pilihanraya umum pada 1964, telah berusaha untuk menghancurkan Perikatan dengan cara mengasingkan orang Melayu daripada kaum yang lain. Untuk mencapai tujuan itu, PAP menggunakan formula matematik mudah, iaitu mengulangi kenyataannya bahawa tidak mungkin kaum Melayu yang hanya berjumlah 40% dapat menguasai kaum bukan Melayu yang berjumlah 60%. Yang dimaksudkan oleh PAP ialah kaum bukan Melayu yang berjumlah 60% itu dapat menguasai kaum Melayu yang hanya berjumlah 40%. PAP telah menggunakan sentimen perkauman untuk mendapatkan sokongan kaum bukan Melayu walaupun PAP mendakwa ia adalah sebuah parti bukan perkauman.

Setelah gagal mendapat sokongan di Semanjung dan juga di Malaysia Timor, PAP cuba mendapatkan pula sokongan daripada luar negara. Lee telah membisikkan kepada wartawan asing dan diplomat asing bahawa Perikatan adalah sebuah parti perkauman, berpecah dan lemah, manakala PAP adalah sebuah parti bukan perkauman, berwawasan dan dipimpin oleh seorang tokoh yang pintar, iaitu Lee Kuan Yew. Pada anggapan Dr. Mahathir tindak tanduk seperti itu membayangkan bahawa Lee Kuan Yew lebih mengutamakan kepentingan diri daripada kepentingan negara.

Dr. Mahathir menegaskan bahawa Lee Kuan Yew bercita-cita untuk menjadi seorang Perdana Menteri bukan Melayu yang pertama di Malaysia. Bagaimanapun, Lee Kuan Yew gagal untuk memahami bahawa dalam sebuah negara yang bersifat majmuk, semua kaum mesti hormat-menghormati antara satu sama lain bagi menjamin keamanan. Lee berasal dari Singapura yang majoriti penduduknya terdiri daripada kaum Cina. Keadaan ini membuatkan mereka agak sukar untuk menerima pemerintahan Melayu. Demi kepentingan perpaduan nasional semua

fakta tersebut perlu disebut memandangkan PAP telah membuat tohmahan di luar negara bahawa kononnya kaum Cina telah ditekan oleh Perikatan yang induknya ialah UMNO.

All these need to be aired, to be brutally put forth in the interest of Malaysian unity. The myth of Malay domination that the PAP is building up abroad where people are in no position to know the truth must be destroyed if Malaysia is to maintain its true image a country where the indigenous people have welcomed the Chinese and despite the fact that these Chinese have done so well by themselves have not resorted to the sort of things that indigenous people are wont to do in other countries. Racial harmony, despite the odds against it, exists here and it must be shown to exist. The mad ambition of a typical Chinese must be curbed so that one important threat from within is removed and Malaysia united under His Majesty's Government to face the threat from within and democracy preserved.²⁵

Dalam jawapannya pada 27 Mei 1965, Lee Kuan Yew mempersoalkan maksud titah Agong tentang ancaman dari dalam. Lee Kuan Yew beranggapan bahawa yang dimaksudkan dari dalam itu adalah PAP. Jika itulah yang dimaksudkan oleh kerajaan, bererti beliau adalah musuh rakyat Malaysia. Lee bertanya mengapa beliau harus ditohmah sebegitu rupa. Rakan-rakan dalam *Malaysian Solidarity Convention* telah bersetuju untuk bekerjasama bagi membentuk sebuah negara bercorak *Malaysian Malaysia*. Adakah itu menjadi kesalahan? Menurut Lee Kuan Yew, PAP menyokong Fasal 153 Perlembagaan berkaitan dengan pemberian biasiswa, lesen dan pekerjaan kepada orang Melayu. Begitu juga dengan usaha untuk menjadikan Bahasa Melayu sebagai Bahasa Kebangsaan.

Lee Kuan Yew juga tidak yakin bahawa kaum Melayu yang hanya berjumlah 42% daripada jumlah penduduk dapat memerintah Malaysia selama-lamanya. Beliau menegaskan bahawa Singapura tidak akan keluar daripada Malaysia. Apakah pilihan yang ada? Apakah kaum Melayu akan memilih untuk bergabung dengan Indonesia, yang mempunyai sebuah parti Komunis yang terbesar di dunia? Jika pilihan dibuat secara demokratik, mungkinkah penduduk di negara ini memilih untuk bergabung dengan Indonesia?

Berhubung dengan Fasal 153, Lee menegaskan bahawa pemberian biasiswa, lesen dan pekerjaan hanya melibatkan segelintir orang Melayu sahaja. Dalam usaha untuk memajukan orang Melayu supaya setaraf dengan orang bukan Melayu, suatu usaha yang bersungguh-sungguh serta melibatkan perubahan cara hidup orang Melayu di desa perlu dilaksanakan. Beliau mencabar kerajaan Persekutuan untuk bersaing dengannya dalam usaha untuk memajukan orang Melayu. Beliau percaya bahawa orang Melayu di Singapura akan dapat menguasai bidang sains dan pengurusan dalam tempoh 'sepuluh tahun'.

Syed Jaafar Albar juga turut melibatkan diri dalam perbahasan usul tersebut. Beliau ingin tahu mengapa Lee Kuan Yew begitu gerun dengan ayat 'ancaman dari dalam' itu. Beliau juga hairan mengapa Lee Kuan Yew bimbang perkataan itu menghala kepadanya. Syed Jaafar juga menolak tohmahan Lee bahawa beliau adalah seorang *ultra*.

Kalau pun saya meyeru orang2 Melayu bersatu, apa salah-nya? Tema ucapan saya dari semenjak UMNO di-lahirkan tahun 1946 ialah mengajak orang2 Melayu berstau, apa salah-nya, apa silap-nya - oh! *communal*, tetapi jangan pandang kepada soal seruan ini - pandang pada hasil-nya; apa yang telah di-buahkan-nya, atau di-hasilkan oleh seruan2 saya supaya orang2 Melayu bersatu. Buah-nya *harmony*, buah-nya persefahaman, buah-nya dan hasil-nya tolong menolong di-antara semua kaum dalam negeri ini.

PAP yang mendakwa tidak perkauman, berbagai2 riot dalam Singapura, di-mana hendak taroh muka?"

Syed Jaafar juga menolak dengan tegas dasar *Malaysian Malaysia* yang diperjuangkan oleh PAP.

Apa-kah ini *Malaysian Malaysia*? kalau ini satu benda baharu pada dia, itu bukan baharu kepada kita. Kita yang mulakan benda ini tetapi dengan bijak pandai-nya dia hendak tunjukkan kepada dunia konon-nya dia-lah yang *mencreate*, dia-lah yang *menchiptakan Malaysian Malaysia*. Pada hal itu-lah perjuangan Perikatan dengan tidak mengempar-gemporkan dan dengan tidak berchakap besar. Kita berjalan mengikut *plan*, kita mengikut ranchangan, kita mengikut asas2 yang kita telah tetapkan sa-hingga kita sampai kepada matlamat kita, tidak mengembar-gemborkan dalam soal *Malaysian Malaysia*. Dia bertanya, siapa-kah hendak *Malaysian Malaysia*; dia bertanya kita,

Tanya-lah diri sendiri, dia hendakkan *Malaysian Malaysia* atau tidak, dan apa yang dia hendak? ..Apakah maksud *Malaysian Malaysia* kepada mereka ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua? Saya tidak mengerti apa itu *Malaysian Malaysia*, apa yang kurang? Kita sedang menuju ka-arah pembentokan satu bangsa yang betul2 bersatu padu.²⁷

Dalam menggulung perbahasan, Razak menafikan tuduhan Lee Kuan Yew bahawa yang dimaksudkan musuh dari dalam itu adalah PAP.

*If we had thought of him as such, as the enemy from within, we would have dealt with him as we had done with all other enemies from within.*²⁸

Razak juga menolak tohmahan Lee bahawa kerajaan Persekutuan cuba mewujudkan pemerintahan Melayu di Malaysia dengan menindas kaum lain ataupun menganggap negeri-negeri lain itu '*inferior*'.

*That was why he came to see the Prime Minister some time ago and put forward a proposal that his party should share in the administration of this Government in place of the MCA. This idea was wholly unacceptable, in fact, most objectionable to the mind of an honest and loyal leader. The MCA has been a partner since the formation of the Alliance and they have been our true friends indeed and, together with the MIC, we have worked for the independence of Malaya, which led eventually to the independence of the other States, which now make up Malaysia. It is unthinkable that the Prime Minister could discard the MCA for the PAP. He has always regarded the MCA as a true friend of UMNO and a s a partner who, together with the MIC, has worked for the well being, prosperity and happiness of this country.... This cannot be said of the PAP. As has often been said in this House in the debate, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, in fact, thinks in terms of the Chinese, or a small section of the Chinese in Singapore, and the only Government which will be acceptable to him is one in which he can have a big say and a big share, and ultimately a Government which he alone can have a say without resort to parliamentary democracy.*²⁹

Secara terus terang Razak menyalahkan Lee atas kekalutan politik yang berlaku. Di samping itu Razak menegaskan bahawa tindak tanduk Lee telah menguntungkan Indonesia. Beliau menambah bahawa '*Lee was playing dangerous game and had embarked on reckless adventure. If despite alliance government's belief in, and work for, racial harmony trouble were to break out they must hold him fully responsible*'.³⁰

Tunku ternyata amat kecewa dengan sikap dan kegiatan Lee Kuan Yew. Kekecewaan itu kelihatan dalam kenyataannya sebelum berangkat ke London untuk menghadiri Sidang Negara-Negara Komanwel.

I wish I had not listened to all that persuasive talk before...Then Malaya would still be very happy Malaya...no confrontation, nothing'.³¹

Hubungan buruk antara kerajaan Pusat dengan Singapura turut merisaukan pihak British. Pada 1 Jun 1965, Lord Head bertemu dengan Tunku serta menasihatkan beliau berusaha untuk meredakan keadaan. *'If things went on like this, it would be hard to see how or when they would terminate; and that Malaysia seemed to be heading for a serious political clash which might have most disastrous results'.³²* Walaupun akur dengan nasihat itu, Tunku menyalahkan Lee Kuan Yew kerana memburukkan keadaan.

Lee Kuan Yew had been deliberately spreading false propaganda abroad and had now returned and was determined to attack bitterly the Federal Government in a way he must know would lead to racial trouble. The Tunku went on to say that he agreed that things could not go on like this and they must end soon.³³

Head bertanya Tunku: *'how would they end and did the Tunku think he could still treat with Lee Kuan Yew and bring about some kind of detente'*. Tunku menjawab: *'no, he was determined never again to try and treat with Lee Kuan Yew, whom he did not trust a yard and about whom he was completely disillusioned'*. Head berkata *'how then was all this going to end, to which the Tunku replied, 'I know my duty and I shall not hesitate to do it'.³⁴*

Head bertanya kepada Tunku sama ada kenyataannya itu bererti Lee Kuan Yew akan ditahan. Tunku menjawab *'that he was'.³⁵* Head menjawab bahawa *'if Lee Kuan Yew were put inside for any reason other than for reasonable activities, it would mean much shock and embarrass the British Government and would undoubtedly have far-reaching effects among world opinion. Lee Kuan Yew was now well-known in many countries which wished Malaysia well and any suggestion that he had been confined for carrying on purely political activities would have a most unfortunate effect in Britain and elsewhere'.³⁶* Tunku membalas

bahawa beliau mempunyai tanggungjawab 'to preserve the unity of this Federation and that if Lee Kuan Yew was destroying it, he knew where his duty lay'.³⁷

Pihak British memandang serius perkembangan dalam hubungan Singapura dengan kerajaan pusat. Jika kekacauan atau rusuhan berlaku di Singapura, kepentingan pangkalan British di pulau itu akan terjejas. Pada 3 Jun 1965, Lord Head telah diarahkan oleh Jabatan Komanwel agar mengingatkan Lee Kuan Yew supaya tidak mencetuskan ketegangan yang boleh melemahkan struktur kerajaan pusat dan juga menguntungkan Indonesia.³⁸

Dalam masa yang sama Head juga diarah supaya menasihatkan Tunku daripada menahap Lee Kuan Yew di bawah undang-undang darurat. Pada pandangan British:

We fully realise that such a decision would be a matter lying within the internal responsibilities of the federal Government. Further, we would not wish the Tunku to think that we do not fully realise that Lee's present behaviour must necessarily cause deep concern to the Federal Government, particularly in respect of its relationship with the States.

We feel we must let the Tunku have our frank views, because we are most concerned at the prospect of very serious consequences which would directly affect our own interests and our relations with Malaysia.

*If Lee were to be arrested and detained shock to world opinion would be profound.*³⁹

Tunku akur dengan 'nasihat' itu. Namun demikian, Tunku tidak lagi percaya kepada Lee Kuan Yew. 'Completely disillusioned' tegas Tunku. 'The time for patience and delay had passed'.⁴⁰

Satu jam kemudian Lee berjumpa dengan Head. Berdasarkan gambaran Head, Lee berada dalam keadaan 'a very emotional state'. Lee Kuan Yew memaklumkan bahawa 'time had come to fight for a Malaysia that would not be dominated by Malays'.⁴¹ Oleh sebab itulah beliau menubuhkan barisan pembangkang. Beliau juga bersedia untuk dipenjarakan kerana tindakan itu akan mengukuhkan kedudukannya.⁴² Head mengingatkan Lee bahawa dasar kontroversi itu akan hanya mencetuskan krisis.⁴³ Bagaimanapun Lee menjawab dengan sombong bahawa 'masa untuk bersabar dan bertangguh telah berlalu'.⁴⁴

Kerajaan British amat bimbang dengan perkembangan tersebut. Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British diarahkan supaya cuba mempengaruhi Tunku dan Lee Kuan Yew mencapai *detente*.

Pada 4 Jun 1965 Head bertemu sekali lagi dengan Lee Kuan Yew.⁴⁵ Head dengan terus terang menyatakan perasaan tersinggung kerajaan British terhadap sikap provokatif Lee Kuan Yew, seperti mempersoalkan siapa datang dulu ke Tanah Melayu dan cadangan perlembagaan alternatif.⁴⁶ Head mengingatkan Lee bahawa jika beliau terus mencetuskan kontroversi politik kemungkinan beliau akan kehilangan sokongan dan simpati daripada penyokongnya di luar negara. Orang Melayu tidak akan menerima dasar berbilang kaumnya malah keadaan ini akan memberi kesempatan kepada puak kiri Melayu untuk mengecap beliau sebagai seorang pemimpin Cina yang berbahaya. Dasarnya juga boleh menjejaskan kestabilan Persekutuan.

Lee Kuan Yew menjawab bahawa keadaan tersebut bukan berpunca daripada beliau.⁴⁷ Sebaliknya beliau menyalahkan akhbar-akhbar Melayu kerana sikap provokatifnya. Beliau juga menyalahkan UMNO di Singapura kerana menyebarkan dakyah. Lee Kuan Yew menegaskan bahawa beliau terpaksa bertindak balas dan melawan kerana jika beliau berdiam diri beliau akan dianggap telah menerima ketuanan Melayu.⁴⁸

Head mengingatkan Lee Kuan Yew bahawa Malaysia akan gagal jika kaum Melayu dan Cina tidak dapat bekerja sama. Untuk menjadi seorang pemimpin, Lee mesti mendapat sokongan kaum Melayu. Begitu juga jika Singapura hendak maju, Lee Kuan Yew mesti menerima konsep pasaran bersama. Lee bersedia untuk berdamai dengan Tunku dan masih berasa yakin bahawa penyelesaian terhadap kekusutan itu akan dapat diselesaikan.⁴⁹

Selanjutnya mereka berbincang tentang cara untuk meredakan keadaan. Lee Kuan Yew bersedia untuk mengambil sikap berlembut jika pasaran bersama dapat diwujudkan dan UMNO berjanji tidak akan campur tangan dalam urusan politik di Singapura.⁵⁰ Apabila Head bertanya Lee Kuan Yew adakah itu membawa maksud bahawa beliau tidak akan campur tangan dalam politik Tanah Melayu. Lee Kuan Yew tidak dapat memberi jaminan. Pakatan PAP dengan parti pembangkang di Semenanjung menyebabkan PAP terpaksa campur tangan dalam politik di Semenanjung.

Dalam pertemuan antara Head dengan Tunku selepas itu, Tunku menyatakan kebimbangannya dengan perkembangan yang berlaku. Sungguhpun begitu Tunku berasa yakin bahawa kekusutan itu akan dapat diatasi jika PAP dipimpin oleh tokoh lain. Walau bagaimanapun, keadaan telah menjadi teruk dan tidak mungkin 'political detente' atau 'disengagement' dapat dicapai.⁵¹

Head membangkitkan tentang kemungkinan Lee ditahan. Head mengingatkan Tunku bahawa jika Lee ditahan, sokongan Britain terhadap Malaysia mungkin akan terjejas. Tambahan pula Lee tidak mungkin akan berdiam diri dan pasti akan berusaha untuk mendapatkan simpati dari luar.⁵² Tunku menjawab bahawa 'I trust in God and I have been here to do my duty and I will not fear to do it but you can assure your government that I will not detain Lee without good reason which can be fully justified'.⁵³

NOTA

1. Abdullah Ahmad, *Tengku Abdul Rahman dan Dasar Luar Malaysia*, 1963 - 1970, Kuala Lumpur, 1987, hlm. 107.
2. US Embassy, Kuala Lumpur - State Department, 17 Apr. 1964, POL. 12 Malaysia.
3. Mohamed Noordin Sopiee, *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation*, Kuala Lumpur, 1974, hlm. 193.
4. US Embassy, Kuala Lumpur - State Department, 20 Apr. 1964, POL. Malaysia.
5. Surat Pekeliling untuk Ahli -ahli UMNO Cawangan Rochore, 27 Mei 1964.
6. Kesatuan Kebangsaan Anak-Anak Bumi Putera Singapura, 27 Mei 1964.
7. Albert Lau, *A Moment of Anguish*, Times Academic Press, Singapore, 1998. hal. 147-8.
8. Tentang rusuhan di Singapura, lihat Albert Lau, *Ibid.* Bab 6.
9. *Ibid.* hal. 171-172.
10. *Ibid.* hal. 174.
11. Singapore - State Department, 27 Julai 1964, POL 18 Malaysia.
12. Surat Syed Jaafar Albar - Dennis Bloodworth.
13. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 22 Julai 1964, PREM 11/4904.
14. Note by the Prime Minister of his private conversation with Tunku Abdul Rahman at No. 10 Downing Street on Thursday, August 6, 1964. PREM 11/4904.

15. Singapura - CRO, 18 Ogos 1964, PREM/11/4904.
16. CRO - Kuala Lumpur, 19 Feb. 1965, PREM 13/430.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Lord Head - Tunku Abdul Rahman, 24 Feb. 1965, PREM 11/430.
20. Tunku Abdul Rahman - Harold Wilson, 2 Mac 1965, PREM 13/430.
21. Ucapan Tunku di Persidangan Agung UMNO pada 15 Mei 1965.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Penyata Dewan Rakyat, Jun 1965.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Sunday Times, 13 Jun 1965.
32. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 1 Jun 1965, PREM 13/430.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. CRO - Kuala Lumpur, 3 Jun 1965, PREM 13/430.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 4 Jun 1965, PREM 13/430.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.

بصورتی که در میان ما و سلطان حسین محمد شاه... ان ملوک متعلقه جدا از هم و ان توان بشر کور بر نور و فیلس و ان توانا بصیر و ابلر فر کور
که اول الله توان و بطور مشهور این موافقت است که در روز ۲۰ کتب ۳۰ اورینت تحت و وقف کلیع م... ان المصلحت و ان کتبیت

فصل پنجم در تدارک استادن تان بی و اور بطهران کتبیت با ت کسبه هان و این تخیع مانع مجاورت کسب کتبیت تخیع کتبیت و ان که از ان کسب کتبیت
مهره و از ان کسب کتبیت که اول الله هان و ان کسب کتبیت بر من هفت روجه و در کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت
مطلبی که با ان حکم کتبیت
هنگامه محمد تا هر کس کتبیت

فصل ششم در تدارک استادن تان بی و اور بطهران کتبیت با ت کسبه هان و این تخیع مانع مجاورت کسب کتبیت تخیع کتبیت و ان که از ان کسب کتبیت
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هنگامه محمد تا هر کس کتبیت

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هنگامه محمد تا هر کس کتبیت

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مطلبی که با ان حکم کتبیت
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مطلبی که با ان حکم کتبیت
هنگامه محمد تا هر کس کتبیت

فصل بیستم در تدارک استادن تان بی و اور بطهران کتبیت با ت کسبه هان و این تخیع مانع مجاورت کسب کتبیت تخیع کتبیت و ان که از ان کسب کتبیت
مهره و از ان کسب کتبیت که اول الله هان و ان کسب کتبیت بر من هفت روجه و در کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت کتبیت
مطلبی که با ان حکم کتبیت
هنگامه محمد تا هر کس کتبیت

The bottom section of the document features four circular seals or stamps, each containing a different emblem or design. Below these seals is a handwritten signature in Persian script, which appears to be 'Stamford Raffles'.

1. Perjanjian Johor-Singapura dalam bentuk terjemahan dan salinan yang dipersetujui antara Sultan Hussin Mohamad Shah, Ungku Temenggung Abdul Rahman dengan Stamford Raffles. Perjanjian ini ditandatangani pada 26 Jun 1819.



2. Tiga tokoh PAP, Fong Swee Suan, S. Woodhull, dan Lim Chin Siong meraikan pembebasan mereka dengan melepaskan burung merpati pada 4 Jun 1959.



3. Perdana Menteri Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra membuat kejutan dengan mengumumkan Gagasan Malaysia ketika berucap di Singapura dalam majlis meraikan Kelab Wartawan Asing bagi Asia Tenggara pada 26 Mei 1961.

79 DI-TANGKAP DI-SINGAPURA

Langkah terpaksa di-ambil untuk keselamatan daerah Malaysia

'GERAKAN MAHA PENTING' sejak DHARURAT



SEMBILAN puluh tujuh orang telah di-tangkap di-Singapura semalam hari ini dalam apa yang di-sifatkan oleh Datu (Dr.) Ismail bin Dato Abul Rahman, Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri, sebagai "suatu gerakan keselamatan yang maha penting" sejak tamat dharurat.

"Sejak tamat dharurat, di sini telah berlaku suatu gerakan yang maha penting untuk keselamatan dalam negeri," kata Ismail.

"Gerakan ini telah berlaku di seluruh Semenanjung Malaysia dan di Sabah dan Sarawak. Gerakan ini telah berlaku di seluruh Semenanjung Malaysia dan di Sabah dan Sarawak. Gerakan ini telah berlaku di seluruh Semenanjung Malaysia dan di Sabah dan Sarawak."

Mereka yang di-tangkap

1. Datu Ismail bin Dato Abul Rahman, Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri

2. Pong Swee Suan, Menteri Agong BAPU

3. Tan Teik Wah, Pengerusi Kumpulan Pergerakan Pemuda Singapura

4. Datoon Paraharaj, Pengerusi Jawatan Pemuda Pergerakan Pemuda Singapura

5. A. Wandiath, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura

6. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura

7. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura

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18. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura

19. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura

20. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura

KUALA LUMPUR, Sabtu

Pergerakan 11 orang telah ditangkap semalam di Singapura. Mereka adalah: 1. Datu Ismail bin Dato Abul Rahman, Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri; 2. Pong Swee Suan, Menteri Agong BAPU; 3. Tan Teik Wah, Pengerusi Kumpulan Pergerakan Pemuda Singapura; 4. Datoon Paraharaj, Pengerusi Jawatan Pemuda Pergerakan Pemuda Singapura; 5. A. Wandiath, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 6. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 7. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 8. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 9. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 10. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 11. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura.

11 orang ra'ayat Persekutuan

11 orang rakyat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu telah ditangkap semalam di Singapura. Mereka adalah: 1. Datu Ismail bin Dato Abul Rahman, Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri; 2. Pong Swee Suan, Menteri Agong BAPU; 3. Tan Teik Wah, Pengerusi Kumpulan Pergerakan Pemuda Singapura; 4. Datoon Paraharaj, Pengerusi Jawatan Pemuda Pergerakan Pemuda Singapura; 5. A. Wandiath, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 6. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 7. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 8. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 9. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 10. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura; 11. M. Yusoff, se-orang pemimpin Gerakan Pemuda Singapura.

Sedia untuk menyimpang

"Mereka bersedia untuk menyimpang ke arah mana sahaja yang diperlukan untuk keselamatan negara," kata Datu Ismail bin Dato Abul Rahman, Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri.

"Mereka bersedia untuk menyimpang ke arah mana sahaja yang diperlukan untuk keselamatan negara," kata Datu Ismail bin Dato Abul Rahman, Menteri Keselamatan Dalam Negeri.

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SAID ZAHARI



PONG SWE SUAN



MARAH BUDAR

4. Keratan akhbar menunjukkan individu yang terlibat dalam gerakan penangkapan anasir anti penubuhan Malaysia atau dikenali juga sebagai Operasi Cold Store, Peristiwa pada 2 Februari 1963 ini membabitkan penangkapan 97 orang termasuk 11 orang rakyat Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang menetap di Singapura.



