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Friday
3rd March, 1967

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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

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MALAYSIA

DEWAN RA'AYAT
(HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES)

Official Report

Third Session of the Second Dewan Ra'ayat

Friday, 3rd March, 1967

The House met at Ten o'clock

PRESENT:

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

The Honourable the Minister of Lands and Mines, **TUAN ABDUL-RAHMAN BIN YA'KUB** (Sarawak).

- „ the Assistant Minister without Portfolio, **TUAN HAJI ABDUL KHALID BIN AWANG OSMAN** (Kota Star Utara).
- „ the Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development, **TUAN SULAIMAN BIN BULON, P.J.K.** (Bagan Datoh).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, **DATO' ENSKU MUHSEIN BIN ABDUL KADIR, J.M.N., S.M.T., P.J.K.** (Trengganu Tengah).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Education, **TUAN LEE SIOK YEW, A.M.N., P.J.K.** (Sepang).
- „ the Assistant Minister of Finance, **DR NG KAM POH, J.P.** (Teluk Anson).
- „ the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health, **TUAN IBRAHIM BIN ABDUL RAHMAN** (Seberang Tengah).
- „ the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour, **TUAN LEE SAN CHOON, K.M.N.** (Segamat Selatan).
- „ the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance, **TUAN ALI BIN HAJI AHMAD** (Pontian Selatan).
- „ the Parliamentary Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister, **TUAN CHEN WING SUM** (Damansara).
- „ **TUAN ABDUL KARIM BIN ABU, A.M.N.** (Melaka Selatan).
- „ **WAN ABDUL KADIR BIN ISMAIL, P.P.T.** (Kuala Trengganu Utara).
- „ **TUAN ABDUL RAZAK BIN HAJI HUSSIN** (Lipis).
- „ **TUAN ABDUL SAMAD BIN GUL AHMAD MIANJI** (Pasir Mas Hulu).
- „ **DATO' ABDULLAH BIN ABDULRAHMAN, S.M.T., Dato' Bijaya di-Raja** (Kuala Trengganu Selatan).
- „ **Y.A.M. TUNKU ABDULLAH IBNI AL-MARHUM TUANKU ABDUL RAHMAN, P.P.T.** (Rawang).
- „ **TUAN HAJI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI MOHD. SALLEH, A.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S.** (Segamat Utara).
- „ **TUAN HAJI ABU BAKAR BIN HAMZAH, J.P.** (Bachok).
- „ **TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN ABDULLAH, S.M.K.** (Kelantan Hilir).
- „ **TUAN AHMAD BIN ARSHAD, A.M.N.** (Muar Utara).
- „ **TUAN HAJI AHMAD BIN SA'AID, J.P.** (Seberang Utara).
- „ **PUAN AJIBAH BINTI ABOL** (Sarawak).
- „ **DR AWANG BIN HASSAN, S.M.J.** (Muar Selatan).
- „ **TUAN AZIZ BIN ISHAK** (Muar Dalam).
- „ **TUAN JONATHAN BANGAU ANAK RENANG, A.B.S.** (Sarawak).
- „ **PENGARAH BANYANG ANAK JANTING, P.B.S.** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN CHAN CHONG WEN, A.M.N.** (Kluang Selatan).
- „ **TUAN CHAN SEONG YOON** (Setapak).
- „ **TUAN CHAN SIANG SUN, P.J.K.** (Bentong).
- „ **TUAN CHEW BIOW CHUON** (Bruas).
- „ **TUAN CHIA CHIN SHIN, A.B.S.** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN CHIN FOON** (Ulu Kinta).

- The Honourable **TUAN D. A. DAGO ANAK RANDAN** *alias* **DAGOK ANAK RANDEN** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN C. V. DEVAN NAIR** (Bungsar).
- „ **TUAN EDWIN ANAK TANGKUN** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN SYED ESA BIN ALWEE, J.M.N., S.M.J., P.I.S.** (Batu Pahat Dalam).
- „ **DATIN HAJAH FATIMAH BINTI HAJI ABDUL MAJID** (Johor Bahru Timor).
- „ **TAN SRI FATIMAH BINTI HAJI HASHIM, P.M.N.** (Jitra-Padang Terap).
- „ **TUAN HAJI HAMZAH BIN ALANG, A.M.N., P.J.K.** (Kapar).
- „ **TUAN HANAFI BIN MOHD. YUNUS, A.M.N., J.P.** (Kulim Utara).
- „ **TUAN HANAFIAH BIN HUSSAIN, A.M.N.** (Jerai).
- „ **TUAN HARUN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N., J.P.** (Baling).
- „ **WAN HASSAN BIN WAN DAUD** (Tumpat).
- „ **TUAN HUSSEIN BIN TO' MUDA HASSAN, A.M.N.** (Raub).
- „ **DATO' HAJI HUSSEIN BIN MOHD. NOORDIN, D.P.M.P., A.M.N., P.J.K.** (Parit).
- „ **TUAN HUSSEIN BIN SULAIMAN** (Ulu Kelantan).
- „ **TUAN HAJI HUSSAIN RAHIMI BIN HAJI SAMAN, S.M.K.** (Kota Bharu Hulu).
- „ **TUAN IKHWAN ZAINI** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN ISMAIL BIN IDRIS** (Penang Selatan).
- „ **TAN SRI SYED JA'AFAR BIN HASAN ALBAR, P.M.N.** (Johor Tenggara).
- „ **PENGHULU JINGGUT ANAK ATTAN, Q.M.C., A.B.S.** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN KAM WOON WAH, J.P.** (Sitiawan).
- „ **TUAN THOMAS KANA** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN KHOO PENG LOONG** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN LEE SECK FUN, K.M.N.** (Tanjong Malim).
- „ **DR LIM CHONG EU** (Tanjong).
- „ **TUAN LIM PEE HUNG, P.J.K.** (Alor Star).
- „ **DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD** (Kota Star Selatan).
- „ **TUAN T. MAHIMA SINGH, J.P.** (Port Dickson).
- „ **DATO' HAJI MOHAMED ASRI BIN HAJI MUDA, S.P.M.K.** (Pasir Puteh).
- „ **TUAN MOHD. DAUD BIN ABDUL SAMAD** (Besut).
- „ **TUAN MOHAMED IDRIS BIN MATSIL, J.M.N., P.J.K., J.P.** (Jelebu-Jempol).
- „ **TUAN MOHD. TAHIR BIN ABDUL MAJID, S.M.S., P.J.K.** (Kuala Langat).
- „ **TUAN MOHAMED YUSOF BIN MAHMUD, A.M.N.** (Temerloh).
- „ **TUAN MOHD. ZAHIR BIN HAJI ISMAIL, J.M.N.** (Sungei Patani).
- „ **WAN MOKHTAR BIN AHMAD** (Kemaman).
- „ **TUAN HAJI MOKHTAR BIN HAJI ISMAIL** (Perlis Selatan).
- „ **TUAN MUHAMMAD FAKHRUDDIN BIN HAJI ABDULLAH** (Pasir Mas Hilir).

The Honourable **TUAN HAJI MUHAMMAD SU'AUT BIN HAJI MUHD. TAHIR, A.B.S.** (Sarawak).

- „ **DATO' HAJI MUSTAPHA BIN HAJI ABDUL JABAR, D.P.M.S., A.M.N., J.P.** (Sabak Bernam).
- „ **TUAN MUSTAPHA BIN AHMAD** (Tanah Merah).
- „ **TAN SRI NIK AHMAD KAMIL, D.K., S.P.M.K., S.J.M.K., P.M.N., P.Y.G.P., Dato' Sri Setia Raja** (Kota Bharu Hilir).
- „ **TUAN NG FAH YAM** (Batu Gajah).
- „ **TUAN HAJI OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH** (Hilir Perak).
- „ **TUAN OTHMAN BIN ABDULLAH, A.M.N.** (Perlis Utara).
- „ **TUAN QUEK KAI DONG, J.P.** (Seremban Timor).
- „ **TUAN HAJI RAHMAT BIN HAJI DAUD, A.M.N.** (Johor Bahru Barat).
- „ **TUAN RAMLI BIN OMAR** (Krian Darat).
- „ **TUAN HAJI REDZA BIN HAJI MOHD. SAID, P.J.K., J.P.** (Rembau-Tampin).
- „ **RAJA ROME BIN RAJA MA'AMOR, P.J.K., J.P.** (Kuala Selangor).
- „ **TUAN SANDOM ANAK NYUAK** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN SEAH TENG NGIAB, P.I.S.** (Muar Pantai).
- „ **DATO' S. P. SEENIVASAGAM, D.P.M.P., P.M.P., J.P.** (Menglembu).
- „ **TUAN SIM BOON LIANG, A.B.S.** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN SIOW LOONG HIN, P.J.K.** (Seremban Barat).
- „ **TUAN SNAWI BIN ISMAIL, P.J.K.** (Seberang Selatan).
- „ **TUAN SNG CHIN JOO** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN SOH AH TECK** (Batu Pahat).
- „ **TUAN SULEIMAN BIN HAJI TAIB** (Krian Laut).
- „ **TUAN TAJUDDIN BIN ALI, P.J.K.** (Larut Utara).
- „ **TUAN TAI KUAN YANG** (Kulim-Bandar Bharu).
- „ **TUAN TAMA WENG TINGGANG WAN** (Sarawak).
- „ **DR TAN CHEE KHOON** (Batu).
- „ **TUAN TAN CHENG BEE, J.P.** (Bagan).
- „ **TUAN TAN TOH HONG** (Bukit Bintang).
- „ **TUAN TAN TSAK YU** (Sarawak).
- „ **TUAN TIAH ENG BEE** (Kluang Utara).
- „ **TUAN TOH THEAM HOCK** (Kampar).
- „ **TUAN HAJI ZAKARIA BIN HAJI MOHD. TAIB, P.J.K.** (Langat).

ABSENT:

- The Honourable the Minister for Sarawak Affairs, **TAN SRI TEMENGGONG JUGAH ANAK BARIENG, P.M.N., P.D.K.** (Sarawak).
- „ the Minister for Sabah Affairs, **TUN DATU MUSTAPHA BIN DATU HARUN, S.M.N., P.D.K.** (Sabah).
 - „ **TUAN ABDUL GHANI BIN ISHAK, A.M.N.** (Melaka Utara).
 - „ **TUAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN HAJI TALIB, P.J.K.** (Kuantan).
 - „ **WAN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN DATO' TUANKU BUJANG, A.B.S.** (Sarawak).

- The Honourable **TUAN HAJI ABDUL RASHID BIN HAJI JAIS** (Sabah).
 „ **O.K.K. DATU ALIUDDIN BIN DATU HARUN**, P.D.K. (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN FRANCIS CHIA NYUK TONG** (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN S. FAZUL RAHMAN**, A.D.K. (Sabah).
 „ **DATU GANIE GILONG**, P.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN GANING BIN JANGKAT** (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN GEH CHONG KEAT**, K.M.N. (Penang Utara).
 „ **TUAN STANLEY HO NGUN KHIU**, A.D.K. (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN KADAM ANAK KIAI** (Sarawak).
 „ **TUAN EDMUND LANGGU ANAK SAGA** (Sarawak).
 „ **TUAN AMADEUS MATHEW LEONG**, A.D.K., J.P. (Sabah).
 „ **DATO' LING BENG SIEW**, P.N.B.S. (Sarawak).
 „ **TUAN LIM KEAN SIEW** (Dato Kramat).
 „ **TUAN PETER LO SU YIN** (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN C. JOHN ONDU MAJAKIL** (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN JOSEPH DAVID MANJAJI** (Sabah).
 „ **DATO' DR HAJI MEGAT KHAS**, D.P.M.P., J.P., P.J.K. (Kuala Kangsar).
 „ **TUAN MOHD. ARIF SALLEH**, A.D.K. (Sabah).
 „ **ORANG TUA MOHAMMAD DARA BIN LANGPAD** (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN ONG KEE HUI** (Sarawak).
 „ **TUAN D. R. SEENIVASAGAM** (Ipoh).
 „ **TUAN SULAIMAN BIN ALI** (Dungun).
 „ **PENGIRAN TAHIR PETRA** (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN TAN KEE GAK** (Bandar Melaka).
 „ **TUAN YEH PAO TZE**, A.M.N. (Sabah).
 „ **TUAN STEPHEN YONG KUET TZE** (Sarawak).

PRAYERS

(Mr Speaker *in the Chair*)

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE BILL

Second Reading

Order read for resumption of debate on Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time." (2nd March, 1967).

Debate resumed.

Tuan Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji (Pasir Mas Hulu): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menyambong ucapan saya sa-malam tentang masaalah yang di-ucapkan oleh wakil dari Kuala Trengganu Utara yang telah membentangkan dalam Dewan ini suara²

sokongan kapada Rang Undang² Bahasa Kebangsaan ini, dan tidak langsung menyebut suara² bantuan oleh sagulongan besar badan² yang mewakili penchinta² bahasa saperti PENA (Persatuan Penulis² atau Pengarang² dalam Malaya ini) yang tidak di-siarkan dalam akhbar². Circular yang dikeluarkan oleh Badan Bertindak Bahasa pun tidak di-siarkan dalam akhbar², bagaimana mereka telah membantah di-atas Rang Undang² yang tidak dapat mewujudkan chita² hendak mendaulkan bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa kebangsaan yang tunggal sa-bagaimana yang di-janjikan oleh Kerajaan sa-puluh tahun dahulu. Dan tidak di-siarkan juga bantahan² dari bahagian² UMNO sendiri—taligram² yang di-hantar ka-Ibu Pejabat UMNO, membantah di-atas penyelewengan ini.

Mithal-nya sa-malam, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, rakan saya wakil dari Pasir Puteh telah berchakap satu jam sa-tengah menerangkan satu persatu masalah bahasa ini dan alhamdulillah, sa-bagaimana biasa yang lazim-nya di-'amalkan oleh Kerajaan, tidak sa-patah pun di-sebut dalam talivishen. Tetapi wakil Kuala Trengganu Utara yang menyokong Rang Undang² ini di-sebut dan di-siarkan dan di-masokkan gambar-nya sa-kali. Ini-lah demokrasi a la Perikatan.

Kita membantah Rang Undang² ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bukan-lah sa-bagaimana saperti yang di-uchapkan oleh wakil dari Kuala Trengganu Utara, kerana kita bukan tidak mahu bahasa Melayu menjadi bahasa kebangsaan, tetapi kita membantah kerana ada-nya Fasal² di-dalam Rang Undang² ini yang sudah terang² tidak dapat di-terima oleh kita kerana kita tahu ini-lah gara² yang akan merosakkan chita² mendaulatkan bahasa Melayu ini. Dan ini-lah perchakapan yang telah di-pusing oleh wakil dari Kuala Trengganu Utara.

Pernah, dalam Dewan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Trengganu Utara ini telah mem-bidas Persatuan Islam sa-Tanah Melayu kerana tidak mengutok chadangan wakil daripada Ipoh yang meminta dan mendesak dan demand supaya berbagai² bahasa ini di-gunakan. Wakil dari Kuala Trengganu Utara ini mengutok PAS kerana tidak membantah ucapan daripada wakil Ipoh ini. Kita mahu hanya satu bahasa dalam negara kita ini—kita mahu satu bahasa, ia-itu bahasa Melayu yang pun telah di-persetujui oleh Kerajaan sendiri. Apa erti-nya kita mengutok wakil dari Ipoh sedangkan apa yang dia minta itu Kerajaan tunaikan. Chuma, wakil dari Ipoh sa-malam berchakap, dia tidak puas hati kerana benda² yang ada dalam fasal² dalam Rang Undang² ini tidak begitu banyak atau pun tidak begitu kuat—sebab itu ia membangkang Rang Undang² ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berchakap-lah lagi wakil dari Kuala Trengganu Utara ini mengatakan kita ini otak beku—kita tidak tahu kalau wakil

Malaysia hendak pergi ka-Bangsa² Bersatu, takkan-lah hendak hantar orang² yang tidak tahu bahasa Inggeris atau pun takkan-lah perutusan surat² kita ka-Bangsa² Bersatu itu ditulis dengan bahasa Melayu. Boleh jadi Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Trengganu Utara ini tahu atau pun tidak tahu, tetapi Bangsa² Bersatu itu tidak merasmikan bahasa Inggeris. Walau pun sa-orang wakil yang tidak tahu bahasa Inggeris, boleh menjadi wakil Malaysia ini di-Bangsa² Bersatu, termasuk-lah wakil dari Kuala Trengganu Utara sendiri pun boleh dilantek menjadi wakil ka-Bangsa² Bersatu ini, dan beliau, saya perchaya, dapat menunaikan tugas-nya yang baik mewakili Kerajaan Malaysia ini. Jadi tidak timbul sama sa-kali masalah bahasa Melayu atau pun bahasa Inggeris.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-panjang umur Dewan ini, dan sa-panjang yang saya mengikuti, baik sa-masa saya menjadi Ahli Dewan ini atau pun sa-belum-nya, banyak-lah perkara² karut yang sudah di-lakukan atau pun di-bawa ka-dalam Dewan ini. Dan pun-chak dari segala kekarutan itu ia-lah Rang Undang² yang di-bentangkan di-meja hari ini. Saya tahu, memang di-lahirkan Perikatan ini untuk menjadi tukang karut, dan munasabah pula saya katakan, tidak bernama Perikatan-lah kalau tidak karut fe'el-nya.

Dua tahun dahulu saya pernah membuat ucapan dalam Dewan ini berkenaan soal bahasa kebangsaan yang hendak kita daulatkan sa-bagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di-negara kita ini. Dalam ucapan saya itu telah saya tekankan, bahawa masalah bahasa kebangsaan ini bukan masalah PAS, bukan masalah UMNO, bukan masalah orang yang tidak berparti, tetapi ini ada-lah masalah national—masalah yang mengenai tuboh tuan² dan tuboh saya—tuboh tiga juta bangsa Melayu dalam tanah ayer kita ini. Dan mungkin beratus tahun lagi akan datang, bukan hak PAS dan bukan hak UMNO tetapi bahasa kebangsaan yang di-perjuangkan ini ada-lah masalah besar. Telah saya katakan dua tahun dahulu, "Saya tidak mahu melihat bila tiba masa-nya

bahasa Melayu ini hendak di-daulatkan atau hendak di-rasmikan, akan berkurangan daripada apa yang kita kehendaki, dan berkurangan daripada apa yang di-janjikan—80% mithal-nya atau pun 90% mithal-nya tidak sampai 100%.”

Saperti ucapan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku pada satu masa dahulu, “Kalau tidak dapat kita rasmikan sapenoh-nya sedikit² pun ta’ apa-lah.” Ini-lah ucapan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya mahu melihat bahasa rasmi ini dilaksanakan saperti apa yang terchatit di-dalam Perlembagaan dengan sapenoh-nya, dengan tidak ada chachat² atau dengan tidak ada berkurangan. “Orang² Melayu dalam UMNO dan PAS akan bersatu”—ini-lah ucapan saya dua tahun dahulu—“Akan bersatu bila² masa sahaja dalam masaalah besar mengenai bahasa ini. Jikalau Kerajaan tidak bertegas lagi dalam soal bahasa yang menjadi benteng yang akhir bagi kita bangsa Melayu ini, saya perchaya, sa-suatu yang tidak baik akan timbul, dan seluroh baka Melayu akan bangun dalam memper-tahankan hak-nya yang penghabisan ini.” Demikian, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ucapan saya dua tahun dahulu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, masa yang ditunggu² telah tiba, sa’at yang di-nanti² telah menjelang—di-hadapan kita hari ini di-bentangkan Rang Undang² yang hendak di-kuat-kuasakan bagi bahasa kebangsaan, yang hendak mendaulatkan bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dalam negeri ini. Sa-puluh tahun kita tunggu dengan perasaan berdebar², sa-puluh tahun sorakan² “Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa”, kita laungkan, sa-puluh tahun lama-nya kita menunggu sa’at bersejarah bagi keturunan bangsa Melayu ini, sa-puluh tahun kita nyanyikan lagu bahasa, sa-puluh tahun kita menunggu anak yang akan di-lahirkan dari persada ibunda—apa yang kita harapkan² untuk mewarishi pusaka nenek moyang yang sudah lama pergi, dengan harapan kita berdaulat kembali. Anak yang sejak dalam kandungan lagi kita telah nyanyikan lagu² gembira, anak yang sejak dalam kandungan lagi telah kita

harapkan akan membawa chahaya purnama, anak yang kita harapkan memberi tempat baharu bagi negara kita ini, atau nafas baharu bagi bangsa Melayu ini, anak yang kita harapkan untuk membawa perdamaian di-antara keluarga yang sudah lama di-pisah²-kan, anak yang kita harapkan untuk membawa perdamaian dan berpandu antara jiran² yang berjumlah 150 juta.

Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hati mana yang tidak meratap hiba, hati mana yang tidak bersekeh rasa, hati mana yang tidak menangis, hati mana yang tidak berduka dan hati mana yang tidak bersumpah chelaka bila melihat anak yang di-lahirkan itu chachat,—chachat dalam kelahiran-nya chachat dalam bentuk-nya dan chachat dalam serba serbi-nya. Hati mana, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak akan bertanya, “Apakah dosa ku wahai Tuhan hingga demikian nasib ku di-timpa malang; apa-kah dosa ku, oh! Tuhan hingga anak ku yang sa-orang ini pun tidak boleh di-jadikan baka bagi menghadapi masa hadapan?”

Saya mengaku membuat kesilapan dengan mengharap² orang² UMNO akan bersatu dengan PAS dalam menghadapi soal ini kerana bila sampai masa-nya mengharap² orang² UMNO akan berdiri tegas dalam memperjuangan soal bahasa ini, samalah saperti mengharap² tandok dari kuching. Tandok tidak tumbuh kuching mati beragan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Rang Undang² Bahasa Kebangsaan yang di-bentangkan oleh Kerajaan pada hari ini mempunyai chachat² dalam Fasal 3, 4, 5 dan 6, dan kita bertanya mengapa fasal² ini di-masokkan dalam Rang Undang² ini? Di-mana-kah letak-nya tanggung-jawab Kerajaan dalam janji²-nya sa-belum kita merdeka? Di-mana-kah letak-nya amanah ra’ayat yang di-pikulkan ka-atas Kerajaan ini? Apakah Kerajaan sudah berasa perkara bahasa ini soal kechil yang dengan mudah sahaja dapat di-selesaikan dengan mengorbankan hak satu bangsa dan di-berikan pula hak yang lumaian kapada bangsa yang lain? Apakah dengan arahan² dan perintah² supaya

jangan di-siarkan ulasan² dari mereka yang menentang rang undang² bahasa ini? Kerajaan sudah berharap dapat mengabui mata ra'ayat, dapat membuta hati ra'ayat, sa-hingga Programme Forum yang telah di-sediakan oleh Badan Bertindak Bahasa Kebangsaan itu, dengan sa-chara kejam dan dengan sa-chara tidak demokratik, dibatalkan. Apa-kah pehak Kerajaan ini sudah sa-masak²-nya memikirkan hal ini, sudah chukup² memikirkan dan sudah mentafsirkan dengan menutup mulut² orang yang menentang itu? Kerajaan akan dapat kemegahan atau kemenangan dan orang ramai tentu akan menerima Rang Undang² ini dengan baik. Sampai bila ra'ayat boleh menelan benda busok? Satu masa ra'ayat akan sedar yang sa-lama ini mereka di-tipu dan bila kesedaran itu tiba, ra'ayat akan muntah dan kita itu Kerajaan ini akan menghadapi atau berhadapan dengan satu benda yang tidak mahu saya teruskan apa benda itu. Mengapa Kerajaan tidak dapat menghadapi soal bahasa ini dengan sa-chara jantan, dengan sa-chara berhadapan dengan mereka² yang menentang di-hadapan umum?

Belum pun Rang Undang² ini dibentangkan dalam Dewan ini, Yang Berhormat Menteri Penerangan dan Penyiaran, yang kebetulan menjadi Ketua Pergerakan Pemuda UMNO Malaysia, telah mengeluarkan directive ia-itu siapa sahaja di-antara Ahli² Dewan ini yang menentang Bill ini daripada gulungan Parti Perikatan ialah orang² yang sudah menentang, orang² yang sudah melanggar tata-tertib Parti dan orang² itu boleh di-amil tindakan disiplin. Ini demokrasi? Belum pun sempat orang itu berchakap sudah pun di-keluarkan arahan—siapa sahaja yang menentang Rang Undang² ini akan di-chap melanggar tata-tertib Parti dan boleh di-amil tindakan disiplin. Ini demokrasi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua? Bahasa Kebangsaan yang kita perjuangkan ini bukan benda baharu, bukan 10 tahun, tetapi sudah ratusan tahun di-perjuangkan oleh mereka² yang terdahulu daripada kita—patah tumbuh hilang berganti. Perjuangan bahasa berjalan terus sa-belum dan sa-sudah merdeka.

Hari ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dengan dua helai kertas hijau ini—kertas Rang Undang² ini—perjuangan ratusan tahun itu hendak di-kuborkan, perjuangan bahasa di-khianati oleh Kerajaan, tolak ansor yang aneh ini oleh Kerajaan yang karut ini. Bagaimana hak tuan punya negeri ini? Yang lain sudah di-selesaikan, yang baki satu ini pun tidak sedap duduk orang² Perikatan ini. Memang saya sedar orang² Perikatan ini akan merasa bagaimana pahit-nya hidup di-'alam ini sa-lagi tiap² satu yang bernama Melayu itu belum di-hapuskan sa-lama itu-lah perjuangan mereka belum tamat. Bila kesemua-nya yang bernama Melayu ini sudah tidak ada lagi baharu-lah mereka akan berkata amin—alhamdulillah—sudah selesai-lah politik yang di-perjuangkan! Kemudian akan bersharah²-lah orang² ini menepok² dada,—“Orang² lain tidak pandai memerintah, tidak layak, terutama PAS ini bodoh, fikiran beku, tidak layak memerintah, hanya saya sahaja yang layak memerintah! Saya-lah orang yang paling chekap, saya-lah orang yang bijak. Tengok, apa yang telah saya lakukan daripada A sampai Z! Habis saya sedekahkan kapada orang, tidak bijak lagi saya?”

Pernah berlaku di-negara lain, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, apabila soal bahasa ini hendak di-kuatkuasakan atau pun dipinda, pertumpahan darah akan berlaku, nyawa akan melayang, darah akan mengalir. Tetapi di-negeri kita ini, memang telah di-beri Tuhan baik benar jiwa² pemimpin kita yang banyak bertolak ansor ini. Belum pun terjadi apa², sudah menyerah kalah! Hingga janji-nya pada bangsa-nya sendiri pun sanggup di-noda dan di-khianati, asalkan kawan² yang lain jangan menaruh bimbang; asalkan kawan² yang lain jangan iri hati; asalkan kawan² yang lain jangan marah kerana kita sama² ma'alum bila menjelangkan masa Pilehan Raya, kawan² ini-lah yang banyak memberikan derma² untuk jentera Pilehan Raya itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kapada mereka yang mendatang, yang sudah kita berikan apa sahaja yang ada pada milek kita—hak politik kita telah jadi

hak politik bersama—hak ekonomi mereka boleh dikeluarkan

Mr Speaker: Saya suka hendak bertanya berapa panjang lagi?

Tuan Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Sadikit sahaja lagi. Setelah kita berikan kesemua-nya ini, kita meminta hanya satu sahaja, ia-itu mereka sa-bagai balasan baik budi—hanya satu sahaja yang kita minta—ia-itu berchakap dan menerima-lah bahasa Melayu ini sa-bagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal.

Permintaan kita yang satu ini pun mereka tolak. Mereka tidak sanggup menunaikan permintaan kita ini, apatah lagi jika kita meminta mereka hormati lagu² negara, bendera negara, Perlembagaan negara—jauh panggang dari api! Apa-kah ini tanda² yang mereka betul² ta'at setia kepada negara ini atau mereka hanya mahu mendapatkan hak sa-bagai tuan dan menggunakan kesempatan sa-bagai tuan? Ini untuk menghisap segala kekayaan negara dan tinggal anak watan negeri ini dalam kepapaan dan sekarang orang² yang tidak tentu ta'at setia-nya ini-lah yang mendapat kemenangan dengan Bill atau dengan Rang Undang² yang di-bentangkan ini.

