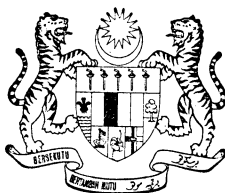


**Jilid I**  
**Bil. 2**



**Hari Selasa**  
**23hb Februari, 1971**

# **PENYATA RASMI**

## **OFFICIAL REPORT**

**DEWAN RA'AYAT**  
*House of Representatives*

**PARLIMEN KETIGA**  
*Third Parliament*

**PENGGAL PARLIMEN PERTAMA**  
*First Session*

### **KANDONGAN-NYA**

**TITAH UCHAPAN D.Y.M.M. SERI PADUKA BAGINDA YANG DI-PERTUAN  
AGONG [Ruangan 29]**

**WAKTU MESHUARAT DAN URUSAN YANG DI-BEBASKAN DARIPADA  
PERATORAN MESHUARAT (Usul) [Ruangan 49]**

**RANG UNDANG<sup>2</sup> DI-BAWA KA-DALAM MESHUARAT [Ruangan 50]**

**RANG UNDANG<sup>2</sup>:**

**Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> (Pindaan) Perlembagaan [Ruangan 50]**

MALAYSIA

## DEWAN RA'AYAT YANG KETIGA

*Penyata Rasmi*

### PENGGAL YANG PERTAMA

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Hari Selasa, 23hb Februari, 1971

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*Meshuarat di-mulakan pada pukul 2.30 petang*

YANG HADHIR :

- Yang Berhormat Tuan Yang di-Pertua, DATO' CHIK MOHAMED YUSUF BIN SHEIKH ABDUL RAHMAN, S.P.M.P., J.P., Dato' Bendahara Perak.
- Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri, Menteri Luar Negeri dan Menteri Pertahanan, Y.A.B. TUN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO' HUSSEIN, S.M.N. (Pekan).
- „ Timbalan Perdana Menteri dan Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri, Y.A.B. TUN DR ISMAIL BIN DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, S.S.M., P.M.N., S.P.M.J. (Johor Timor).
- Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan, Y.A.B. TUN TAN SIEW SIN, S.S.M., J.P. (Melaka Tengah).
- „ Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Talikom, Y.A.B. TUN V. T. SAMBANTHAN, S.S.M., P.M.N. (Sungei Siput).
- „ Menteri Kesihatan, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI HAJI SARDON BIN HAJI JUBIR, P.M.N. (Pontian Utara).
- „ Menteri Perdagangan dan Perusahaan, TUAN MOHAMED KHIR JOHARI (Kedah Tengah).
- „ Menteri bagi Hal Ehwal Sarawak, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI TEMENGGONG JUGAH ANAK BARIENG, P.M.N., P.D.K., P.N.B.S., O.B.E. (Ulu Rajang).
- „ Menteri Buroh, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI V. MANICKAVASAGAM, P.M.N., P.J.K. (Klang).
- „ Menteri Pertanian dan Tanah, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI HAJI MOHAMED GHAZALI BIN HAJI JAWI, P.M.N., D.P.C.M. (Kuala Kangsar).
- „ Menteri Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar, TUAN ABDUL GHAFAR BIN BABA (Melaka Utara).
- „ Menteri Pengangkutan, DATO' HAJI ABDUL GHANI GILONG, P.D.K., J.P. (Kinabalu).
- „ Menteri Ta' Berpotfolio, TUAN LEE SIOK YEW, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Sepang).
- „ Menteri Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sokan, DATO' HAMZAH BIN DATO' ABU SAMAH, D.S.R., S.M.K. (Raub).
- „ Menteri Kebajikan Masyarakat, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N. (Jitra-Padang Terap).
- „ Menteri Pelajaran, TUAN HUSSEIN BIN DATO' ONN (Johor Bahru Timor).
- „ Menteri Teknologi, Penyelidikan dan Kerajaan Tempatan, DATO' ONG KEE HUI, P.N.B.S. (Bandar Kuching).

- Yang Berhormat Menteri Muda Jabatan Perdana Menteri, TUAN ABDUL TAIB BIN MAHMUD (Samarahan).
- „ Menteri Muda Kewangan, TUAN ALI BIN HAJI AHMAD (Pontian Selatan).
- „ Menteri Muda Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar, DATO' ABDUL SAMAD BIN IDRIS, J.M.N., P.J.K. (Kuala Pilah).
- „ Menteri Muda Buroh, TUAN LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N. (Segamat Selatan).
- „ Menteri Muda Pertahanan, Y.M. TENGKU AHMAD RITHAUDEEN BIN TENGKU ISMAIL, P.M.K. (Kota Bharu Hilir).
- „ Menteri Muda Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri, TUAN MOHAMED BIN YAACOB, P.M.K., S.M.T. (Tanah Merah).
- „ Setiausaha Parlimen kepada Menteri Penerangan, TUAN SHARIFF AHMAD (Langat).
- „ Setiausaha Parlimen kepada Perdana Menteri, WAN ABDUL KADIR BIN ISMAIL, P.P.T. (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ Setiausaha Parlimen kepada Menteri Pengangkutan, TUAN MOHAMED BIN UJANG, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Jelebu-Jempol).
- „ Setiausaha Parlimen kepada Menteri Pelajaran, TUAN MOHAMED BIN RAHMAT (Johor Bahru Barat).
- „ NIK ABDUL AZIZ BIN NIK MAT, J.P. (Kelantan Hilir).
- „ DATO' DR HAJI ABDUL AZIZ BIN OMAR, J.M.N., J.M.K., S.M.K. (Tumpat).
- „ Y.A.M. TUNKU ABDULLAH IBNI ALMARHUM TUANKU ABDUL RAHMAN, P.P.T. (Rawang).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDUL RASHID BIN HAJI JAIS, A.D.K. (Sabah Selatan).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN (Lipis).
- „ TUAN HAJI ABDUL WAHAB BIN YUNUS (Dungun).
- „ PENGHULU ABIT ANAK ANGKIN (Kapit).
- „ TUAN ABU BAKAR BIN UMAR (Kubang Pasu Barat).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N. (Muar Utara).
- „ PENGIRAN AHMAD BIN PENGIRAN INDAR (Kinabatangan).
- „ TUAN AHMAD BIN HAJI ITHNIN (Melaka Selatan).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SAID, J.P. (Seberang Utara).
- „ TUAN HAJI AHMAD DAMANHURI BIN HAJI ABDUL WAHAB, P.J.K. (Hilir Perak).
- Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI HAJI NIK AHMED KAMIL, D.K., S.P.M.K., S.J.M.K., P.M.N. (Ulu Kelantan).
- Yang Berhormat PUAN BIBI AISHAH BINTI HAMID DON, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Kulim Utara).
- „ TUAN AJAD BIN O. T. OYONG (Labuk-Sugut).
- „ DR AWANG BIN HASSAN, S.M.J. (Muar Selatan).
- „ TUAN AZAHARI BIN MOHD. TAIB, S.M.K., A.M.N., J.P. (Sungei Patani).
- „ DATO' PENGARAH BANYANG ANAK JANTING, Q.M.C., P.B.S., P.N.B.S. (Julau).
- „ CHEGU BAUDI BIN UNGGUT (Bandau).
- „ TUAN BOJENG BIN ANDOT (Simunjan).
- „ TUAN BUJA BIN GUMBILAI (Tuaran).
- „ TUAN AWANG BUNGSU BIN ABDULLAH (Limbang-Lawas).
- „ TUAN HAJI AWANG WAL BIN AWANG ABU (Santubong).

- Yang Berhormat TUAN CHAN FU KING (Telok Anson).  
 „ TUAN CHAN SIANG SUN, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Bentong).  
 „ TUAN CHAN YOON ONN (Ulu Kinta).  
 „ TUAN CHEN KO MING, P.B.S., A.M.N. (Sarikei).  
 „ DR CHEN MAN HIN (Seremban Timor).  
 „ DR CHU CHEE PENG (Kluang Selatan).  
 „ TUAN PETER PAUL DASON (Pulau Pinang Utara).  
 „ TUAN V. DAVID (Dato Kramat).  
 „ TUAN EDWIN ANAK TANGKUN, A.B.S. (Batang Lupar).  
 „ TUAN FAN YEW TENG (Kampar).  
 „ DATIN HAJAH FATIMAH BINTI HAJI ABDUL MAJID, J.M.N., P.I.S. (Batu Pahat Dalam).  
 „ TUAN GOH HOCK GUAN (Bungsar).  
 „ TUAN HANAFIAH HUSSAIN, A.M.N. (Jerai).  
 „ TUAN HASHIM BIN GERA (Parit).  
 „ TUAN HOR CHEOK FOON (Damansara).  
 „ TUAN RICHARD HO UNG HUN (Sitiawan).  
 „ TUAN HUSSAIN BIN HAJI SULAIMAN (Besut).
- Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI SYED JAAFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, P.M.N. (Johor Tenggara).  
 „ TAN SRI KHAW KAI BOH, P.M.N., P.J.K. (Ulu Selangor).
- Yang Berhormat TUAN KHOO PENG LOONG, O.B.E. (Bandar Sibiu).  
 „ TUAN EDMUND LANGGU ANAK SAGA, P.B.S. (Saratok).  
 „ TUAN LATIP BIN HAJI IDRIS (Mukah).  
 „ TUAN LEE SECK FUN, K.M.N. (Tanjong Malim).  
 „ TUAN LIM CHO HOCK (Batu Gajah).  
 „ DR LIM CHONG EU (Tanjong).  
 „ TUAN LIM KIT SIANG (Bandar Melaka).  
 „ TUAN LIM PEE HUNG, P.J.K. (Alor Star).  
 „ TUAN LOH JEE MEE (Batang Padang).  
 „ TUAN WALTER LOH POH KHAN (Setapak).  
 „ TUAN PETER LO SU YIN (Sandakan).  
 „ TUAN LUHAT WAN (Baram).  
 „ TUAN CHIK JOHARI ONDU MAJAKIL (Labuan-Beaufort).  
 „ TUAN ANDREW MARA ANAK WALTER UNJAH (Betong).  
 „ TUAN HAJI MAWARDI BIN LEBAI TEH (Kota Star Utara).  
 „ DR MOHAMED BIN TAIB, P.M.K., P.J.K. (Kuantan).  
 „ TUAN MOHAMED ARIF BIN SALLEH, A.D.K. (Sabah Dalam).  
 „ DATO' HAJI MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA, S.P.M.K. (Kota Bharu Hulu).  
 „ TUAN MOHD. DAUD BIN ABDUL SAMAD (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).  
 „ TUAN MOHD. NOR BIN MD. DAHAN, A.M.N., J.P. (Ulu Perak).  
 „ TUAN MOHAMMAD SAID BIN KERUAK (Kota Belud).  
 „ TUAN MOHD. SALLEH BIN DATO' PANGLIMA ABDULLAH (Darvel).



Yang Berhormat TUAN MOHD. TAHIR BIN ABDUL MAJID, S.M.S., P.J.K. (Kuala Langat).  
 .. TUAN HAJI MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N. (Temerloh).  
 .. TUAN HAJI MOHD. ZAIN BIN ABDULLAH (Bachok).  
 .. DATO' ENSKU MOHSEIN BIN ENSKU ABDUL KADIR, D.P.M.T., J.M.N. (Trengganu Tengah).  
 .. WAN MOKHTAR BIN AHMAD, P.J.K. (Kemaman).  
 .. TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL (Perlis Selatan).  
 .. TUAN MUHAMMAD FAKHRUDDIN BIN HAJI ABDULLAH, J.P. (Pasir Mas Hilir).  
 .. TUAN MUSA BIN HITAM (Segamat Utara).  
 .. DATO' HAJI MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ABDUL JABAR, D.P.M.S., A.M.N., J.P. (Sabak Bernam).

Yang Amat Berbahagia TUN DATU HAJI MUSTAPHA BIN DATU HARUN, S.M.N., P.D.K., K.V.O., O.B.E. (Marudu).

Yang Berhormat TUAN MUSTAPHA BIN HUSSAIN (Seberang Tengah).  
 .. TUAN JONATHAN NARWIN ANAK JINGGONG (Luboh Antu).  
 .. DATO' SYED NASIR BIN ISMAIL, J.M.N., P.I.S. (Muar Dalam).  
 .. TUAN NG HOE HUN (Larut Selatan).  
 .. RAJA NONG CHIK BIN RAJA ISHAK, P.J.K. (Kuala Selangor).  
 .. TUAN OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N. (Perlis Utara).  
 .. DATO' PANG TET TSHUNG, P.D.K. (Kota Kinabalu).  
 .. PENGARAH RAHUN ANAK DEBAK (Serian).  
 .. TUAN RAMLI BIN OMAR, K.M.N. (Krian Darat).  
 .. TUAN R. C. M. RAYAN *alias* R. C. MAHADEVA RAYAN (Ipoh).  
 .. TUAN SEAH TENG NGIAB, P.I.S., S.M.J. (Muar Pantai).  
 .. DR S. SEEVARATNAM, P.J.K. (Seremban Barat).  
 .. DATO' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM, D.P.M.P., P.M.P., J.P. (Menglembu).  
 .. TUAN THOMAS GABRIEL SELVARAJ (Pulau Pinang Selatan).  
 .. TUAN HAJI SHAFIE BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N., B.C.K. (Baling).  
 .. TUAN SINYIUM ANAK MUTIT (Bau Lundu).  
 .. TUAN SOH AH TECK (Batu Pahat).  
 .. DR A. SOORIAN (Port Dickson).  
 .. TUAN SULAIMAN BIN BULON (Bagan Datoh).  
 .. WAN SULAIMAN BIN HAJI IBRAHIM, S.M.K. (Pasir Puteh).  
 .. DR SULAIMAN BIN MOHAMED ATTAS, J.P., P.J.K. (Rembau-Tampin).  
 .. TUAN SULAIMAN BIN HAJI TAIB (Krian Laut).  
 .. TUAN SU LIANG YU (Bruas).  
 .. PENGIRAN TAHIR BIN PENGIRAN PETRA (Kimanis).  
 .. TUAN TAI KUAN YANG, A.M.N., P.J.K. (Kulim Bandar Bharu).  
 .. TUAN TAJUDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K. (Larut Utara).  
 .. DR TAN CHEE KHOON (Batu).  
 .. TUAN TAN CHENG BEE, A.M.N., J.P. (Bagan).  
 .. TUAN TIAH ENG BEE, P.I.S. (Kluang Utara).  
 .. TUAN JAMES STEPHEN TIBOK, A.D.K. (Penampang).  
 .. TUAN TIBUOH ANAK RANTAI (Rajang).

- Yang Berhormat TUAN TING MING KIONG (Bintulu).  
 „ TUAN JOSEPH UNTING ANAK UMANG (Kanowit).  
 „ TUAN V. VEERAPPAN (Seberang Selatan).  
 „ DATO' JAMES WONG KIM MIN (Miri-Subis).  
 „ TUAN YEH PAO TZU, A.M.N. (Tawau).  
 „ TUAN YEOH TECK CHYE (Bukit Bintang).  
 „ TUAN STEPHEN YONG KUET TZE (Padawan).  
 „ TUAN HAJI YUSOF BIN HAJI ABDULLAH *alias* HAJI YUSOF RAWA  
 (Kota Star Selatan).

YANG TIDAK HADHIR:

- Yang Berhormat Y.T.M. TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ, K.O.M., C.H., D.M.N.  
 (Kuala Kedah).  
 „ DATO' HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN BIN YA'KUB, P.N.B.S. (Payang).  
 „ TENGKU ZAID BIN TENGKU AHMAD, J.M.K., S.M.K. (Pasir Mas Hulu).

YANG HADHIR BERSAMA:

- Yang Berhormat Peguam Negara, Yang Berbahagia TAN SRI ABDUL KADIR BIN  
 YUSOF, P.M.N., P.J.K. (Di-lantek).  
 „ Menteri Dengan Tugas<sup>2</sup> Khas dan Penerangan, Yang Berbahagia  
 TAN SRI MUHAMMAD GHAZALI BIN SHAFIE, P.M.N., D.I.M.P., P.D.K.  
 (Di-lantek).

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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 Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan Negara dan Dewan Ra'ayat:**

*Beta menguchap shukor kehadrat Tuhan Rabbul Alamin yang telah melimpahkan rahmat-Nya untok Beta menyampaikan ucapan Beta kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat kedua<sup>2</sup> 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 bertambah<sup>2</sup> lagi bagi Beta sa-telah di-langsungkan upachara Pertabalan Beta pada 20hb Februari.*

*Sebagaimana Ahli<sup>2</sup> 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-gantong 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 tugas<sup>2</sup> yang di-berikan kapada-nya, Pengarah Gerakan telah di-bantu oleh beberapa badan seperti 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 seperti keadaan sekarang ini. Angkatan Polis dan Angkatan Tentera telah memberi khidmat yang chemerlang untok memulehkan keamanan negara. Semua anggota<sup>2</sup> 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 kaum<sup>2</sup> dalam negeri ini. Kapada Tun Abdul Razak dan semua-nya yang telah berkhidmat dengan tidak mengira masa dan kepentingan diri sendiri, Beta menguchapkan berbanyak<sup>2</sup> terima kaseh. Jasa dan khidmat bakti mereka sa-sunggoh<sup>2</sup>-nya di-sanjong tinggi oleh negara.*

*Dengan keadaan negara puleh seperti 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 mengetuai Kerajaan negara ini dan di-bawah pimpinan beliau, negara ini telah menchapai kemerdekaan dan menjadi negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Di-bawah pimpinan-nya juga negara kita telah menchapai 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 moga<sup>2</sup> Allah melimpahkan Rahmat dan Hidayat-Nya kapada beliau dalam masa pesaraan-nya.*

*Dalam usaha membena masyarakat yang bersatu padu, dinamik, adil dan progresif, Kerajaan Beta dengan nasehat dan kerjasama Majlis Perundingan Negara telah menggubal beberapa prinsip untok menjadi panduan kehidupan kita. Prinsip<sup>2</sup> ini telah di-ishtiharkan sebagai Rukunegara pada 31hb Ogos tahun lalu. Beta menyeru supaya ra'ayat Beta semua memahami dan mematohi segala prinsip<sup>2</sup> yang terkandung dalam Rukunegara kita.*

*Satu daripada chita<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan kita ia-lah menchipta masyarakat yang lebeh adil. Sebagai satu daripada chara<sup>2</sup> untok menchapai chita<sup>2</sup> ini, Kerajaan telah menggubal dasar ekonomi yang dinamik dan praktik. Matlamat<sup>2</sup> utama bagi dasar ini ia-lah, yang pertama-nya, membasmikan kemiskinan di-kalangan ra'ayat yang tidak berada tanpa mengira asal keturunan mereka, dan yang kedua-nya, ia-lah mewujudkan dan mengokohkan perpaduan negara. Untok menchapai matlamat<sup>2</sup> ini, Kerajaan telah menyusun ranchangan<sup>2</sup> pembangunan yang akan di-laksanakan di-bawah Ranchangan Malaysia Yang Kedua.*

*Masaelah kemiskinan di-gulongan ra'ayat menjadi perhetongan utama di-dalam penyusunan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> pembangunan. Ranchangan<sup>2</sup> untok membasmikan kemiskinan akan menumpukan usaha<sup>2</sup> kapada projek<sup>2</sup> yang akan meluaskan peluang pekerjaan di-dalam bidang pertanian dan perindustrian dan juga meninggikan pendapatan gulongan rendah di-dalam dan di-luar bandar.*

*Ranchangan<sup>2</sup> pertanian akan menitek-beratkan pembukaan tanah yang luas dan menggalakkan tanaman<sup>2</sup> yang bermutu dan bernilai tinggi. Kerajaan juga akan memberi peluang kapada lebeh banyak lagi belia menyertai ranchangan<sup>2</sup> tanah dan lain<sup>2</sup> ranchangan pertanian. Menerusi*

ranchangan<sup>2</sup> pertanian juga, Kerajaan berharap dapat mewujudkan suatu gulongan kaum tani yang maju dan moden yang sanggup menerima dan menggunakan unsur<sup>2</sup> kemajuan teknologi seperti masyarakat petani di-negara<sup>2</sup> yang sudah maju.

Di-dalam bidang perindustrian pula, Kerajaan akan menggalakkan projek<sup>2</sup> yang menggunakan lebih lagi tenaga manusia. Kerajaan juga akan menggalakkan penempatan perusahaan<sup>2</sup> di-kawasan<sup>2</sup> yang kurang maju di-seluruh negara, khas-nya perusahaan<sup>2</sup> yang menggunakan bahan<sup>2</sup> pertanian dan kayu-kayan yang ada di-kawasan<sup>2</sup> tersebut. Kerajaan perchaya ranchangan<sup>2</sup> perindustrian akan juga memberi peluang kepada ra'ayat di-kawasan luar bandar menchebor diri dalam perindustrian dan perdagangan.

Selagi kedudukan ekonomi yang tidak sa-imbang di-kalangan berbagai kaum tidak di-atasi, maka selama itu-lah sukar di-wujudkan perpaduan negara yang kukoh. Beralaskan kepada pendapat ini, maka Kerajaan akan melaksanakan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> yang akan mewujudkan gulongan pengusaha dan pedagang di-kalangan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputra yang lain. Ranchangan<sup>2</sup> ini ada-lah bertujuan mengubah chorak masyarakat<sup>2</sup> itu yang sa-jumlah besar-nya bergantung kepada usaha<sup>2</sup> pertanian, kepada masyarakat yang maju dan moden yang bergerak chergas dalam semua lapangan ekonomi negara.

Kerajaan telah dan sedang memberi berbagai<sup>2</sup> chorak galakan kepada pehak swasta untuk menanam modal dalam perindustrian dengan tujuan mempesatkan lagi kemajuan perindustrian di-negara kita ini. Walau bagaimana pun ra'ayat Melayu dan bumiputra yang lain maseh lagi tertinggal jauh di-belakang di-dalam lapangan ini dan juga di-dalam lapangan perdagangan. Keadaan ini terpaksa di-betulkan supaya penyertaan di-lapangan<sup>2</sup> ini di-sagenap lapisan mencherminkan gulongan kaum di-negara ini. Maka, untuk memberi latehan dan pengalaman yang sempurna kepada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputra yang lain, supaya mereka dapat mengambil bahagian yang lebih chergas dalam lapangan<sup>2</sup> ini, Kerajaan telah bersetuju menanam modal di-dalam perindustrian dan perdagangan, sama ada bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan pehak swasta atau pun sechara bersendirian. Di-dalam melaksanakan projek<sup>2</sup> ini, Kerajaan akan berlaku adil kepada semua pehak dan Kerajaan tidak sekali<sup>2</sup> berhajat merampas atau mengeneipkan hak<sup>2</sup> yang di-mileki oleh kaum<sup>2</sup> lain. Dengan demikian, Kerajaan berharap dan perchaya pehak swasta akan memberi kerjasama yang tegas dan ikhlas dalam usaha Kerajaan menggalakkan penyertaan semua kaum di-dalam perusahaan dan perdagangan dan dengan jalan itu pehak swasta juga akan membantu Kerajaan mewujudkan dan mengukuhkan perpaduan negara.

Pelajaran ia-lah satu lagi faktor yang penting bagi menjamin kekukohan dan perpaduan negara. Kerajaan ada-lah memberi perhatian yang berat tentang perkara ini dan akan melaksanakan dengan tegas Dasar Pelajaran Kebangsaan yang telah di-tetapkan dan di-persetujui oleh semua pehak itu. Kerajaan akan terus melaksanakan dasar mengenai pendidikan dalam Bahasa Malaysia dan usaha<sup>2</sup> hendak menjadikan Bahasa Malaysia sebagai Bahasa Kebangsaan dan bahasa resmi dengan arti kata yang sa-benar, serta mengekalkan nilai serta "standard" pelajaran negara, supaya kanak<sup>2</sup> negara ini di-lengkapi dengan ilmu pengetahuan dan kemahiran yang mustahak dalam zaman teknologi moden ini.