5. Tunku Abdul Rahman sedang berucap pada majlis menandatangani Perjanjian Malaysia pada 8 Julai 1963 di Pejabat Perhubungan Komanwel, Malborough House, London.



قوتی شیخ را حقیقی

در نام الله پلعه آموزه لاکه میباشما سپیدان - سکتل فرودین - ایک الهه ذهن سرور سکتوت
ماتم دلت سملاده دانس اسلام ایکی مختوش کوبت نئی گداندان ایکی سکتول کلواریک سیت صحابقت در

یهوا سن اوله کورائ سوات فرجهین بلسه فرواته که سیمان حادیول جوبله تا هورت
سرور سیمین فراتسوق ام قوله نیک انشازا فرسکتون تا میله مایلو، یونآشده کتدم، یورو بوت کلا،
سراوق دات سبلا فور املت نده فر سچوب کوب، یهوا عدله که دیگو فو سکتوت نکتدی سه
نکتدی سراوق دات نکتدی سبلا فور ا دلف فر سکتون نانه مایلو یاشده دفر
نکتدی سه، نکتدی فرکتانو، نکتدی فریاح، نکتدی جوهر، نکتدی سیمین، نکتدی کتکن،
دات یهوا فر سکتون ایت حد فله دیجات - مایلیسا -

دان یهواسن اوله کورائ ضعیف ۲۱ دالم فرجهین بلسه فر سوات نده بر سچوب یهوا مایلو
در لده هورت مایلیسا ایت نکتدی سه، نکتدی سراوق دات نکتدی سبلا فور ا
هسته کت دت در لده نهدا دی سیمان کت اوله دلف بلسه امل ایت کت مایلیسا کت
دات دواب بلسه امل ایت کت مایلیسا کت اوله دلا کی مایلو کت مکتده داتن نکتدی مایلو
دالم کت کت ۲ یوه نکتدی ایت،

دان یهواسن اوله کورائ سوات فرجهین بلسه فر سوات نده بر سچوب یهوا مایلو
فاضونت ایت مکتده ددان

دان یهواسن اوله کورائ سوات فرجهین بلسه فر سوات نده بر سچوب یهوا مایلو
دات نکتدی سه، نکتدی سراوق دات نکتدی سبلا فور ا
هسته کت دت در لده نهدا دی سیمان کت اوله دلف بلسه امل ایت کت مایلیسا کت
دات دواب بلسه امل ایت کت مایلیسا کت اوله دلا کی مایلو کت مکتده داتن نکتدی مایلو
دالم کت کت ۲ یوه نکتدی ایت،

دان یهواسن اوله کورائ سوات فرجهین بلسه فر سوات نده بر سچوب یهوا مایلو
دات نکتدی سه، نکتدی سراوق دات نکتدی سبلا فور ا
هسته کت دت در لده نهدا دی سیمان کت اوله دلف بلسه امل ایت کت مایلیسا کت
دات دواب بلسه امل ایت کت مایلیسا کت اوله دلا کی مایلو کت مکتده داتن نکتدی مایلو
دالم کت کت ۲ یوه نکتدی ایت،

متم ذهن نام الله پلعه آموزه لاکه میباشما سپیدان - سکتل فرودین - ایک الهه ذهن سرور سکتوت
ماتم دلت سملاده دانس اسلام ایکی مختوش کوبت نئی گداندان ایکی سکتول کلواریک سیت صحابقت در
یهواسن اوله کورائ سوات فرجهین بلسه فرواته که سیمان حادیول جوبله تا هورت
سرور سیمین فراتسوق ام قوله نیک انشازا فرسکتون تا میله مایلو، یونآشده کتدم، یورو بوت کلا،
سراوق دات سبلا فور املت نده فر سچوب کوب، یهوا عدله که دیگو فو سکتون نکتدی سه
نکتدی سراوق دات نکتدی سبلا فور ا دلف فر سکتون نانه مایلو یاشده دفر
نکتدی سه، نکتدی فرکتانو، نکتدی فریاح، نکتدی جوهر، نکتدی سیمین، نکتدی کتکن،
دات یهوا فر سکتون ایت حد فله دیجات - مایلیسا -
دان یهواسن اوله کورائ ضعیف ۲۱ دالم فرجهین بلسه فر سوات نده بر سچوب یهوا مایلو
در لده هورت مایلیسا ایت نکتدی سه، نکتدی سراوق دات نکتدی سبلا فور ا
هسته کت دت در لده نهدا دی سیمان کت اوله دلف بلسه امل ایت کت مایلیسا کت
دات دواب بلسه امل ایت کت مایلیسا کت اوله دلا کی مایلو کت مکتده داتن نکتدی مایلو
دالم کت کت ۲ یوه نکتدی ایت،

کوردی مکتدی
فردان مکتدی

کوردی مکتدی
فردان مکتدی



6. Dokumen Pemasyhuran Malaysia ini telah diserahkan secara rasmi oleh Yang di-Pertuan Agong kepada Perdana Menteri, Tunku Abdul Rahman di Stadium Merdeka pada 16 September 1963.



7. Tunku Abdul Rahman masih boleh berbual mesra dengan Lee Kuan Yew, Dr. Goh Keng Swee (berdiri) dan Lim Kim San (kiri). Suasana ceria pada bulan Ogos 1964 ini tidak menggambarkan keadaan sebenar hubungan yang semakin tegang antara Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dengan Singapura.



8. Syed Jaafar Albar memberi sokongan kepada orang Melayu yang mengadakan demonstrasi secara aman ketika Perhimpunan Agung UMNO pada bulan Mei 1965. Selain berdemonstrasi perasaan marah orang Melayu terhadap Lee Kuan Yew juga diluahkan melalui media seperti *Utusan Melayu*.



9. Konvensyen *Malaysian Solidarity Convention* pada 6 Jun 1965 yang memperjuangkan 'Malaysian Malaysia'.



10. Perpaduan dan kesatuan semangat orang Melayu digambarkan melalui Perarakan Maulidur Rasul pada 21 Julai 1964. Upacara yang sebenarnya sudah menjadi tradisi ini menimbulkan pelbagai tafsiran dalam suasana politik dan hubungan kaum yang tegang.



11. Kesan yang dapat dilihat daripada kejadian rusuhan kaum di Singapura pada 21 Julai 1964. Di samping kerosakan harta awam rusuhan kaum ini mengorbankan 23 orang.



12. Bagi menghalang rusuhan kaum pada 21 Julai 1964 daripada merebak, sekatan jalanraya diadakan di beberapa jalan utama di Singapura.



13. Tun Abdul Razak meluangkan masa melawat Kampung Gelam untuk meninjau keadaan mangsa rusuhan pada 21 Julai 1964.



14. Tunku Abdul Rahman tertarik melihat salah satu sepanduk yang ditunjukkan oleh ahli UMNO Singapura yang mengadakan demonstrasi pada 5 Ogos 1965.



15. Pelbagai tulisan yang menyelar Lee Kuan Yew kelihatan pada sepanduk ini jelas menunjukkan penentangan terhadap tindakan dan sikap beliau terutama konsep *Malaysian Malaysia* yang diperjuangkannya.



My dear Chin Chye

I am writing to tell you that I have given the matter of our break with Singapore my utmost consideration and I find that in the interest of your friendship and the security and peace of Malaya as a whole there is absolutely no other way out.

If I were strong enough and able to exercise complete control of the situation I might perhaps have delayed action, but I am not, and so while I am able to counsel tolerance and patience I think the amicable settlement of our differences in this way is the only possible way out.

I hope you will readily agree.

Kind regards

Yours sincerely

Tunku Abdul Rahman

- 1 -

16. Surat tulisan tangan daripada Tunku Abdul Rahman yang dikirimkan kepada Dr. Toh Chin Chye pada 7 Ogos 1965. Kandungan surat ini menjelaskan sebab Tunku mengambil keputusan memisahkan Singapura daripada Malaysia.



Deputy PRIME MINISTER,
SINGAPORE.

8th August 1965

Dear Tunku,

I thank you for your excellent letter which I received yesterday explaining your position on your attitude to the present difficulties that have arisen between the Central Government and the Singapore Government. It is indeed sad that in our view our problems can be solved only by asking Singapore to quit Malaya and this barely 10 years from the day Malaya was incorporated.

My colleagues and I would prefer that Singapore remain in Malaya and we felt that there could be other solutions to the present impasse. However as you have indicated that the situation does not lend itself to any other workable settlement and as you have expressed your view that Singapore remaining in Malaya will lead to a situation you may not be able to control, we have no alternative but to be resigned to your wish that Singapore leave the Federation of Malaya.

I & my colleagues had rejoiced at the reunification of Singapore with Malaya in September 1963. It has since then been to us that the peace and security of Malaya can only be secured by the separation of Singapore from Malaya. If this is the plan for peace in Malaya and Singapore then we must accept it however agonising our inner feelings may be. Although lasting unification of Singapore and Malaya has not been achieved this time, nevertheless it is my profound belief that future generations will succeed where we have failed.

In view that my friends and political colleagues in the other States of Malaya and particularly those in the Malayan Emergency Convention may have my true feelings on this matter I may have at some future date to tell them of the true position.

With kind regards

Yours Sincerely
Tallentaye

17. Surat tulisan tangan oleh Dr. Toh Chin Chye bertarikh 8 Ogos 1965 yang dikirimkan kepada Tunku Abdul Rahman sebagai balasan kepada surat Tunku sehari sebelum itu.



18. Tunku Abdul Rahman dalam persidangan akhbar di Bangunan Parlimen pada 9 Ogos 1965, bagi memberi penjelasan tentang sebab pemisahan Singapura daripada Malaysia.



19. Pada 9 Ogos 1965 Lee Kuan Yew turut memberi penjelasan kepada wartawan di Singapura tentang sebab pemisahan Singapura daripada Malaysia.



20. Riak di wajah Lee Kuan Yew ketika memberi persidangan akhbar pada 9 Ogos 1965 dengan jelas dapat menggambarkan perasaan beliau pada hari itu.

VIII

Menyingkirkan Duri dari dalam Daging

(Semasa Perdana Menteri, Tunku Abdul Rahman, berada di London kerana menghadiri mesyuarat Menteri-Menteri Komanwel, Lee Kuan Yew telah meminta diadakan perjumpaan dengan Razak untuk bermuafakat cara-cara hendak mententeramkan suasana yang semakin hari semakin menjadi amat berbahaya dan boleh meletup kerana terlalu hangatnya perbalahan antara Kerajaan Persekutuan dengan pemimpin PAP Singapura berkaitan kedudukan orang Melayu. Keteguhan politik dan kerjasama antara Kerajaan Persekutuan dengan Kerajaan Singapura berada di ambang perpecahan. Pemuda UMNO mendesak Razak supaya menangguhkan pertemuan itu sehingga Lee Kuan Yew 'meminta maaf kepada bangsa Melayu'. Razak menerangkan kepada pemimpin Pemuda bahawa perjumpaan itu adalah atas permintaan Lee Kuan Yew. Sebagai pemangku Perdana Menteri beliau bersedia untuk berjumpa dengan mana-mana juga ketua kerajaan jika mereka hendak berjumpa dengannya. Dengan perjumpaan itu sekurang-kurangnya beliau akan dapat menyelami lubuk hati Lee Kuan Yew yang sebenar-benarnya.

Pada 29 Jun 1965 Razak terbang ke Singapura. Mengikut catatan Razak, dalam perjumpaan itu Lee Kuan Yew bukan bertujuan hendak mencari jalan keluar dari keadaan yang buntu itu tetapi telah mendesak supaya puak pelampau dalam UMNO mesti disingkirkan. Penyingkiran itu perlu dilakukan jika Kerajaan Persekutuan hendak mententeramkan keadaan dan memulihkan kerjasama. Razak telah menolak tuduhan-tuduhan Lee Kuan Yew terhadap 'pelampau' UMNO sebaliknya menegaskan bahawa UMNO adalah satu pertubuhan yang kemas dan mempunyai tata tertib yang baik. Ketua dan ahli UMNO patuh kepada pucuk pemimpin UMNO dan kepada dasar perjuangan UMNO. Jika Lee

Kuan Yew hendak bekerjasama mustahaklah ia menaruh kepercayaan kepada pucuk pimpinan UMNO, iaitu Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Seterusnya Razak meminta Lee Kuan Yew memberi jaminan supaya dia dan rakan-rakannya tidak melatah dan membuat kenyataan yang menikam hati orang Melayu dan mencampuri urusan dalaman UMNO. Lee Kuan Yew bagaimanapun enggan memberi jaminan itu. Akibatnya perjumpaan itu tidak membawa sebarang natijah ke arah penyelesaian masalah antara Kerajaan Persekutuan dan Kerajaan Singapura.)

Beberapa hari kemudian Alex Josey, pembantu Lee Kuan Yew, telah diusir dari Semenanjung kerana campur tangan secara aktif dalam urusan politik Malaysia dan telah melakukan pelbagai kegiatan yang bertujuan untuk memecahkan perpaduan antara kaum.² Alex Josey juga dikatakan pernah menulis dalam majalah asing, *Bulletin Australia*, yang memperkecilkan Tunku sebagai Perdana Menteri Malaysia. Alex Josey mengatakan bahawa Tunku berasal dari suatu bangsa yang tidak ada sejarah selain daripada sejarah perompak dan lanun berbanding dengan Lee Kuan Yew yang datang dari sebuah kebudayaan besar. Tetapi yang lebih membimbangkan ialah apabila Alex Josey 'terus menerus dan dengan sengaja hendak memecahkan harmoni antara kaum yang telah sedia wujud dan tercapai'.³

Ekoran pengusiran Alex Josey dari Malaysia, PAP menyebarkan pula dakyah kononnya kerajaan Persekutuan akan menahan Lee Kuan Yew. Berita angin ini dinafikan sekeras-kerasnya oleh Razak dan beliau menyifatkannya sebagai tindakan tidak bertanggungjawab.

Tuduhan PAP itu terlalu liar dan jahat untuk diulas. Rakyat negeri ini tahu bahawa kerajaan Perikatan adalah sebuah kerajaan yang bertanggungjawab, adil dan saksama.

Kami tidak ke sana sini menangkap orang tanpa sebab atau alasan yang mencukupi. Kami mendokong dan menegakkan prinsip demokrasi berparlimen dan pemerintahan menurut undang-undang.

Hanya mereka yang bertindak bertentangan dengan undang-undang negara sahaja yang harus menerima akibat-akibat perbuatan mereka.*

Walaupun begitu, Razak mengingatkan pemimpin PAP, khususnya Lee Kuan Yew, supaya tidak menggunakan persoalan perkauman dalam

kegiatan politik mereka yang mungkin akan memecahkan harmoni dan hubungan baik rakyat. Tunku juga memberi jaminan bahawa Lee Kuan Yew tidak akan ditahan.⁵

Kegagalan perjumpaan Razak-Lee Kuan Yew itu telah dimaklumkan kepada Tunku yang berada di London kerana rawatan. Setelah menerima makluman itu, Tunku membuat keputusan muktamad untuk memisahkan Singapura daripada Malaysia. Mengenang peristiwa itu Tunku menulis:

I had never been in a hospital bed in my life and I never knew before what it felt like to be stretched out on a bed without being able to move one's legs or to turn to one side or the other for days on end. Every movement caused grinding pain, but my mind was alive and active; so as I lay there, I was thinking of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew... Whichever way my restless mind turned, I could not help but come to one conclusion - and that was to cut Singapore adrift from the rest of Malaysia.⁶

Pada 1 Julai 1965 Tunku mengarahkan Razak supaya berbincang dengan menteri kanan lain tentang keputusan tersebut. Razak telah mengadakan mesyuarat tertutup mengenai Singapura dengan anggota kabinet kanannya, iaitu Dato' Dr. Ismail Abdul Rahman, Tan Siew Sin dan V.T. Sambanthan. Mesyuarat telah memutuskan bahawa Kerajaan Pusat mempunyai dua pilihan untuk menangani masalah Lee Kuan Yew dan Singapura:

- (i) menggunakan kuasa darurat dengan mengambil tindakan secara kekerasan terhadap pimpinan PAP, atau
- (ii) memberikan kemerdekaan kepada Singapura.

Mereka mencapai kata sepakat bahawa Singapura mesti dipisahkan. Pada 13 Julai 1965, Razak telah memaklumkan kepada Goh Keng Swee, Menteri Perdagangan dan Industri Singapura, keputusan Kerajaan Malaysia untuk berpisah dengan Singapura.⁷ Goh telah maklumkan keputusan Kuala Lumpur itu kepada Lee Kuan Yew. Kabinet Lee telah bersidang dan dengan perasaan yang berat terpaksa bersetuju dengan kehendak Kuala Lumpur untuk kebaikan kedua-dua pihak. Persetujuan itu telah dimaklumkan kepada Razak pada 20 Julai 1965.

Pada masa yang sama Razak memaklumkan kepada Tunku keputusan tersebut. Persidangan Khas UMNO akan diadakan pada 9 Ogos 1965 untuk membahaskan Rang Undang-Undang Pemisahan.

Pada 5 Ogos 1965, Tunku pulang dari London, dan waktu tengah hari 7 Ogos 1965, Lee Kuan Yew berjumpa dengan Tunku. Dalam perjumpaan itu Lee cuba mempengaruhi Tunku agar menanggukkan keputusan berpisah. Beberapa pilihan telah dikemukakan untuk menyelesaikan masalah antara Kuala Lumpur dengan Singapura. Bagaimanapun Tunku telah membuat keputusan muktamad. Singapura perlu dipisahkan daripada Malaysia demi keselamatan dan kesejahteraan Malaysia. Pada hari itu juga, Tunku dan Lee Kuan Yew, dengan perasaan berat hati, telah memeterai perjanjian tentang pemisahan Singapura dari Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Dalam suratnya kepada Dr. Toh Chin Chye, Tunku menulis:

I am writing to tell you that I have given the matter of our break with Singapore my utmost consideration and I find that in the interest of our friendship and the security and peace of Malaysia as a whole there is absolutely no other way out.

If I were strong enough and able to exercise complete control of the situation I might perhaps have delayed action, but I am not, and so while I am able to counsel tolerance and patience I think the amicable settlement of our differences in this way is the only possible way out.³

Dengan nada yang sedih dan menyesal, Toh memaklumkan kepada Tunku hasratnya untuk mengekalkan Singapura dalam Malaysia. Tetapi disebabkan Tunku bimbang pengekalan Singapura akan mencetuskan masalah, maka pilihan yang ada ialah pemisahan.

I and my colleagues had rejoined at the reunification of Singapore with Malaya in September 1963. It has come as a blow to us that the peace and security of Malaysia can only be secured by the expulsion of Singapore from Malaysia. If this is the price for peace in Malaya and Singapore than we must accept it however agonising our inner feelings may be. Although lasting unification of Singapore and Malaya has not been achieved this time, nevertheless it is my profound belief that future generations will succeed where we have failed.⁴

Sementara itu, Lee Kuan Yew telah mengadakan perjumpaan dengan Timbalan Pesuruhannya Tinggi British, Mills, untuk menjelaskan bahawa pemisahan Singapura dari Malaysia bukanlah kerana kelemahannya ataupun kerana takut sesuatu berlaku ke atasnya. *'Conviction that the ultimate alternative was bloodshed and the triumph of Communism had alone persuaded him that there was no other way'*, tegas Lee.¹⁰

Pada 9 Ogos 1965 Tunku membawa usul 'Pemisahan' ke Parlimen. Dalam suasana tegang, Tunku berucap di Parlimen, dan sambil mengisytiharkan perpisahan Singapura, Tunku dengan masygul memperkatakan tentang 'sebuah Kerajaan Negeri yang tidak lagi memberikan, bahkan sedikit pun taat setia kepada Kerajaan Pusat'.¹¹ Antara lain, beliau menegaskan bahawa:

We have tried everything possible to avoid the separation of Singapore from the rest of Malaysia. In the end we find that there are only two courses open to us: (1) is to take repressive measures against the Singapore Government or their leaders for the behavior of some of their leaders; and (2) is the course of action, which we are taking now, to sever connection with the State Government of Singapore that has ceased to give even a measure of loyalty to the Central Government. The position of the Central Government, not only at home but worse still abroad, has been mocked and made to look ludicrous on many occasions. It is clear that for us to take repressive measures against the Singapore leaders as we consider it repulsive to our concept of a parliamentary democracy to do so. Even then, it will not solve the problems because, as I have said problem but many: and all that gives us the most concern is the communal issue which has been brought up by the leaders of Singapore. This is a matter, which concerns me most, because the peace, happiness and the security of this country depend on goodwill and understanding among the various people who have made a home of this country. Without this goodwill and this understanding this nation is bound to break up and with a consequential disaster which we have seen and read about happening elsewhere. We feel that this repressive action against a few would not, therefore, solve the problem, because the seed of discontent, fear and hatred, has been sown not only in Singapore but elsewhere: and, I feel, if we were to take repressive measure, it cannot help because it would sprout elsewhere, and with the rule of force.¹²

Tan Siew Sin, Menteri Kewangan, telah menyokong usul itu.

Dalam ucapan sokongannya, Tan Siew Sin menyatakan bahawa kepentingan antara kaum telah memuncak sekali dan kecuali sesuatu yang tegas dilakukan, mungkin berlaku pergaduhan antara orang Melayu dengan orang Cina dari Alor Setar hingga ke Singapura.¹³ Beliau menegaskan bahawa Kerajaan Pusat boleh mengambil tindakan menekan Singapura tetapi itu tidak sesuai sama sekali dengan pemerintahan secara demokrasi. Pilihan yang ada ialah memisahkan Singapura daripada Malaysia.

Dato' Muhammad Asri dari PAS menyifatkan pemisahan Singapura itu sebagai satu langkah tepat. Beliau telah menimbulkan kembali fikiran yang pernah diucapkan oleh Allahyarham Ustaz Zulkiflee Muhammad, Timbalan Yang diPertua PAS, sebelum pembentukan Malaysia yang mengatakan bahawa kemasukan Singapura ke dalam Malaysia akan mempersulitkan masalah yang sedia dihadapi oleh kerajaan Pusat.¹⁴

Setiausaha Agung UMNO, Syed Jaafar Albar tidak bersetuju dengan keputusan Tunku itu kerana 'kita tidaklah boleh mempunyai jiran dekat yang dikuasai oleh suatu parti yang memusuhi kita'.¹⁵ Beliau bimbang Singapura akan menjadi pusat gerakan bawah tanah anasir subversif komunis. Sebagai menandakan ketidakpuasan hatinya, beliau telah melepaskan jawatannya.

Namun begitu, Razak menjelaskan:

Kita terpaksa mengeluarkan Singapura dari Malaysia - dan ini-lah sa'at yang sungguh bersejarah, kerana sungguh pon kita merasa sedih dan dukachita kerana satu negeri telah terpaksa keluar, tetapi kita gembira kerana kita telah dapat menyingkirkan duri dari dalam daging kita.¹⁶

Dalam pada itu, kedua-dua kerajaan telah mencapai beberapa persetujuan untuk kepentingan bersama. Singapura dan Malaysia telah bersetuju untuk menubuhkan Jawatankuasa Pertahanan Bersama bagi mempertahankan kedua-dua negara itu daripada ancaman luar.

Reaksi British Terhadap Pemisahan

Keputusan nekad Tunku untuk memisahkan Singapura dari Malaysia telah mengejutkan pihak British. Ini kerana keputusan itu telah dibuat tanpa berunding terlebih dahulu dengan kerajaan British seperti yang

dipersetujui sebelum ini. Tunku berkata beliau sengaja tidak berunding dengan pihak British, Australia dan pihak lain kerana bimbang mereka mungkin menahannya daripada menyingkirkan Singapura.

Pada 11 Ogos 1965 Tunku telah memaklumkan kepada Harold Wilson, Perdana Menteri British, tentang pemisahan Singapura daripada Malaysia serta langkah yang diambil oleh Malaysia bagi memastikan bahawa Singapura tidak akan menjejaskan keselamatan Malaysia.¹⁷ Di samping itu Malaysia juga bersetuju untuk menyokong kemasukan Singapura dalam Pertubuhan Bangsa-bangsa Bersatu.

Singapura juga telah bersetuju untuk membenarkan Malaysia mengekal serta menggunakan pangkalan-pangkalan tentera di Singapura. Juga dipersetujui bahawa kedua-dua pihak tidak akan menjalin hubungan dengan negara asing yang mungkin akan menjejaskan kemerdekaan dan keselamatan Malaysia.

Kerajaan British agak kecewa dan marah dengan keputusan Tunku memisahkan Singapura daripada Malaysia. Ini kerana dengan pemisahan itu bererti asas utama persetujuan British untuk membentuk Malaysia dengan menyertakan Sabah dan Sarawak telah berkecai. Tujuan utama British membentuk Malaysia adalah untuk menyelamatkan Singapura daripada menjadi 'Cuba' di Asia Tenggara dan sekali gus memaksa British menutup pangkalannya di Singapura untuk kegunaan SEATO.