Yang Amat Berhormat, Tunku Perdana Menteri, dalam ucapan pada hari Pembukaan Minggu Perpaduan Negara baru² ini, telah terang² mengatakan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua,—saya meminta kebenaran Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hendak quote sedikit ucapan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku ini—

“Sungguh pun begitu, saya rasa sangat kesal kerana sa-hingga hari ini maseh lagi terdapat orang² di-negeri ini yang tidak mengindahkan Lagu Kebangsaan itu apakala di-bunyikan di-majlis² perhimpunan, di-panggung² wayang dan sa-bagai-nya. Mereka tidak menghiraukan Lagu Kebangsaan mereka dan sikap mereka itu sa-olah² mereka menghinakan bangsa dan negara mereka sendiri. Orang² ini-lah juga yang membuat bermacam² tuntutan, saya ulang sa-kali, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang² ini-lah juga yang membuat bermacam² tuntutan kepada Kerajaan untuk mendapatkan faedah daripada negara yang mereka sendiri tidak dapat menunjukkan penghormatan yang sa-layak-nya. Mereka tidak dapat memenohi kehendak dan syarat sa-bagai sa-orang warganegara untuk menghormati lambang keagungan

bangsa mereka. Saya fikir tidak ada satu benda yang sa-habis burok ka-atas dunia ini daripada kelakuan dan sifat mereka yang hina itu”.

Ini-lah ucapan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri kita. Dan orang² ini-lah, untuk orang² ini-lah, Fasal 3 ini di-buat, di-adakan dalam Rang Undang² yang di-bentangkan-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkata lagi Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku, “Orang² Melayu hendak-lah bertimbang rasa terhadap bangsa² lain”. Saya suka bertanya kepada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku: nasihat yang sama seperti ini sudah-kah di-berikan kepada bangsa lain; bertimbang rasa-lah kepada bangsa Melayu ini; sudah-kah nasihat yang seperti ini di-berikan kepada orang lain? Kasehan-lah terhadap bangsa Melayu ini yang sudah hilang segala² yang ada pada-nya. Kita tidak pernah mendengar Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku berkata demikian—berkata memberi nasihat supaya orang lain itu bertimbang rasa kepada bangsa Melayu,

Sudah nasib kita, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang² Melayu ini menjadi tukang dengar dan tukang lihat. Kita dapat mendengar cherita² mewah, cherita² ma'amor, cherita² bahagia. Tetapi yang mewah, yang ma'amor dan yang bahagia itu bukan kita. Kita dapat melihat bagaimana kema'amoran ini. Hanya melihat dan orang lain yang merasai kema'amoran itu. Memang bagi orang Melayu sudah chukup dengan memandang wajah pemimpin² mereka apabila pemimpin² itu melawat satu daerah ka-satu daerah dan, seperti biasa, bila pemimpin² ini melawat satu daerah ka-satu daerah, akan di-beri-lah janji², dan bagi ra'ayat sudah memadai, khas-nya orang Melayu. Ini sudah memadai dengan janji² balai raya dan kelas dewasa. Itu sudah chukup! Shukur pemberian Tuhan dan anugerah Tuhan!

Pernah kita mendengar, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri mengatakan kalau kita tidak bertolak ansor huru hara akan timbul. Kena-lah kita bertolak ansor apa-lah salah-nya. Ya, hasil daripada bertolak ansor ini-lah di-bentangkan Rang Undang² ini. Yang Teramat

Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri dalam ucapan membentangkan Rang Undang² ini telah berkata, Rang Undang² ini ia-lah untuk memberi kepuasan semua pehak. Kepuasan semua pehak! Jadi saya, bila mendengar ucapan ini, tertanya²-lah juga saya macham mana saudara² daripada orang UMNO itu akan bertepok² dada mengatakan ini-lah bahasa kita yang di-daulatkan? Sedangkan ucapan Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku itu mengatakan kepuasan semua pehak, bukan satu pehak. Kerana takut kepada bayangan huru hara ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, orang² Melayu di-minta supaya bertolak ansor. Tidak pernah di-minta kepada orang lain supaya bertolak ansor. "Kamu sudah dapat semua sa-kali yang lain, yang satu ini—bahasa Melayu ini pun bagi-lah, tidak usah-lah di-pechah²kan". Tidak pernah dia berchakap macham itu.

Jadi, orang Melayu ini, kalau tidak bagi, huru hara. Jadi berpuncha-nya hura hara ini dari orang Melayu. Kalau orang Melayu tidak bagi—ini hura hara! Kalau orang Melayu tidak bagi, itu hura hara! Jadi kalau orang lain yang menuntut dan kalau orang Melayu tidak bagi, ini tidak-kah timbul huru hara? Ini-lah benda yang tidak pernah di-fikirkan oleh kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-belum daripada Rang Undang² ini di-bentangkan, Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri telah berkata akan melawat ka-seluruh pelusok tanah ayer, seluroh pelusok rantau untuk menerangkan kepada ra'ayat tentang dudok-nya perkara yang sa-benar-nya mengenai Rang Undang² Bahasa ini. Saya ingin bertanya, apa-kah tujuan lawatan ini? Kalau sudah Kerajaan ini berasa yakin yang ra'ayat, khas-nya orang Melayu, berkenaan dan akan menerima Rang Undang² ini, mengapa mesti di-beri penerangan atau ada-kah tujuan lawatan ini sa-kali lagi hendak di-gunakan untuk mengabui mata bangsa Melayu—sa-kali lagi bangsa Melayu hendak di-tipu, saperti di-tipu dengan cherita² hak istimewa dalam Perlembagaan yang ada sekarang? Kalau pun perlu lawatan itu di-buat dan perlu bertanya fikiran ra'ayat tentang masalah Rang

Undang² Bahasa Kebangsaan ini, mengapa tidak Rang Undang² ini di-berikan peluang sa-chukup-nya kepada ra'ayat bersuara menyatakan bersetuju atau pun tidak dengan melalui satu referendum sa-belum Rang Undang² ini di-bawa ka-Dewan ini?

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kapada ra'ayat sa-patut-nya di-berikan peluang yang sa-luas² kerana masalaah ini masalaah yang besar bukan saperti chara sekarang. Rang Undang² ini di-luluskan dan di-sogokkan ra'ayat tidak boleh menyuarakan bantahan sa-belum Rang Undang² ini di-bentangkan di-Dewan ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-belum Rang Undang² ini di-bentangkan di-Dewan ini-lah patut Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku melawat—sa-belum Rang Undang² ini di-bentangkan—bukan sa-sudah Rang Undang² ini di-bentangkan—sa-belum di-bentangkan dalam Dewan ini patut-nya Tunku membuat lawatan dan menerangkan kepada ra'ayat tentang Rang Undang² ini dan bertanya suka-kah wahai orang² Melayu menerima Rang Undang² ini yang benar. Bukan sa-sudah Dewan ini meluluskan Rang Undang² ini baharu-lah hendak melawat hendak memberitahu kedudukan yang sa-benar-nya. Tetapi Rang Undang² ini sudah di-luluskan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-belum dan sa-sudah Rang Undang² ini di-bentangkan kita mendengar suara² yang mengatakan Fasal 3, Fasal 4 ini tidak mustahak—tidak begitu mustahak dan mengikut laporan atau penerangan daripada Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri sa-malam, Fasal 3 ini ia-lah di-tujukan khas kepada pengganas² atau pun orang² tua yang hendak menyerah diri dia orang tidak tahu hendak menyerah diri kerana tidak di-tulis dalam bahasa mereka, jadi terpaksa-lah di-tulis dalam bahasa mereka mudahan² bila mereka membacha tulisan dalam bahasa mereka itu, mereka akan menyerah diri. Saya tidak tahu berapa ramai lagi pengganas ada di-Malaysia ini sa-hingga sa-buah Rang Undang² pun di-masokkan satu fasal khas untuk pengganas² itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menyokong atau menerima Rang Undang² ini,

saperti yang di-ucapkan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri Tunku, ia-lah satu pengkhianatan. Membangkang Rang Undang² ini ia-lah satu pengkhianatan? Dan saya berkata menerima Rang Undang² ini ia-lah satu pengkhianatan—pengkhianatan kepada Perlembagaan kita sendiri dan pengkhianatan kepada pejuang² bahasa kita.

Saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak mahu menjadi sa-orang tukang pengkhianat. Saya tidak dapat memberikan sokongan kepada Rang Undang² ini. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dapat-kah kita, saya gunakan perkataan “kita” di-sini bererti termasuk saya sama, dapat-kah kita melihat seluroh baka Melayu ini hanchor dengan chita² bahasa rasmi ini dengan sa-mata² niat kita hendak duduk dalam Dewan ini sa-bagai Wakil Ra'ayat?

Apa-kah kerana menjaga kepentingan kita—kita sanggup melihat hak Melayu yang penghabisan ini pun di-kuborkan dengan dua helai kertas? Dapat-kah kita melihat tertegak-nya Kerajaan yang ada sekarang ini di-atas kehanchoran chita² perjuangan bangsa Melayu? Dan di-atas kehanchoran itu mengalir-lah ayer mata kita orang Melayu. Saya sedar bagaimana sakit-nya tuan² menghadapi pemerintahan sekarang dengan Parti Tiga Serangkai ini. Saperti memikul biawak hidup—hendak di-buang sayang, hendak di-pikul tak lalu. Bagitu-lah perasaan yang ada di-lubok hati tuan². Tetapi jangan-lah kita lupa, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, penyokong atau pun Kerajaan ini takut perpechahan berlaku jikalau Rang Undang² ini tidak di-luluskan atau pun tidak di-bentangkan. Perpechahan akan berlaku. Kita tidak tahu ada-kah perpechahan itu burok atau pun dengan kerana perpechahan itu ada tersembunyi sa-suatu rahmat Tuhan yang lebeh baik dari sekarang. Ini-lah benda yang di-takuti sangat.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada tiga chadangan saya hendak kemukakan mengenai Rang Undang² ini. Yang pertama di-tarek balek dan di-gantikan dengan Rang Undang² yang lain dengan

tidak ada Fasal 3, 4, 5 dan 6 ini. Dan kami boleh menerima pindaan itu.

Yang kedua, sembahkan Rang Undang² ini ka-sidang Majlis Raja² Melayu sa-belum Dewan ini meluluskan. Dan yang ketiga, Kerajaan ini sudah sampai masa-nya meletakkan jawatan dan mengadakan satu pilihan raya baru meminta mandat dari ra'ayat dan pilihan raya itu hendak-lah di-asaskan di-atas Rang Undang² ini.

Mr Speaker: Saya kurang dengar, minta apa?

Tuan Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Minta mandat. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ini-lah tiga chadangan saya. Yang soal lain, kalau Kerajaan mahu terima tidak mahu terima, itu soal lain. Tetapi, saya telah menyampaikan chadangan saya ini. Saya sedar, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, walau bagaimana pun pehak PAS ini membangkang, Kerajaan akan berkeras hati dan akan meluluskan juga Rang Undang² ini saperti apa yang di-ucapkan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku walau pun jatuh Kerajaan ini—Rang Undang² ini mesti di-luluskan. Jadi kalau sanggup sampai bagitu, ayoh, teruskan! Cherita hendak teruskan ini sudah menjadi cheria lazim, cherita yang selalu di-lakukan, di-amalkan. Boleh jadi, hari ini tuan² mengatakan memang apa yang di-unchapkan oleh ahli² PAS itu tidak betul, karut dan sa-bagai-nya. Bagi saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tak-lah menjadi soal sangat apa yang tuan² hendak kata itu, kerana memang tuan² tak dapat menyokong kita kerana tuan² ini tuan², dan kita ini kita. Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, 100 tahun kemudian akan ada-lah orang yang berkata bahawa ucapan itu benar. 100 tahun kemudian akan ada-lah orang yang berkata apa yang di-ucapkan oleh Wakil PAS itu benar. Tetapi, 100 tahun itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sudah tidak ada guna-nya dan di-masa itu anak² kita sudah menjadi abdi kapada orang lain.

Boleh jadi masa itu PAS ini pun tak ada, dan boleh jadi masa itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Perikatan ini pun tak ada. Jadi kita ini ashek anak chuchu

chichit kita, jenerasi kita, yang akan datang 100 tahun lagi ini akan membacah sejarah atau pun mereka² akan membacah minit² meshuarat Dewan ini. Dan mereka berkata-lah bahawa apa yang di-ucapkan oleh PAS itu betul tetapi masa itu tak ada guna.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, meluluskan Rang Undang² ini bererti telah mengkhianat terhadap chita² murni umat Melayu dalam memperjuangkan chita² kebangsaan dan chita² bahasa kebangsaan ini. Dan di-atas pengkhianatan ini Kerajaan Perikatan akan membayar harga yang mahal—akan membayar harga yang mahal. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bagi PAS kita telah menunaikan kewajipan. Kita telah berchakap dan membentangkan satu persatu masaalah Bill ini dan Undang² ini kita telah berchakap menyatakan bantahan, bangkangan². Dan saya fikir kita telah menunaikan kewajipan kita sedikit sebanyak terhadap tiga juta bangsa Melayu ini. Chita² memperjuangkan bahasa kebangsaan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Rang Undang² ini atau pun bahasa kebangsaan yang hendak dirasmikan, bukan sahaja sa-takat Dewan ini. Itu dapat saya memberi jaminan kita akan memperjuangkan chita² bukan sahaja chita² bahasa kebangsaan ini mesti di-daulatkan dengan tunggal dalam negara kita ini, tetapi kita akan memperjuangkan apa yang telah menjadi chita² kita kerana kita tubuhkan parti PAS ini kita mahu kedaulatan bangsa Melayu sa-bagai tuan dalam negeri ini mesti di-jamin. Chita² perjuangan ini akan kita teruskan dan satu daripada chita² itu ia-lah bahasa kebangsaan ini. Tidak ada suara di-bawah langit ini dapat menyekat kita daripada berjuang hendak menegakkan hak orang Melayu. Kita bukan sa-orang pengechut, bukan orang penakut. Kalau hendak kita takut, lama sudah kita tutup PAS ini, kerana banyak pemimpin² PAS berhijrah ka-Batu Gajah. Kalau hendak kira takut, telah lama kita berhenti atau pun kita bertedoh di-bawah naungan Kerajaan Perikatan yang bijaksana dan jujur ini! Tiap² titek darah yang mengalir di-tuboh kita ini akan kita gunakan,

akan kita sedekahkan untuk perjuangan kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta pada semua pehak akhbar, tuliskan tiap² patah yang di-ucapkan oleh PAS ini, dan tinggalkan sa-bagai sejarah bagi generasi kita akan datang. Kapada Bill—Rang Undang² ini—saya katakan, "*Go to hell!*" Dan Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Trengganu Utara

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Saaid (Seberang Utara): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkataan *Go to hell* itu ada-lah unparliamentary. Saya harap Yang Berhormat itu tarek balek—*point of Order*.

Tuan Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji: Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Trengganu Utara dan Yang Berhormat daripada Kuala Lipis samalam dalam penutup ucapan-nya—ah, Yang Berhormat bukan dari Kuala Lipis, minta ma'af, Yang Berhormat dari Kuala Trengganu Utara. Tetapi kerana berbetulan ada sa-suatu persamaan di-antara Kuala Lipis dan Kuala Trengganu Utara ini, saya suka-lah membalas pantun mereka :

Orang Siam bermain katak,

Katak di-isi dalam kotak.

Tengok kepala, alhamdulillah, bukan main botak;

Tetapi sayang, tak ada otak.

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair (Bungsar): Mr Speaker, Sir, it must be an ordeal for any rational mind to participate in a debate which is largely conducted from the solar plexus and not from the cerebral cortex, a debate which can so easily and so harmfully be charged with irrational and sub-rational attitudes towards questions of language, education and culture. But one must hope, even against hope, that there will be found a sufficient number of rational minds in our society, who will not lack the courage to go through this ordeal; and if the rational minds of our society shirk this responsibility, then this nation must inevitably run to waste, futility and ruin. As a constitutional and law-abiding bird myself, and

as the representative of a constitutionally based political party, my colleagues and I do not possess, nor do we desire to possess, any expertise in the violent arts of brick-throwing, head bashing, or even hand grenade throwing in order to establish in practice the principles which we uphold.

In such an event, people like us might perforce be obliged to get under the table and leave the field to those who believe in violent, extra constitutional methods of political action. I must emphasise that the appeal I intend to make in this House will be directed to the rational intellect and not to the solar plexus or to the lower vital regions of the people of this country. I do not expect all rational minds to agree with me and my colleagues in the D.A.P., as I acknowledge that other rational minds possess the prerogative to disagree with us—but in a civilised fashion! It is vital that the leadership of our nation must show that it is capable of presiding over such a rational debate and discussion, and will take care not to let it be diverted from this level by the purveyors of communal fears, hatreds and suspicions, no matter from which community they come and no matter to which political party they may belong.

Sir, I think many members of the general public are aware of some of the problems and headaches faced by the Honourable Prime Minister in introducing this Bill. They are aware of the raucous and fractious minority in his own ranks, who beat the drums of absolute intolerance of all languages, other than the National Language.

I will submit, however, with all respect to the Prime Minister, that it would be exceedingly unwise to assume, as he and his Government appear to have done, that non-Malay opinion on the matter is non-existent in the country, and that it does not require satisfaction or assuagement. There is a misleading assumption that non-Malay opinion presents a monolithic unity of acceptance of the

provisions of this Bill, based on no less flimsy a justification than the pantun reciting concord exhibited in this Chamber yesterday morning by the leaders of the M.C.A. and M.I.C.—I refer to the Honourable the Minister of Finance and his colleague the Honourable the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications.

There is of course, Sir, another and an uncharitable view going around, to which I do not subscribe and which, I hope, the Government will effectively deny, to the effect that this is not a misleading assumption, but a deliberate pretence on the part of the Government that only sections of Malay opinion require persuasion to accept the provisions of this Bill. Be that as it may, the general public are also aware, and I think the Prime Minister's own Cabinet colleagues will readily acknowledge, that no other leader in this country enjoys, to the same pre-eminent degree, the multi-racial esteem which the Tunku enjoys, and to go with it, the same capacity to communicate effectively to the people of all communities the vital need to accept and accommodate each other's languages and cultures, and to translate into concrete terms the constitutional safeguards to preserve and sustain the study and use of other major languages in the country.

But sooner or later, Sir, destiny must take a hand, for the Tunku cannot always be with us. In that event, a major opportunity to consolidate the fabric of national unity on the basis of multi-racial values may be irretrievably lost. It is with these considerations in mind that I intend to offer constructive criticisms of the Bill as it stands, and my major contention will be that the real intentions of the Government are not made explicit in the Bill.

This Bill has been presented by the Government as a compromise between extreme positions on the language issue in this country. It is undoubtedly a compromise, or an attempt at a compromise, representing as it does, a departure from the inflexible position taken by a few Malay extremists in the

country. To this extent, the Prime Minister and his moderate colleagues in the Alliance Government deserve some praise. But I am afraid that this praise must be qualified by the observation that it is not enough of a compromise, lacking as it does any firm guarantees as to how the Government proposes to preserve and sustain the continued use and study of the languages of other communities in the Federation as provided for in the Constitution.

The D.A.P. has always accepted without reservation, or qualification of any kind, Malay as the National Language, to establish it eventually as the chief language of administration in the country. On November 8, 1966, the Central Executive Committee of the D.A.P. issued a policy statement on "Language, education and culture in a multi-racial society" in which the following points were made:

- (1) In the very nature of things, Malaysia cannot become a Malay nation, or a Chinese nation, or an Indian nation, or a Dayak nation.
- (2) The Malaysian Constitution guarantees the preservation and sustenance of other languages and cultures in the country. In other words, the Constitution provides, both in spirit and intention, that no linguistic or cultural group in this country need fear deculturation. There is no intention in the Constitution to Malayise anybody, any more than there is any intention to Anglicise, Sinicise or Indianise anybody. On the contrary, the clear spirit and intention of the Constitution is to build a multi-racial and multi-cultural Malaysian nation, united in a common economic, political and territorial life, and developing within this context a common National Language, while at the same time promoting and preserving other languages and cultures.
- (3) Accordingly, it is desirable to review the whole educational

system of the country with a view to translating into national educational practice the pledge in the Constitution to preserve and sustain the use and study of the other major languages in the country.

Even a cursory survey of the educational system will show that the role and status granted to Chinese and Tamil as media of instruction fall short of both the spirit and intention of the Constitution.

In this connection, it would be pertinent to observe that Chinese, Tamil and English have become Malaysian languages, by virtue of the fact that considerable numbers of Malaysian citizens speak these languages. In any case, it is difficult for us to see how the constitutional safeguard to preserve and sustain the use and the study of these languages can be implemented, if they are not given due recognition and status as media of instruction in both National Type Primary and Secondary schools.

I submit that if this is not done the constitutional safeguard will in due time be rendered meaningless. This is not too great a step forward to take. The Minister of Education has already assured us that in national-type primary schools Chinese and Tamil are already employed as media of instruction. Just one little step more is called for, and that is, to establish the same principle in national-type secondary schools, so that Chinese and Tamil are made the media of instruction and examination in their respective streams. It is such a very small step to take, but it would have enormous significance in establishing, beyond any doubt, the *bona-fides* of the Government.

- (4) The fact that the National Language by virtue of its status is bound to become the chief language of administration in the

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.

Such were the main points, Sir, made in the D.A.P.'s policy statement issued in November last year. The Central Executive Committee of the Party instructs me to state that we still stand by that policy statement. We acknowledge that this policy will not be immediately acceptable in its entirety, but we believe that ultimately all persons of tolerance and goodwill must come to accept that this would be the only sane and rational policy in a multi-racial society.

Our plea to the Government, and particularly our plea to gentlemen like Tuan Syed Nasir and gentlemen in the National Language Action Front, is as follows:

Teach us, please, to love the National Language and not to fear it!

Teach us to love it as a vital factor for unification in a multi-racial society, but not to fear it as a sinister instrument for the eventual annihilation of other languages and cultures in this country!

This is precisely the fear that has been engendered by Malay extremist opinion, and this is the same fear which has vitiated the otherwise loyal acceptance by Malaysian citizens of non-Malay origin of Malay as the National language. It is not so much the letter as the spirit which is wanting in this Bill. The letter is all right but the crucial question is, what are your intentions? No one has any serious quarrel with either the letter or the spirit of the safeguards provided in the Constitution, but there are serious doubts as to the real intentions of those who are responsible for the implementation of these safeguards. And the intentions of the Government will remain in grave doubt, simply because there are no guarantees in the Bill that the implementation of the National Language Act will not mean the steady and continuing erosion of the rights of other linguistic groups in

the country. I say, Sir, give us certain minimum guarantees, so that the public may be satisfied that this Bill does not represent, as it were, the thin end of the wedge as far as Malaysians of non-Malay origin are concerned. Even the continued use of the English language for such official purposes as may be deemed fit is made conditional on the consent of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. In other words, even English is not to be accepted; it is merely to be tolerated and, need I say, Sir, that Malaysians of non-Malay origin find it galling to be merely tolerated instead of being accepted. They do not want to be tolerated. They want to be accepted.

Be that as it may, Sir, I am prepared to support this Bill, in spite of its deficiencies, provided the Government will accept an amendment which will put beyond doubt the intentions of the Government with regard to the preservation and sustenance of the use and study of the other major languages in the country in pursuance of the safeguard provided in Clause 152 (1) (b) of our Constitution and also in pursuance of Article 26 (iii) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1948, to which Declaration the Government of this country subscribes. The amendment I have in mind, Sir, is the addition of a further Clause which may be numbered as Clause 9 of the Bill and reads as follows:

"Nothing in this Act shall affect the right of the Federal Government or of any State Government, in pursuance of Article 26 (iii) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its 183rd meeting on December 10th 1948, to the effect that parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children, and in pursuance of the safeguard provided in Clause 152 (1) (b) of the Constitution of Malaysia relating to the preservation and sustenance of the use and study of the language of any other community in the Federation, to provide that the language of instruction and examination in all national-type primary and secondary schools shall be English, Chinese or Tamil as the case may be."

I am subject to your guidance in this matter, Sir, but there does seem to be a slight possibility under Standing Order 33 (3), on page 38, which reads as follows:

"Any amendment to the motion which a member wishes to propose in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 30 may be moved and if necessary seconded at any time after the question upon the motion has been proposed by the Chair, and before it has been put by the Chair at the conclusion of the debate upon the motion. When every such amendment has been disposed of, the Chair shall either propose the question upon the motion as amended, as the case may require, and after any further debate which may arise thereon, shall put the question to the House or Committee for its decision."

I would submit myself to your guidance, Sir, whether such an amendment can be moved.

Mr Speaker: No, not at this stage. It does not say here whether in Committee or not. But it means here "in Committee". In Committee you could make that amendment, provided you comply with the Notices, and so forth.

Tuan C. V. Devan Nair: I shall be guided by your wisdom, Sir. Since I have already said what I wanted to say on this amendment, I would rather not waste the time of this House, Sir, in Committee, and I would submit this proposal to the Government and ask whether the Government would consider introducing the amendment themselves. I plead with the Government to accept this amendment as the only way to ensure that its *bona fides* in relation to the preservation and sustenance of other languages as provided for in the Constitution are placed beyond doubt. If the proposal is accepted, I shall support this Bill; but if it is not, then I shall be obliged, in all good conscience, to vote against the Bill as it stands.

The Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Justice (Tun Dr Ismail): Mr Speaker, Sir, I am deeply privileged to be able to participate in this historic debate on the language issue before my retirement effective on 1st June due to failing health. There is much specu-

lation that the reason for my resignation is not due to failing health but rather to disagreement with my Cabinet colleagues on matters of policy and it has been quoted that I do not agree with the Bill now before the House. I would like to say that not only do I support the Bill, but I would like to add—and I am sure my Cabinet colleagues would not mind it—that I played a major role in the formulation of this Bill (*Applause*).

This Bill, Sir, reflects the spirit and ideal which made it possible for many people to sacrifice their all in the fight for our country's independence. They certainly inspired me to sacrifice a career which would have made me as much a rich man as the Honourable Member for Batu (*Laughter*) and a healthier man.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon (Batu): On a point of clarification, Mr Speaker, Sir, I do not know where the Minister of Home Affairs got the notion that I am a rich man! (*Laughter*).

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Houses all over Kuala Lumpur!

Tun Dr Ismail: Well, I shall not try to satisfy the Honourable Member's curiosity for the moment. And I would certainly be a much healthier man than I am. I sacrificed all this for the greater cause of serving the country to achieve its independence. They are, Sir, the same spirit and ideal which made it possible for me to continue to serve 10 years after independence in spite of failing health. What are they, Sir, these spirit and ideal which made it possible for this country to be independent in spite of predictions to the contrary, which made Malaya after independence the showpiece of South-East Asia? Sir, they are the spirit of tolerance and the ideal of living in harmony in a multi-racial society. We have not seen this spirit of tolerance flow as readily in the lands from which our ancestors came. India's turbulence, Indonesia's convulsions and China's mighty upheavals bear testimony to this. Here, in Malaysia, by the intermingling of races through centuries we have developed something of our own.

The difficulties of pre-independent days to some are a thing of the past; to those born after independence a matter of history to be learned, but to those who have participated in them a guide to the future. We who have gone through the pre-independence days cannot help but remember the fears of the various races, now citizens of this country. The Malays were afraid that their privileged position under the British rule would be eroded and they would succumb to and be devoured by the others, especially the Chinese. They were afraid of giving citizenship to the Chinese for fear that the Chinese would be in a better position to devour them. They feared that independent Malaysia, or Malaya then, would be a Chinese Malaysia or Malaya. And, above all, they feared that their greatest asset, their language, would die, or, at the very best, relegated to a minor role. What did the other races, the Chinese and the Indians, fear? They feared that because the Malays would hold political power in the immediate post-independence period, the Malays would use this power to divest them of what they had during the colonial regime. They feared they would be second-class citizens in Malaysia.

Today, Sir, those, who have seen and are prepared to admit the facts, would say that all these fears are totally unjustified. They are unjustified because of the spirit of tolerance and the ideal of working together in a multi-racial society. This is the spirit and this is the ideal to which I have subscribed and which I shall continue to subscribe to my dying day, and it is because of them that I took a major role in formulating this Bill.

This Bill, Sir, on the one hand, will not convert those who are wedded to the policy of establishing languages other than the national language to be the official language; those who are strongly convinced that the national language should be not only the sole official language but it also should be the only language of communication between Government and the public. On the other hand, Sir, this Bill will appeal to those Malaysians—Malays, Chinese, Indians and others—who take

a national pride in the national language to be the sole official language while at the same time realising that at the present stage of Malaysia's history the languages of other communities too must be used for translation of official documents and communications, so that all citizens can understand what is going on in their own country.