Kerajaan sedar bahawa perkembangan perindustrian ada-lah bergantung bukan sahaja di-atas galakan dan insentif<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan bahkan juga di-atas ada-nya pekerja<sup>2</sup> yang mahir dan

terlatah dalam berbagai<sup>2</sup> perengkat perusahaan. Dengan demikian Kerajaan telah dan akan mengadakan beberapa ranchangan untuk melatah pemuda-pemudi di-dalam kerja<sup>2</sup> yang memerlukan kemahiran<sup>2</sup> yang tertentu.

Kemajuan yang pesat yang telah kita chapai dalam bidang perusahaan sa-hingga ini ada-lah bergantung kepada ilmu dan kemahiran pekerja<sup>2</sup>. Jika negara berharap menchapai kemajuan yang lebeh pesat lagi di-dalam perusahaan, maka terpaksa-lah kita berikhtiar memberi latehan<sup>2</sup> yang sempurna kepada belia yang di-anggarkan berjumlah lebeh kurang 60% daripada bilangan penduduk di-dalam negara kita ini. Dengan demikian ada-lah menjadi dasar Kerajaan menitek-beratkan pelajaran di-sekolah<sup>2</sup> menengah di-dalam ilmu pelajaran sains dan teknologi dan juga mengadakan sekolah<sup>2</sup> vokeshenal di-mana penuntut<sup>2</sup> yang tiada dapat melanjutkan pelajaran-nya di-dalam aliran akademik, dapat di-beri latehan dan kemahiran yang di-perlukan oleh perusahaan.

Kerajaan baharu<sup>2</sup> ini telah meminda undang<sup>2</sup> perburohan dan perchaya pindaan<sup>2</sup> ini akan memberi faedah yang besar kepada negara dan akan mewujudkan perhubungan yang baik di-antara majikan dan pekerja. Dengan ada-nya kerjasama di-antara majikan dan pekerja maka akan wujud keamanan dalam perusahaan yang pula akan menjamin kema'amoran perusahaan, dan seterusnya kema'amoran negara. Kerajaan senantiasa menitek-beratkan hal ini supaya kemajuan perusahaan bertambah<sup>2</sup> pesat. Untuk menchapai matlamat ini, Kerajaan senantiasa sahaja mengkaji undang<sup>2</sup> perburohan dari sa-masa ka-samasa untuk menyesuaikan-nya dengan keadaan dan kepentingan negara.

Sebagai majikan yang terbesar, Kerajaan juga menitek-beratkan kebajikan pekerja<sup>2</sup> yang telah berkhidmat dengan ta'at dan setia-nya. Perubahan<sup>2</sup> gaji, sharat<sup>2</sup> perkhidmatan dan berbagai<sup>2</sup> kemudahan bagi pekerja<sup>2</sup> telah pun di-persetujui dan sedang di-laksanakan. Kerajaan yakin perubahan<sup>2</sup> ini akan memuaskan pehak pekerja<sup>2</sup>.

Usaha<sup>2</sup> untuk melatahkan pegawai<sup>2</sup> dan menggalakkan mereka mengambil tanggung-jawab dan peranan yang lebeh aktif dalam kerja<sup>2</sup> mereka, telah pun di-jalankan oleh Kerajaan. Bagaimana pun perhubungan yang lebeh rapat di-antara pehak Kerajaan dengan pehak swasta harus-lah di-wujudkan oleh kerana aktiviti<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan sering menyentoh kedudukan pehak swasta dan sebalek-nya. Maka mustahak-lah pehak masing<sup>2</sup> memahami dan mengenali tujuan<sup>2</sup> dan aktiviti<sup>2</sup> yang di-jalankan oleh masing<sup>2</sup>. Kerajaan sedang menyusun satu ranchangan untuk membolehkan pegawai<sup>2</sup> dari kedua<sup>2</sup> pehak mendapat perhubungan yang rapat dan mungkin juga untuk menukarkan pegawai<sup>2</sup> yang berkebolehan daripada suatu pehak ka-satu pehak yang lain. Dengan chara ini Kerajaan berharap kedua<sup>2</sup> pehak akan dapat mengenali dan memahami sechara dekat lagi tujuan masing<sup>2</sup> supaya kedua<sup>2</sup> pehak dapat saling membantu usaha masing<sup>2</sup> memajukan ekonomi negara ini.

Berhubong dengan keselamatan dalam negeri Kerajaan akan terus mengambil tindakan tegas dan segera terhadap anasir<sup>2</sup> subversif di-negeri ini. Gerakan menentang pengganas<sup>2</sup> di-kawasan sempadan sedang giat di-jalankan dan senantiasa menerima kerjasama yang erat dari Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Thai dan Indonesia.

Di-dalam bidang pertahanan, Kerajaan terpaksa memperbesarkan lagi Angkatan<sup>2</sup> 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 haruslah 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 negara<sup>2</sup> 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 tindakan<sup>2</sup> 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 negara<sup>2</sup> utama di-dalam Perjanjian ini. Kesimpulan-nya Angkatan Tentera kita sendiri mesti-lah mengambil alih tanggung-jawab<sup>2</sup> untuk mempertahankan kedaulatan dan keutuhan negara kita dengan pertolongan negara<sup>2</sup> 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 negara<sup>2</sup> jiran dan negara<sup>2</sup> 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 kepada prinsip tidak berchampur tangan, serta hidup aman bersama dan saling hormat menghormati keutuhan dan kedaulatan negara masing<sup>2</sup>.

Berdasarkan kepada tujuan ini-lah maka Kerajaan telah berusaha khusus-nya untuk mengukuhkan lagi kerjasama di-wilayah Tenggara Asia ini dalam semua lapangan supaya semua masharakat negara<sup>2</sup> di-rantau ini akan bertambah kuat dan maju dan tidak di-pengarohi oleh kuasa<sup>2</sup> besar demi kepentingan negara<sup>2</sup> 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 kuasa<sup>2</sup> 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 kuasa<sup>2</sup> besar akan memberi sumbangan yang membena terhadap hasrat kita untuk bergerak maju dan memelihara keselamatan dan ketenteraman di-negara<sup>2</sup> 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 baharu<sup>2</sup> ini. Sungguh pun banjir yang sa-dahshat itu tidak di-ramalkan, jentera<sup>2</sup> dan anggota<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan Pusat dan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Negeri telah bergerak dengan pantas-nya menjalankan kerja<sup>2</sup> membantu dan menyelamatkan mangsa<sup>2</sup> banjir. Badan<sup>2</sup> sukarela dan juga orang<sup>2</sup> persaorangan telah pula

menyumbangkan tenaga dalam kerja<sup>2</sup> pemindahan dan bantuan<sup>2</sup> yang di-perlukan di-dalam keadaan kechemasan ini. Firma<sup>2</sup> dan dermawan<sup>2</sup> pula telah menyumbangkan wang ringgit dan berbagai<sup>2</sup> jenis bantuan yang sangat<sup>2</sup> di-perlukan untok mengurangkan penderitaan mangsa<sup>2</sup> 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 untok menolong mereka yang malang.

Kerajaan juga menguchapkan setinggi<sup>2</sup> penghargaan kapada negara<sup>2</sup> asing dan badan<sup>2</sup> antarabangsa yang telah menghulorkan berbagai<sup>2</sup> bantuan kapada negara kita. Bantuan<sup>2</sup> yang mereka telah beri dengan ikhlas dan kena pada masa-nya itu mencherminkan hubungan yang rapat di-antara mereka dengan negara kita.

Kerja<sup>2</sup> bantuan serta-merta dan pemulehan mangsa<sup>2</sup> 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 ranchangan<sup>2</sup> jangka pertengahan dan jangka panjang untok mengelak dan mengurangkan kesan<sup>2</sup> benchana banjir di-dalam negara.

Di-dalam Persidangan Parlimen ini Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat akan mendapat peluang mengkaji dan membahathkan beberapa shor Kerajaan yang penting untok mengukuhkan ketenteraman dan perpaduan negara. Beta berharap Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat akan memberi pertimbangan yang teliti, mendalam, ikhlas dan jujur kapada shor<sup>2</sup> 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. Ikhtiar<sup>2</sup> Kerajaan di-dalam tahun<sup>2</sup> enam-pulohan dan tahun<sup>2</sup> dahulu daripada-nya telah pun menghasilkan berbagai faedah yang sedang di-nekmati oleh ra'ayat seluroh-nya. Matlamat<sup>2</sup> dan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> bagi tahun<sup>2</sup> tujuh-pulohan ini menegaskan hasrat Kerajaan memperbaiki lagi keadaan ekonomi dan memperkukuhkan ketenteraman dan perpaduan negara. Kerajaan berazam melaksanakan ranchangan<sup>2</sup> ini secepat<sup>2</sup>-nya. Beta menyeru ra'ayat sekalian memberi kerjasama kapada 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 penoh 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 national 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.*

## **WAKTU MESHUARAT DAN URUSAN YANG DI-BEBASKAN DARIPADA PERATORAN MESHUARAT**

(USUL)

**Timbalan Perdana Menteri (Tun Dr Ismail):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mohon menandatangani:

Bahawa menurut peruntukan Peratoran Meshuarat 14 (2), bahawa pada Meshuarat Pertama ini Majlis ini hendak-lah menimbang dengan serta-merta melalui semua perengkat Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> (Pindaan) Perlembagaan (No. DR. 14/71) sa-belum menimbang apa<sup>2</sup> Butiran Urusan yang lain yang ada dalam Atoran Urusan Meshuarat.

Dan saya menhadangkan juga :

Bahawa walau apa pun peruntukan<sup>2</sup> Peratoran<sup>2</sup> Meshuarat 12 (1), Majlis ini hendak-lah bersidang daripada pukul 2.30 petang hingga pukul 6.30 petang (atau pukul 7.00 petang pada apa<sup>2</sup> hari jika ada di-keluarkan usul hendak menanggohkan meshuarat menurut Peratoran Meshuarat 17) sapanjang tempoh Meshuarat Pertama ini.

**Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Talikom (Tun V. T. Sambanthan):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menyokong usul ini.

Usul di-kemuka bagi di-putuskan, dan di-setujukan.

Di-putuskan,

Bahawa menurut peruntukan Peratoran Meshuarat 14 (2), bahawa pada Meshuarat Pertama ini Majlis ini hendak-lah menimbang dengan serta-merta melalui semua perengkat Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> (Pindaan) Perlembagaan (No. DR. 14/71) sa-belum menimbang apa<sup>2</sup> Butiran Urusan yang lain yang ada dalam Atoran Urusan Meshuarat.

Bahawa walau apa pun peruntukan<sup>2</sup> Peratoran<sup>2</sup> Meshuarat 12 (1), Majlis ini hendak-lah bersidang daripada pukul 2.30 petang hingga pukul 6.30 petang (atau pukul 7.00 petang pada apa<sup>2</sup> hari jika ada di-keluarkan usul hendak menanggohkan meshuarat menurut Peratoran Meshuarat 17) sapanjang tempoh Meshuarat Pertama ini.

## **RANG UNDANG<sup>2</sup> DI-BAWA KA-DALAM MESHUARAT**

### **RANG UNDANG<sup>2</sup> (PINDAAN) PERLEMBAGAAN**

Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> (Pindaan) Perlembagaan di-bawa ka-dalam Meshuarat oleh Perdana Menteri; di-bachakan kali yang pertama; akan di-bachakan kali yang kedua pada meshuarat kali ini.

### **RANG UNDANG<sup>2</sup> (PINDAAN) PERLEMBAGAAN**

#### **Bachaa Kali Yang Kedua**

**Perdana Menteri:** Tuan Speaker, saya suka menhadangkan supaya Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> yang bertajok "Akta (Pindaan) Perlembagaan" di-bacha bagi kali yang kedua-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka mohon izin Tuan Yang di-Pertua ia-itu sambil menerangkan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini dalam Bahasa Malaysia saya terpaksa berchakap di-tempat<sup>2</sup> yang mustahak dalam Bahasa Inggeris untuk hendak memberi pengertian yang jelas terutama sa-kali kapada Ahli<sup>2</sup> yang datang dari Malaysia Timor.

Tuan Speaker, saya merasa yakin dan per-chaya bahawa Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat sakalian berada di-dalam Dewan ini dengan perasaan yang penoh gembira kerana dengan izin Allah kita telah dapat mengadakan samula persidangan Parlimen. Saya juga per-chaya bahawa tuan<sup>2</sup> sakalian mempunyai penoh kesedaran betapa berat-nya tanggung-jawab tuan<sup>2</sup> semua untuk menjamin supaya demokrasi berparlimen berjalan dengan lichen dan sempurna di-dalam negara kita ini.

Tatkala saya di-lantek menjadi Pengarah Gerakan kira<sup>2</sup> 21 bulan dahulu ia-itu pada 17hb Mei, 1969, tugas saya yang utama ialah mengembalikan keamanan dan ketenteraman. Saya juga bertanggung-jawab untuk

memelihara supaya pentadbiran negara berjalan dengan lincis dan lancar dan menimbulkan balek perasaan harmoni dan perchaya memperchaya di-antara berbagai kaum di-negara kita ini. Dengan ada-nya bantuan dan kerjasama dari semua pihak, saya telah dapat menjalankan tugas<sup>2</sup> saya ini dengan sempurna. Dalam pada itu, saya sentiasa-lah memikir dan menjalankan berbagai<sup>2</sup> usaha untuk mengembalikan balek keadaan dan suasana di-dalam negara ini seperti sedia kala supaya dapat-lah di-adakan sa-mula persidangan Parlimen di-mana Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat dapat melaksanakan tugas masing<sup>2</sup> sa-bagai wakil<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat.

Sa-bagaimana yang tuan<sup>2</sup> sedia ma'alum, kuasa sa-sabua Kerajaan itu datang-nya daripada ra'ayat. Kita semua berada di-dalam Parlimen pada hari ini semata<sup>2</sup> kerana kita telah mendapat kepercayaan daripada ra'ayat. Kedudukan kita tidak lebeh daripada menjadi pemegang amanah bagi pihak mereka itu. Harapan mereka yang utama sekali untuk kita melaksanakan-nya ia-lah supaya kita menjalankan kewajipan<sup>2</sup> itu dengan rasa penuh kesedaran dan bertanggung-jawab sa-hingga dapat-lah sentiasa terpelihara perasaan harmoni di-antara kaum. Oleh yang demikian, kita mesti-lah menjalankan perbinchangan dan penyusunan dasar<sup>2</sup> kita dengan chermat sambil mengingati dan menginsafi perasaan dan harapan<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat di-negara kita ini.

Tuan Speaker, masalah<sup>2</sup> yang terbentang di-hadapan kita sakalian bukan-lah dapat di-huraikan dengan sa-wenang<sup>2</sup>-nya dengan tidak berpandukan kepada latar belakang sejarah perkembangan politik dan ekonomi Malaysia. Kita mesti menerima hakikat bahawa bangsa kita terdiri dari berbagai kaum yang maseh belum sempurna dan kuat perpaduan-nya. Berbanding dengan negara<sup>2</sup> lain, negara kita maseh muda dan pengalaman kita dalam perjalanan sistem demokrasi berparlimen kurang dari 20 tahun. Sa-lain daripada itu, ekonomi negara kita bukan sahaja belum menchapai kemajuan yang sa-penohnya, tetapi juga mempunyai kedudukan yang jelas tidak sa-imbang di-antara kaum<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-sini.

Sementara itu, kita juga mesti sedar bahawa di-tengah<sup>2</sup> masyarakat kita pada hari ini terdapat satu jenerasi baharu, terdiri daripada mereka yang telah menjadi dewasa sa-lapas kita menchapai kemerdekaan. Mereka tidak tahu latar belakang politik yang terda-

pat ketika kita memperjuangkan kemerdekaan negara dan dengan sebab itu tidak faham kompromi<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-persetujui pada masa itu di-antara kaum<sup>2</sup> bagi menjayakan perjuangan kita. Satu lagi puak yang mesti kita hadapi ia-lah orang<sup>2</sup> yang tidak bertanggung-jawab yang berchita<sup>2</sup> hendak mendapatkan kuasa dengan chara menghasut dan membangkitkan perasaan sentimen, menimbulkan rasa bimbang dan churiga menchuriga<sup>2</sup> antara kaum<sup>2</sup>.

Ini-lah hakikat<sup>2</sup> yang kita mesti jadikan panduan tatkala kita menyusun rancangan<sup>2</sup> bagi mengatasi berbagai<sup>2</sup> rupa masalah yang di-hadapi oleh bangsa dan negara kita semasa kita melangkah masuk pada satu babak baharu dalam sejarah negara kita ini.

Persidangan kita pada hari ini terlambat 20 bulan dari masa yang sa-patut-nya. Saya juga sama merasa kesal seperti Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat sakalian tetapi kita semua tahu sebab<sup>2</sup>-nya. Kekacauan bulan Mei 1969 merupakan satu detik hitam di-dalam sejarah negara kita, tetapi dengan izin Allah, kita telah dapat meranchangkan dasar<sup>2</sup> dan mengambil tindakan<sup>2</sup> yang tegas dan berkesan untuk menyelamatkan bangsa dan negara kita dari terjerumus ka-dalam gaung yang dalam. Sungguh pun pada hari ini keadaan dan suasana pada umum-nya telah pulih seperti sedia kala, tetapi tidak-lah sayugia kita melupakan pengajaran<sup>2</sup> dan pengalaman<sup>2</sup> yang kita telah perolehi dari kejadian 13 Mei itu.

Memang-lah mudah bagi kita membiarkan sahaja masalah<sup>2</sup> itu berlanjutan sambil mengharap bahawa satu masa nanti ia-nya akan hilang dengan sendiri-nya. Tetapi sa-sabua negara itu tidak dapat di-perintah semata<sup>2</sup> berasaskan kepada harapan dan jangkaan. Jika kita tidak bertindak untuk mengambil langkah yang perlu sekarang ini, maka kita boleh di-kutok oleh ra'ayat kerana melakukan kesalahan tidak menyempurnakan tanggung-jawab yang telah di-amanahkan kepada kita. Saya yakin tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-orang dari kita ingin mengelakkan dari berulang-nya lagi peristiwa 13 Mei itu di-negara kita ini kerana kesan<sup>2</sup> yang lebeh dahshat dan meluas akan timbul kira-nya kejadian itu berlaku lagi. Kita telah menanggung kerugian yang besar dan mendapat pengalaman yang pahit dari perbuatan<sup>2</sup> yang tidak bertanggung-jawab dan tidak sopan sa-kumpulan kecil orang<sup>2</sup> yang berniat hendak menimbulkan kekacauan dan huruhara. Sekarang kita mesti

bertindak dengan tegas kerana apa yang kita pertaruhkan ia-lah untong nasib bangsa dan negara kita.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we meet today some 20 months late. I regret this as much as any Member of this House but we all know why this has had to be so. The disturbances of May 1969 mark the darkest period in our national history. By dint of purdent and imaginative policies, we have carefully moved ourselves away from the abyss which then confronted us. Today life has generally returned to normal. But we shall be extremely foolish and irresponsible if we forget the lessons of 13 May. It is easy for us to do nothing now and to hope that somehow things will turn out all right. But a country cannot be governed upon hopes. If we do not act, or if we do not take precautions now, we shall stand condemned before our people as failing in our duty. Surely, everyone wants to ensure that the tragedy of 13th May will never ever be repeated in this country. Such a calamity, if it should occur, would be more widespread and more catastrophic in its consequences. We have already paid a heavy price for the irresponsibility and indiscipline of a small group of people who were out to bring trouble and chaos. We cannot take chances now because what is at stake is the very survival of our nation.

The lessons of the 13th May tragedy must never be forgotten. Let us not debate and dispute about what started it or how it happened, lest debating and disputing among ourselves, we shall lose sight of the common enemy: namely, those irresponsible elements who sought to sow mistrust and a sense of insecurity among the races and to exploit these sensitivities to their own advantage. The election campaign in April and May 1969 provided these irresponsible elements with the opportunity to arouse racial emotions to a pitch. These elements created fear and anger by questioning and ridiculing the provisions of the Constitution relating to Bahasa Malaysia and the special position of the Malays, which further exacerbated the growing sense of insecurity felt by the Malays when they see the widening gap between them and the non-Malays particularly in the economic and educational spheres. Some of these irresponsible elements created dissatisfaction by deliberately and exaggeratedly misrepresenting the implementation of these provisions and also by advocating their deletion from the Constitution. Yet others

created fear and mistrust that the legitimate interests of the non-Malays as provided for in the Constitution would be eroded.

Tuan Speaker, mari-lah kita sakalian sematkan di-dalam hati dan ingatan kita pengajaran<sup>2</sup> yang kita telah perolehi dari peristiwa 13 Mei, dan jangan-lah kita binchang dan bahathkan lagi tentang apa yang menyebabkan terchetus-nya peristiwa itu dan bagaimana ia-nya bermula kerana ini mungkin akan melupakan kita kapada musuh kita yang sa-benar-nya, ia-itu anasir<sup>2</sup> yang tidak bertanggung-jawab yang kerja-nya menanamkan beneh<sup>2</sup> shak wasangka dan perasaan bimbang di-kalangan kaum<sup>2</sup> serta menggunakan perkara<sup>2</sup> sensitif untuk faedah diri mereka sendiri. Anasir<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut telah mendapat kesempatan yang besar untuk membangkitkan perasaan perkauman apabila kempen Pilehan-  
raya berjalan dalam bulan April dan Mei, 1969. Mereka sengaja menimbulkan perasaan takut dan marah dengan chara mempersoal dan mempersenda<sup>2</sup>kan sharat<sup>2</sup> dalam Perlembagaan mengenai Bahasa Malaysia dan kedudukan istimewa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, sehingga memburokkan lagi perasaan tidak terjamin yang di-rasai oleh orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu apakala mereka melihat bagaimana luas-nya jurang perbedzaan di-antara mereka dengan orang<sup>2</sup> yang bukan Melayu terutama-nya sakali di-dalam lapangan ekonomi dan pelajaran. Sa-tengah daripada anasir<sup>2</sup> yang tidak bertanggung-jawab itu telah menchetuskan rasa tidak puas hati dengan chara sengaja memberi keterangan<sup>2</sup> yang salah mengenai dengan pelaksanaan sharat<sup>2</sup> Perlembagaan yang tersebut itu dan juga menghapuskan sharat<sup>2</sup> tersebut dari Perlembagaan. Satu pehak lagi dari anasir<sup>2</sup> itu telah menimbulkan rasa takut dan tidak perchaya dengan mengatakan bahawa kepentingan<sup>2</sup> yang sah orang<sup>2</sup> bukan Melayu sa-bagaimana yang termaktub di-dalam Perlembagaan itu hendak di-chabuli.

Tuan Speaker, kita mesti-lah menginsafi hakikat yang sa-benar-nya sa-bagaimana yang terdapat di-Malaysia pada hari ini. Oleh kerana peristiwa 13 Mei itu maseh jelas di-dalam ingatan kita, maka perlu-lah kita bersikap tegas untuk menunjukkan keazaman kita hendak mengekal dan memelihara kekuatan demokrasi bagi menentang gerakan<sup>2</sup> tipu helah anasir<sup>2</sup> yang tidak bertanggung-jawab itu. Kita mesti-lah menunjukkan bukti<sup>2</sup> bahawa kita benar<sup>2</sup> tegas di-dalam kata<sup>2</sup> kita hendak menghapuskan segala peluang yang boleh di-gunakan oleh anasir<sup>2</sup> itu untuk

merosakkan suasana atau susunan politik kita. Pendek kata, kita tidak akan membiarkan sa-kumpulan kecil menyalah-gunakan kebebasan yang telah di-beri itu sa-hingga menjahanamkan hak kebebasan kita.

