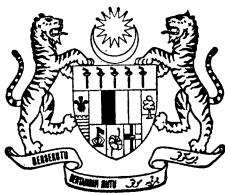


Jilid I
Bil. 2



MALAYSIA

Hari Juma'at
5hb Mach, 1971

PENYATA RASMI

OFFICIAL REPORT

DEWAN NEGARA

Senate

PARLIMEN KETIGA

Third Parliament

PENGGAL PARLIMEN PERTAMA

First Session

KANDONGAN-NYA

PEMASHHORAN OLEH TUAN YANG DI-PERTUA:

Perutusan daripada Dewan Ra'ayat [Ruangan 35]

URUSAN MESHUARAT [Ruangan 35]

RANG UNDANG²:

Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan [Ruangan 36]

MALAYSIA

DEWAN NEGARA YANG KETIGA

Penyata Rasmi

PENGGAL YANG PERTAMA

Hari Juma'at, 5hb Mach, 1971

Meshuarat di-mulakan pada pukul 2.30 petang

YANG HADHIR:

- Yang Berhormat Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI HAJI ABDUL HAMID KHAN BIN HAJI SAKHAWAT ALI KHAN, P.M.N., J.P. (Di-lantek).
- „ Peguam Negara, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI ABDUL KADIR BIN YUSOF, P.M.N., P.J.K. (Di-lantek).
- „ Menteri Dengan Tugas² Khas dan Penerangan, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI MUHAMMAD GHAZALI BIN SHAFIE, P.M.N., D.I.M.P., P.D.K. (Di-lantek).
- „ TUAN ABDULLAH BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN (Johor).
- „ TUAN ABDUL RAHIM BIN ABDUL MANAN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Negri Sembilan).
- „ TUAN ABDUL SAMAD BIN OSMAN (Di-lantek).
- „ TUAN ABU BAKAR BIN AHMAD, S.M.T., P.J.K. (Trengganu).
- „ PUAN AISHAH BINTI HAJI ABDUL GHANI (Di-lantek).
- „ TUAN AMALUDDIN BIN DARUS, J.P. (Kelantan).
- „ TUAN A. ARUNASALAM, A.M.N. (Di-lantek).
- „ DATO' JOSEPH AUGUSTINE ANGIAN ANDULAG, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- „ TUAN CHAN KWONG HON, J.M.N., S.M.S., J.P. (Selangor).
- „ DATO' DR CHEAH TOON LOK, D.P.M.K., D.M.K., J.M.N., J.P. (Di-lantek).
- „ TUAN CHONG FOO KHIN, P.J.K., J.P. (Negri Sembilan).
- „ DATO' J. E. S. CRAWFORD, D.P.M.P., J.M.N., S.P.M.P., J.P., DATO' KURNIA INDERA (Di-lantek).
- „ TUAN SYED DARUS BIN SYED HASHIM (Perlis).
- „ PUAN DASIMAH DASIR, A.M.N., J.P. (Di-lantek).
- „ DATO' FOO SEE MOI, D.P.M.K., J.P. (Di-lantek).
- Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI GAN TECK YEOW, P.S.M., J.M.N. (Di-lantek).
- Yang Berhormat TUAN GOH CHEK KIN, P.J.K. (Trengganu).
- „ NIK HASSAN BIN HAJI NIK YAHYA, J.M.N. (Di-lantek).
- „ TUAN SYED HASSAN AIDID, J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P. (Pulau Pinang).
- „ TUAN HONG KIM SUI, A.D.K. (Di-lantek).

- Yang Berhormat TUAN IBRAHIM BIN HAJI YAACOB, P.J.K. (Selangor).
- .. DATO' WAN IBRAHIM BIN WAN TANJONG, J.M.N., P.J.K., ORANG KAYA INDERA MAHARAJA PURBA JELAI (Pahang).
- .. TUAN HAJI C. D. ISMAIL, J.M.N., J.P. (Di-lantek).
- .. TUAN KAMARUL ARIFFIN BIN MOHD. YASSIN (Di-lantek).
- .. TUAN ANDREW JIKA LANDAU (Di-lantek).
- .. DATO' Y. T. LEE, D.P.M.S., J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P. (Di-lantek).
- .. TUAN LIM HEE HONG, J.M.N., J.P. (Di-lantek).
- .. TUAN G. LOUIS (Di-lantek).
- .. TUAN S. T. MANI, P.J.K. (Di-lantek).
- .. AWANG DAUD MATUSIN (Di-lantek).
- .. TUAN MOHD. HANIPAH BIN S. ALAUDIN, A.M.N., J.P. (Kedah).
- .. TUAN HAJI MOHD. SAAID BIN HAJI ABU BAKAR (Di-lantek).
- .. DATO' ATHI NAHAPPAN, D.P.M.S. (Di-lantek).
- .. DATO' NGAU KEN LOCK, J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P., DATO' KURNIA PANGLIMA RAJA (Pahang).
- .. DATO' TEMENGGONG OYONG LAWAI JAU, P.N.B.S., M.B.E. (Sarawak).
- .. TUAN K. R. SOMASUNDRAM, A.M.N. (Kedah).
- .. WAN SULAIMAN BIN WAN TAM, P.J.K. (Di-lantek).
- .. TUAN WILLIAM TAN, J.M.N., C.B.E. (Di-lantek).

Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI T. H. TAN, P.M.N. (Di-lantek).

- Yang Berhormat DATO' E. E. C. THURASINGHAM, D.P.M.J., J.P. (Di-lantek).
- .. DATO' S. O. K. UBAlDULLA, D.P.M.S., J.M.N. (Di-lantek).
- .. TUAN WONG SWEE SOON, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Di-lantek).
- .. TUAN YAHYA BIN HAJI AHMAD (Perak).
- .. TUAN ZAINUDDIN BIN HAJI MOHD. SIDIN, P.J.K. (Di-lantek).

YANG TIADA HADHIR :

- Yang Berhormat Menteri Ta' Berpotfolio, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI ONG YOKE LIN, P.M.N. (Di-lantek).
- .. DATO' HAJI PENGIRAN MOHAMED DIGADONG GALPAM, P.D.K. (Sabah).
- .. DATO' WAN MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI WAN ALI, D.M.M.K. (Kelantan).
- .. TOK PANGKU PANDAK HAMID BIN PUTEH JALI, P.J.K. (Di-lantek).

YANG HADHIR BERSAMA :

- Yang Berhormat Menteri Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar, TUAN ABDUL GHAFAR BIN BABA (Melaka Utara).

DO'A

(Tuan Yang di-Pertua *mempengerusikan meshuarat*)

**TITAH UCHAPAN DULI YANG MAHA MULIA SERI PADUKA
BAGINDA YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG**

Tuan Yang di-Pertua Dewan Negara, Tuan Yang di-Pertua Dewan Ra'ayat dan Yang Berhormat Ahli² Dewan Negara dan Dewan Ra'ayat:

Beta menguchap shukor kehadzrat Tuhan Rabbul Alamin yang telah melimpahkan rahmat-Nya untok Beta menyampaikan ucapan Beta kapada Ahli² Yang Berhormat kedua² Dewan Parlimen pada hari ini. Upachara pembukaan Penggal yang Pertama bagi Parlimen yang Ketiga ini ada-lah memberi erti yang sangat besar bagi negara ini dan bertambah² lagi bagi Beta sa-telah di-langsungkan upachara Pertabalan Beta pada 20hb Februari.

Sebagaimana Ahli² Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum, beberapa hari sa-telah Pilehan Raya di-jalankan pada 10hb Mei, 1969 satu peristiwa burok telah berlaku yang memaksa keadaan dharurat di-ishtiharkan pada 15hb Mei, 1969, dan pemerentahan sechara berparlimen di-gantung sa-hingga keadaan di-dalam negara puleh semula. Tun Abdul Razak bin Dato' Hussein telah di-lantek menjadi Pengarah Gerakan dan di-tugaskan untok memulehkan keamanan, mengembalikan pentadbiran yang lichin, dan mewujudkan semula suasana harmoni di-antara kaum dalam negara ini.

Dalam menjalankan tugas² yang di-berikan kapada-nya, Pengarah Gerakan telah di-bantu oleh beberapa badan saperti Majlis Gerakan Negara dan Majlis Perundingan Negara. Beta berasa shukor kehadzrat Illahi kerana dengan kebijaksanaan dan tindakan tegas Tun Abdul Razak selaku Pengarah Gerakan, keadaan negara kita telah puleh saperti keadaan sekarang ini. Angkatan Polis dan Angkatan Tentera telah memberi khidmat yang chemerlang untok memulehkan keamanan negara. Semua anggota² perkhidmatan awam pula telah memberikan sumbangan yang sa-penoh-nya untok mengembalikan pentadbiran yang lichin. Ra'ayat Beta dari semua gulongan dan sa-genap lapisan dan juga Majlis Muhibbah Negara telah sama berusaha untok mewujudkan semula suasana harmoni di-antara kaum² dalam negeri ini. Kapada Tun Abdul Razak dan semua-nya yang telah berkhidmat dengan tidak mengira masa dan kepentingan diri sendiri, Beta menguchapkan berbanyak² terima kaseh. Jasa dan khidmat bakti mereka sa-sunggoh²-nya di-sanjong tinggi oleh negara.

Dengan keadaan negara puleh saperti keadaan sekarang ini, Beta telah berkenan supaya Parlimen bersidang semula. Walau bagaimana pun, kita harus berwaspada dan berikhtiar supaya peristiwa burok yang berlaku pada 13hb Mei, 1969, tidak berulang lagi.

Pada saat ini Beta mengambil peluang menguchapkan selamat bersara daripada jawatan Perdana Menteri kapada Paduka Ayahanda Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj. Selama 15 tahun Tunku telah mengetuāi Kerajaan negara ini dan di-bawah pimpinan beliau, negara ini telah mencapai kemerdekaan dan menjadi negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Di-bawah pimpinan-nya juga negara kita telah mencapai kesetabilan dan kemajuan yang chemerlang. Jasa dan bakti Tunku kapada bangsa dan negara akan senantiasa di-ingati oleh ra'ayat Malaysia dan kita semua berdo'a moga² Allah melimpahkan Rahmat dan Hidayat-Nya kapada beliau dalam masa persaraan-nya.

swasta harus-lah di-wujudkan oleh kerana aktiviti² Kerajaan sering menyentoh kedudukan pehak swasta dan sebalak-nya. Maka mustahak-lah pehak masing² memahami dan mengenali tujuan² dan aktiviti² yang di-jalankan oleh masing². Kerajaan sedang menyusun satu rancangan untuk membolehkan pegawai² dari kedua² pehak mendapat perhubungan yang rapat dan mungkin juga untuk menukarkan pegawai² yang berkebolehan daripada suatu pehak ka-satu pehak yang lain. Dengan chara ini Kerajaan berharap kedua² pehak akan dapat mengenali dan memahami sechara dekat lagi tujuan masing² supaya kedua² pehak dapat saling membantu usaha masing² memajukan ekonomi negara ini.

Berhubung dengan keselamatan dalam negeri Kerajaan akan terus mengambil tindakan tegas dan segera terhadap anasir² subversif di-negeri ini. Gerakan menentang pengganas² di-kawasan sempadan sedang giat di-jalankan dan senantiasa menerima kerjasama yang erat dari Kerajaan² Thai dan Indonesia.

Di-dalam bidang pertahanan, Kerajaan terpaksa memperbesarkan lagi Angkatan² Tentera demi kepentingan keselamatan negara dari sebarang anchaman dari dalam dan dari luar negeri. Sungguh pun langkah itu akan memakan belanja yang agak besar tetapi sebagai suatu negara yang bebas dan berdaulat, negara kita harus-lah berikhtiar dengan segala daya upayanya mempertahankan diri-nya daripada sebarang anchaman.

Selain daripada memperbesarkan Angkatan Tentera kita, Kerajaan telah juga bersetuju, atas asas-nya, bekerjasama dalam bidang pertahanan dengan negara² sahabat untuk kepentingan bersama. Persetujuan mengadakan Peratoran Pertahanan Lima Negara di-antara Malaysia, Singapura, Britain, Australia dan New Zealand, ada-lah merupakan satu peratoran perundingan di-antara kelima negara untuk mengambil tindakan² yang di-persetujui bagi keselamatan Malaysia dan Singapura. Apabila Peratoran ini di-persetujukan, maka Perjanjian Pertahanan British/Malaysia akan mansokh dan Britain tidak akan lagi memainkan peranan utama dalam pertahanan Malaysia dan Singapura. Tetapi Malaysia dan Singapura akan menjadi negara² utama di-dalam Perjanjian ini. Kesimpulan-nya Angkatan Tentera kita sendiri mesti-lah mengambil alih tanggung-jawab² untuk mempertahankan kedaulatan dan keutuhan negara kita dengan pertolongan negara² sahabat jika perlu.

Dalam tahun Tujoh-pulohan ini dan dalam suasana wilayah Asia Tenggara pada masa sekarang, yang sedang menempohi perubahan politik, ekonomi dan sosial, negara kita telah mempunyai suatu sikap yang membena dalam perhubungan dengan negara² jiran dan negara² yang lain-nya.

Beta sukachita menegaskan di-sini bahawa Kerajaan akan terus mengamalkan sikap yang membena ini dengan menjalankan dasar luar-nya yang bebas, sa-aliran dengan masa dan keadaan mengikut kepentingan kita sebagai suatu negara yang merdeka, berdaulat dan yang sedang membangun. Kerajaan sedang mempergiatkan kerjasama dan bersahabat dengan semua negara yang ingin bersahabat dengan kita, tidak kira apa chorak atau sistem politik negara itu, berdasarkan kapada prinsip tidak berchampur tangan, serta hidup aman bersama dan saling hormat menghormati keutuhan dan kedaulatan negara masing².

Berdasarkan kapada tujuan ini-lah maka Kerajaan telah berusaha khusus-nya untuk mengukuhkan lagi kerjasama di-wilayah Tenggara Asia ini dalam semua lapangan supaya semua masharakat negara² di-rantau ini akan bertambah kuat dan maju dan tidak di-pengarohi oleh kuasa² besar demi kepentingan negara² di-rantau ini. Oleh itu untuk menjamin

masa depan itu, Kerajaan telah menyuarakan hasrat-nya supaya wilayah Tenggara Asia di-perkechualikan dan di-jadikan satu kawasan yang aman dan tenteram yang di-jamin oleh kuasa² besar sendiri.

Kerajaan berpuas hati bahawa Malaysia mempunyai nama baik dan harum di-kalangan antarabangsa di-sebabkan oleh dasar luar negeri kita yang tegas dan bebas. Kerajaan berharap kuasa² besar akan memberi sumbangan yang membena terhadap hasrat kita untuk bergerak maju dan memelihara keselamatan dan ketenteraman di-negara² di-rantau ini.

Beta tersangat berdukachita dan terharu di-atas kehilangan jiwa dan harta benda yang telah berlaku di-beberapa buah negeri di-dalam negara akibat banjir baharu² ini. Sunggoh pun banjir yang sa-dahshat itu tidak di-ramalkan, jentera² dan anggota² Kerajaan Pusat dan Kerajaan² Negeri telah bergerak dengan pantas-nya menjalankan kerja² membantu dan menyelamatkan mangsa² banjir. Badan² sukarela dan juga orang² persaorangan telah pula menyumbangkan tenaga dalam kerja² pemindahan dan bantuan² yang di-perlukan di-dalam keadaan kechemasan ini. Firma² dan dermawan² pula telah menyumbangkan wang ringgit dan berbagai² jenis bantuan yang sangat² di-perlukan untuk mengurangkan penderitaan mangsa² banjir itu. Benchana alam ini telah pun membuktikan sekali lagi bagaimana ra'ayat dari sagenap lapisan masharakat yang berbilang keturunan dan ugama dapat dengan sendiri-nya dan dengan serta-merta bersatu padu untuk menolong mereka yang malang.

Kerajaan juga menguchapkan setinggi² penghargaan kepada negara² asing dan badan² antarabangsa yang telah menghulorkan berbagai² bantuan kepada negara kita. Bantuan² yang mereka telah beri dengan ikhlas dan kena pada masa-nya itu mencherminkan hubungan yang rapat di-antara mereka dengan negara kita.

Kerja² bantuan serta-merta dan pemulehan mangsa² banjir ini hendak-lah di-uruskan dengan secepat mungkin supaya mereka dapat memuleh kehidupan mereka saperti sedia kala. Sebagai suatu langkah pemulehan Kerajaan telah pun bersetuju memberi beberapa jenis bantuan serta-merta. Kerajaan akan juga mengkaji dan menimbang ranchangan² jangka pertengahan dan jangka panjang untuk mengelak dan mengurangkan kesan² benchana banjir di-dalam negara.

Di-dalam Persidangan Parlimen ini Ahli² Yang Berhormat akan mendapat peluang mengkaji dan membahathkan beberapa shor Kerajaan yang penting untuk mengukuhkan ketenteraman dan perpaduan negara. Beta berharap Ahli² Yang Berhormat akan memberi pertimbangan yang teliti, mendalam, ikhlas dan jujur kepada shor² ini. Keputusan yang di-chapai kelak akan menentukan masa hadapan negara kita yang di-chintai ini.

Kita harus-lah juga meninjau masa hadapan negara kita ini. Ikhtiar² Kerajaan di-dalam tahun² enam-pulohan dan tahun² dahulu daripada-nya telah pun menghasilkan berbagai faedah yang sedang di-nekmati oleh ra'ayat seluroh-nya. Matlamat² dan ranchangan² bagi tahun² tujuh-pulohan ini menegaskan hasrat Kerajaan memperbaiki lagi keadaan ekonomi dan memperkukuhkan ketenteraman dan perpaduan negara. Kerajaan berazam melaksanakan ranchangan² ini secepat²-nya. Beta menyeru ra'ayat sekalian memberi kerjasama kepada Kerajaan dalam usaha-nya membasmikan kemiskinan dan mewujudkan perpaduan negara. Dengan izin Tuhan Yang Maha Kuasa dan ada-nya kerjasama ra'ayat, boleh-lah kita dengan penuh keyakinan memandang masa depan yang lebeh gembira dan chemerlang bagi negara dan ra'ayat.

The English Translation is as follows:

Mr President, Mr Speaker, Honourable Members of both Houses of Parliament:

WE tender thanks to God for the blessings He has bestowed upon US to address Hon'ble Members of both Houses of Parliament today. The opening of the First Session of the Third Parliament of Malaysia is of great significance to the nation and more so to US after OUR Installation on 20th February.

You will recall that, after the General Elections on 10th May, 1969, a tragic event occurred which necessitated the declaration of a State of Emergency in the country on 15th May, 1969, and the suspension of parliamentary rule until conditions had returned to normal. Tun Abdul Razak bin Dato' Hussein was appointed Director of Operations and was charged with the task of restoring peace, securing smooth administration and re-establishing harmonious relations among the various races in the country.

In carrying out the tasks assigned to him, the Director of Operations has been assisted by a number of bodies such as the National Operations Council and National Consultative Council. WE are thankful to God that, with Tun Abdul Razak's wisdom and firm action as Director of Operations, the country has returned to its present state of stability. The Police and the Armed Forces have rendered distinguished service in maintaining peace and order, while members of the public service have co-operated fully in restoring smooth administration. OUR people from all walks of life and all sections of the community, together with the National Goodwill Council, have contributed in restoring racial harmony in the country. To Tun Abdul Razak and to all those who have selflessly dedicated their time and efforts in their work, WE express OUR heartfelt thanks. The nation is indeed proud of them.

