

【刘哲伟专栏】给赛沙迪一点空间



刘哲伟

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在政治道德方面，希盟和赛沙迪都有自己的论点。（档案照：透视大马）

让我从两个角度来讨论这个问题；它是否影响政府的稳定性以及统民党（MUDA）主席赛沙迪在做出这个决定时是否犯了错误？

（一）是否影响政府的稳定性

简单的答案是否。马来西亚一直过分关注三分之二多数这个术语，毕竟从早期到今天，简单多数获胜被认为是一种胜利，而三分之二多数被认为是一种大胜利。而在2008年大选后，情况加剧，反对派开始在发达的西海岸州取得胜利，而不单单在东海岸州。所以，“三分之二”这个词更常用来描述一个强大的政府。

但实际上，拥有三分之二多数议席与政府的稳定性没有直接关联。你不能因为一个政府拥有三分之二的多数优势就说它强大，而因为它比三分之二缺少了1个席位而极度削弱。同样地，当前的联邦政府不会因为现在没有三分之二多数优势而轻易垮台。

另一方面，如果政府确实被反对党推翻，即使有赛沙迪那里给当前的联合政府带来三分之二多数，反对党要推翻政府的难度几乎是相同的。

实际上，在通过或废除法令、公共政策以及几乎一切事务时，三分之二多数和简单多数没有区别，除了修正宪法，你才需要三分之二多数优势。

接下来的问题是，政府在希望对宪法进行一些修正时是否会面临实际困难？我想说，这取决于政府想要做什么。如果政府希望做的修正在公众眼中是好事，那么反对派被迫和有义务支持它。否则，他们必须对公众负责。一个简单的例子就是18岁投票（Undi18）。



如果政府确实被反对党推翻，即使有赛沙迪那里给当前的联合政府带来三分之二多数，反对党要推翻政府的难度几乎是相同的。（档案照：透视大马）

在通过这种宪法修正案的时代，马来西亚政治圈预计年轻人更倾向于支持希盟而不是国阵或伊斯兰党。尽管不同意，国阵和伊斯兰党原则上不能反对这种修正案。他们只能寻找技术漏洞，比如迫使政府实施自动登记成为选民。同样，政府也很难不允许这样做。

换句话说，如果现任政府想要做一些积极的事情，比如把总检察长和总检察署的职务分开，反对党有义务支持。因此，这不会对政府造成太大阻碍。

他们将面临的障碍是宪法修正案有利于政府，但对反对党不利。一个简单的例子就是以选区划分来增加国会议席，以便有利于希盟或国阵。当然，反对党不会支持这一点。但如果政府愿意公正地划定选区，他们仍然会得到赛沙迪的支持，以达到三分之二多数。同样的情况，如果赛沙迪为了反对而反对，拒绝支持，他将不得不得不被公众问责。因此，简而言之，没有必要过分关注三分之二多数这个术语。

(二) 赛沙迪撤回支持政府是否有错？

公说公有理，婆说婆有理。让我们从两个角度来看：法律和政治。

从法律的角度来看，答案非常简单。是的，他有完全的权利这样做。他没有任何法律后果。



柔佛州选举和之前已经结束的6个州选举，MUDA和希盟在同一席位上竞选，很明显，希盟的成员党所获得的票比MUDA更多。（档案照：透视大马）

值得讨论的部分是政治角度。希盟的领袖们在声称赛沙迪赢得席位实际上，是希盟让位，所以在道义上，这个麻坡国会议席不属于他。在这一点上，我可以同意希盟领袖们的看法。让我们看一下几次选举，比如柔佛州选举和之前已经结束的6个州选举，MUDA和希盟在同一席位上竞选，很明显，希盟的成员党所获得的票比MUDA更多。所以，指2022年大选中MUDA的选票实际上来自希盟的支持者，因此赛沙迪的行动实际上是背叛希盟，我可以接受这个说法。