Tuan Speaker, dengan bersidang-nya samula Parlimen, maka kita semua hari ini sadar akan harapan besar hasrat kita dan hasrat hati ra'ayat negara ini. Saya menaruh harapan yang tinggi bahawa dengan tindakan kita meluluskan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> yang sedang di-binchangkan di-dalam Dewan ini, maka akan terhapus-lah perasaan shak dan waham di-kalangan seluruh ra'ayat negara ini. Saya juga berharap sa-telah mendengar perbinchangan<sup>2</sup> kita di-sini, mereka akan merasa yakin bahawa sa-kali pun kita mempunyai pegangan<sup>2</sup> politik yang berlainan, tetapi kita bersatu di-dalam usaha hendak memelihara keamanan dan keteguhan negara dan perpaduan serta keharmonian ra'ayat.

Maka dengan sebab yang saya sebutkan tadi, Kerajaan telah mengambil keputusan untuk mengemukakan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-hadapan tuan<sup>2</sup> pada hari ini dengan tujuan hendak meminda beberapa peruntukan di-dalam Perlembagaan. Kita mempunyai dua tujuan yang utama yang sangat penting.

Pertama, pindaan<sup>2</sup> itu bermaksud untuk menyekat perbinchangan awam atas perkara<sup>2</sup> yang sensitif supaya dengan itu dapat-lah demokrasi berparlimen berjalan dengan lincin di-negara kita ini. Kedua-nya ia-lah bertujuan untuk membetulkan menerusi undang<sup>2</sup> beberapa perkara yang tidak sa-imbang di-kalangan kaum<sup>2</sup>. Kerajaan telah mengambil masa yang panjang untuk memikir dengan teliti sa-belum daripada membuat keputusan hendak mengemukakan pindaan<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut di-dalam Dewan ini. Kita telah mendapat kesempatan untuk mengadakan perbinchangan<sup>2</sup> yang berfaedah sa-chara berterus-terang di-dalam Majlis Perundingan Negara atau National Consultative Council. Kita yakin dan perchaya bahawa pindaan<sup>2</sup> itu ada-lah mustahak memandang kapada keadaan dan suasana yang terdapat pada masa ini dan tidak shak lagi bahawa pindaan<sup>2</sup> itu di-persetujui oleh sa-bilangan besar ra'ayat yang suka melihat supaya keharmonian di-antara kaum tidak terjejas.

Sekarang saya suka menjelaskan pindaan<sup>2</sup> yang di-chadangkan satu persatu.

Pindaan yang pertama yang terkandung di-dalam Fasal 2 Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini ia-lah mengenai dengan Article 10 dalam Perlem-

bagaan. Pindaan ini ia-lah bertujuan untuk menchegeh sa-siapa jua pun membuat kenyataan<sup>2</sup> yang boleh menyentoh perasaan sensitif kaum<sup>2</sup> yang ada di-negara kita ini. Charanya ia-lah dengan memberi kuasa kapada Parlimen untuk meluluskan undang<sup>2</sup> yang menchegeh perbuatan mempersoalkan sebarang perkara, hak, kedudukan, taraf, keistimewaan, kedaulatan atau hak mutlak yang di-tentukan atau di-lindungi oleh peruntukan<sup>2</sup> dalam Bahagian III (yang mengandongi peruntukan<sup>2</sup> berkaitan dengan kera'ayatan); Article 152 (mengenai dengan Bahasa Kebangsaan dan bahasa<sup>2</sup> kaum lain); Article 153 (mengenai dengan kedudukan istimewa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan kepentingan sah kaum<sup>2</sup> lain), dan Article 181 (mengenai dengan kedaulatan Raja<sup>2</sup>).

Sa-bagaimana Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum, hak kebebasan berchakap dan mengeluarkan fikiran di-bawah Article 10 Fasal 1 (a) dalam Perlembagaan telah pun terta'alok kapada peruntukan di-bawah fasal 2 (a) kapada Article itu yang memberi kuasa kapada Parlimen membuat undang<sup>2</sup> untuk mengenakan "sekatan<sup>2</sup> yang di-dapati perlu atau mustahak demi kepentingan keselamatan Persekutuan atau mana<sup>2</sup> bahagian-nya, perhubungan persahabatan dengan negara<sup>2</sup> lain, ketenteraman awam atau akhlak dan sekatan<sup>2</sup> yang di-maksudkan untuk melindungi keistimewaan Parlimen atau mana<sup>2</sup> Dewan Negeri atau untuk mengelakkan penghinaan terhadap Mahkamah, fitnah atau pun perbuatan mengapiakan supaya di-lakukan sa-suatu kesalahan."

Jika sekatan<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut dalam Fasal 2 (a) itu di-terima dan di-fikirkan perlu, maka tentu-lah lebeh perlu lagi di-kenakan sekatan<sup>2</sup> ka-atas perbuatan mempersoalkan peruntukan yang penting dan asasi yang terkandung di-dalam Perlembagaan itu memandang kapada pengalaman yang baharu kita peroleh, kerana di-atas asas<sup>2</sup> ini-lah bangsa kita telah di-bena dan dengan sebab itu-lah satu Fasal baharu hendak di-masokkan di-bawah Article 10 yang menghurai dan menjelaskan kuasa<sup>2</sup> Parlimen di-bawah Fasal 2 (a).

Tuan Speaker, saya rasa tidak-lah perlu saya menghuraikan satu persatu di-dalam Dewan ini untuk menunjukkan bagaimana adil-nya Perlembagaan Negara kita itu terhadap semua pehak dan ia-nya telah di-gubal hasil dari persetujuan yang telah di-chapai oleh kaum<sup>2</sup> yang besar di-Malaysia sa-telah perundingan<sup>2</sup> sa-chara berterus-terang dan

mendalam di-adakan di-antara kita sa-sama sendiri sa-belum daripada kita menchapai kemerdekaan.

Mr Speaker, Sir, it is hardly necessary for me in this House to expound upon the careful and balanced character of the Constitution which was so painstakingly negotiated and agreed upon by the major races in Malaysia before we attained independence. Part III of the Constitution relates to the provisions regarding citizenship. Let those who are citizens of Malaysia under its provisions be ensured clearly that their rights shall not be challenged. This is surely important to them so that whatever fears may have been aroused will now be set at rest.

Now, the basic provisions relating to the acquisition of citizenship represented a fair and balanced compromise. The same careful and balanced approach runs through the other provisions of the Constitution protecting the legitimate rights of all races in Malaysia. Thus the provisions relating to the special position of the Malays are balanced by the guaranteed protection of the legitimate interests of the other communities and by the citizenship provisions to which I have referred. The provisions relating to the position of Bahasa Malaysia as the sole official and National Language is balanced by the guarantee for the use of the languages of other races other than for official purposes. As regards the provision relating to the sovereignty of the Rulers, surely no one will disagree that their position should never be open to attack or challenge. Any self-respecting people will surely want to ensure that the position of its Rulers should not be subject to debate in the political arena.

These are the main provisions of our Constitution relating to issues which may be regarded as sensitive. These must be removed from the realm of public discussion which could lead to the exploitation of these issues by irresponsible elements to the detriment of all our people. The careful and balanced provisions of our Constitution guaranteeing legitimate interests of all races in Malaysia are the very foundation upon which this nation exists. To challenge them is to challenge the very principle upon which the nation rests. Tragically, they have been challenged. The consequences are only too well-known to all of us. It is not only in the interest of all of us that they should be

protected. It is also surely right that the very foundation of the nation should not be the subject of divisive and dangerous debate.

Tuan Speaker, seperti saya telah terangkan Perlembagaan kita telah meletakkan syarat yang adil kepada semua pihak mengenai dengan kewarganegaraan. Begitu-lah juga peruntokan<sup>2</sup> yang lain di-dalam Perlembagaan itu mengenai dengan perlindungan ka-atas hak<sup>2</sup> yang sah bagi semua kaum di-Malaysia.

Mithal-nya, peruntokan<sup>2</sup> berhubung dengan kedudukan istimewa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu ada-lah di-saibangkan dengan jaminan yang di-beri untuk melindungi kepentingan yang sah bagi kaum<sup>2</sup> lain dan juga peruntokan kewarganegaraan yang telah pun saya sebutkan tadi. Peruntokan berhubung dengan kedudukan Bahasa Malaysia sa-bagai bahasa rasmi dan Bahasa Kebangsaan yang tunggal ada-lah di-saibangkan dengan jaminan bahawa bahasa kaum lain boleh di-gunakan sa-lain daripada untuk tujuan<sup>2</sup> rasmi. Berhubung dengan peruntokan mengenai dengan kedaulatan Raja<sup>2</sup>, saya perchaya tidak sa-siapa pun hendak menchabar kedudukan Raja<sup>2</sup> itu. Saya yakin bahawa tidak sa-orang pun ra'ayat yang ta'at setia suka melihat bahawa perkara kedudukan Raja<sup>2</sup> itu menjadi bahan perbahathan dalam gelanggang politik.

Ini-lah perkara<sup>2</sup> yang termaktub di-dalam Perlembagaan kita yang boleh di-sifatkan sa-bagai soal<sup>2</sup> yang sensitif yang mesti di-larang siapa<sup>2</sup> jua pun mengadakan perbinchangan awam mengenai dengan-nya ia-itu perkara<sup>2</sup> yang boleh di-gunakan oleh anasir<sup>2</sup> yang tidak bertanggung-jawab untuk merosakkan perpaduan ra'ayat. Saya suka menegaskan di-sini bahawa peruntokan yang menjadi asas negara kita ini patut-lah di-pelihara bukan sahaja kerana menjaga kepentingan<sup>2</sup> kita bahkan kerana ia-nya terlampau suchi untuk di-jadikan bahan<sup>2</sup> perbahathan yang merbahaya.

Tuan Speaker, sekarang suka-lah saya menjelaskan pula bahawa kuasa hendak di-berikan kepada Parlimen untuk mengenakan larangan<sup>2</sup> mengadakan perbinchangan awam di-atas peruntokan<sup>2</sup> sensitif itu tidak-lah termasuk perbinchangan tentang pelaksanaan peruntokan<sup>2</sup> itu.

Tuan<sup>2</sup> tentu-lah bersetuju bahawa peruntokan sensitif itu tidak-lah patut menjadi bahan untuk perbinchangan awam, tetapi tidak-lah di-dapati adil kira-nya chara<sup>2</sup> pelaksanaan peruntokan<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut di-sekat



daripada di-bahath ia-itu setakat yang mengenai dengan perbuatan<sup>2</sup> menyalah gunakan kuasa<sup>2</sup> untuk melaksanakan peruntokan<sup>2</sup> Perlembagaan itu oleh Kerajaan atau mana<sup>2</sup> pehak yang berkuasa. Ada-lah di-chadangkan ia-itu perkara<sup>2</sup> yang boleh di-persoalkan itu akan di-tentukan di-dalam sa-buah undangan yang akan di-kemukakan ka-Parlimen tidak berapa lama lagi. Tidak siapa pun dapat mendakwa bahawa ia-nya mempunyai kebijaksanaan dan tidak melakukan kesalahan, dan kami dalam Kerajaan sentiasa sanggup menerima sa-barang pandangan<sup>2</sup> dan shor<sup>2</sup> tentang chara<sup>2</sup> bagaimana peruntokan<sup>2</sup> itu dapat di-laksanakan. Kita telah mengakui bahawa ada-lah untuk kepentingan kita bersama bahawa peruntokan<sup>2</sup> itu di-beri perlindungan, dan kita juga mengakui bahawa ada-lah bagi faedah kita semua untuk menjamin supaya peruntokan<sup>2</sup> itu di-laksanakan dengan adil dan saksama supaya terchapai-lah tujuan<sup>2</sup> dan maksud<sup>2</sup> di-adakan peruntokan<sup>2</sup> tersebut.

Tuan Speaker, sekarang saya beroleh pula kapada pindaan yang kedua ia-itu Fasal 3 dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu yang bermaksud hendak meminda Article 63 dalam Perlembagaan berhubung dengan keistimewaan Ahli<sup>2</sup> Parlimen yang menjamin bahawa mereka tidak akan di-bawa ka-pengadilan mahkamah di-atas sebarang perkara yang mereka uchapkan dalam perbincangan dalam salah satu Dewan atau dalam mana<sup>2</sup> Jawatan-kuasa Dewan. Kita berchadang hendak memasokkan satu Fasal baharu dalam Article 63 yang bertujuan bahawa sa-saorang Ahli Parlimen yang di-tudoh melakukan kesalahan di-bawah mana<sup>2</sup> Undang<sup>2</sup> yang di-luluskan oleh Parlimen menurut di-bawah Article 10 (4) sabagaimana yang di-pinda dengan Fasal 2 Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini, maka Ahli itu tidak berhak mendapat perlindungan di-bawah Article 63 (2). Sa-hingga Parlimen dapat meluluskan undang<sup>2</sup> di-bawah Fasal 4 Article 10, maka Akta Asutan, 1948 atau Sedition Act, 1948 saperti yang di-pinda di-bawah Ordinan (Kuasa<sup>2</sup> Perlu) Dharurat 45, 1970, ada-lah berjalan kuat-kuasa-nya. Pindaan yang ketiga ia-lah Fasal 4, dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu memberi kesan yang sama kapada Article 72 kapada Perlembagaan berhubung dengan keistimewaan yang sama bagi sa-orang Ahli Dewan Undangan bagi mana<sup>2</sup> negeri di-Malaysia.

Tuan Speaker, saya memang-lah sedar bahawa Ahli<sup>2</sup> Parlimen dan Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan Undangan Negeri ada-lah terdiri dari mereka

yang bertanggung-jawab. Tetapi kita semua tahu bahawa apa yang kita katakan di-sini ada-lah di-rakamkan dalam Peringatan Meshuarat Dewan dan terus di-laporkan oleh alat<sup>2</sup> sebaran 'am. Jika kita hendak melarang perkara<sup>2</sup> sensitif itu di-binchang dengan sachara awam dengan memberi kuasa kapada Parlimen meluluskan undang<sup>2</sup> bagi menghadkan kebebasan berchakap mengenai dengan hal<sup>2</sup> itu, dan membolehkan di-ambil tindakan undang<sup>2</sup> keatas mereka yang di-tudoh melakukan kesalahan melanggar undang<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut itu, maka tentu-lah patut dan adil bahawa Ahli<sup>2</sup> Parlimen, atau mana<sup>2</sup> Ahli Dewan Negeri juga terta'alok kapada dakwaan itu kira-nya kita sendiri melanggar undang<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut.

Kita patut-lah sedar bahawa Ahli<sup>2</sup> Parlimen dan Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan Negeri sentiasa-lah mendapat perhatian istimewa dari orang ramai dan ucapan<sup>2</sup> mereka di-dalam Dewan adalah menarek perhatian ra'ayat. Jika Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat di-benarkan menimbul dan membangkitkan soal<sup>2</sup> sensitif dalam Dewan dengan tidak terta'alok kapada kuatkuasa undang<sup>2</sup>, maka tidak-lah berarti pindaan yang di-chadangkan dalam Fasal 2 Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini. Dewan ini telah pun bersetuju bahawa kebebasan beruchap dalam Dewan ini tidak berarti sa-saorang Ahli itu boleh menyentoh perkara yang boleh membangkitkan perasaan kaum dan mengancam kedudukan kaum<sup>2</sup> di-negara ini. Tegahan ini telah di-tetapkan dalam Peratoran 36 kapada Peratoran Majlis Meshuarat Dewan Ra'ayat yang menentukan bahawa ada-lah salah pada peratoran menggunakan perkataan<sup>2</sup> yang harus membangkitkan perasaan bersakit<sup>2</sup> hati atau bermusoh<sup>2</sup>an di-antara satu kaum dengan satu kaum lain dalam negara ini. Saya perchaya Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat semua bersetuju bahawa Peratoran ini tidak memada<sup>2</sup> untuk tujuan<sup>2</sup> yang di-maksudkan memandang kapada suasana yang terdapat pada hari ini. Saya rasa tidak-lah memada<sup>2</sup> dengan kuasa yang ada pada Speaker untuk memerintah Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan menarek balek kata<sup>2</sup>-nya setiap kali mereka melanggar Peratoran 36 itu. Ini bukan sahaja memberatkan tanggung-jawab Tuan Speaker yang mesti memberi keputusan dalam sekelip mata pada tiap<sup>2</sup> kali kejadian itu berlaku, tetapi yang penting-nya kata<sup>2</sup> merbahaya telah terhambor dan tidak dapat di-padamkan lagi. Oleh yang demikian, Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat mesti-lah juga terta'alok kapada tindakan<sup>2</sup> undang<sup>2</sup> di-atas kata<sup>2</sup> mereka yang

merbahaya itu seperti orang awam. Ada-lah di-chadangkan bahawa Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan Parlimen dan Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan Undangan Negeri yang di-dapati melanggar Undang<sup>2</sup> ini hanya akan di-bicarakan oleh Hakim Mahkamah Tinggi, Akta Asutan, 1948 akan di-pinda sewajar-nya untuk mengadakan peruntukan itu.

Tuan Speaker, sekarang saya berpaling pula kepada Fasal 5 dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu yang bermaksud hendak meminda Article 152 kepada Perlembagaan berhubung dengan Bahasa Kebangsaan dengan menentukan pengertian perkataan<sup>2</sup> "tujuan<sup>2</sup> rasmi" atau official purpose dalam Article itu. Perlembagaan telah menentukan bahawa Bahasa Malaysia hendak-lah menjadi Bahasa Kebangsaan dengan tidak menghalang atau menchegeh penggunaan bahasa<sup>2</sup> lain terkechuali untuk tujuan<sup>2</sup> rasmi. Sa-bagaimana yang Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum, perkataan<sup>2</sup> "tujuan<sup>2</sup> rasmi" dalam Article itu tidak di-huraikan pengertian-nya. Oleh yang demikian, ada-lah di-chadangkan supaya perkataan<sup>2</sup> itu di-beri pengertian yang jelas dengan chara di-tambah satu Fasal yang baharu yang menentukan bahawa perkataan<sup>2</sup> itu berma'ana sa-barang tujuan Kerajaan, sama ada Kerajaan Persekutuan atau Negeri, termasuk-lah mana<sup>2</sup> tujuan untuk pehak berkuasa awam. Saya rasa pengertian ini sangatlah berguna dan perlu untuk menjelaskan lagi tujuan yang telah pun sedia di-fahamkan.

Tuan Speaker, saya suka memberi jaminan kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat dari Sabah dan Sarawak bahawa pindaan<sup>2</sup> kepada Fasal ini sa-bagaimana yang telah saya terangkan tadi tidak-lah sa-kali<sup>2</sup> akan menchachatkan Article 161 yang menentukan bahawa bahasa Inggeris boleh di-gunakan dalam kedua<sup>2</sup> buah Negeri yang tersebut untuk sa-lama masa 10 tahun sa-lepas daripada Hari Malaysia.

Sir, I would like to assure Honourable Members from Sabah and Sarawak that the amendments to this Clause as stated above, would not in any way affect Article 161 which provides for the use of English in these two States for the period of 10 years after Malaysia Day.

Tuan Speaker, berpaling kepada Fasal 6 dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini, yang terbahagi kepada tiga bahagian, yang tujuan-nya untuk membuat beberapa pindaan kepada Article 153, saya berchadang hendak menjelaskan terlebih dahulu Fasal 6 (a) dan 6 (c) bersekali.

Fasal 6 (a) dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini bertujuan hendak meminda Article 153 dengan memasokkan sa-lepas sahaja perkataan "Melayu" di-mana<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut dalam Article itu, perkataan "dan bumiputera mana<sup>2</sup> Negeri Borneo".

Fasal 6 (c) dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu chuma merupakan satu penghuraian sahaja dan bertujuan supaya di-masokkan satu Fasal baharu (9A) kepada Article 153 yang menghuraikan pengertian perkataan<sup>2</sup> "bumiputera Negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo" sa-bagai mempunyai arti yang sama dengan pengertian yang telah di-chatet dalam Article 161A kepada Perlembagaan. Saya rasa tidak-lah perlu saya menerangkan tujuan pindaan ini.

Turning next to Clause 6 of the Bill, which is in three parts and which seeks to make amendments to Article 153, I propose to deal first with Clauses 6 (a) and 6 (c) together. Clause 6 (a) of the Bill seeks to amend Article 153 by inserting immediately after the word "Malays" whenever it appears in the Article, the words "and natives of any of the Borneo States". Clause 6 (c) of the Bill is merely explanatory and seeks to insert a new Clause (9A) to Article 153 which defines the expression "natives of the Borneo States" as having the meaning which it already has in Article 161A of the Constitution. I do not think that this will require any comment.

Tuan Speaker, mengenai dengan pindaan yang terkandung dalam Fasal 6 (a) kepada Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu, saya juga perchaya bahawa pindaan dapat di-terima oleh semua pehak. Tujuan asas bagi Article 153 itu ia-lah untuk memberi kesempatan kepada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu maju dengan lebeh pesat supaya dapat pada satu masa kelak mereka bertanding dengan orang<sup>2</sup> bukan Melayu dengan mempunyai syarat<sup>2</sup> kelayakan dan kebolehan yang sama, kerana pada masa ini ada-lah di-aku<sup>2</sup> bahawa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu belum menchapai kemajuan yang sama pesat dengan orang<sup>2</sup> yang bukan Melayu. Hakikat yang sama seperti ini terdapat juga di-kalangan bumiputera Negeri<sup>2</sup> Malaysia Timor. Oleh yang demikian, pindaan yang di-chadangkan itu memang-lah lojik. Saya patut-lah mengemukakan bersekali Fasal 8 kepada Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu yang bertujuan untuk meminda Article 161 (A) Perlembagaan. Pindaan ini ia-lah untuk menyelaraskan dengan pindaan dalam Fasal 6 Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini dan saya fikir tidak perlu-lah saya menerangkan dengan lebeh lanjut.

Tuan Speaker, saya suka menjelaskan bahawa chadangan membuang Fasal (1), (2) dan (3) dalam Article 161A telah dibuat dengan permintaan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Sabah dan Sarawak menurut sa-bagaimana Laporan Jawatan-kuasa Antara Kerajaan atau Inter-Governmental Committee Report. Dengan terhapus-nya Fasal (1) dalam Article 161A, kedudukan bumiputera dalam kedua<sup>2</sup> buah Negeri ini tidak-lah sekali<sup>2</sup> akan terchachat kerana mereka akan terus mendapat keistimewaan<sup>2</sup> yang sama di-bawah pindaan yang di-chadangkan itu. Maka dengan terhapus-nya Fasal (2), bumiputera dalam kedua<sup>2</sup> buah Negeri itu akan mendapat kedudukan yang lebih baik kerana mereka akan dapat keistimewaan<sup>2</sup> yang di-beri oleh Article 153 bukan sahaja di-Sabah dan Sarawak tetapi juga di-Malaysia Barat.

Oleh kerana tujuan meminda Article 161A itu untuk meletakkan bumiputera di-Sabah dan Sarawak sama taraf dengan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-Negeri<sup>2</sup> Malaysia Barat, maka perlu-lah Fasal (3) itu di-buang, kerana jika tidak maka syarat<sup>2</sup> itu akan berchanggih. Keistimewaan<sup>2</sup> yang boleh di-beri oleh Yang di-Pertuan Agong menurut Article 153 kepada bumiputera Sabah dan Sarawak ia-lah mengenai dengan perkara<sup>2</sup> Federal sahaja, ia-itu perkara yang di-bawah kekuasaan Kerajaan Pusat. Pindaan<sup>2</sup> ini tidak-lah sekali<sup>2</sup> akan menchachatkan kuasa<sup>2</sup> Negeri untuk memberi keistimewaan<sup>2</sup> kepada bumiputera<sup>2</sup> di-dalam kedua<sup>2</sup> buah Negeri yang tersebut dalam perkara<sup>2</sup> yang terletak di-dalam kekuasaan Negeri itu. Dengan pindaan<sup>2</sup> ini, maka jelas-lah bahawa bumiputera Sabah dan Sarawak ada-lah di-letak kepada satu kedudukan yang sama dengan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam Negeri<sup>2</sup> di-Malaysia Barat.