With conditions in the country returning to their present state, WE have approved the reconvening of Parliament. Nevertheless, we must still exercise vigilance so that the tragedy of May 13th, 1969 will not recur.

WE take this opportunity of expressing OUR sincere wishes to OUR beloved uncle, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, on his retirement from the Office of Prime Minister. He had led this country's Government for the last 15 years and under his leadership, this country achieved freedom and became an independent and sovereign nation. Under his leadership also, this country achieved remarkable progress and stability. His services to the nation will always be remembered by the people of Malaysia and we wish him all the blessings of Allah in his retirement.

In endeavouring to build a dynamic, just and progressive society, OUR Government, with the advice and co-operation of the National Consultative Council, has formulated a number of principles which will serve as a guide to our way of life. These principles were proclaimed as Rukunegara on 31st August last year. WE exhort all OUR people to understand and observe the principles embodied in the Rukunegara.

One of the aims of our Government is to create a more just society. As one of the means to this end, Government has formulated a dynamic and practical economic policy. The main objectives of this policy are, firstly, to eradicate poverty among the have-nots irrespective of their racial origins and, secondly, to obtain and strengthen national unity. In order to achieve these objectives, the Government has drawn up development plans to be implemented under the Second Malaysia Plan.

The problem of poverty of the people is the first consideration in the planning of development programmes. Programmes to eradicate poverty will concentrate on projects that will provide employment opportunities in the fields of agriculture and industry and also on those that will increase the earnings of the lower income groups in the urban and rural areas.

The emphasis in the agricultural programmes will be on large-scale development of land as well as the planting of high-valued and quality crops. Government will give opportunities to more youths to take part in land and agricultural programmes. Through the agricultural programmes, Government hopes to create a group of progressive and modern farmers who are receptive to and are prepared to utilise modern techniques, like the farmers of developed nations.

In the industrial sector, Government will encourage projects which are more labour intensive. Government will also encourage the location of industries in less-developed areas throughout the country, in particular, agro-based and forest-based industries using the available resources in the area. Government believes that such industrial programmes will also provide opportunities for the people in the rural areas to participate actively in industry and commerce.

It is difficult to obtain national unity so long as the racial economic imbalance is not redressed. In view of this, the Government will implement plans to help create industrialists and businessmen among the Malays and other indigenous people. The aim of these programmes is to change the structure of that sector of our people at present largely dependent on agriculture, to that of a progressive and modern society active in all economic endeavours.

The Government has been and is still giving various forms of incentives to the private sector to invest in industries in order to step up industrial development in our country. Nevertheless the Malays and other indigenous people are still lagging behind both in this field as well as in commerce. Participation in these fields at all levels has not reflected the racial composition of the country. In order to provide proper training and experience to all Malays and other indigenous people so that they can more actively participate in these spheres, Government has agreed to invest in industry and commerce, either in joint-ventures or on its own. In the implementation of these projects, Government will be fair towards all and has no intention of depriving or ignoring the rights of the other racial groups. Accordingly, Government hopes and believes, that the private sector will actively and sincerely co-operate in Government's efforts to encourage participation by all racial groups in industry and commerce. Thus, the private sector would also be assisting Government to create and strengthen national unity.

Education is another important factor for ensuring national stability and unity. The Government is focussing its attention on this matter and will firmly implement the National Education Policy which has been agreed and accepted by all. Government will continue to implement the policy in regard to education in Bahasa Malaysia and will continue to intensify its efforts to make Bahasa Malaysia the National Language and the official language in the true sense of the word. At the same time, it will maintain the standard of education so that Malaysian children are equipped with the knowledge and skills necessary in this modern technological age.

The Government is aware that industrial development not only depends on Government's encouragement and incentives but also on the availability of workers who are skilled and trained at various levels. The Government has therefore drawn up plans to train youths in activities which require particular skills.

The rapid progress we have achieved in the industrial field so far has been due to the knowledge and skill of the workers. If the country desires a more rapid progress in industry, youths, who form about 60% of the population, have to be provided with proper training. It is, therefore, Government's policy in education to place emphasis on subjects in science and technology and also to provide vocational schools where students, who are unable to continue their studies in the academic field, can be given training in skills required by industries.

The Government has recently revised the labour laws and it believes that the amendments will be of great benefit to the country and will help to promote good employer-employee relations. Co-operation between employers and employees will bring industrial peace which will in turn ensure industrial progress and enhance the nation's prosperity. The Government continues to place importance on this matter so that industrial progress will be more rapid, and, to this end, Government will continue to review the labour laws from time to time to suit prevailing circumstances and needs of the country.

As the largest employer, the Government also places importance on the welfare of its own employees who have given loyal and faithful service. Revisions of salary, conditions of service and various facilities for employees have been agreed upon and are being implemented. The Government believes that these revisions will satisfy all employees.

Efforts have been made by the Government to train its officers and encourage them to take a more responsible and active role in their work. However, close contacts between Government and the private sector must exist because Government activities often affect the private sector and vice-versa. It is therefore important that each sector recognises and understands the aims and the activities of the other. The Government is presently considering a plan to enable officials of both sides to establish closer contacts and, possibly, even exchange suitably experienced officers. In this way, the Government hopes that each will be able to have a better understanding of the other's aims so that they can mutually reinforce each other's efforts in promoting the growth of the country's economy.

With regard to internal security, the Government will continue to take firm and immediate action against subversive elements in this country. Operations against the terrorists in the border areas are being actively carried out with the close co-operation of the Governments of Thailand and Indonesia.

In the field of defence, the Government has to expand further its Armed Forces in the interest of the country's security against internal and external threats. Although this step will be costly, as a free and sovereign nation, we should endeavour to defend ourselves within our means from any form of threat.

In addition to expanding the Armed Forces, the Government has agreed in principle to co-operate with friendly countries in the matter of defence for mutual benefit. The accord on the Five Nations Defence Arrangements between Malaysia, Singapore, Britain, Australia and New Zealand is in the nature of a consultative arrangement among the five nations to take measures agreed upon for the security of Malaysia and Singapore. When this arrangement is formulated, the British-Malaysia Defence Agreement will be abrogated and Britain will no longer play a major part in the defence of Malaysia and Singapore but that Malaysia and Singapore will become the dominant partners in this arrangement. Consequently our Armed Forces must assume upon themselves the responsibility for the defence of the sovereignty and the integrity of our country with the aid of friendly countries, if necessary.

Our country has adopted in the seventies, amidst the political, economic and social changes taking place in South-East Asia, a constructive and positive attitude regarding our relations with our neighbours and other countries.

WE are pleased to state here that the Government will continue to practise an independent foreign policy consistent with the times and situation and compatible with our national interest as an independent, sovereign and developing country. Based on the principles of non-interference, peaceful co-existence and mutual respect for the national integrity and sovereignty of each other, the Government is actively extending its co-operation and friendship to all countries who are desirous of befriending us, irrespective of the pattern or system of their Governments.

With this aim in mind, the Government has endeavoured to further strengthen co-operation in all fields among the countries in the South-East Asia Region, so that, in their own self-interest, they will become stronger and more advanced and will not be influenced by the major powers. To ensure the future of the region, the Government has voiced its desire for a neutral South-East Asia with the major powers guaranteeing the peace and security.

It is a source of satisfaction to Government that Malaysia's name and reputation are of a high standing in international sphere owing to our firm and independent foreign policy. Government hopes the major powers will respond positively to our desire to move forward and safeguard the security and peace of the countries in this region.

WE are moved and grieved at the loss of lives and properties in several States in the country resulting from the recent floods. Although floods of such disastrous magnitude were unexpected, the machinery of the Central and State Governments moved efficiently and expeditiously to carry out relief operations to help the flood victims. Voluntary bodies as well as individuals assisted in the evacuation and relief operations that were essential during the disaster. Firms and individuals have also contributed money or helped in kind—assistance which was urgently needed to reduce the suffering of the flood victims. This disaster has demonstrated once again how the people from different walks of life, race and religion could spontaneously and instantaneously unite to assist the unfortunates.

Government also expresses its deep appreciation for the various forms of aid given by friendly foreign countries and international organisations. Their timely and sincere assistance is indicative of the close relations existing between them and our country.

The relief and rehabilitation work for flood victims must be carried out immediately to enable them to rehabilitate themselves. As a rehabilitation measure, Government has already agreed to provide various kinds of aid immediately. Government will also study and consider medium and long-term programmes to avoid and reduce the effects of floods in the country.

In this session of Parliament, Hon'ble Members will have the opportunity to study and debate several important proposals by Government to ensure lasting peace and national harmony. WE hope you will give careful, thorough, responsible and sincere consideration to these proposals. Upon your decisions will depend the future of our beloved country.

We should also examine what the future holds for this country. Government efforts in the sixties and earlier years have produced the many facilities and amenities that the people now enjoy. The objectives and programmes for the seventies emphasise the aim of Government to better the economic situation and secure peace and national harmony. Government is

determined to implement these programmes as expeditiously as possible. WE earnestly urge our people to co-operate with the Government in its efforts to eradicate poverty and to obtain and strengthen national unity. With God's blessing and the co-operation of the people, we all can confidently look forward to a happier and brighter future for our country and our people.

PEMASHHORAN OLEH TUAN YANG DI-PERTUA

PERUTUSAN DARIPADA DEWAN RA'AYAT

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Ahli² Yang Berhormat, saya telah menerima satu Perutusan daripada Dewan Ra'ayat. Saya jemput Setia-usaha membachakan Perutusan itu.

(Tuan Setia-usaha membachakan Perutusan).

“3hb Mach, 1971.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua,

Dewan Ra'ayat telah meluluskan Rang Undang² yang berikut:

1. Rang Undang² yang bernama suatu Akta bagi meminda Perlembagaan Persekutuan.
2. Rang Undang² yang bernama suatu Akta bagi meminda Perlembagaan Persekutuan

dan menyerahkan-nya kepada Dewan Negara bagi di-persetujukan.

(t.t.) DATO' C. M. YUSUF,
*Yang di-Pertua,
Dewan Ra'ayat*".

URUSAN MESHUARAT

Peguam Negara (Tan Sri Abdul Kadir bin Yusof): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menurut Peruntukan² Peratoran Meshuarat 66, saya bangun mengemukakan pada Majlis ini kedua² Rang Undang² yang telah di-hantar oleh Dewan Ra'ayat dan meminta supaya Bachaan Kali Yang Kedua Rang Undang² ini di-pertimbangkan serta-merta hari ini dan pada 9hb Mach, 1971 dan di-luluskan mengikut susunan yang tertera dalam Perutusan daripada Dewan Ra'ayat.

RANG UNDANG² (PINDAAN) PERLEMBAGAAN

Bachaan Kali Yang Kedua

Tan Sri Abdul Kadir bin Yusof: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mohon menhadangkan, ia-itu Rang Undang² yang bernama Akta (Pindaan) (No. 1) Perlembagaan, 1971, di-bacha bagi kali yang kedua.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nampak-nya, tugas saya bagi mengemuka Rang Undang² ini di-Dewan ini ada-lah lebeh senang sedikit daripada tugas Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri di-Dewan Ra'ayat. Sebab-nya ia-lah ucapan pembukaan-nya yang panjang lebar dan mendalam itu telah pun di-siarkan oleh akhbar² tempatan dan saya perchaya, semua-nya telah di-bacha oleh Ahli² Yang Berhormat di-Dewan ini, dan saya fikir, bagi menyelamatkan masa, tidak payah-lah saya ulangkan lagi sebab² betapa mustahak-nya Rang Undang² ini di-terima oleh Ahli² Dewan untok segera di-luluskan. Dan lagi pula Rang Undang² ini telah di-bahath sa-lama enam hari di-Dewan Ra'ayat di-mana pendapat dan hujjah² Ketua² Parti Politik yang juga menjadi Ahli Dewan Ra'ayat dan juga Menteri² telah juga di-siarkan dengan penoh-nya oleh akhbar² tempatan. Walau bagaimana pun, memandangkan bagaimana penting dan mustahak-nya Rang Undang² yang di-kemukakan ini di-luluskan, untok meminda perkara² yang menjadi asas Perlembagaan kita dan yang juga sangat² sensitif di-kalangan ra'ayat yang berbilang bangsa di-Malaysia ini, maka adalah menjadi tanggung-jawab kita juga Ahli² Dewan Negara, Yang Berhormat memberi pandangan dan pendapat² kita dengan sadalam²-nya, kerana perkara di-hadapan kita ini akan menentukan nyawa pemerintahan chara demokrasi dan nasib bangsa Malaysia kita, nasib keturunan kita dan nasib negara kita kelak.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-belum Rang Undang² ini di-kemukakan dalam Parlimen, chara² bagaimana-kah Negeri kita hendak pulang ka-pemerintahan demokrasi dan berparlimen, dan bagaimana-kah Perlembagaan

kita hendak di-pindahkan supaya perkara² sensitif dan yang menyinggong perasaan, emosi dan perkauman dapat di-larang daripada di-persoal dan di-ongkit²kan oleh mana² pehak atau orang awam, semua-nya telah di-rundingkan dalam Majlis Perundingan Negara (N.C.C.) dan dengan sa-chara mendalam dan sa-luas²-nya dan perkara yang di-bawa sekarang dalam Dewan ini ia-lah hasil perundingan itu. Dan lagi Kerajaan pula telah mengeluarkan Kertas Puteh yang bertajok "KA-ARAH KEHARMONIAN NEGARA" yang mengandongi kenyataan yang pench sebab² Rang Undang² ini mesti di-luluskan kalau negara kita dan ra'ayat kita hendakkan selamat, dan hendakkan balek ka-pemerintahan chara berparlimen. Saya per-chaya tiap² Ahli Yang Berhormat telah mem-bacha Kertas Puteh yang saya sebutkan itu. Dengan sebab saya sendiri telah beruchap di-Dewan Ra'ayat menyokong Rang Undang² ini dan juga memberi penjelasan² dalam beberapa perkara dalam Rang Undang² ini dan juga telah di-siarkan juga di-akhbar², maka di-Dewan ini, saya chuma akan menerangkan perkara² yang saya fikir mustahak juga penjelasan dan penerangan.

Di-sini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, izinkan saya beruchap dalam bahasa Inggeris kerana nashah yang saheh Perlembagaan kita ia-lah maseh lagi dalam bahasa Inggeris dan juga bagi faedah Ahli² yang belum berapa fashah atau mendalam dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Boleh.

Tan Sri Abdul Kadir bin Yusof: Terima kaseh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

(*Dengan izin*) Honourable Members are aware that the main object and purpose of this Bill is to seek to amend and to entrench the most important, indeed the most basic, provisions of our Constitution, namely, the provisions relating to Citizenship, National Language, safeguard of the special position of the Malays and natives of Borneo States, safeguard of the legitimate interests of the other communities, and the position of the Rulers. To realise how important these four entrenched provisions are, permit me to quote what has been stated in the Report of the National Operations Council entitled "THE 13TH MAY TRAGEDY"—it is very short:

"The entrenched provisions in the Constitution are the result of agreement between all communities in this country. They are the product of consultation and compromise. They represent

binding arrangements between the various races in this country, and are the underpinning on which the constitutional structure such as fundamental liberties, the machinery of government and a score of other detailed provisions are built. If these entrenched provisions are in any way eroded or weakened, the entire constitutional structure is endangered, and with it, the existence of the nation itself. It was the failure to understand, and the irresponsible and cavalier treatment of these entrenched provisions, that constituted one of the primary causes of the disturbances on May 13, 1969. Those who believe in democratic tradition tend to think in terms of fundamental political liberties, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of association. This belief, however, has never accepted the theory that any person can advocate treason or sedition or what comes to the same thing, the abolition or advocating the overthrow of the constitutional government by force, fraud or subversion."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, I will now turn to the Bill before us.

Clause 2 of the Bill seeks to amend Article 10 of our Constitution by adding a new Clause (4), which enables Parliament to pass a new law to restrict the freedom of speech and publication relating to the questioning of the four entrenched provisions of the Constitution. Clauses (3) and (4) seek to amend Articles 63 and 72 of the Constitution to take away the rights of the Members of Parliament and State Assemblymen from questioning these four sensitive issues in Parliament and in State Assemblies.

Sir, we are all aware that there is never an absolute freedom of speech in this world. In the Constitution of every country the restrictions are spelt out in the Constitution of that country. In our Constitution it says, I quote Article 10 (2)—this is before the amendment—

"Parliament may by law impose [there are three, (a), (b) and (c)]—(a) on the rights conferred by paragraph (a) of Clause (1) [para (a) of Clause (1) is on freedom of speech] such restrictions as it deems necessary or expedient in the interest of the security of the Federation or any part thereof, friendly relations with other countries, public order or morality and restrictions designed to protect the privileges of Parliament or of any Legislative Assembly or to provide against contempt of court, defamation, or (lastly) incitement to any offence;"

which means, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, that although there is freedom of speech, Parliament may by law impose restrictions to all those matters which I have enumerated under Article 10 (2) (a) of the Constitution. The proposed new Clause 4 of Article 10 is only to impose further restrictions on the freedom

of speech and publication relating only to the four basic provisions, which are very sensitive issues in a multi-racial country like Malaysia, as we have experienced before the May 13th tragedy. Now, this House will note that Article 10 (2) (a), as it is, even without amendments, empowers Parliament to pass any law restricting the freedom of speech or publication as it deems necessary or expedient in the interest of the security of the Federation, or to prevent incitement to any offence. Can any Honourable Member of this House honestly challenge the Government's well-meant intention to seek to pass this Bill, by alleging that the real object of this Bill is only to stifle the freedom of speech of the people of this country, but not in the interest of the security of the Federation or to prevent incitement to any offence? Sir, to allow complete freedom to criticise the four sensitive issues in the Constitution, as has been done in the past, is not only to incite to commit an offence, but to incite the Malays and non-Malays of this country to cut each other's throats and to destroy our country. Have we not learnt enough from past experiences to ignore the obvious danger looming before us—the danger of giving freedom of speech and publication to indulge in sensitive communal issues which will divide our people further apart and destroy our beloved nation and our country? It is a small price to pay for our future safety, our freedom, our democratic form of Government and the national unity.

Since we cannot take any risk, the Government feels it is also necessary that the freedom to destroy us should not also be given to Members of Parliament and Members of the State Assemblies. The Government has given very careful consideration to the matter of privileges of Members of Parliament and State Assembllymen as provided under Articles 63 and 72 of our Constitution respectively and has come to the conclusion that control by Standing Rules and Orders alone and by the Speaker is not sufficient. The restrictions must apply to everyone alike, whether inside or outside Parliament. As the Malay saying goes: "KALAU MULUT TEMPAYAN BOLEH SENANG SAHAJA DI-TUTOP". Thus, the proposed amendments to Article 10, Article 63 and Article 72 of our Constitution are only made as they are considered absolutely essential for the security, unity and freedom of our country and nothing more. I am sure that

Honourable Members will not hesitate to support the proposed amendments to these two Articles. As regards the other Clauses in the Bill, the Explanatory Statement to the Bill is plain and clear to every Honourable Member to need further explanation. I have dealt with them at great length and they have already been reported in the papers previously.