Dengan itu tidaklah menghairankan, sejak peristiwa itu kerajaan Buruh Britain mengambil sikap anti-Tunku dan pro-Singapura. Ini jelas tergambar daripada minit Denis Healey kepada Perdana Menteri, Harold Wilson, apabila beliau mengesyorkan supaya dasar pertahanan British terhadap Malaysia dikaji semula. Pada pandangan Denis, *'the key issue is not whether or when we leave Singapore, but how to get out of Borneo: i.e. how to end our commitment under confrontation as soon as possible'*.¹⁸

Denis juga mencadangkan supaya kedudukan Sabah dan Sarawak dalam Malaysia dikaji semula di bawah pengawasan PBB sama ada kedua-dua wilayah itu mahu terus kekal dengan Tanah Melayu ataupun dengan Singapura ataupun dengan Filipina dan Indonesia, atau Brunei ataupun mencapai kemerdekaan sepenuhnya. Pada pandangan Denis: *'A readiness on our part to agree to such consultation could remove some of the obstacles to better relations with Indonesia and the Philippines'*.¹⁹

Pemisahan Singapura daripada Malaysia sememangnya memberi kesan juga kepada wilayah-wilayah di Malaysia Timur, khususnya Sabah. Terpengaruh dengan hasutan pegawai British, Donald Stephens telah mengambil keputusan untuk meletakkan jawatan sebagai Menteri Pusat dan juga memutuskan untuk membawa usul dalam persidangan Majlis Kebangsaan UPKO untuk membawa keluar Sabah daripada Malaysia kerana kononnya tidak berpuas hati dengan kedudukan Sabah yang dianggap diberi layanan seperti sebuah koloni. Stephen telah meminta pihak British membantunya mencapai hasrat tersebut.²⁰

Bagaimanapun pemangku Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British di Kuala Lumpur, Bottomley, meminta Stephen menyelesaikan perkara itu secara rundingan dengan pihak Kuala Lumpur bagi mengelakkan kekacauan yang akan hanya menguntungkan Indonesia.

Apabila Bottomley bertanya Razak tentang situasi di Sabah, Razak dengan tegas menjawab bahawa *'there was no question of Malaysia acquiescing in independence for Sabah'*.²¹ Razak meminta Bottomley memberitahu Stephens bahawa kerajaan British tidak akan mempertahankan Sabah selepas ia keluar daripada Malaysia dan jika negeri itu diambil-alih oleh Indonesia, beliau percaya orang pertama yang akan digantung oleh Indonesia ialah Stephens sendiri.

Melihat kepada ketegasan Kuala Lumpur untuk menangani isu Sabah, Pejabat Hubungan Komanwel menasihatkan pegawainya di Malaysia tidak bersikap *'rash and hasty action'* sebaliknya *'to play the matter long for the time being'*.²²

Pejabat Hubungan Komanwel menjelaskan bahawa kerajaan British tidak menentang keputusan kedua-dua wilayah itu untuk berpisah ataupun menentang sebarang usaha untuk berpisah sekiranya dipersetujui oleh semua pihak dalam Persekutuan.

Bagaimanapun, kerajaan British tidak mahu perpisahan itu berlaku dalam keadaan drastik seperti Singapura.

*If a change is going to take place we wish it to happen as part of the processes of bringing confrontation to an end - i.e. we may be able to use it to assist us to achieve this objective.*²³

Sementara itu Pejabat Hubungan Komanwel menasihatkan Bottomley supaya mengingatkan Tunku agar tidak membuat sebarang

keputusan berhubung dengan Sabah tanpa berbincang terlebih dahulu dengan kerajaan British.

Pada 19 Ogos 1965, Tunku telah menjelajah ke seluruh Sabah dan Sarawak untuk menunjukkan kekuasaan kerajaan pusat sambil mengingatkan mereka bahawa beliau akan mengangang dan menghancurkan sebarang percubaan untuk memisahkan Sabah dan Sarawak dari Malaysia.

Amaran Tunku nampaknya meninggalkan kesan positif kepada Donald Stephens, Kalong Ningkan dan juga kepada British. Melihat ketegasan Tunku itu, Donald Stephens dan Kalong Ningkan membatalkan hasrat mereka untuk membawa Sabah dan Sarawak keluar daripada Persekutuan Malaysia

Dalam utusannya sempena Ulang Tahun Kedua Penubuhan Malaysia, Razak telah sekali lagi memberi penjelasan sebab pemisahan Singapura daripada Malaysia. Antara lain beliau menyebut:

However, just a little more than three weeks ago, it was found necessary by both the Central Government and the Singapore Government that Singapore should be separated from the rest of Malaysia. It was a sad and a heartbreaking decision, but the leaders of the two countries were convinced that this was the only solution in the circumstances. Since the establishment of Malaysia it was found that Singapore could not fit into the Federation and the Central Government and the Government of Singapore, due to many reasons have found it impossible to work together. Lately there was almost a deadlock and what is more the differences between the political leaders in Singapore and in Kuala Lumpur have brought racial tension. The Leaders of the PAP Government in Singapore had accused the Central Government of favouring one race against another and that it was a Malay-dominated Government. These unfounded criticisms spread throughout the country and overseas have led to a racial tension and racial troubles. The separation of Singapore may be a sad event but we should be happy in the thought that both the leaders of the Alliance Government and the PAP Government of Singapore have pledged to work together closely on all matters affecting the people of the two territories in particular defence, security, commerce and industry. The two territories are linked together so closely that it is desirable that the two Governments should work together closely for the good of their respective people.²⁴

NOTA

1. *Berita Harian*, 10 Julai 1965.
2. *Berita Harian*, 14 Julai 1965.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Berita Harian*, 22 Julai 1965.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Tunku Abdul Rahman, *Looking Back: Monday Musings and Memories*, Pustaka Antara Kuala Lumpur, 1977. hal. 122.
7. *Ibid.* hal. 123.
8. Singapore - CRO, 9 Ogos 1965, PREM 13/589.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Mills (S'pore) - CRO, Ogos 1965, PREM 13/589.
11. Penyata Sidang Parlimen Khas, 9 Ogos 1965
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Abdul Razak bin Hussein, 'Pemisahan Singapura dari Malaysia', dlm. *UMNO 20 Tahun*, Ibu Pejabat UMNO, Kuala Lumpur, 1966. hal. 7-11.
17. Kuala Lumpur - CRO, 14 Ogos 1965, PREM 11/431.
18. Denis Headley - Wilson, 13 Ogos 1965. PREM 13/431.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Bottomley (KL) - CRO, 17 Ogos 1965, PREM 11/431.
21. *Ibid.*
22. CRO - Kuala Lumpur, 17 Ogos 1965, PREM 11/431.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Amanat Khas Razak sempena Ulang Tahun Kedua Penubuhan Malaysia pada 28 Ogos 1965.

Kesimpulan

Sejak tahun 1961 lagi apabila idea Gagasan Malaysia diutarakan, Allahyarham Zulkifli Muhammad, seorang tokoh PAS, pernah menegur serta mengingatkan Perdana Menteri, Tunku Abdul Rahman, tentang keburukan percantuman Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Pada pandangan PAS percantuman itu akan menimbulkan bahaya kepada Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, malahan 'akan mengakibatkan penenggelaman diri kita' memandangkan 70% daripada penduduk Singapura terdiri daripada kaum Cina. Sebagai seorang ahli politik yang pintar dan bercita-cita besar, pasti Lee Kuan Yew mempunyai agenda apabila memperjuangkan percantuman Singapura dengan Tanah Melayu. Ghairah dengan gagasan Malaysia, peringatan tokoh pembangkang Melayu itu tidak diambil peduli oleh Tunku. Sebaliknya Tunku memberi jaminan bahawa kedudukan orang Melayu tidak akan tergugat malah bertambah kukuh hasil percantuman Singapura dengan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu. Dari sudut keselamatan pula, percantuman itu akan mengelakkan Singapura daripada menjadi 'Cuba' di Asia Tenggara. Dengan percantuman itu juga bererti Singapura dapat membebaskan dirinya daripada cengkaman penjajahan British, dan Singapura kembali ke pangkuan asal.

Perkembangan yang berlaku setelah percantuman tidak seperti yang dihasratkan oleh Tunku. Sebaliknya Lee Kuan Yew tidak mengenang jasa dan pengorbanan Tunku. Lee Kuan Yew telah berlagak seperti 'kacang lupakan kulit'. Setelah mencapai kemerdekaan, menang dalam pilihan raya dan menubuhkan sebuah kerajaan yang kuat, timbullah nafsunya untuk mengembangkan sayapnya ke Semenanjung. Dengan berslogankan '*Malaysian Malaysia*', Lee Kuan Yew berusaha untuk

mempengaruhi orang bukan Melayu, dan PAP mendakwa bahawa mereka memimpin satu perjuangan melawan kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu dan perbezaan hak antara kaum. Sebenarnya, perjuangan mewujudkan '*Malaysian Malaysia*' itu adalah perjuangan melawan UMNO dan orang Melayu.

Kesabaran Tunku ada batasnya. Setelah dua kali rusuhan kaum berlaku di Singapura dalam tahun 1964, Tunku mengambil keputusan untuk memisahkan Singapura daripada Malaysia. Jika Singapura tidak segera dikeluarkan dari Malaysia maka sudah pasti dan tidak dapat dielak lagi, Malaysia akan menjadi padang jarak padang terkukor akibat pergaduhan antara kaum sebagai hasil daripada politik 'sorong tarik' Kerajaan Singapura. Pada 9 Ogos 1965, Tunku membuat pengumuman bersejarah di Parlimen bahawa bermula pada hari itu Singapura telah menjadi sebuah negara yang merdeka. Peristiwa itu menjadi satu detik hitam dalam sejarah Malaysia. Sungguhpun begitu, Razak menganggap peristiwa pemisahan itu sebagai 'sungguh menggembarakan kerana kita telah dapat menyingkirkan duri dari dalam daging kita'.

Peristiwa itu amat berat untuk diterima oleh Lee Kuan Yew. Seperti kata Said Zahari, salah seorang mangsa kekejaman Kerajaan PAP, 'dalam sekelip mata itu juga segala mimpi Lee Kuan Yew hendak berdendang dalam arena politik Malaysia, cair ke dalam udara nipis dan lenyap di angkasa.' Oleh sebab itulah Lee Kuan Yew menangis pada pagi 9 Ogos 1965 di hadapan wartawan media tempatan dan luar negara. Dia sukar untuk menerima perpisahan itu yang telah cuba dielak sedaya mungkin dengan perjuangan yang gigih.

Lampiran I

Memorandum Gerakan Melayu Singapura (GEMALA) kepada Baginda Queen Elizabeth II bertarikh 25 April 1959 menuntut dipulihkan hak ketuanan Melayu di Singapura

Restoration of the Sovereignty of other Malay people and the proclamation and installation of a Sultan for Singapore.

On behalf of the entire Malay population of this island, numbering approximately some 197,000 people, the Singapore Malay National Movement, or in short 'GEMALA' has the honor to submit, with the most profound respect, the following points not only for the scrutiny and careful consideration but also for the immediate action of Your Majesty's Government:-

Sultan Hussein Shah has made vast constitutional changes for this island since its succession in 1819 to the British Government. What was formerly a swamp is now a thriving metropolis, one of the great bastions of British naval and military strategy, a bulwark against the encroachment of International strategy, a bulwark against the encroachment of International Communism into the sphere of South East Asian Politics. Singapore is today, an outstanding monument to past British administrative genius, British industry, courage, faith and vision, qualities that were instrumental in turning a wilderness into a mighty fortress and prosperous intrepid city. All these took shape only within the 140 years of British administration, save for a short break of the Japanese occupation from 1942-1945, when British influence almost ceased to exist in this part of the world.

The transition of this island from a swampy tract into a vitally throbbing city is justifiably a source of constant pride to Your Majesty's Government both past and present, but it must be admitted that, such a transition would not have been possible and that Singapore would not be what it is today, a hotchpotch of diverse and complex racial interfusion, facing a multiplicity of problems so perplexing, so delicate and so staggering in proportions as to defy all solutions, if the Malays had been able throughout the years of British rule, to make articulate their disapproval of whatever measures were taken by previous government of the British Crown and which they considered detrimental to their continued existence as coherent race on this island. If such had been the case, Singapore's

phenomenal growth would never have been. When Raffles took over the island from Hussein Shah he concluded a treaty with the Sultan initially on January 30th, 1819 and finally ratifying it on February 6th, of the same year. No doubt Your Majesty's Government must be fully aware of the provisions of both the Treaties, the principal burden of which was that in return for the right of the British to maintain its administration machinery on the island, they were also responsible not only to safe-guard, but also to foster and actively encourage Malay rights, special privileges and advancement in the field of education, economic, political and social development. To go into the details of the legality or otherwise of the said Treaties would be involving our people and the British Government in the futility of protracted legal battles and to go into the past would also be, in our opinion, tantamount to indulging in bitter political recriminations and would, invariably, serve no purpose. They would, in fact, only widen the gap between our two peoples and the dangers inherent in this are only too obvious to those cowering behind the dark and ominous shadows of Asian Communism. It should however be noted, that reference to British obligations towards the Malays, as stated above, must be presumed to have been implicit in the terms of the Treaties signed in 1819.

The Malay National Movement was forged and brought into existence in the crucible of political ferment. Very soon, unless events dictate that it should be otherwise, Singapore would have a new Constitution with a fully elected legislature possessing all the trappings and paraphernalia of a self-governing territory under the aegis of Your Majesty's Government. It is an impressive constitution development, a tribute to British political vision and an acknowledgement of British sincerity and intentions towards all her former Colonies. But in this hour of crucial political and constitutional changes, a question of vital import has arisen amongst those Malays who are sufficiently educated to understand that the very existence of their people as an organized community is now doomed to extinction. More and more they feel driven to give definite and concrete expression of their dissatisfaction with the adopt extreme measure which would prove suicidal to themselves and fatal to traditional British prestige of fair play and justice in this part of the world? These are gloomy thoughts and being partly emotional, they tend to cloud the vital issues at stake. What are the issues at stake that the Malay people are apprehensive of?

One apparent result, which will adversely affect the Malay people if the new constitution of Singapore came into being, is the certain deprivation of their rightful claim to ownership of this island and all that it implies. The Malays will be treated on a footing of 'equality' with the other immigrant races and we maintain that to be so placed would be to endanger our very position and would jeopardize our immediate future on this juncture compete, with them on such a

basis, because, presumably, through the accidents of history and the years of British neglect of our welfare, we are a weak people, small in number and politically and economically 'insignificant'. This is only to mention an instance of the innumerable fears that we have when we envisage the future of our people.

It will not be out of point here to mention another instance of the cavalier treatment that we had received from the present Government. This is the granting of citizenship rights some months ago to some 220,000 aliens of dubious and doubtful loyalty. This measure was literally steam-rolled through the Legislative Assembly, the Malay people, as a whole, never being consulted as to the wisdom or stupidity of such an important measure. It would be monotonous to repeat endlessly other specific examples of such high-handed actions of the present Government towards the Malays. Suffice it to say that, if its past record towards us is to be taken as an indication of the future, then we have no trust, no belief and no confidence in whatever government is formed as a result of the General Elections in May as is provided in the New Constitution. We shall consider, a Government so constituted to be highly uncounstitutional and we will protest for its consequent dissolution, and take steps for a new constitution to be prepared, in which our rights and privileges are not only safe-guarded but are also guaranteed present and sad state of affairs. Like lost children they feel inclined to lay the blame for their present predicament squarely on the shoulders of Your Majesty's Government, but the counsels or wiser and cooler heads have prevailed and in this our hour of destiny, the Malays, organized under the leadership of the Malay National Movement, feel that their salvation lies in close understanding with the British Government.

To elaborate further, the Malay people here consider that Your Majesty's Government has a moral responsibility in safeguarding Malay interests, rights and privileges, not withstanding the claims of the non-Malays on this island. How great then was their consternation and how helpless they felt, when they realized that though their rights and privileges are embodied in the Proposed Constitution, in rather loosely at that, there appeared to be no institutional guarantees that those rights and privileges would be observed and carried out by the Government in power. In simple language the party that forms the next Government is not legally bound to observe, much less to carry out its obligations towards the Malays. This is most paradoxical as the Malays, though acknowledged by the world at large, as the sons of the soil are only allowed to live in their very own country only on sufferance. The Malay people are constrained to believe that their trust in the justice and fairness of British rule has after all these years been misplaced, and those of our people who have been sincere apologists of British rule are forced to ask if it is the declared wish and intention of Your Majesty's Government to witness the unprecedented spectacle of a modern community in complete moral, economic, social and political

collapse. Will it not be said by future historians, that the British had failed lamentably in the discharge of their duties towards the Malay people here? Will it not also be said that, in as far as the Malay subjects of Your Majesty are concerned, Singapore will be a standing monument of British duplicity? Must the Malays be driven to such a stage of desperation that they are compelled, by the force of events, too?

The Malay National Movement earnestly pleads with Your Majesty's Government to wake up and take note of the extremely delicate situation that has arisen here as a result of Malay consciousness of their national destiny. We plead that Your Majesty's Government be not deaf to our urgent needs for succor.

In view of the foregoing, the Malay National Movement requests that Your Majesty's Government take immediate and effective steps to implement the following resolutions passed at a Preliminary Meeting of our Movement on the 19th April 1959.

The suspension of the New Constitution (Order in Council) 1958 and subsequently the cancellation of the General Elections as are provided for under the proposed Constitution.

The return and recognition of Malay sovereignty to the Malay people, such sovereignty to be invested in a Sultan, duly installed and recognized by Your Majesty's Government, and chosen from one of the descendants of Sultan Hussein Shah, who ceded this island to the British in 1819.

On behalf of the Malay people, the Malay National Movement is prepared in the interim period, following the suspension of the New Constitution (order in council) to enter into negotiations with Your Majesty's Government with a view to:-

The formation of a Care-taker-Government for the internal administration of this island,

The predation of a new Constitution for Singapore.

The proclamation and installation of a Sultan, chosen from a suitable descendant of Sultan Hussein Shah, such a Ruler to rule in accordance with the provisions of the Proposed New Constitution.

May it please Your Gracious Majesty to be cognizant of not only the magnitude and urgency of our legitimate and just demands, but to act effectively to convince to Your Majesty's Government that failure to comply with our request would inevitably result in the total disintegration of our people here. Let it not be said of Your Majesty's Government that though it gave help, it did so too late as to be almost ineffectual. This petition of the entire Malay people will be in the hands of Your Majesty after Nomination Day, which was held on the 25th April 1959, the date of this petition. Less than a month will be at the

disposal of Your Majesty's Government during which it can act before those General Elections to from a new Government for Singapore start in May. The exigencies of time and the extreme precariousness of our position demand that Your Majesty's Government act swiftly and purposively towards the implementation of our resolutions as stated else where in this petition.

We maintain that the future shape of Government for this island is the responsibility of our people and the British Government only. The alien races domiciled here are the accumulated results of British Colonial Policy in the days of Imperial Expansion. As such they came only to trade and logically, and in principle therefore, they possess no political rights what so ever, though they may be accorded certain Fundamental and Human Rights as are exemplified in the United Nations Charter. To them will be extended These Fundamental and Human Rights in accordance with the Principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Malay National Movement must emphasize the friendly attitude of our people towards Your Majesty's Government. It will not benefit our people to adopt an outlook of hostility towards Your Majesty's Government, though grave and provocative were some of the mistakes it had made in the past. The Malays have been loyal to the British Government during the entire 140 years of British rule.

Sumber: Koleksi Peribadi

Lampiran II

*Usul Gagasan Malaysia yang dikemukakan oleh
Tunku Abdul Rahman di Dewan Rakyat Malaysia
pada 16 Oktober 1961*

When considering the concept of Malaysia it is necessary to keep in mind that the independent Federation of Malaya has to take note of three separate elements and the special interests of each. These three elements are the State of Singapore, which is almost completely self-governing, the three Borneo territories which are still colonies, and the United Kingdom which has particular obligations or duties in relation to the peoples of these areas. I will consider Malaysia in relation to each of these elements in turn. I would like to say at this point that the word merger has generally come to be accepted as a way of expressing the future integration of constitutional relations between the Federation and Singapore, but let us not forget that the broader concept of Malaysia is, of course, a merger too, but on a larger scale. Therefore when I refer to merger it will be directly in relation to Singapore and also to Malaysia because merger with Singapore is an essential part of the Malaysia idea.

I will deal first with Singapore because it is the closest to us, its problem is the most complicated in many ways, and its future is certain to be of profound importance not only to itself but also to the Borneo territories and the Federation of Malaya.

The idea of Malaysia did not come to me by chance. As a matter of fact the plan had been forming in my mind for a considerable time. Originally it arose as a result of discussions I had with a number of responsible citizens of the Federation and Singapore who asked me from time to time whether there was a possibility of integration of the two territories of the Federation and Singapore, firstly, for economic reasons, secondly, for security reasons and thirdly for the peace, prosperity and well being of Malaya as a whole. The same question was also posed wherever I happened to be whether at home in a discussion among the people here, or in the club, or in any association, or abroad where I had the occasion and opportunity to address a meeting, or to address an association, or to address the student bodies. In fact, anywhere I went, the one question which faced me was, 'Are we to have a merger with Singapore if not, why not?' I

always ignored the question conveniently but on the whole my answer has always been a negative one.

I was not in favour of the idea of this merger with Singapore as I was of the opinion that integration of the two territories would spell trouble, and trouble galore for all of us, trouble for this country and the security part of our life. The differences in outlook of the people of the Federation and Singapore were pronounced that for me a merger at that time was out of the question. In the first place, the majority of the people here have accepted the idea, and you might say the ideal, of Kingship and Sultanate, of Malay as the national language, and of Islam as the official religion of the nation. I realised that it would be difficult for me to persuade the people of Singapore to accept these ideas because 70% of the people on the Island are Chinese, and a few more per cent others, and it would be better, I thought, to allow Singapore to take the line best suited to her own people and to have a Constitution more agreeable and more compatible with the requirements, disposition and desires of her own people - the people of Singapore. The idea of Kingship, the Malay language and Islam as the official religion would not, I appreciated, be readily acceptable to the people of Singapore, the majority of whom, as we all know, profess religions other than Islam and to whom Malay is not a lingua franca and not so commonly spoken, and who more-over have never had a King of their own although they have had a King of England and a Queen but never a King of their own. An attempt has been made to call one now as the Yang di-Pertuan Negara, but he is not a King. In the event of a merger of these two territories, the different views of the people of the Federation and Singapore might clash, or clash violently, thus creating problems which would be difficult to resolve.

However, times have changed for time always changes and so must our outlook; hence what was not agreed to yesterday might be agreed to today when we give it a second and serious thought; and so the idea of Malaysia took shape. Singapore, after the election of 1959 tried to set up what we might say an extreme Socialist Government under the Party called the PAP. When they assumed office they tried to put to trial in their own way socialist ideas of the extreme type and at the same time attempted to secure an understanding with us in the Federation. We tried our best to accommodate them, but the businessmen of Singapore had their own misgivings and fears about the extreme socialist policy they were pouring money and transferring their business interests into the Federation. That is well-known to everybody. This was serious for Singapore, bearing in mind that the economy of the island rests solely on business, trade and commerce. We on our part tried to help. We kept the gateway to the Federation open to help the Government as well as to allay the fears, suspicions and misgivings of the Singapore businessmen. We made it possible for both our

Governments to work and co-operate to the best interests of the two territories, and we kept the door of co-operation open always. However, Singapore was aware that something more was necessary if Singapore was to hold the confidence of the people for they realized as they pursued their leftist policies that they must sooner or later suffer economically, or even clash with us in the Federation. In such an eventuality the people of Singapore would suffer great hardship. They found it difficult to run the island without the co-operation of men in commerce and industry, and also without being on the best of terms with the Federation Government. The responsible leaders then realised that they owed a duty to the people of Singapore to serve their interests rather than themselves: so the seeds of difference between the non-Communist and pro-Communist elements in the PAP were sown which today have broken into open conflict and a complete break up.

Therefore, the Prime Minister of Singapore felt rather worried and approached me with some of his problems and difficulties. We made a careful study of the situation and came to the conclusion that the only salvation for Singapore would be in some form of closer economic and constitutional association with the Federation. The division of the two territories might be all right at the moment when Singapore was still under the control of Great Britain, as the security of the island was in the safe hands of the United Kingdom Government; in other words, it is the responsibility of the U.K. Government to look after the well-being of Singapore. But a time will come when Singapore would ask for and be given independence. I have no doubt that they will be given independence - and that time is not far off, for new talks on the Constitution are to be held in 1963, and we can see now what the result will be. Would Singapore in the event of getting independence be strong enough to look after its own internal security, external affairs, defence, finance, etc., and would it still be possible for the Federation to keep its gateway open to allow the free flow of people and goods between the two territories? It would probably be impossible to do that, even with the best of understanding between the two independent Governments, because the two Governments will be two independent Governments and the likelihood is that the two independent Governments will be pulling in different ways. We do it now because we are represented in the Internal Security Council and because we have enough understanding and a duty to be there to help look after the internal security of Singapore. But will independent Singapore accept such a situation? While Singapore is under the British we feel that there is no threat of open action by the Communists which might endanger the peace and security of the Federation, but with an independent Singapore anything could happen. One thing is certain, and that is a newly independent Singapore would not submit to an arrangement whereby

her sovereignty would be compromised by having the Federation represented in their Security Council.