Sir, I would like to explain that the proposal to delete Clauses (1), (2) and (3) of Article 161A was made at the request of Sabah and Sarawak Governments in accordance with the Inter-Governmental Committee Report. By the deletion of Clause (1) of Article 161A, the position of the natives in these two States will not be adversely affected in any way as they will continue to enjoy the same privileges under the proposed amendments. Now, the deletion of Clause (2) will enhance the position of the natives of the two States in that they will now be able to enjoy the privileges accorded by Article 153 not only in Sabah and Sarawak but also in West Malaysia.

As the intention of amending Article 161A is to place the natives in Sabah and Sarawak on the same status as the Malays in the States of West Malaysia, it is necessary that Clause (3) should be deleted, as otherwise there will be anomalies. The privileges that the Yang di-Pertuan Agong can give under Article 153 to the natives of Sabah and Sarawak will only be in respect of Federal matters, i.e., matters under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. These amendments will not in any way affect the powers of the State to provide privileges to the natives in the two States in matters which are under their jurisdiction. By these amendments, it can now be clearly seen that the natives of Sabah and Sarawak are placed exactly in the same position as the Malays in the States of West Malaysia.

Tuan Speaker, sekarang saya beraleh pula kepada Fasal 6 (b) dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini yang memberi kuasa kepada Yang di-Pertuan Agong selaras dengan kewajipan<sup>2</sup> Baginda sa-bagaimana yang telah di-tentukan di-bawah Article 153 dalam Perlembagaan untuk menjamin perezapan bagi orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputera Negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo tempat<sup>2</sup> yang berpatutan banyak-nya dalam universiti<sup>2</sup>, maktab<sup>2</sup> dan lain<sup>2</sup> pusat pelajaran yang lebih tinggi dari perengkat menengah di-mana didapati lebih banyak chalun<sup>2</sup> yang berke-layakan daripada tempat<sup>2</sup> yang di-sediakan. Saya rasa perlu menjelaskan tujuan<sup>2</sup> Fasal 6 (b) ini. Saya telah pun menarek perhatian Dewan ini bahawa salah satu sebab yang membawa kepada terchetus-nya kekachauan dalam bulan Mei, 1969 itu ia-lah bertambah-nya perasaan tidak terjamin di-kalangan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-sebabkan jurang perbedaan yang mereka dapati di-antara mereka dengan orang<sup>2</sup> yang bukan Melayu terutama sa-kali dalam bidang<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dan ekonomi. Saya juga telah menerangkan bahawa salah satu daripada tujuan<sup>2</sup> besar kenapa kita menchadangkan pindaan<sup>2</sup> kepada Perlembagaan ini ia-lah untuk membetulkan menerusi undang<sup>2</sup> keadaan tidak sa-imbang di-dalam beberapa lapangan kehidupan ra'ayat. Chara<sup>2</sup> dan langkah<sup>2</sup> yang lain yang perlu juga di-ambil untuk membetulkan keadaan yang tidak sa-imbang dalam lapangan<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dan ekonomi. Dalam bidang ekonomi, Kerajaan telah mengadakan satu Rancangan Ekonomi Baharu yang bertujuan untuk menyusun balek ekonomi negara dengan maksud supaya dapat-lah tiap<sup>2</sup> kaum mengambil bahagian yang sama di-dalam

lapangan perniagaan dan perusahaan negara. Satu lagi perkara yang belum sa-imbang ialah pelajaran yang ada hubungan rapat dengan kemajuan ekonomi dan sosial.

Hari ini bilangan penuntut<sup>2</sup> dari semua kaum yang mempunyai kelayakan untuk melanjutkan pelajaran tinggi telah bertambah dengan banyak-nya. Namun begitu, di-sebabkan oleh latar belakang sosio-ekonomi yang serba kurang dan kemudahan<sup>2</sup> pelajaran yang tidak mencukupi di-kawasan<sup>2</sup> luar bandar, maka kemajuan akademi penuntut<sup>2</sup> Melayu pada banding-nya tidak-lah begitu baik seperti yang di-kehendaki. Keadaan ini telah mengakibatkan tidak ada-nya imbalan antara kaum dalam beberapa kursus pengajian di-universiti. Sa-bagai contoh-nya, di-Univer-siti Malaya terdapat jurang bilangan yang luas antara penuntut<sup>2</sup> Melayu dengan bukan Melayu dalam sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> kursus. Angka<sup>2</sup> untuk membuktikan kedudukan yang tidak sa-imbang itu ada tersiar dalam Kertas Puteh yang bertajuk "Ka-arrah Keharmonian Negara", yang telah pun di-ishtiharkan. Sa-bagaimana yang tuan<sup>2</sup> dapat saksikan, sunggoh pun keadaan itu telah mula bertam-bah baik, tetapi kepesatan-nya tidak-lah cukup memuaskan dan belum dapat memonohi kehendak yang ada pada hari ini. Keadaan tidak sa-imbang di-antara kaum<sup>2</sup> itu akan menimbulkan berbagai akibah yang merbahaya kepada bangsa kita dan mestilah di-atasi dengan sa-berapa segera yang boleh. Statistik angka<sup>2</sup> yang tersebut itu menunjukkan dengan jelas keadaan yang sa-benar-nya. Banyak lagi faktor<sup>2</sup> dan angka<sup>2</sup> yang lain yang boleh mengesahkan keadaan yang merunsingkan itu. Angka<sup>2</sup> itu dapat menunjukkan dengan jelas-nya bahawa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu maseh jauh tinggal ka-belakang dalam beberapa jurusan pelajaran. Mithal-nya, dalam jurusan sains, bilangan siswazah bagi tahun 1970 ia-lah 22 orang Melayu daripada jumlah 493 dalam Fakulti Sains, sa-orang Melayu dari jumlah 71 orang dalam Fakulti Kejuruteraan atau Engineering, 15 orang Melayu dari jumlah 49 orang dalam Fakulti Pertanian dan 4 orang Melayu dari jumlah 67 orang dalam Fakulti Perubatan. Nyata-lah bahawa keadaan ini sangat-lah tidak adil dan tidak di-ingini untuk kepentingan negara. Kerajaan sedang mengator langkah<sup>2</sup> jangka panjang bagi memperbaiki kemudahan<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dan memperbaiki lagi latar belakang sosio-ekonomi yang mundur bagi penuntut<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar. Sunggoh pun

bagitu, satu penyelesaian yang segera perlu di-buat bagi mengatasi keadaan<sup>2</sup> yang terdapat sekarang ini.

Tuan Speaker, pada waktu ini Perlembagaan Universiti menetapkan bahawa Uni-versiti itu di-kehendaki mengambil masok kesemua penuntut<sup>2</sup> yang di-beri biasiswa Kerajaan dengan syarat mereka mempunyai kelayakan<sup>2</sup> yang di-perlukan. Oleh yang demikian, mungkin dapat kita memudahkan penuntut<sup>2</sup> Melayu masok ka-Universiti dengan chara memberi biasiswa kepada mereka dengan tidak kira tentang latar belakang kewangan mereka. Sunggoh pun bagitu, tentu-lah chara yang seperti ini tidak adil kerana biasiswa kepada penuntut<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang ber-kelayakan mesti-lah di-beri berasaskan kepada kebolehan mereka dan kedudukan kewangan mereka. Mungkin juga tujuan membetulkan kedudukan yang tidak sa-imbang dalam fakulti<sup>2</sup> itu boleh tercapai dengan chara mengeluarkan arahan<sup>2</sup> pentad-biran. Tetapi chara yang seperti itu harus menimbulkan silap faham dan salah penger-tian. Oleh itu, perlu-lah kita mengkaji dan memperbetulkan soal ini dengan chara terus terang kerana ia-nya bukan sahaja mengenai dengan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu bahkan satu masaalah yang berkait dengan kepentingan kita semua. Oleh yang demikian, kita patut menerangkan masaalah ini kepada seluroh ra'ayat supaya dapat mereka faham tujuan dan sebab-nya kita mengambil tindakan yang tersebut itu. Di-atas asas<sup>2</sup> ini-lah maka pindaan kepada Article 153 itu di-chadangkan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka mengambil kesempatan ini juga untuk memberi jaminan bahawa kuasa yang di-beri kepada Yang di-Pertuan Agong untuk memberi arahan kepada mana<sup>2</sup> Universiti, Maktab<sup>2</sup> atau Pusat<sup>2</sup> Pelajaran yang lebeh tinggi daripada Tingkatan Menengah supaya merizabkan untuk orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputera bagi Negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo tempat<sup>2</sup> yang berpatutan banyak-nya akan di-laksanakan dengan chermat dan teliti. Tujuan pindaan<sup>2</sup> ini ia-lah untuk merizabkan tempat<sup>2</sup> bagi kursus pelajaran yang tertentu di-mana penuntut<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputera bagi Negeri<sup>2</sup> Borneo yang terlampau kecil bilangan-nya. Dengan chara ini-lah keadan yang tidak sa-imbang itu akan dapat di-atasi dalam usaha<sup>2</sup> hendak memeli-hara perpaduan negara. Saya suka menjelaskan bahawa pindaan yang di-chadangkan kepada Article 153 dengan menambahkan satu Fasal baharu (8A) yang terta'alok kepada Fasal (1) dalam Article itu.

I would like to make it clear that the proposed amendment to Article 153 by adding a new Clause (8A) will be subject to Clause (1) of that Article which places the responsibility on the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to safeguard not only the special position of the Malays but also the legitimate interests of the other communities.

Tuan Speaker, akhir-nya saya suka menerangkan Fasal 7 dalam Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> itu yang bertujuan hendak meminda Article 159 (5) dalam Perlembagaan dengan mengadakan peruntukan bahawa sa-lain daripada Article<sup>2</sup> yang telah pun sedia terchatet di-dalam-nya, maka pindaan kepada peruntukan<sup>2</sup> yang terkandung dalam Article 10 (4) Perlembagaan atau mana<sup>2</sup> undang<sup>2</sup> yang di-luluskan menurut Article ini, Bahagian III Perlembagaan, Article 63 (4), Article 72 (4) dan Fasal 5 kepada Article 159 tidak-lah boleh di-buat dengan tidak mendapat persetujuan Majlis Raja<sup>2</sup>.

Sa-bagaimana Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum, Article 159 (5) telah pun menetapkan bahawa pindaan kepada Article 38, 70, 71 (1) dan 153 tidak boleh di-luluskan melainkan dengan persetujuan Majlis Raja<sup>2</sup>.

Sir, I now turn, finally, to Clause 7 of the Bill, which seeks to amend Article 159 (5) of the Constitution by providing that in addition to the Articles of the Constitution enumerated therein, no amendment be made to the provisions contained in Article 10 (4) of the Constitution or any law passed thereunder, to Part III of the Constitution, to Article 63 (4), Article 72 (4) and to Clause (5) of Article 159 itself without the consent of the Conference of Rulers. As Honourable Members are aware, Article 159 (5) already provides that no amendment to Articles 38, 70, 71 (1) and 153 shall be passed without the consent of the Conference of Rulers. I believe that the proposal to entrench further the sensitive provisions of the Constitution in this manner and to entrench Article 159 (5) itself will be generally welcomed as providing further assurances that these constitutional provisions safeguarding the legitimate interests of all races in this country would not be eroded.

Tuan Speaker, bagi penutup-nya, saya suka menyatakan bahawa negara kita telah melalui krisis yang amat merbahaya dalam sejarah-nya. Perasaan takut dan benchi, marah dan churiga telah di-bangkit<sup>2</sup>kan. Mari-lah kita merenongkan dengan mendalam dan teliti

sekarang mana-kah arah haluan yang kita hendak tuju. Mari-lah kita sama<sup>2</sup> mengingatkan bahawa perjalanan sistem demokrasi di-negara kita ini mesti-lah memperhitungkan keadaan masharakat berbilang kaum yang ada di-sini. Negara kita belum pernah bertentang dengan chabaran yang kita hadapi sekarang ini. Saya suka bertanya kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat sakalian ada-kah bijak bagi kita berbalek kepada chara<sup>2</sup> yang lama ia-itu di-atas nama demokrasi dan kebebasan beruchap, maka ada-lah patut kita membiarkan anasir<sup>2</sup> yang tidak bertanggung-jawab bebas menjalankan tipu helah mereka untuk membangkitkan perasaan perkauman sa-hingga membawa bangsa dan negara kepada jurang kehanchoran, atau pun kita bertindak sekarang ini juga untuk menarek kebebasan itu dari mereka supaya dapat kita dan demokrasi berparlimen berjalan dengan lancar-nya. Saya yakin dan tidak ragu<sup>2</sup> lagi apa yang kita mesti buat sekarang, begitu juga saya yakin apa yang di-ingini oleh seluruh ra'ayat negara kita di-atas segala<sup>2</sup>-nya ia-lah supaya suasana harmoni antara kaum kekal terpelihara dan juga supaya negara kita mara terus kahadapan untuk memenohi hasrat menchapai perpaduan dan kema'amoran dalam suasana aman dan damai.

Tuan Speaker, sa-kira-nya maseh ada keraguan atau perasaan bimbang di-hati sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat di-sini mengenai pindaan<sup>2</sup> Perlembagaan yang ada di-hadapan kita, saya berharap sa-telah dinyatakan dengan terang-nya tujuan<sup>2</sup> serta kehendak Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini dan sa-telah mendengar penjelasan<sup>2</sup> yang di-fikirkan perlu keraguan dan rasa bimbang mereka itu sudah pun terhapus hendak-nya. Dengan itu saya meminta supaya Dewan yang mulia ini meluluskan pindaan<sup>2</sup> Perlembagaan ini dan menunjokan dengan nyata kepada seluruh ra'ayat bahawa kita sakalian di-sini berazam hendak menjaminkan jaminan sistem Kerajaan berparlimen yang sesuai dengan keadaan<sup>2</sup> di-negara kita. Mari-lah kita semua yang chintakan serta ta'at setia kepada Negara ini berdiri tegoh dan bersatu hati demi kepentingan utama menjamin bagi memelihara harmoni dan perpaduan untuk mengekalkan tujuan bangsa dan Negara supaya mara terus menchapai kemajuan dan kema'amoran.

Sir, in conclusion, I have no doubt in my own mind what we should do. I have no doubt also what the broad mass of our people,

who wish above all that multi-racial harmony should prevail, and that our nation should develop peacefully towards greater unity and prosperity, want to do.

If there are doubts or misgivings in the minds of some Members of the House on the various constitutional amendments now before us, it is my hope that, having stated and explained the objects and the intention of the Bill and after having listened to any clarification that may be necessary, these doubts or misgivings will have been cleared.

I, therefore, ask this House to approve these Constitutional amendments and show clearly to our people that we are determined to ensure the working of the parliamentary system of Government suited to our present conditions. Let all of us who have the love and loyalty of our country at heart stand united in the larger interest of ensuring national harmony and unity for the survival and for the continued progress and prosperity of our country.

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

**Menteri Kewangan (Tun Tan Siew Sin):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya memohon izin untuk berchakap dalam Bahasa Inggeris.

(*Dengan izin*) Sir, I beg to second. There is, in fact, very little for me to add in view of the fact that the Honourable the Prime Minister has dwelt so thoroughly with all aspects of the Bill now before us.

The main purpose of this Bill is, as Honourable Members are fully aware, to entrench three politically sensitive issues in the Federal Constitution. The first is Part III which deals with citizenship. This is clearly to the advantage of the non-Malays, because in future, assuming that these proposed amendments are passed by Parliament, no one will be able to question the inalienable right of the non-Malays to full citizenship in this country together with all its rights and responsibilities.

The second politically sensitive issue proposed for entrenchment is Article 152 of the Constitution which, among other things, provides that Malay shall be the national and official language while preserving and sustaining the use and study of the language of any other community in Malaysia. It will be seen, therefore, that Article 152 is actually a very fair Article because, while it provides for the national and official status of the Malay language, it also ensures continuity of the use and study of the languages of other communi-

ties in this country. Thus the Government intends to entrench not only the Status of Bahasa Malaysia but also the status of other languages used in this country. It should also be noted that Article 152, even after its entrenchment, continues to guarantee the use, for non-official purposes, of languages other than Bahasa Malaysia. This point is sometimes lost sight of and hence it is essential to bear in mind that so long as there is no departure from this provision of the Constitution, which is now to be entrenched, we have nothing to fear.

The third politically sensitive issue proposed for entrenchment is Article 153. Here again, this Article provides not only for the special position of the Malays, it also provides for the legitimate interests of the other communities, a feature which is apt to be lost sight of in the heat of political polemics. In fact, the Honourable the Prime Minister took care to emphasise this point in his speech. It is, however, important to note that the entrenchment will cover the whole Article, i.e., the legitimate interests of the other communities as well as the special position of the Malays. It is important that the non-Malays bear this point in mind when considering this matter.

It is also proposed, in view of the fact that the Malays have so far managed to obtain only a very small proportion of places in the University of Malaya for certain courses of study, that places should be reserved for Malays and other indigenous people in such courses of study where their number is disproportionately small. This was made clear in paragraph 18 of the White Paper which was issued for general publication earlier this year when the Government made known its intention to introduce this Bill on the resumption of Parliament. Paragraph 19 of the same White Paper also made it absolutely clear that in the implementation of the provisions of the proposed amendment it is the intention to be fair and just to *all* communities, so that even though reservations are made for Malays, the non-Malays will still have their fair share of places in these courses of study.

It will, therefore, be seen that the proposed amendments are eminently fair to both Malays and non-Malays. They will safeguard the interests of not only the Malays but the non-Malays as well, because the Government recognises that both Malays and non-Malays feel insecure, though for different reasons. If

I may, I would like to amplify this point further. The non-Malays are aware that the Malays feel insecure, in spite of their greater political power, because they feel that the non-Malays are so much ahead of them in the economic field. The vast majority of non-Malays therefore accept that the Malays should be given a helping hand in this field. They, however, also wish to be assured that in the implementation of policies designed to achieve this purpose, their legitimate rights are not taken away. This fear is both understandable and legitimate. Indeed, it is not necessary to take away from the non-Malays in order to uplift the Malays economically for the simple reason that this country is comparatively empty. Even in West Malaysia, about three-quarters of our total area is still under virgin jungle. In East Malaysia, the population density is only about 17 per square mile. There is, therefore, plenty of room for everyone and hence it is not necessary for one race to advance at the expense of any other.

Bearing this point in mind we, therefore, welcome the assurance, and this assurance will be spelt out clearly in the law, that though these politically sensitive issues can no longer be the subject of debate or dispute, this will not affect the right of any person to question the method of implementation of any of the provisions concerned. For example, it will be possible, even after the proposed amendments have become law, for any person to contend that the method of implementation of any such provisions has not been fair to any party in some way or other, though he will not be able to question their propriety. In this connection, it will be essential for the Government to ensure that in the implementation of the provisions of the law on the matters dealt with in this Bill, scrupulous care will be taken not only to ensure justice to all, it must be obvious to all that justice has been done. If implementation is based on these fundamental principles, the road ahead should be comparatively smooth.

It is not without significance that the proposals embodied in this Bill reflect not only the thinking of the Government, they have been fully discussed in the National Consultative Council and have been generally agreed to as far as I can gather even by the Opposition parties represented there.

I readily concede that, in theory, what we are advocating is not what one would regard

as a model of Parliamentary democracy. In practice, however, the exercise proposed has not altered the basic position all that much because these three politically sensitive issues are already embodied in the Constitution and cannot be amended without the necessary two-thirds majority. Furthermore, our multi-racial society is so unique that it is probably the most complex and complicated plural society in all history. Conditions are, therefore, anything but ideal for a full-fledged democracy and we have to accept this fact. It will hence perhaps be agreed by all right thinking people that, in the last analysis, it is better to have something less than 100% democracy than no democracy at all. That is the sobering thought which this House should bear in mind when it finally takes a decision on this vital question. (*Tepok*).

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Masaalah di-hadapan Majlis ia-lah Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> bernama Suatu Akta bagi meminda Perlembagaan Persekutuan di-bachakan pada kali yang kedua sekarang dan terbuka untuk di-bahath.

**Tuan Lim Kit Siang (Bandar Melaka):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta izin berchakap dalam Bahasa Inggeris. (*Dengan izin*) Mr Speaker, Sir, we, Members of the Third Malaysian Parliament, who have at last taken our rightful places in this Chamber after twenty-one months of our election and suspension, have, as our first business, the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

No more important Bill has ever been submitted to Parliament since Merdeka and no more important Bill is likely to come before Parliament in future, assuming there is still a Parliament. For the Bill, if passed, will have such far-reaching consequences in the life of the Nation that the entire direction of the country will shift to a new course.

The Government has presented the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 1971, as a highway to national unity and a formula to prevent a recurrence of May 13 racial riots in Malaysia. The issues involved in this Bill are of the utmost importance to Malaysians for they involve the fundamental question of nation-building, national unity and national survival. It will be necessary to consider, in this debate the basic question of nation-building and whether the measures as proposed in this Bill can make this greatly divided Nation more united, harmonious and prosperous.

We in the DAP will discuss and consider this Bill fully conscious of the momentous decision we all will have to take, which will help to decide not only the destiny of Malaysia but the fate of democracy itself.

But we shall not be cowed or intimidated. My comrades and I have not been elected into Parliament to be "yes-men" or to be browbeaten into silence or to surrender our objectives and principles and to betray the trust and confidence which the people have put on us when they elected us into Parliament on May 10, 1969. All members of Parliament should be allowed to freely, fully and frankly express their views without being subject to threats and intimidation.

In this connection, we strongly deplore the Sword of Damocles which the Government has hung over the reconvening of Parliament with their oft-repeated threats that Parliament will be disbanded if it does not provide the necessary two-thirds majority vote to amend the Constitution. No Member of Parliament with self-respect will allow this political blackmail to deter him from saying or doing what he believes in, for there comes a time when the duty of nation rings out louder than the duty to party, or even duty to a Parliamentary allowance. This is the time when every Member of Parliament must stand up and be counted not only for today, tomorrow or next week, but for the rest of their lives.

The present Constitution (Amendment) Bill is the direct result of the May 13 tragedy. The Government has held from the very beginning that the May 13 riots were caused by the Opposition exploiting the so-called sensitive issues during the General Elections, creating racial tensions, conflict and bloodshed. Thus, according to the Government, to avoid any such recurrence, these so-called sensitive issues must be removed from the pale of public discussion and debate. These so-called sensitive issues are the National Language, special provisions for the Malays, sovereignty of the Malay Rulers and citizenship.

It is painful to reopen the subject of May 13 racial riots which holds for so many personal tragedies and sorrows without parallel. However if we are to learn from the lessons of May 13 tragedy, it is essential that we understand the causes and events which led to the May 13 racial riots. Without such an understanding it is not possible to prescribe a proper remedy for the malady

in our body politic and a wrong remedy may aggravate the situation instead of improving it.

In its preface to the N.O.C. Report on "The May 13 Tragedy" published in October, 1969, the Prime Minister, then in his capacity as Director of Operations, wrote, and I quote:

"This Report has been prepared with the full realisation that important matters must no longer be swept under the carpet and that the facts of May 13 should be made known to the public.

Furthermore, it has been written with the conviction that the objective of national unity must be confronted squarely and the alternatives before us decided upon sincerely and courageously.

The course of our Nation so charged must be pursued with the united efforts of all loyal Malaysians resolutely, with courage and confidence."