Sir, the only point I need to state in this House is this: Y.A.B. the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister have stressed in the Dewan Ra'ayat that the Government will be fair and just to all Malaysians in carrying out and implementing the provisions relating to Citizenship, Article 152—i.e. the National Language and the use and preservation of the languages of the other communities but not for official purposes—and Article 153 of the Constitution relating to the safeguard of the privileges of the Malays and the Natives and also the legitimate interest of the other communities—will be fair and just according to the very spirit of the provisions of the Constitution. Honourable Members are still free to bring any matter in this House should any of them feel that any of the important provisions of the Constitution have not been implemented justly and fairly. Indeed, Sir, anyone can bring the matter to Court, which is an independent tribunal, should he feels that his rights or freedom have been violated or taken away and not in accordance with the law or within any of the provisions of the Constitution. The Court is there with independent Judges who will give judgment on that.

For myself, Sir, as Attorney-General, who is also the Public Prosecutor of this country, I will assure this House and the people of this country, that I and my legal officers will endeavour to perform our duties and carry out the powers as provided in Article 145 (3) of the Constitution (*Tepok*). It says—

"(3) The Attorney-General shall have power, exercisable at his discretion, to institute, conduct or discontinue any proceedings for an offence,"

Under the Sedition Act, or, later, the new Act under Article 10 of the Constitution, the power to charge a person for committing an offence relating to sensitive issues is with the Public Prosecutor and with his written consent. I can assure this House that in exercising this power as Public Prosecutor, I, alone, am responsible and shall take no instructions from anyone when making the

decision and shall use my discretion to be just and fair to all, bearing in mind that everyone is equal under and before the law and also bearing in mind, Sir, that I am answerable to Parliament, to the people of this country and to our Maker the Almighty after death. May the Almighty assist and guide me and my officers in this painful task and heavy burden. I need your co-operation and the co-operation of everyone in this country so that, if possible, that mighty sword will not easily be drawn from its scabbard and used on friends and fellow countrymen unless it is absolutely necessary.

Sir, I ask this House to approve this Bill and to show clearly to the ra'ayat that we, who are appointed by His Majesty or elected by the State Assemblies, are loyal Malaysians and that we too, like the Members of the Dewan Ra'ayat, are determined to ensure the continuation of a democratic form of government suited to the conditions prevailing in this country. This Bill Sir, is to ensure democracy, national harmony and unity for the survival and progress of our country.

Sir, I ask the Honourable Members to support this Bill so that those people, our people, some of whom were innocent, who died and suffered during the May 13th tragedy had not died and suffered in vain and for nothing.

Sir, I beg to move. Thank you. (*Tepok*)

Menteri Dengan Tugas² Khas dan Pengerangan (Tan Sri Muhammad Ghazali bin Shafie): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menyokong usul ini dan oleh kerana saya hanya menyambong ucapan rakan saya Yang Berhormat Attorney-General, maka saya mintalah dengan sa-berapa hormat-nya izinkan kalau saya dapat berchakap juga dalam bahasa Inggeris.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Harus Ahli Yang Berhormat itu berkehendakkan supaya semua Ahli² termasuk yang datang daripada Malaysia Timor faham, boleh!

Tan Sri Muhammad Ghazali bin Shafie: Bagitu-lah nampak-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, maka banyak-lah saya mengucapkan terima kaseh, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, when the Prime Minister introduced this Bill in the other Chamber seeking to amend the Constitution

and thereby would cause, among other things, a diminution of the freedom of speech of Members of Parliament, he did so with a very deep sense of responsibility. Now, what manner of a politician is he, particularly the leader of a party with such overwhelming support, who wants to deprive himself of the freedom to roam, verbally, the widest possible domain of politics like a maritime power with its ships in the seven seas. It is therefore understandable that there should be reaction to such unusually drastic and seemingly fatuous measures unless one had chosen to understand the balance between the demands of idealism and the limitations of the realities of every day life. To understand this balance is to understand the reasons and to understand the wherefores of the move made by the Government, of the move made by the Honourable the Prime Minister who, with an enlightened heart, had searched the recesses of history for the solution to the most pressing and to the most serious problem that is facing us all. To harmonise ourselves with the nation and its history, to make ourselves authentic and not synthetic, is what this is all about.

We return to history not to seek refuge in nostalgia, because retracing our steps into the world of yesteryear is a painful experience. We are not masochists. Neither should we look back in anger when we turn the pages of our nation's annals and see, in our mind's eye, cynical exploitation, debauchery, hurt and humiliation. So let history be our guide and our tutor so that we may never again suffer the pangs, suffer the humiliation of a divided people.

What does history tell us? We learn that the rebirth of learning and intellectual curiosity of Europe, the flowering of the Renaissance, also encouraged her explorers. The voracious eyes of European traders turned not only to the west in search of the New World, but also to the east. They came—the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English—as explorers and traders and found, in this part of the world, a flourishing area of producers and traders. Chroniclers of China and of Europe like Duarte Barabossa wrote and recorded that the people here were good merchants, the people here were good traders, and the laws were just. Opulent merchants traded in silks; they traded in spices, in precious stones and in rare metals. These same traders, Sir, of whom some were

pirates, of course, roamed the archipelago and spread their language in Java, in the Celebes, in Ambonia and in the Molocus. That language, because it was the language of the traders, because it was the language of the merchants, achieved general acceptance and permanently became the national language of those islands. That language, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, is our national and official language.

The European traders and colonialists found a relatively homogeneous area with an appreciably common language and culture. And during the early part of the British colonialism in this country they found a small number of non-natives, but these non-natives were already well integrated with those natives. They had even forgotten their original tongue. They spoke Malay, they sang songs, they danced dances, and cooked dishes and made cakes, and fashioned clothes for themselves and called all these their own. There was already a Malayan culture of *ronggeng*, of *zapin*, of *dondang sayang* and *mas merah*, and a closer look at the movements and sounds would reveal their multi-racial and their multi-cultural origins.

And faced with the prospect of a united Malayan nation, what did the British colonialists do? Their answer was classic and simple: *Divide and Rule*. It was too dangerous to have the local population united and sharing economic and political power. They would be too difficult to handle and might indeed turn out to be dangerous for the colonial power. So this unity had to be broken. By force and subterfuge the colonial authorities established their direct and indirect rule.

So during the inter-war years, Mr President, i.e. between 1918-1941, millions of immigrants were ushered in—deliberately. His Royal Highness the present Sultan of Pahang, in the early days of this exercise, saw the dangers in the sudden influx and made vehement protests to the British Government. Needless to say of no avail. The colonial greed was too strong. An attempt was made to bring the people of Java as estate labourers (as in the case of Shelbourne Plantations) but this did not suit the colonial power as the Javanese immigrants were easily assimilable and were therefore contrary to colonial policy.

So the new immigrants, Sir—ignorant of the cultural background of the language, and of the songs, and the dances, and the food,

and the rest which they found here—regarded these things as belonging to the natives settled in separate communities and founded cultural separateness in this country. They undid the valuable and integrative contribution towards a Malayan way of life made by the ancestors of Tun Tan Siew Sin. *Ronggeng* and *dondang sayang* became erroneously known as a Malay dance and a Malay song when they really already were Malayan.

Any long-term administrative policy, Sir, must be rooted in the field of education. Hence the infamous education policy of the colonial government, the policy to encourage a multi-lingual education, and for education to generally terminate at the secondary level. The Malay, according to Winstedt—it is on record—should be made a better farmer than his father—that is all. At all costs he must be discouraged from entering the realm of commerce. Commerce was reserved for the new immigrants who became compradores and small intermediaries, servicing the process of feeding the industrial machines in England, and providing outlets for finished products from England. Let the new immigrants be encouraged to live separately, run their own schools, and let there be a divided society under one colonial rule. One need only to look at Sabah and Sarawak just before independence to observe how meticulously and deliberately this policy was applied in that new immigrants, particularly in Sabah from Hongkong, were brought in without regard to the fate and future of the natives. Now, Mr President, little wonder the natives of Sabah and Sarawak, like my friend over there, Dato' Temenggong Oyong Lawai Jau, overwhelmingly wanted to join the States of Malaya to form Malaysia!

The colonial education policy, Sir, was thorough. Policy was translated into teaching material at every level. I still recall a nursery rhyme which I had to learn by heart in a little Malay school in Kuala Lipis:

“Buai laju laju
Sampai puchok sena,
Beli baju baru
Dari kedai China.”

At a tender age the Malay is encouraged to “swing it”, and encouraged to shop for his clothes and for his apparel in a Chinese shop. The subtle process of brainwashing took various forms but with such consistency and

effectiveness that everyone—native and non-native alike—believed that it was the natural order of things that being “Nature’s gentlemen” the Malays were no good, and would never be good, at business. By 1957 when we became independent the country was well and truly divided. The Chinese were an urban community serving as petty merchants and intermediaries for the colonial power while the Malays, with the exception of a handful of upper class and civil servants—pampered as they were—remained rural, poor and neglected. In an age of machines and fast advancing technology the Malays found themselves dregs of society in their own country, knowing no better than to plant rice and to fish in the most primitive manner. Hence, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, the new immigrants of Malaya who were mostly the commercial community together with the European business community found it difficult to accept as the official language, and as the national language, this language of the peasants.

After the Second World War a tidal wave of change had swept the world. The old colonial structures were swept away with it. Malaya was caught in the feverish current of national independence. But the passion for independence was at first experienced only by these “dregs of society”, these “dregs of the earth” because independence to the Malay meant hope. It was the only salvation from their depressed condition of eking out a subsistence by sloshing in the turbid fields of padi. To the merchants and intermediaries independence was something new, possibly a threat to their security and what they regarded as their legitimate interests. The old colonial authorities were just as anxious that any change in power should not upset the arrangement which had so efficiently fed the industrial machines in England and served as an outlet for British products.

It was also feared that the Malays, if and when given political power, would subsequently sequester property belonging to other races. Therefore, Sir, the decade following the end of the War saw mutual fear and suspicion among the races in the country, fanned by some colonial officials who refused to accept change. However, the tide of history was irresistible. The divided races began to calculate their possible gains and losses and concluded that independence would benefit everyone. So the colonial authorities were impressed by the

unity of the people and, above all, the people themselves were convinced of their own unity. And under the leadership of the Tunku this unity was possible because, as was mentioned earlier, of the clear understanding of each community’s interests. The colonial authorities knew that they could not defeat the Communist insurgency during the first Emergency without the support of the people, and in a gracious concession to their enlightened self-interest, granted us independence.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, I think that one of our major miscalculations at the time of Merdeka was to welcome uncritically the concepts and precepts of a Westminster-type democracy. During the heady days of Merdeka we thought that the Westminster model was perfection in itself. We did not realise how irrelevant it was to our society as it was then and as it exists today.

The ideals of democracy and freedom of speech as understood in England in 1957 was supremely acceptable and relevant in England because England had the infrastructure, both economic and social, to serve as a base on which these ideals and these concepts and precepts could be declared, accepted and practised. Throughout her long history England had prepared herself, through measures at home and abroad, for her kind of government. A system of government, after all, is a reflection of a country’s social and economic realities. England had in 1957 more than a century of industrialisation. Her society had become urbanised and a stable middle class, the leadership of which had since passed from the hands of the landed gentry to the urban elite. These people were able to enjoy the luxury of vociferating their ideals of democracy even to the extent of influencing the minds of those men who visited England because England practised in England what England preached.

The point that our people missed—and I detect, listening to the talks and the various discussions, that there are still quite a few who continue to suffer from this blind spot—was that democracy in England, Sir, as I said earlier, had a sound economic and social foundation. This foundation, however, was not, and I repeat, Sir, not, built through the practice of democracy and freedom. On the contrary it was built through the practices which were the very negation of democracy

and the very negation of freedom. It was built brick by brick on the sweat and the tears and toil, and the muscles and nerves, of indentured labour and the resources of her colonies. I doubt if Britain could have evolved a system by herself the way she did if she had not possessed colonies in Asia and Africa and exploited them. Her overseas possessions gave her the necessary economic support and nourished her economic and social infrastructure on which her democracy rested. But, Mr President, Sir, we are not here to pass a moral judgement on England. That is not our duty here. What I have been saying simply underlines the irony that any democratic system owes its origin and in some cases its maintenance, to undemocratic practice. After all, democracy originated in Athens and flowered in its true glory in the Fifth Century, B.C. The Athenian citizen could practise democracy because his city-state had the necessary economic and social support, and this support, Sir, may I submit, was the exploitation of slaves. The point I am making is that there is a price for a liberal democratic system of Government. That price could either have been paid in the past, as in the accumulation of wealth through exploitation of colonies, exploitation of labour, or should be paid today in the form of self-restraint or self-sacrifice so that we can truly enjoy its fruits in political terms tomorrow.

Look at England today. Shorn of her former colonies and unable to maintain the manner of life she had been accustomed to, she has become cynical about the concept and precept of democracy she had been preaching. This is ironical but nevertheless true. Today, she plans to legislate labour laws which can hardly be described as democratic, viewed from the standard of 1957. Today you find her attitude to human rights and the Commonwealth changing as evidenced by her decision to sell arms to the racist regime of South Africa. Today you find in the United Kingdom happenings which one could not have dreamt of in 1957 as the bloody clash between the religious factions in Northern Ireland. The "holier than thou", British journalists, Sir, with their partisan and fractured reporting about the 13th May incident, should ponder a little about this (*Tepok*). Today you find the same England discriminating between White and Coloured peoples who are both British subjects.

Of course, as I say, we are not here to discuss the relative merits of British labour and British immigration laws, or of her decision to peddle arms in support of authoritarian regimes. What we are concerned with today is the concept of democracy—which underwent vicissitudes even in England—that was transported from Westminster and mindlessly accepted by us in 1957. We did not have, in 1957, the necessary social and economic infrastructure for a successful political surgery and transplant. Today, almost fourteen years later, we are still without that infrastructure. The surgery performed in 1957, Sir, was not successful, the transplant did not "take" and unless we take immediate measures the rejection will be complete.

So we must now address ourselves to the erection of that infrastructure. We must embark on a bold plan to create a truly Malaysian middle class capable of serving as a foundation on which we can espouse the democracy of Westminster in 1957. We need time, not harassment; co-operation not obstacles; enduring devotion to a national objective, not opportunism to promote sectional interests. However, we still hear voices extolling the need to practice that ill fitted concept as if 13 May was not sufficient to provide us all with a lesson. If we must practise democracy and freedom of speech—of Westminster in 1957—then I say, Sir, we may have to practise "undemocracy" and "unfreedom" in some colonies or in some places which could be the object of exploitation in order to build an infrastructure here strong enough for us to enjoy the luxury of that democracy and that degree of totally unrestricted freedom of speech.

Since the idea of exploiting a colony (even if we could find a colony in this era) to us is inimical, it appears to me that we must arrange our priorities sensibly. The pioneers of modern democracy in England and Europe first devoted their energy and power towards industrialisation, urbanisation and the strengthening of their institutions, conventions and practices. And theirs is a relatively homogeneous society. Our society suffers not only in that it is economically without a strong foundation, but we are without cohesion because we are of many races, and without a stable and cohesive middle class so necessary in any liberal democratic system. We therefore need an industrialisation and urbanisation programme in order that we can

build an authentic Malaysian middle class to sustain the kind of democracy we want. To use the Westminster yardstick of 1957 in the Kuala Lumpur of 1971 is to miss a valuable lesson of history, and with the relevancy of our times and environment. At best, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, we could only be a caricature of Westminster, but never its replica. Let us therefore admit that at this stage of our constitutional development to mimic the democracy of Westminster in 1957 without the comparative economic and social foundation is to court self-destruction.

If our aim is the creation of an authentic Malaysian middle class which is both integrated and an integrative force, then society must be so restructured as to be modern and creative and to rid itself of the little voracious hucksters who are obstacles in the quest for a truly united nation. It is this group of criminally selfish people who would prefer to see the colonial *status quo*, the continuance of the identification of race with economic functions, and supporting their political movements merely to secure for themselves large slices of the Merdeka cake. It is this group of men, because of their special position, who would acquire a business licence and then become a mere sleeping partner. It is this group of men who would take away Colombo Plan scholarships from those who are genuinely willing to serve the nation and it is this group of men who would start a miasma of rumours if such rumours would earn for them a fast dollar, and who would stock their little loot in banks with numbered accounts in a foreign country. I do not say that this category of people, Sir, are disloyal. I do not say that this category of people, Sir, are treacherous. I do not even say that this category of people, Sir, are treasonable; indeed, many of them, even the whole of them, a lot of them, would lay their very lives in the defence of this country. But what I simply, Sir, would say is that they are simply thieves.

Now, we should have fresh thinking, and a fresh approach if this nation is to survive. The fruits of Merdeka, which must be nothing less than a better life for *all* the people must be realised. No longer would it be adequate—indeed it would render the decay irrevocable—if the former colonial policy was merely perfected after independence so that the native would be a better farmer, a better fisherman than his father, and the non-native “would be left alone to make his

money” (as the phrase is) in the towns and cities. Now this myopic attitude of *laissez-faire* which was the accelerating participation in commerce and Industry of the non-natives to the exclusion of the natives might have served perfectly the colonial adage of divide and rule. In independent Malaysia this development would inevitably and catastrophically divide the major races of Malaysia.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, moved by this new urge towards equality on the basis of the *Rukunegara* the Government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak, decided that economic development and policies must be considered in their relationship to social development in general and the over-riding need for national unity in particular. On the one hand, national unity is not attainable without greater equity and balance between Malaysia's ethnic groups as regards their participation in the development of the country and the sharing of the benefits of the national modernisation efforts. On the other hand, national unity is not automatically fostered by any and all policies that might contribute to better balance in strictly economic terms. Social and cultural, political and economic, public and private, emotional and psychological factors, all play a part and they are all inter-related.

And so came into being a new two-pronged economic policy. One is the eradication of poverty irrespective of race. This, it must be emphasised, is a departure from the previous belief that the eradication of rural native poverty alone would conduce towards national unity. The present policy clearly requires that a programme to conquer poverty, to raise income level and employment opportunities, must transcend racial lines and must benefit all the people, irrespective of racial origin.

The proposed amendment, Sir, to the Constitution does not in any way affect the freedom of speech either in Parliament or outside with regard to the first prong. Indeed, the Government would welcome any comments or debate on the subject of eradication of poverty. But let it be understood that the programme for the eradication of poverty has no relevance to race. We must all work towards the elevation of the suffering of the poor, be he a Malay, be he a Chinese or an Indian. For instance, I shall be in the forefront in the chorus deploring the act of giving

a scholarship to the son of a Menteri if the only qualification that boy has is that he is a Malay. There is freedom of speech in this regard, as much freedom as we had in 1957 and no less. And I think, Sir, this is straight-forward enough.

The second prong is the restructuring of society through the modernisation of rural life, a rapid and balanced growth of urban activities and, above all, the creation of a Malay commercial and industrial community in all categories and at all levels of operation so that over a period of time—in one generation perhaps—they can be a full partner in the economic life of the nation. And when I use the term “Malay” in this context, Sir, I mean to include all those natives and indigenous people who are also the subject of the currently proposed constitutional amendment.