Judging from the way the national language has made progress since independence and the number of young people and literate adults who have vigorously studied it, I personally am of the opinion that it is not very long more before the national language is the only language being used in this country. What this Bill has done, therefore, is to make all Malaysians of whatever racial origin to acknowledge the national language as the sole official language, while taking into consideration the difficulties of those who are no longer young and could not reasonably be expected to study the national language during their lifetime, and also the illiterate who could not, either through lack of facilities, or mental capacity, learn the national language. Surely, this cannot be said to be a compromise to belittle the national language, since it is only humane and reasonable to be understanding and considerate to the old and the illiterate. We, in the Alliance, are practical men, believing in parliamentary democracy. We do not seek to force our views by undemocratic means on those, who would not listen to reason. We seek to convince those Malaysians, who are tolerant and practical, that the Alliance method of implementing the National Language to be the official language is the only method for them to follow, because other methods as advocated by other political parties will only lead to racial disunity with all its complications.

Sir, the language issue is not the first time that we appeal to the spirit of tolerance and reason to the people of this country. Before independence we appealed to them to be tolerant and reasonable on the citizenship issue, and their trust in us has not been unjustified, because today those Malaysians who were non-citizens before independence

have practically all become citizens of this country. Citizenship then was as much a controversial emotional issue as the language issue is now. But by evoking tolerance and reasons we have succeeded. The opposition to the citizenship issue was just as great, if not greater than the opposition now existing to the language issue, but it comes mainly from those people who have not imbibed the spirit of tolerance and who refuse to accept the concept of inter-racial harmony. But their opposition to the Alliance's reasonable and considerate approach to the national issues have not deterred us from doing what was good in the interests of national solidarity and independence, nor will they deter us now from implementing this rational approach to the language problem. We believe a rational and honest approach to the national problem, we will win the support of all tolerant loyal Malaysians.

So, Sir, when this Bill becomes law, the National Language which originated as the Malay Language jealously guarded by the Malays from extinction during colonial rule becomes a language of all loyal patriotic Malaysians, and its custody is passed into the hands of the nation as a whole, to be handed down to future generations enriched by the geniuses of many races, which now make up the Malaysian nation. It is for them to remember that tolerance and goodwill are the twins, which nurse the birth of the National Language, their greatest national asset.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sekarang saya hendak menjawab sa-banyak sadikit tuduhan yang telah datang daripada Ahli² PAS, yang terutama sa-kali Ahli dari Pasir Puteh. Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh membangkitkan semangat kebangsaan—saya suka menyatakan kepada Ahli dari Pasir Puteh, ia-itu semangat kebangsaan ini boleh di-gunakan untuk membena atau pun untuk membinasakan negara. Kita telah lihat dengan mata kita sendiri, ia-itu sa-buah negeri yang berjiran, yang dekat dengan kita, ada sa-orang penganjor yang lebeh faseh, yang lebeh boleh menaikkan semangat ra'ayat daripada Ahli daripada Pasir Puteh—ta'

ada satu orang pun yang boleh membanding penganjor yang termashor itu.

Tetapi, apa-kah telah terjadi kepada negara itu? Apa-kah telah jadi kepada penganjor yang dahulu-nya di-sanjong? Sekarang di-tindas oleh ra'ayat. Ini ia-lah oleh sebab menyalah-gunakan semangat kebangsaan—kerana membinasakan bukan-nya membena negara. Sa-patut-nya Ahli² daripada Parti PAS, terutama sa-kali Ahli dari Pasir Puteh, patut-lah mempelajari 'alaman daripada Parti-nya sendiri, dan 'alaman daripada negeri yang berjiran dengan kita. Ia-itu, jikalau kita gunakan semangat kebangsaan ini untuk membinasakan negara sa-bagaimana yang di-katakan oleh Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku, bukan-nya orang yang menaikkan semangat itu yang dapat la'anat, bahkan ra'ayat jelata. Penganjor yang mashor yang berjiran dengan kita itu, hingga sekarang dudok senang lenang, tetapi yang menderita, yang menghadapi segala kesulitan sekarang siapa? Ia-lah ra'ayat jelata.

Bagitu juga-lah Parti PAS ini, dahulu menyalah-gunakan kitab suchi ia-itu Al Qura'an—menyalah-gunakan hingga mereka menjadi Kerajaan di-sana. Sekarang, bila sudah menjadi Kerajaan di-sana, sa-telah memegang teraju dan ada semua kuat-kuasa, tidak dapat membena kerana kepentingan ra'ayat. Jadi sekarang menchari jalan lain supaya mengelirukan ra'ayat supaya menaikkan semangat ra'ayat supaya akan membinasakan negeri ini. Kerana, jikalau ucapan sa-macham yang diperbuat oleh Ahli dari Pasir Puteh itu di-sebarkan di-seluruh tanah ayer ini, tetap sa-kali pergadohan yang besar yang menumpahkan darah akan berlaku. Kerana, kita yang dudok di-sini—dalam Parlimen ini, yang berfikiran yang tenang, jikalau mendengarkan ucapan Ahli Yang Berhormat itu, meluap² naik-nya kita benchikan kepada mereka itu. Apa-kah lagi jikalau semangat sa-macham itu di-sebarkan di-luar Parlimen ini, tentu-lah kachau-bilau, bahkan tumpah darah, akan berlaku dalam negeri ini. Dan saya telah memberi akuan kepada Ahli² Parti saya, jika keadaan sa-macham itu berlaku, saya sedia berkorbankan

nyawa saya bertanggong-jawab sa-mula di-dalam jawatan (*Tepok*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita dudok dalam negeri yang ra'ayat-nya daripada berbilang bangsa. Kita tidak boleh dudok dalam angan² sahaja, Parti PAS ini dahulu—bila dia menubuhkan Parti PAS ini, ada angan² hendak menjadi Kerajaan. Tetapi bila dia telah diangkat menjadi Kerajaan, tidak dapat melaksanakan janji² yang palsu yang di-perbuat, maka dia dudok-lah menjadi orang kayangan sa-mata² dalam angan² sahaja. Tidak ada orang yang lebeh dahshat yang akan merosakkan negeri daripada orang² yang sa-mata² dudok dalam angan². Kerana mereka itu tidak jauh-lah beza-nya daripada orang² yang gila. Kerana, jikalau dudok dalam angan² itu, kita merasa ia-itu orang lain itu semua-nya manusia, chuma dia itu mala'ikat. Chuba-lah kita lihat, dia mengatakan yang kita ini tidak sa-benar²-nya hendak melaksanakan yang bahasa kebangsaan ini ia-lah bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di-dalam Bill ini, kerana kata-nya, kita membenarkan penggunaan dengan chara penterjemahan bahasa lain², dia pula mengutuk ia-itu ini-lah kata dia, semangat yang di-perbuat oleh UMNO dari masa kita berjuang untuk nasib negara. Saya hendak petek satu daripada ucapan dia yang menjadi falsafah atau pun ideology Parti PAS. Ini kata dia “kita telah bertolak ansor dalam soal kemerdekaan, kita telah bertolak ansor dalam soal kewarganegaraan, ugama, pekerjaan malah dalam soal ketenteraman juga kita telah bertolak ansor.” Ini bukan-nya dia yang bertolak ansor, kalau dia yang bertolak ansor boleh-lah dia berkata kita, yang bertolak ansor ini Parti Perikatan. Kita bertolak ansor, kerana kepentingan negara dengan tidak mengeneipikan chita² ra'ayat daripada keturunan Melayu. Kita ketahuⁱ dahulu bila kita berjuang untuk hendak memerdekakan negara kita, kita tidak dapat kemerdekaan itu, melainkan kita dapat sokongan daripada bangsa² lain yang ada dalam negeri ini.

Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh itu tahu jalan lain tidak ada bagi memerdekakan Tanah Melayu ini, kerana hendak memerdekakan Tanah

Melayu kena-lah kita bertolak ansor dan sekarang negeri telah merdeka. Sekarang Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh dan ahli² PAS yang lain dapat rezeki, kerana dengan tolak ansor kita memperdekakan Tanah Melayu (*Tepok*).

Saya tidak nampak yang Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh boleh menjadi Menteri Besar Kelantan di-bawah penjajah dahulu (*Tepok*). Saya tidak nampak Ahli dari Pasir Mas Hulu itu, boleh dudok di-sini, berchakap berjam² kalau di-bawah penjajahan dahulu. Dengan jasa UMNO-lah memerdekakan Tanah Ayer tuan² semua dapat rezeki, meninggikan taraf hidup tuan² sakalian dudok dalam Dewan yang Berhormat ini. (*An Honourable Member*: Betul, betul).

Kita di-kata-nya bertolak ansor, dalam soal kewarganegaraan ya'ani kalau tidak ada bertolak ansor dalam kewarganegaraan, negeri ini tidak merdeka. Saya tahu dahulu orang Melayu-lah hendak hidup, hidup-lah Melayu. Tetapi saya tidak redza berjuang pada masa itu, saya kata lebeh baik kita dudok hamba, lebeh baik dudok miskin dalam negeri yang merdeka. daripada kaya dalam negeri yang di-naung oleh bangsa lain.

Tuan Mohd. Daud bin Abdul Samad: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta penjelasan

Tun Dr Ismail: Dia telah 3½ jam—Parti PAS ini—berchakap, saya baharu berchakap ½ jam sahaja. Minta ma'af-lah dahulu—tolak ansor—minta ma'af-lah dahulu (*Ketawa*).

Jadi sebab kemerdekaan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita bertolak ansor atas hal ini kerana kita percaya kalau dengan tidak bertolak ansor atas soal kewarganegaraan ini, negeri ini tidak boleh merdeka, tetapi dia lupa bila kita ber-setuju dengan memberi kewarganegaraan ini kita telah mendapat akuan yang bahasa Melayu kan menjadi bahasa kebangsaan dan bahasa rasmi yang tunggal.

Sa-malam Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada M.I.C., Menteri Dato' V. T. Sambanthan, Menteri Tan Siew Sin

telah mengaku dalam Rumah ini yang bahasa Melayu menjadi bahasa Kebangsaan menjadi bahasa yang rasmi dalam negeri yang merdeka ini. Inilah kita bertolak ansor hendak memerdekan negara, mendaulkan bahasa dan hasrat orang² Melayu dalam negeri yang merdeka. Dia berkata kita bertolak ansor dalam ugama tetapi lihat-lah dalam Kelantan sana tidak ada bertolak ansor dalam ugama adakah orang sana lebih maju daripada sini? Chuma yang maju di-sana menchari jalan bagaimana menyalah gunakan ra'ayat, menipu ra'ayat supaya menjadi Kerajaan dalam negeri Kelantan.

Itu-lah yang tuan² di-sana tidak bertolak ansor atas ugama kerana Ahli² Yang Berhormat itu ketahui ia itu jikalau bertolak ansor di-biarkan ugama lain boleh berjalan, dia takut orang² Islam akan pandang bagaimana tinggi-nya Ugama Islam yang telah disalah gunakan oleh Parti Pas itu. Jadi ini bertolak ansor, bertolak ansor jika kerana kepentingan negara kerana hendak mendaulkan bahasa kita, kita sedia bertolak ansor sa-macam itu. Tetapi jika kita bertolak ansor atas prinsip-nya atas soal national, itu kita boleh di-kutok.

Satu lagi yang saya suka hendak memberi tahu kepada Ahli² Yang Berhormat PAS dia kata orang² Melayu dalam negeri yang merdeka ini habis kesemua²-nya. Jika di-bandingkan orang Melayu melainkan orang Melayu di-Kelantan, orang Melayu di-seluruh Malaysia ini lebih maju daripada orang² Melayu di-bawah naungan Kerajaan Inggeris dahulu (*Tepok*). Jika ada-lah orang² Melayu mundor, dia mundor ia-lah oleh sebab negeri Kelantan kerana Kerajaan Kelantan—Kerajaan Melayu mengkhianat bangsa Melayu daripada menchapai kemerdekaan dalam negeri yang merdeka (*Tepok*).

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah (Kelantan Hilir): Tuan Pengerusi. . . .

Tun Dr Ismail: Dia belum berchakap nanti kemudian dia boleh jawab, saya boleh dengar.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Saya hendak jawab.

Tun Dr Ismail: Dia boleh jawab kemudian.

Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah: Kelantan lebih maju (*Di-Sampok*).

Tun Dr Ismail: Jadi tidak payah-lah saya hendak mengatakan chuma saya kata kalau telah menumpang tui mendapat rezeki menadah-lah tangan, menguchap shukor kapada Allah, kapada Perikatan.

Now, Sir, it is significant that the Member for Ipoh has said that the battle for language has been going on for the last ten years—it means that it has gone on since independence. The Honourable Member for Ipoh conveniently forgets that without the compromise that we achieved among the various races in this country, we would not have got independence in this country. So, it is no use to go against the tide to ask for multi-lingualism, as it will not be accepted by the large majority of the people in this country. Of course, if it gives satisfaction to the Honourable Member for Ipoh and his Party to keep on playing this battle for multi-lingualism among their followers, we have no objection, being democratic people, for them to be isolated in the wilderness in this independent country, for we believe in democracy, and we believe that it is all right for them to go and preach this multi-lingualism so long as they do not go beyond what is allowed by democratic practice and by Constitution. We do not intend to suppress the minority of this country if it gives them great pleasure to talk among themselves of the history of the battle of multi-lingualism for the last ten years. Let them do so in the political wilderness of this country. I am very surprised at the Honourable Member for Ipoh because, if I am quoting him correctly, he has said that this Bill is putting the English language on a par with the national language in regard to its being the official language of this country. I would have thought that we have degraded the English language and made Malay the sole official language, as we have only made

exceptions where English is allowed to be used. Sir, when it comes down to brasstacks, it is the Alliance that can deliver the goods in this multi-racial society. We know that the majority of the people in this country will support that.

Kita ketahui yang dalam negeri ini tidak ada satu parti yang lain yang boleh melaksanakan chita² ra'ayat. Tetapi oleh sebab kita, parti yang bertimbang rasa, yang perchaya kepada demokrasi, yang hendakkan pembangkang dalam Parlimen, jikalau tuan² suka juga menjalankan bagaimana yang tuan² sukakan itu, jalankan-lah. Tetapi saya fikir tuan² tidak dapat menjadi pemegang teraju Kerajaan Malaysia ini. Tuan² tidak boleh bagi parti PAS hendak mengelirukan ra'ayat seluruh Malaysia, sa-bagaimana tuan² telah mengelirukan ra'ayat di-Kelantan sana. Tuan² tidak boleh menggunakan Bill ini bagaimana tuan² boleh menyalahgunakan Quran untuk kepentingan tuan² sakalian. Kita tetap akan menyokong Bill ini dan akan menerangkan kepada semua ra'ayat jelata dan memechahkan telur tembelang yang sa-lama² ini di-simpan oleh Parti PAS di-Kelantan sana dan tidak boleh-lah bau busok itu datang ka-seluruh tanah Malaysia ini. Terima kaseh (*Tepok*).

Dr Tan Chee Khoo (Batu): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ingin mengambil bahagian dalam perbahathan Rang Undang² Bahasa Kebangsaan yang dikemukakan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri.

Saya perchaya bahasa kebangsaan kita telah di-aku² dan di-terima sa-bagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal oleh semua ra'ayat di-seluruh Malaysia. Saya berpendapat perkara ini tidak menjadi soal lagi. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mengapa saya berchakap bahasa kebangsaan tidak menjadi soal lagi. Saya berchakap oleh sebab. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-sekolah² di-seluruh Malaysia, penuntut² atau murid²-nya di-sekolah² tersebut terpaksa belajar bahasa Kebangsaan dan terpaksa lulus bahasa kebangsaan. Oleh sebab itu kalau murid² lulus daripada sekolah² mereka, mesti-lah tahu bahasa kebangsaan, mesti-lah boleh mengguna-

kan bahasa kebangsaan. Bagitu-lah juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-Universiti Malaya dan di-negeri ini kita ada sa-buah Universiti sahaja, bahasa kebangsaan telah di-gunakan di-beberapa fakulti. Sa-umpama-nya di-Fakulti Ekonomi dan Pentadbiran, semua mahasiswa² di-fakulti itu terpaksa belajar bahasa kebangsaan dan terpaksa lulus peperiksaan di-dalam bahasa kebangsaan.

Bukan itu sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pensharah² di-fakulti itu walau pun mereka bukan warganegara kita. semua saya tahu, ada belajar bahasa kebangsaan dan boleh memberi sharahan di-dalam bahasa kebangsaan dan mahasiswa² boleh mengikut sharahan² itu di-dalam bahasa kebangsaan itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tetapi kita mesti tahu di-negeri ini bukan kita mempunyai murid² dan mahasiswa² di-Universiti sahaja. Kita ada juga, saperti di-katakan oleh Yang Berhormat Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri, ada orang tua, orang tua yang tidak tahu apa bahasa juga, yang barangkali otak-nya sudah tua tidak boleh belajar. Umpama-nya dua orang Menteri samalam, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, berkata otak mereka barangkali sudah tua tidak boleh belajar atau belum belajar bahasa kebangsaan.

Mr Speaker: Persidangan ini di-tempohkan sa-lama 15 minit.

Sitting suspended at 11.15 a.m.

Sitting resumed at 11.30 a.m.

(Mr Deputy Speaker in the Chair)

Debate resumed.

Dr Tan Chee Khoo: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tadi saya menyentuh sedikit kesusahan² atau masaalah² orang tua yang bukan bumiputera untuk belajar dan menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan kita. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, penjaja², pekebun², pekerja² di-kedai² dan lain²-nya semua tidak chukup masa untuk menchari wang untuk membela keluarga-nya. Oleh sebab itu kita tidak boleh berharap mereka, walau pun mereka mahu belajar atau menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan, tetapi saya

perchaya mereka semua tahu sedikit sa-banyak bahasa pasar, kalau kita berchakap dengan mereka, "lu apa mahu?—Saya mahu beli daging". mereka itu faham, tetapi kalau kita berharap mereka berchakap bahasa kebangsaan seperti Wakil dari Pasir Puteh tentu-lah kita tidak boleh dapati seperti itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak memberi tahu kepada Rumah Yang Berhormat ini kesusahan² doktor² di-negeri ini untuk belajar bahasa kebangsaan. Saya hendak menyentoh perkara ini oleh sebab Rang Undang² ini ada menyentoh tentang peguam² di-negara kita. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, doktor² dan kakitangan Kerajaan yang bekerja di-rumah² sakit di-seluruh negeri ini, mereka kena bekerja siang dan malam; boleh di-katakan 24 jam mereka bekerja. Oleh sebab itu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mereka tidak dapat masa atau peluang untuk belajar bahasa kebangsaan dan saya dapati dan tahu banyak doktor² dan kakitangan Kerajaan tidak lulus peperiksaan bahasa kebangsaan. Saya berharap Kerajaan Pusat boleh bagi masa yang tetap kepada doktor² di-negeri ini supaya mereka itu boleh belajar bahasa kebangsaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sekarang hendak menyentoh sedikit tentang kesulitan² atau kerumitan² orang yang hendak belajar bahasa kebangsaan. Saya telah menyentoh tadi tentang orang tua, sekarang saya hendak menyentoh sedikit tentang peguam² di-negeri kita.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya ada disini surat daripada peguam dan daripada Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka dan saya ingin bachakan sedikit surat ini.

Pada 6hb Mei, 1965, Setia-usaha Peguam di-negeri Selangor menulis sapuchok surat kepada Setia-usaha, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur—perkara: Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan:

(1) Surat daripada Setia-usaha Peguam di-Negeri Selangor:

"Tuan,

I have been directed to write to you as follows.

As this is the National Language Month, the Committee intends to organise a "crash programme" for its members to study the

National Language. I have sent out a circular to our members to ascertain the numbers who intend to attend such course. I shall know this by tomorrow. I find that the most suitable time for the members to study will be about 8 a.m. each morning before the Court sits, and the venue will be the Bar Room, High Court, Kuala Lumpur.

The Committee will be pleased to know whether you are in a position to help us to run this course in providing us with a teacher and the necessary books.

The Committee is further anxious for the course to begin as soon as possible to be in time to finish with the close of the National Language Month. I shall be pleased to receive your views and suggestions early."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tarikh surat ini ialah 6hb Mei tetapi malangnya peguam ini tidak dapat jawapan daripada Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, oleh sebab itu pada 14hb Jun, 1965, Setia-usaha itu menulis sapuchok surat samula kepada Setia-usaha, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka mengenai perkara Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan.

"Tuan,

I refer to my letter of the 6th May, 1965, and regret to note that you have not given me a reply. Since writing to you, a total number of 40 members of the Bar have indicated to me that they are anxious to attend the classes to study the National Language.

I shall accordingly be pleased if you will kindly let me know whether you are in a position to assist us in this matter. Kindly let me have an early reply.

Yours faithfully,
Setia-usaha, Peguam."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-lepas itu Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka pada 17hb Jun, 1965, menjawab bagini:

(2) Jawapan daripada Setia-usaha, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur.

"Tuan,

Dengan hormat-nya di-ma'alumkan surat tuan yang bertarikh 14 haribulan Jun tahun 1965 selamat di-terima. Dukachita di-nyata, saya tidak dapat menolong tuan mencharikan guru untuk mengajar kelas bahasa kebangsaan yang tuan chadangkan itu, kerana kelas itu di-jalankan pada waktu pagi.

Saya shorkan kalau dapat waktu belajar itu di-ubah kepada petang dan untuk mendapatkan guru sila-lah berhubung dengan Ketua Pegawai Pelajaran Selangor."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kita tahu mustahak-lah peguam² di-negeri kita

belajar dan menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan terutama di-Mahkamah². Oleh sebab itu, saya hairan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka tidak berikan pertolongan yang di-kehendaki oleh peguam² di-Kuala Lumpur. Saya berharap Menteri Pelajaran boleh siasat perkara ini dan sa-terus-nya menyuruh Setia-usaha Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka beri pertolongan yang di-kehendaki oleh peguam² bukan di-Kuala Lumpur sahaja bahkan di-seluruh Malaysia.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tadi saya berkata bahasa kebangsaan tidak payah-lah menjadi soal lagi di-negeri kita. Kita tahu murid² yang bukan bumiputera di-negeri kita telah berjaya di-dalam peperiksaan bahasa kebangsaan, bagitu juga berjaya dalam pertandingan bahasa kebangsaan di-seluruh Malaysia. Oleh sebab itu kalau mereka keluar daripada sekolah, mereka mesti-lah tahu dan mesti boleh menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan. Walau bagaimana pun, saya yakin dalam satu pembiakan atau perlahiran semua ra'ayat di-seluruh Malaysia boleh menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan kita.

Bagitu juga, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saperti di-katakan oleh Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri, saya perchaya di-masa akan datang ra'ayat yang bukan bumiputera boleh, bukan menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan, bahkan boleh men-angrang, menulis cerita panjang atau cerita pendek dalam bahasa kebangsaan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada Disember tahun 1965 dalam perbahathan Anggaran Belanjawan, saya telah mendesak Kerajaan Pusat memberi tahu atau menunjukkan langkah² kepada Rumah yang mulia ini langkah² yang akan di-ambil oleh Kerajaan Pusat supaya bahasa kebangsaan kita boleh menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal. Saya pada masa itu juga mencheritakan kerisauan atau gemparan bahasa yang berlaku di-Belgium, Punjab, Madras dan Ceylon. Di-negeri itu, terutama di-negeri India, ada orang yang membakar diri-nya sendiri atau dalam bahasa Inggeris, "they make a human barbecue of themselves". Malang-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Kerajaan Pusat tidak mengambil tindakan tentang seruan saya. Chuma

kita mendengar Timbalan Perdana Menteri berchakap, "ini soal tidak jadi soal lagi, kalau ada masaalah kita boleh mengikut Perlembagaan kita, buku itu yang paling suchi", berkata Timbalan Perdana Menteri, tetapi kita tahu kalau Kerajaan Pusat pekak dan bisu mengenai perkara ini yang paling penting dan mustahak, kita tahu apa yang di-katakan oleh Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri boleh berlaku di-negeri kita.

Kita tahu, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-tahun yang lalu ada pergaduhan dalam M.C.A. dan Enche' Sim Mow Yu telah di-tolak daripada M.C.A. Kita tahu dalam masa tahun yang lalu ada pergaduhan M.C.A. dengan UMNO dan juga dengan Tuan Syed Nasir. Oleh sebab itu mustahak-lah Kerajaan meng-ambil tindakan saperti Rang Undang² Penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-section 5 Rang Undang² Penggunaan Bahasa Kebangsaan ini saya bachakan:

"Yang di-Pertua Dewan Negara, Yang di-Pertua Dewan Ra'ayat atau Yang di-Pertua Dewan Negeri bagi mana² Negeri, atau sa-saorang lain yang pada masa itu menjalankan tugas² mana² jawatan itu, boleh membenarkan sa-saorang Ahli dari mana² satu daripada dua Majlis Parlimen atau dari Dewan Negeri, mengikuti mana yang berkenaan, menggunakan bahasa Inggeris apabila membuat ucapan dalam mana² satu daripada dua Majlis Parlimen atau dalam mana² Dewan Negeri, atau pun apabila dengan jalan lain mengambil bahagian dalam kerja²-nya."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, bernasib baik Kerajaan Pusat mengambil tindakan ini. Kalau sa-kira-nya Kerajaan Pusat tidak mengambil tindakan saperti ini dan kalau Ahli² Dewan Ra'ayat ini tidak di-beri kebenaran untuk berchakap dalam bahasa Inggeris maka berapa Ahli² yang bukan bumiputera mulut-nya kena di-tutup oleh Kerajaan terutama beberapa Menteri² yang dudok di-hadapan saya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, boleh di-katakan Menteri² itu atau—back-benchers—boleh jadi mulut batu (*Ketawa*), bukan kepala batu. Kita sa-malam telah mendengar dua orang Menteri berkata oleh sebab saya sudah uzor, sudah tua, tidak boleh belajar atau tidak ada masa belajar bahasa kebangsaan. Tuan Yang

di-Pertua, Kerajaan Pusat telah memberi 10 tahun kepada semua ra'ayat di-seluruh Malaysia untuk belajar bahasa kebangsaan. Sa-kira-nya kalau 10 tahun tidak menghukupi untuk Menteri² belajar bahasa kebangsaan, berapa tahun lagi mereka hendak belajar bahasa kebangsaan?

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak menceritakan sedikit hal yang berlaku dalam meshuarat Majlis Undangan Negeri Selangor dalam Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan yang lalu. Kita tahu dalam Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan terutama parti Perikatan menjerit² kita mesti menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan, kita mesti mengutamakan bahasa Kebangsaan, kita mesti menjayakan bahasa Kebangsaan, tetapi malang-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, di-meshuarat Majlis Undangan Negeri Selangor dalam masa Bulan Bahasa Kebangsaan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua Meshuarat itu telah menghukum semua Ahli² di-meshuarat itu mesti menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan dan kami ahli Front Socialist pada masa itu semua menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan mengikut hukuman Tuan Yang di-Pertua itu.

Tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, malang-nya satu pagi apabila saya masuk bilek meshuarat itu, saya mendengar sa-orang Ahli Perikatan berchakap dalam bahasa Inggeris. Saya terkejut Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan saya bangun untuk bertanya Tuan Yang di-Pertua itu mengapa beliau di-berikan kebenaran untuk berchakap di-dalam bahasa Inggeris dan jawab Tuan Yang di-Pertua itu mesti—saya berharap wartawan² boleh di-siarkan di-dalam surat khabar—jawapan Tuan Yang di-Pertua itu kata-nya, "Kalau saya tidak memberi kebenaran untuk berchakap dalam Bahasa Inggeris, saya menyuruh Ahli Yang Berhormat itu berchakap dalam bahasa kebangsaan, maka ucapan-nya tidak di-faham oleh semua di-dalam bilek itu."