Mr Speaker, Sir, I cannot agree more with the Prime Minister that important matters must no longer be swept under the carpet. If we are to survive the stresses and strains in our Nation, we must be mature enough to confront our problems "squarely in the face" and consider and weigh the alternatives open to us and decide on the best course of action and pursue it.

Those, whether men or nations, who do not learn from the mistakes of history are condemned to repeat the same mistakes at great cost to themselves and others. It is in this spirit of confronting problems squarely in the face so as to avoid repeating the same costly mistakes of May 13 that I make the following remarks.

It is not my intention here to level accusations against anyone for being responsible for the May 13 racial riots. But I will be failing in my duty if I do not state that the D.A.P. and the public at large do not accept the version as contained in the N.O.C. Report on May 13 Tragedy or in the Honourable former Prime Minister's "May 13—Before and After" book.

We have no doubt that a very different version will emerge if there is an impartial Commission of Enquiry to collect evidence from witnesses of the May 13 racial riots with power to protect these witnesses from reprisals. The world press version is very different too from that of the Government. Although the Government had attacked the foreign correspondents for their irresponsible and unfair reporting, only an impartial Commission of Enquiry can produce an



independent finding as to the truth or otherwise of these reports—by checking on these reports and by inviting the foreign correspondents themselves to give evidence.

This is why the D.A.P. had from the beginning called for an impartial Commission of Enquiry into the causes of racial riots and the chain of events, so that we can get as true a version as possible. It is only with such information that we can draw up correct lessons from the racial riots and take the necessary and proper preventive measures.

To-date, apart from producing a very one-sided Government version of what took place on May 13, the Government has refused to set up an impartial Commission of Enquiry into the causes and its spread. The Government has not been able to give any satisfactory explanation as to why there should not be such an enquiry, if we really want to stop sweeping things under the carpet.

It is because the D.A.P. and large sections of the Malaysian public disagree with the Government as to the causes of May 13 racial riots that we differ as to the remedial measures which the Government proposes to take as embodied in the present Constitution (Amendment) Bill.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Government has introduced the Constitution (Amendment) Bill on the stated assumption that once the so-called sensitive issues are removed from the pale of public debate and discussion racial mistrust and suspicion will lessen and national unity and solidarity will be strengthened. Is this stated assumption valid?

For the last twenty-one months of N.O.C. Emergency rule the so-called sensitive issues were banned from public discussion and debate. If the Government's stated assumption is valid, then we should be able to say with all honesty that the people of diverse races in Malaysia are more united, more Malaysian-conscious and there is much less racial mistrust and suspicion today than in May 1969.

Can we in all honesty say this? I for one will state the contrary, that after twenty-one months of N.O.C. Emergency rule where the so-called sensitive issues are banned and the ban fortified by the Emergency amendment to the Sedition Act, 1948 in August, 1970. The people of Malaysia today are even more bedevilled by racial mistrust and suspicion,

and that they have never been so race conscious as now at any time since Merdeka. In fact racial polarisation in Malaysia in the last twenty-one months has gone further and the racial division has gone wider and deeper when compared to the first twelve years of Merdeka.

Why is this so? If the ban for the last 21 months on sensitive issues have not arrested the rush down the racial slippery slope, how will the entrenchment of these so-called sensitive issues in the Malaysian Constitution promote national unity? Or has the ban on the so-called sensitive issues in the last 21 months accelerated the pace of racial polarisation in Malaysia? And if so, the entrenchment of these so-called sensitive issues in the Malaysian Constitution can only bring racial polarisation to a head.

We are convinced and disturbed that the ban on the so-called sensitive issues and the Emergency rule for the last 21 months have accelerated the process of racial polarisation in this country.

Large and articulate sections of the public do not accept this ban on the so-called sensitive issues, not because they are opposed to the National Language, the sovereignty of Rulers, special provisions for Malays and citizenship—and we in the D.A.P. have never opposed all these provisions—but because:

Firstly, they reject the Government's contention that the May 13 riots were caused by the discussion and debate of the so-called sensitive issues during the Elections;

Secondly, the scope of the so-called sensitive issues is so vague that it can cover any criticism or opposition to Government policy and action, and we are swiftly reaching a stage where the practice of racialism is a virtue and the criticism of racialism a crime;

Thirdly, the ban is solely aimed at Opposition Members and critics of the Government, as borne out by the sedition charges which have been preferred against two of my party colleagues. *Saudara* Fan Yew Teng and Dr Ooi Kee Saik in connection with an article in our party journal "The Rocket" in December, 1970 issue . . .

**Peguam Negara (Tan Sri Abdul Kadir bin Yusuf):** Mr Speaker, Sir, on a point of order. It is *sub judice*.

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Do not mention anything which is a sensitive issue.

**Tuan Lim Kit Siang:** Malaysians are aware of the many provocative statements and speeches made in particular in the recent UMNO General Assembly, but which seemed to carry immunity. I refer in particular to the demand by a Selangor State Assemblyman who wanted the Government to remove the citizenship of a M.T.U.C. leader who had criticised the Government for failing to withdraw all the restrictive anti-labour measures;

Fourthly, the ban is seen purely as a political move to bolster the fortunes of the ruling Alliance Party and its component parties which suffered serious reverses in the last General Elections. This is admitted by none other than the Deputy Prime Minister in his "M.C.A.—Neither dead nor alive" speech to Johore State Alliance leaders in Johore Bahru on January 15, when he said, and I quote :

"In the 1969 General Elections, sensitive issues—the National Language and the special rights of the Malays—were the issues which generally brought about the setbacks of the Alliance. The issues must, therefore, be entrenched in the Constitution, so that in the forthcoming elections, sensitive issues cannot be questioned by the Opposition. And with the entrenchment of sensitive issues, our partners, the M.C.A. and the M.I.C. will not be at a disadvantage."

The only argument for banning the so-called sensitive issues from public discussion and debate and entrenching them in the Malaysian Constitution is to promote national unity and lessen racial mistrust in the country. This result can only be achieved if the overwhelming majority of Malaysians support such an entrenchment. But if large sections of the Malaysian public regard such a move as a political move by the ruling party to stifle the expression of their legitimate fears and grievances, then such entrenchment will not be a cementing force for the diverse races. It will instead become the focal point of widespread discontent and the subject of national division, disunity and discord.

The Government can put any law on the Statute Book or amend the Constitution anyhow they like provided they have the necessary votes in Parliament. But when Parliament is used to block or frustrate the popular will, then the laws it pass will cease to command the respect and observance of the

people, leading to a general undermining of public respect for law and order.

Mr Speaker, Sir, let us be realistic and practical. Although Parliament can ban the discussion of the so-called sensitive issues, and entrench this ban in the Malaysian Constitution, there is no way to enforce this law.

The Government can ban the discussion of these issues in public forums and meetings, over radio and television, even in Parliament and the State Assemblies. But it will not be able to stop people from discussing and debating these very issues in coffee shops, street corners, the privacy of their homes and wherever people meet and congregate unless it intends to turn Malaysia into a Police State and employ half the population as Police informers to eavesdrop and report on private conversations and feelings of the other half.

When we come to this stage, whatever may be achieved, it is certainly and definitely not national unity and the lessening of racial mistrust and suspicion.

Before I touch on the long-term consequences of this Constitution (Amendment) Bill, I propose to discuss separately the four issues which the Government seeks to entrench and place beyond the pale of public debate and discussion.

1. *Sovereignty of Rulers*—We in the D.A.P. do not and have not questioned the sovereignty of Rulers. As far as I know, there is not a single Member of Parliament in this House, or a single party represented in this House, which has questioned or seeks to question this provision. I am aware there is one political party in this country which does question this provision. We are told that the reason why the Government wants to entrench the so-called sensitive issues is because it wants to prevent these issues from being exploited by racialist politicians and thus create racial mistrust and illwill, leading to racial bloodshed.

As the leaders of the Opposition Party, which questions this provision, are Malaysians of Malay origin, I do not see the logic of this argument. Is the Government seriously suggesting that if Malays themselves question the provision of sovereignty of Rulers, there will be a racial conflict and bloodshed between the Malays and the Chinese?

However, as I had said, we do not question this provision. This is not an issue which creates racial mistrust. I shall come back to this subject later, when I touch on the principle of entrenchment of provisions in the Constitution.

2. *Citizenship*—What I want to say on this is that, although it is now a crime to question the citizenship of Malaysians, we have a clear instance, as I said just now, of an UMNO leader calling with immunity for the deprivation of citizenship of a trade union leader for speaking out against the Government. How will the entrenchment of this question in the Malaysian Constitution change matters? It will also not escape notice that, even though citizenship is now a sensitive issue, which is now not being enforced anyway, it will not prevent extremists from building up pressure for the removal of citizenship of outspoken critics of the Government and the extremists themselves.

3. *National Language*—The D.A.P. has always unconditionally accepted Malay as the National Language, as a vital factor for unification in a multi-racial society. What the D.A.P. opposes and what the people at large fear is the use of the National Language as an instrument for the eventual annihilation of other languages and cultures in Malaysia.

Clause 152 of the Malaysian Constitution states:

“(1) The National Language shall be the Malay Language and shall be in such script as Parliament may by law provide:

Provided that—

- (a) no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning, any other language; and
- (b) nothing in this Clause shall prejudice the right of the Federal Government or of any State Government to preserve and sustain the use and study of the language of any other community in the Federation.”.

We submit that in this Clause, the Malaysian Constitution guarantees the preservation and sustenance of other languages in the country. It means that no linguistic group in this country need fear the decline in use or extinction of its language.

The spirit and intention, I submit, of the Constitutional safeguard is to build a multi-lingual Malaysia with a common National Language for all Malaysians.

It is from this interpretation that we had contended that the fact that the National Language, by virtue of its status, is bound to become the chief language of administration in this country need not, and should not, mean that the other major languages in the country, namely Chinese, Tamil and English, are not accorded even a subsidiary official status and use in the country.

We stress that the other languages, namely Chinese, Tamil and English have become Malaysian languages by virtue of the fact that considerable number of Malaysian citizens speak these languages and that the Malaysian Constitution safeguards the preservation and sustenance of their use and study. This is clearly in direct contradiction to UMNO's concept of “one nation, one language” for Malaysia.

Malaysia is a multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural nation. Any attempt to suppress other languages can only lead to opposition from the language groups so affected, leading to national disunity and discord.

The nation as a whole in the last fourteen years since Merdeka has dissipated too much energies on this language question. Let us defuse this language problem, so that all Malaysians can concentrate on the problem of economic upliftment of the have-nots. This can easily take place if all Malaysians will (i) accept Malay as the national language; (ii) accept the constitutional safeguard to preserve and sustain the use and study of other languages by giving freedom to all other languages in their use, growth and development.

The D.A.P. has been accused of attacking Malay as the National language in the last general elections campaign. I challenge the Government, which has taped all Opposition rally speeches at great public expense, to produce a single instance where we have done so. What we raised were the unhappiness and frustration of the people at the failure of the Government to “preserve and sustain the use and study” of other languages as enshrined in the Constitution, because of the extreme demands by influential UMNO circles for the immediate implementation of the UMNO policy of “one nation, one language”.

The most extreme call was one which laid down a seven-point programme to build a

Malaysian nation, namely the banning of non-Malay languages, non-Malay schools, non-Malay signboards, non-Malay newspapers, non-Malay symbols, non-Malay buildings and non-Malay costumes. There were leading Malay intellectuals who demanded that Malay shall be the only recognised Malaysian language, and that Malaysian literature should only be written in the Malay Language. There was a Minister who described Chinese as "Mao Tse Tung's language". For speaking out against these excesses and infringement of the spirit and letter of the Constitutional guarantee to "preserve and sustain the use and study of other languages", I was detained for 17 months under the Internal Security Act. Did the Government arrest the advocate of the 7-point programme to eliminate everything non-Malay in this country?

The message is clear. Those who seek to uphold the Constitutional guarantee that other languages be preserved and sustained are regarded as enemies of the National Language. A paradoxical situation has been reached. When the Constitutional Amendment Bill is passed, which includes the entrenchment of Article 152 (1) (b) with its Constitutional guarantee to "preserve and sustain the use and study of other languages", the public will see it as in actual fact a further hardening of the Government attitude against giving other languages their rightful place in the country.

The people have lost confidence in the Government, and the Constitution it is charged to protect and uphold, because of the abuse of its wide-ranging powers of detention without trial.

The people have good cause to be cynical. The Government's attitude towards the proposed Merdeka University is a case in point. The Merdeka University project was proposed to give university education opportunities to Chinese school-leavers. The sponsors of the Merdeka University announced that the project will be a multi-racial one and will use multi-lingual media of instruction and examination system.

The Government put all manner of obstacles and threats in the way of the sponsors and supporters of the project. Although the M.C.A. denounced the project consistently, two days before the polling day, on 8th May 1969 it changed its stand and

supported the project and even helped to secure its registration. When N.O.C. Emergency rule was proclaimed, the Merdeka University project was clamped down.

I would like here to ask either the Honourable the Prime Minister or the Honourable the Minister of Education whether he agrees that the Merdeka University project comes within the ambit of the Constitutional guarantee "to preserve and sustain the use and study of other languages" in Article 152 (1) (b) and whether it is not its bounden duty, therefore, to support instead of opposing this project.

Mr Speaker, Sir, there is no questioning by any Malaysian of Malay as the National Language. What is unclear and the source of great anxiety and resentment is the formless guarantee to "sustain and preserve the use and study of other languages."

What is important is not so much to entrench the provision of Malay as the National Language, because that is not being questioned, but to spell out in clear, unambiguous terms the meaning of "preserving and sustaining the use and study of the other languages." In this connection, it will be more useful for a Parliamentary Commission to be formed to define the extent and meaning of the Constitutional guarantee to "preserve and sustain the use and study of other languages." Once this guarantee is spelt out and accepted by all Malaysians, then language will cease to be a divisive force in Malaysia.

4. *Special provisions for Malays*—The D.A.P. has also been accused of opposing special rights for Malays. We again invite the Government to produce a single instance from our speeches and statements to show that we have opposed efforts to raise the economic standards of living of Malays. As democratic socialists, we are dedicated to the abolition of poverty and economic backwardness regardless of race. We want to create a classless community of Malaysians based on fellowship, co-operation and service, where there is no exploitation of man by man, class by class or race by race. We support any measure which will help better the lot of the Malay poor. But we are strongly opposed to the use of Malay special provision to enrich the new Malay rich to make them richer, while the mass of Malay poor remain as poor and exploited as ever.

There is gross social injustice and grave unequal distribution of wealth and income in Malaysia. Over the years, the feudal-compradore and tycoon class have become richer and richer, while the mass of peasantry and workers have become more and more down-trodden. The problem in Malaysia is complicated by an ostensible double coincidence. Firstly, the class divisions in our country appear very often to coincide with communal divisions; secondly, the disparity in incomes and productivity between urban and rural areas appears also to coincide along racial lines as towns are predominantly non-Malay while the mass of Malays live in rural areas.

Such urban-rural economic disparity and imbalance, however, is not a phenomenon peculiar to Malaysia. Similar social, economic and cultural disparities as between rural and urban areas also confront other developing countries. This is indeed a universal problem, reflecting the slower pace of socio-economic process in the rural as compared to the urban areas. The key to bridging this urban-rural imbalance is to promote greater and faster economic growth in the rural areas, and not by embracing and implementing an evil, pernicious and racialist doctrine, equating economic disparity and imbalance with the racial division in the country.

Any attempt to impose racial theories and solutions to basically economic problems of the have-nots is dangerous as it will pit one race against another, which must culminate in a racial holocaust. It will also be founded on the monstrous falsehood that all the "haves" in Malaysia are non-Malays, while the Malays are all the "have-nots." The basic problem in Malaysia is an economic and class one, and not a racial one.

The only effective way to uplift the living standards of the "have-nots" of all races is to execute meaningful socialist policies untinted by racialism, as in carrying out radical land reforms, beginning with the abolition of absentee landlordism in the padi sector and distribution of land to the tenant farmers; the creation of a comprehensive and efficient rural credit, co-operative and marketing infrastructure to free the peasants from the triple curses of fragmentation, landlordism and credit indebtedness; greater diversification of agriculture and the economy; a modern and science-oriented educa-

tion system to bring the peasants abreast with the techniques and know-how of twentieth-century and a greater rate of industrialisation.

Every Malaysian will support special rights to help the poor Malays, just as every citizen will support any special assistance to non-Malay poor, on the basis of need, and not on the basis of colour or race. The greatest objection to the entrenchment of this provision in the Constitution and its removal from public discussion and debate is that the whole provision will cease to be answerable to the electorate. The Government will be supreme in deciding what it wants to do in this field.

We were earlier told that the Constitution Amendment Bill will not affect the right of any person to raise any matter relating to the implementation of entrenched provisions. But the latest revisions to the Constitution Amendment Bill which came to us only three days ago have considerably narrowed and restricted even the right to question implementation. It is virtually impossible to draw the line between questioning the principle and the implementation of the provision. The price of making a mistake is to get a Sedition charge, which is liable on conviction to a fine of five thousand dollars or an imprisonment of three years, or both, and the disqualification to hold elected office or even to vote at elections for five years. Such punitive provisions will only stifle and suppress open criticisms, though it cannot stamp out mounting frustration and discontent with the matter.

To understand how some quarters of the population see this provision, it may be necessary to recall past assurances by Government leaders that Malay special provisions is a temporary expedient to enable the Malay community to catch up with the other communities.

Last year, however, a Cabinet Minister said that Malay special rights will continue to be a permanent feature in the country for "hundreds of years to come."

It may be useful to recall what the Reid Constitutional Commission Report of 1957, which recommended the form of Constitution we should have, had to say about special provisions for Malays. The majority report of the Reid Commission listed the four matters with regard to which the special position

of the Malays is recognised and safeguarded: Malay land reservations, quotas for admission to the public services; quotas in respect of the issuing of permits of licences for the operation of certain businesses, chiefly road haulage and passenger vehicle for hire; and preferential scholarship, bursaries and other forms of aid for educational purposes.

It reported that it found little opposition in any quarter to the continuance of the system for a time, but there was great opposition in some quarters to any increase of the preferences and to their being continued for any prolonged period. The Commission recommended that the preference be continued, but that in due course they should be reduced and should ultimately cease so that there should then be no discrimination between races or communities.

The Commission recommended that there should be no further Malay reservation, and that no new quota or other preference could be created unless specifically authorised by the Constitution. It also recommended that after 15 years there should be a review of the whole matter and that the procedure should be that the appropriate Government should cause a report to be made and laid before the appropriate Legislature: and that the Legislature should then determine either to retain or to reduce any quota or to discontinue it entirely.

Mr Speaker, Sir, we are now coming to 15 years of operation of special provision to Malays. Again, the question is not so much to entrench this provision, as to inquire as to how well this provision has helped uplift the standards of living of the mass peasantry, apart from creating a new class of Malay rich, and why these 15 years later the vast peasantry are still so poor, backward and downtrodden.

The present Constitution Amendment Bill also seeks to empower the Government to reserve places for Malay students in institutions of higher learning, even if it means denying non-Malay students with better qualifications in such places.

We regret that 14 years after the implementation of the Alliance education policy, it is necessary to introduce such a highly divisive policy because non-Malay students who are denied places and their parents and relatives will resent such discrimination.

It is also an invidious system to the Malay students themselves. Are Malay students biologically and intellectually inferior to non-Malay students that they need such preferences? We in the DAP do not subscribe to any such theory. We believe that given the right environment, education and opportunity, all races can compete with each other on an equal footing.

The fault must lie squarely on the shoulders of the Alliance Government for its failure to build up a modern and science-oriented education system aimed at modernising the nation, particularly in the rural sector of our country. Fifteen years after the Alliance national education policy, six out of every ten Malay students entering the University of Malaya still take up Malay or Islamic studies when what is needed most are more Malay scientists, engineers and technologists. An entire university, the University Kebangsaan, has been formed to produce even more religious and language experts.

The Alliance can no longer blame the British colonialists for this legacy, for if the Alliance Government had been far-sighted enough, and had begun revolutionising the education system on the achievement of Merdeka to bring the countryside into the modern age, we will today be reaping the harvests of Malay sixth-formers taking their rightful and equal places in science, technology, engineering and medical streams in institutions of higher learning without preferential reservation of places.

It is because of such failure in foresight and vision by the Alliance Government in its last decade of rule that our present problems of nation building . . . . .

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** May I remind the Honourable Member that this is not a political forum. You refer to the Alliance Government too many times. You can refer to the Government.

**Tuan Lim Kit Siang:** . . . . . have been made even more complicated, intractable and explosive.

The above subjects are now sensitive issues. This will be the last time and the final forum where we can openly discuss this, for after this debate, the sinister Sedition Amendment Act will be lying in wait for its victims.

We submit that these issues are not sensitive in the sense that any open discussion and debate will cause a racial conflict and mistrust. The Government has been dishonest, insincere and unfair in the handling of these issues, and have made them more sensitive than they should be.

I have said large sections of the Malaysian public reject the Government's arguments for the necessity for this Constitutional Amendment Bill for the simple reason that they reject the basic premise that the May 13 racial riots stemmed from discussion of these sensitive issues. Mr Speaker, Sir, May 13 racial riots started because there were people who were not prepared to accept the verdict of the people at the polls on May 10, 1969, which returned an unprecedented number of Opposition candidates in both State and Parliamentary elections.

May 10, 1969 was the highwater mark of democracy in Malaysia. Never had the people's hopes and expectations of the democratic process to peacefully bring about the political, economic and social changes they want, been so high.

This affirmation of faith in the ballot box and democracy is all the more remarkable considering the active campaign of those who wanted the voters to boycott the polls to discredit the Parliamentary process as "democracy is a mockery and elections a farce."

Even before the 1969 General Elections, voices had been raised questioning the meaning and relevance of Parliamentary democracy in Malaysia. During the general elections campaign, there was a sustained movement to discredit the Parliamentary process by urging the voters to boycott the polls.

The turnout and the results of May 10, 1969 general elections was a major, but very short-lived defeat for the forces of boycott and rejection of the democratic process. In three day's time, the victory of the democratic Opposition turned to ashes, and the stocks of the advocates of rejection of the democratic process rose from the nadir to unparalleled heights. May 13, 1969 was also a victory for those who disliked the people's verdict and started riots in the Federal capital to vent their anger and to frustrate the people's will. Malaysians were murdered,

mutilated and maimed. Chaos and carnage ruled the day. Emergency was proclaimed. N.O.C. military rule replaced Parliamentary rule. The newly-elected Parliament was suspended, and new Opposition Members of Parliament and State Assemblymen arrested, silenced or intimidated.

The Government's handling of the May 13 racial riots and the 21 months of N.O.C. rule have not inspired a return of public confidence in the relevance and credibility of the democratic process to fulfill their legitimate aspirations.

Mr Speaker, Sir, let us not delude ourselves into thinking that once the Constitution Amendment Bill is passed, the country is firmly set on the road back to democracy, national unity and solidarity. Today, the whole concept and relevance of Parliamentary democracy is being questioned. This is why there is no nation-wide elation and joy at the reconvening of Parliament, for they see as Parliament's first function self-castration of its role as the highest legislative and deliberative Chamber in the Country.

Mr Speaker, let us be frank with ourselves. After May 13, 1969 and the 21 months of N.O.C. rule, more and more Malaysians of all races are thinking horrible thoughts. The greatest task today is to turn them away from these horrible thoughts which, if unchecked, will set the stage for the confrontation of violence cutting across race lines.

This can only be done if the people of all races in this country are assured that they will have an equal place under the Malaysian sun, that the objective the nation is heading towards is not a Malaysia which is dominated by any one racial group, whether in politics, or in economics, but where everyone will have equality of opportunity to advance to the best of his ability, in a multi-racial Malaysia.

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Can you speak a little bit slower.