Now, this second prong has no relationship to the question of wealth or to the question of poverty. It is by its very nature a racial programme involving a portion of the Malays and other indigenous people, the bulk of whom are rural-orientated with a view to transforming them into a commercial and industrial community. This programme envisages an expanding national economy but with controlled distribution in order to avoid any feeling of deprivation, real or imagined, by any community. It is here that we need to be cautious in our remarks, both inside this House and outside. In this regard we are dealing with the races. Now the caution applies to Malays and non-Malays alike. The Government shall not brook provocative comments questioning the legitimate interests of non-Malays which are likely to engender animosity. If in the process of restructuring society it is important to encourage the Chinese, for example, to concentrate on certain rural activities, both for the purpose of economic growth as well as the integration of the races, it would be folly to risk the programme by allowing inflammatory speeches against it on racial lines. In the same way, Sir, the policy to assist the movement of Malays and other indigenous people from their rural vocation to a commercial function, this programme, should not be harassed. If attacked as if it is a racial policy to favour Malays, giving the impression that the Government is tilted and unfair, the programme to restructure society would risk complete failure, and the full force of the law—I hope my friend the Attorney-General

would agree—would be applied in either case. If this nation is to survive, we just cannot afford, Sir, to fail in this task of restructuring society so that a truly national middle class, modern and creative, would come into being to serve as the stout foundation for the kind of democracy we all understand and the kind of democracy we all want.

The restructuring of the economy must be so designed as to gradually reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function. It is equally important to ensure that the Malays and other natives would eventually become equal partners with other ethnic groups in the community of owners and entrepreneurs in all categories and at all scales of operation in commerce and industry. It would not be conducive to national unity merely to have the urban-rural racial split replaced by an employer-employee racial split. Malays and other indigenous people must move into the modern urban sectors of the economy, not merely as workers and not merely as employees. They must eventually have a roughly proportionate stake in ownership and control of urban-type activities, whether located in existing urban areas or in new townships or growth-centres in present small towns.

The Malaysian Government under our present Prime Minister, Sir, recognises that rising incomes and creating more opportunities for employment alone do not satisfy the emotional and psychological needs which is so necessary to bring about national unity. In the modernisation and development process, the urban centre plays a key role. It is, therefore, vital that in the cities and towns, everyone, including the Malays, feels a sense of belonging, a sense of participation. Currently, the geographic distribution of the population is such that the population of Malaysia's cities is predominantly non-Malay. Thus when a Malay farmer, even with an increased income, comes to town, he may feel somewhat alienated, somewhat of an outsider, simply because he sees so few Malays in shops, restaurants and factories. Now, to get increasing numbers of Malays participating in terms of entrepreneurship and capital in all categories and at all scales of operations of commercial and industrial activities, including wholesale and retail trade and service industries in which there is direct and continuing contact with the public, is therefore one of the most

important ingredients of the policy for promoting national unity. In short, it is important to create a Malay commercial and industrial community such that they become a visible part of the urban scene.

Mr President, Sir, if there was a perpetuation of the identification of race with vocation and if the Malays and other indigenous people felt that they were condemned to be hopeless dregs of society since no equal opportunity was available to them to integrate into the commercial and industrial sphere in concert with other races, then one day, I fear, they may decide to replace the business and commercial community to the detriment of the prosperity and security of the nation as a whole. To those natives, Sir, in their own country who have no hope, survival means merely existence; then to some, death may mean victory. They will have nothing to lose and there would be no peace in this country.

I have embarked on a somewhat lengthy remark on the second prong of the new economic policy not because it is more important than the first, namely the eradication of poverty, but merely because the idea is novel and would require elucidation. Let it not be said that the policy is aimed at creating a community of Malay commercial zombies. It is, in fact, a dynamic programme to create vigorous, contributive Malay producers, financiers, traders and workers. If equality is the aim of all, then equal opportunity must be provided, because, even though, it must be recognised that significant changes in the structure and organisation of progressive society orientated to modern science and technology are a long-term process. We must telescope time; but even without dust or grit the process of telescoping time requires time. The background must be laid now and the means for such structural change must be set in motion without delay. Indeed the two prongs must be acted upon simultaneously and with equal vigour. In the long run, the two prongs are complementary and mutually reinforcing.

Sir, it is this passion for true equality, this need to bring about a structural revolution in Malaysia's economic life while at the same time maintaining continuity and growth, that will guide the Malaysian Government and the Malaysian people in the coming years.

All that is being asked is not a total curtailment of our freedom of speech; it is only a restriction relating to those sensitive race issues affecting the programme for the restructuring of society—and this is a small price to pay. Even that is not an absolute restriction since the Prime Minister has announced the formation of the National Unity Council in which the problems of national unity may be discussed behind closed doors. The Council has its distinct advantage; even if Parliament were to exclude the Press, because of the existence of *Hansard*, I fear members tend to speak for the record. This I had noticed very clearly during the period of the National Consultative Council where there was no gallery, no Press and no record. Members, including those of the Opposition, were more relaxed, indeed more uninhibited, and therefore more approximate to the service of values transcending their political parties, transcending their races and even their individuality. Indeed, this atmosphere of privacy will also be conducive to the frank comments and criticisms of those in sympathy with the Government who would otherwise refrain from speaking on matters they felt might embarrass the Government. It is hoped that Opposition parties, particularly the D.A.P. which was conspicuously absent in the National Consultative Council, would find it possible to participate in the work of the National Unity Council, which no doubt would welcome their contributions if they should have something constructive to offer.

Now, Mr President, Sir, in my endeavour to explain the need for a measure of curtailment of our freedom of speech, I hope I have not given the impression as if it is a matter which I relish. Far from it. But we must be sensible enough to appreciate that we should be relevant to our environment and sensitive to the need of time. We must be able to find the synthesis between the principle of equalitarianism and the principle of the better man wins. We must be able to commute between our high ideals and the realities as subsisting in our own country today. In order to create a truly sound economic and social infrastructure as a base for the efficacious practice of unfettered democracy, let us today be prepared to take a step backwards—and I admit, Sir, most sincerely, that this is a step backwards—in order that our children when they grow up, the children of all races in this country,

would confidently and without impediment be able to take more than two steps forward. The most terrifying thing is that the nation might succumb to the arrogant stupidity of those who wish to mimic Westminster without understanding the background which has made Westminster what it is today. We must resolve not to be mere survivors of a colonial system. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, we must start afresh and be determined to be the pioneers of a new Malaysia. Terima kaseh (*Tepok*).

Dato' Dr Cheah Toon Lok: Mr President, Sir, with your permission, may I speak in English for the understanding of those who come from East Malaysia (*Ketawa*). (*Dengan izin*) Sir, I was overwhelmed just now by the oratory of both the Honourable the Attorney-General in proposing the motion and also of the Honourable the Minister of Information seconding the motion.

I wish to say here that I do not wish to make any comments on their speeches because these comments will be made later by the Honourable Members of this House. I wish to say that I have read with interest, and emotion and attention most of the speeches made in the Dewan Ra'ayat and published in the newspapers. Those speeches have their merits and demerits, depending on the right and acceptable presentation of the views of the speakers who are themselves conditioned by their education and their traditional concept and other biological and spiritual practice. So after knowing the reasons given at the Lower House, the pros and cons, regarding the Constitutional (Amendment) Act, 1971, I feel that many Members are fortunate to be there; they should thank their lucky stars and the very gullible electorate for their present position of privilege and honour in this country as Members of Parliament. This is not a reflection on their integrity and skill but rather a reflection purely on the Western democratic process of parliamentary rule, which is unsuitable for a multi-racial Asian society like Malaysia, with conflicting concepts, ethnic traditions and backgrounds of many varieties which confused the voters, mostly unlearned, during campaigning through chauvinistic, communal, parochial, prejudicial and other types of approaches so as to be elected a Member of Parliament free from all punitive action whatsoever. It is right and proper that the Government is now taking steps to stop these abuses of free speech on sensitive issues.

In the calm atmosphere of peace and plenty, harmony and goodwill, law and order, a truly Malaysian society could be born for the creation of a Malaysian nation for the benefit of all Malaysians—rich and poor, ignorant and learned, peasants and merchants, high and low, As far as I know, never in the history of political science is recorded an experiment like Malaysia, a multi-racial Asian feudal society with all its various ethnic implications, was taken without adjustment to unite, to consolidate and to conform to the tenets of Western democratic system of parliamentary rule. If our experiment succeeds, as I am sure it will succeed, then the United Nations must take a look at us as a model to serve other developing countries.

Freedom of speech and freedom of thought are theoretical concepts only. For a speech to be understood, it must be expressed in language, and the use of language is not totally free in law, except for Members of Parliament in session—there is a law of libel, law of treason, law of sedition, and so on, to restrict the use of certain types of language to protect the progress and peace of society. Speech is free, but language is not free, for language uses phrases to play all keys of human emotions such as peace and war, love and hatred, friend and foe, justice and injustice, beauty and ugliness, goodwill and illwill and so forth.

So, this amendment is a brave, wise move of the Government to defeat the enemies of the nation. Let us look around the world today, and it will be seen that democracy without proper safeguards as in England, in America, in Africa and in many other countries has run mad. People of the same race, the same religion, using the same language, customs, habits, traditions, are in great peril because of unrestrained practice of democracy. Strikes, rebellions, revolutions and anarchy and other man-made disasters are the price that is now being paid by the so-called democratic nations without proper safeguards. Let us choose wisely what is good for us and leave the rest alone, let us not follow them; let us pattern our life, our traditions, our society and our nation, to suit our way of living, for peace, prosperity, harmony, happiness, not for ourselves alone but for our children, our children's children and the future generation.

Our rights and those of our descendants are already enshrined in this Constitution to be properly and correctly implemented. To harp on the sensitive issues in Parliament for the sake of talking or for the sake of propaganda or for the sake of just being a hero, so that he might be reported in the newspapers, is highly dangerous to the peace and security of the country owing to the many disruptive elements in our midst, for past experience has shown that this is a thing which the Government cannot allow to have it to disturb the formation of a Malayan identity for our future generation. Let us choose what is good and suitable for us. Mr President, Sir, thank you. I fully support the Amendment.

Dato' E. E. C. Thuraisingam: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pertama saya minta izin berchakap dalam bahasa Inggeris. Yang kedua, kerana kaki saya sakit, saya minta izin dudok membuat ucapan saya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Saya sendiri nampak Ahli Yang Berhormat itu sungguh uzor dan apabila beliau ini berdiri Ahli Yang Berhormat itu juga terpaksa memegang bangku. Oleh kerana itu, saya benarkan Ahli Yang Berhormat berchakap dan membuat ucapan dalam masa dudok.

Dato' E. E. C. Thuraisingam: (*Dengan izin*). Mr President, Sir, I wish to congratulate my learned friend, the Honourable Attorney General, and the Honourable Minister, for their maiden speeches of great eloquence and forcefulness. The standards set by these Ministers in the Dewan Negara, I hope, will continue to raise the debate in this House to a higher level hereafter.

Speaking for myself and for the Malaysian citizens of Ceylon origin, I support this Amendment wholeheartedly.

I wish to comment a little more on the analysis of the learned seconder on democracy. The earliest models of democracy were found in many countries and had its origin in Greece. It has taken several centuries of British history to produce the House of Parliament, Cabinet Government, the independent Judiciary and the Civil Service and the other adjuncts of democracy seen in Britain today. Britain had found that these institutions work well for them.

As we are in a country formerly administered by the British we have been led to believe that it would be the ideal for us as

well. After the first euphoric and heady days of independence, our people were united as never before in this country and their enthusiasm for our new Government modelled on Britain seemed to us the ideal. Now, nearly 14 years after, and nearly two years after 13th of May, many have their doubts. We are asking the question whether a system suited to the solid and stable Christian Britisher is appropriate for our country of God-fearing Muslims, righteous Chinese and pious Indians. At some time in the past during the early Middle Ages, the major cities of the world were at par with other cities between West and East Africa, from Europe to the Mediterranean, from India to China. Many caravan routes and extensive trade happened in these cities. Then came the industrial revolution in Britain and the West and the rise of the industrial and technological power in Europe, which gave them the superiority over the East. Their political systems changed to accommodate this as they had moved out of their feudal system to the democratic institutions they now have. However, many eastern countries are still in the backward economic position which Europe was hundred years ago. Nevertheless, the democracy suitable to Britain today has been transplanted wholesale into this country. In medical terms, in the field of transplants, there is what is known as the "rejection phenomena". Perhaps May 13 was an example.

Parliament, Cabinet Government, and the other symbols of democracy do not in themselves add up to democracy. Democracy is a way of living and a method of dealing with the entire fabric of the country. There can be no real democracy when the gap between the people are so great no matter how many Parliaments come and go. It is inappropriate at our stage of political development to talk of the definitions of democracy such as Government for the people, of the people, and by the people. The people to whom this was addressed to were not Malaysians but Americans with a European background. Our very climatic and cultural conditions for centuries have been different to the West. If we understand this we can seek out a realistic system for ourselves. Only if we see this in the context of our problems and our heritage can we justify the type of democracy that suits us.

What we have been asked to do now in this first debate of Parliament is to accept that democracy places a heavy responsibility on all people in this country and that it is not a licence to abuse. We have seen too clearly that one man's abuse of his rights destroys another man's rights. What we want now is a disciplined democracy, not a guided democracy or a dictatorial democracy or a Western-type democracy. The wisdom and foresight of our present leaders have produced the Bill before us. I feel that in the years that follow and in the other countries that have similar problems, they may look at our system of disciplined democracy as a cure for their problems. I wish to pay a tribute to the framers of the Bill.

This disciplined democracy begs the question: what are we trying to discipline. We are trying to discipline our attitudes so that the true spirit of democracy will be given a chance to flourish without the irresponsibilities that are also akin to it. A disciplined democracy that would harmonise our Eastern cultures and religions which abhor violence, inequity and injustice.

This Parliament meeting after two years of suspension is an achievement of the democratic process. It is, therefore, appropriate for us to consider the Constitution (Amendment) Bill first and understand what seems to be behind it. Can any one of us not believe that some curb is necessary to prevent the destructive forces rampant 23 months ago.

The Constitution is the main guardian of our political rights. These rights are not privileges granted by anyone. It is an expression of the duty that fellow men owe to each other. However, all of us who have rights that we enjoy under the Constitution have the parallel obligations to see to it that the rights of others are not violated by abuse of our rights.

Democracy never meant freedom to act in any way one wishes. If this happened we would have anarchy and not democracy. This is an elementary proposition that some of us have not accepted, or ignored.

It is a fact that there are three main races in this country and that no one race outnumbers the other races put together. World history has shown us that several races living together create many problems. We deeply regret that we have to admit that we have problems in this country. The problems

of people have been translated into economic, social and political rights and obligations. The Constitution sought to solve these problems. After May 13 it would seem that something has gone wrong. If, as the Government sincerely believes, it is the Constitution that has unwittingly fanned the flames of destruction, it is honour-bound to remedy or amend it. The Government believes this and we credit them with good faith or else the entire purpose of re-convening Parliament is a mockery.

If we wish to start with a clean slate, let us interpret the Constitution in good faith, and give full effect to all the clauses if that promotes racial harmony, the progress of all our people and the elimination of poverty and communal strife. If there is a difficulty of interpretation, let us form a Constitutional Commission made up of eminent people from all sectors and of all races who are equipped by their profession and experience to interpret. This is to guard us from the dangers of political interpretation as opposed to the just, legal interpretation of the Constitution. Let us build safeguards like this into our disciplined democracy.

Apart from the Constitution, we must understand that the Malays in this country ought to have a natural right in this country. The other races have, in an act of faith to this country, relinquished their natural rights to their own countries of origin and worked to call this country their own. They are the adopted sons and daughters, but nevertheless sons and daughters of this country. Amongst these people are numerous people who originated from China, India, Indonesia, Ceylon, etc. As M.P.s in the Dewan Ra'ayat have pointed out, the majority of these adopted children started as workers. The majority of these were exploited to produce the commodities that fetched high prices in the West. Few came with capital. But, all worked here. Some left with their wealth; others are still leaving with their wealth, but the majority are here. This country is their home. There is ample proof of this. They have sunk their wealth here. They have built their houses and homes, and they live here. They have put up buildings. They have put up factories, planted the estates, worked the mines and provided economic development and job opportunities for thousands of people. Their capital is invested in this country and no man wants to run away from his money.

Let this country which we have inherited in 1971 be truly Malaysia, not a false Malaysia where one man's riches is dependent on another's poverty, but where all people feel the bonds of human and not racial feelings. We have been given a new lease of life. Let us tread carefully. Let extremists of all races be shown firmly that their aspirations are not the aspirations of the majority of this country. Let those be curbed before they sacrifice their country on their altar of fanaticism and intolerance. Intolerance is a human faith but this feeling transcends racial barriers and is dormant in every human being, but the extent to which it is manifested can be controlled by an over-riding sense of obligation, responsibility and duty. This seems to be the function of the Amendment before us. The religions of the East be they Islam, Confucianism, Buddhism or Hinduism emphasise our duties. Let us turn to them and calm our political tempers in their ancient message of peace and moderation. The country we have built up is ours to destroy or preserve. If the entrenchment of Malay rights and the legitimate rights of the other races and the curb on "sensitive issues" is an alternative to May 13, we must vote for the Amendment with great pleasure.

Politicians shoulder a heavy responsibility in protecting and not abusing the democratic process of any country simply because power is in their hands. There should be a code of behaviour to ensure the minimum standard of decency in their dealings, with each other and their electorate—people who gave them the power to become their leaders as well as their protectors and spokesmen and guardians of their rights. Their function is not merely to exercise power but to guide their electorate along responsible lines of behaviour. The Constitution and the Amendment provide such a code of behaviour.

Let all Members of Parliament and people of this country and of this new Government go to the roots of the problems facing them with honesty and not expend their energies chasing red herrings and scapegoats for their failings. There has never been a single Government that has been perfect in history. Situations change, and we must evolve positively with it and look for the factors that unite us and not allow anyone to exploit our differences. We must find the common

denominator in our approach to each other which can act as a guide of our human behaviours.

Let us give encouragement to those who can stand up and admit that they have made mistakes and are trying to make sure they are not repeated. It is psychologically wrong to talk constantly about May 13. Who amongst us wants to perpetuate such a memory? Let us put it in its context in history and ask ourselves, "Is it not a drop in the oceans of destruction, death, and violence all over the world today?" We must not cause to manipulate it for political or other reasons and instead look to the future with hope and discipline ourselves to our new ways of life so that we will never be put in the same situation again. I call upon all Malaysians to accept this amendment as an act of faith in this country and in our leaders (*Tepok*).

Dato' J. E. S. Crawford: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong sa-penohnya Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan yang di-bahathkan di-Dewan ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya baca dalam surat khabar pada pagi kelmarin, ia-itu saramai 125 orang Ahli² mempersetujui Rang Undang² ini. Saya harap semua Ahli² Yang Berhormat dalam Dewan ini juga boleh bersetuju semua sa-kali. Kehadiran saya di-Dewan ini ia-lah supaya Rang Undang² ini di-luluskan, semua kaum² dalam negeri kita, Malaysia, boleh berjalan dan kerja bersama². Itu sahaja, terima kaseh.

Dato' Foo See Moi: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun menyokong Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini dan juga saya suka meminta izin berchakap dalam bahasa Inggeris supaya di-fahami oleh semua Ahli² Yang Berhormat yang ada di-Dewan ini.