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, itu-lah Parti Perikatan berkata berjerit² semua menyuruh kita menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan, tetapi ahli² Parti Perikatan dan Ahli² Majlis Undangan Negeri tidak faham dan tidak boleh meng-

gunakan bahasa kebangsaan. Itu jangan seperti saya katakan pada masa itu jangan bohong, buat bohong sahaja jangan menipu ra'ayat di-Selangor; Parti Perikatan buat chogan kata,—Oh! kita mesti menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan, ada iringan bahasa kebangsaan, tetapi mengapa ahli² dan wakil² tidak berchakap dalam bahasa kebangsaan? Tidak payah-lah saya ceritakan hal ini lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, malu sahaja, jikalau wartawan² siarkan chakapan saya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, malang-nya di-Rang Undang² ini sentoh bahasa di-dalam Dewan Negara, Dewan Ra'ayat, Dewan Majlis Undangan Negeri² sahaja, tetapi tidak sentoh bahasa yang di-gunakan di-Majlis Bandaran dan di-Majlis Tempatan. Bernasib baik kita sekarang ada Menteri Kerajaan Tempatan dan Perumahan hadhir di-meshuarat ini sekarang. Saya mahu bertanya kepada Menteri yang berkenaan, di-meshuarat Bandaran dan di-Meshuarat Tempatan apa bahasa yang di-kehendaki oleh Kerajaan di-gunakan di-meshuarat tersebut? Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berharap di-Majlis Bandaran dan Majlis Tempatan, Kerajaan Pusat boleh memberi kebenaran kepada Ahli² Majlis tersebut untuk menggunakan bahasa yang mereka boleh menggunakan. Saya berkata begitu oleh sebab umpama-nya di-dalam Majlis Tempatan, Jinjang, yang ada 20,000 lebeh penduduk²-nya—yang ada pengundi², barangkali sekarang ada 10,000—di-sana malang-nya penduduk² di-sana tidak berapa faham dan tidak boleh menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan. Oleh sebab itu, kalau Kerajaan Pusat hendak mencari chalun² yang tahu bahasa Inggeris? atau bahasa kebangsaan sahaja, maka tidak boleh dapat chalun² yang sesuai. Oleh sebab itu saya berharap Menteri yang berkenaan boleh memberi kebenaran kepada chalun², atau Ahli² Majlis tersebut untuk menggunakan bahasa yang mereka boleh menggunakan. Dengan ini, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta izin untuk berchakap sedikit di-dalam bahasa Inggeris.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I think nobody in his right senses will say, and I have

not heard anybody in this House say, anything about the status of the national language. I think all of us in this House, even the Member for Ipoh and the Member for Bungsar, and the Member of the PAS in this House, have all agreed—and we have all agreed—that the national language should be the sole official language. What worries a number of people in this House—and these worries are of different kinds depending on whether they belong to the PAS or to the non-bumiputeras in this country—is the method of implementation, and I believe Clause 3 seeks to assuage the fears of all these people. On the one hand, you have the PAS and a large number, I believe, of extremists in the UMNO also, who are afraid that these so-called safeguards will erode away the rights of the Malays, that the national language will be denigrated in this country. As I have already stated before, the status of the national language is assured not only now but also for posterity in this country. No one can take away the position and the status of the national language in this country, and I think no one need fear that will ever happen in this country.

The P.M.I.P. seems to take the line that if the Government thinks that the time allotted for the national language to become the sole official language in this country is inadequate, then it should extend the time limit from 10 years perhaps to 15 years or perhaps to 20 years—they have not mentioned any time. But they seem to prefer or to take the line that they would rather have the Constitution amended to accommodate anyone who seems to think that there should be an extension of time—they would rather have that than this Bill that is before the House today. I think there is some merit in it, and I am not that brave enough to say who is right and who is wrong. Perhaps, with the passage of time, history will tell us whether that view is right or whether it is wrong.

On the other hand, you have the fears of the non-Malays. Here I wish to say, like the Member for Bungsar, that the Government must not take the

non-Malays opinion as being assured, that they will support this Bill wholeheartedly. The Tunku is reported to have made a decision to “sell” this Bill to the bumiputeras in this country. Presumably, the Government takes the line that they are assured of the support of the non-Malays in this country. I think that would be a mistake of the first order, if the Government were to assume that. If the Government were to take what has been said by the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, that both the M.C.A. and the M.I.C. are wholeheartedly behind this Bill and that all should be well, I say to both the absent Ministers, who are respectively Presidents of the M.C.A. and the M.I.C., that they do not represent majority opinion of the non-Malays in this country, and we must not assume that what they say represents the majority opinion in this country. The Government must take into consideration the genuine fears of the non-Malays. For example, they are genuinely afraid that with this Bill their education and their culture will be eroded away, and they have time and again asked that examinations should be conducted in the medium of instruction.

Mr Deputy Speaker: Sudah habis atau panjang lagi?

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Ada 20 minit lagi.

Mr Deputy Speaker: 20 minit lagi? Jadi, Meshuarat ini di-tanggohkan hingga pukul 4.00 petang ini.

Sitting suspended at 12.00 noon.

Sitting resumed at 4.00 p.m.

(Mr Deputy Speaker in the Chair)

EXEMPTED BUSINESS (MOTION)

The Assistant Minister of Finance (Dr Ng Kam Poh): Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move,

That notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 12 (1), this House shall not adjourn today until the National Language Bill shall have been read a third time and passed.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister (Tuan Chen Wing Sum): Sir, I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

That notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 12 (1), this House shall not adjourn today until the National Language Bill shall have been read a third time and passed.

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE BILL

Second Reading

Debate resumed.

Dr Tan Chee Khoon: Mr Speaker, Sir, when we broke up for the lunch interval, I was touching on the safeguards as provided for in Clauses 2 and 3 of this Bill. I entirely agree with the Honourable Prime Minister when he said that we should take these Clauses in the spirit that the Government means it to be, and naturally one hopes that these Clauses will be observed both in the law and in the spirit. But alas, Mr Speaker, Sir, the Prime Minister is as human as any one of us; we cannot expect him to be with us *ad infinitum*. Some day he must leave this House and not be with us and if he is not at the helm of affairs, then, of course, the fear arises that another person at the helm of affairs may not be as liberal, may not be as kind-hearted, may not have such a high sense of justice and of duty towards the whole nation. If that happens, of course, the non-Malays in this country naturally are very gravely concerned. Now, I am quite sure I am reflecting the views of a large section of the non-Malays or non-*bumiputeras* of this country when I say that if further safeguards have been written into this Bill to embody what the Prime Minister has told us yesterday morning.

Mr Speaker, Sir, let us take this question of more liberal use of other languages in this country. Let us take the question of signs in this country. The signs in this country on the Airport, or at the stations and on the roads and in particular, for example,

every now and then if you go along the roads, there are road repairs, you see the signboard there "Merbahaya". It is all very well to put a lamp down and put "Merbahaya" there, but "Merbahaya" may not mean anything at all to an elderly man who is riding along the road, he has not got a clue as to what that is, as he rides along, he goes down into the ditch and perhaps breaks his head or breaks his legs. If it were written in other languages as well, then, of course, it may, well mean the saving of a life. It is simple things like this that impress and convince the non-*bumiputeras* of this country that they too have a stake in this country and by the more extensive use of the other major languages in this country, this does not, in any way, detract or denigrate the status of the national language. As I have said it before and I say it again, and I will say it again and again whenever the opportunity occurs, the status of the national language is already assured for us. It is all enshrined in the Constitution, and it will remain with us *ad infinitum*, so that there should be no uneasiness on the part of anybody on the status of the national language just because other groups are pressing for a little more use of the other major languages in this country.

Now, let us take also the correspondence with Government. Supposing a poor estate tapper, who has not gone beyond Standard V or VI of primary education in Tamil, he, perhaps, may well speak, have a little *tukar fikiran* with his boss in the national language, it is a different matter if you ask him to write a letter in the national language to a Government Department. So what has he got to do? With the little knowledge of Tamil that he has, if he can write a little, short, simple letter, perhaps very ungrammatical, and he sends it to a Government Department, I would say that he should have a right to do so; otherwise democracy means nothing to him because he would then have to spend, perhaps two or three dollars to get someone else to write for him, and I have seen these wretched letters written

by petition writers that totally do not mean what the person asked the writer to do and what the writer has written down—they are different entirely. Now, these safeguards, Mr Speaker, Sir, if they are written in to this Bill, will go a long way towards assuaging the fears of the non-*bumiputeras* of this country. What this group of people fear are what the Member for Johore Tenggara has stated. He has pointedly and openly in this House asked the Minister of Education, "When are you going to stop education in the English language? Announce the date when you will stop the primary education in the English language and go by stages." It is words like these, Mr Speaker, Sir, that strike fear and perhaps arouse not only anxiety but also anger in the hearts of the non-*bumiputeras* in this country, and there is absolutely no necessity for such, perhaps, threats—implied word on the part of anyone of us in this House. Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, much has been said that the non-*bumiputeras* should be very thankful to the Alliance Government for the good things of life that they have received and they are still receiving in this country. It is all very well for those who spout this to say such things, and by and large there may be a case for it. But I do wish to remind the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications who are respectively Heads of the M.C.A. and the M.I.C. that the non-*bumiputeras*, in particular the Chinese in this country, are by no means a minority race in this country. Nowhere else in the world you have such a unique situation where the Chinese are not a minority race. In the whole of South-East Asia—I will agree—in China Town in San Francisco and New York, they are all minority groups, but not in this country, as any statistics of population in this country will show.

Now, Mr Speaker, Sir, I entirely agree with the previous speakers on the use of the English language in this country. It is true that the English language has been the language of communication of our past, our

quondam imperialist masters but that should not make us want to throw it into the junk heap and use any other language. As has been pointed out, English is an international language, and I think it is no shame for anyone to say, "I am proficient in the English language," because in Russia they have made English the second language; in Red China they teach English in the schools, and since English can well be said to be an international language it would help us to make use of it as well. Now, let us look at Africa. The Africans are as nationalistic as anyone that you can find anywhere else in the world, but they use English. In Ghana, they use English. If you look at Ireland, now look at the Irish, they fought the British through centuries, and yet they use English today. Look at India. In India, when the Congress wanted to do away with English and replace it with Hindi, there were people in Madras who made human barbecues of themselves and there were threats of racial riots in Madras. Consequently, we should profit by the experience of others and be a little more tolerant in the use of English. Now, English has been specifically written down in this Bill as being the language that can be used in the courts. I wish to point out that English has its use in medicine as well. Last year, when I was in Seoul and in Taipeh, with the team that went to recruit doctors from South Korea, we went and visited some of the hospitals. When we went round the wards, and we looked at the notes, the notes were written in English. When we went to the Veterans Hospital in Taipeh and looked at that hospital, the notes were written in English. Now, this is obvious because, Mr Speaker, Sir, although the Korean language is a well-developed language, and no one can say that the Chinese language has not been developed with the thousands of years of tradition behind it, and yet the Chinese have found it more useful to write their notes in the English language. As such, I wholeheartedly agree with what the previous speakers have said about the use of the English language. But that, Mr Speaker, Sir, must not be construed that I advocate

the replacement of the national language by English—I do not do so. I only say that English is a very useful vehicle that we can conduct our public affairs in and pride of place must in all cases be given to the national language.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak sentoh sedikit tentang pertunjukan perasaan oleh Barisan Tindakan Bahasa Kebangsaan. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, malam tadi dan pagi ini, kita telah mendengar Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri dan juga Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri, memberi amaran kepada sa-siapa pun yang memecah atau pun mengachau keamanan negara kita; tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, malang-nya sa-buah pertunjukan perasaan oleh Barisan Tindakan Bahasa Kebangsaan telah berlaku. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya hendak bertanya kepada Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri mengapa pehak Polis tidak mengambil langkah atau tindakan² yang sesuai tentang pertunjukan perasaan itu?

Kita telah lihat, dalam tahun yang lalu ada-lah pertunjukan perasaan dan ahli² yang mengambil bahagian dalam pertunjukan perasaan itu telah ditangkap oleh pehak polis dan di-bawa ka-Mahkamah dan ada sedikit telah di-denda oleh Mahkamah tersebut. Mengapa saya hendak bertanya Menteri yang berkenaan pehak polis di-sini tidak mengambil tindakan yang lengkap dan sesuai?

Saya berharap di-masa yang akan datang sa-siapa pun yang hendak memecahkan keamanan di-negeri ini, mesti-lah pehak polis mengambil tindakan yang lengkap.

Mr Speaker, Sir, the stern warning of the Prime Minister and also the Minister of Home Affairs should be taken care of by anyone who wants to break the peace of this country. They should be told in no uncertain terms, these zealots, these extremists, these fanatics, these mad mullahs must be told in no uncertain terms that whatever party they may belong to or whatever racial origin they may be, they are not above the law and the law will have to take its course if they disturb

the peace, and I do hope that the Police will take note of the stern warning uttered by both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Home Affairs.

Akhir-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mari-lah kita bekerjasama² untuk penggunaan keutamaan, kejayaan dan kepentingan² bahasa kebangsaan kita supaya bahasa kebangsaan kita boleh 100% atau sa-penoh²-nya menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dan begitu juga alhamdulillah supaya negara kita boleh mencapai keamanan, kema'amoran dan kebahagiaan yang lebeh lanjut-nya. Terima kaseh (*Tepok*).

Tan Sri Nik Ahmad Kamil (Kota Bharu Hilir): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sebelum daripada saya berucap mengambil bahagian di-dalam perbahathan ini, saya suka-lah hendak menguchapkan sa-tinggi² tahniah kepada sahabat saya, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Batu, yang telah membuka ucapan-nya di-dalam bahasa kebangsaan tadi. Saya harap tidak berapa lama lagi beliau akan boleh terus berucap dalam bahasa kebangsaan. Ini-lah satu chontoh yang patut di-turut dan di-amati² oleh tiap² sa-orang warganegara yang chintakan kepada kebangsaan Malaysia yang kita hendak dirikan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sa-bagaimana sedia ma'alum pada sisi tuan sendiri, semenjak Dewan ini bersidang pada 19 haribulan Januari dahulu, sa-lain daripada dua kali saya bangun berchampur, ta' sampai sa-minit, saya ta' berchakap sa-patah pun, waktu kita berbahath Estimate yang biasa—Ordinary Estimates—dahulu, atau pun Estimates Pembenaan Negara, kerana sebab keuzoran saya, tetapi saya berasa dengan ada-nya di-hadapan kita satu masalah yang amat penting, maka ini-lah saya memberanikan diri saya berdiri untuk memberi buah fikiran saya mudah²an boleh menjadi panduan, tidak sahaja kepada sahabat² saya yang ada di-dalam Dewan ini, tetapi juga pada rakan² yang ada di-luar Dewan ini.

Kita sakalian yang hadir yang ada dalam Dewan ini yang menjadi Ahli Dewan Ra'ayat, kita sampai ka-sini

melalui beberapa saloran parti² politik, sa-telah kita di-pileh oleh ra'ayat mewakili ra'ayat di-Dewan ini, walau daripada apa parti politik sa-kali pun, kita dudok di-Dewan ini sa-bagai wakil negara sa-penoh-nya bertukar² fikiran, berbath untuk menchari jalan bagai mana-kah kita boleh mendapat membawa keamanan, kema'amoran dan kesejahteraan pada negara kita yang di-kasehi.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tiap² kali saya bangun berdiri berchampur dalam perbahathan, saya tidak sa-kali² lupa kepada apa yang kita lakukan pada tiap² hari kita mulakan persidangan kita ini, ia-itu kita membaca do'a memohon ka-hadzrat Allah subhanahu wata'ala memberi pertunjok pada kita menchari jalan yang baik. Biar-lah, dengan izin Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sebutkan sa-baris dua daripada apa yang kita berdo'a pada tiap² pagi yang kita mulakan persidangan kita :

Ya Tuhan, berkata-mu ka-atas kami berhimpun di-pohon anugerahkan, taufek-mu hidayat-mu di-pohon menyuloh memandukan, pada ketika kami berunding menimbang bertukar fikiran, pada segala perkara yang di-bentangkan, dengan saksama serta berkeamanan, menjunjong perintah dan kebesaran Tuhan, mudah-mudahan berlebeheh keamanan, kema'amoran dan kesejahteraan, bagi negara Malaysia, serta penduduk²-nya sakalian.

Saya ta' lupa sa-kali². Saya chuba bachakan pula apa dia sa-bahagian do'a dalam bahasa Ingeris bagi sahabat saya, yang barangkali ta' berapa boleh ikut, do'a yang di-bachakan oleh Tuan Setia-usaha Majlis pada tiap² pagi:

Let Thy blessing descend upon us here assembled, and grant that we may treat and consider all matters that shall come under our deliberation in so just and faithful a manner as to promote Thy Honour and Glory and to advance the peace, prosperity and welfare of Malaysia and its inhabitants.

Saya berani, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menyebutkan itu sebab saya percaya ini-lah ketika-nya waktu mana tiap² sa-orang daripada kita kena-lah menahankan diri daripada mengeluarkan perkataan² yang boleh membawa kachau-bilau di-dalam negara kita ini. Apa yang kita hendak bahathkan ia-lah kerana hendak menchari apa jalan yang kita boleh bawa keamanan,

kema'amoran dan kesejahteraan kepada negara kita Malaysia dan sakalian penduduk²-nya.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, kerap kali sahabat² saya yang datang dari luar negeri bersungut kepada saya kehairanan dan kepujian² mereka betapa-kah kita di-Malaysia ini yang mengandongi daripada berbagai² bangsa dan keturunan, boleh hidup dengan aman, sentosa dan bersatu-padu. Kata mereka: Kami boleh faham-lah waktu penjajah dahulu, penjajah itu memegang daching kuasa—balance of power, tiap² daripada kita Melayu baik, China, India baik, apa pun baik, masing² ada peruntukan bagi masing². Orang ini buat kerja-nya, orang ini berniaga dan lain², tetapi hairan sa-lepas awak ini semua merdeka tidak jadi apa² perbalahan dan perselisihan sa-hingga boleh hidup aman dan damai. Jawab saya: Terima kaseh banyak, betul bagitu, tetapi kalau sa-kira-nya awak tinggal dengan kami lama sadikit, tentu-lah boleh faham apa-kah sebab-nya.

Kita tak boleh napikan yang kita di-negara Malaysia ini, sekarang ini sudah menjadi Malaysia, dahulu Persekutuan Tanah Melayu (Federation of Malaya) sudah bertambah² dalam gulungan kita yang menjadi warganegara kita—mereka² daripada apa keturunan. Saya minta izin ceritakan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, waktu saya berkhidmat di-Amerika banyak kali saya di-jemput, daripada Persekutuan, Pertubuhan, universiti² dan lain²-nya pergi berchakap dan mengenalkan negara baharu kita yang baharu merdeka itu.

Saya ada terjumpa dalam simpanan saya beberapa salinan ucapan² yang telah saya sebut atau telah buat menerangkan kepada mereka apa-kah pendirian negara kita, waktu dahulu ia-lah Federation of Malaya lagi, sebelum menjadi Malaysia. Dengan izin tuan, saya chuba hendak bacha satu dua perenggan daripada ucapan yang saya telah buat lama² dahulu.

"The Federation of Malaya is a land of contrast, most of all, in its polyglot population. The contrast between the communities are more than mere differences of origin. To be a Malay or Chinese is to speak a language, to follow a way of life and to worship according to a religion which marks one of

as different from other communities. The sense of being different runs through the whole business of living, yet the Federation is a country where people live in the same towns, trade together, work together, play together in peace and harmony, despite the difference of culture. Each community contributes to the Malayan way of life and in turn each is dependent upon the contributions of the other."

Dengan izin Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya sambong sedikit lagi, saya bukan hendak membaca semua, tidak—saya boleh pilih sahaja perenggan² yang boleh menepati bagi perbahathan kita pada hari ini. Saya sambong, dengan izin tuan:

"The diverse background of the people of the Federation, contributing varied traditional customs, also connotes several forms of religious affiliations. As in other affairs, there is a highly civilised degree of tolerance, one to another, regarding individual forms of worship. The mosques and temples and the churches and chapels, splendid and humble, and the many who flock to them on worship days greatly enrich the Malayan scene. By and large, whatever the community, it is a pious country which to some extent may be responsible for the well-mannered and hospitable attitude of the people in general."

Ada lagi satu perenggan yang saya minta izin, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, hendak sambongkan lagi:

"The practical proof that peoples of widely divergent spiritual faith can live together in peace, mutual respect and goodwill is a cause for pride. This harmony of which the pervading atmospheres of general accord in my country has often been cited as a remarkable example of that Chinese dictum that within the four seas all men are brothers".

Ini-lah bahan²-nya yang saya menerangkan kepada orang² di-Amerika bagaimana-kah pendirian kita terdiri beberapa tahun dahulu. Sa-sungguh pun kita di-Federation of Malaya dahulu berbelah bagi keturunan-nya daripada beberapa bangsa, tetapi, saya berasa megah boleh menerangkan kepada mereka bahawa,

"By unanimous agreement of all communities, we now have a Constitution for the country which provides, among others that Malay shall be the National Language and that by 1967 it will be the only language for official use."

Dan ini-lah bahan² yang mustahak yang kita telah masok, terakan, chatitkan di-dalam Perlembagaan kita. Di-dalam kita membahathkan Rang Undang² yang ada di-depan kita pada

hari ini kena-lah kita rojok balek kapada Undang² Perlembagaan kita baru-lah kita boleh dapat fahaman yang sa-penoh-nya apa-kah yang ada dalam niat dan tujuan Kerajaan men-chadang dan membentangkan Rang Undang² yang ada di-depan kita pada hari ini berkenaan dengan bahasa kebangsaan. Pada himat dan faham saya sendiri dengan kita adakan Rang Undang² ini tidak sa-kali² kita lari keluar daripada apa yang kita telah sharatkan dan masokkan di-dalam Constitution kita.

Clause 2 yang men-chadangkan bahawa bahasa kebangsaan di-gunakan untok maksud² rasmi tak ada siapa pun yang engkar. Pehak pembangkang pun bersetuju tetapi, dukachita saya pehak pembangkang telah berpechah belah, berbelah bagi tentang menen-tang akan sharat² yang lain itu. Pehak pembangkang daripada Parti Islam sa-Malaya berkehendakkan sa-mata² di-gunakan bahasa kebangsaan sahaja, jangan-lah gunakan bahasa yang lain sa-bagai bahasa yang rasmi. Kita dengar kelmarin daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Ipoh dia pergi kapada extremes yang hujung pula ber-kehendakkan semua bahasa boleh di-gunakan dan patut di-gunakan.

Kita dengar hari ini daripada Yang Berhormat ahli daripada Batu dia kata Bill ini ada merit-nya. Kita berharap dia akan nampak jalan boleh menyokong Bill kita ini. Kita dengar pula Ahli daripada Bungsar—dia pun ber-chakap chukup dengan restrain—dan saya puji chakapan dia, tetapi dia minta Kerajaan timbangan, tambah lagi satu bab baru. Ini sudah ber-pechah daripada pehak sana—sudah empat orang kita dengar fikiran. Jikalau begitu kita yang duduk dalam Dewan ini kena-lah kita chari jalan—jalan yang boleh kita timbangan memuaskan hati semua dan juga melaksanakan apa yang kita janji². Dan menchari jalan supaya jangan dengan apa yang kita buat itu boleh melemah dan merentikan pentadbiran negara kita, perjalanan dalam mah-kamah² dan lain².

Pada fahaman saya dengan jalan Bill ini-lah, sa-lain daripada kita

melaksanakan janji² kita di-dalam Perlembagaan, ia-itu merasmikan bahasa kebangsaan itu bagi semua urusan ada juga kita mengadakan syarat² supaya jangan terhenti administration atau pun pentadbiran negeri ini.

Clause 3 telah di-tentang hebat dalam Dewan ini. Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri telah menerangkan apa-kah sebab kita mengadakan Clause 3 itu. Betul semenjak tahun 1957 kita telah menggalakkan bukan menggalakkan sahaja dan membelanjakan wang supaya kanak² boleh belajar bahasa kebangsaan tetapi adalah lagi di-antara kaum kita, warga negara kita, mereka² yang tertentu tidak faham atau payah hendak boleh faham bahasa kebangsaan dan Tunku Perdana Menteri telah menunjukkan contoh-nya dan petang ini tadi pun Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Batu telah menyebut ia bersetuju patut ada terjemahan perkataan kata dia "danger" atau pun "merbahaya" patut di-adakan terjemahan supaya boleh menyelamatkan jiwa mana² orang yang tidak tahu apa dia perkataan merbahaya itu—ma'ana-nya dan boleh-lah lagi kita mengeluarkan beberapa lagi contoh. Dia menuduh kata-nya, dengan adanya Fasal 3 ini boleh kita menggalakkan multi-lingualism dan pada pagi ini saya mendengar ada siapa-kah bercakap gunakan perkataan "semi-officialism"—perkataan baharu. Fahaman saya tidak begitu. Terjemahan² yang akan di-buat itu ia-lah dalam mana² perkara sahaja yang di-fikirkan patut di-sebutkan dengan terus-terang di-sini: untuk maksud yang di-fikirkan perlu demi kepentingan awam. Bukanlah bagaimana yang di-bimbangkan kerana ada-nya Clause 3 ini tiap² surat Kerajaan, notice Kerajaan, semua-nya akan di-terjemahkan di-dalam bahasa apa jua. Memang di-dalam huraian pun kita sudah menerangkan dengan cukup terang.

Kemudian Clause 4 di-bimbangkan bahasa Inggeris akan menchachatkan kedaulatan bahasa kebangsaan yang telah di-rasmikan itu dengan sebab di-situ di-beri kuasa kepada Yang di-Pertuan Agong membenarkan penggunaan bahasa Inggeris di-lanjutkan

untuk apa² maksud rasmi yang di-fikirkan patut.

Clause ini pada fahaman saya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ia-lah supaya membolehkan kita berutus dengan negara² luar yang tertentu yang tidak tahu bahasa rasmi atau bahasa kebangsaan kita atau pun kerana guna-nya mengikat perjanjian² dengan negara² luar dan juga dengan guna-nya seperti kita berutus dengan Pertubuhan Bangsa² Bersatu dan apa juga guna yang di-fikirkan patut, kita boleh gunakan bahasa Inggeris dan tidak sa-kali² pada fahaman saya kegunaan sa-bagitu boleh menchachatkan kedaulatan bahasa kebangsaan yang kita resmikan itu.

Saya sebutkan Pertubuhan Bangsa² Bersatu—pagi tadi rasa saya kalau tidak salah ingatan saya Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Mas Hulu ada menyebut, dia kata Inggeris itu bukan bahasa rasmi Pertubuhan Bangsa² Bersatu itu. Kerana hendak membetulkan—sa-belum saya lupa bahasa Inggeris itu satu daripada 5 bahasa yang menjadi bahasa rasmi di-Pertubuhan Bangsa² Bersatu—bahasa Inggeris, bahasa Perancis, bahasa Russia, bahasa Spanish dan bahasa China.

Clause 5 ini sudah banyak orang bercakap berkenaan dengan perkara ini ia-lah memberi peluang kepada Ahli² Dewan, sama ada Dewan Negara, Dewan Ra'ayat Dewan Perundangan Negeri, yang tidak berapa faham atau mahir bercakap bahasa kebangsaan, boleh bercakap dalam bahasa Inggeris sa-kira-nya di-izinkan oleh Tuan Yang di-Pertua atau siapa yang mengetuai Dewan² yang terma'alum, tetapi saya sendiri berharap Clause 5 ini tidak berapa lama kita boleh mansokhkan, kalau sa-kira-nya tiap² sa-orang yang chintakan negara, chintakan bangsa yang kita hendak dirikan sekarang ini dengan segera-nya mengambil kesempatan melancarkan diri masing² di-dalam bahasa kebangsaan (*Tepok*). Saya sendiri mengaku dengan bahasa kebangsaan yang telah di-terbitkan beberapa jilid buku² istilah oleh Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, saya sendiri tidak terhambat, Tuan Yang di-Pertua. Saya sendiri terpaksa kena

bacha dan mengambil fahaman atas perkataan² yang bahru, tetapi saya rela menggunakan sa-berapa masa, sebab saya sa-bagai anak Melayu kena-lah saya faham sa-dalam²-nya apa² perkataan baharu yang di-keluarkan oleh Dewan Bahasa dan Putaka dan saya mengambil peluang ini memuji Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka atas kerja mereka sa-lama di-tubuhkan Dewan itu mengeluarkan kitab² atau buku² kerana hendak meluaskan bahasa kita, bahasa Melayu, supaya boleh menjadi bahasa kebangsaan yang tepat yang boleh digunakan oleh semua penduduk² negara ini tidak berapa lama lagi.