**Tuan Lim Kit Siang:** The prerequisite for a multi-racial Malaysia, however, is the existence of a meaningful democratic system, where the interests and viewpoints of all Malaysians are represented by their elected spokesmen.

The proposal to ban so-called sensitive issues from public discussion, and what is

more, to remove the privilege of Parliamentary immunity of free speech of Members of Parliament, highlights the growing meaninglessness and irrelevance of Parliamentary democracy in Malaysia.

I do not see how any M.P. can agree to this proposal to cut his own tongue, and break his pledge to the electorate that he will be their champion and will fearlessly, responsibly and conscientiously voice their legitimate hopes, fears, grievances and discontents in Parliament for remedy and relief. The basic principle of Parliamentary democracy is the supremacy of Parliament, as the body elected and entrusted by the people to defend, protect and advance the people's interests and welfare. It is incompatible with the principle of the sovereignty of Parliament that M.Ps should be stripped of the privilege of Parliamentary immunity of free speech to discuss and articulate issues which closely touch the hearts and minds of Malaysians, or that another non-elected unrepresentative organ should have such power to discuss these so-called sensitive issues. There can be no more effective step than this to undermine public confidence in democracy and strengthen the voice and forces of the enemies of democracy.

If there are issues which the Government thinks best discussed without the presence of publicity because of the feelings and emotions that might be aroused, the public gallery can be cleared, and Parliament adjourned into closed session. Under no circumstances, however, can M.Ps agree to losing their privilege of free speech and the right to take up and voice the people's legitimate discontents and grievances curtailed.

It is now also proposed to entrench the so-called sensitive issues in the Constitution, so that they cannot be amended by two-thirds majority in Parliament alone, but must get the consent of the Rulers in Council. This is clearly a retrograde step and another body blow at the principle of the sovereignty of the people in a democratic system. Do we, Mr Speaker, Sir, have the right to tie the hands of the next Parliament, presuming there is one, on such an important Constitutional principle?

I submit that this involves so fundamental an issue that the people should have the chance to express their wishes. This matter was never raised in the last General Elections, and no mandate was ever given. If the

Government insists on introducing the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, then it should first hold a referendum on it so that the people can give their views.

If the Government really claims that the Constitution (Amendment) Bill will have the support of the majority of Malaysians, then a referendum will bear this out. On the other hand, if the Government is reluctant to hold a referendum, either because it will be rejected or because it is uncertain of the reactions from the public, then this is supporting evidence of our argument that the Bill does not have majority support of the people. This should deserve serious consideration.

The great tasks in post-May 13 Malaysia, Mr Speaker, Sir, are two:

- (1) To restore national unity and arrest the racial polarisation in this country by assuring all Malaysians, regardless of their race, that they will have an equal deal in Malaysia, and that by removing all the imbalances in the different fields of Malaysian life which cause alienation and antagonism among the races.
- (2) Restore the people's confidence in the Parliamentary democratic process by genuinely operating a meaningful Parliamentary democracy, for without such a process there cannot be a genuine multi-racial Malaysian nation where all will have an equal place under the Malaysian sun.

We have come to the conclusion, after serious consideration, that the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, which was framed without due regard to the actual factors sparking off the May 13 riots, will not serve these twin objectives.

We are also convinced from our contact with the feelings on the ground, that the Constitution (Amendment) Bill will divide, rather than unite, Malaysians, and will accelerate rather than arrest the advanced racial polarisation in the country.

We have therefore decided, with a heavy sense of responsibility, to oppose the Constitution (Amendment) Bill. In the interest of national unity of Malaysia, we propose, Mr Speaker, Sir, that this Constitution (Amendment) Bill be sent to an all-party Parliamentary Commission which should be set up to learn the lessons of May 13 racial



riots and the 21 months of N.O.C. rule, and point the solutions to a united, multi-racial, just and equal Malaysia.

Such a Parliamentary Commission, which should include non-M.P. Malaysians eminent in their respective fields, should receive evidence and representations from interested Malaysians and Malaysian organisations to:

- (1) find out the causes of the May 13 racial riots;
- (2) determine the degree and extent of racial polarisation that has taken place in Malaysia in the last 21 months of N.O.C. rule;
- (3) to make recommendations as to how to prevent a recurrence of May 13 racial riots and arrest the racial polarisation in Malaysia;
- (4) define the meaning and extent of the Constitutional guarantee to "preserve and sustain the use and study of other languages";
- (5) review the operation of the special provisions to Malays for the last 15 years to find out why it had failed to materially improve the lot of the vast Malay peasantry, and to suggest solutions;
- (6) report on the relevance and necessity of the Constitution (Amendment) Bill at present before the House;
- (7) reconcile the different interests and fears of the different races; and
- (8) propose a blueprint to chart Malaysia on to the course towards a just and equal, multi-racial Malaysian nation.

Mr Speaker, Sir, if we all in this House are genuine and sincere in wanting to seek out ways and means to get this gravely divided nation onto the right tracks of unity and solidarity, I do not see why this proposal should not be carried.

We are now at the crossroads of our nation's history. Democracy is on trial. Multi-racialism is on trial. Malaysia itself is on trial.

Our decision on this Constitution (Amendment) Bill will decide whether Malaysia starts anew to build a just, equal, united, peaceful and multi-racial Malaysia, or whether we plunge relentlessly down the road to further racial polarisation which must lead to

a racial confrontation accompanied by a confrontation between, on the one hand, military violence and, on the other, guerilla violence.

Such a double confrontation will tear this nation apart, and the people of Malaysia will be the worst sufferers. If we are to avoid this road to perdition, let us stand up and be clear in our minds that we must act in the manner whereby the people's confidence in democracy and the cause of multi-racialism are strengthened.

Before I conclude, I would again urge every Member of Parliament not to allow the Party Whip to dictate his decision on this vital and fundamental question. Only the conscience of every M.P. should be the guide. Thank you.

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Persidangan ini di-tempohkan sa-lama 15 minit.

*Persidangan di-tempohkan pada pukul 4.30 petang.*

*Persidangan di-sambung sa-mula pada pukul 4.45 petang.*

(Tuan Yang di-Pertua *mempengerusikan Meshuarat*)

**Dato' K. M. James Wong (Miri-Sabis):** Mr Speaker, Sir, in connection with the Constitution (Amendment) Bill which is before the House today, I must admit that I and my colleagues of the Sarawak National Party are perturbed by the broad implications of the proposed amendments. The Honourable Prime Minister has made some explanations earlier on as to the need of these amendments and he has also made some assurances, in particular to the Borneo States regarding the position of the natives and the National Language.

However, I am not quite clear on some points on which he has given assurance and I would take this opportunity, Mr Speaker, Sir, to touch and comment broadly on the proposed amendments as I see them. Firstly, the proposed amendment particularly in respect of the muzzling of the freedom of speech touches on one of the most important principles of democracy, namely, the fundamental rights of our citizen—I repeat, the fundamental rights of our citizen. It would be a mockery to call our nation a democracy, and a Parliamentary democracy, when the

freedom of speech has been curtailed. It would be a further mockery to call this Parliament supreme when, with the amendments, it is no longer so, but becomes a lame duck, if not a crippled House.

The Honourable the Finance Minister has suggested that it is better to have half a loaf than no bread. Whether Honourable Members in this House will agree with this is another matter. I, however, view with great trepidation the erosion of our fundamental rights in the proposed amendments. Mr Speaker, Sir, it is well for us, Honourable Members of this House, to ask ourselves, now that we have embarked on the erosion of our fundamental rights, where will this ultimately lead us to. If we go further, what will the next step be like? This is the point I feel Honourable Members should consider very carefully before blithely agreeing to the amendments of the Constitution. I also like to ask myself and Honourable Members, I suggest, should do the same. If the amendment to the Constitution is the only way in which we can overcome this difficulty of preventing racial strife and maintaining racial harmony in this country and in this nation of ours, we might agree that, in the light of the May 13 disturbances and in the light of possible abuses by certain politicians of what are known as sensitive issues which had resulted in the May 13 tragedy, some form of curb or restriction may have to be placed on the citizens of this nation and oblige them to act more responsibly both in their speech and in their actions. However, I must question whether or not the Government is making the proposed amendments in the manner set out in the Bill and is doing it in the right way. Must we tear out the fundamental rights which we cherish because of irresponsible politicians and must we make this Parliament a crippled Parliament in order to make it the servant of the Administration? Which is more supreme, the Administration or the Parliament? Surely, on the matter of law and order, it would be up to the Administration and up to the security forces to see that law and order be maintained.

The Honourable Member who has spoken before me on this side of the House had earlier on said, and I feel rightly so, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent people from discussing the sensitive issues in the privacy of their homes or elsewhere; therefore, is it a right thing for us to curtail it even in this House? May I make

it quite clear, Sir, here so that there is no ambiguity or misconception or misunderstanding on this point. There is no question of our acceptance of the provisions already entrenched in the Constitution relating to citizenship, relating to the acceptance of the National Language, relating to the special privileges of the Malays and the natives and also relating to the sovereignty of the Rulers. All these provisions are entrenched in the Constitution. There is no question of the acceptance of the National Language, Sir—in point of fact, I was one of the originators of Malaysia being one of those who discussed it originally and one who was instrumental in discussing the terms and conditions of the entry of the Borneo States into Malaysia in the I.G.C. This matter was settled in 1963. However, looking through the proposed amendments, I am deeply perturbed to know that these proposed amendments as they stand and if they are passed by the House will ride rough-shod over the London Agreement and the I.G.C. In fact, to put it more bluntly, the proposed amendments will breach the London Agreement whereby Sarawak and Sabah came into Malaysia. If I am wrong, I shall be grateful if the Honourable the Prime Minister or the Honourable the Attorney-General will kindly correct me. However, I do not think I am wrong in this respect. The implications involved in the breaching of the London Agreement will have grave repercussions and for this reason I would ask the Honourable the Prime Minister and his colleagues to please have a careful look again on the proposed amendments to the Constitution. I am sure all of us in this House would like to avoid the position whereby the foundation of Malaysia itself is open to question by the introduction and the passing in the House of the Amendment Bill *in toto*.

Touching on the taking away of Parliamentary privileges of Parliamentarians, as well as State Assemblymen, I feel most strongly, and my colleagues share this with me, that this is a most retrogressive step for a nation like Malaysia to take. Whilst we see the possible merits and the necessity of having restrictions on discussions on the so-called sensitive issues outside the Chambers of Parliament and State Legislatures, I cannot think of any reason which will support an insult to all the elected Members of Parliament and State Assemblies. This, Mr Speaker, Sir, is also an insult to Parliament itself

and, in this respect, to your Honourable self, Mr Speaker. Nowhere else in the Commonwealth, of which we are a member, has such a step been taken to deny Honourable Members of their Parliamentary privileges in the House itself. Surely, there are more ways than one to kill a cat than to resorting to muzzling MPs in this House. Please do not forget that Members of Parliament are elected representatives of the people and each and everyone of them are the means whereby the people of Malaysia can voice their hopes, their needs, their anxieties, their aspirations and their fears. If these collective voices of ours cannot be heard and a dialogue carried out within the sanctified walls of this Chamber, then let us ask ourselves, "What are we here for? To enjoy half a loaf of bread?" Furthermore, Sir, has consideration been given to important implications which have risen as a result of these amendments? May I ask you, Sir, and the mover of the motion, "Where do we draw the line on the sensitive issues and the non-sensitive issues?" We have been told that whilst we cannot discuss or question the principles of the issue itself, however, we can, I believe—I still need some assurances on this score from the Honourable the Prime Minister—question the implementation of the sensitive issues. Am I right?

May I ask again where does one draw the line when one speaks in this House when questioning the issues and when questioning the implementation of the issues. We are not all lawyers in this House but, with respect, I suggest that even Honourable Members of this House who are members of the learned profession may find difficulty in "splitting the hair".

Another aspect which must be borne in mind, Sir, is that with the passing of this amendment Bill *in toto* every Honourable Member of this House will have the Sword of Damocles, as an Honourable Member has spoken earlier on, hanging over our respective heads. Suppose any one of us should inadvertently, in the course of our speech, touch on the sensitive issues, then the Honourable Member will find that when he walks out of the Chamber he will be arrested under the Sedition Act, 1948, as amended by the Emergency Essential Powers Ordinance No. 45 of 1970. The onus of responsibility will lie with Honourable Members and not with you, Mr Speaker, Sir. If the law as a result of this amendment is being carried out,

then even a mistake unknowingly made touching on the sensitive issues will not be excused and the Honourable Member will be subject to prosecution. The Constitution, I believe, in this respect will allow for no latitude for an offence made. It is, therefore, absolutely essential for us, Sir, to ponder over this particular amendment by taking away the parliamentary privileges very, very carefully.

Let us question ourselves unemotionally whether the amendment to the Constitution is the only way, and is the only answer, in this particular respect. Would it not be better to make provisions in the Standing Orders relating to the disciplining of Honourable Members of this House on the conduct of Members of Parliament in the Dewan Ra'ayat and State Legislatures. Perhaps it will be better to give more power and authority to you, Sir, as the Speaker of the House, to stop a Member who touches on the sensitive issues immediately and to make sure that any Member who does so will immediately be dealt with by the Privilege Committee and subject to the Special Privileges Committee discipline. The Member could be suspended immediately after the Privileges Committee has made a decision; or if he is found guilty of deliberately touching on the sensitive issues, then he could be suspended from Parliament for a period of time. I am sure this House could find a way or means of making the punishment to fit the offence or the crime. Of course arguments will no doubt be put forward.

The Honourable Prime Minister has earlier on elaborated that some members of the public might hear what had been spoken particularly by an offending Member in this House. But the fact is that the Sedition Act, which applies outside the Chamber, will preclude any newspapers or persons from repeating what has been said in the Chamber. I am sure, Sir, that this would act as a deterrent for irresponsible members of the public to go out spreading what has been said in this House. I am sure, Sir, that with this sort of discipline hanging over the heads of all Members to behave themselves in this House, I think they would act responsibly and think carefully before they touch on the sensitive issues.

May, I, therefore, respectfully suggest to the Honourable Prime Minister and to all Honourable Members of this House that the

question of parliamentary privileges be sent down to a Select Committee for consideration on ways and means of disciplining Honourable Members through the Privileges Committee rather than through the amendment of the Constitution. In this respect, Sir, we would be, if this proposed amendment passes through, if I may put it crudely, the "laughing stock" to other members of the Commonwealth, in that we would be the only Parliament where the special privileges accorded to Members of Parliament do not apply.

Now, Sir, may I touch on the question of the National Language. I have said earlier on that our acceptance of the National Language is no more an issue and will not be questioned. However, I wish to point out that with the introduction of Clause (6) in paragraph 5 relating to Article 152 of the Constitution, the proposed amendment reads:

"(6) In this Article, "official purpose" means any purpose of the Government, whether Federal or State, and includes any purpose of a public authority."

This Clause will conflict with Article 161 (1), which reads:

"(1) No Act of Parliament terminating or restricting the use of the English language for any of the purposes mentioned in Clauses (2) to (5) of Article 152 shall come into operation as regards the use of the English language in any case mentioned in Clause (2) of this Article until ten years after Malaysia Day."

The Honourable Prime Minister, I believe, has given assurance that this will not affect the Borneo States; and if this is the intention, I would suggest that the Constitution be amended suitably to give this assurance in the amendment itself.

As I said earlier on, this Clause conflicts. The reasons for this are obvious. The addition of Clause (6) to Article 152 of the Constitution, if passed by this House, will cancel Article 161 (1) and therefore breaches the London Agreement and the Inter-Governmental Committee Report.

To overcome this difficulty, I propose the inclusion after the word "State" in this additional proposed Clause (6) of Article 152 the following words, "other than the Borneo States" so that the new Clause should read as follows:

"(6) In this Article, "official purpose" means any purpose of the Government, whether Federal or State, *other than the Borneo States*, and includes any purpose of a public authority."

Now I come to the special position of the natives in the Borneo States. Another aspect of the proposed Constitution (Amendment) Bill that I and my colleagues are rather concerned is that the proposed Clause 8 of the Bill will erase certain special provisions of the natives of the Borneo States as provided in the Constitution in Article 161A, Clauses (1), (2) and (3). I would like to point out to you, Mr Speaker, Sir, and to the House, that there is again a breach of the London Agreement and the Inter-Governmental Committee Report with the implications involved thereto.

I suggest that this matter be looked into again by the Government and the Mover of the amendment. The ridiculous result of the proposed amendment has resulted in a contradiction between the proposed Clause (9A) of Article 153 and the proposed Clause 8 of the Bill, the net result of which has been to take away the special position enjoyed by the natives in the Borneo States. I believe here, again, the Honourable Prime Minister earlier on gave an assurance that these do not apply to the natives of the Borneo States. Well, if that is the case, then I suggest, Sir, that a suitable amending Clause should be included in the proposed Amendment Bill.

Another factor which I feel I have to bring to the notice of this House in connection with the National Language is this. Under the London Agreement, until 1973, or until Parliament so decides, English will remain as one of the official languages in Sarawak. This is not because that we in Sarawak are not keen on the National Language. It is merely, however, an example of the educational backwardness of Sarawak and possibly Sabah in relation to our West Malaysian brethren. People in West Malaysia, Sir, have long enjoyed better schools and facilities. You have had universities and other higher institutions of learning here long before we have them in the Borneo States. Students in West Malaysia enjoy an uninterrupted free education of nine years from Primary I to Form III—I believe I am correct in saying this—which I understand is the comprehensive education system. We in Sarawak, however—and how many Honourable Members of this House are aware of this—have to compulsorily—I repeat "compulsorily"—fail 70% of our Primary VI students—am I correct, Sir?—and also to compulsorily fail 60% in our Form III students. This has been

the result of the past and the present, I would say, failures of the Administration. We do not have enough teachers, nor do we have enough schools, nor do we have enough textbooks. It is, therefore, an educational imbalance—I say “educational imbalance”—between East Malaysia and West Malaysia. The Government has done something on this, but not enough has been done since Malaysia Day; and the position remains today as it was five years ago in as far as the problem of backward education in Sarawak goes—and I am referring to primary and secondary education and not higher education—and as far as the imbalance of education between East and West Malaysia is concerned.

When we speak of imbalance and when the words “imbalance” and “under-privileged” are being used in this House and elsewhere, I pray, Sir, that the educational and indeed the economic imbalance in the Borneo States, and Sarawak, in particular (as I think our Sabah friends are richer in this respect) should not be forgotten; and the gap must be narrowed and priority given to the Borneo States. We have repeatedly asked for more teachers to teach Bahasa Malaysia especially in the rural areas, but so far I am sorry to say, Sir, with negligible results on the ground. I believe the Honourable Minister of Education will bear me out on this. It is no use implementing Bahasa Malaysia urgently when the people are not given the opportunity to be ready for it and at this rate we are going in Sarawak, I predict that we shall not be ready for it yet by 1973, unless something urgently is done on this. This is a challenge for the Government and, in particular, for the Federal Government and I hope the Federal Government will give urgent priority to this matter. It is useless to adopt policies and resolutions if they are not being translated and carried on.

May I in this respect, Sir, ask the Government whether there is provision in the next Five-Year Plan for a University or a College in Sarawak for Agriculture and for higher education.

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Are you speaking on the Bill?

**Dato' K. M. James Wong:** I am speaking on the Bill and this concerns education, Sir. I am still touching on Bahasa Malaysia.

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Please confine your remarks to the Bill in question.

**Dato' K. M. James Wong:** Yes. In order to accelerate Bahasa Malaysia, Sir, I feel it is very essential that education should be accelerated and the educational institutions be made available in Sarawak; otherwise, Sir, the time will come in the next two or three years, again, when the very issue of Bahasa Malaysia itself will be questioned. People will ask whether we are ready for it and if we are not ready for it, can we question whether Bahasa Malaysia should be introduced into Sarawak then? Can we discuss the problem?

The moral of what I have said earlier on, Sir, is that I do hope the Government will accelerate education and the use of Bahasa Malaysia by giving us more teachers and other facilities.

I touch briefly here, Sir, on scholarships. I understand that this is now being transferred to the Federal Government. It used to be under the State and the Public Services Commission did the selection. What guarantees and assurance have we in the State that in view of our educational backwardness we will receive a bigger quota of scholarships for studies both in the Federal Capital as well as overseas. Perhaps, the Honourable Prime Minister will care to give an assurance on this point.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I believe I have touched on most aspects of the proposed amendments. I now ask the Honourable Members of this House to give ear and give heed to myself and my colleagues as to how myself and my colleagues feel in this matter. Please remember the repercussions. Let us hasten slowly and if I may use a Bahasa Malaysia phrase. “Biar lambat, shukor selamat.” Let us ponder over this proposed Amendment carefully, so that the best interests of the nation are served, so that we are all united and happy with the proposed amendments made to the best interests of our country and its people.

The Honourable Prime Minister earlier on said, Sir, that we are trustees of the people. I have expressed my views here to this House as a trustee of the people, and as trustees of the people, I think we should act very responsibly. There is the need possibly for curtailing the speeches and the freedom of speech outside the House and possibly in the

Parliament, which I disagree with, but it is up to the Honourable Members of this House to decide. Let us not, for the benefit of the moment, sacrifice our future and the future of democracy.

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Usually, after a very wise saying, one sits down (*Ketawa*).

**Dato' K. M. James Wong:** Thank you, Sir.

**Dr Chu Chee Peng (Kluang Selatan):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berbesar hati di-beri peluang mengambil bahagian dalam perbahathan pada hari ini. Tujuan saya ia-lah menyokong dengan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya atas soal Pindaan Perlembagaan bagaimana yang di-chadangkan dalam persidangan kita pada masa sekarang. Oleh sebab-nya saya maseh belum chukup fluent dalam bahasa Malaysia, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan segala hormatnya saya minta izin memberi ucapan saya dalam bahasa Inggeris.

(*Dengan izin*) Mr Speaker, Sir, this Parliament, the third in the history of Malaysia, marks a brave new attempt to make a go of representative government in this country. Appropriately therefore, we begin with the first step—to put beyond further question by anyone whatever what is essentially that portion of the Constitution which is the result of an agreement, reached before Merdeka, among the major communities. To say that this agreement is a binding agreement solemnly entered into by all the races, would be to put it too simply. This agreement is the foundation of modern Malaya and of modern Malaysia. Here is the heart, the crux of the whole matter—the give and take, then the understanding, later to be spelled out into the terms of agreement, freely arrived at and solemnly entered into on behalf of all of us, between two great and worthy and honourable gentlemen, between the Tengku as the father of independence and the late Tun Tan Cheng Lock—you give us citizenship as the British did, we recognise that you have a special position with special privileges as you already had under the British, together as brothers beneath the skin we accept that Malay be our National Language and eventually our sole official language, while you accept that we shall continue to use other languages for other than official purposes.

Why is it that there are some people amongst us who cannot be as fair-minded or as worthy or as honourable—the agitators, the rabble rousers, the race-baiters? It is precisely because of this, that we have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, that today our Prime Minister, Y.A.B. Tun Razak, in proposing these amendments, has to put the seal as it were on these solemn undertakings between all the races. Thereafter the agitators, rabble rousers, race-baiters, and others shall no longer have a field day.

Sir, we in the M.C.A. and in the Alliance are determined to see these amendments through. Malays and Chinese, Malays and non-Malays, we cannot be at each others' throats every day and every night. Why should we be and for no reason at all? Is there unemployment or land hunger? Is there poverty and backwardness? Let us look for the real causes of these ills of present-day society, not blame them on the agreements between the races, and let us come up with real solutions to real and pressing problems.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the Malaysian Chinese community is today a much more united community. United we shall do our duty and honour all the agreements we have made with our Malay brothers.