(*Dengan izin*) Sir, I rise to support the Bill before the House. The proposed Bill designed to entrench the four fundamental provisions of the Constitution and to prevent the recurrence of racial strife in the future, is, to my mind, a wise and timely move by the Government, and I share all the views expressed by my friends who had spoken before me. I must say this, that there is no doubt that the cause of the May 13 incident was due mainly to too much harping on touchy issues by Opposition parties around the election period. May 13 was indeed the

darkest hours in the history of our nation which marred the good name of our country in the eyes of the world. Undoubtedly, it could be worse had it not been due to the effective measures taken by the National Operations Council under the wise guidance of its able Director, our Prime Minister, who with his team, has helped to bring the country back to normalcy in such a short time.

Sir, we got our independence only in 1957 and we are now on the process of nation-building, but our country, Malaysia, which is multi-racial in nature, is a very, very young country, hence its various problems are complex. It is urgent, therefore, to solve all these problems and I think the only solution is that there must be mutual understanding, respect, co-operation and goodwill existing among its people in order that a united, harmonious and progressive nation can be built.

Since Merdeka, the Government has been sparing no efforts in finding ways and means to realise these objectives, but all the good work done had nearly been destroyed overnight and one must begin to realise now how much peace and harmony means to a nation and to himself.

Sir, the building of a nation is a time consuming process. Therefore, it is vital that we must learn to live together as one people and respect each other's rights, traditions and customs, and above all, we must be thoughtful of each other as countrymen and to live and let live. Sir, an old saying says: "Two fishes fighting benefits the fisherman"; and our "Father Merdeka", the Tunku had constantly warned the nation before he retired that communalism is more dangerous than communism in our country, as communalism would lead the country to self-destruction and ruin.

Sir, the sensitive issues in question embodied in our Constitution have already been agreed to and accepted by the vast majority of the people of the country. The harping on these issues over and over again, either inside or outside this august House, will only help to stir up ill-feelings while we are still in the process of nation building; and, Sir, we all know it would have never occurred in the minds of the Government to restrict the freedom of speech in the country had it not been forced by circumstances. In view of the

prevailing conditions in our country, I do strongly believe, Sir, the proposed Bill, if passed, will help tremendously to allay the fears and to prevent the stirring up of ill-feelings and eventually in the promotion of goodwill among the people in the country though a lot still depends on the implementation of policy by the Government, but I have no doubt that our Government will be just and fair. Prevention is always better than cure. Sir, I support the Bill.

Nik Hassan bin Haji Nik Yahya: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berchakap dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan kerana saya tahu rakan² saya yang datang dari Malaysia Timor juga mengerti dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan. Saya pernah berchakap dengan mereka, berbual² di-tempat minum lebeh gemar berchakap dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan. Jadi ta' perlulah saya minta ma'af untok berchakap dalam bahasa Inggeris.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sa-belum saya memberi pendapat dan pandangan saya kepada Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini lebeh dahulu saya menyatakan sokongan saya kepada Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini dan Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini telah pun di-sokong dan di-terima serta di-luluskan oleh Dewan Ra'ayat di-mana dudok-nya wakil² ra'ayat di-dalam negara Malaysia kita ini. Sunggoh pun ada ahli² daripada parti D.A.P yang menyatakan perasaan tidak setuju-nya dengan Akta ini dan juga wakil P.P.P daripada Perak, saya rasa mereka ini tidak mengemukakan pendapat ra'ayat yang mereka wakili. Mereka ini mengemukakan pendapat dan fikiran ahli² executive parti-nya sahaja pada Dewan Ra'ayat itu. Sebab manakala kita berbual² antara orang² China, orang² Melayu dan orang² India mereka ini lebeh suka Akta ini di-luluskan supaya perkara² sensitif ini tidak lagi di-bangkit²kan oleh ahli² politik, kerana apabila tidak adanya Akta ini, ahli² politik sentiasa membangkit²kan perkara² yang sensitif itu dan dengan membangkit²kan perkara² yang sensitif itu, maka timbul-lah keadaan yang tidak baik dalam negara kita ini. Apabila timbul keadaan yang tidak baik dalam negara ini, mereka berkata yang mereka tidak boleh hidup dengan aman untok menchari makan dan menjalankan perniagaan mereka.

Oleh yang demikian, untok hidup dalam negara yang aman, untok menguruskan

perniagaan, pekerjaan mereka dan mencari makan hari², lebeh baik di-lupakan sahaja perkara² sensitif yang sa-umpama ini supaya negara kita ini aman maamor. Ini-lah pendapat kebanyakan daripada ahli² perniagaan daripada kaum China dan ahli² perniagaan daripada kaum Melayu dan India. Boleh dikatakan sa-jumlah besar daripada mereka ini lebeh suka perkara² yang sensitif ini diketepikan daripada fikiran mereka dan diserahkan kepada Kerajaan untuk menguruskan dengan baik dan sempurna supaya keadaan negara kita puleh sa-bagaimana biasa.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sa-belum kita merdeka, kita ada sa-buah Kerajaan yang ada mempunyai perjanjian di-antara Kerajaan Persekutuan dengan Kerajaan British. Pada masa itu kita panggil Perjanjian Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, dan kita adakan satu badan yang di-namakan Majlis Perundangan Persekutuan. Dalam Perjanjian itu telah pun di-masokkan perkara² Hak Istimewa Orang² Melayu, perkara² kuasa Raja² Melayu, perkara² mengenai lesen perniagaan, perkara² berkenaan dengan scholarship, perkara² yang berkenaan dengan sensitif hari ini.

Dalam Perjanjian Persekutuan Tanah Melayu yang telah di-baharui pada tahun 1948 dan sa-belum daripada itu perkara² hak istimewa telah ini di-adakan didalam perjanjian di-antara British dengan Raja² Melayu. Saya maseh ingat lagi pada waktu itu ia-itu pada tahun 1948 yang mana saya sa-bagai sa-orang Ahli dalam Dewan Undangan Persekutuan, pada masa itu telah pun kita binchangkan mengenai Perjanjian Persekutuan pada tahun 1948 itu dan perkara² sensitif ini telah ada dalam Perjanjian Persekutuan itu. Apabila Sir Gerald Templar menjadi Pesuruhjaya Tinggi British di-Tanah Melayu pada masa itu ia telah memberi ikrar Queen-nya dengan menyatakan bahawa Kerajaan British sanggup menyempurnakan segala apa yang di-tulis dalam Perjanjian Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ini supaya dapat menolong mereka yang kurang berada supaya menjadi sa-imbang antara mereka yang berada dengan mereka yang tidak berada.

Kerajaan British pada masa itu telah mengetahui yang orang² Melayu lemah. Lemah dalam pelajaran, lemah dalam perdagangan dan perusahaan, lemah dalam ekonomi dan sa-bagai-nya. Dan ini-lah

sebab-nya di-chatitkan dalam Perjanjian Persekutuan Tanah Melayu menjadi satu tugas yang utama bagi Kerajaan British untuk melaksanakan segala keputusan² dalam Perjanjian Persekutuan Tanah Melayu itu. Tetapi sa-bagaimana yang kita biasa tahu, Kerajaan British sa-bagai Kerajaan yang menjajah pada masa itu mereka lebeh mementingkan Kerajaan-nya dan segala perka-taan dan segala janji-nya itu tidak di-tunai-kan. Orang Melayu di-biar miskin dan papa supaya senang dia memerintah. Dan timbul daripada kegagalan British mengimbangkan antara orang Melayu dengan orang bukan Melayu ini-lah, maka timbul perasaan orang Melayu untuk mengambil balek kuasa dari-pada British.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya terpaksa mene-rangkan satu persatu apa yang telah berlaku ini, kerana saya rasa banyak orang² muda sekarang yang masok dalam politik, terutama mereka yang ada dalam parti² Pembangkang ini sudah lupa akan sejarah Malaysia kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila British gagal menyempurnakan tugas-nya itu, maka timbul-lah perasaan orang² Melayu mahu merdeka, mahu mengambil kuasa daripada British, mahu memerintah sendiri. Pada masa itu Allah Yarham Dato' Onn menga-takan, pemimpin orang Melayu mengatakan kita ta' boleh merdeka. Belum sampai masa-nya lagi. Kita maseh bodoh. Kita mesti mengambil masa 5 atau 10 tahun. Tetapi dengan kebijaksanaan Tunku bekas Per-dana Menteri kita, dengan tolak ansor dan perasaan baik yang ada pada Tunku, memujuk pemimpin² China pada masa itu supaya ber-pakat dengan pemimpin² daripada semua bangsa yang ada dalam negara kita ini menjadi satu perpaduan yang kukoh sa-hingga-lah dengan dorongan yang kuat dari-pada perasaan orang² Melayu yang di-sokongan oleh orang China dan India, maka British terpaksa menyerahkan negeri ini menjadi sa-buah negara yang merdeka.

Kita patut faham, waktu kita merdeka, kita tidak mempunyai asas ekonomi yang kuat sa-bagaimana kata Tan Sri Muhammad Ghazali Shafie, Menteri Dengan Tugas² Khas dan Penerangan yang baharu berchakap tadi. Pada masa itu kita tidak mempunyai kekuatan ekonomi, kita tidak mempunyai asas kekuatan yang chukup sa-bagaimana Kera-jaan British sa-buah negara yang telah merdeka. Sunggoh pun kita faham yang kita

tidak mempunyai asas ekonomi yang kukuh, tetapi kita tidak gagal dalam mendapatkan kemerdekaan, kerana kemerdekaan itu target atau matlamat yang utama, Malaysia, atau ra'ayat Tanah Melayu pada masa itu. Apabila kita telah dapat kuasa, baharu-lah kita susunkan asas² ekonomi yang kukuh, baharu-lah kita dapat mengembangkan kuasa ekonomi yang ada pada kaum² di-dalam negeri ini, sebab kalau tidak dapat kemerdekaan bagaimana kita mempunyai kuasa untuk mengembangkan ekonomi yang ada.

Kita telah berjaya untuk mendapatkan kuasa daripada British dalam usaha pertama kita. Matlamat kedua, ia-lah untuk mengimbangkan pehak yang berada dengan pehak yang tidak berada. Apabila kita telah mencapai kemerdekaan dalam tahun 1957 kita telah bawa kelemahan², penyakit² yang ada dalam masa penjajahan itu. Penyakit² yang mengenai kelemahan pelajaran, penyakit² mengenai kelemahan ekonomi, penyakit² perbezaan kaum dan penyakit² sensitif yang ada di-dalam masa British itu telah kita terima, kita beban untuk di-selesaikan dalam masa kita memerintah. Dengan pimpinan pada masa itu Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman, Perdana Menteri, kita telah pun membuat persetujuan antara orang² China dengan orang² Melayu. Orang China yang di-pimpin oleh Parti MCA, orang Melayu yang di-pimpin oleh Tunku sa-bagai Parti UMNO telah berpakat.

Bagaimana saya pernah dengar Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku berchakap dalam rapat² umum kepada ra'ayat bahawa orang² China yang ada kuasa ekonomi, kuasa perdagangan dan kuasa perusahaan dan orang² Melayu ada kuasa berpolitik. Orang Melayu boleh tolong orang China supaya hidup baik dengan memberi hak kera'ayatan supaya boleh dapat kekal hidup dalam negeri ini dan orang China menolong orang Melayu dalam perniagaan dan perusahaan supaya orang Melayu bukan sahaja dudok di-kampung² menanam padi, tetapi juga dapat hidup di-bandar² berniaga sa-bagaimana rakan²-nya orang China yang ada di-pekan² itu. Persetujuan ini telah di-chapai. Kita telah berjalan semenjak berbelas² tahun lama-nya di-bawah pimpinan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku. Perpaduan telah munchol berbelas² tahun dan chuma perpaduan ini pechah sa-telah datang-nya Parti² Pembangkang daripada Parti DAP dan daripada PPP. Parti Seenivasagam membawa masalah bahasa

yang boleh menghasutkan perasaan orang² Melayu, Parti DAP pula membawa perkara perkauman mengenai rebutan kuasa politik dan ekonomi dan sa-bagai-nya yang boleh menimbulkan perasaan sakit hati bagi orang² Melayu. Bagaimana kita sedia ma'alum orang Melayu ini baik hati, lemah lembut, mempunyai peribadi yang chukop. Saya maseh ingat lagi sa-belum tahun 1945 orang Melayu chukup baik, tetapi dalam tahun 1945 apabila Askar² Komin-tang keluar daripada hutan, pergi tendang bakul orang² Melayu di-pekan, di-situ orang² Melayu chabut keris—tikam, dia tidak kira Melayu, tidak kira siapa, tidak kira bangsa, tidak kira ugama. Ma'ana-nya jangan dia terhempit. Kalau dia di-hempit, dia di-hamun, dia di-ketok, maka dia bangkit macham spring, bila tekan, dia melompat, yang ada di-atas spring itu mesti jatuh. Ini perasaan dan hati kechil orang Melayu. Jadi, ini-lah saya kata orang Melayu chukup baik, chukup halus. Dengan pimpinan yang baik ra'ayat akan dapat berpadu balek, dapat dilupakan perkara yang terjadi dalam tahun 1945 itu. Perasaan mahu merdeka dalam tahun 1957-lah yang dapat menyatukan orang² Melayu dengan orang² China dengan kukuh sa-hingga British goyang—tidak boleh tidak, kena beri merdeka. Tetapi apabila datang-nya DAP, datang-nya PPP, ini PPP macham penyakit, segala penyakit; "P" itu banyak penyakit, jadi "P" itu penyakit, penyakit, penyakit, tiga kali penyakit (*Ke-tawa*).

Bila penyakit ini masok, ini yang kita berpechah. PAP dahulu tidak berjaya buat, PAP di-tukar jadi DAP. Ini "P" ini penyakit. "DA" itu Darah Penyakit. Jadi ini-lah saya katakan kita boleh hidup baik, orang Melayu, orang China boleh hidup dengan baik, kalau tidak ada penyakit. Jadi mahu buang penyakit ini mesti-lah buat satu operation (*Tepok*). Ini penyakit. Bagaimana kata Tan Sri Abdul Kadir, Peguam Negara kita, telah memberi amaran kepada penyakit² ini. Lepas kita operation, lepas kita luluskan Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini, maka penyakit itu kita potong, kita adakan satu pembedahan penyakit. Pembedahan penyakit ini-lah yang akan di-lakukan sa-telah Dewan Negara ini meluluskan dan Yang di-Pertuan Agong menyain-nya, maka penyakit² ini akan di-belah. Mereka hendak-lah meminda undang² tuboh Perlembagaan bagi parti² mereka. Mereka tidak boleh lagi membangkitkan

perkara² yang sensitif. Dan saya minta pada Tan Sri Abdul Kadir yang dia memberi pengakuan-nya dengan tegas akan menjalankan segala apa kuasa yang ada pada dia dengan baik dan sempurna. Maka satu daripada kesempurnaan yang akan di-jalankan ia-lah memberi notis kepada penyakit² ini sekarang: mahu mati, atau mahu hidup, kalau mereka mahu hidup, buang penyakit. Kalau mereka mahu mati, kita matikan penyakit itu. Ini menjadi tugas Attorney-General, Peguam Negara kita, dan saya rasa tugas ini akan di-jalankan daripada semangat-nya yang saya kenal dia sa-bagai rakan saya yang chukup mempunyai hasrat dan perasaan untuk menghapuskan penyakit ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana yang saya katakan tadi masalah ini patut-nya tidak berbangkit atas perkara sensitif ini, sebab saya katakan tadi daripada Perjanjian Persekutuan Tanah Melayu antara Kerajaan Melayu dengan British lagi perkara² hak istimewa orang Melayu, perkara Raja² Melayu, perkara scholarship, perkara ini telah ada; orang China pun tahu, orang India pun tahu, semua orang tahu benda itu ada, chuma-nya di-salin, di-masokkan dalam Perlembagaan kita. Apabila di-salin, di-masokkan dalam Perlembagaan kita, maka Kerajaan kita hendak melaksanakan tugas itu. British dahulu tidak melaksanakan. Sekarang Kerajaan Malaysia hendak melaksanakan tugas itu. Apabila hendak melaksanakan tugas itu, kenapa-kah kita menjadi takut, kenapa-kah kita menjadi sensitif, kenapa-kah kita menjadi terkejut, benda sudah ada hendak di-jalankan sahaja. Kalau kita jujur, tidak ada sensitif langsung, tetapi di-timbulkan sensitif itu, maka terpaksa-lah Kerajaan mesti bertindak. Jadi kita mesti faham dalam sa-buah negara Kerajaan hendak-lah bertindak. Kalau Kerajaan lewat bertindak, maka timbul pula masalah² yang tidak di-gemari. Kita pernah dengar banyak Menteri² kita berchakap, kalau ada masalah pada masa dahulu, kita sapu masok bawah tikar, kita sapu penyakit itu masok bawah tikar, kerana kita hendak tutup, hendak beritahu rumah kita ini suchi, kalau tidak sapu masok bawah tikar, nampak kotor, penyakit bawah tikar jadi tidak nampak. Itu kaedah dan chara kita buat dahulu. Sekarang apabila Tun Abdul Razak menjadi Perdana Menteri, dia tidak mahu sapu bawah tikar lagi, mahu suchi sekarang, mahu buang sampah itu dalam tong, sebab kita sapu bawah tikar banyak², tikar itu sudah timbul,

jatoh api rokok, tikar itu terbakar, rumah kita terbakar. Jadi sampah ini jangan lagi sapu di-bawah tikar

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Meshuarat di-tanggohkan sa-lama 15 minit.

Persidangan di-tempohkan pada pukul 4.30 petang.

Persidangan di-sambong sa-mula pada pukul 5 petang.

(Tuan Yang di-Pertua *mempengerusikan Meshuarat*)

Perbahathan di-sambong sa-mula.

Nik Hassan bin Haji Nik Yahya: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, waktu kita berhenti rehat tadi, saya baharu memulakan ucapan saya kepada babak pemerentahan baharu Malaysia di-bawah pimpinan Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak, Perdana Menteri kita yang baharu. Sa-belum pada itu, saya terangkan babak berkenaan dengan perjuangan Kemerdekaan dan tolak ansor serta pimpinan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku yang menyatu-padukan ra'ayat Malaysia pada masa itu.

Pada hari ini bagaimana saya kata tadi, apabila kita telah masok kepada babak baharu, dengan pimpinan baharu, Perdana Menteri yang baharu dan segala²-nya baharu, maka kita dapat memahami, kita dapat mengerti dan ra'ayat seluruh-nya faham bahawa Perdana Menteri kita yang baharu ini mempunyai satu kaedah yang baharu dalam menghadapi masalah Negara. Bagaimana philosphi-nya yang pernah di-suarakan kepada ra'ayat umum ia-itu kata-nya, pada masa hadapan ini kita ta' mahu sapu lagi segala sampah sarap itu ka-bawah tikar, kita mahu supaya sampah sarap itu di-bersehkan dan di-bersehkan di-hadapan kita pada masa ini supaya dapat kita memperbetulkan rumah tangga kita dengan keadaan yang baik dan terator. Ini pun sudah chukup menjadi amaran, menjadi kata² yang patut di-mengertikan oleh parti² Pembangkang khusus-nya DAP dan PPP.

Perdana Menteri kita yang baharu ini telah berkata ia-itu kita mahu menyelesaikan sekarang dan sekarang juga—tidak mahu tanggoh 10 atau 15 tahun ka-depan.