Ini saya sampai-lah kepada Undang². Terpaksa-lah, mengikut fahaman saya, kita mengadakan shariat² di-dalam Clause 6 ini ia-lah kerana pusaka yang kita terima daripada penjahah dahulu.

Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri baik, saya baik, siapa dia pun baik, yang belajar Undang² kena pergi belajar ka-negeri England, tidak ada sekolah Undang² kita di-sini dahulu. Baharu dalam sa-tahun dua sahaja di-buka Faculti Undang² di-Universiti Singapura, dan saya rasa, kalau tidak salah ingatan, di-Universiti Malaya kita pun baharu di-buka Faculti Undang². Mengarang Undang² ini bukan perkara senang, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, dan Ahli² Yang Berhormat sedia ma'alum, silap faham Undang² boleh membawa kepada kedzaliman. Undang² itu ia-lah neracha ke'adilan. Saya ingat di-dalam Negeri² Yang Tidak Bersekutu dahulu—U.M.S.—sa-belum daripada perang ia itu negeri Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu dan Johor, bahasa rasmi negeri dan Kerajaan itu ia-lah bahasa Melayu tetapi Undang² yang di-buat yang di-sahkan ada terjemahan-nya dalam bahasa Inggeris walau pun Undang² yang di-sahkan itu ia-lah dalam bahasa Melayu.

Di-negeri saya sendiri, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Penal Code, Undang² Evidence, Undang² Criminal Procedure Code telah di-sahkan dalam tahun 1930 dalam bahasa Melayu, di-Kedah pun begitu juga. Saya banding tengok; tengok-lah section mana² di-antara

Kedah dengan Kelantan-kah atau dengan Trengganu-kah—lain² perkataan-nya di-gunakan. Kalau di-Kelantan kata Criminal Force itu Kekerasan Jenayah, di-Kedah kata Keras Criminal (*Ketawa*), di-Johor apa kata saya pun tidak tahu.

Jadi, ini-lah yang saya katakan Undang² itu jikalau tidak ada pakar²-nya yang sa-benar-nya faham bahasa Inggeris dan bahasa kebangsaan payah kita hendak mengubalkan satu Undang² yang boleh menjadi chukup terus terang, kepada loyar dan hakim², magistrate² kita sebab mereka-lah yang akan mentadbirkan ke'adilan di-dalam negara kita ini. Saya perchaya jikalau sa-kira-nya pengarang Undang² yang kita ada sekarang di-Pejabat Peguam Negara memereksa balek segala Undang² seperti saya katakan tadi—Penal Code, Evidence, Criminal Procedure Code, yang dalam bahasa Melayu yang di-buat di-Kelantan—jika periksa balek sekarang ini, oleh Legal Draftsman yang ada di-Office Peguam Negara, barangkali harus di-chaeng² sebab adalah di-situ tidak kena, di-sini tidak kena, di-situ tidak betul.

Saya sendiri chukup tahu di-atas kesusahan hendak mengarang Undang². Sebab saya sendiri menjadi Setia-usaha Kerajaan di-negeri Kelantan dengan itu menjadi Ahli Meshuarat Negeri daripada tahun 1934 sa-hingga saya berhenti dalam tahun 1953—tiap² keping Undang² yang di-bawa kepada Majlis Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan itu kena-lah melalui tangan saya sama ada dalam bahasa Inggeris atau bahasa Melayu. Dan berapa-kah belas² malam yang saya tidak tidor tiap² bulan kerana hendak memereksa supaya jangan ada perselisihan apa². Perjanjian Persekutuan Tanah Melayu tahun 1948 saya yang menterjemahkan dengan pertolongan sa-orang pakar bahasa Melayu yang pandai, Dr Linehan, dan terjemahan itu pun jikalau sa-kira-nya di-pereksa oleh Legal Draftsman yang ada sekarang yang dilateh menggubal dan mengarang Undang² dalam bahasa kebangsaan itu pun saya fikir akan di-chaengkan² juga. Tetapi shukor kita daripada sa-hari ka-sahari Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka telah mengeluarkan perkataan² yang

baharu yang boleh menjadi tepat menggantikan perkataan² Undang² dalam bahasa Inggeris. Jadi, saya berharap tidak berapa lama lagi insha Allah kita dapat membentangkan Rang Undang² kita di-dalam Dewan ini di-dalam bahasa kebangsaan sa-terus-nya.

Clause 8 kelmarin Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh waktu dia menyen-toh Clause 8 mengatakan dengan ada-nya sharat² begitu—kalau mengikut sharat itu boleh jadi hakim yang berchakap satu bahasa, loyar-nya satu bahasa, saksi-nya satu bahasa, per-jalanan perbicharaan dua jam boleh jadi empat jam atau pun empat hari, tetapi dia tidak ingat berapa puloh hari atau bulan-kah boleh di-selesaikan satu² case itu jikalau kita mempersetu-ju²i chadangan beliau itu hendak adakan multi-lingualism di-negara ini? Itu beliau tidak ingat!

Ini-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tegoran dan fahaman saya di-atas Rang Undang² yang ada di-hadapan kita sekarang ini. Di-minta-lah tiap² sa-orang memberi pandangan yang teliti dan fikiran yang jujur-nya atas apa yang kita hendak laksanakan dalam Rang Undang² ini. Mudahah² dengan muafakat, kerjasama, fahaman di-antara satu dengan lain, insha Allah negara kita ini akan boleh menjadi bertambah² maju, bertambah² aman ma'amor dan sentosa. Terima kaseh (*Tepok*).

Dr Lim Chong Eu (Tanjong): Mr Speaker, Sir, I feel it is a happy coincidence that I should be able to follow on in this debate after the Honourable last speaker's speech, because one cannot help but being moved by his eloquence; and if one were to allow oneself a little bit of latitude, one could easily be persuaded by much of the arguments that he made.

However, Sir, I must say that I have anticipated this Bill for a very long time and it was rather surprising to me that after very nearly ten years of waiting for what the Alliance Govern-ment would eventually produce as its next step forward from the constitution-al provisions on language as written down in Article 152 and all its Sub-clauses, we are today presented with a legislative Bill which is very much the

same in words and wording with the Clauses of the Constitution as it was written ten years ago. Under these circumstances, I must confess, right at the very beginning, that it would appear difficult for me to contribute very much in argument against this Bill, particularly in view of the fact that some 10 years ago I, myself, to some extent had been associated with the drafting of the provisions, of the wording, in the Constitution. Therefore, Sir, one would either have to go back to the arguments of the past, or one would have to try and reason further ahead.

Sir, the question that must be deep in our hearts today is that this Bill, although it was introduced with so much fanfare—and certainly yesterday morning there was an air of expectancy, probably an air of drama, including the few minutes delay of the Honourable Prime Minister before making his grand entry in respect of the presenta-tion of this momentous and historic Bill—but in the course of 24 hours within this House alone there has slowly crept in a slight lethargy, a slight disinterestedness and a slight over-confidence that this Bill will go through in any case. Sir, one asks oneself this question: why is it that with one year of preparation outside this House, the Alliance announcement of its intention of making the national language the sole official language, today with the presentation of this Bill there is no great rejoicing and not much excitement outside this House? As a matter of fact, if one were to try to assess the general feelings of the country at this present moment, I think it is fair to say that predominantly there is a feeling of confusion. Secondly, there is a feeling of disappointment, and then, thirdly, some sense of frustra-tion and, perhaps, resentment against this Bill.

But, Sir, I would like, on this side of the House immediately, in so far as the Malay community in this coun-try is concerned, to congratulate the members of the Alliance Government and the Honourable Prime Minister for having fulfilled one promise at least which they made before independence

In actual fact, I do not understand why there should be any discontentment on the part of the Malay community against this particular Bill from the point of view of making the national language the sole official language because, Sir, this Bill in actual fact makes the national language the sole official language. As a matter of fact, if the Bill were presented ending after Clause 2, I think, Sir, much of the fears of the Malay community would be completely allayed.

However, Sir, I have had quite some experience in dealing with the Honourable Prime Minister over major issues of national importance. To a lot of people he may appear to be a very simple, happy-go-lucky politician, but I assure you that as far as hard bargaining is concerned over political issue, he is without doubt a born genius for hard compromise and hard-earned achievement of this nature. Sir, I have on many occasions in the past, until I found that I could not tolerate it any more and I came over to this side of the House (*Laughter*), discovered that whenever an issue was taken up with equal frankness and with equal determination, in the same spirit of the prayer which was repeated to us so beautifully and eloquently by the Honourable Member who last spoke, whenever we presented the views and the aspirations of the other communities in this country, we were immediately posed with this problem, "Look at all the trouble that is being caused by the Malay community".

Sir, this should be in actual fact a day not only for rejoicing of the Malay community but a day of rejoicing for everyone of us who were associated (*Applause*) in 1957 to promulgate and pass the Bill which heralded and made a fact of the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya which today is the basis of the Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia. Everyone of us rejoices on this point and I can stand here, Sir, clearly to say that I am speaking not only for myself but I am speaking also for large numbers of the Chinese community, who had at one time supported me in the promulgation of that Constitution.

Sir, we must not only talk in terms of goodwill, tolerance, brotherhood and patience. That everyone knows. A nation is not born in a day, a nation takes a long time growing and for a nation, particularly like ours built on a multi-racial structure, emerging from the tightly bound shackles of colonial administration, it takes quite some time before we can achieve our objectives. Sir, 10 years according to the Honourable Prime Minister has been a long time but, Sir, I do not agree with him on this point. Ten years may be a long time in the life-span of any one individual person, but certainly ten years is a very short time, a brief moment, in the history of a nation, of the type of nation which I am sure everyone in this House aspires to help contribute in the achievement of. Sir, I refer to this question of time because, I think, quite apart from goodwill, tolerance and brotherhood, there is one word which seems to have been left out by my two former friends, the Honourable Minister of Finance and the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, and that is understanding.

Sir, I feel that if we want to know why today, instead of rejoicing in this country, there is a sense of resentment and a sense of disappointment and frustration over this Bill, we must try to understand what are the deeply hidden feelings of the people in this country and why these feelings are there. We should not threaten them, and this is the one point over which I feel that I was right in crossing over here—as I said, it was very interesting because the last Honourable Member who spoke used to be just on the opposite side, Sir, as I was (*Laughter*). Sir, I feel that it is strange, a very strange thing indeed, for the Honourable Prime Minister, for a man like Tunku Abdul Rahman, with all his shrewdness, with all his greatness, his unique qualities, that he should on this occasion not only present the Bill but at the same time add two warnings—one a warning to his own colleagues and his own supporters, and the other a warning to the Opposition.

One warning was, "I stand or fall by this Bill and so do my colleagues".

Sir, I do not see why he should stand or fall. I think he should be glorified. But he further adds a warning against the Opposition in case the Opposition twists and turns the purposes of this Bill, in order to sabotage the growing spirit of nationalism in this country. Sir, I can assure not only the Honourable Prime Minister but I can assure all the Members of this House, and the people in this country, that we, the members of my Party, have no intention whatsoever to try to fan up the feelings that can so easily be fanned up, which are latently dangerous over this question of the language issue. But nevertheless, we will not be prevented and we would ask the Government not to try and suppress us, when we try to explain to the people why this feeling should be there. Sir, if I am given some time, I would like to go back a little in the recounting of the story of why this resentment has existed and I would try, in the same process, to unite the differences of opinion expressed by the different quarters of this section of the Opposition.

The Honourable last speaker so beautifully split us into little compartments as one would expect in a debate on the language issue he could so easily do. In actual fact, Sir, I maintain that it is the same spirit and the same aspirations that motivate us on this side of the House and although our message may be the same, although perhaps the goals of some of the parties may be different, yet the basic fundamental right is the same and is actually in fact no different from that across the House, because we too on our side hope by our views to contribute to the future development and the growth of this nation.

Sir, where is the disagreement and how did it come about? It was a quirk of destiny that an Englishman should have served his early years in Shanghai and Hongkong and ended up as the Governor in the States of Malaya before the War, and a "Chinaman" born in Malacca—30 years ago the popular word used to refer to the Chinese and the Chinese, I do not know why, used to take umbrage over

the word "Chinaman"—should come together at a very crucial time in the history of this country. The Honourable Member who spoke last referred to the difference in the laws of Kelantan and Kedah up to 1930, when they were still retained to the Malay language of the different States. I think just now in the lobby he confessed to me that at one time the language in Kelantan could not be understood by the people down in Johore.

Tan Sri Nik Ahmed Kamil: On a point of clarification, Sir. I said that in relation to the spoken language, Mr Speaker, Sir.

Dr Lim Chong Eu: I accept that correction. All I meant to say was that there was a slight difference in language and in dialect. However, Sir, what happened was that soon after that period in 1930 or 1931, the British colonial administration under Sir Cecil Clementi, that young Englishman who went to Shanghai and Hongkong and learnt to love Chinese culture before the introduction of Mandarin, or Kuo Yü, and who felt that the insurgents who had come out with Mandarin were all useless and breakers of the peace, malcontents, disturbing the beautiful culture of China: Sir Cecil Clementi derogated the Chinese in this country as being people with no culture, as "sons of coolies" whose views may not be considered. At that period under Sir Cecil Clementi a critical decision had to be taken and the decision which was to be taken at the Legislative Council of those days was whether the educational system in the old days in the old Federation of Malaya—the Federated States of Malaya, the Unfederated States of Malaya and the Straits Settlements—should be conducted in the English language, or in the Malay language. It was critical, dramatic and highly momentous. Some of us can recall the drama of that occasion, because the decision then was to make English the main medium of instruction and the English language to be the medium of the educational system in this country. The compromise made in those days was to give free education to the Malay

community but only up to Standard Five; and as for the Chinese language, it was just pushed aside. This is almost a second generation debate in so far as the history of this country is concerned on the language issue, because the advocate for the use of English as the medium of education at that time was Mr Tan Cheng Lock, later Sir, Dato' and Tun, the father of our Honourable the Prime Minister today. (*Laughter*).

Mr Deputy Speaker: The Minister of Finance!

Dr Lim Chong Eu: Sorry, Sir, the father of our Honourable the Minister of Finance.

The drama on that occasion was provided by the walkout of the Council by Mr Lim Cheng Ean, who is still alive, the father of one of the leaders of the one time Socialist Front and now the Labour Party, the Honourable Member for Dato Kramat, who interestingly on this particular occasion has not shown any sign in this House. I do not know whether it is history repeating itself or otherwise. Had it not been for that decision taken at that time, I think, Sir, today much of the differences of opinion and much of the difficulties that we have to face, in fact, need not have arisen. Sir, what are the difficulties that we face? The difficulties that we face, I think, are due to the fact that the man chosen to implement the decision taken on that occasion happened to be a real genius, a genius on his own, not the type of genius mentioned by the Honourable Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, the President of the M.I.C., the three-headed monster genius. That genius, Sir, was the late Mr H. R. Cheeseman. Whether we like it or not, it was because of the particular genius of the late Mr Cheeseman in implementing to the full the use of the English language that today the English language has pervaded so many parts, so many sections, and so deeply into the structure and culture of our country—so much so that today this Bill in actual fact cannot effectively make Malay the sole official language, because Sabah and Sarawak in actual

fact have to be left out and over there in Sabah and Sarawak English still remains the predominant language. That is the fact which we must all accept. Once we accept this as a fact, we have to realise that for the National Language to take over the place of the English language must take time. It must take time. Our own educational system after ten years under the Alliance cannot in any way be compared to the success of the system enunciated by Mr Cheeseman and his colleagues who followed him. If it took the British 30 years to implement that policy, we cannot be so proud, or so arrogant, as to think that we can change that system of culture in a matter of ten years.

Sir, that was why, originally, right from the very beginning, I differed in opinion over this question of the time of application of the national language as the sole official language.

In actual fact, Sir, what this Bill represents, and why there is some degree of disappointment and, perhaps, dissatisfaction in the Malay community is because this Bill admits quite clearly that although we have given and accorded the Malay language its rightful place as the national language and the sole official language in this country, yet, in actual fact, it cannot be the sole official language in practice, and English has still got to be used to supplement the forces of the Government in the proper administration of this country. Sir, this is an admission, an admission which we should not be ashamed of and I am sure that if the members of the Malay community realise that when I support this part of the Bill, up to this point—I am clearly and fully associated with them in the desire to advance this nation of Malaysia along the lines of the language that has been chosen, along the lines of the national language, and along the lines of accepting the national language to be the sole official language. Up to this point we have no differences.

Sir, we also have no differences when we look back again to the consequences of that decision taken in 1931. What were the consequences and what are

the people fighting about just now—over the question of whether Malay shall be called the official language, Bahasa Kebangsaan changed to bahasa rasmi, or what? What is in a name? Certainly, Sir, the other negotiators, who produced this Bill, the members of the hard trading Chinese community would not be bothered about what is in a name. What we are fighting for, Sir, is much more fundamental than that to the Malay community and we have to give credit to the Malay community and to the UMNO, in particular, because they spear-headed the drive towards nationalism after the War. It was under them that this country attained independence.

Sir, to them the making of Malay as the National language and making Malay as the sole official language is a matter of national pride. This we all share today. It is a matter of prestige—this we all concede today. It is to them also a matter of social and economic necessity, a matter of livelihood, and not just a matter of feeling. Because, Sir, for the past thirty years everyone knows that when the Malay youths come out with a Standard V Malay certificate—free, guaranteed, official in this country—they cannot get a proper job. That is what they feel. Similarly, Sir, I would like to state that to the Chinese community—and here perhaps we should remove the racial element from the debate and refer to the language of all the other communities in this country—the matter is not a matter of prestige or national interest, because on that, in the words of the Honourable Prime Minister when he moved his motion on this Bill, everyone accepts Malay as the national language and the official language, but with the other communities it is a question of livelihood, a question of social and economic necessity.

Sir, we would have hoped to see that after ten years the Alliance Government in the next step towards implementing the position of the language issue would either have destroyed my opinions in the Opposition, or would have convinced me to their point of view. But, Sir, I am afraid they have

not done so, because Clause 3 and Clause 4 of the Bill are meaningless.

Whereas Clause 2 must be meaningful to the Malay section of our national community, Clause 3 and Clause 4 are meaningless to us. Sir, why do I say this? Sir, when I first looked through this Bill, at first glance, I thought that I was not just reading what is called the National Language Act but I was reading the National Language Act and the preservation of the special position of the English Language Act. Sir, why do I say this? Because, of the argument that has been advanced by the Honourable Minister of Finance—and, I think, in his argument he has divided the clauses in this Bill into three parts: the first part which is constitutional, makes the national language as the sole official language, the second part deals with the concession, so-called, the more liberal use of the languages of the other communities; and the third part deals with the continued use of the English language.

Sir, using the same kind of division, we would like to know why, if English is now no longer an official language, and today the Bill spells out for us what an official language means. Sir, actually throughout the whole of this Bill the term “official language” does not appear. It is only for convenient purposes that we translate these words which appear legally and constitutionally; the national language shall be used for official purposes to mean official language. So all along we have been fighting over definitions. What do we mean by official purposes? What is the difference of the official language from the other languages? As a matter of fact, Sir, the Constitution provides a definition of the use of the official language and particularly for the inclusion of the use with regard to the English language in five clauses. Today we have extended those clauses and we have a better understanding and a clearer view of how the English language is to be continued to be used as a subsidiary language for the implementing of official purposes.

Sir, Clauses 5, 6, 7 and 8 spell out what these official purposes may be. What we do not understand, Sir, is contained in Clause 4, "The Yang di-Pertuan Agong may permit the continued use of the English language for such official purposes as may be deemed fit". Sir, we can find no indication at the back of the Bill as to what these "official purposes as may be deemed fit" can mean. Either, Sir, it gives the English language a special position and an extended position, or there are other interpretations of what is the meaning of an official language; other interpretations of the use of official language which are not clarified for us by this Bill

Sir, in so far as I am concerned, in so far as my Party is always concerned, and so far as a lot of people have been concerned, from what I have discussed earlier the question is the question of livelihood and this question of livelihood is tied up with the question of education and the question of certificate of examination. Sir, in this country the temper and the feelings over the question of the official language never rose to any height at all until 1960, when after the review of the Razak Report in 1960 the Rahman Talib Report recommended that the examinations shall be held in the official languages. Ever since that time, Sir, feelings became unbridled and feelings became high. The reasons for that, Sir, are not because the people challenged the special position or the rights of the national language of becoming the sole official language. The feelings are because they have no way out for the same means of livelihood.

Sir, I tested this issue out earlier on in the course of the session of this House by asking, during the course of the debate on the Development Estimates, what the Honourable Minister of Education intends to do in the future with regard to the system of examinations, and we were told that as far as the primary examinations are concerned they can be held in the medium of instruction no matter in what language it is taught, but that in so far as the secondary education is concerned, examinations will be con-

ducted only in the national language and in English.

Sir, under those circumstances one must presume that if this Bill goes through the only way whereby the English language can continue to be used as a medium of examinations must be through the application of Clause 4. Otherwise, Sir, I cannot see how the English language, which is now no longer the official language, can still be used as a medium of examination. That it should be used as a medium of instruction and of learning is guaranteed by sub-clause (1) of Article 152 of the Constitution. As a matter of fact, Sir, all that the other people—the members of the other communities who represent the other languages written down in our Constitution—ask is that today their position should be no different from that of the English speaking community.

Why should there still be a difference? Sir, I ask Honourable Members to think back carefully. If in the past they had advocated the battle for independence, because they understood that a Form V Malay Certificate is not good enough to give them the same parity or opportunity of livelihood as other members of the national community, Sir, why today impose this type of disadvantage to those other members of the community who speak other languages? What about the position of the other languages of the communities in the Federation. That is why, Sir, I say that there is certainly a feeling of resentment in some quarters in this nation. This feeling, Sir, some people think can be solved, if we were to give them multi-lingualism, some people think it can be solved if we ask for the other languages to become official languages; but, Sir, in its ultimate, this problem can only be solved when the Government can truly and fully provide for a system of education, whereby every child in this country can go through the medium of instruction in the national language and finally pass examinations in the medium of the national language. That is the only way but the hard fact is that we cannot achieve this target immediately. What then are we going to do for those

whose opportunities are curbed? We are asking them and this is another point, we are virtually asking them to sit for examinations in the English language because up to now, although it is theoretically correct that the official examinations should be held only in the official languages, we know that the vast majority of pupils after finishing 13 years of education sit for their examinations in English. The national language is a compulsory subject only in the Malaysian Certificate of Examination. It happens to be coincidental that the results of the Cambridge Examination should come out today. There may be large numbers of failures in the Cambridge Examination Certificate, not because the children have not passed the national language, which we hail so brilliantly and so eloquently throughout this House, but because they have failed in English.

Sir, I have always advocated that the way to clear and separate these two issues of language and education, and the way to solve this question of parity of livelihood, is to provide the people who choose to exercise their constitutional rights to learn, to study and to be instructed in the language of any other community in the Federation should also have some way out, some means out, so that they can have an economic stake in this country. It is a simple matter that after 13 years of education some large sections of our own people, Malaysians, some of whom speak the national language far more eloquently and far more freely than the Honourable Member for Batu, but that, Sir, does not necessarily mean that they have the same degree of loyalty to this nation as the Honourable Member for Batu, or the Honourable Members from the other side of this House. But they certainly can speak the national language better, they can throw up pantuns with their left hand and right hand any time you like.

Sir, the question is a question of economic and social status. Now, I appeal very strongly in this House to those Members of the Malay community, who feel that this Bill is taking away rights from them and that the resentment from some quarters in this

country is because they do not want Malay to be the official language, is not true. What they want is something else. What they want is a solution of their problem of livelihood, how can they be given an equitable position. Sir, that is why at the very beginning we chose the words very carefully in drafting, the objectives of my party. We say that we will fight for the attainment of an equal, just and rightful place for the Chinese language and for the language of the other communities in this country.

What is the rightful place? The rightful place, Sir, I suggest, must be below that of the national language, the national language being the sole official language. Sir, if there is any distinction today, the distinction is simply this: where today the Malay community is already free as far as the language issue is concerned, the members of the other communities in this country are still shackled to the old colonial rule under the English language.

Sir, it is not we in the Opposition who twist and turn. The contortions of introducing this Bill are interesting, like those of a three-headed contortionist. Where the shackles used to be at the neck, they have managed to shove it down to the waist, but it is still there. That is why it was interesting to us that the Honourable Minister of Finance and the Minister of Works, Posts and Telecoms should start their speeches in the national language, half way through they go on in English, and end up with a pantun. Sir, it is almost as though the tongue is speaking something, the body is shaking something, and the legs and other appendages shaking elsewhere.

Sir, I honestly like to say that we would indeed feel happy and proud to be able to associate ourselves with this Bill. But, apart from the minor amendments which, I think, should be taken into serious consideration—those put forward by the Member from Ipoh, particularly in Clauses 5 and 8, I won't go into the things, he said—I do not believe that the provisions of this Bill will really solve the position of the languages of the other communities, nor will it solve the economic and

social aspirations of those communities because of the language issue. I do not believe that this Bill will really resolve much of the discontent of the past. As a matter of fact, Sir, I would very much like to be able to join myself with the Honourable Prime Minister and go away for a holiday for six months with peace in my heart, and I hope peace in his heart, with the idea that with the passing of this Bill unity in this country has been forged for all times. But, Sir, much as I also aspire towards that end for our nation, I do not believe that this Bill, in actual fact, will ensure this unity which he so fervently works for and advocates. We do not doubt his intention, but the Bill does not fulfil his intentions. As a matter of fact, Sir, if we continue this Bill in its present form, putting English language as a special language, with a special position in our national society, that is to say, all of us now accept the national language as the sole official language, we are happy. At the same time, some of us are made to accept English as a special language, and in actual fact those who can speak the national language have also got to accept the special position of the English language. Sir, I do not know how you are going to get out of this problem because the term "official purposes" is also used in Clause 4.

But, Sir, I would have wished to have seen today, when we really acclaim wholeheartedly the emergence of the national language as the sole official language; then all the other languages of all the other communities, including English, should have been accorded the same purpose and the same level in the structure of our society.

That the English language must be used administratively is provided for by the other Articles. Sir, I have a little amendment to suggest: after the words "English language" in Clause 4 add the words "and the language of any other community in the Federation", and cut out the word "official" after the word "such"—in other words, Clause 4 should be amended to read:

"The Yang di-Pertuan Agong may permit the continued use of the English language and the language of any other community

in the Federation for such purposes as may be deemed fit."

If you are afraid of the words "official language", if you are afraid that this is the thin end of the wedge to make other languages as official languages, I can assure this House that this is not the purpose. It would only mean that they would have a chance of survival on parity in the future.

(interruption)

Tan Sri Nik Ahmad Kamil: Is not that provided for in the Constitution? "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."—Article 152 (1) (b)?

Dr Lim Chong Eu: Sir, if this is so, why then this special provision of Clause 4? Obviously it is not so. The intention is a different intent. Sir, I did not want to go back to Article 152 (1). I said earlier, Sir, I did not wish to go back to the arguments of the past. In actual fact, if we go back to Article 152 (1) (b), I ask you, how can you preserve and sustain the use and study of any language? At the end of 13 years, it is meaningless as far as getting jobs is concerned. Throughout the whole of this session of this House, we have been talking about the future. We have been talking about the difficulties of the future, of our children coming out from the schools with no jobs to go into. Sir, there are children who come out from schools with the qualifications and ability but unable to get jobs, because they are not given the certificates. That is the problem. Sir, it is because of this difficulty, that I take this opportunity to assure all the Members of this House that insofar as implementing the national language as the sole official language is concerned, I am certain that no one on this side of the House is opposed to the concept.

It is because this Bill does not fully implement this intent, nor does this Bill satisfy the aspirations, nor does this Bill resolve the economic social difficulties, the matter of livelihood and survival of other communities in this

country, that is why, Sir, I feel that if we allow this Bill to go through in its present form, what we will be doing is not to forge unity and peace in the future, but all that we will be doing is to delay the evil day. We will be carrying forward much of the misunderstandings and much of the frustrations of the past. We would be accentuating these frustrations in the future and this Bill can very well be a timebomb for the very unity which we hope to achieve. Sir, under its present form, because it does not warrant, or guarantee the equal just and rightful place of the languages of the other communities in this country, I feel that unless some adjustment is made on this aspect, the Bill cannot achieve the wonderful intention which the Honourable Prime Minister had set it out to be. Under those circumstances, Sir, we feel that this Bill is just another of the kind of Bills which have been presented to us by the Alliance in a great hurry, with a great fanfare, with a bubble, but may in the end simply burst!