I emphasise that in the beginning we have had some misgivings about these amendments. The exercise to recall citizenship certificates issued under Article 30 of the Constitution had caused a wave of apprehension and anxiety. How can the proposed amendments be said to be fair if they are going to first take away citizenship from some 277,000 of our citizens? Sir, we have sought clarification on this point. We have obtained the clarification we need and our fears have now been allayed. Sir, with your indulgence, I quote more or less in full Part III of a special Paper released by no less than the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Home Affairs. Part III of this Paper is so vitally important that I express the hope that all Malaysians will come to know of its contents. I begin to quote:

“The re-examination of certificates issued under Article 30 has been undertaken because it has been discovered that a large number of these certificates are not in order in the sense that they were issued to people who were, to begin with, not entitled to be considered under this Article.

The certificates subject to re-examination are those issued before 4th November 1964. Up to that date 277,848 certificates have been issued, of which 9,092 certificates had already been verified before the present exercise was undertaken leaving a total of 268,756 to be checked. The laminated certificates issued after 4 November 1964 need not be returned for checking.

If an Article 30 certificate is issued to anyone it implies that he is a citizen by operation of law but that he has some doubt which is clarified by the issue of such a certificate. The Government however discovered that there are persons who should have been citizens under some other Articles of the Constitution but who have been given certificates under Article 30. The re-examination has been confined to the following cases:

(1) Where there is real doubt that persons to whom the certificates are issued, are citizens by operation of law;

(2) Where there is no doubt at all that such persons are citizens by operation of law;

(3) Where certificates are issued as a result of fraud or misrepresentation or concealment of material fact such as is disclosed in the application forms or by subsequent evidence;

(4) Where certificates purporting to be issued under Article 30 are wrongly issued in the following four instances—

- (a) Persons who should be citizens by registration;
- (b) Persons who should be citizens by naturalisation;
- (c) Persons already citizens by virtue of the fact that they have been included in the citizenship certificates of their parents;
- (d) Persons who are already citizens by registration or naturalisation who have lost their citizenship certificates and therefore require a replacement. Article 30 certificates were issued to these people merely because there was no provision to issue extracts or certified true copies of their certificates or the certificates of their parents, in which their names were

included. There are also those who hold certificates under the Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948 and who have lost them but there was no provision for the issue of a duplicate copy. Now that there is provision to issue duplicate copies, Article 30 certificates issued on this account have to be withdrawn.

It must be pointed out that the exercise to recall and re-examine these certificates is not aimed at depriving the holders of their citizenship. It is a matter of rationalising the System, of making sure that they hold a certificate under the proper Article of the Constitution.

If the Article 30 Certificate now held by any person is not in order he should take steps to obtain a certificate under the proper Article. The applications received from all such persons are given priority and their blue identity cards need not be changed to red identity cards nor are they required to take out work permits for employment purposes.

Out of 277,000 certificates issued under Article 30 before 4 November 1964 only 45,078 certificates have so far been returned. If the certificates are found in order they will be returned to the holder with the following endorsement—

- (a) Checked and found to be in order on *prima facie* evidence contained in the application form; or
- (b) There is no doubt as to the holder's citizenship by operation of law.

Of the 45,078 certificates returned to-date, 35,317 have been checked and found to be in order. 7,424 were found not in order, leaving a balance of only 2,337 still to be verified or decided upon. ". . . . . Here I end the quotation.

Mr Speaker, Sir, of the 45,078 certificates returned to-date, 35,317 have been checked and found to be in order—in other words, 80%. It is sometimes said that government must not only be fair, government must be seen to be fair. Sir, I congratulate the Government. Credit to whom credit is due. On this issue the government has been seen to be fair. Our Chinese people and all other holders of Article 30 certificates would be well advised to hand in their certificates as quickly as possible for examination and verification. I expect the rush will be on before long.

This issue having been clarified, there can be no valid objection now to the passing of the Constitution (Amendment) Bill. We are not overly concerned about the niceties, the trimmings of democracy. Parliament remains supreme and we in the Alliance are committed as much as ever to democratic institutions and to the elective process.

Sir, we are not a one-race party or a one-race government. Only the other day at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference in Singapore our Prime Minister put his signature for and on behalf of all Malaysia to the Zambian Declaration of Principle which states, among other things, that "we recognise racial discrimination in all its forms as an unmitigated social evil and we uphold the belief that racial prejudice, wherever it may be found, seriously hampers the healthy development of all nations and all peoples".

Through all the vicissitudes of these past years, the Alliance remains a multi-racial Malaysian party . . . . .

**Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam:** Can this House be used as a political platform to propagate the party?

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** I do not see any political platform.

**Dr Chu Chee Peng:** . . . . and the Alliance Government remains a government imbued with a Malaysian centred consciousness to seek Malaysian objectives, dedicated as ever to the welfare of all Malaysians.

Meanwhile we shall deliver the fruits of Parliamentary democratic government—a rapid expansion of the economy on all fronts, full employment, housing, education, health and other social amenities, in other words, a growing national cake, a bigger slice for all, higher incomes, more business, higher standards of living, a rising tide of prosperity. Sir, let the people of Malaysia know that in practical terms this is what it means to pass the Constitutional amendments.

With courage and with confidence let us therefore move forward with the first step. We must and we shall pass these amendments so that the road to nation building may remain the road of peace. We must and we shall pass these amendments so that united in one family we may establish before all men a government of Malaysia by Malaysians for all Malaysians.

Sir, we are confronted with the thorny problems of race and language and sometimes even the problem of religion. Just now, as I mentioned, we are confronted with unemployment and land hunger, with poverty and backwardness.

The woods are lonely, dark, and deep  
But we have promises to keep,  
And miles to go before we sleep.

Sir, the moment these amendments are passed, from that very moment the light begins to shine through.

Mr Speaker, Sir, thank you. (*Tepok*).

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** If there is no other speaker, I would remind all Members that to reserve their speeches for tomorrow is not good enough. There is still one hour's time if you all wish to make any speeches.

**Tuan Hashim bin Gera (Parit):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-hadapan kita pada hari ini terbentang Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> (Pindaan) Perlembagaan untuk kita pinda. Saya tidak berchakap panjang sa-bagaimana rakan<sup>2</sup> saya yang telah lalu, hanya dengan rengkas sahaja. Kita akan meminda Perlembagaan. Yang pertama untuk menyekat Ahli<sup>2</sup> Parlimen berchakap atas kebebasan-nya; yang kedua berkenaan dengan bahasa Melayu, yang ketiga Hak Istimewa Orang Melayu dan yang ke-empat-nya untuk mereservekan tempat<sup>2</sup> pelajaran dan biasiswa dengan kuasa Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong di-mana juga dalam sekolah<sup>2</sup> dan universiti<sup>2</sup> dalam negeri ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, segala<sup>2</sup> yang akan di-pinda oleh pehak Kerajaan ini ada-lah Kerajaan telah sedar atas kesilapan<sup>2</sup> yang telah lalu ia-itu daripada pengajaran 13 Mei. Yang demikian dengan meminda Perlembagaan ini Kerajaan berharap apa-kah akan dapat mengelakkan peristiwa itu berlaku dan berharap akan dapat menubuhkan sa-buah negara yang aman dan ma'amor kepada sakalian bangsa tidak kira ugama di-dalam Malaysia ini. Tetapi saya berasa ragu<sup>2</sup> barangkali Perlembagaan yang hendak di-pinda ini sa-bagai satu Undang<sup>2</sup> yang di-buat oleh Kerajaan sa-bagaimana kata Aristotle, sa-orang falsapah bangsa Itali, Undang<sup>2</sup> di-buat oleh pehak yang berkuasa itu hanya untuk mengekalkan kuasa-nya di-dalam negeri itu, jika di-salah-gunakan oleh pehak<sup>2</sup> yang lain.



Bagi pehak bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing, saudara<sup>2</sup> saya orang<sup>2</sup> Tionghua, orang<sup>2</sup> India dan juga Parti<sup>2</sup> Pembangkang sa-patut-nya dan tidak-lah patut pada pendapat saya ia membangkang atas usul<sup>2</sup> yang di-kemukakan oleh Kerajaan ini. Kerana mithal-nya bahasa Melayu, di-dalam Perlembagaan ini sudah mengatakan bahawa bahasa Melayu itu bahasa rasmi 10 tahun selepas merdeka akan di-jadikan bahasa rasmi di-dalam negeri ini. Tetapi hari ini sudah masuk 13 tahun merdeka belum juga di-jadikan bahasa rasmi dengan arti kata yang sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya, kerana kelalaian dan tidak tegas bagi pehak Kerajaan mengikut apa yang di-adakan di-dalam Perlembagaan ini, dan tidak-lah juga patut bangsa asing berasa waspada, bimbang, mengatakan bahawa bahasa-nya akan lenyap dari bumi Malaysia Barat ini, kerana di-dalam Perlembagaan 152 ini di-dalam Fasal (6) ada berkata: Fasal ini tidak menyentuh hak Kerajaan; (a) tiada boleh sa-siapa di-larang atau di-tahan memakai kechuali untuk maksud<sup>2</sup> rasmi, atau mengajar, atau belajar bahasa lain, sebab itu tidak-lah boleh bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing bimbang yang bahasa dia itu akan lenyap daripada bumi Malaysia, malahan pada hari ini berjuta<sup>2</sup> ringgit pehak Kementerian Pelajaran telah membiayai ka-sekolah<sup>2</sup> China, ka-sekolah<sup>2</sup> Tamil dalam negeri ini. Sekarang Kerajaan hendak menjadikan dia sa-benar<sup>2</sup> sa-bagaimana erti kata di-dalam Perlembagaan ini tidak-lah mustahak patut mereka itu menentang.

Yang Ketiga, Hak Istimewa Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, kedudukan istimewa, istimewa arti-nya di-dalam kamus di-sekolah, sa-bagai saya sa-orang guru sekolah Melayu, ma'ana istimewa arti-nya sa-suatu perkara yang tidak boleh di-dapati oleh orang lain hanya sa-orang, tetapi hari ini apa-kah arti istimewa di-dalam Perlembagaan ini, maseh umum, sedangkan orang Melayu di-katakan istimewa dalam jawatan Kerajaan Division I, orang Melayu ada istimewa di-dalam tanah Malay Reservation, semua-nya itu tidak ada istimewa pada hari ini, semua-nya boleh di-dapati oleh bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing, oleh saudara<sup>2</sup> saya bangsa lain yang ada di-dalam negeri ini. Jadi istimewa yang ada di-sini tidak-lah menepati kata yang sa-benar-nya, sebab apa yang di-katakan itu semua boleh di-dapati oleh ra'ayat yang ada di-dalam negeri ini. Istimewa yang ada di-sini sa-olah<sup>2</sup> sa-bagai satu perkataan sajak yang di-tinggalkan oleh Lord Reid dalam Perlembagaan ini kepada orang Melayu, istimewa, istimewa, tetapi istimewa-nya tidak ada apa<sup>2</sup>.

Sebab itu jangan-lah bangsa asing bimbang bahawa istimewa ini akan melebihi kepada Melayu, tidak.

Nombor empat, penuntut<sup>2</sup> Melayu memang benar mengikut daripada banchi di-dalam buku ini bahawa anak<sup>2</sup> Melayu amat-lah berkurangan masuk ka-dalam sekolah<sup>2</sup> menengah dan sa-terus-nya ka-universiti, oleh kerana kesedaran Kerajaan itu hendak memberi peluang kepada orang Melayu, kesalahan itu bukan kesalahan sa-siapa, tetapi kesalahan Kerajaan sendiri yang mengabaikan pelajaran<sup>2</sup> anak<sup>2</sup> Melayu terutama-nya sekolah di-luar bandar. Bila masa-nya berkehendakkan cherdek pandai terdiri daripada anak orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu memang kurang, sebab sekolah<sup>2</sup> di-luar bandar tidak ada sekolah menengah, guru<sup>2</sup> di-sekolah menengah di-luar bandar tidak ada guru yang berijazah sampai hari ini juga, kebetulan pula sa-tengah daripada anak<sup>2</sup> Melayu bila di-hantarkan ka-sekolah menengah di-luar bandar apabila dia tamat belajar daripada universiti dengan serta-merta ia notis kepada Kerajaan tidak mahu mengajar di-luar bandar. Jadi dengan sebab kesedaran Kerajaan pada hari ini untuk memberi peluang kepada penuntut<sup>2</sup> Melayu, anak<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-luar bandar supaya dapat meneruskan pelajaran-nya ka-Universiti tidak-lah patut di-tentang, atau pun di-bahathkan, di-bangkang oleh pehak<sup>2</sup> saudara saya bangsa asing. Kerumitan anak<sup>2</sup> Melayu sa-lama ini masuk ka-sekolah<sup>2</sup> menengah dan universiti<sup>2</sup> ada banyak rintangan-nya, tetapi saya tidak dapat memberi bukti hitam putih atas sebab<sup>2</sup>-nya itu sa-lain daripada kekurangan sekolah di-luar bandar, kekurangan guru yang berijazah dan ada beberapa banyak sabotage lagi di-dalam sekolah<sup>2</sup> menengah di-bandar<sup>2</sup> juga, ia-itu menakutkan anak<sup>2</sup> Melayu masuk ka-dalam bahagian sains, tetapi saya tidak dapat memberi kata hitam putih-nya dengan sa-benar. Ini ia-lah rungutan daripada ibu bapa kanak<sup>2</sup> orang Melayu sendiri.

Sekian-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan kepada tuan<sup>2</sup> pehak<sup>2</sup> Parti Pembangkang, saya berharap bahawa pindaan ini akan mendapat sokongan supaya Parlimen dapat di-pulehkan saperti sedia kala. Terima kaseh. (*Tempok*).

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Meshuarat di-tangguhkan sa-lama 10 minit.

*Persidangan di-tempohkan pada pukul 5.48 petang.*

*Persidangan di-sambong sa-mula pada pukul 5.55 petang.*

(Tuan Yang di-Pertua *mempengerusikan Meshuarat*)

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat, saya suka hendak menerangkan kepada Ahli<sup>2</sup> Yang Berhormat, ada pun dengan permintaan daripada saya juga, masa perbahathan di-atas Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini sudah di-lanjutkan, kalau tidak salah di-beri tujuh hari, tetapi jikalau tidak ada siapa<sup>2</sup> yang hendak berchakap, saya akan pendekkan masa-nya.

**Raja Nong Chik bin Raja Ishak (Kuala Selangor):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya adalah menyokong dengan sa-penoh<sup>2</sup>-nya di-atas pindaan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> yang di-bawa oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita. Saya menyokong oleh kerana saya tidak hendak berchakap di-atas perkara berkenaan dengan 13 Mei, oleh sebab jikalau saya berchakap dengan perkara 13 Mei, kalau dia korek lobang itu, makin lama makin dalam (*Ketawa*). Jikalau makin lama makin dalam, ta'kan dapat kesimpulan apa<sup>2</sup>, melainkan pergaduhan dan perkauman<sup>2</sup> lebeh tebal nanti. Dengan sebab itu, hendak di-salahkan siapa, tidak dapat kita salahkan.

Tadi, pehak Pembangkang menyatakan Pindaan Undang<sup>2</sup> ini jikalau di-luluskan katanya ada-lah satu threat, Intimidated dan threat kepada pehak Pembangkang, tetapi pehak Parti PAS menyatakan, ada-lah nampak-nya menyokong penoh di-atas Pindaan Perlembagaan ini. Ini satu daripada perkara yang saya bawa terutama sa-kali ia itu Bahasa Kebangsaan, dalam Article 152. Bagaimana pehak PAS mengatakan ia itu Bahasa Kebangsaan, bahasa Melayu. Kita telah bertolak ansor sa-belum kita mencapai kemerdekaan dahulu. Lebeh baik saya berchakap terus-terang, daripada di-sorokkan, di-sorokkan lama perkara ini akan timbul lagi. Jikalau pada masa itu orang Melayu terutama sa-kali, tidak bertolak ansor, tidak mahu bertolak ansor berkenaan dengan Bahasa Kebangsaan dan warganegara pada masa itu, lepas sahaja kita mencapai kemerdekaan, chuma ada 300,000 sahaja bangsa asing yang telah menjadi warganegara di-Tanah Melayu. Pada masa itu jikalau bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing takut, boleh jadi, oleh kerana 300,000 dengan 3,000,000 orang Melayu, tetapi kerana kita longgarkan citizenship tadi, maka beratus<sup>2</sup> ribu telah menjadi warganegara di-negeri ini,

oleh kerana kami sa-bagai orang Melayu memberi tolak-ansor dengan sa-jujor<sup>2</sup>-nya kepada saudara<sup>2</sup> kita bangsa asing di-negeri ini.

Jadi apabila satu<sup>2</sup> perkara, satu<sup>2</sup> agreement yang telah di-buat di-antara pehak orang China, orang Melayu dan orang India, pada masa itu belum ada D.A.P. dan lain<sup>2</sup> parti, maka agreement atau perjanjian itu seperti kita sa-orang manusia, maka perjanjian itu mesti-lah kita patohi dan tidak boleh di-ungkit<sup>2</sup> lagi. Jikalau orang China mengungkit, orang India mengungkit, orang Melayu pun boleh mengungkit juga. Dengan sebab itu-lah saya fikir Mei 13 telah terjadi.

Berkenaan dengan bahasa tadi, di-dalam Perlembagaan kita ada menyatakan, Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak telah menyatakan bahawa bahasa China tidak akan habis di-dunia ini, bahasa Tamil tidak akan habis di-dunia ini, bahasa Tamil akan terus-menerus di-pakai di-dunia ini, bahasa China juga terus-menerus di-pakai di-negeri ini. Tidak boleh siapa yang menyekat, atau menahan bahasa China, atau bahasa Tamil di-larang di-pakai di-negeri ini, ada di-tulis di-dalam Perlembagaan. Hari<sup>2</sup> orang China dengan orang China berchakap China, hari<sup>2</sup> orang India dengan orang India berchakap India, hari<sup>2</sup> orang Melayu dengan orang China berchakap orang puteh; tidak siapa yang menyekat. Jikalau ada di-negeri kita, ada orang menyekat, orang itu barangkali kepala-nya sudah pusing sedikit.

Jadi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya dahulu belajar di-Universiti China. Di-negeri China sendiri ada orang Hokkien, ada orang Cantonese, ada orang Shanghai, ada orang Kwongsi, tetapi di-Universiti<sup>2</sup> di-negeri China, bahasa lain tidak boleh di-gunakan, melainkan Mandarin, National Language dia, Official Language dia, tetapi di-negeri ini, saya sayang, ia-itu mengatakan higher learning hendak-lah di-gunakan bermacam<sup>2</sup> bahasa. Tujuan kita, saya perchaya, Bahasa Kebangsaan ini pasti di-pakai oleh tiap<sup>2</sup> orang yang menjadi warganegara, juga yang tidak menjadi warganegara di-negeri kita ini ia-itu untuk menyatu-padukan, menyatu-padukan bukan dalam satu hari, bukan dalam sa-puluh hari, tetapi dalam sa-puluh tahun, lima belas tahun yang akan datang. Orang kita, apa bangsa sa-kali pun dapat bertutor dengan baik dalam Bahasa Kebangsaan. Jadi itu-lah sebab<sup>2</sup>-nya mustahak-lah sa-kali Bahasa Kebangsaan ini menjadi bahasa rasmi

yang tunggal di-negeri ini. Sa-balek-nya tidak pula di-larang siapa<sup>2</sup> berchakap bahasa<sup>2</sup> lain. Jadi dengan sebab itu saya perchaya saudara<sup>2</sup> saya orang China, orang India, orang puteh ta' payah takut, ia-itu bahasa<sup>2</sup> mereka akan hapus daripada tanah ayer kita ini. Tadi juga ada saudara saya daripada Sarawak menyatakan London Agreement dan sa-bagai-nya. London Agreement ada-lah di-sain di-antara orang puteh dengan orang Malaysia. Di-antara orang puteh dengan kita; orang puteh sudah chabut, orang puteh sudah ta' ada, agreement itu boleh di-tukar<sup>2</sup>. Jadi itu ta' payah kita takut kerana orang puteh sudah ta' ada, dan orang puteh tidak boleh menangkapi kita lagi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkenaan dengan hak istimewa orang Melayu sampai sekarang empat belas tahun kita telah merdeka, kita tahu bagaimana keadaan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Pepatah Ingeris mengatakan: "Let the Sleeping Dog Lie"—biar-lah anjing itu tidor jangan di-usek<sup>2</sup>, kalau di-usek, dia terkejut, dia menggigit. Jadi berkenaan dengan hak istimewa orang Melayu jangan-lah di-usek<sup>2</sup>, kerana kita pun tak usek hak<sup>2</sup> bangsa asing yang menjadi warganegara, atau tidak menjadi warganegara di-negeri ini, di-Malaysia ini. Orang Melayu bukan bangsa penyamun, orang Melayu bukan bangsa perumpak; kita tahu hak orang—hak orang; hak awak, hak awak. Kita juga mempunyai ugama, ugama Islam menyatakan ta' boleh merampas hak orang; ugama Islam menyatakan tidak boleh menchuri harta orang, kalau churi, kalau rampas hak orang, kita ada neraka yang lain. Jadi akhir-nya esok ka-neraka pergi-nya. Jadi orang Melayu yang menganut ugama Islam ta' mahu merampas hak<sup>2</sup> orang, jadi saya perchaya kepada bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing, saudara<sup>2</sup> saya bangsa asing, ia-itu orang China dan orang India, saya jamin-lah, sebab orang Melayu ini penoh dengan sopan santun, baik hati serta tidak mahu membuat perkara<sup>2</sup> yang tidak betul—perkara<sup>2</sup> menchuri dan merampas dan sa-bagai-nya. Empat belas tahun lama-nya kita telah menchapai kemerdekaan ta' ada siapa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang telah merampas hak<sup>2</sup> bangsa<sup>2</sup> asing di-negeri ini. Jadi ta' usah-lah takut kepada saudara<sup>2</sup> saya yang lain<sup>2</sup> termasuk orang<sup>2</sup> China dan orang<sup>2</sup> India; ta' usah-lah takut di-atas perkara ini, kami juga ada mempunyai pelajaran, kami juga ada mempunyai kesopanan, kami juga ada menganut ugama dan kami tahu di-atas perkara salah dan benar-nya. Berkenaan dengan guided democracy yang telah di-

katakan oleh Freedom of Speech—jikalau sa-kira-nya pindaan ini di-luluskan berma'ana-lah demokrasi habis di-negeri ini, tidak boleh kita berchakap lagi, ta' dapat kita berchakap dan akan di-sekat Ahli<sup>2</sup> Parlimen berchakap dalam Parlimen ini. Saya fikir lebeh baik-lah kita adakan guided democracy daripada bertumpah darah sa-bagaimana yang telah terjadi pada 13 Mei. Jadi guided democracy yang ada, kalau di-katakan guided democracy, biar-lah guided democracy asalkan ra'ayat di-luar selamat nanti. Jadi biar-lah kita berchakap dengan sa-chara yang lain, yang boleh menaikkan atau meninggikan hidup bangsa<sup>2</sup> yang dudok di-negeri ini. Jadi saya tidak mengatakan sa-kira-nya pindaan ini di-luluskan, maka cripple-lah atau pun habis-lah, atau lemah-lah atau patah-lah Parlimen ini. Parlimen akan terus berjalan dan kita boleh berchakap di-atas perkara<sup>2</sup>, mithal-nya hak<sup>2</sup> asasi orang Melayu, hak<sup>2</sup> ra'ayat lain daripada orang Melayu boleh di-chakapkan bagaimana untuk membena-nya, bagaimana untuk meninggikan taraf<sup>2</sup> hidup orang<sup>2</sup> kita di-Malaysia ini, baik pun daripada bangsa India, mahu pun daripada bangsa China atau orang Melayu, jadi tidak-lah kita memikirkan, ia-itu orang India yang telah menjadi warganegara di-negeri ini atau orang China yang telah menjadi warganegara ini akan kita buang ka-laut, kita hendak negeri ini orang Melayu sahaja yang memerintah-nya. Saya perchaya, perkara ini tidak ada-lah tertanam di-dalam kepala kita masing<sup>2</sup>, sebab orang China telah ramai di-sini, dudok di-sini dan telah membena negeri ini bersama<sup>2</sup> dengan kita bertungkus-lumus, juga dengan sebab itu kita ada bertimbang rasa kepada mereka ini. Jadi, saya harap kepada saudara<sup>2</sup> saya daripada orang<sup>2</sup> China dan orang<sup>2</sup> India yang telah menjadi warganegara di-negeri ini, ta' usah-lah takut, kerana terjamin ada di-dalam Perlembagaan kita, sudah ada terjamin hak<sup>2</sup> mereka. Jadi bukan-lah, berma'ana yang pindaan Perlembagaan ini akan menutup mulut bagi Ahli<sup>2</sup> Dewan, sa-balek-nya perkara ini ada-lah untuk menyekat kita supaya jikalau kita berbincang berkenaan dengan perkara, orang<sup>2</sup> China di-luar, orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-luar, orang<sup>2</sup> India di-luar akan mendengar menerusi akhbar<sup>2</sup>, menerusi radio dan talivishen. Apabila perkara sensitif ini di-ulang<sup>2</sup>kan, maka saya perchaya burok padah-nya kelak. Bukan kepada kita, tetapi kepada orang<sup>2</sup> yang di-luar, dengan sebab itu saya perchaya Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak telah membawa pindaan ini untuk kebaikan bukan