I can assure you that the leaders in Singapore and my colleagues here consider that independence is not practicable for Singapore, and so we have been working hard to find a solution whereby we can co-exist in the closed association. Having gone into it thoroughly we are convinced that we can find a way satisfactory to both. The main thing that we have got to consider is that we must prevent a situation in which an independent Singapore would go one-way and the Federation another. The way Singapore will do then, as I can see it, will be either towards a camp which is hostile to the Federation or one which the Federation is hostile to, and this would be quite unacceptable to both countries and, I think, to the people of Malaya as a whole. Neither of us wants this; both of us want to work together. National security demands it, our mutual economy demands it, and so do the people of both territories. Neither of us want the gateway to the Federation to be close to businessmen as well as traffic, nor do we want the people of Singapore to suffer as a result. Neither of us want grave economic unrest, nor do we want to be subjected to external interference which would follow. We have seen this happen already elsewhere, and we do not want to see it happen here. If such an eventuality should come to pass, Malaysians would be fighting among themselves, goaded and helped by forces from without. This is happening in all these countries; Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and as far as I can see everywhere around us. There would be bloodshed and destruction, and the country would develop as we have seen in the past in divided Korea, in divided Vietnam and in Laos; hence the responsible leaders in our territories have to discuss and plan now as to how best to prevent such a thing happening.

As I said, the Prime Minister of Singapore has been very concerned about the future just as I have been, and he has come to Kuala Lumpur, as have been reported in the press from time to time, either to play golf or to talk politics, and mostly to talk politics; and if time can spare, we play golf. However, he has held talks with me and discussed all the problems which are sure to arise but some of which, I can tell you, are rather frightening. Apart from that he has also taken a great deal of risk upon himself by disclosing publicly for the first time what has been happening behind the scenes in Singapore and making known to the people those who are trying to manipulate events. Many people are involved, and, I am sorry to say, including quite a number in the Federation. Whilst some are conscious of their acts, others, I am sure, are unconsciously allowing themselves to be used. It is not the intention of the Government of the Federation or Singapore to prevent the people from following their own political ideology provided it does not lead to strife and the dividing of the nation into two. What responsible leaders, of course, fear and wish to avoid is the outbreak of violence

and the complete disruption of the peace and happiness we now have here and the destruction of our way of life which we have enjoyed so long. We appreciate that the ordinary man or woman, in both territories only desire to be left alone to pursue his or her own way of life in peace and without interruption. We realise, therefore, that if there is to be a closer association between these territories (as a part from the Malaysia plan or concept), we must decide now what form it should take.

We must take into account the fact that within a few years the people of the Federation and those of Singapore have moved along separate lines or separate ways. We, in the Federation, have a King and, as I said earlier on, Malay as the National Language and Islam as the Official Religion. We pursue a policy of free enterprise; we have freedom of movement and speech, of association and belief; we protect the rights of indigenous people, the Malays. The emphasis in the Federation is on the freedom of the individual, whereas in Singapore there has been a greater degree of State organisation, for example, in matters of labour. In addition, as a sovereign country, we have also been following an independent foreign policy which, though free from foreign influence, is bound up with the free world. We are, to be quite frank, anti-communist. We have not made our views unknown before, and we make no secret of it. All these differences have sprung from separate policies, because we, in the Federation, are independent now and Singapore is not. Now the need is to come together in a practical manner without harming one another, or the interests of the territories or the people, and without interrupting the line we have been following. This will not be an easy task, and will take time. Absolute merger, for instance, would cause some degree of uneasiness in the minds of the people of both territories. There are various sections or interests which have to be taken into account. In Singapore where the great majority of people are Chinese, they naturally want Chinese participation in Government Service without any reservation. Those who were not born in Singapore would also be unhappy at the different qualification for citizenship which are applicable to the people of the Federation. They would also not like any control of their educational policy, of their system and methods of education. They would want a free hand in dealing with their labour problem and greater reserve of powers in order to keep the sectional interests of the Islam satisfied. In other words, they would want to retain control over most of their domestic affairs.

At the same time it would be true to say that the people of the Federation view with some nervousness the prospect of a merger with Singapore. For one thing, the predominantly Chinese population in Singapore have shown, and can be seen everyday, strong ties with China and are inclined towards Chinese chauvinism. This is evidenced to some extent by the fact that they even have a

Chinese University. The Prime Minister of Singapore himself has disclosed the presence of a large number of people in Singapore who are inclined towards communism and their activities, and this is substantiated by our own intelligence sources. However, there is a group of people who are real Singaporeans and, as such, they are Malaysians in every sense of the word and they present no problem either to Singapore or to us; but compare them with the other elements, they are not so active and not so articulate and like all Malaysians they prefer to sit back and do nothing. The 'tidak apa' apathy is, I am sorry to say, widespread in all Malaysians and only after independence that there has been a little change. But the fact remains that the people of Singapore, Malaysian people of Malaya and the Malaysian people of Singapore are the same, inwardly and outwardly, but the problem remains that the large section of the people do not belong to us; they want to carry on their own policy and this is the thing which is worrying us, both the people here and the people of Singapore, and has been the cause of anxiety. We naturally do not want to see these people gaining control of the political, social and cultural life of both these territories. There is this anxiety prevalent among the large rural population in the Federation, businessmen and, in fact, everybody else.

Therefore, the form of association between these two territories must be such as to provide protection for the interests of the people in the Federation and at the same time it should provide Singapore with economic security which is the desire of the people of Singapore, and to prevent outside interference and intervention in the affairs of Singapore. The form of association is, therefore, a very difficult one. It has got to be studied and carefully worked out.

At the same time we must take stock of the opinions expressed by political associations, of the public, of political leaders as well as view put forward in the press. In fact, we welcome any opinion, any views, that anybody interested can express in connection with the matter of merger between the Federation and Singapore. We welcome it because we confess, or I confess, that it is not something that we ourselves can solve or can tackle or can provide a solution. We must take stock of opinions and embody them in our report which, as I said this morning, I will present to this House.

When I addressed the Foreign Correspondents Association in Singapore on the 27th of May, I posed the question of a merger - I did not call it a merger then, but the question, as I said, of closer association between the territories of the Federation and Singapore - for the first time. The intention is to create interest, invite opinions and views and so on. Then everybody set up to take notice, to take interest, and the subject was widely discussed everywhere. The opinions of politicians and the leaders of Singapore were expressed openly, and the Federation was not slow in coming forward with them. In fact, as you see, most

of the questions in the Order paper of the day have a lot to do with this subject of merger. Some were in favour of a full merger which would bring Singapore into the fold of the Federation as a unit of the Federation like Penang or Malacca; some expressed the view that a complete merger with the Federation would not be in keeping with the situation and political progress and thinking of Singapore; and some others felt that there should be a form of loose association or federation with the Federation of Malaya and so on.

But one thing is certain, and that is that we cannot take Singapore with us in a complete merger without a great deal of unhappiness and trouble, and so we must find a middle course. What that is going to be, I cannot tell you at this moment. However, we have in the meantime given much thought to the many questions and other issues and aspects of a merger and finally we have agreed – only among ourselves, of course – that we should each appoint a Working Party to study the question from every angle. I will be pleased to welcome, as I said, any constructive proposals from everybody, particularly from the political parties represented in this Parliament and other interested organisations, but would like to see these proposals as constructive ones so that we can work out knowing how serious things are developing.

I should like to inform the House that by the terms of reference of the Working Party, the committee would be an exploratory Working Party appointed by the Cabinet to look into all aspects of the merger with Singapore, which would include defence, administration and constitutional implications (including financial and economic) considerations arising out of the wider reserve powers for Singapore but without prejudice to the principle that there should be a strong Central Government. In fact, that is the main point. But whatever power we give or allocate to Singapore or to other States, we have got to have a strong Central Government which will be in a position to run the country.

The terms of reference also include the examination of the question of separate citizenships for the Federation of Malaya and Singapore with a single nationality with a view to ensuring that such an arrangement does not render one citizenship inferior to the other. They also include the examination of any other matters connected with merger.

The opinion which prevails in Singapore today on the question of merger is that such a merger is absolutely necessary for reasons of security and economic stability of the Island. In fact, that opinion was expressed long ago by the then Chief Minister of Singapore, Tun Lim Yew Hock, and members of my own Party, the UMNO. But, as said, times have changed and we all agree that the question of merger is absolutely necessary for the well being of Singapore itself and also that of the Federation. On the other hand, it is feared that the Communists do not want it – though at that time they also wanted it but for different reasons because

the Federation does not recognise Communism in any shape or form. Merger would prevent those who are Communist-minded from being able to align independent Singapore with the Communist bloc, as I see it. It follows therefore that they are opposed to merger, or else they will demand merger on terms, which are unacceptable to the Federation. They will try to make it difficult. At the moment you can hear them talking that the merger is a phoney one and so on; but that is not the opinion that we want to hear. If it is phoney, in what way or in what sense it is phoney? If it is unworkable? But, perhaps, it is agreed that the merger is necessary for the well-being of the two States. If it is so, then let us make some suggestions which can be used, some suggestions which are constructive.

I recall very vividly my meeting with Chin Peng at Baling way back in December, 1955. I had then proposed to him that when the country had achieved Independence, there was no point for him in carrying on with the fight, because we understood from him that he was fighting for the Independence of Malaya and now that Malaya had gained Independence; and so there was no sense in going on killing and fighting one another thus causing this country a great deal of trouble, unhappiness and death. Therefore I suggest that they should lay down their arms and come back into the Malayan society, and carry on with their normal political activities in a normal and democratic manner. He convinced me, from what we discussed, that 'Once a Communist, always a Communist' He may lay down arms, he may seek for peace, he may form a party – whatever name he may call it – but the fact remains that until this country is won for the Communists, he will never give up the struggle. Once a Communist he is always a Communist. I left Baling convinced that Communist and true Malayan could never co-exist. From my own experience, I have never found any reason to doubt the validity of this conviction. In fact, it has been and is my political stand today.

Taking another instance, we heard also voices from Sarawak some time back that a Party the Sarawak United People's Party did not want merger with Malaysia, because this would make Sarawak a colony of the Federation of Malaya, and it was better, according to them, to get independence separately first. This is the line of the pro-Communist elements in the Federation, Singapore and in Borneo. It is obvious that the pro-Communist faction got someone unwittingly, perhaps, to put over the Communist line. In actual fact, everybody knows, if he does not he ought to know, that under the concept of Malaysia there can be no colonies, that in fact there will be no Federation of Malaya because in its place there will only be independent Malaysia, in which all the States would have equal status and such reserve State powers as will be agreed to by all the States concerned. Malaysia will be the ultimate object of our loyalty. The opinion given by the member of the Sarawak United People's Party is certainly not, from what I have heard, the opinion of Mr. Ong Kee Hui who is the President

of the Party, and who has declared himself in favour of Malaysia. Opposition by such people to the concept of Malaysia arises not from any fear or suspicion which they openly express, but from fear that the Communists would have no more grounds for inciting discontent or creating trouble as they have tried it here unsuccessfully before. You see, therefore, that the pattern is the same; the Communists will work in every way they can to oppose a merger and the concept of Malaysia.

I mentioned that all the States in Malaysia would enjoy equal rights and equal status. But because of the special position of Singapore as a city State, to my mind it would be best if Singapore came in on a partnership basis, with local autonomy with powers to determine nearly all matters except defence, external affairs and security which must be under the control of the Central Government as they are in all countries with a Federal form of Constitution. What I have in mind is to call such an association or federation of States, the Federation of Malaysia that is the federation of Malay States, the Borneo territories and Singapore, in which the States of the Borneo territories and Singapore, in which the States of the Borneo territories and the States of the Federation of Malay join in together as a Federation of Malaysia, and Singapore is joined in partnership on a footing something like that which exists between the United Kingdom and the Northern Ireland. An association of such a nature, I feel, would recognise the Federation of Malaysia with Singapore as partnership in one identity.

You may ask, 'What then is the relationship between the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland?' at this moment our Attorney-General is making a study of the Northern Ireland Constitution which defines the relationship and sets out the respective position and rights of all the States of Northern Ireland in relation to the United Kingdom. The information I have available at this moment is roughly this.

Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. She enjoys a certain measure of local self-government and has a legislature of her own with powers to deal with purely local affairs.

The essential feature of the Constitution of Northern Ireland is that her territory forms an integral part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. She elects members direct to the United Kingdom Parliament in Westminster and a larger range of legislative and administrative functions is delegated to her Government. The Head of the Government and the Representative of the Sovereign within the limits of the Northern Ireland Constitution is the Governor. He summons, prorogues and dissolves the Parliament of Northern Ireland, gives final assent to its legislation and fulfils other functions normally exercised by the Sovereign.

I will now turn to the problem of the Borneo territories in relation to the concept of Malaysia. I have dealt with, as you see, as much as I can with regard

to the question of merger in relation to Singapore, and so I will now deal with the question of Borneo territories in relation to the concept of this Malaysia. These territories do not present the same complexity in the implementation of the concept as Singapore does. In a broad sense, it could be stated that the question is much simpler there, in fact so much simpler that they present a special difficulty of their own. The three Borneo territories have two political factors in common. First, Sarawak and Sabah are still colonies and Brunei a protectorate under the British Crown, and because of this they are the vestiges of British colonialism in the area of Southeast Asia. The second factor they have in common springs from the first, and that is that their constitutional development has been very slow indeed. It is quite remarkable, when you come to think of it, to consider that the Federation of Malaya became independent twelve years after the end of the War, that Singapore had its first elected Ministers ten years after the War and far greater autonomy stemming from 1959, but the Borneo territories are still colonial in government with nominated members, it follows that there have been no general elections. This slowness of constitutional developments is in marked contrast to the developments in other British Colonies or Protectorates not only in Asia but also even in Africa.

Malaya's attitude towards colonialism is well-known and constantly reiterated both at home and abroad. We consider that it is our duty to help bring about an end to any form of colonialism. The very concept of the Malaysia plan is an effort to end colonialism in this region of the world, in a peaceful and constructive manner. We in Malaya won our independence by peaceful means, and we are sure that the peoples of the Borneo territories would like to end their colonial status and obtain independence in the same way.

From the Federation's point of view, we are linked to the Borneo territories not only by proximity and close association but also because the Borneo territories have the same types of culture and racial origin as the Malaysians. We have similar customs - except, of course, in their case they have some peculiar local customs but they are their local affairs - and we have similar problems, economically or otherwise, and we even share the same currency. We work along similar administrative lines, our Civil Services have grown up in the same tradition and on the same principles as those territories. The territories, like the Federation, have a diversity of races. There are Chinese there just as there are here and also there are others, but the other races are of the same ethnic stock as the Malays. There are other similarities, too. Brunei, for instance, is ruled and the Royal history of the State is intimately bound up with the past history of Malaya. Until a few years ago, Sarawak also had a Ruler though he was a white Rajah. Nevertheless he was acknowledged as the Ruler of Sarawak. So these two States have a tradition of Government similar to Malaya's many States, and above all

the common language understood by all is Malay. The story of Sabah is slightly different. Sabah today is a Crown Colony and called British North Borneo, but until very recently it, was run by the Borneo Chartered Company, in much the same way as Penang and Malacca were for many years ruled by the East India Company.

For all these reasons, therefore, there is a natural affinity between the Territories and the Federation, an affinity which I should say has no exact parallel elsewhere.

If any proof was needed of the intimate and close importance of this affinity, it can be seen in the remarkable reaction and response which the peoples of the three Borneo territories have shown in the concept of Malaysia. I have made it clear from the beginning, and I have repeated frequently, that the Federation of Malaya has no ambitions for mastery or domination and will not do anything, which is contrary to the basic desires of the peoples of the Territories. We have not set out to start a great propaganda and band-wagon rolling to win over the peoples of the Borneo territories to the concept of Malaysia. The peoples of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah have sparked off and demonstrated their own deep interest in the ideal of Malaysia. For example, when we asked them to come over to the Federation, look around for themselves and form their own opinions and judgments they came without hesitation and in large numbers from all sections of the community and from the towns and villages throughout the three Territories of Borneo. While they are here they show much enthusiasm about what they see in the new Malaya, and they ask innumerable questions about many things. From what I have seen of them, I am surprised that they have not been given a greater part in the management of the affairs of their own country, because they have displayed great knowledge of the affairs of the world, of their own government and keenness, far-sightedness and political acumen. I can guarantee that within a year of the birth of Malaysia they will show a great change in themselves and will be no different from any of us here. They can contribute a tremendous amount to the well being and prosperity of Malaysia. Within the past few month's no less than twelve delegations from the three Territories, numbering 103 persons, have come to Malaya. Even as I speak, I am told that there are representatives from the Borneo Territories in this House to listen to the debate in our Parliament (Applause) and I hope they will forgive me if I say something wrong about them. I also understand that some are on their way to Malaya.

While these representatives of the peoples of the Borneo Territories are learning about us, about our progress, about our affairs, about our welfare, we too in Malaya are learning a great deal from these people, about their way of life and about things in their country in general. It is my hope that as soon as opportunity

arises it will be possible for more delegations from Malaya to visit the Borneo Territories in the same exploratory way as the Borneons are visiting us. In fact, a delegation from our friends across the floor the Communists - will be visiting the Borneo Territories (laughter). - I am so sorry, it was never intended to be said it was a slip of the tongue (laughter). - I mean from the Socialist Front will be visiting those territories soon on our Study Tour vote.

One extremely important factor in furthering the concept of Malaysia has been initiated by a meeting of members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association recently called in Jesselton, which has resulted in the formation of the Malaysia Consultative Solidarity Committee. This was initiated and achieved by the leaders of the Borneo Territories themselves. What better proof could there be of the inherent accord which the concept of Malaysia produces in the Federation, Singapore and the Borneo Territories? This historic Committee is shortly setting about the task of determining the future constitutional relationship between Borneo and the Federation of Malaya in the Federation of Malaysia. I have no doubt of the successful outcome of its deliberations. We who believe in the concept of Malaysia do so because we have faith in ourselves and in our future; we have confidence that by co-operation and goodwill, we can work together to build a better and brighter future for all our peoples, by creating a partnership for unity and security in one common nationhood.

I do not say that the path which lies ahead of the Borneo territories in relation to the Malaysia concept has no difficulties. I said before, and I repeat, there are difficulties. No one knows this better than the peoples of these areas themselves. But what I do say here is this difficulties can be overcome by co-operation and goodwill of all those who desire the political and social upliftment of peoples of this region.

How can this be done, or how can we work out this among ourselves? We realise that the ideal of Malaysia is the only answer. There are some, however, who think that they should wait until the three territories have formed a Federation of their own and then join in the partnership of Malaysia. But to that I say, how long will this take? Years, I am afraid. Knowing the British for what they are, the longer the better - what you can do tomorrow, why bother to do today? We cannot afford to wait so long without providing the Communists with the weapons, they require for subversion, infiltration and disruption with the ultimate objective of capturing these territories. Time is not on our side. The important aspect of the Malaysia ideal, as I see it, is that it will enable the Borneo territories to transform their present colonial status to self-government for themselves and absolute independence in Malaysia simultaneously, and balk the Communist attempt to capture these Territories. To say that the peoples there are not ready, I think, is wrong. After all Penang and Malacca were British Colonies

a little while ago. When Penang and Malacca joined the independent Federation of Malaya they became independent. If this can happen here, I do not see why it cannot happen there in Borneo. The fact that we in the Federation are independent now and the peoples of the Borneo territories are not is relatively unimportant, because in the Federation of Malaysia we will all be independent, and independent together.

After I had put forward the ideal of Malaysia in my speech last May, naturally there was intense interest and much speculation by peoples in the Borneo Territories. Not being so familiar with the new Malaya, there were misgivings of various kinds and suspicion was expressed in some quarters. In the months that followed most of these misgivings have resolved themselves, but I think it would be as well to mention them now, as they indicate certain ways of thinking and feeling.

One reaction in the Bornean territories was that the Malaysia concept was an attempt to colonise the Bornean territories. The answer to this was, as I said before, it is legally impossible for the Federation to colonise because we desire that they should join us in the Federation in equal partnership, enjoying the same status between one another; so there is no fear that Malaysia will mean that there will be an imposition of Islam in Borneo. But I told those people who visited our country to go anywhere they like, go into every kampong, every church, every temple, every place of worship and to question and ask anybody they like whether there is any attempt to impose Islam on others who have their own religion, and so they are able to see for themselves. Everybody is free to practise whatever religion.

There are also those who thought that Malaysia will mean the imposition of one language alone. It has been accepted that the National language should be the Malay language and if Honourable Members were present earlier on during the question time they would have heard it asked about aid to Chinese education, about what Government propose to give to all these Chinese schools. The fact is that the other races of different racial origins are allowed to carry on their own local customs, own language everywhere they like, but as I have said, we have agreed that this country must have a language and that language must be the Malay language and that language is acceptable by all without prejudice to their rights and language.

Others felt that they were not yet ready for independence and, therefore, they might be at a disadvantage. I told them to go to the East Coast and see how well they compare with those people in the East Coast, and so I think they are satisfied that if the East Coast people are ready, so are they.

The question was asked, would not Malaysia mean that the Government Services in Borneo be Malayanised? The position, of course, is that Public

Service Commission exists in the Federation and also in each State, and each State has the right to employ officer for their own Civil Service. The Federation Government can only appoint applicants to Federal post. As a matter of fact, State Service officers are sometimes seconded to the Federal Government Service, because we have a need for the able services of particular men or women.

One very strong feeling was that they must be consulted on the future of their people and the future of their country. I have said on more than one occasion that Malaya can only accept Borneo people 'from an expression of their own free will to join us' Another attitude taken was that the Borneo territories should first come together in a Federation of their own before thinking of Malaysia. The answer to this is that this procedure would only double the process and take result would be the same. I was happy to read recently that the Borneo leaders now are proposing self-government and independence in Malaysia simultaneously.

Some said that with eleven Malay States and only three Borneo States, the Borneo area would be swamped. My reply is that this is a wrong assumption to make as the Members of our House of Representatives in the Federation do not represent States, they represent their own political party or in the case of independents, they represent themselves. Moreover in our future constitutional arrangements the Borneo people can have a big say in matters on which they feel very strongly, matters such as immigration, customs, Borneonisation, and control of their State franchise rights. Finally, there was a misgiving that the territories in Borneo might lose their autonomy. As members of this House are aware, each State of the Federation has powers and control of certain subjects in which the Federation cannot interfere, for instance, land or local custom and religion. In addition, there are certain subjects of authority which are exercised through joint operation by the Federation and the States.

I will now deal with the concept of Malaysia in relation for the British Government. Having decided on the plan for Malaysia here, our next move, as I said, was to sound the British Representative in this region. The response was quite encouraging, encouraging enough for me and my colleagues here to have a close consultation and discussion and to go into the question of merger very much more in detail. From what I can see, though they have not so much said it, the British felt that it would provide for the political stability of Southeast Asia; and so I was encouraged to have this matter brought up for discussion with my colleagues and my friends and also with the Prime Minister of Singapore; and then I thought having decided that there should be a merger in the best interests of this region as a whole, to deal directly with the British Prime Minister. I have there fore forwarded to him a memorandum pertaining to this plan, and the reply received from the British Prime Minister has given me quite a lot of

encouragement and to believe that they are agreeable to this merger. But there is one matter which is bothering them quite a lot and that is. I might say; having studied the question of merger from all aspects, from all angles, they are very much concerned about the Singapore base which they have now or have been using it for Singapore's defence I think there is an agreement between them and the SEATO power to keep the Singapore base as such; and that is I think one of their main worries, and also, of course, being business minded people, they also think in terms of the amount of money they have spent on the base. Therefore, all these came into the picture, all these came into this question of merger and all these things we may have, together, to try to work out and settle. I therefore, they would on the other hand be very pleased indeed to give up their authority, their responsibility, over Singapore in do not blame either (laughter) and they want us to take over the responsibilities and duties which they have. Particularly now with the situation as it is in Southeast Asia, they felt that there is an absolute necessity for Britain in connection with this base to maintain confidence in this part of the world, and nothing should be done which, might cast doubt on their capabilities in this area, capabilities to fight, to defend and what not. Then they would not commit themselves on the Borneo territories because, according to them, this question needs a lot of thinking about before the idea of finding an eventual political link-up with Malaya can be decided upon. They recognise the fact that there are similarities both as to form of administration and finance and cultural characteristics obtaining in both the territories of Borneo and the Federation. They did not want to be the sole arbiter in deciding the fate of the people of these territories without having first consulted them. However, the British Prime Minister would welcome my visit to London to discuss the various aspects of merger with him. According to him, it would be a mistake to force and pace for such a development without the agreement of the Borneo people, though the British have no doubt that such a merger with the Federation would be in the best interests of the Borneo people themselves. From what I can see and from the exchange of correspondence between the British Prime Minister and myself, he would welcome the idea of a merger as soon as these territories are ready, but as I said, I have detected a note of anxiety over the Singapore base for he is a little hesitant on the idea of giving up this base for SEATO defence. However, he appears to be willing to relieve Britain of her responsibility over Singapore - and who would not? In the circumstances, I felt that a talk would not be very fruitful until Britain agreed on the basis for discussion; firstly an agreement must be made on the use of the Singapore base which, according to us, must not be used for SEATO defence - that is one thing which has got to be agreed to first; and secondly, the transfer of the sovereignty over the State of Singapore and the Borneo territories to the Federation of Malaya to form the Federation of

Malaysia must be agreed to. When these are agreed to, I shall proceed to England to discuss the question with the British Prime Minister. On the 3rd of October, I received a message from the British Prime Minister in which he said that there is a wide measure of agreement between us on this plan of Malaysia, in that the British Government would welcome and accept the concept of Malaysia which would incorporate the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and the three Borneo territories. And they agreed that the best future for the Borneo territories would lie in close political association with the Federation and Singapore and that it would be necessary for me to go to London, according to them, as early as possible to have a talk with him so that we could best work together in the attainment, or in the achievement, of this plan, Malaysia. It was suggested that in this way we could ensure that any misunderstandings which might arise from a long-range correspondence would be avoided. I have, therefore, decided to go to London some time, perhaps, in the first week of November, but I can say here that I feel loath to do so without the full support of this House. Hence my motion.