The Deputy Prime Minister (Tun Haji Abdul Razak): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka mengambil bahagian dalam perbahathan ini dengan menerangkan sedikit butir² dalam Rang Undang² Bahasa Kebangsaan ini. Saperti yang telah di-terangkan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat Perdana Menteri pagi sa-malam bahawa Rang Undang² Bahasa Kebangsaan ini ada-lah bertujuan hendak menjalankan kehendak² Perlembagaan ia-itu sa-lepas 10 tahun daripada tarikh kemerdekaan Malaya, Parlimen ada-lah berhak membuat undang² bagi meluchutkan taraf bahasa Inggeris ia-itu taraf rasmi dan memberi bahasa kebangsaan kita taraf rasmi sa-bagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di-Malaysia Barat.

Ini-lah tujuan yang pertama Rang Undang² ini saperti yang di-terangkan dalam Fasal 2. Akan tetapi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saperti Ahli² Yang Berhormat mengetahui, dalam Perlembagaan kita juga ada menjamin kalau pun bahasa kebangsaan di-jadikan bahasa rasmi yang tunggal tetapi penggunaan bahasa² lain ada-lah di-benarkan dan di-teruskan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Fasal 3 menentukan kuasa yang memang sudah ada di-tangan Kerajaan Pusat dan Kerajaan² Negeri untuk membenarkan penggunaan², terjemah² surat dan juga perutusan² rasmi kepada bahasa² lain jika terjemah itu di-fikirkan perlu dan mustahak untuk kepentingan 'awam.

Fasal 3 ini tidak sa-kali², saperti telah di-terangkan juga, memberi taraf atau pun status rasmi kepada bahasa² lain. Dan tidak sa-kali² memberi taraf sa-paroh rasmi atau pun sa-paroh berbilang bahasa atau pun multilingualism atau pun semi-multilingualism. Ini tidak boleh di-terima oleh ra'ayat negeri ini dan ini ada-lah bertentangan dengan Perlembagaan yang ada di-negara kita pada masa ini.

Saya amat-lah sukachita-nya mendengarkan akuan yang di-beri oleh dua orang rakan² saya ia-itu Yang Berhormat Menteri Kewangan dan Yang Berhormat Menteri Kerja Raya, Pos dan Talikom, bahawa ra'ayat² Malaysia yang berketurunan daripada orang² China dan India tidak menuntut bahasa²-nya di-jadikan bahasa² rasmi bahkan mereka itu menerima bahasa kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal. Mereka itu juga tidak menuntut taraf atau status multi-lingualism atau pun semi-multilingualism. Nyata-lah bahawa Fasal 3 ini membenarkan kegunaan² terjemahan² saperti yang di-jalankan pada hari ini dan tidak ada ma'ana yang lain. Ini berm'a-lah jika Kerajaan fikirkan mustahak boleh-lah di-adakan terjemahan² saperti tawaran penyerah diri pengganas yang di-fikirkan mustahak, ma'alumat² Kerajaan berkenaan dengan jenayah dan keselamatan, bahan² penerangan, umpama-nya dalam masa Minggu Perpaduan dan lain² ma'alumat yang di-fikirkan mustahak.

Dan lagi, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya suka terangkan di-sini bahawa Fasal 3 ini tidak menyekat dan tidak boleh menyekat perkembangan bahasa kebangsaan yang akan mendapat taraf rasmi yang tunggal di-dalam Perlembagaan kita sa-telah undang² ini di-luluskan oleh Dewan ini dan lagi sa-lepas Undang² ini di-luluskan oleh Dewan ini mustahak-lah bagi Kerajaan

dan bagi kita semua memperkuat lagi usaha² bagi memperkaya dan memperluaskan penggunaan bahasa kebangsaan di-dalam pentadbiran Kerajaan sesuai dengan taraf sa-bagai bahasa rasmi yang tunggal. Begitu juga Fasal 3 ini tidak memberi atau pun membenarkan penggunaan², seperti saya katakan tadi, bahasa² lain itu lebih daripada yang sedang di-jalankan pada masa ini.

Ada-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, menjadi keazaman Kerajaan Perikatan semenjak Kerajaan Perikatan menentukan yang bahasa Melayu itu dijadikan bahasa kebangsaan dan rasmi di-dalam negara kita ini mengambil apa juga langkah² untuk memperkaya dan meluaskan penggunaan bahasa kebangsaan itu. Langkah² ini telah pun di-ambil semenjak beberapa tahun yang lalu dan dengan kelulusan Undang² ini mustahak-lah langkah² ini di-perkuat dan di-perbahatkan lagi, begitu juga sa-bagai bahasa rasmi mustahak-lah bahasa kebangsaan ini di-beri nilai ekonomi yang sempurna sewajar dengan kedudukan dan taraf-nya. Kesimpulan-nya, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mustahak-lah bahasa kebangsaan ini di-beri taraf, kedudukan, nilai yang sempurna sa-bagai bahasa rasmi di-negara kita ini dan ini-lah Kerajaan ada-lah berazam hendak melaksanakan-nya.

Dengan hurai²an ini, pada fikiran saya, tidak ada sebab bagi mana² pihak berasa bimbang yang kegunaan bahasa kebangsaan ini tidak akan di-lancarkan dan di-laksanakan dengan sah-chukup-nya bahkan dengan ada-nya Undang² ini maka ada-lah menjadi kewajipan Kerajaan meneruskan dan memperchepatkan lagi usaha² bagi membesar dan meluaskan penggunaan bahasa kebangsaan dalam semua lapangan. Ra'ayat di-negara kita ini daripada berbilang bangsa telah pun menerima bahasa kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi dan dengan penerimaan ini mereka, saya yakin dan perchaya, akan berusaha untuk menggunakan bahasa ini dengan sa-luas²-nya.

Saya dukachita pada pihak² yang chuba hendak menggunakan masaalah

bahasa ini untuk memecah-belahkan perpaduan dan keharmonian penduduk² negara kita ini. Saya harap penduduk² di-negara kita ini daripada berbagai² bangsa faham betul² ma'ana dan tujuan Rang Undang² Bahasa Kebangsaan. Dalam meneliti dan membahatkan Rang Undang² ini mustahak-lah kita sama² menyemak dan memahami kedudukan Fasal 152 dalam Perlembagaan. Bahasa Kebangsaan ada-lah satu alat yang penting bagi menyatukan ra'ayat negeri ini yang terdiri daripada berbagai² bangsa. Dengan sebab itu-lah Kerajaan berpendapat mustahak Rang Undang² ini di-luluskan dengan segera-nya supaya kehendak² Perlembagaan Malaysia ini dapat di-jalankan dan supaya usaha² bagi membesar dan meluaskan penggunaan bahasa kebangsaan ini dapat dipusat dan di-perhebatkan lagi.

Fasal 4 dalam Rang Undang² ini telah membenarkan kegunaan bahasa Inggeris untuk maksud yang tertentu dan itu pun bagi sementara sahaja dan dalam lapangan² yang mustahak sahaja yang kita belum lagi boleh menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan. Dalam lapangan ini-lah usaha² akan di-teruskan bagi menggunakan bahasa kebangsaan dengan sa-berapa segera yang boleh umpama-nya dalam bidang Undang² dan di-dalam lapangan inilah kita belum mempunyai banyak pakar² Undang² yang boleh menyediakan Rang Undang² dalam bahasa kebangsaan sa-lain daripada Undang² yang senang dan mudah. Kebanyakan undang² di-negara kita ini maseh lagi dalam bahasa Inggeris akan tetapi Fasal 6 dalam Rang Undang² ini menentukan ia-itu hendak-lah Rang Undang² ini di-adakan dalam dua bahasa ia-itu bahasa kebangsaan dan bahasa Inggeris, tetapi Kerajaan adalah berhak menentukan mana satu jenis Undang² ini akan di-katakan menjadi authority atau yang sah. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, perkara ini terpaksa-lah di-jalankan bagi sementara seperti yang saya katakan sa-hingga kita dapat mempunyai pakar² yang boleh menggubal Undang² dalam bahasa kebangsaan.

Bagitu juga-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Fasal 8—sebab undang² kebanyakan dalam bahasa Inggeris terpaksa-lah bahasa dalam Mahkamah itu di-pakai dua bahasa ia-itu bahasa kebangsaan dan bahasa Inggeris.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pada fikiran saya jelas-lah Rang Undang² ini adalah memberi gambaran yang sa-benar-nya ia-itu bahasa kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dan mestilah di-gunakan sa-luas²-nya yang boleh di-pejabat² dan urusan² dan kita akan membesar dan meluaskan penggunaan sa-hingga bahasa rasmi yang tunggal ini mempunyai tempat dan kedudukan yang sewajar-nya. Oleh itu saya fikir tidak ada sa-orang ra'ayat dalam negeri ini yang realist yang maseh mempunyai perasaan tidak puas hati dan yang maseh mempunyai perasaan ragu² atas Rang Undang² ini. Chita² kita hendak menjadikan bahasa kebangsaan bahasa rasmi di-negara kita telah nyata dan termaktub dan ditulis dengan terang-nya dalam Perlembagaan kita, maka terpulang-lah kapada kita semua untuk mengisi taraf dan kedudukan bahasa kebangsaan yang kita telah tetapkan itu.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, sementara bahasa kebangsaan menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dan kehendak Perlembagaan dan sesuai dengan hakikat masyarakat kita yang berbilang bangsa Rang Undang² ini membenarkan kegunaan bahasa² lain, tetapi seperti saya katakan tadi tidak lebeh daripada apa yang di-jalankan pada hari ini.

Semenjak kita mencapai kemerdekaan pihak Kerajaan telah membenarkan kegunaan bahasa² lain lebeh luas daripada pemerintah penjajah atau pemerintah British dahulu dan kita telah memberi banyak bantuan² kapada sekolah² yang menggunakan bahasa² China dan bahasa Tamil. Terjemahan² ini, seperti saya katakan juga, tidak memberi taraf atau pun kedudukan rasmi kapada bahasa² lain. Saya sedar, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada keritik² terhadap Rang Undang² Bahasa Kebangsaan ini mengatakan bahawa Rang Undang² yang di-bentangkan dalam Dewan ini akan mengurangkan hasrat

orang ramai khas-nya ra'ayat yang bukan Melayu daripada mempelajari bahasa kebangsaan kerana Undang² ini membenarkan terjemahan kapada bahasa² lain.

Saya suka terangkan di-sini fahaman ini ada-lah silap dan tidak betul kerana, seperti saya telah terangkan, Fasal 3 ini tidak boleh menyekat usaha² kita bagi membesar dan meluaskan bahasa kebangsaan dan bahasa kebangsaan akan di-gunakan dengan lebeh luas dalam semua lapangan, dengan sebab itu mustahak semua ra'ayat negeri ini mempelajari bahasa kebangsaan dan bagi pihak Kerajaan kita akan menguatkan lagi usaha atau momentum pelaksanaan bahasa kebangsaan dalam pentadbiran sa-lepas Rang Undang² ini di-luluskan atau berjalan kuatkuasa-nya pada 1hb September, 1967. Untuk menchapai chita² ini mustahak-lah Kerajaan mendapat kerjasama daripada semua golongan ra'ayat jelata negeri ini terutama sa-kali kapada pihak kaum cherdek pandai kita daripada semua bangsa dan saya harap mereka itu berusaha menterjemahkan banyak lagi buku² pengetahuan dan buku² bacaan dan buku² Undang² daripada bahasa Inggeris dan bahasa² lain ka-dalam bahasa kebangsaan. Saya juga menyuruh pegawai² Kerajaan, peguam² dan juga ahli² bijak pandai dan pakar² supaya memberi tenaga, fikiran dan kepandaian mereka itu untuk menterjemah Undang² daripada bahasa Inggeris kapada bahasa kebangsaan. Kerajaan seperti saya kata tadi berazam hendak melaksanakan chita² bahasa kebangsaan dengan sa-penoh²-nya dengan sa-chepat mungkin.

Dalam keadaan sekarang ini Rang Undang² ini telah di fikirkan adil dan patut kerana kita semua mesti-lah sedar akan hakikat kedudukan negara kita yang mempunyai penduduk² daripada berbilang bangsa dan juga bagi menghormati keinginan kita hendak menjamin keamanan dan hidup rukun damai di-negara kita ini. Kita mesti-lah berperasaan practical dan juga berani menghadapi keadaan² dan gambaran yang ada di-Malaysia Barat di-negara² kita pada hari ini. Dalam

keadaan sekarang ini tentu-lah tidak boleh kita melaksanakan 100 peratus kehendak² kita di-dalam bahasa kebangsaan. Tetapi kita akan berbuat demikian dengan sa-berapa segera yang boleh. Bahasa Inggeris, seperti saya kata tadi, di-benarkan hanya-lah bagi sementara di-gunakan di-tempat² yang di-fikirkan munasabah dan mustahak. Begitu juga-lah kita akan meluaskan penggunaan bahasa kebangsaan dalam semua lapangan dengan sebab itu mustahak-lah bagi semua ra'ayat negeri ini akan bersungguh² berusaha mempelajari bahasa kebangsaan kita.

Sa-belum saya menjawab tegoran² dan tuduhan² daripada Ahli² Pembangunan, saya suka hendak sebutkan pandangan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh. Mr Speaker, Sir, I would like to comment on what the Honourable Member for Ipoh said in regard to the proviso to Clause 8 of this Bill. This Clause was drafted in such a way as to make it convenient for Members of the Bar, particularly the non-Malays, and it was thought that this proviso would provide safeguard for those who are not so proficient in the national language. However, if it is the wish of the Members of the Bar, particularly those who are not so proficient in the national language, that this needs amendment, we are prepared to consider this; and we on the Government have given some thought to this matter and I shall, Sir, with your permission, move an amendment to Clause 8—the proviso—in the Committee stage, reading as follows:

“Provided that the Court may either of its own motion or on the application of any party to any proceedings and after considering the interest of justice in those proceedings order that the proceedings, other than the giving of evidence by a witness, shall be either wholly in the national language or wholly in the English language.”

In other words, the discretion will be left to the Court to use solely either the national language, or English, in the interest of justice. I think probably this amendment will meet the wishes of the Honourable Member for Ipoh and his colleagues in the Bar, and with your permission, at the Committee stage, I shall move this amendment.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Puteh dalam ucapan-nya yang panjang lebar telah mendatangkan tuduhan² yang berat dan saya fikir boleh di-katakan terkeluar sedikit daripada batasan yang patut terhadap Kerajaan dan terhadap diri Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri. Ahli Yang Berhormat itu telah mengatakan yang Tunku itu telah mengechewakan orang² Melayu, mengechewakan hati dan hak² mereka itu. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, ada-kah patut dan munasabah dan ‘adil sa-orang penganjor negara kita ia-itu bapak negara kita, penganjor yang telah membawa kemerdekaan kapada tanah ayer kita dan memberi kedaulatan kapada bangsa dan negara ini, di-tuduh sa-bagai sa-orang yang telah mengechewakan hati ra'ayat negeri ini, terutama sa-kali ra'ayat keturunan Melayu?

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh patut tahu, sa-bagaimana ra'ayat negeri ini semua faham, bahawa jika tidak ada kemerdekaan negara kita ini apa akan jadi kapada ra'ayat negeri ini, terutama sa-kali orang² Melayu? Jadi dengan ada kemerdekaan seperti kata rakan saya Yang Berhormat Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada pihak PAS dapat menduduki kerusi di-Dewan² ini dan Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh dapat menjadi Menteri Besar menjadi ketua Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan. Jadi ada-kah perchakapan yang samacham ini patut dan ‘adil terhadap sa-orang penganjor kebangsaan kita yang telah membuat begitu jasa yang besar kapada negara kita? Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat daripada Pasir Puteh sa-bagai ketua Parti PAS sentiasa suka main sentimen, suka menaikkan semangat perasaan kebangsaan seperti kata rakan saya Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri, semangat kebangsaan itu boleh digunakan dengan dua chara—boleh membena atau boleh mengechewakan negara kita. Jadi Ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada PAS sentiasa-lah dudok dalam angan², dudok dalam awan di-langit dan tidak di-dunia. Ahli Yang Berhormat itu tidak menjajah bumi

kerana di-tinggal berjauhan daripada kenyataan² yang sa-benar dan keadaaan² yang ada di-dunia, khas-nya di-Malaysia ini.

Ahli Yang Berhormat mengatakan Rang Undang² ini ada-lah bendera putih, bendera putih tanda menyerah diri kalah bahasa Melayu dan bahasa kebangsaan kapada bahasa Inggeris dan bahasa² lain.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Rang Undang² ini ada-lah menentukan bahawa mula² 1hb September, 1967, bahasa kebangsaan akan di-jadikan bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dan menggantikan tempat utama bahasa Inggeris. Ada-kah ini boleh di-sifatkan satu kekalahan bahasa Inggeris? Adalah ini boleh di-sifatkan satu kekalahan bahasa kebangsaan kapada bahasa Inggeris? Kalau tidak dengan Rang Undang² ini bahasa Inggeris akan terus di-gunakan dengan tidak ada had sa-bagai bahasa rasmi di-negara ini.

Ahli Yang Berhormat, sa-bagai ketua Parti PAS dan ketua Kerajaan PAS di-negeri Kelantan, tentu tahu PAS telah memerintah negeri Kelantan hampir 8 tahun tetapi apa-kah kemajuan yang telah di-chapai oleh ra'ayat negeri Kelantan yang kebanyakan-nya daripada orang Melayu? Kalau tidak dengan pertolongan Kerajaan Persekutuan, Kerajaan Perikatan, sedikit pun kemajuan tidak dapat di-chapai di-negeri Kelantan. (*Tepok*).

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat itu mengatakan bahawa Menteri² Perikatan, Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Perdana Menteri, Menteri Pelajaran dan lain² Menteri kerap kali berjanji dan berkata bahawa kita tidak akan bertolak ansor dalam soal bahasa kebangsaan ini. Bahasa kebangsaan akan tetap menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di-negara kita. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pehak Kerajaan Perikatan sa-benar-nya memang tidak bertolak ansor di-atas dasar dan chita² itu. (*Tepok*). Fasal 2. Rang Undang² ini, menjelaskan sa-lain daripada yang di-tentukan dalam Rang Undang² ini bahasa kebangsaan adalah di-gunakan dalam semua urusan²

rasmi ia-itu menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal di-negara kita. Jadi adalah dasar yang tegas menentukan yang bahasa kebangsaan itu menjadi bahasa rasmi yang tunggal dalam negara kita ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, mustahak-lah kita bersifat realist dan faham kerana sa-tengah² bahagian pentadbiran, saya kata tadi tidak dapat, pada masa ini, terutama sekali dalam lapangan mahkamah dan juga undang² dan Kementerian Luar Negeri, hendak di-pakai bahasa kebangsaan dengan sa-penohnya. Akan tetapi kita akan berusaha hendak meluaskan penggunaan bahasa kebangsaan dalam lapangan² ini.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Putih ada juga menyebut yang pehak UMNO ini sentiasa bertolak ansor. Satu contoh di-sebutkan-nya ia-lah membenarkan ra'ayat sa-lain daripada Melayu masuk terus dalam jawatan² M.C.S. Ini satu contoh tidak benar kerana pada masa ini ada untukan 4 orang Melayu, satu orang lain. Tuan Yang di-Pertua, nampak-nya rekod yang di-mainkan oleh Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Putih ini rekod lama. Ini rekod sebelum merdeka dan rekod 15 tahun dahulu, yang sudah burok, sudah lapok, yang kita dalam negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat ini tidak suka hendak mendengar lagi. Kita sekarang sudah merdeka dan semenjak Tanah Melayu atau Malaya merdeka, semenjak Malaysia merdeka, kita telah jauh maju kahadapan.

Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saperti yang saya kata tadi, ra'ayat negeri ini tahu, orang Melayu tahu, apa jasa yang diperbuat oleh Parti PAS di-negeri Kelantan. Ahli Yang Berhormat mengatakan Rang Undang² ini ada-lah dosa jenayah UMNO terhadap umat Melayu. Saya suka hendak tegaskan di-sini UMNO dan Perikatan sedia hendak berdiri menghadapi sejarah dan berani hendak di-hukumkan oleh sejarah. Bahkan, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, tidak payah tunggu sejarah—pada masa ini UMNO, Perikatan, berani di-hukumkan oleh ra'ayat negeri ini, oleh ra'ayat yang ada di-negara kita pada hari ini.

Di-negeri Kelantan saya kata tadi 7-8 tahun PAS memerintah satu apa kemajuan tidak dapat di-jalankan. PAS yang mengagong²kan ugama Islam sa-buah masjid pun tidak di-dirikan (*Ketawa*). UMNO, Perikatan, telah dirikan beribu² masjid di-bandar dan di-kampung. Masjid yang ada di-Ibu Kota Negeri PAS, Kota Bharu, masjid sudah beruk. Orang² Islam di-Kota Bharu terpaksa sembahyang di-tepi tangga di-atas rumput. Ini-lah keadaan negeri yang di-perintah oleh PAS. Ini-lah dia perkara yang berjalan dan sebab Ahli² Yang Berhormat daripada PAS tidak ada perkara lagi hendak di-chakapkan, hendak disebut²kan jadi itu-lah dia memainkan balek rekod² yang lama itu, main balek perkara² yang lama.

Akan tetapi, saperti saya kata tadi, ra'ayat negeri ini telah sedar, faham ra'ayat negeri Kelantan dahulu memberi keperchayaan kapada PAS, terutama kapada Ahli Yang Berhormat. Tetapi apa yang PAS sudah buat? Jadi ini-lah memberi keperchayaan kata perumpamaan Melayu "Harapkan sokong, sokong membawa rebah"—sokongan yang hampa 8 tahun di-Kelantan; dahulu di-Trengganu dua tahun hampa, dan dengan berkat Tuhan dapat di-gantikan dengan Kerajaan Perikatan. Jadi, ra'ayat Trengganu sekarang ini dapat menikmati kemajuan² lebih banyak lagi daripada negeri Kelantan. Jadi, itu-lah keadaan sa-orang yang pandai berchakap, berchakap besar melaong dan bertemppek tetapi tidak boleh menjalankan pekerjaan. Ada kuasa tidak boleh menjalankan satu apa. Negeri PAS sekarang ini papa. Kalau saya tidak beri pertolongan, Kerajaan PAS Kelantan tidak dapat membayar gaji Pegawai² Kerajaan (*Tepok*).

Saya chabar Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh kalau Kerajaan Perikatan, Kerajaan Pusat, tidak bagi bantuan neschaya Pegawai² Kerajaan negeri Kelantan akan memberontak tidak ada duit, tidak dapat hendak bayar gaji. Jadi, ini-lah keadaan orang² yang sa-mata² suka berchakap, berchakap besar membuat tudohan² yang saya fikir tidak patut, tidak 'adil dan

luar dari batasan dan tidak patut di-terima.

Tetapi, saperti saya kata tadi, pehak Kerajaan Perikatan tidak takut, tidak gentar, kerana rekod kita ada terang, nyata di-hadapan ra'ayat jelata, ra'ayat negeri ini, orang Melayu sudah sedar bahawa mereka itu tidak akan dengar chakapan² yang besar. Mereka itu akan memerhatikan kehasilan², mereka itu, tahu membezakan mana yang benar, mana yang kosong, mana yang baik. Jadi, tidak guna-lah hendak menghabiskan masa di-Dewan ini berchakap, bertemppek tetapi negeri sendiri kosong. Kalau sudah ada kuasa tidak boleh menjalankan kuasa, tidak tahu menjalankan kuasa, apa guna-lah berchakap?

Itu-lah, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya berharap Ahli² Yang Berhormat Dewan ini dan ra'ayat negeri ini yang saya kata realist, faham akan Rang Undang² ini, kerana keadaan negara kita telah berubah bukan dengan keadaan saperti yang di-mimpi²kan oleh wakil² PAS. Kita telah merdeka, daripada Malaya menjadi Malaysia dan negara kita yang merdeka ini kita mempunyai penduduk² yang berbagai bangsa yang telah menjadi warganegara, negara kita ini. Mereka itu telah menolong kita bersama² mencapai kemerdekaan dan patut sangat-lah kita ingat kapada mereka itu, bertimbang rasa kapada mereka itu yang telah menjadi warganegara negeri ini dan mempunyai hak² yang tertentu sa-bagai warganegara dalam negara ini. Jadi, dengan sebab itu-lah, saperti kata Yang Amat Berhormat Tunku Perdana Menteri, pehak Kerajaan kena-lah memilih jalan yang baik, yang 'adil bagi mengemukakan Rang Undang² ini supaya kita dapat melaksanakan chita² kita hendak menjadikan bahasa kebangsaan kita bahasa rasmi yang tunggal menerusi jalan yang baik, jalan yang boleh membawa keamanan, mengekalkan keamanan di-negara kita.

Jadi, dengan perasaan yang samacham itu-lah pehak Kerajaan Perikatan telah mengemukakan Rang Undang² ini dan saya dengan harapan yang penoh Rang Undang² ini akan dapat di-terima bukan sahaja oleh

Dewan ini bahkan oleh sa-bahagian yang besar daripada penduduk² di-negeri ini. Terima kaseh (*Tepok*).

Mr Speaker: Meshuarat ini di-tangguhkan sa-lama 15 minit.

Sitting suspended at 6.20 p.m.

Sitting resumed at 6.35 p.m.

(*Mr Speaker in the Chair*)

Debate resumed.

Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam (Meng-lembu): Mr Speaker, Sir, I have been told that time is short and that you, Mr Speaker, Sir, perhaps would like Members to be rather brief. I was told that unofficially—not officially. I had intended to talk at some length on this Bill, but I will confine myself to speaking on two or three points, which I think are of some importance. But before doing so, as the elected representative of, perhaps, the largest Chinese constituency in the whole of Malaysia, I wish to declare that we of the People's Progressive Party condemn this Bill, condemn the whole of this Bill as being a fraud perpetrated on the electorate of this country. This is a Bill, which we do not accept, and which we will never accept, and which the people we represent will never accept. Having made that clear, I will now seek some elucidation on one or two statements made by the Honourable Minister of Finance yesterday.

Now, Sir, in the printed copy of his speech, which was circulated this morning, and for which we thank the Government, he says the following about Clause 3. He says, "Further Clause 3 of the Bill recognises what is already existing practice, viz. that by virtue of the fact that a substantial proportion of the population of this country is made up of non-Malays, their mother tongues must be given a rightful place in the scheme of things". Very bold words, very noble words, but what do we see, but what does the Honourable Prime Minister say? He says, "Do not worry; my Malay friends, do not worry. This is not meant for anything except to put up notices in prohibited areas, otherwise

our Chinese friends may get shot. It is only meant to translate safe passes for our Chinese friends, because otherwise, the military might shoot them". On the other hand, the Honourable Minister of Finance says, "a rightful place in the scheme of things". Surely, Mr Speaker, Sir, the Honourable Minister of Finance was speaking with one eye on the electorate. This is a scheme by the M.C.A. to create the impression that they have got some concession from the UMNO. Of course, they did not get any concession, and the UMNO is in no mood to give them any concession, and the UMNO will never give them any concession, but this was just a face saving device. Clause 3 is nothing but a face-saving device for the M.C.A. It does not give them a fraction of an inch more than what they already have, or rather what the people of this country already have, but for practical purposes certain documents and notices are translated into the English language. Perhaps some Honourable Malay Minister will get up and say that the Honourable Minister of Finance was right in what he said, namely, that by virtue of the fact that a substantial proportion of the population of this country is made up of non-Malays, their mother tongues must be given a rightful place in the scheme of things. Whether that is so or not, I would like some Honourable Malay Member of this House to tell us.

Mr Speaker, Sir, coming to the Bill itself, we see that Clause 2 says that,

"Save as hereinafter provided in this Act and subject to the safeguards provided in Clause (1) of Article 152 of the Constitution relating to any other language and the language of any other community in the Federation the national language shall be used for official purposes."

Well, I must confess my ignorance as to whether there is or not a statutory definition of "official purposes". There may be in some law, but so far as I can remember there is no definition of "official purposes". Now, I would like clarification on what the position is going to be in the hundreds of Local Councils throughout Malaysia. That question was asked yesterday, but no

answer was given. Most of them affect Chinese in Western Malaysia. These Local Councils are run by people who know neither Malay nor English. At present they speak in Chinese and records are, perhaps, translated. What is going to happen after the 1st September to these Local Councils who cannot function if they have to speak Malay? An answer has not been given to them.