sahaja kapada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, bukan sahaja kapada orang<sup>2</sup> India, bukan sahaja kapada orang puteh, tetapi pada keseluruhan penduduk<sup>2</sup> di-Malaysia ini. Chuma saya harap ia-itu apabila pindaan Perlembagaan ini dijalankan, mesti-lah di-jalankan dengan sa-benar<sup>2</sup>-nya. Jadi macham mana di-katakan oleh pehak Pembangkang tadi orang boleh berbisek di-luar, mengatakan itu dan ini, orang boleh berchakap di-kedai<sup>2</sup> kopi, orang boleh berchakap di-rumah<sup>2</sup>, jadi kita ta' boleh larang suami isteri hendak berbisek, kita ta' boleh larang di-antara kawan dengan kawan hendak berbisek<sup>2</sup>. Kita bukan hendak mengadakan Mata Gelap di-seluruh Malaysia ini, itu kita tidak dapat lakukan, tetapi yang mana boleh Kerajaan kita akan melarang orang<sup>2</sup> berchakap berkenaan dengan perkara<sup>2</sup> yang sensitif ini. Jadi saya tidak-lah hendak berchakap lebeh banyak daripada itu, oleh kerana saya perchaya dengan ada-nya pindaan<sup>2</sup> daripada Undang<sup>2</sup> tadi, maka kita sabagai orang<sup>2</sup> Malaysia baik orang Melayu, baik orang China, baik orang India, akan hidup saperti satu bangsa dan dengan adanya tembok<sup>2</sup> tadi saperti yang saya katakan tadi orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, orang<sup>2</sup> Islam tidak boleh makan babi, tidak boleh di-persoalkan apa sebab-nya mereka tidak boleh makan babi. Orang<sup>2</sup> India tidak boleh makan lembu, orang<sup>2</sup> Hindu tidak boleh di-persoal<sup>2</sup>kan. Kalau di-persoalkan, apa fasal tidak boleh makan babi, maka di-katakan oleh kerana Nabi Muhammad dahulu isteri-nya terlupa—terlupa isteri-nya, dia beri orang lain makan, mithal-nya kuah daging babi, ini kemudian—saya ini bukan pandai sangat fasal ugama, tidak pandai—habis orang makan. Apabila Nabi Muhammad kita datang, dia kata daging itu tidak ada lagi haram, rupa<sup>2</sup>-nya ada karat<sup>2</sup> sedikit dalam belanga. Jadi dengan sebab itu, haram-lah daging babi pada umat-nya. Jadi kalau hendak di-katakan sa-chara bagini, tidak dapat di-buat. Kalau di-katakan tidak boleh makan babi, tidak boleh. Kalau siapa orang Islam mengatakan boleh makan babi, munafiq dia. Bagitu juga tidak boleh minum beer, brandy ada orang Islam minum, pergi neraka yang dalam pada-nya.

Jadi, dengan sebab itu tidak boleh-lah di-persoal<sup>2</sup>kan atas perkara ini. Ini ada-lah menjadi tebu (halangang) kapada kita semua.

Sekian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua.

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Arshad (Muar Utara):** Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya bangun ada-lah menyokong Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> yang ada

di-hadapan kita ini yang baharu sahaja di-kemukakan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri kita. Sa-belum daripada saya memberikan ucapan di-dalam Dewan ini, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, izinkan saya meng-ucapkan tahniah yang ikhlas daripada diri saya dan juga rakan sawawat saya yang mana Yang Berhormat Dato' telah di-pilih menjadi Yang di-Pertua kami sakalian bagi kali yang kedua, dan kami mendo'akan agar Yang Berhormat Dato' Yang di-Pertua supaya sihat wal'afiat dan di-beri taufik dan hidayat.

**Tuan Yang di-Pertua:** Di-mana ada dalam Undang<sup>2</sup> ini. (*Ketawa*).

**Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Arshad:** Jadi, kalau ta'ada Dato' Yang di-Pertua mempengerusikan Majlis ini, undang<sup>2</sup> ini juga ta'dapat di-luluskan. Jadi dengan ini sa-kali lagi-lah saya katakan tahniah daripada saya dan rakan sawawat saya dalam Dewan Ra'ayat ini.

Kemudian daripada itu, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, pada petang ini saya tengok dua sandiwara daripada ra'ayat Malaysia yang ta'at setia yang telah kita beri dia kera'ayatan. Ra'ayat Malaysia yang saya katakan tadi menerusi dua aliran parti yang baharu berchakap dalam Dewan yang mulia ini. Apa yang saya tengok, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, wakil daripada DAP telah membuat chabaran kapada Kerajaan. Konon-nya kalau Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini di-luluskan akan mendalamkan lagi perasaan perkauman dalam negara ini. Dan saya chabar Parti DAP, apa dasar Parti DAP yang hendak menghapuskan perkauman, bahkan sa-balek-nya Parti DAP-lah parti yang sa-tebal<sup>2</sup>-nya perkauman dalam negeri ini. Dan dengan sebab Parti DAP-lah, maka terjadi-nya peristiwa 13 Mei. (*Tepok*).

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, tadi dia telah mengatakan yang dia telah merengkok dalam tahanan, ini ada-lah kebebasan, keadilan yang di-beri oleh Undang<sup>2</sup> dalam negeri ini, siapa juga ra'ayat yang akan menghuru-harakan negeri ini, walau dia, walau saya, kita akan patoh kapada Perlembagaan, kita akan patoh kapada keamanan dan keselamatan negara ini.

Jadi orang<sup>2</sup> DAP pun rela menyuroh kawan-nya supaya masok di-tahanan itu.

Satu perkara lagi, saya tengok Ahli DAP tadi di-antara perkara yang boleh menjadikan peristiwa 13 Mei itu ia-lah dengan mengungkit<sup>2</sup>kan perkara lama padahal mereka telah menjadi ra'ayat Malaysia, mereka

tidak putus asa atas perjuangan-nya hendak menjadikan Malaysia ini menggunakan berbagai<sup>2</sup> bahasa termasuk bahasa China. Jadi dengan keadaan yang sa-macam ini, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kalau ada perasaan yang sa-macam ini di-timbulkan, maka akan tersinggong-lah perasaan kawan<sup>2</sup>-nya yang lain, ra'ayat yang lain seperti orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, dan juga orang<sup>2</sup> India kalau bahasa China hendak di-rasmikan, maka orang India juga hendak menjadikan bahasa dia sa-bagai bahasa rasmi dalam negeri ini.

Orang<sup>2</sup> Arab pun hendak jadikan bahasa-nya jadi bahasa rasmi dalam negeri ini.

Jadi manusia yang bagini, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, manusia yang tidak menghormati Perlembagaan. Ini-kah balasan-nya kepada negara Malaysia ini? Kita telah beri mereka kera'ayatan, kita mahu mereka menggunakan satu bahasa yang boleh menyatu-padukan dia, tiba<sup>2</sup> dia mahu supaya bahasa<sup>2</sup> ini juga di-daulatkan dan di-jadikan bahasa rasmi. Kalau boleh manusia yang macham ini, kalau ada jalan, tolong luhutkan kera'ayatan-nya, biar dia balek negeri asal-nya—lagi senang, daripada dudok mengachau hendak menjadikan huru-hara dalam negeri ini.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, dia kata kalau Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini di-luluskan maka ia akan meluaskan, akan melebarkan perasaan takut ra'ayat tetapi sa-balek-nya kalau Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini tidak di-luluskan, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, tidak ada satu jaminan ra'ayat dalam negeri ini dudok dalam harmoni, mereka sentiasa dalam takut, terutama sa-kali bagi pehak saya ini wakil ra'ayat yang terdiri daripada orang Melayu, orang Melayu sentiasa takut, sentiasa merasa tidak senang hati dengan keadaan tingkah-laku yang di-buat oleh ra'ayat Malaysia yang telah kami berikan kera'ayatan, bukan sahaja mereka hendak membolot dengan kekayaan negeri ini bahkan mereka hendak membolot perjawatan di-negeri ini, mereka hendak membolot pentadbiran negeri ini. Ini yang di-katakan kalau Perlembagaan ini di-luluskan, ia akan mendalamkan perasaan takut, tetapi sa-balek-nya, kalau Perlembagaan ini tidak di-luluskan, maka ini-lah peluang<sup>2</sup> bagi manusia<sup>2</sup> yang jadi musuh negara ini bertempat di-parti<sup>2</sup> yang saya sebutkan itu.

Kemudian, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya tengok pula ra'ayat Malaysia daripada parti PAS, dia memberikan sokongan kepada Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini. Bagi pehak kami, pehak Kerajaan menguchapkan ribuan terima kaseh.

Tetapi kalau satu orang itu sudah beruchap semua Ahli<sup>2</sup> PAS yang 12 orang itu akan memberi sokongan kepada Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> kami. Ini yang kami tunggu, kalau tidak PAS akan terduga di-mana PAS berada pada ketika itu, Jadi saya tak hendak usek PAS. Lepas ini dia hendak bercherita, dia hendak menyokong Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> kita ini, saya sangat berpuas hati.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, oleh sebab peluang ini, kalau saya ta' habis berchakap pada petang ini, saya hendak sambong besok, saya hendak balekkan sejarah dahulu lagi. Fasal apa Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini hendak di-luluskan, hendak minta semua Wakil<sup>2</sup> Ra'ayat ini supaya memberikan sokongan bagi di-luluskan Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> (Pindaan) Perlembagaan ini.

Saya hendak cheritakan, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, bahawa Tanah Melayu ini, atau Malaysia ini 400 tahun dahulu negeri ini telah di-jajah oleh penjajah. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam tanah ayer ini yang memerintah dalam negeri ini mempunyai kedaulatan, orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dalam negeri ini seperti yang di-katakan oleh Yang Berhormat rakan sejawat saya tidak merampas hak sa-siapa juga yang menjadi ra'ayat dalam negeri ini. Sudah jadi satu tabi'at bagi orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan Raja<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan Kerajaan<sup>2</sup> Melayu, tetapi sa-telah negeri ini di-jajah sa-lama 400 tahun lebeh kurang, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, maka berbagai<sup>2</sup>-lah perpechahan berlaku di-masyarakat orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Pada sa'at yang sangat merbahaya sa-kali, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah kedatangan penjajah Inggeris; Inggeris datang ka-Tanah Melayu ini, menjajah Tanah Melayu ini dengan tujuan-nya hendak mengkayakan negara asal-nya, sa-lain daripada itu mereka memandang orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu ini, orang<sup>2</sup> yang tidak boleh buat kerja, orang yang lemah, orang yang miskin, orang yang malas, dan orang yang bermacam<sup>2</sup> lagi. Siapa yang ajar ini, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, ta' lain dan ta' bukan ia-lah daripada penjajah<sup>2</sup> sa-belum daripada Inggeris.

400 tahun lama-nya, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, bukan satu masa yang sadikit, satu masa yang lanjut dan panjang. Jadi kalau berubah jenerasi orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu pada akhir-nya British datang, maka memang sudah menasabah dan sesuai. Apa yang saya hendak katakan ia-itu bila Inggeris datang ka-sini, mereka hendak perah kekayaan dalam negeri ini dan hendak bawa balek ka-tanah ayer-nya. Mereka tidak ada buruh, hendak ambil

orang<sup>2</sup> Indonesia, mereka churiga kalau orang<sup>2</sup> Indonesia pula ramai datang ka-tanah ayer ini, orang<sup>2</sup> Inggeris tidak akan selamat juga.

Maka dengan sebab itu-lah mereka mengambil buroh<sup>2</sup> daripada orang<sup>2</sup>-nya, ra'ayat-nya daripada orang<sup>2</sup> India, dan daripada orang<sup>2</sup> Negeri China. Mereka ambil-lah ra'ayat ini menjadi buroh untuk kepentingan penjajah Inggeris pada masa itu. Asal-nya orang<sup>2</sup> India dan orang<sup>2</sup> China datang ka-sini semua sakali ia-lah hendak menchari duit. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu ta' kira apa; orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu kira, kalau dia kerja, dapat makan chukup-lah, sebab dia tahu penjajah Inggeris sudah ajar dia, dengan kerjasama 'alim ulama pada masa itu, kata-nya orang Melayu jangan kerja banyak<sup>2</sup>, orang Melayu di-akhirat sana ada balasan-nya. Ini-lah yang beku di-otak kepala orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu sa-lama 400 tahun.

Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini di-buat, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, hendak mengubah masharakat orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan ra'ayat Malaysia ini. Tadi saya telah katakan, di-bawa-lah orang<sup>2</sup>, buroh<sup>2</sup>-nya daripada negeri China dan juga daripada India. Datang-lah mereka itu ka-negeri ini dengan tugas<sup>2</sup> yang telah di-berikan oleh penjajah Inggeris. Akhir-nya dari sa-masa ka-samasa manusia ini telah melepaskan kerja-nya daripada Inggeris, bekerja sendiri, berniaga, meminta tanah yang baik<sup>2</sup> taraf tanah itu hingga mereka ini jadi kaya raya. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu tidak marah orang<sup>2</sup> India, orang<sup>2</sup> China kaya ini, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, mereka tak marah. Tetapi apa yang di-harap oleh orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu pada masa itu sa-telah kira<sup>2</sup> 80 tahun British menjajah negeri kita, orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu memikirkan kalau ta' ada merdeka, nasib orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu akan lebeh terok, akan lebeh susah, akan lebeh sengsara lagi, maka dengan sebab itu satu sahaja ingatan pada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu pada masa itu, ia-itu dia mahu merdeka, merdeka, merdeka. Tetapi dengan kebijaksanaan Inggeris mereka mengatakan bahawa di-mana negeri yang Inggeris datang, maka kaum<sup>2</sup> dalam negeri itu mesti berpechah-belah, mesti berbunuh. Maka dengan sebab itu mereka memberi satu syarat; kalau orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, orang<sup>2</sup> China, orang<sup>2</sup> India mahu bersatu-padu, baharu-lah orang Inggeris mahu berikan kemerdekaan.

Sebab-nya saya bentangkan perkara ini, perkara sejarah yang awal, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah lepas ini saya akan membuat satu analisa fasal apa Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini mustahak di-berikan sokongan oleh seluruh

ra'ayat Malaysia. Jadi ta' ada lagi ingatan lain, orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu ini mahu merdeka. Inggeris beri syarat, kalau mahu merdeka, mesti mahu berbaik<sup>2</sup> antara orang<sup>2</sup> China dengan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Tetapi dengan bijak pandai pemimpin<sup>2</sup> kita pada masa itu, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kita telah dapat bersatu dan kita telah dapat merdeka.

Saya rengkaskan, kita dapat kemerdekaan ini dengan kerjasama yang di-berikan oleh ra'ayat orang<sup>2</sup> China dan India, sebab pada masa itu orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu tidak lain dia mahu merdeka, tetapi orang<sup>2</sup> China dan orang<sup>2</sup> India memberi satu kata, memberi satu janji kapada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, kalau kami bersama<sup>2</sup> menuntut kemerdekaan, hendak-lah di-beri kami kera'ayatan sa-bagai warganegara dalam negeri ini. Kami tak ada ingat lain, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kami ingat mahu merdeka. Tambahan pula kita tengok orang<sup>2</sup> China dan orang<sup>2</sup> India ini sa-lama ini telah membongkar negeri ini, mendatangkan hasil kapada negeri ini, dengan rela kita beri mereka kera'ayatan dalam negeri ini. Maka menjadi-lah mereka ini ra'ayat negeri ini, berhak-lah mereka ini dapat tanah, berhak-lah mereka ini dapat segala<sup>2</sup>-nya sa-bagai ra'ayat sa-buah negara yang merdeka. Dengan keadaan yang sa-macham ini, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, kita telah bekerjasama sa-lama 13 tahun, lepas merdeka, Dato' Yang di-Pertua, tadi Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada DAP telah mengatakan hak istimewa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu itu ia-lah mengkayakan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang sudah kaya. Saya hendak tanya Ahli Yang Berhormat itu, lepas merdeka 13 tahun, orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang kaya-kah atau orang<sup>2</sup> DAP—keluarga DAP yang kaya! Saya memberikan suatu analisa, orang<sup>2</sup> China-lah yang bertambah baik taraf hidupnya sa-lepas merdeka ini dan juga sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> orang India baik taraf hidupnya dalam semua bidang.

Dengan hal yang sa-macham ini tidak-lah menyenangkan hati orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang sudah dapat kemerdekaan sa-lama 13 tahun. Saya tidak nafikan juga orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu ada juga yang senang dan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu semua sudah jadi Menteri banyak, saya tidak nafikan. Tetapi pada keseluruhan-nya, kehidupan ra'ayat jelata orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu belum lagi terbelah. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu maseh miskin. Penghidupan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-kampong<sup>2</sup> hanya \$40 pada satu bulan, Dato' Yang di-Pertua. Ini lepas kita merdeka 13 tahun hingggakan ada orang Melayu yang hendak tanah tak

dapat, dia naik atas pokok. Ini kehidupan orang Melayu lepas merdeka. Jadi keadaan<sup>2</sup> yang sa-macham ini, dengan dasar Kerajaan yang lalu tidak dapat mengatasi kemiskinan dan kemelaratan hidup orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu, bukan sahaja orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang melarat, ada juga orang China yang miskin, ada juga orang India yang miskin. Atas dasar ini-lah Kerajaan baharu ini akan dapat membasmi kemiskinan bagi orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bukan Melayu. Jadi, bila saya berchakap tentang keadaan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu yang sa-macham ini, kemiskinan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu ini tidak boleh di-tebus dengan kata, dengan beri ucapan di-hadapan mereka, dengan nasehat di-hadapan mereka, melainkan dengan satu dasar Kerajaan yang tegas, melaksanakan dan membiayai segala rancangan, baharu-lah boleh berhasil. Jadi dengan sebab itu Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini sangat mustahak demi hendak mensaibangkan kehidupan bumiputera, kehidupan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu. Saya sudah lupa pula orang bumiputera. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan orang<sup>2</sup> bumiputera sama kelas-nya. Saya sudah pergi ka-Sarawak dan Sabah, sama sahaja kelas-nya dengan orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu di-sini.

Jadi dengan keadaan yang sa-macham ini tujuan dan maksud-nya Rang Undang<sup>2</sup> ini ia-lah dapat menjalankan dasar baharu Kerajaan yang hendak membasmi kemiskinan hidup seluruh ra'ayat, tetapi sa-bilangan besar ra'ayat yang miskin ada-lah terdiri daripada orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan bumiputera.

Saya hendak betulkan ayat saya, barangkali akhbar tulis besok mengatakan orang Melayu dudok di-atas pokok. Jadi keadaan yang sa-benar-nya begini: Hamba Allah itu, dia buat rumah atas tanah orang China. Kemudian tuan punya tanah (China) itu hendak buat replanting kebun-nya, hendak tanam sa-mula. Dia perentahkan orang Melayu itu: Rumah awak mesti di-robohkan.

Orang Melayu dalam tanah ayer-nya sendiri, dia kena patoh perentah tuan punya tanah. Dia sudah dudok di-situ sa-lama 20 tahun lama-nya. Jadi dia kena keluar. Keluar di-mana tempat-nya yang dia hendak dirikan rumah, hendak dirikan pondok-nya. Di-dirikan-lah atas dahan<sup>2</sup> kayu yang tinggi, ta' siapa boleh marah. Keadaan hidup orang ini, pendapatan-nya chuma \$50 satu bulan. Kerja-nya ia-lah mengambil rotan dan damar. Dudok menumpang di-tanah orang China, pada hal orang Melayu kata, Tanah Melayu ini tanah ayer orang Melayu. Jadi kejadian

yang sa-macham ini-lah, kemiskinan hidup orang Melayu yang sa-macham ini-lah yang hendak di-betulkan oleh Kerajaan baharu ini.

Dato' Yang di-Pertua, saya baharu sentoh dalam masaalah kera'ayatan dan hak mutlak bagi orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan juga Kerajaan telah menjanjikan dalam Perlembagaan bahawa orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dapat hak istimewa. Dapat hak istimewa orang Melayu ini, bukan-lah satu perkara yang menjadi rugi kepada orang<sup>2</sup> yang bukan Melayu. Hak istimewa ini daripada dahulu lagi, daripada Inggeris dahulu dan hak istimewa ini juga kalau kita fikirkan tentang orang Melayu ini taraf hidup-nya besok atau akan datang dalam masa 20 tahun atau 100 tahun lagi akan datang. Yang Berhormat Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu ini taraf hidup-nya sama dengan orang<sup>2</sup> India dan China, kita boleh kaji balek, dalam masaalah ini. Tetapi sa-lagi taraf hidup orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu belum sa-imbang, sa-lama itu-lah jangan di-harap hak istimewa ini kita akan di-kaji. Kita bukan hendak banyak, hendak hidup biar-lah sa-imbang; pepatah orang Melayu: itek kehausan di-kolam; ayam kelaparan di-kepok padi. Orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu tidak mahu zaman Kerajaan yang di-ketua'i oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Abdul Razak—tidak mahu ini lagi. Kita mahu sama<sup>2</sup> merasa; menekmati kemerdekaan dalam tanah ayer kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kalau tidak di-betulkan, rasa tidak puas hati dari orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu dan orang<sup>2</sup> bumiputera ini, Kerajaan tidak bertanggung-jawab membetulkan, saya perchaya orang<sup>2</sup> Melayu ini satu manusia juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dia mempunyai satu perasaan, kalau tidak boleh dengan jalan yang baik, jalan yang kurang baik dia akan tuntutan juga. Bila mana mereka telah bertindak dengan jalan yang kurang baik, apa akibat jadi-nya negara Malaysia yang merdeka ini akan huru-hara-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Bila huru-hara yang sangat di-hajat oleh sa-tengah<sup>2</sup> gulungan termasuk orang<sup>2</sup> Inggeris yang menjajah tanah ayer kita ini dahulu. Dia memang suka negara<sup>2</sup> bekas jajahan-nya itu bergaduh macham di-India sampai sekarang—bergaduh! Ini kehendak<sup>2</sup> bekas penjajah Inggeris. Saya akan sambong lagi esok.

**Tuan Yang di-Perua:** Meshuarat di-tanggohkan sa-hingga pukul 2.30 petang besok.

*Dewan di-tanggohkan pada pukul 6.33 petang.*