Akta Perlembagaan yang kita luluskan di-Dewan Negara pada hari ini dan telah di-luluskan oleh Dewan Ra'ayat itu, kita harap

akan menjadi satu senjata yang kuat, senjata yang akan dapat membunuh penyakit² yang ada di-dalam Negara kita ini, senjata yang akan dapat di-gunakan oleh Perdana Menteri kita yang baharu ini. Penyakit² ini mesti dihapuskan dan ini-lah bomoh yang besar, iaitu Tun Abdul Razak.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sudah menjadi tabi'at manusia yang sakit kena di-beri ubat. Ubat yang paling mujarab ia-lah ubat yang paling pahit.

Akta Perlembagaan ini pahit bagi orang² yang sakit, pahit bagi PPP, pahit bagi DAP, tetapi manis dan baik bagi ra'ayat seluruhnya.

Saya rasa apabila saya telah terangkan bagaimana chara dan falsafah perjuangan Perdana Menteri kita yang baharu ini, maka ada baik-nya kita dorongan sedikit kepada masa depan Malaysia kita, memberi panduan yang baik, memberi pandangan yang baik supaya dalam sa'at Negara berkehendakan kepada perpaduan ini, tiap² Ahli hendak-lah memberi fikiran yang membena, kita telah banyak mendengar perkataan² pechah-belah di-perkatakan sa-belum 13 Mei.

Hari ini sa-telah kita luluskan Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini, maka mari-lah kita semua mengeluarkan kata² membena, mengeluarkan kata² berpadu, mengeluarkan kata² yang baik supaya dapat kita menyatukan seluruh ra'ayat di-belakang Perdana Menteri yang baharu supaya dapat kita chepat menyelesaikan masalah Negara kita.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana saya katakan tadi banyak telah di-perkatakan mengenai perkara² pechah-belah sa-belum peristiwa 13 Mei, maka apabila kita hendak kata²kan perkara yang baik untuk masa depan kita, maka suka saya chatitkan di-sini, fikiran² yang membena untuk menjadi panduan, untuk menjadi harapan masa depan Malaysia ini. Kita mahu Negara kita ini, berdiri di-atas satu asas yang kukuh. Asas yang kukuh yang di-bena oleh Kerajaan dan ra'ayat sendiri, tidak ada guna-nya kalau kita tukarkan kepala keretapi itu dengan kepala yang di-panggilkan "diesel" manakala gerabak²-nya tidak di-tukarkan kepada gerabak² yang sesuai dengan kepala "diesel" itu. Manakala rail-nya tidak di-tukar sesuai dengan kepala keretapi yang hendak di-tarekkan itu, kerana kalau tidak

di-tukar keseluruhannya, maka timbul-lah keadaan tidak sa-imbang dan terbalek-lah keretapi itu, huru-hara-lah penumpang-nya!

Hari ini kita dapat mendengar seruan² daripada pemimpin² kita untuk berjalan kedepan dengan pimpinan dan semangat yang baharu, maka tidak boleh tidak, kita mesti masuk ka-kampung untuk memberi faham kepada orang² kampung kita, beri pengertian yang baharu kepada tiap² ra'ayat yang menduduki dalam Malaysia ini supaya mereka ini faham bahawa mereka telah hidup dalam satu abad yang baharu, di-bawah satu pimpinan yang baharu, di-bawah satu landasan yang baharu. Jadi ini-lah yang perlu bagi Kerajaan kita menyusun langkah, mengatorkan program dengan sa-berapa segera yang boleh.

Saya rasa patut-lah kita beri pujian kepada Kerajaan, kerana segera menyusun kembali susunan baharu Kerajaan dengan Menteri² yang baharu, dengan kedudukan, susunan yang baharu yang mana dalam Dewan kita ini telah ada sa-orang Menteri Dengan Tugas² Khas dan Penerangan yang baharu yang akan memimpin kita. Saya suka memberi tahniah kepada beliau yang telah di-lantik menjadi Ahli Dewan Negara di-sini. Kita berharap dengan pimpinan beliau, maka Dewan ini akan berjalan dengan baik.

Saya suka juga memberi sedikit pendapat saya tentang masa depan Malaysia ini. Masa depan kita ada-lah banyak tergantung kepada kecekapan dan kemahuan yang kuat daripada Kerajaan kita, untuk berjalan, untuk mengimbangkan antara orang² Melayu dengan orang² yang bukan Melayu. Apabila kita luluskan Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini, maka bukan-lah bermaana yang Akta ini semata² menguntongkan kepada orang² Melayu sahaja bahkan Akta ini juga memberi keuntungan kepada orang² yang bukan Melayu. Jadi terserah-lah kepada Kerajaan untuk menyusun langkah memberi segala faedah bagi melaksanakan segala tugas dengan menggunakan Akta yang baharu ini supaya perkara itu tidak akan menjadi masalah lagi dalam negara kita ini. Bagaimana pernah di-suarakan oleh Perdana Menteri kita yang baharu ini, apabila Akta² ini lulus, maka Kerajaan akan terus-menerus melaksanakan tugas, kerana Kerajaan tidak akan menjadi sa-buah Kerajaan yang stabel sa-kira-nya kedudukan ra'ayat tidak sa-imbang. Jadi, ini-lah sebab-nya kita luluskan Akta ini dan bagi harapan orang² Melayu

kita dengan lulus-nya Akta ini, maka tidak jauh ka-depan kita akan menemui satu sa'at, satu zaman ia-itu zaman perimbangan dalam ekonomi dan sa-bagai-nya.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak-lah hendak berchakap lebeh panjang lagi kerana ada Ahli² lain yang mungkin hendak berchakap kemudian daripada saya ini, chuma saya beri sa-kali lagi ingatan kepada Ahli² Pembangkang saperti DAP dan PPP supaya jangan lagi chuba mengongkit²kan perkara sensitif ini, kerana walau pun Akta ini diluluskan, perkara itu boleh di-ongkit dengan chara "loop-hole" yang ada dalam Akta ini. Mereka boleh berbisek², mereka boleh berchakap antara satu sama lain, mereka boleh gunakan kabar² angin yang mana lebeh merbahaya daripada perkara yang sa-benar-nya berlaku. Jadi, ini kalau mungkin akan mereka lakukan dan kita mesti bersedia untuk menghadapi masaalah² ini dan saya suka memberi amaran khusus-nya kepada pehak² DAP dan PPP supaya mereka ini mengenali orang² Melayu yang sa-benar-nya, mereka ini mengenali yang sa-benar jiwa orang² Melayu, jiwa yang halus, manis, jiwa yang baik, jiwa yang lembut itu satu hari kelak akan boleh bangkit dan boleh menimbulkan masaalah yang tidak dapat mereka itu menerima sendiri.

Itu-lah ucapan saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Sekian, terima kaseh.

Tuan Abdul Rahim bin Abdul Manan: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya berdiri ada-lah menyokong dengan sa-penoh-nya Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan yang sedang kita bahathkan dalam Dewan yang berbahagia ini.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kita telah banyak mengikuti segala perbahathan² yang telah berlaku di-Dewan Ra'ayat yang di-sampaikan oleh tokoh² parti dan pemimpin² menyuarakan pendapat-nya serta memberi pandangan berhubung dengan pindaan Perlembagaan yang kita sedang bahathkan pada hari ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berpendapat bahawa pindaan Perlembagaan yang sedang kita bahathkan ini sa-patut-nya telah pun kita buat pindaan-nya beberapa tahun yang lalu, kerana sejarah Perlembagaan ini adalah di-buat oleh satu badan yang mana bukan-nya 100% ra'ayat Malaysia.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, sa-telah 13 tahun kita mengamalkan Perlembagaan yang telah di-gubal oleh badan yang tersebut maka kepinchangan dan perkara yang tidak boleh memuaskan hati ra'ayat telah timbul sa-hingga mendatangkan akibat buruk yang mana sejarah trajidi 13 Mei telah berlaku. Dato' Yang di-Pertua, walau pun sejarah 13 Mei telah berlangsung, maka ini ada-lah satu pengajaran kepada kita semua ra'ayat supaya beringat dan berwaspada di-atas perkara² yang akan berlaku di-dalam negara kita yang maseh muda ini, kerana perbuatan.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, berhubung dengan Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini sekadar-kan kita meminda beberapa perkara yang di-fikirkan sensitif yang boleh di-salah-gunakan oleh mereka yang tidak bertanggung-jawab, atau lebeh tepat lagi oleh mereka yang ta'at setia-nya kita ragu²kan kepada Malaysia hari ini.

Satu daripada perkara yang suka saya menyatakan, atau suka saya mengambil bahagian dalam perbahathan ini ia-lah berkenaan dengan pindaan Perlembagaan berhubung kebebasan berchakap Ahli² Parlimen, Ahli² Dewan Undangan Negeri dan juga orang ramai. Sa-kira-nya kalau kita pandang sa-pintas lalu sahaja, apa yang dikatakan oleh parti² Pembangkang terutama DAP dan PPP saperti mana yang di-nyatakan oleh saudara saya Nik Hassan tadi, ia-itu satu parti yang ada menyimpan beberapa penyakit yang mengatakan bahawa pindaan Perlembagaan yang kita buat hari ini, menunjukkan demokrasi di-negara kita ini telah mula mati, tapi mereka itu lupa, mahu-kah kita mengamalkan demokrasi yang telah kita tahu akibat²-nya sa-hingga memporak-perandakan ra'ayat yang tidak berdosa, atau kita mahu demokrasi ala-Malaysia sendiri.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, berhubung dengan perkara sensitif yang di-larang kepada Ahli² Parlimen dan Ahli² Dewan Undangan Negeri itu, rasa saya tidak-lah menjadi keberatan, kalau Ahli² itu benar² jujur, ikhlas dan untuk menchari kebaikan negara kita dan ra'ayat seluroh-nya, kerana sejarah telah pun menunjukkan saperti mana yang di-nyatakan oleh Yang Berhormat Nik Hassan tadi sa-belum tahun 1945 dahulu lagi orang² Melayu, orang² China dan orang² India, tetap bersatu-padu bahkan ada orang China yang di-beri gelaran Dato' terutama di-Negeri Sembilan, hingga hari ini gelaran itu tetap juga tinggal sa-bagai gelaran yang sa-mesti. Rasa

saya, ini ada-lah menunjukkan satu persefahaman, satu keharmonian antara orang² China dengan orang² Melayu telah terjalin. Tetapi dalam tahun 1945 maka satu terajidi baharu telah berlaku, ini tidak lain dan tidak bukan ia-lah di-datangkan oleh pengkhianat² kepada negara ini, barangkali masa itu kita tahu ia-lah datang-nya daripada pehak Bintang Tiga yang ingin merebut kuasa di-dalam negara kita ini.

Jadi macham mana yang di-nyatakan oleh saudara saya Yang Berhormat Nik Hassan, suka-lah saya mengulangi lagi, dengan pimpinan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku dan rakan²-nya juga Yang Berbahagia Mendiang Tun Tan Cheng Lock dan pemimpin China yang lain bahawa persefahaman antara orang² Melayu dengan orang² China telah timbul sa-mula bagaimana orang² Melayu dan orang² China telah bersama² menuntut kemerdekaan tanah ayer kita ini yang mana Kerajaan British, atau pun penjajah pada masa itu telah goyang, dan kagum melihatkan perpaduan antara orang² China dengan orang² Melayu serta juga orang² India di-dalam negara ini yang mana Kerajaan British terpaksa menyerahkan negara ini kepada ra'ayat Malaysia sendiri.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menyentoh tentang Perlembagaan yang di-sogokkan kepada kita, pada masa itu saya maseh lagi berumur 25 tahun, kalau saya tidak silap, sa-memang pada masa itu keraguan orang Melayu berhubung dengan kera'ayatan telah timbul, disebabkan kelonggaran kera'ayatan ini, tetapi dengan pujok-rayu daripada pemimpin² orang Melayu, maka masalah kera'ayatan ini diterima bulat² oleh orang² kita Melayu, dan saya ingat pada masa itu walau pun tidak ada terchatet di-dalam Perlembagaan, tetapi pengertian telah di-dapati di-antara pemimpin orang² Melayu dengan pemimpin orang² China supaya masalah kera'ayatan ini jangan di-bongkar, tetapi hendak-lah orang China yang ada mempunyai ekonomi yang tegoh supaya memimpin orang² Melayu di-dalam bahagian perusahaan dan perniagaan. Walau pun ini tidak terchatet di-dalam satu kertas pun tetapi saya rasa rakan² sa-perjuangan dengan saya yang samor dengan saya hari ini tentu mengaku apa yang saya nyatakan ini. Tetapi malangnya perkara yang sa-bagini baik, perkara yang bagini chantek yang telah kita susun bakal kita warithkan kepada jenerasi yang akan datang telah di-nodaï oleh mereka²

yang tidak bertanggung-jawab terutama sekali Parti² Pembangkang yang terdiri daripada DAP dan Parti PPP yang timbul-nya sa-telah negara kita ini mencapai kemerdekaan lebeh kurang 15 tahun.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkenaan dengan Hak Istimewa Orang Melayu, biar-lah saya berchakap sedikit dalam perkara ini sa-memang patut sangat-lah dan sudah sampai masa-nya bahawa perkara ini tidak payah di-ongkit² lagi tidak payah di-binchangkan oleh umum lagi kerana perbinchangan yang di-buat di-rapat² umum itu selalu di-salah-mengertikan. Sa-kira-nya di-dalam Perlembagaan itu bermaksudkan lain, tetapi manakala penerangan² yang di-sampaikan di-luar ada-lah lain dan kita tidak pernah mendengar terutama Parti DAP dan Parti PPP yang menyebutkan bahawa sa-lain daripada Hak Istimewa Orang Melayu, maka hak kaum lain yang sah itu tetap terjamin. Kita tidak pernah mendengar di-persuarakan oleh pemimpin² PPP atau pemimpin² DAP yang sudah², melainkan manakan dia berchakap berkenaan dengan Hak Istimewa Orang Melayu apa yang di-katakan-nya chuma keuntongan orang Melayu, keuntongan orang Melayu, keuntongan orang Melayu samata², tetapi mengapa kalau sa-kira-nya mereka benar² jujur, benar² ikhlas pada negara ini, maka patut-lah dia menyebutkan bahawa hak yang sah bagi kaum² yang lain itu tetap terjamin sa-bagaimana yang terchatet di-dalam Perlembagaan kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, satu perkara yang sensitif yang tidak boleh lagi kita sebut² termasuk juga Ahli² Parlimen ia-lah berhubungan dengan bahasa. Jadi masalah bahasa ini, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya fikir ada-lah satu masalah yang paling rumit sekali. Saya hari ini ada-lah menguchapkan tahniah kepada Yang Berhormat Dato' Crawford kita yang berani berchakap Bahasa Kebangsaan, walau pun Bahasa Kebangsaan-nya yang begitu rendah standard-nya (*Te-pok*).

Sebab saya berkata begitu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau kita Ahli Dewan ini yang meluluskan dan yang membuat Undang², kemudian kita sendiri tidak menghormatkannya kemudian chari satu helah, supaya saudara² kita daripada Malaysia Timor faham, tetapi saya yakin dan saya perchaya kalau kita berchakap dalam bahasa Melayu dalam Dewan ini, maka saudara² kita daripada

Malaysia Timor lebih faham lagi daripada kita berchakap dengan berbahasa Inggeris (*Tepok*).

Jadi, rasa saya tentang masaalah ini, untuk mengatasi-nya mari-lah kita bersama, terutama Ahli Yang Berhormat sakalian mengamalkan, bukan-lah di-dalam Dewan ini sahaja bahkan mari-lah kita mengamalkan dan membawa ra'ayat seluruh-nya benar² menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan, sa-bagaimana yang kita sendiri akui kita ta'atkan Perlembagaan yang mana satu daripada Rukunegara kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekian sahaja yang dapat saya nyatakan di-dalam masaalah ini. Saya menyokong Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini. Terima kaseh.

Puan Dasimah Dasir: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka-lah walau pun saya baharu masuk menjadi Ahli Dewan ini, tetapi saya menguchapkan shukor ka-hadrat Tuhan juga kita kesemua yang ada di-dalam Dewan ini, sama ada orang Melayu mahu pun bukan orang Melayu. Sebab Kerajaan telah sedar tegas Kedudukan Istimewa Orang Melayu dan Kedudukan Istimewa orang² bukan Melayu. Kerana dengan ada-nya ini, maka dapat-lah kita kesemua-nya faedah besar kepada ra'ayat warganegara ini. Saya suka juga menegaskan ada sa-orang daripada Dato' tadi yang telah pulang menyatakan bahawa kita orang Melayu ini anak betul, bangsa lain ini kata-nya anak angkat. Tetapi saya rasa tidak ada Kerajaan memandangkan anak angkat, anak betul, anak beranak atau tidak. Sebab saya rasa kebanyakan peluang istimewa ini di-berikan kepada orang² bukan Melayu yang banyak. Dari itu saya rasa, jangan-lah kita memikirkan chara bagini, kerana Kerajaan mengubah Perlembagaan kita ini hendak menyekat di-dalam rukun yang lima perkara ini yang mana sama juga dengan rukun kita.

Kerana menyekat kebebasan berchakap, saya bersetuju dengan sa-penoh²-nya. Sebab saya sa-bagai salah sa-orang perempuan, bila Parti² Pembangkang telah mengeluarkan suatu perkara kepada pemimpin² yang di-atas ini, maka rasa saya, kalau saya boleh, akan saya tumbok mereka. (*Tepok*). Sebab itu pun saya biasa bertumbok dengan Parti PAS (*Ketawa*).

Saya biasa singsing tangan baju, sebab tidak tertahan lagi perasaan yang di-buat oleh parti² lawan terhadap Kerajaan, kerana

sa-bagaimana yang tuan² tahu, Yang Berhormat Nik Hassan telah berchakap tadi, ini ada-lah sa-benar²-nya, tetapi malang-nya orang² Melayu hanya suka tengok apa yang di-lakukan oleh orang bukan Melayu tetapi tidak mahu ambil, langkah yang sama bagaimana-kah orang² Melayu dapat hidup bebas di-negara kita ini—tanpa bergantung kepada orang lain sikap ternanti orang² Melayu dalam merebut peluang yang di-beri oleh Kerajaan menyebabkan kepala kita sudah di-pijak. Kini peluang telah terbuka. Kita jangan-lah suka meminta, minta kepada siapa? Chuba-lah kita chari ikhtiar supaya dapat kita samakan taraf hidup orang² Melayu dengan orang² yang bukan Melayu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menyokong dengan sa-penoh²-nya pindaan yang di-buat ini, sebab banyak keuntongan yang boleh di-dapati sa-bagaimana kata saudara saya tadi, kepada orang Melayu dan kepada yang bukan Melayu, tetapi saya meminta Kerajaan yang ada hari ini, jika sa-kira-nya Rang Undang² ini telah di-lulus, maka hendak-lah Kerajaan mengambil sikap-nya dengan tegas, tidak hendak lagi bertolak ansor, tidak hendak lagi ada pintu belakang. Kerajaan kini, hendakkan Kerajaan Demokrasi, yang sa-benar²-nya saya banyak juga bekawan dengan orang² China mahu pun orang² bukan Melayu dari bangsa² lain sa-kira-nya pindaan ini di-luluskan oleh Kerajaan ada-kah akan berlaku lagi peristiwa 13 Mei. Jawab saya, jikalau orang² China membacha tawarikh, mengenai riwayat orang² China atau orang² Melayu, mereka pernah bertanya kepada saya di-negeri ini saya perchaya peristiwa 13 Mei tidak akan berlaku. Sebab saya kata bagini, hendak-lah orang² yang bukan Melayu ini ingat akan sa-benar²-nya dan chari-lah riwayat, tawarikh zaman dahulu dari manakah asal-usul sa-benar²-nya kita semua ini. Saya tidak hendak berchakap panjang, sa-kira-nya saya tidak bangun berchakap saya rasa menyesal tetapi masuk di-dalam Dewan ini (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Sekarang ini tidak menyesal?