Now, Clause 5, in so far as speaking in the Dewan Ra'ayat or the Dewan Negara is concerned, we are left to the mercy of the Honourable Speaker, or the Honourable President. It is entirely up to the Honourable Speaker to tell us, "You speak in Malay", or "You speak in English". Well, I do not think we have much fears for the present generation. But what is going to happen when we do not have reasonable Speakers, when we do not have a reasonable Government? That would, in effect mean that people who cannot speak Malay cannot be elected to this House, or, if they are elected to this House, they must remain silent.

Clause 8, relating to proceedings in Courts, an amendment has been suggested. Within the short time I have had for consideration, I think it is an acceptable amendment, although I feel that in the phrasing of this Clause politics has had a hand, because the simplest thing to have done would have been to say that English shall be the language of the courts unless all parties agree to have the national language. That would have solved the whole thing. But, no, you must make it appear to the electorate, you must make it appear to the Malay Ra'ayat that you are using Malay, but in fact I dare say that there will not be a single case conducted in the Malay language in our courts for many, many years to come, and the reason is very simple, because every case heard in a lower court is subject to an appeal to a higher courts, and if you go and put up your record in Malay it goes up to a High Court Judge who may be a Chinese and who does not know Malay, he will send the record back and say, "Translate the whole thing and send

it back to me again", and that would be a fantastic state of affairs—something which just cannot be done. But there again you are unable to admit it because you want to pander to the wishes of the more illiterate of your voters.

Mr Speaker, Sir, in commenting on the Bill yesterday the Honourable Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications said, "Today when we replace English with the Malay language as the official language it is well known that it is being done not by compulsion but by the process of free acceptance, acceptance willingly and voluntarily by the non-Malay races in this country". We cannot use unparliamentary language in this House, but I can only say that nothing can be further from the truth than this statement by the Honourable Minister. Having taken no steps to ascertain the views of the people of this country, he stands up in this House as a responsible Minister of the Crown and makes this fantastic statement. As was pointed out yesterday, we are not allowed publicly to express our views on this matter. If this House was not sitting I would not be able to speak to anybody publicly on this matter.

The students of this country have been suppressed. They cannot have any meetings to express their views. In Indonesia the students are shaping the future of the country—and apparently this country is quite happy to have relationship with a country which is controlled by students—but in this country students must keep their mouth shut. Adult members of the public cannot meet together in public to discuss this vital question. Newspapers are muzzled; of course, it is only a request to the newspapers, but then you are the people who license them and if they do not comply with your request you can cancel their licences next year or, perhaps, the next day. So, how can anybody say that this subject has been debated publicly, that the people have been given a chance to express their views. Mr Speaker, Sir, we have heard the Honourable Prime Minister say that

he is going round the country and that he is going to explain this Bill to his Malay electorate. We have heard no such venture on the part of any Honourable Chinese Member of the Government. Are they too scared to face their electorate and explain to them the real implications of this Bill? Why do you not want to go and explain to the Chinese what this Bill means to them, that it is the death of their language in this country, that their culture has been trampled, and that you of the M.C.A. have broken your promises to them? It is because you have to go and say all those things to your electorate that you dare not face them at public rallies.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I would conclude by saying this, that forever and for future generations, the names of non-Malay members who associate themselves with this Bill will go down in the pages of history as an act of gravest treachery to their own countrymen living in Malaysia.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Dr Lim Swee Aun): Mr Speaker, Sir, the publication of the National Language Bill has drawn different reactions from different groups of people. Some have opposed the Bill, but it is quite significant that there are many more who support it, because they say that it is just and realistic. Those who oppose claim that this Bill either destroys the Malay language, or that it will destroy the Chinese language.

Language has always been, and will always be, an emotional subject. There are many nations in the world much older than ours, who still have their language problems despite incidents of bloodshed. The wise will, therefore, learn from the mistakes of others. If we want peace and harmony, if we want a strong and united nation, if we want progress and prosperity, then we must, as responsible and loyal citizens, try to look at this language problem objectively. We must not let our emotions lead us blindly into committing the very mistakes that we do not want and we must not do. Perhaps, as the Honourable Member for Tanjong

has said, if we look back into history we can find the answers as to why the National Language Bill is presented in its present form.

In 1955 the Alliance National Council published the "Alliance Platform for the First Federal Elections". This was the First Federal Elections before the independence and this is the Alliance Platform and it was called "Menuju Ka-arrah Kemerdekaan".

In it, the Alliance resolved to achieve early independence for the States of Malaya by constitutional means. Given the mandate from the people, the Alliance would press for the creation of a special independent commission to write a new constitution for an independent Malaya.

It is significant that as far back as 1955 the Alliance policy has been one to create unity and a common loyalty amongst the peoples of Malaya. With your permission, I would like to quote parts of this pamphlet. It says here:

"As a result of the Federation of Malaya Agreement 1948, a problem of a large alien population has been created in the Federation, which has made this country unique in the world in this particular respect."

"An independent Malaya cannot tolerate this state of affairs, because a large alien population is a danger to the country in the time of war and the situation will then become untenable. To meet this situation, it is essential that independent Malaya must create unity and a common loyalty among her people, and this will not be achieved if half of her population were to remain alien."

"The Alliance considers that this special constitutional commission should be given appropriate terms of reference to investigate the population problems and to recommend measures whereby the position of the alien population in the country can be satisfactorily resolved."

Sir, you will remember that in 1948, by a stroke of the pen, many, many Malaysians who were not Malays, although they were born here for many generations, including myself who was born in this country as a fourth generation Malayan of Chinese descent, lost our citizenship status and it is in this pledge to the people, in this request for the mandate to fight for independence by the Alliance that the new citizenship laws were created in 1957.

In 1955 too, the Alliance laid down a clear-cut policy on language. To quote again from the manifesto, it says here,

"It is an established fact that a free country must have its own national language for the national purposes. It facilitates the working of democracy and fosters a more profound sense of common nationhood. It is the policy of the Alliance that the adoption of Malay as the National Language of the country should be written into the Constitution and that a target period of ten (10) years shall be set for the fulfilment of this policy."

"The Alliance also wants statutory recognition to be given to other languages by prescribing that citizens of Malaya, whatever their race or creed, have a legitimate and fundamental right to preserve their own language, script and culture."

And to ensure that this would be so, it was made very clear also in this same document, on its policy on education, amongst other things, that the Alliance aim and Alliance pledge is "to encourage rather than destroy the schools, language or culture of any race living in the country".

Sir, it was because of these pledges that in 1955 the people gave their mandate to the Alliance by returning fifty-one Alliance candidates out of the fifty-two seats contested.

The Alliance has since fulfilled these pledges. On Independence Day, on the 31st August, 1957, Malay was made the national language and this was written into the Constitution. At the same time, the other languages, including Chinese and Tamil, were given statutory recognition in Article 152 (1) of the Constitution.

To further fulfil this pledge, the Alliance has introduced this National Language Bill, which has the effect of making Malay the sole official language ten years after independence. The English language, however, has lost its mandatory status of an official language and will henceforth become only a permissive language at the discretion of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. The status of the other languages including Chinese and Tamil, will however not be affected but will continue to be used liberally, be taught and be learnt, in the schools in Malaysia.

It is therefore, groundless for those who oppose this Bill to fear that either the Malay or the Chinese language will be destroyed. Both will be preserved and sustained. However, Malay will always retain the pride of position, being both the national and the only official language of the country.

Unlike the P.M.I.P. the narrow extremist, racist party, the Alliance in 1955, before we gained our independence, had given a pledge to the people that whatever their race or creed they have a legitimate and fundamental right to preserve their own language, script and culture. No wonder, Sir, the Honourable Member for Pasir Mas Hulu condemned this Bill because it did not make and cannot make Malay the sole language of the country: in his own words, "bahasa tunggal dalam negeri ini bukan empat bahasa". Sir, only the most backward people preach "one race, one language." In all the enlightened countries of the world, there is always a second or even a third language. Pakistan, from where the Honourable Member for Pasir Mas Hulu has migrated, has more than one language. So has the United Arab Republic, and even the States of Africa. In the present century to strive for one country and one language to the exclusion of other languages is indeed a very retrograde step. What the Alliance had pledged in 1955 was to make Malay the sole official language, that is, "bahasa rasmi yang tunggal" and not "bahasa tunggal". There is a world of difference between these two, Sir, and this National Language Bill is the fulfilment of that promise made in 1955.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh, on the other hand like a parrot, has repeated in this House that the P.P.P. stand for multi-lingualism. How inconsistent can he be, when he condemned Clause 8 of the Bill which proposes to permit the court to conduct its business partly in Malay and partly in English, if it so wishes. He said that it would create utter confusion, it would double the time taken for the Court to do its business, it would increase expenditure

on interpreters, translators, typewriters, clerks and what-have you. Sir, if he argues that two languages used at the same time will cause confusion, waste time and increase the expenditure, how then, can he justify and how then can multi-lingualism work where at least four languages would be used at the same time? Sir, the Alliance has long ago realised the impracticability of multi-lingualism, and that is why its policy has been, and will be, to have only one official language and oppose multi-lingualism.

The Honourable Member for Ipoh and also the Honourable Member for Menglembu are intelligent people, who preach multi-lingualism whilst they fully know that it is impracticable, and it is because of the Honourable Members pointing out to this House how difficult it would be for a Court to be run partly in Malay and partly in English that the Government has come forward with this amendment to Clause 8 of the Bill. Therefore, Sir, the P.P.P. fully knowing what they are doing, is only misleading, misguiding and giving false hopes to the people on multi-lingualism. The Alliance is at least brave enough to be honest, because we preach one official language, but all citizens, no matter what their race or creed, have the inherent, legitimate and fundamental right to use, preserve and sustain their language, script and culture.

I must thank the Honourable Member for Bungsar for his left-handed compliment to the Cabinet for producing this National Language Bill, which he says is a compromise between the extreme views held on the language problem. He, however, has doubts about the guarantees on the safeguards of the other languages. Sir, I therefore, say, here and now, to all Malaysians of Chinese descent in Malaysia, that as long as the Constitution is in force and as long as the Alliance is in power and is the Government, they have no fear—the Chinese language will be used, will be taught and will be learnt in this country. On the morning of 1st September, 1967, and on every morning thereafter, when they wake up from their sleep, they will still be able to

read their Chinese newspaper, speak in Chinese, write letters in Chinese, do their business in Chinese, earn a living in Chinese, have their signboards in Chinese, and their children can still go to school to learn Chinese. If we want to build a strong and united nation with peace and prosperity, then all loyal citizens must be objective and place the national interest first.

The passing of this Bill is important, but more important still is the implementation of the provisions of the Bill. So long as the Government is just and realistic, there should be no grounds for fear in any section of our multi-racial society. Only the Alliance Government can be so just and realistic. Thank you (*Applause*).

Tuan Kam Woon Wah (Sitiawan): Mr Speaker, Sir, I must admit I was pleasantly surprised to hear the Honourable Member for Tanjong, when he said that he associated himself with this National Language Bill, because, in the past, some of his lieutenants had gone round the country and said that they would fight for the Chinese language as one of the official languages in the country. Sir, he also said that lots of confusion and resentment are found outside this House. Sir, I would say the confusion and resentment are caused by people like him.

Sir, we have heard the usual and oft-repeated slanderous remarks made by Opposition members on the Alliance Party. It is quite understandable as they are afraid of this Bill, because when this Bill is passed, which I have no doubt it will, it will nail the lie on them that what they have been talking is not true. Sir, their attacks on us carry the usual tale of unhappiness so often that they do not show any sign of staleness in them, and I am sure that if they were to carry on and repeat them on a few more occasions, they can repeat them even in their sleep.

Sir, yesterday we heard the Honourable Member for Ipoh saying that the Chinese and the Tamils have been played out by the M.C.A. and M.I.C. respectively, because there is no official recognition of their languages in this Bill. In the same breath he also said

that the Malays have been played out by the UMNO, because this Bill shows that they have not succeeded in making Malay as the official language. Sir, where do we go from there? According to him everybody has been played out and now I wonder who has been played in (*Laughter*). Sir, this is illogical and ridiculous and can only arise out of a twisted mind. He was trying to say that everybody was wrong and he was the only right person. This reminds me of a story of an Indian, a Pakistani, and a Britisher during the time of the partition of the sub-continent of India. Sir, it was said that if a Pakistani killed an Indian it was manslaughter, if an Indian killed a Pakistani it was murder, but if the Britisher killed an Indian plus a Pakistani, it was preservation of law and order. (*Laughter*). So, Sir, if he imagines himself to be in the position of the Britisher, I am sure he will disappear from the political arena in Malaysia as did the Britisher from the Indian sub-continent.

Sir, he was advocating multi-lingualism in this country. Is he really sincere? Sir, I have a photostat copy of his memorandum to the Reid Commission under the heading "Official Language". I quote, Sir:

"We consider that in accordance with the desire of the Malays the Malay language should be declared to be the Official language. In view of the fact, however, that, considering from an international point of view, the Malay language is spoken by a very small minority of the peoples of the world, it is clear that if the Malays are to advance in their study of medicine, arts and science, a second language is essential and we feel that the English language will serve this purpose best."

Sir, that is the stand of his Party and I do not know how he could go round the country and bluff the Chinese people that he was fighting for Chinese.

Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam: On a point of clarification, Mr Speaker, Sir. That document was issued at the time when we were in association with the Alliance (*Laughter*), but when we found that their motive were evil we withdrew from the Alliance and withdrew from that stand.

Tuan Kam Woon Wah: Sir, this is the typical double-talk of the Opposi-

tion Parties. (*Laughter*) Sir, I would say that the Opposition parties could not hoodwink the Chinese by their double-talk, because through centuries of history the Chinese people are a realistic and practical people. If Opposition Members would care to try and read the famous Chinese story called "The Romance of the Three Kingdom", then they would realise that they would not, and could not, succeed in deceiving the Chinese people. Sir, in politics, reality is a virtue and that virtue the Chinese have, and I am sure they could not be deceived by any double-talk of the Opposition people.

Sir, some of the Opposition Members are trying to cause communal misunderstanding among the various races in this country and they hope that if this country is ruined, then they could hope to salvage something from the ashes. Sir, I can assure them that if such an occasion arises, the ashes would not be worth for them to collect. So. Sir, our people here, especially the people of Chinese descent, are sensible enough and they do not want any bloodshed. They believe in peaceful harmony and they would not like to be used as pawns by political parties for their ends. Sir, the Alliance way is the way of peace and harmony—and that is the way it will be and should be.

Sir, this Bill, when passed through the House, which I am sure it will be passed through, will lay the foundation upon which the future of this Nation is to be built. Language is the one unifying linguistic strand, which unites all our people in this country. It will mould and unite our people into an omelette and nobody should try to scramble it.

Sir, with that feeling of fair play from one community, I am sure it will generate a feeling of reciprocity from the others, because the others would feel that they are not compelled to do something, even though it is for their good. Sir, persuasion and good example are better and far more effective weapons than compulsion. Sir, we still remember the Japanese regime here, when the Japanese were forcing our

people to study *Nippon-Go*. What was the result? It only made our people dislike them more. Sir, we are living in this modern world and we all must be broadminded. In fact, it is an asset to anyone if he were able to speak languages other than his mother tongue. In this respect, I would urge our people here, especially people of Chinese descent, to take this Bill as a challenge to them and try their best to learn our National language, so that in time to come the feeling of oneness with our Malay brothers would be established and we can then all march together forward to greater prosperity, happiness and progress. (*Applause*).

The Minister of Labour (Tuan V. Manickavasagam): Tuan Yang di-Pertua, the Bill before this House, I think, is among the most momentous and historic ones considered in this House since its inception. It is a Bill which has scotched allegations and fears previously expressed both in this House and by other prophets of doom elsewhere. It is a Bill which reflects the truly Malaysian nature and spirit of the Government and is yet another proof, if such further proof is needed, of the sincerity and eminence of our leaders.

The Bill, Sir, merely gives effect to the provision of the Constitution, which we enshrined in it ten years ago on our achieving *Merdeka*. Article 152 of the Constitution is through this Bill given flesh and blood, flesh and blood of the true Malaysian way of life, spirit of tolerance, goodwill and co-operation. It endeavours to ensure that, while the intention of the fathers of our Constitution who are also the same fathers of this Bill to make the Malay language the sole official language is met in full, sufficient flexibility is built into it to enable every citizen of this country of every level of life, education and community to play his full part in our national affairs and has given him every opportunity to lead a full life in the way he knows best. It cannot by any stretch of imagination be looked upon either as a lever into Malay rights, or a sacrifice of others, as has been stated by some Members in this House. It is

not even a compromise as has also been suggested. There is nothing to compromise, and there was nothing to compromise upon. It is an implementation of what is now our famous way of life in this country.

Sir, we in the M.I.C. have clearly stated that we do not, as we have not in 1957, seek multi-lingualism. The M.C.A. has also given the strongest assurance on this. We are, whether in the UMNO, M.C.A. or M.I.C. long agreed that multi-lingualism has no place in this country, and that our progress as a Nation depends on a national and unified approach to all things, not only in language. We have approached this question as true Malaysians and it is mischievous to suggest that the M.C.A., or the M.I.C., have used pressure tactics, or that UMNO has given way to such tactics.

The Bill reflects the mind of the Alliance Government and this has the support of the vast majority of our citizens. It is nonsense to suggest that those who cannot today speak or write the National language are in any way short of the fire or intensity of patriotism or loyalty to Malaysia. The measure of loyalty and love of nation is amply demonstrated in Clause 2 of the Bill. Whatever endeavours might be made to propagate the National language, it must be admitted by any sensible man that it does take time for anyone to master a language for official purposes, or adequately and effectively to convey his thoughts and wishes. The continued use of other languages of the various communities living here was already envisaged and written into Article 152 of the Constitution ten years ago, and this Bill in no way enhances or detracts from that position. This need not, and cannot, lead to the situation feared by some Members across the floor where the non-Malay races will not study and learn to love the National language.

The educational system, the various facilities offered, and the encouragement given by the Government are being used to the fullest extent, and in a few years time there will be few

who could claim inability to understand the national language. We in the Alliance have chosen the path of faith and understanding in solving the language issue. Indeed, the solution offered in this Bill removes doubt that this is, or even will be, an issue at all. The world around us holds clear lessons to anyone who thinks that the question of a sole national and official language can be resolved by emotion, pressure or force. That is the sure way to court national disintegration, suspicion and distrust. The right path is the one we have chosen and I am sure that we have the overwhelming support of all Malaysians in this matter.

Sir, I have during these two days listened keenly to the P.M.I.P. allegation that Malay rights have been sold. This is not so. The Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister and the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs have answered this charge adequately and also shown the hypocrisy in this allegation. The other campaigners, mainly the P.P.P., have gone to the other extreme to charge that the Chinese, Indians and others have been let down. Here again, this cannot be so as this Bill provides the same rights and privileges as were written into the Constitution 10 years ago. Sir, my colleague the Minister of Commerce and Industry has adequately replied to these charges.

Sir, Malaysia stands out clearly as the showpiece of South-East Asia. This position is due in no small measure to the co-operative endeavour of our Malay brethren and those of Chinese, Indian, Ceylonese and of other origins. We have all come to look upon Malaysia as our own and only nation and this has contributed to the economic and political stability that we enjoy in such full measure. Today we stand here as one, as Malaysians, to take one further important step in this direction in the joint endeavour to make Malay the sole official and national language and thereby fulfil our pledge to the people. We stand as one also in allowing the use of other languages as enshrined in our Merdeka Constitution. I therefore, Sir, have pleasure in supporting this Bill and would appeal to all

members of this House to think of the future generations of Malaysians and give their support to the Bill.

Sir, some of my colleagues have gone into *pantuns* in speaking on this Bill, I must admit my lack of talent in making *pantuns*. Therefore, let me conclude: Berjaya dan Maju Bahasa Kebangsaan (*Applause*).

The Prime Minister: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, pehak saya ini ia-lah hendak menggulungkan apa² yang telah berlaku di-dalam Parlimen ini di-dalam masa dua hari kita berbahath di-atas Rang Undang² Bahasa Kebangsaan ini. Di-dalam dua hari ini berbagai² fikiran yang telah di-keluarkan dari berbagai orang. Memang-lah pehak Pembangkang ada sahaja berbagai chakapan dan tuduhan terhadap pehak Kerajaan, dan ada yang memberi alasan², ada yang langsung tidak, chuma-nya menggunakan sentiment untuk hendak menyeru orang² dalam negeri ini menumbangkan Kerajaan dengan jalan menggunakan kekerasan dan sa-bagai-nya. Menggunakan sentiment di-dalam Rumah Parlimen ini ia-lah satu perkara yang, saya kata, tidak bertanggung-jawab.

Perkara yang hendak menchari kepentingan bagi diri, atau bagi parti, tetapi bagi maksud undang² ini langsung tidak ada—tidak ada kegunaan langsung. Jadi, bagaimana saya pun kata sa-masa saya membentangkan Rang Undang² ini, saya kata ada dua jalan sahaja. Dua jalan sahaja yang boleh di-majukan Rang Undang² ini, ia-itu di-majukan bahasa Melayu sabagai bahasa kebangsaan. Nombor satu, saya kata di-gunakan kekerasan, mahu ta' mahu orang pun terpaksa terima, biar berbangkit pergadohan sampai bermatian² manusia. Pehak Pembangkang apa peduli-nya, apa tanggung-jawab dia, bukan dia yang memerintah negeri ini hendak apa yang berlaku huru-hara yang akan berbangkit, dia ta' bertanggung-jawab—ta' kena-mengena pada dia. Jadi, dia berserulah dengan kata kita ini hendak jual orang Melayu. Pehak lagi satu pula—Pembangkang bukan-lah semua Pembangkang macham pehak Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh kata orang sa-belah sana pula hendak jual China, kata pula

ini semua hendak pedaya. Jadi, berbagai²-lah telah terkeluar fikiran dalam Rumah ini.

Pihak Kerajaan, rakan² saya didalam parti, telah memberi jawapan dan jawapan ini menasabah pada akal boleh di-terima, kerana apa tujuan kita yang besar hendak memajukan bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa kebangsaan. Jadi, hendak memajukan bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa kebangsaan ini ada-lah jalan²-nya, terutama sa-kali jalan yang kurang orang² yang bukan Melayu bilangan-nya sa-paroh dalam negeri ini yang boleh menerima. Orang² Melayu yang sa-paroh dalam negeri ini boleh memikirkan kita ini jalankan kehendak kita ini dengan jalan yang adil, dengan jalan yang timbang rasa dan dapat-lah kita ini memikirkan sa-kira-nya dengan jalan ini mereka tidak terima, berma'ana-lah mereka tidak bertujuan hendak ta'at setia kepada negeri ini—tidak ada tujuan, tidak ada niat dan kehendak langsung hendak jadi ra'ayat Malaysia. Boleh-lah kita kata begitu apabila kita buat dengan jalan yang baik, mereka tidak terima. Ini tidak, pihak Pembangkang telah berkata bermacam², biar kita mati, biar itu jadi, biar ini jadi. Pihak Yang Berhormat dari Pasir Puteh pula dengan hendak memajukan point² yang dia keluarkan itu, bawa hal tahun 1955, ucapan saya konon-nya dalam tahun 1955. Pihak Yang Berhormat mahu-lah ingat kehendak kita pada tahun 1955 itu ia-lah hendak buat bahasa Melayu jadi bahasa kebangsaan yang pertama sa-kali. Ini kita hendak buat juga, tetapi apa yang penting yang patut di-ingat yang apa yang di-sebutkan dalam tahun 1955 itu telah dengan sendiri-nya mansokh apabila kita bersetuju didalam Perlembagaan itu mengadakan Fasal 152, dengan sendiri-nya fasal itu, saya kata mansokh. Fasal apa yang mansokh, fasal apa yang kita bersetuju dengan Fasal 152 itu yang Ahli Yang Berhormat mahu-lah ingat, kalau kita tidak bersetuju dengan Fasal 152 dalam Constitution, ada-kah orang² China, orang² India yang hendak sokong kita ini mendapat merdeka? Ada-kah menasabah kita mahu itu, mahu ini, kalau sokong ta' sokong, kami mahu. Kalau dengan ta' sokong mereka, ada-kah kita

hendak merdeka, ada-kah macham kita ini hendak boleh berlawan dengan Kerajaan British yang ada penoh dengan segala senjata², ada-kah tidak Yang Berhormat ingat parti² puak² pelampau kita beberapa banyak yang ada—M.N.P., API, segala bara, segala benda (*Ketawa*) mana pergi sekarang ini? Ada-kah dapat merdeka bagi negeri ini? Hendak buat keras², hendak buat itu, siapa yang sokong dia, hendak lawan apa dengan British? Ini semua-lah ingat—kita hendak ambil merdeka kena-lah kita chari kawan yang boleh menolong kita—dengan pertolongan kawan itu kita dapat merdeka. Tidak-kah kita ini ingat di-atas jasa orang² yang menolong kita dapat merdeka? Tidak-kah tuan² ingat, kata-nya, dengan merdeka itu berapa tingkat yang tinggi orang Melayu telah terchapai? Kalau tidak dengan merdeka, di-mana-lah dudok orang Melayu ini—sampai bahasa kita pun ta' ada ka-mana hendak kata primary standard pun ta' ada masa dudok di-bawah British itu. Masa itu apa yang kehendak British dia boleh buat. Dengan Merdeka ini-lah dapat kita angkat kepala, yang dapat kita ini sedar bahawa kita ini ada-lah orang yang kedudukan-nya tidak kurang daripada tingkat orang² yang merdeka. Dengan merdeka ini dapat-lah kita suap dan isikan segala makanan, segala kesenangan kepada orang² kita yang terletak di-segala kampung, cherok dan rantau.

Dahulu jalan hendak sampai ka-rumah-nya, dari kampung hendak sampai ka-pekan atau bandar, kena randok segala bendang, sawah—macham², ta' boleh kira. Sekarang ini kita bawa jalan kepada dia, sekarang ini kita bawa ayer kepada dia, bawa lampu kepada dia. Dahulu, hendak bacha—dia hendak memperbaiki kedudukan dia, hendak bacha buku² sekolah pun bacha dengan minyak nyior, minyak gas, sampai lingkup kepada mata² dia semua (*Ketawa*). Itu dahulu. Kita sudah merdeka dengan pertolongan kawan², tiba² apabila kita buat satu untuk kepentingan semua, orang² kita ini, dengan modal yang dapat daripada bangsa lain, dengan hasil yang dapat daripada bangsa lain, dengan keamanan yang telah timbul dalam negeri ini,

kita ini di-tudoh menjual bahasa, bangsa kita kepada China-lah dan sa-bagai-nya!

Saya hendak menerangkan kepada Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh yang mengatakan—You do not mind if I speak in Malay; would you like me to speak in English?

Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam: It is quite all right.

The Prime Minister: Thank you very much. Dia tahu bahasa kebangsaan (*Ketawa*). Jadi, saya hendak perelokkan rekod Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh yang mengatakan hal bahasa di-Ceylon—pergadohan yang berbangkit, dia kata dengan kerana pergadohan berbangkit di-Ceylon ia-lah bahasa Tamil di-gunakan dalam Parlimen. Apa yang sa-benar-nya—ini rekod yang boleh saya katakan di-sini, apa yang sa-benar-nya, masa tahun 1956, bahasa Tamil boleh di-gunakan dalam Parlimen di-sana, bahasa Inggeris pun boleh di-gunakan. Tetapi, pada masa Kerajaan Ceylon hendak membentangkan satu Rang Undang² untuk hendak menjadikan bahasa Singhalese bahasa rasmi, pada ketika itu orang² Tamil minta bahasa dia juga di-jadikan bahasa rasmi. Apabila Kerajaan Ceylon datang—“Engkau boleh berchakap bahasa engkau di-dalam Parlimen, tetapi kita ta' boleh benar rasmikan bahasa engkau.” Maka itu-lah orang² Tamil bangkitkan pergadohan. Jadi, pada tahun 1958 pergadohan itu bagaimana kita semua tahu, telah merosakkan, membangkitkan huru-hara dan menghilangkan nyawa dan harta-benda orang² di-situ. Hasil daripada itu tidak ada lang-song—akhir-nya bahasa Singhalese juga di-jadikan bahasa rasmi di-Ceylon. Jadi, ini hendak taroh bahasa Singhalese jadi bahasa rasmi di-Ceylon telah bangkit berbagai² pergadohan macham kita dengar ini. Di-sini bukan-kah baik yang orang² di-sini telah menerima, segala bangsa bersetuju bahawa bahasa Melayu di-jadikan bahasa rasmi—tetapi berikan-lah kepada kita ini peluang untuk belajar bahasa kita bagaimana yang telah di-janjikan, dipersetujukan, di-dalam Perlembagaan, Fasal 152 yang kita telah berjanji dahulu itu.