From the developments which have already taken place in the growing reality of the Malaysia ideal. I am confident that with unity in will and wish we can achieve our goal. Speaking for the Government of the Federation of Malaya, I say now that we will do everything humanly possible to make the road to the future Malaysia as straight and clear as we can.

Sumber: Penyata Perbahasan di Dewan Rakyat, 16 Oktober 1961

Lampiran III

*Kedudukan Orang Melayu di Singapura
dibentangkan oleh UMNO Singapura di Perhimpunan
Pertubuhan-Pertubuhan Melayu dan Islam Seluruh
Singapura pada 12 Julai 1964*

Dengan nama Allah Yang Maha Pemurah dan Maha Penyayang, UMNO SINGAPURA mengucapkan kesyukuran ke hadrat Tuhan Yang Maha Kuasa yang telah melimpahkan kurnianya dan memberi taufik kepada UMNO Singapura mengusahakan Perhimpunan Pertubuhan-Pertubuhan Melayu dan Islam. UMNO Singapura menyembahkan kepangkuan bangsa Melayu kertas kerja ini, moga-moga segala-galanya akan membawa kepada satu lembaran baru bagi Bangsa Melayu di Singapura. Dengan berpandukan firman Allah yang bererti: 'Tuhan tidak akan mengubah nasib sesuatu kaum jika kaum itu tidak mengubah nasib mereka sendiri' (Surah A'Tauhid: ayat 13).

Sejak UMNO ditubuhkan di Singapura, UMNO telah berusaha menjalankan tugasnya seberapa daya-upaya dalam semua proses perkembangan siasah yang telah berlaku di Singapura. UMNO Singapura telah menjalankan kewajibannya dengan berpandukan berkhidmat dan berbakti kepada bumiputera bangsa Melayu di Pulau Temasik ini.

Memandangkan pergolakan siasah yang berlaku hebat di sekitar Singapura pada hari ini, maka UMNO berpendapat bahawa sudah sewajarnya UMNO menjemput semua lapisan Bangsa Melayu dan Islam untuk bersatu padu. Moga-moga dengan perpaduan kita ini, maka kita dapat menghadapi ancaman-ancaman yang terbit akibat pergolakan siasah yang hebat di Singapura ini. Ancaman-ancaman yang selalu mengancam masyarakat Melayu di pulau ini ialah akibat peraturan dan tindak-tanduk kerajaan Petir yang menganaktirikan bangsa Melayu. Tindak tanduk kerajaan Petir yang merupakan bermacam-macam kesulitan, tekanan, penindasan dan ancaman sehingga menyebabkan bangsa Melayu sentiasa dalam resah gelisah, hilang sabar dan membimbangkan.

Tegasnya UMNO Singapura berasa nasib rakyat Melayu Singapura pada saat yang genting ini perlu difikirkan dan diperjuangkan, bukan sahaja perjuangan ini dipelopori oleh UMNO secara bersendirian, tetapi hendaklah diperjuangkan bersama oleh semua lapisan dan peringkat rakyat Melayu di Singapura.

Kita semua sedia mengetahui bahawa ada orang-orang Melayu dalam kabinet Petir yang bersama-sama menjalankan pemerintahannya. Tetapi apakah

yang boleh dibuat oleh mereka selain dari menerima perintah dan arahan buat itu dan ini, walaupun mereka ketahui apa yang mereka lakukan itu merugikan orang Melayu sendiri. Peranan yang bijak yang kerap dilakukan oleh pucuk pemimpin tertinggi Petir, merupakan satu arahan yang tidak secara langsung melagakan orang-orang Melayu dengan orang-orang Melayu sendiri.

UMNO Singapura berasa syukur kepada Allah bahawa sebahagian daripada orang-orang Melayu di pulau ini yang dahulunya menentang mati-matian perjuangan bangsanya dengan memberi sokongan yang kuat kepada Petir, sekarang telah sedar dan insaf akan kesilapan itu. Oleh kerana kesedaran itu lahir dari jiwa yang patriot, menyebabkan mereka rujuk kembali dengan mengakui terang-terang bahawa mereka telah dikelirukan.

UMNO Singapura dalam kertas kerjanya ini cuba mencatatkan dengan terus terang segala butir-butir yang ada dalam pengetahuan UMNO Singapura mengenai kedudukan orang-orang Melayu Singapura.

(i) Perumahan

Masalah yang sangat-sangat merungsingkan orang-orang Melayu Singapura sekarang ialah: 'Roboh Rumah dan Pindah'.

(a) Ancaman

Orang Melayu yang mendirikan rumah di Kampung Amber, River Valley, Bukit Permai, Bukit Kasita, Pasir Panjang, Kamung Tani, Kampung Golf Club, Kamuong Wak Hassan, Kampung Anamalai, Kampung Nekat, Tanjung Keling, Jurong, Kampung Teban, Kampung Tebong Tanjong, Kampung Beng Wan Road, Norfolk Road dan Kawasan Crawford (Java Road, Palembang Road, Minto Road, Jalan Sultan Kampong Kaji dan Kampong Tembaga) telah disuruh pindah dan keluar oleh tuan tanah, kerana tempat tersebut hendak digunakan.

Cara menyuruh pindah dan keluar ada kalanya dengan menggunakan berbagai-bagai tipu-helah dan ugutan. Oleh yang demikian orang Melayu terpaksa bertahan daripada berpindah walaupun menerima ugutan dan ancaman.

(ii) Mengadu

Mengadu kepada kerajaan Petir tidak akan meringankan beban malahan tambah memberatkan lagi. Pertolongan yang diterima dari kerajaan Petir sangat mudah. Pindah rumah pangsa sedia saja wang \$60.00 hingga \$100.00, kemudian bayar sewa pada tiap-tiap bulan. Sedangkan kerajaan Petir tahu mata pencarian orang Melayu hitung panjang \$120.00 hingga \$150.00 sebulan, dan mempunyai banyak tanggungan.

(iii) Rumah Pangsa

Menurut Encik Lee Kuan Yew beberapa blok rumah pangsa di Geylang Serai diuntukkan kepada orang-orang Melayu dan Islam. Bagi orang-orang Melayu tentulah akhirnya meninggalkan rumah tersebut oleh kerana tidak mampu membayar sewa. Sebab memandangkan hitung panjang pendapatan mereka pada tiap-tiap bulan tidak mencukupi sebagaimana yang diketahui.

Disebabkan dengan terdirinya rumah pangsa orang Melayu akan meninggalkan tanah tempat mereka dilahirkan dan dibesarkan. Mereka akan membawa diri ke hujung-hujung dan ke pulau-pulau. Akhirnya kawasan Geylang Serai dengan rumah pangasanya akan merupakan sebuah Bandar China Town. Dan keadaan serupa ini akan menguatkan lagi kedudukan politik Encik Lee Kuan Yew. Sebab dikatakan demikian kerana sebelumnya didirikan rumah pangsa di Geylang Serai, kawasan itu adalah tempat yang banyak bilangannya orang Melayu bermastautin.

(b) Kerajaan Petir mengikut jejak langkah tuan tanah yang sering memindahkan orang Melayu

(i) Pulau Semulun

Seksanya perintah 'Roboh rumah dan pindah' yang mula-mula menimpa orang Melayu yang duduk di tanah kerajaan ialah penduduk Pulau Semulun. Penduduk itu dipindahkan ke Pulau Ayer Merlimau. Tempat kediaman yang diberi kepada mereka di pulau itu jauh ke laut.

Pernah sekali dulu penduduk-penduduk tersebut disaman kerana duduk tanah haram. Apabila ditentang maka perkara duduk tanah haram hilang begitu sahaja.

(ii) Pulau Belakang Titi

Begitu juga halnya dengan penduduk Melayu di Pulau Belakang Mati. Kerajaan Petir hendak jadikan pulau tersebut pelabuhan bebas. Akhirnya terpaksa orang Melayu yang berkampung halaman, beranak pinak dan bercucu cicit di situ keluar dan meninggalkan pulau tersebut.

(iii) Hukum Pindah

Perintah hukum pindah masa ini telah sampai saatnya kepada penduduk Melayu yang berkampung halaman di West Coast, Kallang West Coast (Sungai Pandan), Kampong Bendong. Perintah itu pada masa ini telah menjalar ke kawasan bandar iaitu kawasan Crawford. Kawasan tersebut terdiri daripada orang-orang Melayu yang telah tinggal berkurun-kurun lamanya dan di situ juga kebanyakannya terdapat ahli perniagaan kecil orang Melayu.

Kallang West Coast (Sungai Pandan) dan Kampung Bendong

Sebilangan besar orang Melayu berkampung halaman ditempat-tempat tersebut adalah penduduk asal Kampung Kalang Geylang dan Kampung Tanjung Pasir Panjang.

Mereka dipindahkan kerana Kampung Kallang Geylang, kerajaan Inggeris jadikan lapangan kapal terbang dan sekarang lapangan kapal terbang itu dipindahkan ke Paya Lebar. Dan itulah sebabnya mengapa penduduk Kampung Tanjung Pasir Panjang dipindahkan. Kerana sekarang tempat itu telah dijadikan tempat pesawat elektrik dan rumah pekerjanya. Pada masa itu orang Melayu di situ terpaksa keluar kerana tidak ada pembelaan. Masing-masing memikirkan bagaimana hendak melepaskan diri sendiri.

Masa orang Melayu dipindahkan ke Sungai Pandan (West Coast) batu 9 (sekarang diberi nama Kampong Kallang West Coast kerana mengambil sempena orang-orang Melayu Kallang yang dipindahkan itu) dan Kampung Bendong yang penuh degan hutan belukar, semak samun, onak dan duri, serta terdapat juga binatang yang berbahaya.

Dengan tekun dan sabar, bekerja tanpa mengira masa dan penat, akhirnya tempat tersebut merupakan sebuah kampung Melayu yang indah. Mereka hidup dalam rukun damai dan dengan penuh harapan. Di tempat inilah hidup mati mereka.

Tetapi sekonyong-konyong udara gelap menyelubungi suasana kehidupan masyarakat Melayu di tempat tersebut disebabkan khabar-khabar angin bertiup semakin kencang bahawa kerajaan yang dipilih oleh rakyat berura-ura hendak memindahkan mereka. Setakat ini sebahagian dari rumah-rumah orang-orang Melayu Kampung Bendong telah menerima notis pindah bertarikh 20 April 1964.

West Coast

Orang Melayu yang berkampung halaman di West Coast menurut apa yang diketahui iaitu pada masa kerajaan yang lalu mempersetujui West Coast Road dijadikan kawasan hak (kepunyaan) tanah Petempatan Melayu sebagaimana yang telah diisytiharkan dalam Warta Kerajaan No. 2344 bertarikh 29 September 1957. Tetapi malangnya, kerajaan sekarang membisu walaupun beberapa kali didesak. Malahan, sebahagian daripada rumah orang Melayu telah ditanda dengan tanda pangkah merah. Ini telah menimbulkan tanda tanya dan menyusahkan.

Kawasan Crawford

Kerajaan Petir cukup faham dan mengetahui yang sebenarnya bahawa kawasan Crawford dan kawasan yang berdekatan dengan masjid Sultan, Hajah

Fatimah dan masjid-masjid lain adalah salah satu kawasan Melayu yang terletak dalam Bandar Raya Singapura. Hanya kawasan inilah yang masih tinggal lagi. Sekiranya orang Melayu di kawasan tersebut dihalau maka sudah tentulah orang Melayu tidak ada lagi di kawasan bandar raya ini.

Rakyat Melayu dalam kawasan ini kebanyakannya tinggal berpuluh-puluh tahun lamanya. Tiba-tiba dengan secara mengejut mereka telah menerima notis pindah. Notis pindah tersebut bertarikh 21 Mei 1964. Dalam notis tersebut kerajaan Petir meminta supaya penduduk-penduduk di kawasan tersebut mengosongkan rumah masing-masing selewatnya pada 31 Mei 1964. Ini bermakna yang diberi hanya 9 hari saja. Cara kerajaan menyuruh pindah orang Melayu dari kawasan tersebut adalah satu perintah yang tidak adil dan tidak bertimbang rasa.

Sekiranya masyarakat Melayu yang berada di kawasan yang lain tidak menyedari dan berwaspada, kelak mereka akan menerima nasib yang sama seperti yang dilakukan oleh kerajaan Petir terhadap orang Melayu yang tinggal di kawasan yang telah diterangkan tadi.

Sasaran

Dalam soal 'Roboh rumah dan pindah' orang-orang Melayulah yang menjadi sasaran utama. Ada dua sasaran yang selalu menimpa masyarakat Melayu. Pertama dari tuan tanah dan kedua dari kerajaan yang dipilih oleh rakyat.

(II) Perkauman

Bila UMNO menyuarakan iaitu mengharapkan jaminan kedudukan orang Melayu yang lebih baik kalau pun tidak setaraf dan seganding dengan bangsa lain. Maka penyuaran itu dituduh sebagai perkauman. Anehnya ada antara tuduhan itu datang dari orang Melayu sendiri dari Petir.

Encik Lee Kuan Yew, Encik Osman Wok, Encik A. Rahim Ishak, Tuan Haji Yacob Mohamad Encik Buang Omar Junid dan lain-lain pemimpin Petir sengaja buat tutup mata dan pekakkan telinga mengenai nasib malang orang Melayu.

Dunia mengaku bahawa sifat orang Melayu iaitu sabar, tahan menderita, redha memberi dan menerima. Tetapi apalah pembalasan yang diperolehi kerana sabar, tahan menderita, redha memberi dan menerima itu? Pembalasan yang diterima ialah kecewa dan kecewa. Seolah-olah perjuangan batin mereka tidak ubah seperti pelita yang menerangi orang disekelilingnya, sedangkan dirinya hangus terbakar.

Encik Lee Kuan Yew tidak boleh menafikan dasar perkauman yang tebal itu. Buktinya banyak perusahaan besar orang Cina dan tempat pekerjaan yang diketuai oleh orang-orang Cina di pejabat kerajaan, terang-terang banyak

menunjukkan memberikan keutamaan, kesempatan dan kemudahan kepada orangnya sendiri. Ini tidakkah perkauman?

Perlu diterangkan bahawa orang Melayu seluruhnya menumpukan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bahagi kepada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang Dipertuan Agong dan Negara Malaysia. Dari itu, adalah menjadi kebiasaan kerajaan pengecut Petir untuk memomok-momokkan tentang segala tuntutan yang halal dari rakyat, kononnya, telah dipengaruhi oleh anasir-anasir Indonesia.

(3) Pekerjaan

Soal pekerjaan adalah satu dari punca yang utama bagi orang Melayu. Untuk mendapatkan pekerjaan orang Melayu terpaksa menunggu-nunggu bagi kekosongan atau belas kasihan. Sebabnya kebanyakan ketua-ketua jabatan di monopoli oleh orang Cina yang mengutamakan dan mendahulukan bangsanya.

Contoh yang dekat dan terang sekali ialah di Lembaga Pelabuhan (*Port of Singapore Authority*). Bila ada kekosongan di tempat tersebut seperti kerani, yang mana sebelumnya di sandang oleh orang Melayu. Jangan harap kekosongan seperti itu orang-orang Melayu boleh menggantikannya. Ini adalah kerana orang-orang Melayu tidak ada kelulusan bahasa Cina (mungkin satu dari syarat yang sengaja diadakan untuk menolak orang Melayu). Pernah juga hal yang demikian berlaku kepada pelatih mekanik, iaitu mereka ditolak begitu saja tanpa temuduga (*interview*). Semuanya ini berlaku oleh kerana ketua-ketua Jabatan terdiri dari orang Cina yang pro, takut dan mengampu-ampu Encik Lee Kuan Yew.

Bahkan banyak perkara yang baharu diterangkan tadi berlaku. Misalnya rancangan perusahaan di Jurong, yang kerajaan sendiri membuat kenyataan bahawa 25% dan ada kalanya 18% dan ada masa pula 16% orang-orang Melayu akan mendapat pekerjaan di situ. Tetapi malangnya mengikut yang diketahui belum ada nampak bukti yang kita boleh menerima kenyataan itu. Jika sekiranya kerajaan dan kaum kapitalis berniat jujur hendak menolong orang Melayu, walaupun 10% saja sebagai mana yang dinyatakan oleh Encik Lee Kuan Yew, sudah tentulah masalah pengangguran di kalangan rakyat Melayu tidak begini buruk kedudukannya.

Satu daripada yang menyedihkan apabila orang Melayu berkehendakkan pekerjaan, tekanan siasah (politik) selalu diamalkan iaitu dengan syarat keanggotaan parti Petir dan pengetahuan bahasa Cina diutamakan.

(4) Pelajaran

Kerajaan Petir telah menidakkan ikrarnya sendiri dalam melaksanakan bahasa kebangsaan. Buktinya sekolah gabungan (*integrated*) yang dibina mengutamakan bahasa Inggeris dan Cina.

Sekolah Menengah Melayu Sang Nila Utama dan Tun Seri Lanang dan beberapa kelas menengah yang menumpang di sekolah-sekolah Menengah Inggeris pelajarannya tidak akan menjamin penuntut ke mana-mana kerana:-

- Mata pelajarannya rendah.
- Guru-guru yang berkelayakan kurang.

Sekolah Melayu yang ada sekarang ini di Singapura tidak dapat menampung jumlah murid baru. Sebab sebahagian daripadanya terpaksa ditolak kerana kekurangan tempat. Walaupun perkara ini kerap disuarakan bahawa sekolah Melayu perlu dibina lagi dan sekolah yang ada dibesarkan dan diperbaiki.

Begitu juga halnya dengan Sekolah Sekijang Pelepah menumpang di Balai Rakyat pulau tersebut. Pada hal penduduk pulau tersebut telah menyampaikan rayuan-rayuan kepada Perdana Menteri Singapura masa beliau rancang membuat lawatan di kawasan pilihanrayanya. Tetapi sehingga hari ini keadaannya tidak berubah.

Encik Lee Kuan Yew selalu melaung-laungkan kepada orang ramai bahawa kerajaan Petir memberi sesuatu yang tidak diberi oleh kerajaan Persekutuan. Misalnya pelajaran percuma bagi anak Melayu berada di peringkat sekolah menengah. Kenyataan beliau bermaksud hendak mengabui mata orang ramai, iaitu rakyat Melayu khususnya. Tetapi topeng indah kenyataan Encik Lee Kuan Yew terbuka dengan diketahui bahawa yang diagung-agungkan oleh Encik Lee Kuan Yew ialah pembayaran yuran sekolah menengah (*school fee*) saja yang berjumlah hanya \$4.00. Pada hal yang lebih diperlukan oleh anak Melayu ialah buku pelajaran percuma, pertolongan perbelanjaan kenderaan dan seumpamanya. Keperluan-keperluan ini patut diberi secara automatik kepada anak-anak Melayu dan bukan melalui saluran permintaan yang panjang lebar.

Perbelanjaan kerajaan untuk pelajaran Melayu tetap jauh juga jika dibandingkan dengan perbelanjaan yang diberikan oleh kerajaan kepada sekolah Cina dan Nanyang University.

Kenyataan pahit yang diberikan oleh kerajaan Petir bahawa biasiswa yang diuntukkan oleh kerajaan Petir kepada anak Melayu dalam aliran bahasa Inggeris dan aliran bahasa Melayu. Tegasnya penuntut yang berada di peringkat sekolah menengah dan peringkat universiti sangat sedikit bilangannya.

(5) Jelas

Telah jelas kepada UMNO Singapura apa yang dilakukan oleh kerajaan Petir mengenai orang Melayu ialah:-

- Tidak ada pembahagian peruntukan (Quota System).
- Tidak ada kejujuran dalam melaksanakan Bahasa Kebangsaan.

- Bilangan kawasan hak (kepunyaan) tanah petempatan orang Melayu tidak mencukupi.
- Tidak ada hak-hak istimewa orang-orang Melayu yang telah dilaksanakan.

Sungguhpun telah tercatat dalam *'State of Singapore gazette sub-subdiary Legislation Supp. No. 1'* pada 16 September 1963 *part iv article 89 (2)* yang berbunyi:

'Kerajaan mestilah menjalankan kewajibannya dengan cara mengiktirafkan hak istimewa orang Melayu yang mana mereka itu adalah bumiputera negeri ini dan begitu juga menjadi tanggungjawab kerajaan untuk mempertahankan, menyelamatkan, membantu, mengembangkan serta memperbaiki perkara politik, pelajaran, agama, ekonomi, pergaulan dan kebudayaan mereka serta bahasa Melayu.'

Tetapi kerajaan Petir telah tidak mengendahkan dan mempedulikan tanggungjawab terhadap rakyat Melayu Singapura.

(6) Kesimpulan

- Selagi Encik Lee Kuan Yew khuatir tidak mendapat sokongan dan orang-orang Cina. Selagi Encik Lee Kuan Yew berangan-angan mengharapkan menjadi pemimpin besar orang Cina seberang laut dan Asia Tenggara dengan mengeneipkan kewajibannya yang hak terhadap orang Melayu sebagai anak bumiputera pulau ini, maka selagi itulah orang Melayu tidak redha sama sekali dijadikan orang yang malang di negerinya sendiri.

(7) Cadangan-Cadangan

Kerajaan Singapura hendaklah membuat peraturan-peraturan yang tertentu bagi menentukan peruntukan yang munasabah pada mendapatkan pekerjaan bagi rakyat Melayu.

Kerajaan Singapura hendaklah menambah bilangan kawasan hak (kepunyaan) tanah petempatan Melayu.

Kerajaan Singapura hendaklah menurunkan bayaran sewa rumah pangsa untuk rakyat Melayu yang suka mendiaminya.

Kerajaan Singapura hendaklah membuat peraturan yang menjamin bahawa Bahasa Melayu adalah Bahasa Kebangsaan yang digunakan seluas-luasnya di sekolah-sekolah dan dalam segala urusan kerajaan juga di gedung perniagaan.

Kerajaan Singapura hendaklah menunaikan persetujuannya dalam Perlembagaan Singapura yang berbunyi:-

'Kerajaan mestilah menjalankan kewajibannya dengan cara mengiktirafkan hak istimewa orang Melayu yang mana mereka itulah bumiputera negeri ini dan begitu juga menjadi tanggungjawab kerajaan untuk mempertahankan, menyelamatkan, membantu, mengembangkan serta memperbaiki perkara politik, pelajaran, agama, ekonomi, pergaulan dan kebudayaan mereka serta Bahasa Melayu.'

Kerajaan Singapura hendaklah memberi buku pelajaran yang percuma dan pertolongan perbelanjaan kenderaan kepada kanak-kanak Melayu secara automatik dan bukan melalui saluran permintaan yang panjang lebar.

Kerajaan Singapura hendaklah membanyakkan biasiswa kepada anak-anak Melayu yang belajar di aliran Bahasa Melayu dan aliran Bahasa Inggeris di peringkat sekolah menengah dan peringkat universiti.

(8) Badan Melaksanakan

Jika kertas kerja UMNO Singapura ini diterima oleh Sidang Perhimpunan Pertubuhan-Pertubuhan Melayu dan Islam seluruh Singapura pada hari ini maka perlulah diadakan sebuah Jawatankuasa Bertindak yang dipilih oleh perhimpunan yang terdiri daripada:-

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| (a) Seorang | Ketua |
| (b) Tiga orang | Naib Ketua |
| (c) Seorang | Setiausaha |
| (d) Seorang | Penolong Setiausaha |
| (e) Seorang | Bendahari |

Beberapa orang jawatankuasa yang dipilih dan yang ditentukan oleh perhimpunan ini.

Selanjutnya UMNO mencadangkan supaya jawatankuasa ini diberi tugas mengadakan 'rapat raksasa rakyat Melayu Singapura' dan menghantar satu perwakilan berjumpa dengan Yang Terutama Yang Di-Pertuan Negara Singapura sebagai wakil Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang Di-Pertuan Agong serta menyampaikan keputusan perhimpunan ini.

(9) Penutup

Sebagai penutup kami mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada para peserta perhimpunan ini muga-muga perhimpunan ini akan membuahkan

beberapa keputusan yang berguna dan akan membuka lembaran baru bagi perpaduan dan persatuan rakyat Melayu dan Islam Singapura.

HIDUP MALAYSIA

MERDEKA

PERTUBUHAN KEBANGSAAN MELAYU BERSATU
(UMNO) SINGAPURA

Singapura, 27 Jun 1964

Sumber: Koleksi Peribadi

Lampiran IV

Surat Dato' Syed Albar, Setiausaha Agung UMNO kepada Dennis Bloodworth, Wartawan The Observer

As far as I could recollect we met twice; once a couple of years ago and the other only about 5 weeks ago at UMNO Headquarters. Both meetings were at your own request. The impression I get that you were a serious journalist, in search of truth and wanted to understand the realities of the political situation in this country. This good impression of you I have kept for a long time, but now I must say that I regret it very much.