Puan Dasimah Dasir: Hari ini saya harap tidak menyesal-lah. Walau bagaimana pun saya berharap kepada Ahli² Yang Berhormat yang hendak berchakap, walau pun saudara saya, kata-nya berchakap dalam bahasa Inggeris konon hendak beri fahaman kepada Ahli² Yang Berhormat dari Sarawak dan

Ahli² Yang Berhormat dari Sabah, tetapi saya dapati selalu Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah berchakap dengan saya ada-lah menggunakan Bahasa Kebangsaan. Ini saya minta kita buat, kita menjahit, kita mengait, kita hendak letak atas meja—chantek sahaja, tetapi kita hendak alas, apa kita hendak alaskan, kita tidak tahu. Kita pandai buat, pandai berchakap, tetapi tidak berjalan kerja kita.

Kita bangun, kita minta kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua, banyak juga orang² seperti saya, saya tidak berapa faham banyak bahasa Inggeris, chuma bacha sekolah malam sahaja. (*Ketawa*). Tetapi saya tidak hendak, kalau hendak berchakap itu boleh, tetapi saya tidak hendak. Saya berharap kepada Ahli² Yang Berhormat yang ada di-sini kalau ra'ayat bukan warganegara tentu-lah Kerajaan tidak lantek menjadi Ahli Dewan Negara.

Pada masa saya bertanya kepada Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masa hendak angkat sumpah, kalau sumpah lagu orang puteh, boleh atau pun tidak boleh, dia kata, tidak boleh. Mengapa-kah kita di-benar berchakap dalam bahasa Inggeris di-sini? Jadi saya minta kepada Kerajaan, mari-lah kita orang² Melayu, dan yang bukan Melayu, bersama berdo'a supaya negara ini akan kekal, ma'amor bersama² tiga bangsa yang terbesar di-negara kita ini.

Demikian-lah ucapan saya. Terima kaseh.

Tuan Amaluddin bin Darus: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Alham duilllah, kita kembali ka-Parlimen. Pada hari ini Dewan Negara mengemukakan Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan yang telah di-luluskan oleh Dewan Ra'ayat dan yang telah pun diperdebatkan bagitu hebat. Saya katakan kembali ka-Parlimen dengan penoh keshukoran, sebab ada-lah sa-baik² jalan kepada umat manusia biar di-mana pun mereka berada mengadakan sidang² dan bermeshuarat. Dalam bentok apa pun satu² masyarakat itu tidak dapat di-bentok dengan baik, jika tidak di-adakan bermeshuarat, maka Parlimen ada-lah alat yang sa-baik²-nya sa-bagai ra'ayat sa-buah negara untuk berdailog yang dengan bagitu dapat menyelesaikan berbagai² problem atau masaalah di-dalam negara.

Chuma kita berhadapan dengan satu kenyataan yang sangat sulit. Apabila pehak Kerajaan mengemukakan Rang Undang² ini, kita di-suakan dengan satu kata dua—lulus

Undang² ini, kembali ka-Parlimen. Kalau tidak, erti-nya tidak ada Parlimen lagi. Kita berjumpa dengan keterangan² dan kenya-taan² bahawa demokrasi berparlimen yang berjalan di-negara kita ini sudah tidak sesuai, kerana dia ala-barat, maka harus kita lakukan pindaan² supaya ia di-sesuai dengan ala-Malaysia, tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-kadar yang dapat saya ikuti daripada Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini, dia maseh lagi ala-barat, hanya sedikit pindaan sahaja yang di-buat bagi menyelesaikan kekusotan yang di-agak sa-kira²-nya boleh di-selesaikan hasil dari ada-nya kekachauan 13 Mei yang sangat malang bagi negara ini.

Maseh banyak lagi yang perlu di-selesaikan, tetapi nampak-nya Kerajaan teragak² dalam membuat pindaan. Kalau saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sejak dari mula telah nampak beberapa kelemahan² yang wujud dan kerana itu sa-waktu beberapa kali Dewan ini di-bawah Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan telah saya nyatakan pendapat² saya tentang perubahan² yang lebeh penting, yang patut di-buat, akan tetapi Kerajaan hanya mengemukakan satu demi satu perkara yang sesuai dengan keadaan² yang timbul, yang menghalang niat dan tujuan Kerajaan bagi melaksanakan pentadbiran sa-mata².

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa yang telah berlaku terhadap negara kita, ia-lah hasil daripada rasa tidak puas kepada gulongan² ra'ayat dalam negara ini dan sa-memang-nya ada-lah satu perkara yang sangat sukar bagi sa-siapa pun juga hendak memuaskan semua gulongan di-dalam suatu waktu, tetapi kita harus meletakkan satu asas yang chukup kuat dari mula. Jika asas yang chukup kuat itu sudah di-letakkan dari mula, sangat payah di-goyang, apa-tah lagi untuk di-tumbangkan. Dengan tidak memperkechilkan usaha² Kerajaan bagi maksud menchari penyelesaian politik dan penyelesaian masyarakat dalam negara kita ini, saya dengan segala hormat-nya meminta supaya saya di-izinkan kembali menyatakan apa yang telah pernah di-nyatakan oleh PAS sa-waktu Surohanjaya Lord Reid meminta memorandum² dari parti² politik di-dalam negeri kita ini.

Satu perkara yang tegas yang telah di-sebutkan di-dalam Memorandum PAS di-dalam Surohanjaya Lord Reid itu ia-lah supaya memasokkan dalam Perlembagaan Negara ini bahawa pada waktu itu Tanah

Melayu, bahawa Tanah Melayu ini ia-lah hak kepunyaan orang² Melayu. Ini tidak berarti menafikan hak orang² lain untuk diterima menjadi kera'ayatan. Tidak-lah begitu sempit pandangan Persatuan Islam Sa-Malaya sa-waktu itu, sekarang Persatuan Islam Sa-Tanah Melayu, tidak-lah begitu sempit pandangan kita apabila kita mengemukakan sa-suatu yang hak yang patut ditempatkan pada tempat yang hak. Kalau itu telah di-chatitkan, dan berdasarkan itu-lah, kita mulakan peruntokan² lain bagi memberi hak² yang menasabah kepada orang² lain yang merasa tidak ada tempat yang lain bagi mereka untuk tumpang bertedoh bagi mereka dan anak chuchu mereka, melainkan ini-lah tanah ayer mereka, mereka harus mempunyai tempat dalam bumi Allah ini, dan mereka mesti di-berikan hak seperti itu dan mereka harus menjunjukkan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi berdasarkan asas² sejarah negeri ini sendiri, tidak-lah timbul masalah² yang telah timbul yang menyebabkan timbul berbagai² provokasi di-dalam negara kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila orang² telah mendapat kemudahan² yang sa-patunya tidak patut mereka dapati sa-belum sampai waktu-nya, maka timbul-lah akibat². Mereka terpilih mengikut asas² demokrasi, menjadi wakil² ra'ayat, mereka berchakap mereka bersuara sa-mahu²-nya sa-hingga menimbulkan keadaan² yang menchetuskan rasa salah faham dan menimbulkan api pertentangan di-antara kaum dengan kaum di-dalam sa-buah negara yang berbentok seperti ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa yang telah berlaku dalam negara kita, sa-bahagian orang ikut menudoh bahawa PAS juga sa-bagai parti Pembangkang telah memainkan peranan dalam negara ini berchorak perkauman dan menimbulkan bibit² chemburu-menchemburu. Saya menafikan dengan sa-keras²-nya bahawa PAS memainkan peranan politik perkauman, kerana saya yakin bahawa apa yang di-perjuangkan oleh PAS sa-bagai sa-buah parti politik dalam negeri ini ia-lah bagi kepentingan yang asasi untuk ra'ayat negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-telah peristiwa 13 Mei, Parlimen kita telah di-gantong dan kemudian di-adakan Majlis Perundingan Negara di-mana di-dalam-nya berbagai² parti politik, kechuali satu parti politik yang tidak ikut, yang lain-nya semua telah ikut dalam Majlis Perundingan Negara yang telah

menyampaikan rasa hati masing² sa-chara terus terang sa-kali pun berita²-nya tidak diberi peluang keluar.

Saya perchaya apa yang telah di-binchangkan di-dalam beberapa kali sidang Majlis Perundingan Negara, chukup baik dan sangat matang untuk di-jadikan pertimbangan bagi seluruh ra'ayat negeri ini terutama pemimpin² parti politik. Dan sa-sudah kita kembali kepada Parlimen, kalau ada rasa tasammoh, atau rasa dada lapang dalam menghadapi semua masalah tentu-lah kita dapat menyelesaikan masalah² kita di-masa hadapan dengan baik, ia-itu dengan mendengar suara² dari parti² Pembangkang sa-bagai suara² yang di-hormati, atau suara² yang di-dengar dan fikiran² yang di-hormati.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak shak lagi sa-tiap warganegara yang sehat dan jujur fikiran-nya mengingini perdamaian dan keharmonian di-antara penduduk dalam negara ini dan menjadi kewajipan kepada Kerajaan yang memerintah untuk mempertahankan Undang² dan mewujudkan keharmonian di-dalam negara bagi kita mewujudkan berbagai² lagi bagi kebaikan kita sekarang dan anak chuchu kita akan datang, tetapi dalam Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan yang di-kemukakan ini belum menchukupi bagi menyelesaikan semua masalah² ini. Rang Undang² ini hanya sa-kadar membatasi suara Ahli² Parlimen, menghilangkan hak kekebalan mereka daripada berchakap sa-bebas²-nya. Di-dalam Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini hanya menyentoh pindaan² perkara bahasa supaya jangan disentoh, perkara Kedudukan Istimewa Orang Melayu supaya jangan di-sentoh dan ditambah lagi hak bumiputera (native) yang ada di-Sarawak dan Sabah dan beberapa hal² lain.

Ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-benar-nya tidak perlu di-sentoh, sa-lama ini pun kalau sa-kira-nya kita mempunyai anggota, satu barisan anggota Parlimen yang terdiri daripada mereka yang betul² memandang kenyataan sejarah dan kenyataan politik di-negeri kita ini. Alang-kah besar-nya pengorbanan orang² Melayu apabila mereka menyerahkan hak politik mereka di-perkongsikan dengan orang² lain, tetapi tidak semua orang Melayu telah memberi sokongan dalam penyerahan hak politik dan perkongsian ini, kerana ada sa-bahagian orang² Melayu yang tidak rela hak² ini di-perkongsikan dengan begitu mudah.

Ini tidak berarti sa-bahagian orang² Melayu yang tidak rela hak² politik diperkongsikan sa-bagitu mudah, tidak mahu orang² lain menjadi warganegara negeri ini. Tetapi memandang dari semua sudut bahawa kelemahan² kita pada masa yang lalu-lah yang menimbulkan keadaan² pada masa ini. Jadi, sekarang terpaksa kita membuat Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini. Oleh kerana dia-nya perlu, itu-lah yang di-fikirkan paling baik sa-bagai satu ubat pada masa ini, maka pehak Kerajaan menhadang dan pehak saya juga menyokong, kerana mahu melihat keadaan yang baik berlaku di-negara ini. Tetapi siapa-kah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dapat menahan hati sa-saorang daripada rasa tidak puas, oleh kerana tidak ada kuasa dalam dunia ini yang boleh menahan rasa tidak puas hati sa-saorang atau sa-golongan, maka keadaan² lain boleh timbul lagi. Sebab itu ada banyak perkara lagi yang perlu di-perhatikan oleh Kerajaan mengenai dengan Perlembagaan negara kita supaya dia-nya dapat menjamin kesetabilan politik pada masa akan datang.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berapa lama-kah Perlembagaan negara kita akan mengadakan peruntukan² yang mengatakan orang Melayu, yang mengatakan Aborigines, orang Asli di-Malaya ini, yang mengatakan natives atau bumiputra di-negeri² Borneo, berapa lama-kah Perlembagaan yang seperti ini akan di-kekalkan. Erti-nya mengekalkan keadaan² yang kita bimbang, mengekalkan keadaan² perkauman, mengekalkan keadaan² yang semua kita tidak mahu kerana kita menchari perpaduan. Kita harus menempoh beberapa proses² lagi bagi menchari matlamat untuk mengekalkan perpaduan dan mengujudkan satu bangsa Malaysia yang bersatu di-negara kita ini. Kita terpaksa mengadap berbagai proses² pindaan, kalau kita mahu mengekalkan keadaan keharmonian dan mengekalkan satu keadaan yang terjamin sa-telah kita berjaya pada usaha² kita mengujudkan bangsa Malaysia yang bersatu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tidak mahu mengongkitkan² soal Kedudukan Istimewa Orang Melayu yang menjadi satu perkara pindaan dalam Perlembagaan kita ini, kerana perkara ini telah pun di-perkatakan dalam Dewan yang mulia ini beberapa lama dahulu akan semua kelemahan²-nya. Dan saya tidak berhadang untuk menyentoh soal ini di-masa hadapan kerana yang perlu bagi saya dahulu, sekarang dan akan datang ia-lah menyentoh soal pelaksanaan-nya atau imple-

mentation-nya. Dan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apa yang telah ada dalam negara kita ini hasil dari Perlembagaan kita yang ada dia-nya ada, termasuk soal kera'ayatan satu perkara yang paling di-takuti oleh pehak Kerajaan, kerana selalu di-bangkit²kan oleh Persatuan Islam Sa-Tanah Melayu. Benda itu ada dan sedang dalam pelaksanaan. Saya mengharapkan supaya Kerajaan menchari jalan penyelesaian terhadap masalah dalam negara kita ini berhubung dengan ada-nya kera'ayatan, chorak yang ada, tetapi tidak berubah supaya wujud satu keadaan yang bersatu, satu perasaan yang sama dari semua warganegara.

Melarang berchakap di-Parlimen dan undang² yang di-luar Parlimen juga ada tidak menyelesaikan perasaan hati seperti yang telah saya katakan tadi, kerana itu bagaimana chara-nya untuk mengujudkan satu keadaan antara warganegara hendak-lah di-fikirkan sa-masak²-nya oleh Kerajaan, kerana ia-nya tidak chukup dengan selogan² ekonomi baharu, dia-nya tidak pada dengan ikhtiar² untuk mengembangkan ekonomi satu golongan dengan satu golongan, kerana pada am-nya penyelesaian ekonomi yang di-harap²-kan untuk mendekatkan dua jurang antara kaum² di-negeri ini tidak pernah akan menyelesaikan masalah ekonomi yang sa-benar-nya. Masalah ekonomi yang sa-benar-nya bukan sahaja di-antara dua golongan penduduk yang terbesar di-negeri ini, tetapi dia ada-lah masalah individu², sa-golongan kecil daripada dua golongan mungkin akan dapat bahagian² ekonomi, tetapi sa-bahagian besar daripada dua golongan yang terbesar di-negeri ini mungkin tidak mendapat apa² hanya menjadi orang mendapat sedikit² peluang dan masalah ini tidak akan selesai. Kalau kita gagal dalam usaha ini, golongan yang ketiga yang akan mendapat peluang.

Penyelesaian haves and haves-not, di-antara individu² tidak boleh di-selesaikan, melainkan dengan satu program yang lebeh baik dan program yang lebeh baik itu mesti-lah meninggalkan ekonomi liberal. Seperti kita berharap dan berhadang untuk meninggalkan sedikit demi sedikit demokrasi ala-barat, maka dasar ekonomi liberal ala-barat juga harus di-tinggalkan sedikit demi sedikit, baharu dapat kita menchari penyelesaian keadaan masalah politik, ekonomi serta sosial dalam negara kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, negara kita yang malang ini—kata saya negara yang malang kerana baharu berlaku trejedi 13 Mei—yang

kita berharap tidak akan berulang lagi sejarah yang seperti itu ada-lah benar hasil daripada dasar pechah-belah British pada masa yang lalu. Akan tetapi semua-nya terjadi dan telah terjadi kepada kita, tidak ada siapa yang boleh kita salahkan, kerana kita mempunyai upaya untuk membetulkan kesalahan² yang di-paksakan oleh British kepada kita, tetapi kita kurang sedar pada masa itu, dan kita ada gulungan yang mengingatkan, tetapi kita anggap pengachau pada masa itu, kerana itu kekechewaan² kita ini tidak harus menjadi sesalan kepada kita, tetapi ini semua-nya harus-lah menjadi pengajaran kepada kita semua dalam menghadapi chabaran masa hadapan yang akan bertambah hebat lagi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila keadaan² yang rumit itu di-negeri ini hendak di-selesaikan, dia-nya tidak-lah chukup dengan pindaan Perlembagaan ini sa-mata². Masa-alah parti² politik yang banyak di-dalam negeri ini sentiasa menjadi anchaman terhadap kesetabilan politik negara kita ini. Ada-nya parti² politik yang mungkin mendapat fikiran² dari luar sempadan negeri kita. Ada-nya parti² politik yang terbatas dalam satu negeri, dalam negara Malaysia, tetapi dari segi demokrasi chara barat mereka berhak ikut dalam pertandingan dalam pilihanraya nasional, atau pilihanraya umum, sedangkan mereka itu tidak mempunyai tempat dalam tanah ayer seluroh-nya hanya sa-bahagian. Ini semua menimbulkan keadaan² yang kachau. Ada-nya parti² politik yang ingin membentok satu bangsa bersatu, tetapi mereka maseh perkauman seperti UMNO, M.C.A. dan M.I.C. juga ada-lah merupakan gejala² kepada tidak elok-nya perjalanan politik dalam negara kita ini.

UMNO, M.C.A. dan M.I.C. harus mem-bubarkan diri mereka masing² sa-hingga mereka menjadi satu parti politik, merupakan parti nasional di-negeri ini, ada lebeh baik daripada membiarkan diri mereka menjadi UMNO, M.C.A. dan M.I.C., maka jadi-lah seperti kata pepatah Melayu: Saperti ketam mengajar anak-nya berjalan betul, dia sendiri berjalan mengereng. Bila-kah kita dapat melaksanakan ranchangan² kita yang lebeh besar kalau masaalah² ini yang nampak-nya kechil, belum dapat di-selesaikan.

Saya menguchapkan tahniah kepada pehak Kerajaan yang bersungguh² berfikir tentang menchari penyelesaian dalam kerumitan politik negara kita ini. Memang negara kita ini rumit, tetapi saya ingin menyatakan

pandangan saya yang ikhlas supaya di-kechilkan jumlah parti politik dalam negeri ini. Akan senang-lah kami menghadapi-nya kalau sa-kira-nya Parti Perikatan telah merupakan satu Perikatan-kah atau parti santan-kah—tidak apa, sa-bagai satu Parti Kebangsaan; ada satu Parti Islam dan mungkin ada satu parti lagi ia-itu parti Sosialis, sudah chukup tiga parti politik bagi negeri ini, tetapi kalau sampai sembilan, dua belas dan enam belas, dia akan menimbulkan kekachauan sa-lama² dalam negara kita ini.