Dan satu lagi, Ahli Yang Berhormat dari Ipoh lupa, ini Fasal 152 yang hari ini di-bangkang, dan Ahli Menglembu pun bangkang—dia dahulu dalam Parti Alliance dia bersetuju dengan sabulat suara (*Tepok*). Fasal apa yang dia membangkang hari ini? Saya pun ta' tahu? (*Ketawa*). Ini-lah tabi'at manusia—hari itu engkau bersetuju—barangkali banyak orang PAS dahulu dalam UMNO, bersetuju (*Tepok*); hari ini membangkang sampai hendak mati²—apa yang hendak mati²—apa yang hendak sakit²—siapa yang sakit? (*Ketawa*). Ini semua buat karut (*Ketawa*)—hendak timbulkan segala² untuk orang Melayu ta' perchaya, untuk orang Melayu marah. Orang Melayu, kita tahu orang Melayu dia tidak suka hendak chari gadoh, dia ta' suka hendak chari sakit, dia suka hendak hidup dengan chara senang, dan dia bergantung kepada pemimpin² dia untuk menjalankan segala chita² dia untuk memenohi kehendak² dia itu. Ini yang kita buat. Tetapi sayang sadikit, kita tahu, dan saya malu hendak mengaku di-sini; Ahli dari Tanjong bawa tadi ini, tetapi dia ta' bawa dengan jalan yang tepat, fasal dia suka berpusing²; tetapi saya dudok situ saya dengar pusing dia itu na' sampai ka-mana. Apa yang dia kata itu sunggoh—dia kata bahasa Inggeris tinggi yang di-gunakan lama, bahasa China pun tinggi yang di-gunakan lama, dengan bahasa ini kita boleh belajar dalam sekolah dan keluar daripada sekolah dapat kita menchari kehidupan kita, dapat kita ini lonchat tinggi sampai belajar dalam 'ilmu sains, belajar jadi doktor dan segala²-nya. Bahasa Melayu, dia kata, ini sa-takat Standard V—kita tahu apa ma'ana itu. Dan saya mengaku di-sini—bahasa Melayu sa-takat Standard V. Jadi kita, kalau hendak hapuskan segala bahasa dalam negeri kita ini, semua kena belajar bahasa Melayu sa-takat Melayu, apa-kah tinggal pada kita? Anak² kita pun ta' dapat peluang hendak menchari kehidupan dia kerana kita ta' dapat hendak memperbetulkan lagi, hendak naikkan tingkat yang tinggi bahasa kita yang hendak memberi peluang kepada anak-pinak kita ini menjadi doktor, loyer, menjadi

scientist, menjadi engineer dan lain²—tidak dapat. Jadi kalau kita buat begitu, durhaka kita kepada anak chuchu kita—kita sekatkan segala jalan pencharian kehidupan, jalan pencharian ilmu yang tinggi. Jadi dengan kerana itu-lah yang kita benarkan Inggeris digunakan—bukan kita kaseh, bukan kita kehendakkan Inggeris—guna-nya hendak chari kehidupan, hendak jadi manusia. Kerana kita, bagaimana saya telah menerangkan beberapa kali, baharu sahaja kita ini merdeka, baharu sahaja kita belajar berjalan, belum lagi pandai berlari, tiba² hendak suroh melompat segala pagar, sampai hendak suroh terbang dengan sayap ta' ada, apa ta' ada—bagini-kah kehendak-nya? Tentang mana kita hendak pergi? Terbang dengan ta' ada sayap?—jatoh, poop! hanchor, habis (*Ketawa*). Ini-lah mahu kita fikir. Chakap sentimen hendak seru, hendak bangkit semua, boleh, senang, siapa pun boleh chakap. Saya kalau hendak benar berchakap, hendak berseru, saya berseru. Tetapi yang susah saya hendak berchakap ini, hendak berchakap dengan jalan yang masok di-'akal, jalan yang menasabah bukan chara soap box politician yang kita dengar di-Hyde Park (*Ketawa*). Ahli² PAS pernah pergi dengar di-Hyde Park di-London sana? Saya dahulu dengar, "Pom, pam, pom, pam, pom, pam"—habis itu apa pun ta' jadi, balek tidor. Jadi, kita ta' boleh-lah buat macham itu—kita kena-lah ingat dan fikir apa yang munasabah.

Tetapi, satu yang Ahli² Yang Berhormat mahu ingat, tidak langsung kita ini hendak menjahanam, menjatuhkan bahasa sendiri—kita chuba hendak naikkan sa-tingkat demi sa-tingkat.

Saya perchaya tidak berapa lama lagi dengan kebijakan, dengan ikut turut nasihat yang baik ini, insha 'Allah orang² kita boleh meningkat tinggi. Ketika itu, dia orang sendiri boleh bawa dalam Parlimen dan dengan sendiri-nya ubah, ta' mahu pakai Inggeris, boleh, fasal dia sedar bahawa dia boleh buat hal itu dengan tidak terasa sakit, dengan tidak binasakan bangsa-nya sendiri dengan tidak membangkitkan kachau bilau antara satu manusia, satu orang dengan satu orang. Ketika itu Parlimen boleh me-

mutuskan—saya sendiri memutuskan hal itu dengan rakan² saya hari ini. Saya dapat-lah kepujian daripada pehak orang² yang ta' faham atau kata kita boleh "please the gallery". Tetapi kesudahan-nya siapa yang hendak binasa, bangsa sendiri hendak binasa orang kita hendak bergantung kepada kita ini akan hendak binasa. Kalau kata-nya kita hendak gasak, chakap-nya kasar sungguh—hendak gasak—mahu ta' mahu, hang mahu ta' mahu, hang terima, bangkit-lah tumpah darah, huru-hara; siapa yang hendak dapat faedah daripada itu semua? Siapa? Semua-nya sakit, hasil negeri pun jatoh, hendak majukan satu² benda ta' boleh, hendak buat itu ta' boleh, hendak buat ini ta' boleh untuk faedah orang² kita, orang Melayu. Orang² bangsa lain, sudah senang, kaya raya yang kita hendak kena tolong dengan hasil negeri ini ia-lah wang perolehan daripada negeri ini. Kalau berbangkit pergaduhan mana hendak chari, terlekat di-mana sekarang ini ta' ada dapat hendak majukan langsung. Ini kita mahu ingat, kita hendak hidup bukan-lah dalam sa-hari dua, negeri kita hendak merdeka bukan dalam sa-hari dua, berpanjang² kita hidup di-sini sudah kering tulang didalam bumi ini. Ini orang kena jalan-kan.

Jadi kita, apa hendak kita timbang-kan pada hari ini, apa kita hendak buat pada hari ini ia-lah hendak chari keselamatan kepada anak chuchu chichit kita yang akan datang. Ini-lah yang kita hendak timbang, bukan hendak buat satu² perkara yang hendak nama, dapat pujian sementara ini, pujian itu, tidak berguna kepada kita. Apa yang kita mahu hendak buat satu² benda yang hendak boleh menjadi guna kepada orang² kita ini. Jadi ini pehak² pembangkang tidak ingat.

Saya tahu dia mesti bangkang, bangkang-lah dengan ada-nya asas, dia ini bangkang-lah dengan ada sebab² yang boleh di-terima oleh akal. Dia hendak bangkang begitu, pong-pang, pong-pang, melutup sana, melutup sini macham merechun Hari Raya China—ta' boleh tidor (*Ketawa*). Dia pun takut, orang² ini semua takut, apa nama, Fasal 3. Fasal 3 ini kalau kita pandang

pada Rang Undang² kita ini—mana saya tertinggal pula itu (*Ketawa*). Fasal 3 ini, kalau kita tengok Fasal 2, Fasal 1 Bab (2), Fasal 3 ini ia-lah terbit-nya daripada Fasal 152 (1) (b) dalam Perlembagaan; di-sini mengatakan dalam bahasa Inggeris, “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”.

Jadi ini-lah, sungguh pun orang² kita tegor-tegoran kata ini tidak memberi kuasa mengeluarkan Fasal 3 ini. Dia kata, ini chuma-nya beri sa-saorang guna bahasa dia. Kerajaan benarkan gunakan bahasa dia—“study”, dan belajar bahasa dia bukan berma’ana-nya beri terjemah bahasa dia dan di-terima apabila terjemah itu sa-bagai bahasa rasmi, bukan berma’ana sampai situ. Jadi, apa yang telah saya terangkan dahulu itu kuasa yang hendak terjemah dan yang hendak rasmikan, ini kuasa Kerajaan. Jadi tentu-lah tiap² satu perkara ada-lah kena dapat kebenaran Kerajaan, baru hendak boleh di-terjemah dan terjemah itu hendak terima sa-bagai rasmi. Dia orang tidak mahu juga terima penerangan saya. Jadi apa saya hendak kata lain daripada pengakuan Kerajaan di-sini, tiap² satu perkara yang hendak terjemah atau tidak atau yang hendak rasmi atau tidak, ini kuasa Kerajaan, dan orang² kita di-sini jangan-lah menaruh churiga, bahawa Kerajaan ini hendak benar begitu sahaja dengan tidak ada timbang menimbang. Kerana kalau kita benar sahaja dengan tidak timbang menimbang, tidak ada berma’ana kita mengeluarkan Rang Undang² ini yang membuatkan bahasa Melayu sa-bagai bahasa rasmi. Tidak ada berma’ana. Jadi ini Rang Undang² kata, bahasa Melayu jadi bahasa rasmi; jadi ini kalau ta’ puas lagi hati sampai macham itu, apa yang kita hendak buat lagi? Yang hendak beri mereka puas hati, yang hendak beri mereka faham, melainkan saya mengikut di-situ sahaja—berma’ana di-sini Rang Undang² ini akan rasmikan bahasa Melayu, berma’ana-lah bahasa Melayu jadi bahasa rasmi. Kalau apa yang kita hendak

translate atau terjemah ini dengan izin Kerajaan ini, dan Kerajaan tidak memberi izin begitu sahaja.

Tiap² satu perkara yang kita terima dengan rasmi biar-lah Kerajaan timbangan, tilek, dengan sa-betul²-nya supaya tidak sampai satu masa yang orang² lain boleh kata, kami berhak, semua berhak terjemah. Jadi, itu-lah yang kebanyakan yang saya jawab.

Lagi satu perkara yang di-terbitkan di-dalam hal ini soal yang berbangkit daripada Ahli Yang Berhormat Pasir Puteh ia-itu di-katakan berkenaan dengan Civil Service kita kata-nya kita ini mungkir janji, kerana kita telah bukakan Civil Service kita ini sampai orang² Melayu dalam Civil Service ini ada-lah menjadi kurang. Yang sa-benarnya pada hari ini Civil Service kita ini ada 391 orang daripada bangsa Melayu dan 55 sahaja orang daripada bangsa² lain. Jikalau kira kita di-situ bagaimana quota yang kita telah di-persetujui ia-itu 4:1 pun tidak di-penuhi oleh bangsa² lain lagi. Jadi macham mana Yang Berhormat boleh keluar di-sini, di-dalam Parlimen ini, ta’ ambil tahu terlebih dahulu apa yang sa-benar-nya. Jadi, yang sa-benar-nya 391 orang Melayu, 55 orang yang bukan Melayu, tetapi orang² Malaysian ya’ani kita telah menjalankan quota 4:1 daripada hari ini kita lebih daripada 4:1 lagi.

Jadi, saya kata Parti PAS ini, tahu hendak hentam sahaja, ta’ mahu hendak pereksa² lebih chukup, asal aku boleh hentam, asal orang yang aku mahu perli itu kata ho-ho-ho (*Ketawa*), aku puas hati. Mana boleh macham itu di-Parlimen ini, kita bukan ho-ho-ho, bukan macham lembu (*Ketawa*).

Lagi satu di-soal, fasal apa di-katakan-nya fasal hendak menggunakan Dewan Bahasa untuk mengadakan persidangan hendak menentang Rang Undang² ini, tiba² Pengerusi, Public Services Commission, telah melarang. Dewan Bahasa ini rumah Kerajaan dan kena-lah rumah itu di-gunakan untuk hendak bersidang di-atas perkara² yang tidak menchachi menchercha Kerajaan. Ada-kah munasabah kita ini hendak pinjam rumah orang, masuk rumah orang, buat kotor, maki tuan rumah

macam² (*Ketawa*)? Apabila tuan rumah tidak bagi pinjam, kita marah pula. Kita kata, "Fasal apa aku tidak boleh dudok di-rumah engkau? Fasal apa aku tidak boleh buat kotor di-rumah engkau? Aku berhak." Tentang mana yang berhak? Kerajaan buat dengan belanja berjuta ringgit, dia yang berhak—PAS semua, hendak maki pehak Kerajaan dalam rumah Kerajaan, orang larang dia marah. (*Ketawa*). Ini tidak boleh-lah kita buat jalan macam itu. Kena-lah timbang rasa orang tuan rumah sama (*Ketawa*).

Saya tidak ada apa hendak jawab lagi, chuma-nya ini-lah sahaja, Tuan Yang di-Pertua, yang dapat saya bentangkan di-sini Rang Undang² ini dan saya harap Ahli² Yang Berhormat semua faham maksud dan tujuan ini dan harap di-terima (*Tepok*).

Question put.

Tan Sri Nik Ahmad Kamil (Kota Bharu Hilir): I ask for a division, Sir, (more than 15 Members stood up).

The House divided: Ayes—95; Noes—11; Abstentions—Nil.

AYES

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj
Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Dato' Hussain
Tun Dr Ismail bin Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman
Tuan Tan Siew Sin
Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan
Tan Sri Haji Sardoni bin Haji Jubir
Tuan Mohamed Khir Johari
Tuan Bahaman bin Samsudin
Dr Lim Swee Aun
Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid Khan bin Haji Sakawat Ali Khan
Tuan Khaw Kai-Boh
Tuan V. Manickavasagam
Tuan Senu bin Abdul Rahman
Tuan Haji Mohd. Ghazali bin Haji Jawi
Tuan Haji Abdul Khalid bin Awang Osman
Tuan Abdul-Rahman bin Ya'kub
Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon
Engku Muhsein bin Abdul Kadir
Tuan Lee Siok Yew
Dr Ng Kam Poh
Tuan Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman
Tuan Lee San Choon
Tuan Ali bin Haji Ahmad
Tuan Chen Wing Sum
Tan Sri Fatimah binti Haji Hashim
Datin Hajjah Fatimah binti Haji Abdul Majid
Puan Ajibah binti Abol
Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar bin Hassan Albar
Dato' Haji Mustapha bin Haji Abdul Jabar

Tuan Hanafiah Hussain
Dato' Abdullah bin Abdul-rahman
Tuan Chan Seong Yoon
Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad
Dr Awang bin Hassan
Tan Sri Nik Ahmad Kamil
Tunku Abdullah ibni Almarhum Tuanku Abdul Rahman
Tuan Tan Toh Hong
Tuan Tan Cheng Bee
Tuan T. Mahima Singh
Tuan Jonathan Bangau anak Renang
Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail
Tuan Syed Esa bin Alwee
Tuan Abdul Karim bin Abu
Tuan Othman bin Abdullah
Tuan Haji Mokhtar bin Haji Ismail
Tuan Aziz bin Ishak
Tuan Ahmad bin Arshad
Tuan Haji Redza bin Haji Mohd. Said
Tuan Mohd. Idris bin Matsil
Dato' Haji Hussein bin Mohd. Noordin
Tuan Mohd. Zahir bin Haji Ismail
Tuan Ismail bin Idris
Tuan Kam Woon Wah
Tuan Chew Biow Chuon
Tuan Tan Tsak Yu
Tuan Haji Muhammad Su'at bin Haji Muhd. Tahir
Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah
Tuan Sulaiman bin Haji Taib
Tuan Ramli bin Omar
Tuan Tajudin bin Ali
Pengaruh Banyang anak Janting

Tuan Sandom anak Nyuak
Tuan Toh Theam Hock
Tuan Haji Hamzah in Alang
Tuan Haji Zakaria bin Haji Mohd. Taib
Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Said
Tuan Senawi bin Ismail
Tuan Hussein bin To' Muda Hassan
Tuan Muhammad Yusof bin Mahmud
Tuan Lee Seck Fun
Tuan Ng Fah Yam
Tuan Chan Chong Wen
Tuan Seah Teng Ngiah
Tuan Abdul Razak in Haji Hussin
Tuan Chan Siang Sun
Tuan Chin Foon
Tuan Haji Rahmat bin Haji Daud
Tuan Haji Abdullah bin Haji Mohd. Salleh
Tuan Quek Kai Dong
Tuan Siow Loong Hin
Wan Mokhtar bin Ahmad
Tuan Soh Ah Teck
Tuan Tiah Eng Bee
Tuan Ikhwani Zaini
Tuan Mohd. Tahir bin Abdul Majid
Raja Rome bin Raja Ma'amor
Pengulu Jinggut anak Attan
Tuan Sng Chin Joo
Tuan Harun bin Abdullah
Tuan Hanafi bin Mohd. Yunus
Tuan Chia Chin Shin
Tuan Tai Kuan Yang
Tuan Lim Pee Hung
Tuan D. A. Dago anak Randan
Tuan Hussein bin Sulaiman

NOES

Dato' Haji Mohamed Asri bin Haji Muda
Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah
Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam
Tuan Haji Hussain Rahimi bin Haji Saman

Tuan Muhammad Fakhruddin bin Haji Abdullah
Tuan Abdul Samad bin Gul Ahmad Mianji
Tuan Mustapha bin Ahmad
Wan Hassan bin Wan Daud

Tuan Mohd. Daud bin Abdul Samad
Tuan Haji Abu Bakar bin Hamzah
Tuan C. V. Devan Nair

ABSTENTIONS

Nil

Bill accordingly read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

House immediately resolved itself into a Committee on the Bill.

Bill considered in Committee.

(Mr Speaker in the Chair)

Clauses 1 and 2 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 3—

Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam: Mr Chairman, Sir, with regard to Clause 3, I seek some clarification because I want to know the scope of Clause 3. There appears to have been two different interpretations yesterday. The Honourable Minister of Finance said this. He said, "Further, Clause 3 of the Bill recognises what is already existing practice, viz., that by virtue of the fact that a substantial proportion of the population of this country is made up of non-Malays, their mother tongues must be given a rightful place in the scheme of things." But the Honourable Prime Minister said that it extends only to this thing (notices) to save their lives; it is an entirely different meaning conveyed to the people of this country. One says by reason of the population they must be given a rightful place in this country, whereas the Prime Minister says just to save their lives.

The Prime Minister: That is one of the reasons. It is true that the Minister of Finance has said to give the other races a place in this country and, therefore, we have this Clause 3, which reads,

"Nothing in this Act shall affect the right of the Federal Government or any State Government to use any translation of official documents or communications"

Apart from these protections which I have mentioned just now is the fact that there are communications, for instance, from His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, or from myself, or from any of the Ministers, which are intended for public use—and for public benefit, these could be translated into the other languages and which could be considered as official. That is what

we mean or what the Finance Minister means by "giving the people a place in our society".

Tuan Haji Abu Bakar bin Hamzah (Bachok): Tuan Pengerusi, saya hendak bertanya dalam Clause 3 ini di-dalam jawapan Yang Teramat Mulia Perdana Menteri mengatakan bahawa *translation* atau pun terjemahan ini ia-lah sa-mata² bila yang di-fikirkan patut dan tidak mempunyai nilai Undang² sa-bagai bahasa kebangsaan. Jadi, saya hendak tanya *translation* atau pun naskhah yang di-terjemah itu ada-kah mempunyai nilai Undang² atau pun merupakan authoritative juga—kertas yang di-terjemahkan ini?

Prime Minister: Itu translation, terjemahan yang di-terjemahkan itu tentu-lah tak authoritative—yang authoritative hal yang mula. Jadi itu tidak.

Clause 3 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 4 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 5—

Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam: Mr Chairman, Sir, regarding Clause 5, a clarification was sought yesterday but has not been given up to this moment. I too sought for clarification when I spoke on the Bill and that clarification has not been given. Now, I seek it again.

Regarding the local authorities, here the President of Dewan Negara, Speaker of Dewan Ra'ayat or Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, may allow any Member to speak in English. I want to know what is the position with regard to local authorities, such as Municipalities, Town Boards, Town Councils and Local Councils. In many of these places, nobody can speak the language.

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Mr Chairman, Sir, may I explain that the Local Councils and Local Authorities are not covered under this Bill. They are matters for the State Governments. They are governed by laws passed by State Governments and it would be for the State Governments to decide as to the languages to be used in the Local Councils and Local Authorities.

Clause 5 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clauses 6 and 7 ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 8—

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Tuan Speaker, saya mohon izin membawa pindaan kapada Fasal 8. The amendment I propose is that the present proviso to Clause 8 be deleted and be substituted by the following:

"Provided that the Court may, either of its own motion or on the application of any party to any proceedings and after considering the interests of justice in those proceedings, order that the proceedings (other than the giving of evidence by a witness) shall be either wholly in the national language or wholly in the English language."

Sir, under the present proviso, unless the Court and the counsel agree, then the proceedings in the Court would be either partly in English and partly in Malay. As, Sir, some members of the Bench and the Judicial Service, indeed, the majority of them, are not so proficient in the national language as yet to be able to conduct proceedings in the Court in the national language, obviously, it is necessary to amend this provision in the interests of justice. So, the only solution as we see it and as also was suggested by the Honourable Member for Ipoh is to amend the proviso to Clause 8 to give power to the Court to decide in the interests of justice whether the proceedings should be wholly in the national language or in English. After all, it is the duty of the Court to see that the administration of justice is properly carried out and we must provide the necessary machinery. I would like to add, Sir, that the decision of the Court under this Clause can be subject to appeal, that is to say, if any counsel disagrees with the decision of the Court or considers that the decision is not fair in the circumstances, the counsel may appeal to a higher Court.

Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam: Mr Chairman, Sir, if it is intended to retain the principal provision, then I agree that there is no alternative but for this amendment to be accepted. As I had pointed out earlier, the ideal thing would have been to say that all proceedings shall be in English unless all parties agree that it shall be in the national language. That would have been a very simple and effective way of putting it. But I understand from informal discussions with some Members of the Alliance Party that that would have offended the national sentiment and they do not want to put it in that way and that is why this round about way has been devised. In the circumstances, I suppose what is proposed now as an amendment is better than what was there before. Therefore, we have to accept it.

Amendment put, and agreed to.

Clause 8, as amended, ordered to stand part of the Bill.

Preamble ordered to stand part of the Bill.

House resumes.

Third Reading

Perdana Menteri: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, Rang Undang² ini telah ditimbang dalam Jawatan-kuasa dan di-setujukan dengan pindaan. Dengan sebab itu saya mohon meniadakan Rang Undang² ini, sa-bagaimana yang telah di-pinda itu, di-bachakan kali yang ketiga dan di-luluskan.

Tun Haji Abdul Razak: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya menyokong.

Question put,

Tan Sri Nik Ahmad Kamil: Tuan Yang di-Pertua, saya minta di-adakan belah-bahagian.

The House divided: Ayes—95; Noes—11; Abstentions—Nil.

AYES

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra
Al-Haj

Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin
Dato' Hussain

Tun Dr Ismail bin Dato' Haji
Abdul Rahman

Tuan Tan Siew Sin

Tan Sri V. T. Sambanthan

Tan Sri Haji Sardon bin
Haji Jubir

Tuan Mohamed Khir Johari
Tuan Bahaman bin Samsudin

Dr Lim Swee Aun

Tuan Haji Abdul Hamid Khan
bin Haji Sakawat Ali Khan

Tuan Khaw Kai-Boh

Tuan V. Manickavasagam

Tuan Senu bin Abdul Rahman

Tuan Haji Mohd. Ghazali bin
Haji Jawi

Tuan Haji Abdul Khalid bin
Awang Osman

Tuan Abdul-Rahman bin
Ya'kub

Tuan Sulaiman bin Bulon
Engku Muhsein bin Abdul
Kadir
Tuan Lee Siok Yew
Dr Ng Kam Poh
Tuan Ibrahim bin Abdul
Rahman
Tuan Lee San Choon
Tuan Ali bin Haji Ahmad
Tuan Chen Wing Sum
Tan Sri Fatimah binti Haji
Hashim
Datin Hajjah Fatimah binti
Haji Abdul Majid
Puan Ajibah binti Abol
Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar bin
Hassan Albar
Dato' Haji Mustapha bin
Haji Abdul Jabar
Tuan Hanafiah Hussain
Dato' Abdullah bin Abdul-
rahman
Tuan Chan Seong Yoon
Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad
Dr Awang bin Hassan
Tan Sri Nik Ahmad Kamil
Tunku Abdullah ibni Almarhum
Tuanku Abdul Rahman
Tuan Tan Toh Hong
Tuan Tan Cheng Bee
Tuan T. Mahima Singh
Tuan Jonathan Bangau anak
Renang
Wan Abdul Kadir bin Ismail

Dato' Haji Mohamed Asri bin
Haji Muda
Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Abdullah
Dato' S. P. Seenivasagam
Tuan Haji Hussain Rahimi bin
Haji Saman

Tuan Syed Esa bin Alwee
Tuan Abdul Karim bin Abu
Tuan Othman bin Abdullah
Tuan Haji Mokhtar bin Haji
Ismail
Tuan Aziz bin Ishak
Tuan Ahmad bin Arshad
Tuan Haji Redza bin Haji
Mohd. Said
Tuan Mohd. Idris bin Matsil
Dato' Haji Hussein bin Mohd.
Noordin
Tuan Mohd. Zahir bin Haji
Ismail
Tuan Ismail bin Idris
Tuan Kam Woon Wah
Tuan Chew Biow Chuan
Tuan Tan Tsak Yu
Tuan Haji Muhammad Su'at
bin Haji Muhd. Tahir
Tuan Haji Othman bin Abdullah
Tuan Sulaiman bin Haji Taib
Tuan Ramli bin Omar
Tuan Tajudin bin Ali
Pengarah Banyang anak Janting
Tuan Sandom anak Nyuak
Tuan Toh Theam Hock
Tuan Haji Hamzah in Alang
Tuan Haji Zakaria bin Haji
Mohd. Taib
Tuan Haji Ahmad bin Said
Tuan Senawi bin Ismail
Tuan Hussein bin To' Muda
Hassan

NOES

Tuan Muhammad Fakhruddin
bin Haji Abdullah
Tuan Abdul Samad bin Gul
Ahmad Mianji
Tuan Mustapha bin Ahmad
Wan Hassan bin Wan Daud

Tuan Muhamad Yusof bin
Mahmud
Tuan Lee Seck Fun
Tuan Ng Fah Yam
Tuan Chan Chong Wen
Tuan Seah Teng Ngiah
Tuan Abdul Razak in Haji
Hussin
Tuan Chan Siang Sun
Tuan Chin Foon
Tuan Haji Rahmat bin Haji
Daud
Tuan Haji Abdullah bin Haji
Mohd. Salleh
Tuan Quek Kai Dong
Tuan Siow Loong Hin
Wan Mokhtar bin Ahmad
Tuan Soh Ah Teck
Tuan Tiah Eng Bee
Tuan Ikhwani Zaini
Tuan Mohd. Tahir bin Abdul
Majid
Raja Rome bin Raja Ma'amor
Penghulu Jinggut anak Attan
Tuan Sng Chin Joo
Tuan Harun bin Abdullah
Tuan Hanafi bin Mohd. Yunus
Tuan Chia Chin Shin
Tuan Tai Kuan Yang
Tuan Lim Pee Hung
Tuan D. A. Dago anak Randan
Tuan Hussein bin Sulaiman

Tuan Mohd. Daud bin Abdul
Samad
Tuan Haji Abu Bakar bin
Hamzah
Tuan C. V. Devan Nair

ABSTENTIONS

Nil

Bill accordingly read the third time and passed (*Tepok*).

Mr Speaker: Meshuarat ini di-tanggohkan sa-hingga pukul 10.00 pagi besok.
Adjourned at 8.15 p.m.