I am not annoyed about what you write in the Observer on 26th July, about the riots in Singapore, although you gave your readers as bad a picture as you could imagine, about me personally. I do not need your praise or flattery, especially for those outside my own country. What is important to me is the respect and affection of my own people in my own country and this, I think, I have got and am now enjoying the rewards of my services to my people and country. What I regret most from reading your article is that you have denied your readers in United Kingdom the true picture as to what happened in Singapore recently.

I hope, if you still have your journalistic etiquette, you will correct the wrong impression you have created and even if you do not want to be fair to us at least you should be just and fair to your own readers by giving them the true picture of the situation in Singapore that led to the rioting last week.

Reading your article I feel you are still ignorant of the many things that are happening in this country. If your writing is due to this ignorance then I have nothing but sadness and pity for you, but on the other hand if your writing is motivated by improper motives then I must say that you have sullied the noble profession of journalism. I am one of those who strongly believe that journalists are independent people who write objectively and with a sense of fair play but sad to say your writing in the Observer recently has shaken that belief.

I was amazed and utterly shocked when I read the heading of your article 'Malaysia Premier's Party Extremists Inflamed Killing'. I did not believe that I still live in the world that contains a grain of truth. I thought the world has been

contaminated with falsehood and full of lies that have been spread by people like you.

Who are those that you called extremists? My friends and I? Without doubt it was I that you accused to be the extremist, for in your article you mentioned that I called and organized the convention of The 12th July. Before replying your accusation that there are extremists in the Party led by the Tunku, I would like to ask you 'What is your definition of the world 'extremists'? If you have in mind that the world means, wanting to kill the non-Malays as clearly implied by your article than let me say this to you: In the Party that is led by the Tunku there are no extremists as you understand the word. It is the present leaders of UMNO that founded the Alliance and today, they are the backbone of the Party.

You accused me to be the extremists and the one caused the killings in Singapore but believe it or not I am one of those who strongly believe in the concept of the Alliance, that is the concept of cooperation, mutual understanding and harmonious living between the various communities that live in this country. Actually if you know even a little about the history of the Alliance and how it was established and who were the leaders of UMNO and MCA who were responsible in making Alliance what it is today, I am sure you will be ashamed to mention here my own role in selling the concept of the Alliance to the Malays for fear that you and your kind would have no hesitation in accusing me of carrying my own basket but because your accusation is so grave and serious I am compelled to let you know that it was I who travelled the country far and wide and went to every nook and corner of Malaya to sell the concept of the Alliance to the conservative Malays. It was I who quoted excerpts from the Koran and the Sayings of the Prophet and history of Islam so as to make the Malays believe that the concept of the Alliance is based on cooperation, of good neighbourliness and of mutual understanding between the Malays and the non-Malays in this country.

If you were aware of all these, then surely it would not be difficult for you to understand why our King twice honored me. Moreover, if I am really an extremist as you said in so many words then how is it that at the most critical juncture of our history, when the unity of the various communities in our country is most needed the Tunku appointed me as Secretary General of the Party.

Another thing; you have betrayed your readers by failing to inform them that UMNO is the backbone of the Alliance that has been ruling the county since 1955 and during this time there were no riots, no racial clashes as occurred in Singapore under the PAP. As a resident correspondent in this country you must be in a position to testify to the harmony, mutual understanding and good neighbourliness of the various communities that have made this country their home.

If there are extremists in the Tunku's entourage as you claimed surely Malaya would be drowned in blood.

In my opinion no sane person would dare make the accusation that there are extremists leaders in UMNO. Moreover, I do not believe that here is a single sane person who would say that there are extremists among the Malays who want to kill the Chinese. The histories of the Malays and of this country are monumented testimonies to what I have said.

I do not understand why you mentioned Tunku's name in your article. Is this one of your efforts to damn the Tunku in the eyes of the outside world and put instead your hero Lee Kuan Yew as the one most suited to lead Malaysia.

You can damn and accuse your so-called extremists in UMNO but why on earth must you mention Tunku's name in this connection? Surely you must have certain motives in dragging the Tunku's name in your article.

I am at a loss to understand why who linked the leaflets found in Singapore urging the Malays to kill the Chinese with the Committee formed at the Malay Convention on 12th July. The implication is obvious. You want your readers to think that the leaflets are hand work of the said Committee. I do not understand why you took it upon yourself to accuse the Malays, wanting to kill the Chinese, for if they really want to do so they do not need any pamphlets to urge them. You must be aware of the Police report as to the origin and the cause of the riots. According to the Police statement the riot was caused by someone throwing a bottle at the procession held to mark the birthday of the Prophet. If you will surely realize that my role in it is purely as a guest speaker. I am not sure whether you are aware or not that the Singapore UMNO which organized the convention is headed by Inche Mohd. Khir Johari, Minister for Agriculture and Cooperatives. Inche Khir would be the last person to be accused as an extremist. It seems to me that you are trying your best to put the blame of the riots on me personally, to UMNO and to the Malays. I would like to tell you that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew also held the same opinion. I am surprised at this coincidence. I am not sure whether it was Lee Kuan Yew who inspired you or you inspired him. Or both of you have conspired to damn the Malays to the outside world as had been done by Mr. Alex Josey. As you know Mr. Josey had written a lengthy article in the Australian Bulletin a few months ago and in it he accused the Malays as a race without culture or history except that of piracy.

You told me at our last meeting that the heavy defeat suffered by the PAP during the last national election in Malaya greatly disturbed Lee Kuan Yew and he is now very anxious about the future of this Party. As you may recall, out of the nine PAP candidates with high qualifications and trainings, only one managed to win from the Socialist Front candidate who incidentally was the sitting M.P. and even then with a very slender majority. Out of the 15 candidates that contested the State elections held simultaneously with the Federal Election not one was returned!

You told me yourself that the defeat was a great blow to Lee's political calculations which you once described as 'about the best in this part of the word'.

You said that it even affected Lee's mind and thinking. The result of the last election in Malaya shows that Lee Kuan Yew could not influence the great majority of the Chinese in Malaya, not to mention the Malays. In fact it shook the confidence of the Chinese in Singapore of this leadership. It must have occurred to him that if he could not obtain the support of the Malays he must at least retain the confidence of the Chinese and make sure that he is the acknowledged leader of the Oversea Chinese in this country.

Only if you are aware of this background will you understand why for no rhyme or reason Lee Kuan Yew came out violently against Maphilindo and condemned it as a racial concept even though he must have calculated that at present, due to Indonesia's confrontation policy, Maphilindo remains only a concept.

Addressing a Chinese crowd in Malaysia recently Lee Kuan Yew told them that the 40% Malays in Malaysia could not drive away the 60% non-Malays. No Malaysian leaders have expressed such a sentiment before. Why did he do it? The answer is not far to seek. Lee Kuan Yew wants the Chinese to look upon him as their leader. To demoralize the Malays in Singapore Lee Kuan Yew has been saying time and again that although the Malays are the indigenous people in the Island, they do not possess any special position or privileges. All these uncalled for statement indicated how communal Lee Kuan Yew actually is.

As you know the Malays are having a tough time in Singapore and are now being oppressed by the PAP. Lee Kuan Yew is continually challenging their national sentiment with provocative statements, yet in spite of all these, it was not the Malays who started the riots. The riots were started by agent provocateurs, who may even be in the pay of Lee Kuan Yew.

Lee's intention is to create disorder in Singapore at a time when the Malays are gathering to celebrate the Birthday of Prophet Mohammed, so as to give the impression to the world outside that the Malays are already influenced by Indonesia. And with this, he is trying to impress on the Chinese that the Malays have bad intention towards them. You may argue that Lee Kuan Yew is not a communal leader. It is of course true that all along Lee Kuan Yew is not communal leader. It is of course true that all along Lee Kuan Yew has denied that he is non-communalist, but if you follow closely his political career and his rise to power, you will have no hesitation in saying that Lee will do anything and everything to achieve his ends. He has no compunction to be a dangerous Chinese chauvanist if by so doing, he will achive his aims. To Lee, the end justifies the means. An ex-colleague of Lee, who is also an ex-detainee once said the Lee Kuan Yew is using communist method in destroying his communist (and other) opponents.

Those who follow Singapore's political development will realize how Lee has been and may still be using the communists and liberal socialists to gain

power. This might be reason that prompted you a few years ago to describe Lee Kuan Yew as a crypto-communist.

I am really surprised that you are so bold in coming to conclusions when you know so little, if at all, about the background of the political situation in my country. You wrote that the PAP's victory in the recent Singapore election caused great anxiety among the leaders of the Alliance. Let me stress here that we in the Alliance are more than anxious about the PAP; we have all along been suspicious of the PAP in general and Lee Kuan Yew in particular since the inception of his Party. We were suspicious because the PAP and Lee Kuan Yew were using (and may still be using) communist elements in Singapore to grab power. On many occasions you wrote that Lee Kuan Yew were riding the communist tiger to achieve political power in Singapore. PAP's victory in the Island election has therefore nothing to do with our forebodings as to Lee's real intention. Our suspicions of Lee's motives were reinforced when he openly tried to split the unity of the Malays and the Chinese as expressed in the Alliance.

I have yet to read a more damaging statement to belittle, and to degrade the Malays when you wrote. 'The Malay community suffers genuine but almost unavoidable hardship owing to its inability to compete with the more dynamic Chinese, and many think Malays cannot be expected to stand up to them man to man unless they are given the false hope of an assured quota of jobs, free schoolbooks and subsidies, rents or reserved land'..

Let me point it out to you that the backwardness of the Malays were due to the various colonial and imperial policies that were forced upon them. This weakness and backwardness is suffered by all races who had the misfortune of being under the colonial rule. It is the colonial economic system that caused our downfall. We will yet free ourselves from this economic domination.

The Malays are renowned for their reasonableness and their sense of fairplay towards all men, but please do not mistake these qualities of a true gentlemen to be a sign of weakness or a symbol of backwardness.

There must be a time when even we have to say, 'enough is enough'.

Sumber: Koleksi Peribadi

Lampiran V

Sedutan ucapan Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad (Wakil Kota Setar Selatan) di Dewan Rakyat pada 26 Mei 1965 mengulas tentang dasar 'Malaysian Malaysia'

In concluding his speech, His Majesty mentioned the threats from within the country: 'Both these threats (i.e. from outside and from within) are designed to create trouble. If those concerned achieved their objectives, it will mean chaos for us and an end to democracy'. Mr Speaker, Sir, we know the threats from outside, but the threats from within take many and varied forms. In this context, not only do surreptitious bombings, the subversive propagandas, but also labour trouble and internal struggles for power, constitute threats from within.

Of late, His Majesty's Opposition has once again espoused racialism in a mad desire to overthrow His Majesty's Government at a time when the Government is embarrassed by Indonesian confrontation. They know very well that racialism can lead to inter-racial conflagration which will only end with the disintegration of Malaysia.

It is a peculiarity of this country that those who openly accept the fact of racial division are the people less prone to racialist politics.

The Alliance is based on racialism where its party structure is concerned, but its decisions are the results of mutual 'give-and-take' amongst its constituents and no longer represents a purely racialist stand-point.

On the other hand, the so-called non-communal parties are the most communal and racialist in their attitudes. Basically, they are pure Chinese chauvinists, or they derive inspirations from a common dislike for the Malays.

Let us take the Socialist Front. Ostensibly this is not a communal party. This is a party based on class ideology where the people of all races who subscribe to socialist thinking are supposed to be equal within the party. But does the party fight for the establishment of socialist ideas in Malaysia? No, what does the Socialist Front, and in particular the Labour Party of Malaya, demand? Not socialised medicine, not nationalisation, but Chinese should be the official language of Malaysia, that Malays should be deprived of their so-called privileges, that the Chinese Nanyang University should be recognised, that the Chinese Schools should be accorded the same treatment as the national schools, that we should favour Communist China, that we should be friendly with China's

good friend, Indonesia. The whole appeal, Mr Speaker, Sir, is to Chinese chauvinism, to Chinese communal sentiments. At times this will escalate to blatant anti-Malay offensive. Despite obvious evidence to the contrary, the Malays were pictured to the Chinese as a privileged super-race who gets everything, leaving nothing at all for the Chinese. Sir, the result of all this is that the Socialist Front of today is almost purely a Chinese organisation, led and supported by people whose only reason for coming together is their desire to propagate a 'Chinese uber-Allies' ideology as against a Malaysian nationalism of the so-called communal Alliance Party.

It is significant that at the Socialist Front demonstration in Kuala Lumpur in February this year, almost all the demonstrators were school children - school boys and school girls - still in the uniforms of Chinese schools. It is significant that the posters, banners and placards were in Chinese. It is also significant that the swearing at the Policemen during that demonstration was also in Chinese.

The Socialist Front claims to be non-communal, but in actual practice it is extremely communal and bases its appeal entirely on Chinese communalism. Anything and everything that appeals to purely Chinese sentiments is exploited by the Socialist Front to gain support. But, Mr Speaker, Sir, if the Socialist Front is communal, the P.A.P. is even more so. It is more sophisticated and more discerning and more able to use the non-communal label. However, behind the veneer of non-communalism is the most rabid form of communalism yet practised in Malaysia.

The P.A.P. has challenged anyone who can prove that it is communal. It is the sort of stance that this Party is fond of adopting: assume a brave front and dare everyone in the hope that it will overawe what it presumes to be the less clever and more timid groups into refusing to rise to the challenge. Perhaps, the strongest indictment against the P.A.P. is that it was founded, gained strength and won control in a City that is almost entirely Chinese and failed in the States of Malaysia where even the Chinese dominated urban areas, where the P.A.P. placed its Chinese candidates, understood the need to co-exist with other communities, and so rejected the purely Chinese appeal of the P.A.P. To this day the P.A.P. has failed outside of Singapore with its consistently anti-Malaya pro-Chinese chauvinistic pose.

The differences between the P.A.P. and the Socialist Front is not the degree of socialism that each professes but that the Socialist Front is merely pro-Chinese and communist oriented, while the P.A.P. is pro-Chinese, communist orientated, and positively anti-Malay. The last item has been kept in the limbo until lately, when for reasons of political strategy and in the attempt to win over the Chinese and foreign countries to its side, the P.A.P. decided to come out in the open with this basic anti-Malay principle. Everyone must have noticed the change in P.A.P. strategy. When the P.A.P. first made overtures to the Central Government on the

common market and merger, the UMNO was never attacked. The Malaysian Chinese Association was all the time the target of the People's Action Party. The United Malay National Organisation could do no wrong. Indeed, the leaders have never failed to say out aloud that they have nothing against the UMNO or the Malays, but on the other hand the M.C.A. was pictured to the Malays as a weak, corrupt Kuomintang orientated Chinese chauvinist party.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it was pointed out again and again to the UMNO how much better it would be for the Alliance to get rid of this Chinese racialist party and accept the P.A.P. in its place. The P.A.P., it was emphasised, was non-racial, well organised, strong and Malaysian in outlook. There is no doubt that a few UMNO stalwarts must have wavered, but the top leaders repeatedly insisted in public that the UMNO will stand by the M.C.A., come what may. How wise this was, was shown by the result of the election of 1964. the M.C.A. was far from weak. That it was not rabidly communal was shown by the fact that one candidate in a predominantly Chinese constituency was a Malay, who won with a thumping majority over a Chinese. He was jokingly called the only Malay M.C.A. candidate.

Now, Sir, having failed to woo the Malays with its so called non-communal anti-M.C.A. policy, the P.A.P. has now switched tactics. The M.C.A. must be destroyed. To do this, the P.A.P. decided to expose its true self. It has revealed its Chinese communalist stand and it has played up every communal issue. Worse, it has decided to reveal that it is not merely pro-Chinese but anti-Malay as well.

When the P.A.P negotiated for merger, their tactic was one alternating between offensive and defensive. When Indonesian opposition came during the course of negotiation, their offensive tactic gained ascendancy, for quite obviously the Central Government must assure the success of Malaysia. Hence, the P.A.P. was able to retain a large measure of control over policies and departments, which should be the sole responsibility of the Central Government. When it is examined carefully, it will be found that the P.A.P. has retained a hold mainly over matters which will affect the Chinese and their chauvinist ideas.

National language is one of those things which tend to created disaffection among China-orientated Chinese, Playing to chauvinist ideas, the P.A.P. retained multi-lingualism, while paying lip-service to the national language. The target date for accepting the National language is ignored by the P.A.P. The National language is not made a qualification for employment. In some police stations, Chinese is the official language, and statements are taken in Chinese. The impression this created among non-Singapore Malaysians is that they are in China rather than in Malaysia. Chinese is still the language of the Legislature and no provision is made for doing away with it.

In education, the unifying single education policy of the Central Government is rejected, and the old divisive multi-stream system with emphasis

on purely Chinese education is retained. Chinese go to exclusively Chinese school, where the whole atmosphere is anything but conducive to the production of a Malaysian orientated citizen. The National Language schools are the worst treated schools, which until very lately were given only the most primitive facilities.

Exclusively Chinese qualification is acceptable for posts in Government service - a measure calculated to bar the progress of the National language in Singapore.

In industry the P.A.P. policy is to encourage Malays to become labourers only but Malays are not given facilities to invest as well. The result is that a number of companies have decided to have their factories in Singapore, where they can be rid of the obligation to help the Malays along. The socialist P.A.P. objects to a Malay capitalist class but works very hard to create an all-powerful Chinese capitalist class, so that Chinese hegemony in the economic field can be perpetuated. This is, of course, advantageous to a Chinese political party.

The P.A.P. claims that it is non-communal, but its placement of candidates always reflect its faith in communalism. Indeed, at election time, the whole machinery of the P.A.P. is concentrated in utilising Chinese racialist sentiments to the full. But the most telling indictment of the racialist thinking of P.A.P. leaders is the speech by its leader in Seremban in March this year. Choosing the appeal by the Minister of Commerce and Industry to Chinese in Sabah to unite under one party as his theme, he went on to reason as only a pure Chinese communalist can reason.

In asking the Chinese to unite in one party and then form an alliance with other communal parties, the Honourable Minister was, of course, drawing from his experience in the M.C.A. and the Alliance in which it is possible to look after purely Chinese interest while at the same time adjusting to those of other communities. There was no thought of the Chinese dominating the other races.

But, Sir, Mr Lee pointed out that the Chinese of Sabah form only 25 per cent of the population. Being a minority the Chinese could never be the Government, or the dominant race. It is only by putting up a non-communal front as the P.A.P. is doing that the Chinese can manipulate the other races into accepting Chinese leaders. It follows, therefore, that if the Chinese want Chinese leaders to run this country, they must organise like the P.A.P. - talk non-communal and facilitate Chinese communalism. Like Singapore, Chinese interests in politics, business and Government can then be assured and the Malays and indigenous people completely subjugated.

The same mathematics was applied to Sarawak and the States of Malaya by the Honourable Mr Lee Kuan Yew with the same result. Hence, the only hope for a Chinese Malaysia with a Chinese as Prime Minister lies in supporting the P.A.P.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in Sabah today a Chinese is the Chief Minister. He comes from a minority Chinese party. He is accepted by all communities, including the Malays. Thus by an Alliance party system a Chinese minority can still hope to see a Chinese as premier Minister. This gives the lie to the arguments of the P.A.P. But the difference is that the Chinese in the Alliance, though supposedly communalist, is in fact a true Malaysian, a non-communal politician, who is able to modify his views and interests, so as not to run counter to the interests of the communities represented in his party.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Malaysia must succeed. To succeed it must stand out to the whole world as a truly united nation in which the people of all communities work together, play together, and are prepared to die together in the defence of their country. The Alliance is, therefore, trying to show to the world that this is so, for in fact it is so.

But what does the P.A.P. do? Having made little headway in winning true Malaysians into the P.A.P. camp, the P.A.P. embarked on a most unseemly programme of getting countries friendly to us to use their influence and opinion to change the political adherence of Malaysians. Even neo-colonialism is not rejected as a weapon of the P.A.P. There has been a concerted effort to create the impression that while the ruling Alliance Party is communal, divisive and, above all, incompetent, the P.A.P. is non-communal, enlightened and led by the one and only brilliant politician, the Honourable Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

The P.A.P. leader does not want to be the Prime Minister of Malaysia, unless, of course, it is to the good of Malaysia. And the Honourable Member never misses an opportunity to emphasise that it is to the good of Malaysia that he is the Prime Minister. Already Time Magazine has dubbed Mr Lee as the man who will save Malaysia. Other American papers and journals have spoken in like vein. But the Australians and the British, being more knowledgeable or more diplomatic, have not been so open. So Mr Lee embarked on his crusade to the south - to Australia and New Zealand to garner Anzac opinion. Carefully organised and brilliantly conducted by the maestro himself, the progress of Mr Lee would have made Dr. Goebbels feel like a rank amateur. There is no doubt that the trip has won a lot of Aussies and Kiwis to the 'Mr Lee the best man Club'.

In the P.A.P. camp anything goes in the scramble for power. If the Alliance Government must be smeared, if the character of the Honourable the Prime Minister must be decimated, if Malaysian unity itself must be doubted abroad, then these will be done, for they serve the cause of the P.A.P. The greater interest of Malaysia is forgotten in the total war of the P.A.P., in the disgusting desire to grab power for the P.A.P. and, above all, in the mad ambition of one man to see himself the first Chinese Prime Minister of Malaysia.

On the question of Malay privileges about which Mr Lee made so much play while in Australia and New Zealand, the 'saviour' of Malaysia ignored the facts

as they really are. We Malays are very sensitive, but this is a total war declared by the P.A.P. and even if it hurts our feelings, it is still wiser to demonstrate that in this land the privileged Malays, Ibans, Dayaks and Kadazans live in huts whilst the under-privileged Chinese live in palaces, go around in big cars and have the best things in life. It is, of course, necessary to emphasise that there are two types of Chinese - those who appreciate the need for all communities to be equally well-off and these are the M.C.A. supporters to be found mainly where Chinese have for generations lived and worked amidst the Malays and other indigenous people, and the insular, selfish and arrogant type, of which Mr Lee is a good example. This latter type live in a purely Chinese environment where Malays only exist at second level. They have been nurtured by the British and made much of because they helped the British economic empire. They have never known Malay rule and could not bear the idea that the people that they have so long kept under their heels should now be in a position to rule them. They have in most instances never crossed the Causeway. They are in fact overseas Chinese first - more specifically Chinese of the southern region in their mind China is the center of the world - and Malaysians a very poor second - a status so utterly artificial to them that it finds difficulty in percolating through their cranium.

All these need to be aired, to be brutally put forth in the interest of Malaysian unity. The myth of Malay domination that the P.A.P. is building up abroad where people are in no position to know the truth must be destroyed if Malaysia is to maintain its true image - a country where the indigenous people have welcomed the Chinese and despite the fact that these Chinese have done so well by themselves have not resorted to the sort of things that indigenous people are wont to do in other South-East Asian countries. Racial harmony, despite the odds against it, exists here and it must be shown to exist. The mad ambition of a typical Chinese must be curbed so that one important threat from within is removed and Malaysia united under His Majesty's Government to face the threat from without and democracy preserved.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mengucapkan terima kaseh kerana memberi peluang saya berucap dan membawa usul yang berbahagian ini ka-dalam Dewan ini.

Sumber: Penyata Perbahasan di Dewan Rakyat, 25 Mei 1965

Lampiran VI

Ucapan Tun Razak di Dewan Rakyat pada 3 Jun 1965 mengulas kenyataan Lee Kuan Yew tentang Konsep Malaysian Malaysia

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sa-bentar tadi berkata bahawa dalam empat hari ini, Ahli2 Dewan ini telah dapat peluang yang penoh membinchangkan Uchapan di-Raja itu dan juga Ahli2 dari pihak Pembangkang pun telah di-beri chukup peluang mengeluarkan buah2 fikiran mereka itu. Kebanyakan daripada fikiran2 dan pandangan itu ada-lah menyokong dasar dan perjalanan Kerajaan. Sa-tengah-nya tidak bagitu menyokong. Saya suka, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi pihak Kerajaan, menguchapkan berbanyak2 terima kaseh kapada Ahli2 Yang Berhormat yang telah menyokong dasar Kerajaan, sama ada dasar yang telah lalu dan juga dasar yang sedang di-buat untok masa yang akan datang. Rakan2 saya, Menteri2 yang lain, telah menjawab kebanyakan daripada perkara2 itu dan Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri berpendapat bahawa tidak ada perkara yang mustahak bagi-nya hendak menjawab untok mengulas perbahathan ini. Ada satu perkara sahaja Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri hendak menjawab ia-itu pertanyaan daripada Yang Berhormat Enche' Lee Kuan Yew yang berkehendakkan keterangan di-atas ma'ana perkataan yang ada dalam Uchapan di-Raja ia-itu perkataan2 threat from within. Yang Amat berhormat Perdana Menteri telah meminta supaya saya menjawab perkara ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka terangkan pada Dewan ini bahawa Uchapan di-Raja itu ia-lah tanggongjawab Perdana Menteri dan Jema'ah Menteri dan Jema'ah Menteri bertanggung-jawab di-atas tiap-tiap perkataan yang terkandung di-dalam Uchapan di-Raja itu dan Jema'ah Menteri menerima tanggong-jawab sa-penoh2-nya di-atas tiap2 perkara yang tertulis di-dalam Uchapan di-Raja itu. Akan tetapi sa-belum saya menjawab pada hari ini, saya suka hendak menjawab beberapa pertanyaan2 dan juga pandangan yang di-datangkan oleh dua tiga orang Ahli daripada pihak Pembangkang yang belum lagi di-jawab oleh rakan2 saya Menteri2 di-pehak Kerajaan.