Saya harap ingatan saya, atau tegoran, atau pandangan saya yang ikhlas dapat di-terima oleh pehak Kerajaan dan mereka bersedia untuk menjadikan mereka satu parti politik yang tunggal bukan tiga dalam satu, satu dalam tiga, yang akan mengakibatkan perasa-an yang tidak senang.

Tan Sri Abdul Kadir bin Yusof: Untuk penerangan. Sanggup-kah PAS masuk pula buboh dalam M.C.A. dan M.I.C. kalau disatukan kelak? (*Tepok*).

Tuan Amaluddin bin Darus: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi kepentingan nasional negara kita ini perkara PAS masuk atau tidak masuk, terserah-lah kepada keadaan pada masa akan datang hasil daripada keputusan Sidang Pimpinan Parti Kongress PAS. Soal yang saya sarankan, ia-lah bagi kepentingan negara ini, tidak timbul soal PAS tetapi bagi kepentingan negara ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan ikhlas saya menyebutkan hasil kongres sa-buah parti politik Melayu dari parti Perikatan telah melahirkan satu perjumpaan yang lain dalam negara kita ini dengan alasan² yang lain. Dari segi satu sudut melemahkan potensi M.C.A. sendiri, dari sudut lain, menunjukkan satu tanda² baharu yang akan lahir dan ini bukan-lah akan penyelesaian politik negara kita ini, tetapi akan menimbulkan keadaan² yang lebeh rumit pada masa depan. Jadi kalau Kerajaan dapat mengadakan Undang² menyekatkan jumlah parti² politik, UMNO jadikan United Malaysian National Organisation meliputi seluroh Malaysia, PAS . . .

Tan Sri Abdul Kadir bin Yusof: Untuk penerangan, sunggoh-kah dia sanggup di-haramkan?

Tuan Amaluddin bin Darus: PAS jalan terus dengan chita² Islam. Dan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mendo'akan negara kita

akan mendapat kebahagiaan pada masa depan dan saya mengharapkan supaya demokrasi berparlimen di-kekalkan dalam negara kita dan jangan takut menghadapi Parlimen, chuma kita perlu mengadakan perubahan²—tidak sahaja sedikit seperti ini, perubahan² yang langsung yang kita katakan demokrasi ala-Malaysia, sebab demokrasi ala-Malaysia yang di-katakan sekarang ini belum sampai, baharu sebutan² sa-mata². Sekian, terima kasih.

Dato' Y. T. Lee: Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya berdiri menyokong penoh Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini. Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan yang berusaha mengekalkan jaminan dalam Perlembagaan telah di-debat dengan teliti-nya dalam Dewan Ra'ayat beberapa hari yang lalu. Pindaan² ini di-selideki dan di-timbangkan dengan berhati² dan di-gubal untuk mengelakkan perkara² sensitif di-binchangkan.

Kepujian patut di-beri kepada Mageran di-bawah Pengerusi-nya Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak kerana kerja² yang baik di-buat-nya.

Pertama dalam memulehkan Undang² selepas peristiwa 13 Mei tahun 1969, dan yang kedua untuk mengadakan provision² yang tertentu dalam Perlembagaan supaya kebajikan penduduk² dan keselamatan masa akan datang negara ini dapat di-pertahankan.

Tawarikh telah membuktikan, ia-itu beratus² tahun yang lalu bangsa² di-negara ini telah hidup dan bekerja bersama² dengan gembira-nya. Ini ada-lah kewajipan jenerasi ini untuk menjamin bahawa keadaan gembira ini di-teruskan.

Ahli² politik akan memberi perkhidmatan yang besar kepada penduduk² dan negara sa-kira-nya mereka menumpukan aktiviti² mereka dengan sikap membena terhadap matlamat untuk membena negara. Hal yang mustahak dalam masyarakat berbilang bangsa ini, ia-lah perpaduan dan kesetabilan. Kita tidak sanggup bersikap puas hati atau complacent. Malaysia dan penduduk²-nya tidak sanggup berlaku sa-kali lagi peristiwa seperti 13 Mei tahun 1969.

Kita mesti mengaku bahawa demokrasi berparlimen dalam negara ini ada-lah maseh muda dan sunggoh pun banyak perkara yang baik yang telah kita belajar dari barat, tetapi ada juga faktor² yang bukan 100% sesuai untuk negara yang muda ini, jika di-terima

semua-nya. Pandangan dari bangsa² yang berlainan terhadap masaalah yang tertentu tidak-lah sama, tetapi dengan muhibbah dan persefahaman, kerumitan itu dapat di-atasi, dan kerumitan itu mesti di-selesaikan dan di-atasi jika negara ini hendak mempunyai aman damai yang kekal dan kema'amoran.

Yang Amat berhormat Tun Abdul Razak, Perdana Menteri dan Ketua Akitek Rang Undang² ini telah menegaskan beberapa kali, ia-itu semua kaum dalam negara ini akan dapat layanan yang sama dan adil Provision² ini akan dapat sokongan penoh dari private sector terutama sa-kali bila di-umumkan dengan rasmi-nya bahawa polisi Kerajaan kita ia-lah untuk meujudkan satu masharakat yang adil di-mana semua orang mempunyai peluang yang sama tidak kira apa bangsa keturunan-nya. Ini ada-lah kewajipan private sector untuk mendesak Kerajaan, untuk menjamin keadilan yang sa-benar-nya di-jalankan dalam pelaksanaan provision² dalam Perlembagaan yang di-pinda itu.

Sa-barang kesan diskriminasi kerana berat sa-belah dari sa-barang kaum dalam masharakat berbilang kaum kita ini mesti-lah di-elakkan.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya menyokong penoh Rang Undang² (Pindaan) Perlembagaan di-hadapan Dewan ini (*Tepok*).

Tuan Abdullah bin Dato' Abdul Rahman: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya amat suka hati bila mendengar ucapan sahabat saya Enche' Amaluddin bin Darus yang berkata sudah sampai-lah masa-nya yang kita patut-lah berdemokrasi bukan lagi ala-barat tetapi mengikut chara kita sendiri. Saya tertunggu² apa-kah buah fikiran-nya atas demokrasi yang sa-patut-nya mengambil demokrasi bekas demokrasi ala-barat.

Dalam perhatian saya yang tidak begitu luas dan tidak juga begitu mendalam apabila saya tengok di-sakeliling dunia negeri² yang maseh membangun di-Benua Afrika, di-Indonesia dan juga di-Kominis China, saya perhati mula²-nya di-Afrika—negeri² yang sudah mendapat kemerdekaan, semua-nya mengikut demokrasi ala-barat, tetapi pada masa ini apabila kita tengok di-Benua Afrika satu demi satu demokrasi ala-barat sudah jatuh dan belum juga timbul satu demokrasi ala-Afrika. Malah yang timbul ia-lah bukan-nya demokrasi, tetapi ia-lah Rejim Militari dan pula kita tengok di-Indonesia, di-situ

juga di-dapati oleh ra'ayat Indonesia, atau pun penganjor² Indonesia yang demokrasi ala-barat tidak sesuai dengan keadaan negeri Indonesia.

Jadi, sedikit demi sedikit di-ubah demokrasi itu dan sampai-lah masa-nya Allah yarham Presiden Sukarno menjadi President sa-lama hidup-nya, dan kita tahu-lah daripada apa yang telah jadi kapada guided democracy Presiden Sukarno itu tidak juga sesuai dengan keadaan negeri Indonesia.

Sekarang sampai pula kita di-negeri kita sendiri.

Kita bermula dengan demokrasi ala-barat dengan sa-penoh-nya dan itu-lah demokrasi yang kita mengerti serba sedikit oleh kerana kita dahulu di-bawah penjajahan orang British.

Dalam masa 12 tahun semenjak kita merdeka tiada sa-orang pun mengatakan yang demokrasi ala-barat itu tidak sesuai dengan keadaan mesharakat negeri kita ini. Tetapi peristiwa 13 Mei telah memeranjatkan kita, telah membuat kita termenong dan memikirkan apa-kah sebab²-nya yang boleh jadi meletus peristiwa 13 Mei itu. Dan kita telah tidak berdemokrasi ala-barat sa-lepas 13 Mei dan kita telah berkerajaan boleh di-katakan tidak lebeh kurang dengan guided democracy.

Sekarang ini apabila saya dengar ucapan Yang Berhormat Menteri Dengan Tugas² Khas dan Penerangan dan juga sahabat saya Enche' Amaluddin bin Darus, saya berasa ada tidak puas hati mereka itu dan mengatakan sudah-lah sampai masa-nya dan ta' usah kita terima lagi demokrasi ala-barat ini dan mari-lah kita adakan demokrasi ala-Malaysia. Yang menyusahkan hati saya, belum ada sa-orang pun yang memberi sedikit idea, apa-kah demokrasi ala-Malaysia itu. Saperti saya katakan tadi negeri² di-Benua Afrika, di-Indonesia yang chuba bertukar kapada menolak demokrasi ala-barat tiada dapat menchari satu idea, satu political system yang boleh menggantikan demokrasi ala-barat.

Pada diri saya sendiri yang telah sa-banyak sedikit belajar berkenaan dengan undang² mengikut chara British kerana itu-lah undang² yang boleh saya pelajari pada masa itu, pada pendapat saya, bukan-nya salah pada Perlembagaan kita. Yang salah-nya itu orang yang menjalankan Perlembagaan kita ini. Saya chontohkan, jika kita biasa menunggang kerbau hendak ka-sawah, jadi serta-

merta datang orang Jepun mengatakan inilah tractor yang lagi baik, kemudian kita dengan tidak menyuruh orang² yang biasa menunggang kerbau itu mempelajari macham mana hendak menggunakan meshen tractor itu. Kita suruh sahaja—tunggang-lah! naik-lah awak tractor ini, dan jalankan. Pada fikiran saya sa-orang yang tiada pernah menjadi driver tractor yang biasa menunggang kerbau dengan serta-merta di-suruh bawa tractor, tentu-lah sawah itu tidak akan di-sempurnakan!

Jadi, bagitu-lah dalam Perlembagaan kita ini, pada saya, pada diri saya, Perlembagaan ini ia-lah satu Perlembagaan yang chukup² bagus, kerana negeri ini, dan Perlembagaan ini ia-lah satu Perlembagaan demokrasi yang memberi sa-chukup² kebebasan dalam perchakapan dan lain², tetapi dalam sistem demokrasi yang kita ada ini banyak berharap kapada responsibility politician kita.

Malang-nya dalam election yang lalu ada politician—penganjor² politik dalam parti² yang lain yang memikirkan, ini-lah masa-nya yang dia patut mendapat kuasa sa-bagai wakil ra'ayat menyalah-gunakan hak² kebebasan berchakap. Saya fikir ada politician² yang chara political rough-riders who came shooting wildly among the voters and rode rough-shod over them and playing on Chinese chauvinism; as result, of course, they got what they wanted, the votes that they wanted, and they got in.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, izinkan saya bertutor pertukaran dalam bahasa Inggeris. (*Ketawa*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Baharu teringat!

Tuan Abdullah bin Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman: Saya telah chuba, kerana ada masa-nya terpaksa saya mengubahkan ucapan saya, saya takut kena marah! (*Ketawa*).

(*Dengan izin*) So, unfortunately, at the last election we had some young politicians, some immature politicians, some irresponsible politicians, who behaved as if they were political rough-riders riding rough-shod over all the sensitivities and ignoring the different communities that exist in this country and playing on Chinese chauvinism, and they got in and the result of their chauvinism was the incident of May 13—I would call it a riot. As far as I am concerned, it is not a tragedy, because we have rioting still in Belfast, which has been going on for a number of months; rioting in America. So

we must not treat this incident of May 13 as such a dramatic event that should awe us into saying, "Well, the time is ripe now for us to throw away this Constitution of ours."

Now I have read the speeches made by the leaders of the D.A.P. and the leaders of the P.P.P. and it is obvious to me that now they are prisoners of their own chauvinism. Now they cannot go beyond their party line. They are prisoners of their own making and they deserve to be where they are and they shall answer for it at the next election.

I would caution against this idea of doing away with this Constitution which, I suspect, is latent amongst so many of our people who are disappointed. As a lawyer, I am trying to treat the Constitution as sacrosanct and, like other lawyers, I would immediately throw my hands up in horror when somebody says, "Let us amend the Constitution", because we believe that we should be slow in depriving the rights of others, the right and liberty to the freedom of speech, the freedom of movement, and all the other freedoms. But, at the same time, one must not be so immature, one must not be like university students who live a cloistered life and who study political theories in the vacuum and think in absolute terms. That is all right for students in universities who talk of democracy in absolute terms, but one would expect that once one graduates and starts life and participates in the everyday life of the country one would mature and one would test one's theories which one learns in the university against the realities of life outside the university. But, unfortunately, our friends on the D.A.P. have not got out of their Varsity days. Now, it is absolute nonsense to talk in absolute terms. Even in Russia there is no communism; there is what is called "dictatorship of the proletariat". Even in China there is no communism; there is the "dictatorship of Mr Mao". Now, nowhere is there any system that can be applied *in toto*, and so even our Constitution must suit the condition and the time that we live in. And since we have irresponsible politicians going around the country, then we must protect these irresponsible politicians against themselves. So we have to amend our Constitution, to suit the times in which we are living. There is this danger that in Russia they started with the dictatorship of the proletariat because they said, "The people were not sufficiently educated to understand what communism was" and so they said,

"We are the trustees of the Russian people and we will bring them up and educate them in the way of communism and then we will give them back their powers", and so they did try to do this. So they did educate the masses, and the danger of educating the masses is this: they begin to think and once when they start to think, then they want to talk; and once they want to talk, they want to argue; and Russia found that this was happening and then they said, "Well, what are we going to do now?" and they started clamping down on these people. But here we started with a full-blown democratic system, on the assumption that our people understand the mechanism of this Constitution. Now, the democratic system as practised in England is hedged with so many unwritten rules. It is just like, what they say, playing cricket where there are certain rules which you just observe, without being written into the constitution. Now we bring this Constitution here and then we say, "Come on boys, this is the Constitution. This is the best Constitution you can ever have, you know" and you say, "They have it in England. This is very good for us" and so these boys say "Fine" and then they say, "Well, we have freedom of speech. That means I can say what I like, even amounting to licence." We have then this contrast. While in Russia they started with all the restrictions and then there is the struggle now of the masses trying to free themselves because they are educated now and they want freedom of speech; and here we started with a full-blown democracy and now we are slowly trying to restrict it. Now, there must be very good reasons. This is a restriction of parliamentary democracy—let us admit it. But if that restriction is in the national interest and if we are aware of what we are doing, then I say it is quite safe for us to do it, because even in England they did introduce during the War—I think in the Second World War—where people could be detained without any trial. Now, that is basically against any rules of democracy, and we have it here too. But there you are, even in any sort of system there is no talking of it in absolute terms. It must evolve with the times.

My only hope—and I think I base my hope on very good grounds—is that our leaders are responsible people, because they had the power under the NOC—the National Operations Council—and they were virtually the dictators of this country, if they wanted to be. (*Ketawa*) They had it in them to take

all the powers; they had it in them to turn the country, to convert the country, into an absolute dictatorship if they wanted to; and yet—and I am not a man who bows down just for the sake of the party line—I have observed that these people who could have taken the powers into their own hands did not do so. Now, this is a good sign, and they returned; they said, “Let us go back to parliamentary democracy.” This shows that they believe in the system. Now, if these are the leaders that we have, who could have taken power and who would not, and yet did not do it, then I say that these amendments have been given very serious thought by them before they brought them up, because I did realise that amongst my own party people, it was said in the Malay papers, that they would rather have the National Operations Council (*Ketawa*)—that I realise and that was even said openly. But despite that, I believe the majority of the Malays were happy with the National Operations Council; and yet, our leaders were strong enough to say, “No, we are not going to have this National Operations Council” and they realised the danger of going on indefinitely, because it will in the long run become a dictatorship; and they decided—and I must congratulate them (*Tepok*)—and said, “No, we are not going to listen to our people who want this, but we say ‘let us go back to the democratic system’”. This augurs well for this country, and I think the D.A.P. and the P.P.P. should take note of this and learn to be more mature in their political approach to the problems of this country.

I support this Bill. (*Tepok*).

Tuan Abdul Samad bin Osman: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya tompang bangun sama untuk menyokong Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan yang kita hadapi di-hadapan kita pada hari ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sungguh pun kita semua bersetuju pada hari ini perchakapan dalam Dewan ini, saya nampak tiada sa-orang pun yang membangkang berkenaan dengan pindaan undang² ini dan saya perchaya-lah kita semua bersetuju dan saya juga bersetuju. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sendiri berfikir bahawa Akta pindaan yang di-bawa kepada Dewan ini terlalu lambat, lewat, lewat. Sa-benar-nya pindaan ini, kalau di-bawa dahulu daripada tahun 1959 saya perchaya-lah dengan sa-penoh

keperchayaan saya bahawa kita tidak-lah dapat kemalangan yang di-katakan peristiwa Mei 13 itu. Kalau-lah dahulu pada tahun 1969 kita telah sekatkan undang² ini supaya tidak boleh membangkitkan perkara² sensitif, perkara² special privileges kepada orang² Melayu dan perkara lain² ini semua, maka tidak-lah terjadi apa yang telah terjadi itu. Sunggoh pun, sekarang ini, perkara ini telah terlambat, tetapi sa-bagai kata orang puteh “better late than never” jadi sunggoh pun terlambat ia datang, kita harap muga² pada masa kahadapan perkara itu tidak akan datang lagi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kapada sa-tengah² orang itu peristiwa Mei 13 itu satu anchaman yang burok kapada ra'ayat dan kapada negara. Tetapi kapada saya sendiri peristiwa Mei 13 itu saya tidak berasa apa² langsung, kerana di-tempat saya Sungai Petani itu, kami tidak tahu langsung. Orang yang pergi memotong, orang itu pergi memotong; orang yang buat bendang, pergi buat bendang; orang yang pergi tangkap ikan, pergi tangkap ikan, (*Ketawa*) orang yang bekedai, pergi bekedai. Kami dan sa-tengah² daripada kawan² saya pergi bermain golf di-sana, jadi tidak ada apa² kapada kami. Di-Kedah tidak ada apa² langsung atas perkara itu chumanya di-sini sahaja yang terjadi. Sunggoh pun bagitu kapada sa-tengah² orang itu, ini adalah satu anchaman yang besar, tetapi pada diri saya sa-benar-nya, saya rasa, itu saperti kata orang puteh: “blessing in disguise” itu satu anchaman yang kita dapat anchaman sudah menjadi satu perkara yang baik pula, bukti-nya ia-itu sa-lepas sahaja daripada anchaman itu, saya tengok pada hari ini berlainan saperti sekarang ini yang mana orang² kita yang terkena itu pada masa itu di-sini baharu-lah sedar akan diri masing² Oh! orang² Melayu lagu ini, orang² Melayu pun baharu sedar, oh! orang² China bagini, kemudian orang² Hindu pun baharu sedar, bagini rupa-nya. Kalau bagitu, kita yang terdiri dari tiga bangsa ini tiada-lah boleh buat bagitu, kena-lah kita berkawan, berbaik, bersaudara dan sepakat sa-mula dan semenjak itu

Tuan Yang di-Pertua: Meshuarat ini ditanggohkan hingga pukul 2.30 petang, hari Selasa, 9hb Mach, 1971.

Dewan di-tanggohkan pada pukul 6.30 malam.