The Honourable Member from Sarawak, Mr Ong Kee Hui, said that the recent crisis in the Sarawak Alliance was due to interference by UMNO. My colleague, the Minister of Land and Mines, has already replied to him, but I

would like to say quite clearly here, in case there should be any misunderstanding on this matter, that this has nothing to do with UMNO, because the matter is for the leaders of the Alliance and Sarawak. However, as the Sarawak Alliance is affiliated to the Malaysian Alliance Party, it is within the right of the Alliance leaders here to intervene, if requested to do so in order to settle any difference. In this particular case, they were able to settle the differences themselves.

The Honourable Member has also mentioned that since the formation of Malaysia, the people of Sarawak have not received any benefit from Malaysia. Sir, with the establishment of Malaysia, we promised the people of Sarawak and Sabah independence and with it the possibility of progress and development as we were able to achieve here in Malaya. However, we now have confrontation and, as Honourable Members know, this confrontation by Indonesia is not due to us. It is due to the Jakarta regime, and because of that, because of this threat to the security of our country, this confrontation has to be dealt with as a matter of utmost priority. However, despite all this, we are determined to carry out our development plan in Sarawak. We have now geared the machinery of the Government of Sarawak to undertake work on development. I would like to say that we are determined, with the co-operation of the State Government to do all we can to give the people of Sarawak the benefit from independence and from our development plan.

The Honourable Member also made reference to the fact that the Simanggang Road Sub-Branch of the S.U.P.P. was proscribed by the Sarawak Government. It was not clear what his intention was in touching on this subject. I believe that he also suggested that since those concerned are officials of the party, it would be logical, therefore, to arrest only the officials. Let me, therefore, clarify to this House on the grounds why this particular Branch was proscribed by the Federal Secretary in Kuching under the Preservation of Public Security Regulations 1962, we had information that the establishment of the Party, in the first place, was engineered by the Communist organization in Sarawak through one of its leading cadres and that all along the activities of this Sub-Branch were conducted on the lines laid down by Sarawak Advanced Youth Association formerly known as C.C.O. (Clandestine Communist Organisation) for its open front work. Four of the five officials of the Party are now known to be in Indonesia. In short, there is, therefore, evidence to indicate a long-term Communist planning to create, through the medium of an open and legal front organization, an ideologically dominated area where political consciousness could be directed through the Communist policy of struggle through the legal and constitutional means. For the information of this House, there was no change in the registered officials since 1959; there had been merely a reshuffling of the

key posts amongst the Communist faction. The Communists had all the time been in control. It is ridiculous for Mr Ong Kee Hui to suggest that the officials concerned should be arrested - most of them are in Indonesia now. The branch has to be closed, as it is being used by Communist elements as a cover to carry out their subversive activities.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Mr Lee Kuan Yew has asked the Prime Minister to explain what is meant by 'threat from within'. He said that when he heard this portion of His Majesty's speech he looked around him and it was clear to him that it must have meant some sector of this House. He said that it could not be the Members from P.M.I.P. or the Members from Barisan Sosialis; it could not also mean the Member for Batu; and so he was left with only one assumption, that is, that it was meant for him and his colleagues whom he said are 'loyal Malaysians', gathering together now to establish the Constitution that Malaysia is a Malaysian nation and, perhaps, he said, 'we were that 'threat from within'. This statement, coming from him is sheer deceit. The Honourable Member knows fully well what is meant by the 'enemy from within' the nation. He is the Chief Executive of the State of Singapore. He has helped the Central Government with a lot of information, which eventually led to the arrest of enemies from within Singapore. He knows who they are because when Singapore and the Federation were discussing the question of Merger, which led to the formation of Malaysia, he was on the Singapore Internal Security Council together with my colleague, the Minister of Home Affairs. He produced a book which gave information about the activities of the Communists. He made statements, about their danger to the peace and security of this country, and now his representative sits in the National Defence Council where matters of internal security and defence are freely discussed. He receives briefings from the Intelligence Branch of the Security Service and knows fully well who are the enemies from without and who are the enemies from within. As executive head of Singapore, he receives all the intelligence reports which give information as to the activities of those people whom His Majesty referred to in His speech as the enemies from within. They are the traitors - the Communists. He knows that about 1,500 persons from Sarawak alone have gone over to Indonesia and there are no less than 150 Communists from the mainland and Singapore, who likewise have gone over.

With confrontation from Indonesia, we have also those who are not Communists, but who either for money, or some other form of inducement, have rendered service to the enemy in co-operation with the Communists, and their object is to hand over this country to Indonesia or to the Communists. Some of these people have been taken in and kept in custody, but others are at large who

are actively working to undermine the authority of the legally established Government of this country.

Our Prime Minister has never thought of Mr Lee Kuan Yew or his Party as the enemy from within. In the first place, he does not think they have indulged in these activities, at least not so far. (Applause). They are not trusted enough by the Communists, nor considered important enough, or strong enough, for the Communists to take them into their confidence. As a Barisan Sosialis Member has revealed in this House the other day, that he who works with Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his Party must expect to be discarded, whenever it suits him. Our Prime Minister also doubts if Indonesia will make use of Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his Party for a take-over of this country unless it be to serve their own end. So it is obvious from here that it was not him whom His Majesty referred to as the enemy from within.

Mr Speaker, Sir, what I have said, I am speaking on behalf of the Government with the full authority of the Prime Minister. I am stating the view of the Government.

If we had thought of him as such, as the enemy from within, we would have dealt with him as we had done with all the other enemies from within. Our duties and responsibilities are clear. We will not be afraid to act whenever we consider any person a security risk to our country. Mr Lee Kuan Yew would like to hear an explanation from the Prime Minister. I do not know what explanation he wants. However, it is clear to all of us that he is out to make trouble. From the reports which have appeared in the press, and from the visits he has made abroad, he had attempted to blacken in image of the Central Government in a way which was so aptly described by the Honourable the Minister of Home Affairs the other day.

Not so long ago, according to the Prime Minister, he was asked by a member of the Diplomatic Corps, why was it that he hated Mr Lee Kuan Yew. The Prime Minister had always thought of him as his friend, and, therefore, it was a surprise that such a story had gone round. Now, who was responsible for this story? It could be nobody else but Mr Lee Kuan Yew himself.

Sir, we know a lot of things Mr Lee Kuan Yew has said. Why did he invent such a story?

Now, we are beginning to understand - it was done for a purpose and that purpose was to give the impression that the intention of this Government is to dominate Singapore and to discriminate against the people of Singapore.

According to Mr Lee Kuan Yew, the Central Government is Malay dominated and that the Central Government is trying to foist Malay Government is trying to foist Malay rule on the entrapped peoples of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak, and that the Government is treating all these new States as inferiors.

That was why he came to see the Prime Minister some time ago and put forward a proposal that his Party should share in the administration of this Government in place of the M.C.A. This idea was wholly unacceptable, in fact, most objectionable to the mind of an honest and loyal leader. The M.C.A. has been a partner since the formation of the Alliance and they have been our true friends indeed and together with the M.I.C., we have worked for the independence of Malaya which led eventually to the independence of the other States which now make up Malaysia. It is unthinkable that the Prime Minister could discard the M.C.A. for the P.A.P. He has always regarded the M.C.A. as a true friend of UMNO and as a partner who, together with the M.I.C., has worked for the well being, prosperity and happiness of this country. The M.C.A. represents the Chinese views and interest, and so the M.I.C. in respect of the Indians and through the co-operation of these two organizations we were able to work for the welfare and the good of the peoples of this country. This cannot be said of P.A.P. As has often been said in this House in the debate, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, in fact, thinks in terms of the Chinese, or a small section of the Chinese in Singapore, and the only Government which will be acceptable to him is one in which he can have a big say and a big share, and ultimately a Government which he alone can have a say without resort to parliamentary democracy. Now, Sir, since his proposal to replace M.C.A. is not acceptable to the Prime Minister, he has switched on to his new insidious plan of a Malaysian Malaysia. In other words, a breakup of Malaysia as constituted under the Agreement signed in London.

His plan is insidious. Now, Sir, Honourable Members can now understand the imputation, when he said that there are some who want secession. We have never talked about secession, at least not by the Prime Minister and members of the Government. He also said that probably the people of Penang, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore and Malacca could come together.

This is what we read in the newspapers, and this is what we heard Radio Singapore said. In short, he has suggested that Malaysia must be broken up into two: one is, as he stated, Malay Malaysia, and the other one Mr Lee Kuan Yew's Malaysia, or Straits Settlement Malaysia - whatever he wants to call it. It is clear, Sir, that the Honourable Member is doing exactly what the enemies of Malaysia have been doing, creating doubts, suspicion and confusion in the minds of the people, undermining the unity, the resolve and determination of our people to face the threat to our security and our survival. Just because he is not in control of affairs of the Central Government, he is doing all he can to wreck Malaysia. As has been said, he is definitely playing into Soekarno's hands. Now, that is why he brought this amendment to the Motion of Thanks for the Royal Address, alleging that we in the Central Government consider him a threat to the security

of this country. Sir, we do not consider Mr Lee Kuan Yew of that importance to be even a threat to the Alliance. We are quite capable of dealing with him.

As my colleague, the Minister of Home Affairs said the other day, we are quite capable of fighting him democratically and constitutionally, so long as he and his colleagues do the same.

As one Honourable Member said the other day, Mr Lee Kuan Yew is like a bride, who was madly in love with a man and, having married him, found the new home unsuitable and would like to go back to the mother - the Old Colonial master. Having married to this new family, the bride is not content with being just a member of the family or having the right to inherit the family property, but also she wants to dominate and rule the family at the same time.

Now, having had this marriage trouble, Mr Lee Kuan Yew went around the world to tell people of our domestic trouble. What has all this got to do with people outside this country? If there are differences between political parties in this country, these are matters for us to settle internally. We are a democratic country; we have a democratic Constitution; and in the last resort it is a matter for the people to decide.

I would like, Sir, to explain to our friends overseas that these differences we have with the P.A.P. are internal matters. We, in the Central Government, are quite capable of dealing with them. We have a clear mandate from the people to govern this country and we shall not shirk our responsibilities. Now that Mr Lee Kuan Yew has made his stand clear here, I say again that we will fight him democratically and constitutionally.

Sir, I never said that I was prepared to use force, under any circumstances. We have the responsibility for governing the country and in maintaining law and order; and if we have to use it, for maintaining law and order, we will use force.

Sir, there is no need for Mr Lee Kuan Yew to resort to tactics of twisting facts and of casting doubt in the minds of the people that the Alliance Government has intention of resorting to force, or to undemocratic and unconstitutional methods.

Everyone in this country knows, and everyone throughout the world knows, that this Government, the Alliance Government, has always believed in the principle of parliamentary democracy and has practiced it faithfully, not only in our own political parties but also in the Government.

Indeed, Sir, the only criticism we have heard from friends, who have visited our country, and from responsible citizens of this country, is that we have been too democratic and too liberal in our attitude. This attitude has been interpreted by certain quarters as weakness and some have taken advantage of it.

They know - and they know the reason well. It is also known to everyone that we in the Alliance Party practise democracy strictly. In the UMNO, ever since our

Prime Minister took over the leadership of UMNO in 1951, we practiced absolute democracy. We have held elections to elect leaders of our Party, once a year. Every member of our Party, from the branches to the Division and to our General Assembly, has a say in the elections of the leader of our Party. And the same is true with the other parties of the Alliance - the M.C.A. and the M.I.C.

But what of the P.A.P.? The Honourable Member for Batu was indeed right when he said that the P.A.P. never practiced democracy. The leadership of the P.A.P. nominates a number of cadres and these cadres elect their leaders, so that the leadership of the P.A.P. can never be challenged, not even by their own members. Is this democracy by any stretch of the imagination? How can a leader who does not practise democracy in his own party, be expected to uphold the principle of democracy and practise democracy in Government?

Now, Sir, the Honourable Member for Batu was again right, when he says that there is no democracy in Singapore. What is the use of having elected legislators, if they are not given a chance to express their views and to criticize the Government, if need be? We, on the other hand, the Alliance Party, have followed the rules strictly. We have held meetings of Parliament regularly and in our State Legislatures controlled by our Party, we have held meetings just as regularly too.

We have in this House allowed Members of the Opposition full freedom and particularly the Honourable Prime Minister of Singapore himself - full freedom to speak and we gave them full hearing.

Therefore, Sir, it is clear to all of us that we in the Government really practise democracy in this country, I say clearly that the P.A.P. does not believe in democracy. The P.A.P. believes in one-party Government and in absolute rule by that Party.

Now, Sir, there is no need for Enche' Lee Kuan Yew to impute any motives in the present Alliance Government, because we have shown by our deeds, by our action, and by our practice, that we are really true democrats. We have held National Elections three times, and has followed not only in terms but also in the spirit of the practice of democracy.

Honourable Members of this House will remember that during the last National Elections, we gave the Opposition ample notice of our intention to hold the elections. We have them six weeks in which to campaign throughout the country and put their views to the people, while in Singapore, the P.A.P. only allowed other political parties nine days to prepare for the elections. Is this following the true spirit of democracy?

In a democracy we have freedom, freedom to speak, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, but there are rules to the game, and we must follow the rules, if we want to practise real democracy.

Now, Sir, we on this side of the House know the Constitution of the country well, because we are responsible for drafting this Constitution. We are responsible for giving the people of Malaya and Malaysia the Constitution, a democratic Constitution, because we strongly believe in the principles of democracy and the fundamental rights of the people.

We have practiced democracy in this country for almost ten years, and no one can truthfully accuse us of not upholding the principle of democracy. I think not even the Prime Minister of Singapore could produce any evidence to say that we in the Alliance have not upheld the Constitution, both in terms and in spirit.

Now, Sir, as of parliamentary democracy, we welcome constructive criticisms. We welcome a responsible and loyal Opposition. But, Mr Speaker, Sir, what have we seen in this new so-called Malaysia Solidarity Convention, or Party, or Organization, or whatever they choose to call themselves. We, had the privileges the other day, in the course of this debate, to see how Members of this Organization give a display of their so-called unity, or solidarity.

The Prime Minister of Singapore, presumably, now the leader of this Solidarity group, stated repeatedly and stressed strongly that he would uphold the Constitution, and that he supports Malay as the National language of the country, and he supports Article 153 of the Constitution. Then we had another Member of this Solidarity Convention, the Honourable Member from Sarawak, the leader of the S.U.P.P., who said he did not support Malay as the National language and would have the other languages to be recognized as Official languages of the country. And then soon after that, we had the Member for Ipoh, the leader of the Peoples Progressive Party, who said, equally strongly, that he does not support Malay as the National language, as the sole Official language, and that he does not support Article 153 of the Constitution.

Now, Sir, where is the unity, or solidarity, or even common grounds among these parties that form this group?

Sir, we have another set of strange bed-fellows of the P.A.P. in this so-called Convention, i.e., the U.D.P. It is interesting to know that the U.D.P. has become respectable socialists to make common cause with the P.A.P. We all know that the present leaders of the U.D.P. left the M.C.A., because they could not agree on vital national issues, such as the questions of National language and National Education Policy, with the Alliance.

It may be that the U.D.P. now has become supporters of P.A.P. socialism, or it may be that P.A.P.'s attack on chauvinism, both Malays and Chinese, only bugles of advance covering a retreat. They only say they are against communalism in order to camouflage their continuing dependence for political support on communal and chauvinistic issues.

It seems, Mr Speaker, Sir, from the Opposition bench other than the P.M.I.P. and the Barisan Socialis, only the Honourable Member for Batu is left out from the so-called Solidarity Convention. Although at times we may disagree with the Honourable Member for Batu, he is basically a decent man.

If the Honourable Member for Batu has been an opportunist, he will be sitting next to the Prime Minister of Singapore, now the leader of the Convention. But the Member for Batu is, as I said, a decent man and cannot swallow this practice of discarding and ditching out of friends however misguided he may think they are, and, I believe, even if he disagrees with his colleagues and supporters even in public, he still stands by them. He is a man of principle.

Now, Sir, having seen the coming together of so many strange bed-fellows, it is pertinent to ask ourselves, why Mr Lee Kuan Yew, the so-called socialist, who not so long ago had the most utter contempt for all these men that he has now collected as colleagues in arms in a political battle?

The fact is that Mr Lee Kuan Yew's political base in Singapore is now being eroded. The people of Singapore are disillusioned with his policies and promises. The ordinary people of Singapore, the workers, the shop keepers, are questioning his policy and all that he promised them in the past. Therefore, he has to find new issues and, if there are no issues, he has to create them to prove that he is still the only man who can rule Singapore.

He has to find a giant to fight with and in this he has found the Central Government, which he says is a Malay-dominated Government of the UMNO. Now, he no longer has Mr Lim Chin Siong to mobilize the mass support for him and to instruct energetic cadres for him. Instead, now, he has to pay the Workers' Brigade, the People's Association and other Government organizations to produce the cheering crowds for him. He hopes to build himself up as the champion of the Chinese against the Malays and in this he has his allies - the U.D.P., S.U.P.P. and P.P.P.

Now, Sir, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, being a man of intelligence and, as he says he calculates everything he does, he should know, and I think he knows well, and we know, that he is playing a dangerous game. He knows that by whipping this anti-Malay feeling he may be pushing the Malays too far and the situation may get out of hand. But he believes that as the Tunku is a man of goodwill and a man of peace, the Tunku will do everything possible to maintain communal harmony and goodwill. It is this belief that gives him the courage in this reckless adventure - this mad seeking for power. However, I must warn him that although we stand for racial harmony, for goodwill, for peace, for unity, but if, as a result of his adventure, troubles should break out in this country we must hold him fully responsible. I must ask his colleagues in the P.A.P., some of whom I know are

dedicated men whom I have the privilege of knowing, to ponder carefully the dangerous road their leader is leading them into.

In politics you can calculate, you can take your pencil and paper and work out various assumptions and presumption, but you can be wrong. As my colleague, the Minister of Home Affairs, said the other day, we the leaders of the Alliance do not pretend that we are clever, but we know we are honest and sincere, and we play straight politics, and in whatever we do we always place the interest, the safety and welfare of our people in this country uppermost in our minds.

As I said, Sir, in Parliamentary democracy in which we believe, we will not object to opposition, but what we resent is this attempt, at this time of our national crisis, when we are facing a threat to our independence and sovereignty from outside, to blacken the image of our country in the eyes of our friends abroad, to create doubts and suspicions in the minds of our people, and to undermine the goodwill and harmony among the various races of this country.

Mr Speaker, Sir, Mr Lee Kuan Yew is a great expert in creating a situation which does not exist. He is an expert in organizing campaigns to create doubts, suspicions and confusion in the minds of the people, so that ultimately there will be chaos and troubles in the country, and out of that chaos and troubles, he hopes to emerge as the leader who can save the country. There is no need for him to waste his time in this sort of campaign and underhand activities, because every man and woman of Malaysia are practical people - he himself has admitted that they are practical people. They have the commonsense to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong. They have enough commonsense to know where the truth lies. There is no need for him to sweeten the feelings of the Malays and the natives by saying that he supports the National language and Article 153 of the Constitution, i.e., the special position of the natives and of the Malays, when in actual fact he continuously, by words and deeds, undermines these two fundamentals. In one breath he supports Malay as the National language, and in the next breath he makes sneering remarks about the National language. He said, 'How could the Malay language help to uplift the standards of living of the Malays?' Of course, he knows as well as we do that language has nothing to do with the standards of living of the people. Language is the soul of the nation - 'Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa'. This is not a matter which can be measured in terms of wealth, or of the standard of living or of material advantage. He knows this, and we all know this. Why make such a remark, if one sincerely believes in promoting the National language, in making it the language for unity of our people? This continual habit of double talk, in which the Hon'ble Member is a great expert, cannot influence the people in any way, because truth and sincerity must prevail.

Now, Sir, the Honourable Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his newly found friends in the so-called Solidarity Convention speak of a 'Malaysian Malaysia'. They put it across to the people as if this is something completely new which has never been thought of before, but everyone knows, as my colleagues on this side of the House have explained, that this is the object of the formation of Malaysia. Everyone knows that this is the objective contained in the Constitution of Malaysia. The Honourable Member himself knows the Constitution. He accepted it and defended it in the State Assembly of Singapore. There have not been any changes in the fundamental provision of the Constitution of Malaysia. However, as I said, as the Honourable Member is not part of the Central Government and is not responsible for the affairs of Malaysia, he cannot accept the situation as it is now. The Malaysia which he supported is no longer the Malaysia that he wanted. That is why he talked about the winds of change. That is why he accused us of not integrating the various territories together.

Now, Sir, if he is part of the Central Government as he had wanted to be, then everything would be all right. The P.A.P. now talks about the winds of change. We had our winds of change in 1957, when we achieved independence; and it is our duty now to consolidate the independence that we have achieved to give our people of all races a better and higher standard of living and a rightful place in our country.

The truth of the matter, as my colleague, the Minister of Home Affairs said, is that the P.A.P. in Singapore found that they cannot adapt themselves to the new situation. They cannot accept the fact that they are one of the 14 States of Malaysia, and that Mr Lee Kuan Yew has found himself like a frog in a big lake. Obviously, he has to croak in order to show his presence and to be heard.

Sir, as my colleague, the Minister of Finance, said we in the Alliance have talked about Malaya for the Malaysians since we first formed the Alliance Party in 1953. When our Prime Minister first mooted out the idea of Malaysia, we told the people of Sarawak, Sabah and Singapore that we would like them to achieve independence together with us, so that they would have the same status as we have enjoyed, the same rights and privileges as we had as an independent and sovereign nation.

We, the leaders of the Alliance, are now fortunately accustomed to this sort of talk, to smearing campaigns and to double talk ever since the Prime Minister of Singapore came into the political arena of Malaysia. But we hope and trust the people of Malaysia of all races know this and should be aware of this double talk. We, in the Alliance have always try to be fair. We always like to play the game, and although politics is a dirty thing, there are rules to the game and we all must follow the rules.

For generations, Sir, people in this country, people of all races, have lived in peace and harmony. Ever since we achieved independence in 1957, there have been peace and harmony. Since we achieved independence through Malaysia in 1963, people of all races have lived in goodwill and harmony.

Now, Sir, why this sudden talk of racial tension, of one race tending to dominate another, or of possible trouble and, if there is to be trouble, let us have it now? Why should there be such talk? As I said, Mr Lee Kuan Yew has to find some issues to make noise. Otherwise, his voice cannot be heard beyond the island of Singapore. As my colleague, the Minister of Home Affairs, said, he shouts, 'Fire, fire', while at the same time commits arson. This is the tactic employed by a desperate politician who is ready to use any means to get himself some support.

Now, in the happy situation that the people of this country of all races are, he finds it difficult to see anything wrong to criticise the Alliance Government. He has, therefore, to create an imaginary situation; the most sensitive issue, and one which can easily arouse the sentiment of the people, is this racial issue, its differences and imbalances among the different races. He, therefore, decided to throw a wedge between the different races. First, in order to make friends with the UMNO and the Malays, he attempted to discredit the M.C.A., stating that the M.C.A. did not represent the Chinese, did not stand for the rights of the Chinese. When he found that this tactic did not work and was completely rejected by the people at large, and found out that UMNO decided to stand solidly with the M.C.A., he switched round his tactics and attacked the UMNO and the Malays. He hoped by doing this, he would get the non-Malays to support him. This is a tactic, and that is why he has been whipping up this campaign of anti-UMNO and anti-Malays.

I say, Sir, this is a dangerous way of attempting to gain political support in a multi-racial country like this. This method must lead to racial strife and tension and ultimately to trouble and chaos. I do not believe that the Prime Minister of Singapore cares very much about this as long as he has a chance of getting additional support for himself. But we, in the Alliance, are responsible people. We have the interest and welfare of the country at heart. We place the peace and harmony, the unity of our people of all races above everything else. We say, whatever we do, we must not upset this goodwill, this harmony and this unity among our people. We must assure our people of various races that they have a place under our sun.

Sir, our policy is clear. We have made it clear many times that we are determined to maintain harmony and goodwill of our people of all races, to give them a proper place in our country, to help the less fortunate, the 'have-nots', so that they will have a decent standard of living and a proper place in our society.

It is our policy to maintain and strengthen the harmony, goodwill and friendship of our people of all races, so that ultimately they will regard themselves as members of one nation and not members of various races. This is our policy and this is our approach as my colleague the Minister of Home Affairs has made it clear to this House.

Our method of unifying our people by a slow and steady process has proved a success in the former Federation. There is no reason why they should not prove a success in Malaysia, provided the people give us this confidence and their support. Mr Speaker, Sir, I have no doubt the people will continue to give their support to the Alliance for many, many years to come.

Now, Sir, the gulf that divides the P.A.P. and us, the Alliance, is now wide and clear. We, the Malaysian Alliance Party, stand for unity in Malaysia, of harmony and goodwill among our people of various races of peace and progress. The P.A.P. stands for division, for partition and for disunity. Therefore, in short, Malaysia Alliance Party (M.A.P.) means Malaysia, Abundance, Progress. P.A.P. means Partition and Perish -dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan P.A.P. means 'Pecah akan Punah'. Thank you.

Sumber: Penyata Perbahasan di Dewan Rakyat, 3 Jun 1965

Lampiran VII

Kenyataan Tunku Abdul Rahman mengenai Perpisahan Singapura dari Malaysia di Dewan Rakyat pada 9 Ogos 1965

Mr Speaker, Sir, I wish to make an announcement to this House, an announcement which no doubt will cause a big surprise and shock perhaps, to some of the Honourable Members. In fact, to me and to many of the Members, it is a most painful and heartbreaking news that I have to break and for them to listen. I consider it a misfortune for me to have to make this announcement. In all the 10 years of leadership in this House, I have never had a duty so unpleasant as this to perform. The announcement which I am making concerns the separation of Singapore from the rest of the Federation. The reasons for this have been many but I do not propose to go into them in detail.

Since the formation of Malaysia, and this year in particular, there have been so many differences with the Singapore Government, and these differences take many forms, many shapes, and many guises - so much so that it is now come to this breaking point. I cannot find, search deep as I like into my mind, any other solution, except the course of action that I am now taking or forced to take. I have given myself plenty of thoughts, while I was lying in bed in London and also when I was convalescing before my return to this country, I have conveyed my thoughts to my friend and my colleague Tun Abdul Razak, who had sought to find an understanding with the leaders of Singapore, but I am afraid to no avail. It appeared that as soon as one issue was resolved another cropped up; where a patch was made here a tear appeared elsewhere; and when one hole was plugged other leaks appeared. So it does seem completely impossible to arrive at a solution whereby we can hope to pull along together and to work together in the interest and for the common good of our beloved country.

We have tried everything possible to avoid the separation of Singapore from the rest of Malaysia. In the end we find that there are only two courses open to us: (1) is to take repressive measures against the Singapore Government or their leaders for the behaviour of some of their leaders; and (2) is the course of action, which we are taking now, to sever connection with the State Government of Singapore that has ceased to give even a measure of loyalty to the Central Government. The position of the Central Government, not only at home but

worse still abroad, has been mocked and made to look ludicrous on many occasions. It is clear that some action must be taken. It is odious for us to take repressive measures against the Singapore leaders as we consider it repulsive to our concept of a parliamentary democracy to do so. Even then, it will not solve the problems before us because, as I have said just now, there is not one problem but many; and all that gives us the most concern is the communal issue which has been brought up by the leaders of Singapore. This is a matter which concerns me most, because the peace, happiness and the security of this country depend on goodwill and understanding among the various people who have made a home of this country. Without this goodwill and this understanding this nation is bound to break up and with a consequential disaster which we have seen and read about happening elsewhere. We feel that this repressive action against a few would not, therefore, solve the problem, because the seed of discontent, fear and hatred, has been sown not only in Singapore but elsewhere; and, I feel, if we were to take repressive measures, it cannot help because it would sprout up elsewhere, and with the rule of force.

Thousands of students abroad have been fed with all kinds of propaganda against the Central Government. A Malaysian Malaysia in particular suggests that the Malaysia we have now is bad and that all the advantage in Malaysia is given to one race only, while depriving the other races of their rightful place in our society. Foreign correspondents who approached me on this subject, while I was abroad were under the impression that the Malay race - they say - dominated the Central Government and had not been to others; that there had been discrimination against the Chinese in all fields and in all matters. One even went so far as to suggest that the closing of the Bank of China was a move against the Chinese, food stores had to close down because they were now unable to get any food from China - as if there is no food in this country.

It was suggested that our quarrel with the PAP was due to the fact that we are afraid of the far more advanced and enlightened socialist government of Singapore. They appeared so incredulous when I informed them that there are socialist parties in the Mainland, and other parties who are not friendly with us, and that the PAP itself contested elections in this country, or in the Mainland, without any success, and that the only party which had been banned in this country is the Communist Party. I also informed them that most of these parties are made up mainly of Chinese whose numbers exceed those of Mr Lee Kuan Yew's Party, and to state therefore that Mr Lee Kuan Yew represents the Chinese people of Malaysia and at the same time represent the interest of the left wing party in this country is wrong.

There appeared also in the foreign Press from time to time articles and reports which gave an entirely wrong picture of the situation in this country. They

implied that any action which we take to put a stop to the subversive activities of the enemies and traitors from within as attempts to victimise the Chinese. Apart from the closure of the Bank of China, the resettlement of the Chinese in Sarawak is one of the examples I can give of criticisms directed against the Central Government. In short, while they are trying to build up the image of Mr Lee Kuan Yew, they are at the same time doing us no favour at all. While in London I had to interview some of the pressmen, representing some of the leading newspapers and magazines in that country, and tried to explain to them the position in this country. Though they pretend to understand, I felt that deep in their hearts they disbelieved. And so if we have to go on explaining all these because of the propaganda directed against us. I think it is going to be difficult for us. We will not, in fact, be allowed to be left alone and to be given, the moral support which we clearly deserve, in order to bolster our courage in this fight which we have to carry out against the enemy from within, the Communists or the terrorists, and against the threat from without.

We consider ourselves really as one of the nations in South-East Asia that has managed not only to fight our battles but at the same time has provided for our peoples. We are in fact one of the countries, I say, that has made a real success of our independence. While we have had to spend so much money strengthening our defence, we have at the same time managed to provide livelihood, education and other services which have made our people on the whole contented.

There has also been certain inclinations on the part of some countries to look upon the Prime Minister of Singapore as an equal partner in the Malaysian Government and to encourage, perhaps indirectly, him to assert his authority in Malaysia, and this has made the situation in this country rather awkward. In a nation there can only be one national executive head and that is the Prime Minister. An illustration, which I saw in one of the British papers, depicted a cartoon of Mr Lee Kuan Yew and myself over the map of Malaysia with a caption 'Too many cooks' - and that really is the point. There can only be, as I said, one Prime Minister for the nation and there cannot be two, and so the best course we can take is to allow Mr Lee Kuan Yew to be the Prime Minister of independent Singapore in the full sense of the word.

I was hoping in my dreams, in my talks, and in my acts to make Singapore the New York of Malaysia, or to make Singapore to Malaysia what New York is to America, and I had begged the politicians in Singapore to give all their thoughts to this and to do all they can in order to fulfill this objective. In order to do that, it is necessary for them to place the interests of Singapore above that of their own personal interests and glorification. Unfortunately, political rivalry, political activities and enthusiasm of the various politicians in Singapore, had mad this impossible. They lost sight of the importance of Singapore as one

of the most important ports, perhaps not only in South-East Asia but in the whole of Asia. My dream, I felt, has been shattered and so we now come to the parting of ways.

In the matter of finance too it has been extremely difficult to obtain Singapore's support. Criticisms levelled at the Central Government by the Singapore representatives at the last Budget meeting of this Parliament are still perhaps, fresh in the memories of most of the Honourable Members. Now we have reached a stage where it is difficult to agree on anything at all - however trivial the matter may be. There is disagreement as to the quantum of Singapore's financial contribution to the Central Government. Honourable Members are aware that there has been a very sharp rise in defence and security expenditure, and the Central Government felt compelled to ask for Singapore's support. It is only right that it should bear a legitimate share of the country's burdens in this time of grave emergency, but Singapore refused to make this contribution, except in so far as Singapore's defence is concerned. Under Annex J to the Malaysia Agreement, Singapore was bound to contribute over a five-year period by way of loan a petty sum of \$150 millions to the Central Government for the economic development of Sabah and Sarawak. Part of this loan was to be free of interest, but this loan had not been given. There had been bickerings over the amount of interest to be paid and Singapore refused to trust Bank Negara to determine the current market rate for long-term loans in the Federation but rather insisted on an arbitrator from the World Bank. Now, this would have taken a considerable time to reach a decision, while the urgency of our need is so great. The development in these two States in Borneo - Sabah and Sarawak - is very, very urgent to us.

These are among other troubles we have had with Singapore and as time goes on the political troubles and differences, which at the moment are simmering, may soon blow up into something more serious than we have dreamt of. On the other hand, our relationship with Sabah dan Sarawak has been excellent. We are desirous of carrying out extensive development programme in these two State, because we realise that under the colonial rule the development in the two States had been neglected. We know that they had joined us on their own accord and of their own free will, in the hope that they would enjoy not only the independence, the prestige, which freedom brings with it but also to enjoy other fruits of freedom. They fit into the pattern of administration with the rest of the States in Malaysia so admirably well; and unless we can carry out some development however small it may be their hope and trust in us will, I am afraid, inevitably lessen. But with the money we have to pour out to defend ourselves against the enemy from without, it was expected that Singapore would cooperate, for we could not give all the money that we wanted to give. Unfortunately, as I said before, they refused.

The people of Sabah and Sarawak live in an area where Indonesian aggression is most intensive and violent. Since Indonesia started its confrontation against Malaysia, the people of these two States have suffered more than the people of the other States in the country. In spite of that, they feel no fear or sense of frustration, but continue to play their part as true patriotic and loyal citizens of Malaysia. The people in the Mainland admire them for their courage and no word that I can express is sufficient to describe our thanks and our admiration for our compatriots. I hope that this separation from Singapore will not cause them undue worry or concern, and that in the circumstances they will agree and appreciate that the course of action which we are taking is the only one open to us. Uppermost in our mind, in our heart, is peace, harmony, among the people who have made their home in Malaysia, and I think in separation from Singapore, we can obtain the closest co-operation with them.

In respect of those citizens of Singapore, who have been strong in support of Malaysia, I hope they will not feel that they have been let down. This has been forced upon us, and it has been agreed by the present Government of Singapore that the only course open, both for them and for ourselves, is separation. I can assure them that in my discussion with the Prime Minister of Singapore, we have agreed that they will be given the fullest of protection and amenities as given to all the citizens of Singapore. On the other hand, if they feel strongly that they wish to leave or evacuate and come to stay in the Federation, I have made arrangements with the Johore Government to reserve for them quite a considerable piece of land, where they can live in Malaysia. I can assure them that we will do all we can to make them feel at home and welcome here should they choose to come here. I pray that they will not lose their sense of balance and take some action, which can only bring about unhappiness to themselves, to their families and to us. This is the last thing which we would like to happen, and considering the peace of Malaysia as a whole we are convinced that there is no other way out but to do what we think is best for the country and for the people.

Things are getting worse lately. Irresponsible utterances are made by both sides, I am afraid, which, reading between the lines, are tantamount to challenges; and if trouble were to break out, the innocent will have to suffer and be sacrificed at the altar of these belligerent, heartless and irresponsible trouble makers of this country. I believe, therefore, that the second course of action, which we are taking, that is the separation of Singapore from the rest of the Federation, is the best and the right one, sad as it may seem. Before Malaysia with Singapore and with all the other States in Sabah and Sarawak, we had pledged to love and to give our fullest loyalty to Malaysia but, as I said, Singapore had never been able to do that, and had tried to work its way out. Therefore, we feel that the best course to take is the amicable settlement on which we have now decided, because if we persist in going through with

Singapore as a member of Malaysia there will be more trouble to Malaysia than what Singapore is worth. Separation will be made on the understanding that we shall co-operate closely in matters of defence, trade and commerce. This matter was discussed with the leaders of Singapore as a result of which we had drawn up an agreement - this sets out the terms agreed upon and contains those methods which I have just mentioned. This agreement has been signed by all the members of the Singapore Government and by selected members of the Central Government. The agreement is to grant Singapore complete independence and sovereignty.

For the benefit of Honourable Members, I would like to refer to some of the clauses in this agreement.

Article V reads:

The parties hereto will enter into a treaty on external defence and mutual assistance providing that the parties hereto will establish a joint defence council for purposes of external defence and mutual assistance.

So, you see here that in matters of defence, we will work jointly together.

The Government of Malaysia will afford to the Government of Singapore such assistances as may be considered reasonable and adequate for the external defence and in consideration thereof the Government of Singapore will contribute from its own armed forces such units thereof as may be considered reasonable and adequate for such defence. The Government of Singapore will afford to the Government of Malaysia the right to continue to maintain the bases and other facilities used by its military forces within Singapore and will permit the Government of Malaysia to make such use of its bases and facilities that the Government of Malaysia may consider necessary for the purpose of external defence. Each party will undertake not to enter into any treaty or agreement with a foreign country which may be detrimental to the independence and defence of the territory of the other party'.

That means in short that Singapore on their own will not be able to enter into any treaty with any power outside except with the agreement of the Malaysian Government.

Article VI provides for the economic arrangement between the two countries. The two territories will have to depend on one another - more so for Singapore to depend on Malaysia. Talks will be held to provide facilities for trade and commerce between the two territories. It is not possible for me to say any more at this state. The businessmen of these two countries will have to rely on us to do what we can to help them in order to maintain commercial ties and trade relations of the two States.

Article VII reads as follows:

The parties hereto will, on and after Singapore Day co-operate in economic affairs for their mutual benefits and interests and for this purpose may set up such Joint Committee or Council as may from time to time be agreed upon.

In respect of Article VII- in fact, I read to you Article VI just now - the Agreement expressly rescinded as from today, the 9th of August, Annex J relating to the establishment of a Common Market and Annex K relating to Broadcasting and Television.

In Article VIII, which is rather important, we agreed that the liabilities of the Central Government, with respect to any debt, loan or liabilities incurred by Singapore since Malaysia Day will from today free Malaysia from further liabilities. This Article reads:

With regard to any agreement entered today between the Government of Singapore and any other country or corporate body, which has been guaranteed by the Government of Malaysia, the Government of Singapore hereby undertakes to negotiate with such country or corporate body to enter into a fresh agreement releasing the Government of Malaysia of its liabilities and obligations under the said guarantee, and the Government of Singapore hereby undertakes to indemnify the Government of Malaysia fully for any liabilities, obligations or damage which it may suffer as a result of the said guarantee.

In order to give effect to this agreement, the Proclamation of Independence of the State of Singapore, it is necessary to amend the Federal Constitution and the Malaysia Act, so that both the Constitution and the Act shall cease to have effect in Singapore, except in all those matters specifically provided for in Clauses 8 and 13 of the Bill. This Bill will be presented to this House in due course.

Another matter, which is of great concern to the people who live in Singapore and Malaysia, is in respect of the movement between the two territories or the two States. It is obvious that with different Government, different independent Governments, some control will have to be exercised over the movement, in order to prevent undesirable people from moving between these two territories; but until the regulations have been formulated, it is agreed that these people should have free movement. It is necessary, perhaps, to provide them with some travelling documents under these regulations, such as border pass for short visits and passports and other documents for long stay. However, as I said, until this arrangement can be finalised, it is only right and fair for the people of these territories to carry on as they have been used to.

Lastly, I pray that Singapore and the people of Singapore, will enjoy peace, happiness and prosperity in this new life, and I can assure them that whatever we

can do to help them, we will be only too glad to do so. I believe, perhaps, in diversity we can find unity or, in ordinary everyday parlance, in separation or in absence through separation the house might grow fonder.

Sumber: Penyata Perbahasan di Dewan Rakyat, 9 Ogos 1965

Lampiran VIII

Perjanjian Pemisahan Singapura daripada Malaysia

An Agreement dated the 7th day of August 1965, and made between the Government of Malaysia of the one part and the Government of Singapore of the other part.

Whereas Malaysia was established on the 16th day of September, 1963, by a federation of the existing states of the Federation of Malaya and the State of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore into one independent and sovereign nation.

And whereas it has been agreed by the parties here to that fresh arrangements should be made for the order and good government of the territories comprised in Malaysia by the separation of Singapore from Malaysia upon which Singapore shall become an independent and sovereign state and nation separate from and independent of Malaysia and so recognized by the Government of Malaysia;

Now therefore it is agreed and declared as follow:

ARTICLE I

This agreement may be cited as the Independence of Singapore Agreement, 1965.

ARTICLE II

Singapore shall cease to be a State of Malaysia on the 9th day of August 1965, (hereinafter referred to as 'Singapore Day' and shall become an independent and sovereign state separate from and independent of Malaysia and recognized as such by the Government of Malaysia; and the Government of Malaysia will proclaim and enact the constitutional instruments annexed to this Agreement in the manner hereinafter appearing.

ARTICLE III

The Government of Malaysia will declare by way of proclamation in the form set out in Annex A to this Agreement that Singapore is an independent and sovereign state separate from and independent of Malaysia and recognized as such by the Government of Malaysia.

ARTICLE IV

The Government of Malaysia will take such steps as may be appropriate and available to them to secure the enactment by the Parliament of Malaysia of an Act in the form set out in Annex B to this Agreement and will ensure that it is made operative as from Singapore Day, providing for the relinquishment of sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Government of Malaysia in respect of Singapore so that the said sovereignty and jurisdiction shall on such relinquishment vest in the Government of Singapore in accordance with this Agreement and the constitutional instruments annexed.

ARTICLE V

The parties here to will enter in to a treaty on external defense and mutual assistance providing that: -

The parties here to will establish of joint defense council for purpose of external defense and mutual assistance;

The Government of Malaysia will afford to the Government of Singapore such assistance as may be considered reasonable and adequate for external defense, and in consideration thereof, the Government of Singapore will contribute from its own armed forces such units thereof as may be considered reasonable and adequate for such defense;

The Government of Singapore will afford to the Government of Malaysia the right to continue to maintain the bases and other facilities used by its military forces within Singapore and will permit the Government of Malaysia to make such use of these bases and facilities as the Government of Malaysia may consider necessary for the purpose of external defense;

Each party will undertake not to enter into any treaty or agreement with a foreign country, which may be detrimental to the independence and defense of the territory of the other party.

ARTICLE VI

The parties here to will on and after Singapore Day co-operate in economic affairs for their mutual benefit and interest and for this purpose may set up such joint committees or councils as may from time to time be agreed upon.

ARTICLE VII

The provisions of Annex J and K of the Agreement relating to Malaysia dated the 9th day of July 1963 are hereby expressly rescinded as from the date of this Agreement.

ARTICLE VIII

With regard to any agreement entered into between the Government of Singapore and any other country or corporate body which has been guaranteed by the Government of Malaysia, the Government of Singapore hereby undertakes to negotiate with such country or corporate body to enter into a fresh agreement releasing the Government of Malaysia of its liabilities and obligations under the said guarantee, and the Government of Singapore hereby undertake to indemnify the Government of Malaysia fully for any liabilities, obligations or damage which it may suffer as a result of the said guarantee.

In witness hereof, the undersigned, being duly authorized thereto, have signed this Agreement.

Done this 7th day of August 1965, in two copies of which one shall be deposited with each of the Parties.

For the Government of Malaysia:

Prime Minister	Signed
Deputy Prime Minister	Signed
Minister of Home Affairs	Signed
Minister of Finance	Signed
Minister of Works, Posts & Telecommunications	Signed
For the Government of Singapore	Signed
Prime Minister	Signed
Deputy Prime Minister	Signed
Minister for Finance	Signed
Minister for Labour	Signed
Minister for Law	Signed

Minister of Culture	Signed
Minister for Social Affairs	Signed
Minister for Education	Signed
Minister for Health	Signed
Minister for National Development	Signed

Annex A

PROCLAMATION ON SINGAPORE

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise is to God, the Lord of the Universe, and may the benediction and peace of God be upon Our Leader Muhammad and upon all His Relations and Friends.

Whereas Malaysia was established on the 16th day of September, 1963, by a federation of the existing states of the Federation of Malaya and the State of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore in to one independence and sovereign nation;

And Whereas by an Agreement made on the 7th day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five between the Government of Malaysia of the one part and the Government of Singapore of the other part it was agreed that Singapore should cease to be a state of Malaysia and should thereupon become an independent and sovereign state and nation separate from and independent of Malaysia;

And Whereas it was also agreed by the parties to the said agreement that, upon the separation of Singapore from Malaysia, the Government of Malaysia shall relinquish its sovereignty and jurisdiction in respect of Malaysia so that the said sovereignty and jurisdiction shall on such relinquishment vest in the Government of Singapore;

Now in the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful, I, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj Ibni AlMarhum Sultan Abdul Hamid Shah, Prime Minister of Malaysia, with the concurrence and approval of His Majesty the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong of Malaysia, Do hereby Declare and Proclaim that, as from the 9th day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five, Singapore shall cease to be a State of Malaysia, and shall forever be an independent and sovereign state and nation separate from the independent of Malaysia, and that the Government of Malaysia recognizes the present Government of Singapore as an independent and sovereign government of Singapore and will always work in friendship and co-operation with it.

Signed.

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj

Annex B

**A BILL
INTITULATED**

An Act to amend the Constitution of Malaysia and the Malaysia Act.

Be it enacted by the Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang Di-Pertuan Agong with the advice and consent of the Dewan Negara and Dewan Rakyat in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. This act may be cited as the Constitution and Malaysia (Singapore Amendment) Act, 1965.
2. Parliament may by this Act allow Singapore to leave Malaysia and become an independent and sovereign state and nation separate from and independent of Malaysia.
3. Singapore shall cease to be a State of Malaysia on the 9th of August, 1965, (hereinafter called 'Singapore Day') and shall thereupon become and independent and sovereign state and nation separate from the independent of Malaysia and recognized as such by the Government of Malaysia; and accordingly the Constitution of Malaysia and the Malaysia Act shall thereupon cease to have effect in Singapore except as hereinafter provided.
4. The Government of Singapore shall on and after Singapore Day retain its executive authority and legislative powers to make laws with respect to those matters provided for in the Constitution.
5. The executive authority and legislative powers of the Parliament of Malaysia to make laws for any of its constituent States with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the Constitution shall on Singapore Day cease to extend to Singapore and shall be transferred so as to vest in the Government of Singapore.
6. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall on Singapore Day cease to be the Supreme Head of Singapore and his sovereignty and jurisdiction, and power and authority, executive or otherwise in respect of Singapore shall be relinquished and shall vest in the Yang di-Pertuan Negara, the Head of State of Singapore.
7. All present laws in force in Singapore immediately before Singapore Day shall continue to have effect according to their tenor and shall be construed as if

this Act had not been passed in respect of Singapore subject however to amendment or repeal by the Legislature of Singapore.

8. Until other provision is made by the Legislature of Singapore, the jurisdiction, original or appellate, and the practice and procedure of the High Court and the subordinate Courts of Singapore shall be the same as that exercised and followed immediately before Singapore Day, and appeals from the High Court shall continue to lie to the Federal Court of Appeal of Malaysia and then to the Privy Council in like manner.

9. All property, movable and immovable, and rights, liabilities and obligations which before Malaysia Day belonged to or were the responsibility of the Government of Singapore and which on that day or after became the property of or the responsibility of the Government of Malaysia shall on Singapore Day revert to and vest in or devolve upon and become once again the property of or the responsibility of Singapore.

10. (a) All persons, including members of the Armed Forces, the Police Force, the Courts and the Judiciary, and all others who immediately before Malaysia Day were officers employed by the Government of Singapore and who on that day or after became officers employed by the Government of Malaysia shall on Singapore Day become once again officers employed by the Government of Singapore.

(b) All persons who between Malaysia Day and Singapore Day were engaged by the Government of Malaysia for employment in those departments which were departments of the State of Singapore before Malaysia Day shall on Singapore Day become forthwith officers employed by the Government of Singapore.

11. The two Senators and fifteen Members of Parliament from Singapore shall on Singapore Day cease to be members of the Senate and the House of Representatives respectively.

12. A citizen of Singapore shall on Singapore Day cease to be a citizen of Malaysia.

13. Any treaty, agreement or convention entered into before Singapore Day between the Yang di-Pertuan Agong or the Government of Malaysia and another country or countries, including those deemed to be so by Article 169 of the

Constitution of Malaysia shall in so far as such instruments have application to Singapore, be deemed to be a treaty, agreement or convention between Singapore and that country or countries, and any decision taken by an international organization and accepted before Singapore Day by the Government of Malaysia shall in so far as that decision has application to Singapore be deemed to be a decision of an international organization of which Singapore is a member.

In particular as regards the Agreement on External Defense and Mutual Assistance between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Federation of Malaya of 12th October 1957, and its annexes which were applied to all territories of Malaysia by Article VI of the Agreement Relating to Malaysia of 9th July, 1963, subject to the provision of Annex F there to (relating primarily to Service lands in Singapore), the Government of Singapore will on and after Singapore Day afford to the Government of the United Kingdom the right to continue to maintain the bases and other facilities occupied by their services authorities within Singapore and will permit the Government of the United Kingdom to make such use of these bases and facilities as that Government may consider necessary for the purpose of assisting in the defense of Singapore and Malaysia and for

Commonwealth defense and for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia. Mutual government guarantees of water agreements.

14. The Government of Singapore shall guarantee that the Public Utilities Board of Singapore shall on and after Singapore Day abide by the terms and conditions of the Water Agreements dated 1st September, 1961, and 29th September 1962, entered into between the City Council of Singapore and the Government of the State of Johore.

The Government of Malaysia shall guarantee that the Government of the State of Johore will on and after Singapore Day also abide by the terms and conditions of the said two Water Agreements.

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