然而，同时，在2022年大选甚至更早的2018年大选中，希盟的支持者是希望希盟可以执政，将那些腐败的领导人入狱，其中最明显的是前首相纳吉和当时的前副首相阿末扎希。当然，他们并不是要求希盟政府干预司法程序，但就像纳吉的案子一样，由法院来审判。现在是总检察署暂停对阿末扎希控罪，而不是法院终止了审判，这是支持者在投票支持希盟时希望看到的吗？因此，当赛沙迪执行他和希盟在选举中承诺的事情时，他也是正确的。

所以，在政治道德方面，希盟和赛沙迪都有自己的论点。

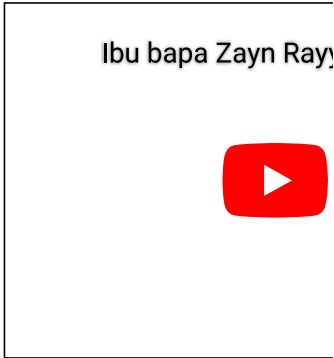
结论

对我来说，我认为我们应该给赛沙迪一些喘息的机会。如果马来西亚政治希望更加成熟，更加倡导多元意见，那么应该给代议士更多的空间。否则，代议士将仅仅成为政党的傀儡。当然，政党傀儡和遵守党纪律只是一线之差。或许我们可以向英国议会学习，在某些有争议的课题上，应该给议会成员更多表达自己立场的空间。马来西亚政客应该学会包容不同的意见。

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[Liu Zhewei Column] Give Syed Saddiq some space



Liu Zhewei

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In terms of political morality, both Pakatan Harapan and Syed Saddiq have their own arguments. (File photo: Malaysian Insight)

Let me discuss this issue from two perspectives; does it affect the stability of the government and did MUDA president Syed Saddiq make a mistake in making this decision?

1. Whether it affects the stability of the government

The simple answer is no. Malaysia has always been overly focused on the term two-thirds majority. After all, from the early days to today, a simple majority win is considered a win, while a two-thirds majority is considered a big win. This was exacerbated after the 2008 general election, when the opposition began to win in the developed west coast states, not just in the east coast states. So, the term "two-thirds" is more commonly used to describe a strong government.

But in reality, having a two-thirds majority has no direct correlation with the stability of a government. You can't say a government is strong because it has a two-thirds majority, and extremely weak because it is one seat short of two-thirds. Similarly, the current federal government will not fall easily just because it does not have a two-thirds majority now.

On the other hand, if the government is indeed overthrown by the opposition, it will be almost the same difficulty for the opposition to overthrow the government even with Syed Saddiq providing the current coalition with a two-thirds majority.

In reality, there is no difference between a two-thirds majority and a simple majority when it comes to passing or repealing laws, public policies, and almost everything else, except amending the Constitution, where you need a two-thirds majority.

The next question is whether the government faces practical difficulties when it wishes to make some amendments to the Constitution? I would say that it depends on what the government wants to do. If the amendment the government wishes to make is good in the eyes of the public, then the opposition is forced and obliged to support it. Otherwise, they have to be accountable to the public. A simple example is Undi18.



If the government is indeed overthrown by the opposition, it will be almost as difficult for the opposition to overthrow the government even with Syed Saddiq giving the current coalition a two-thirds majority. (File photo: Malaysian Insight)

In the era of passing such constitutional amendments, Malaysian political circles expected that young people would be more inclined to support PH than BN or PAS. Despite disagreeing, BN and PAS cannot oppose such amendments in principle. They can only look for technical loopholes, such as forcing the government to implement automatic registration to become a voter. Again, it is difficult for the government not to allow this.

In other words, if the current government wants to do something positive, like separating the positions of Attorney General and Attorney General's Chambers, the opposition is obliged to support it. Therefore, it will not be a big hindrance to the government.

The biggest obstacle they will face is a constitutional amendment that favours the government but disadvantages the opposition. A simple example is the gerrymandering of constituencies to increase parliamentary seats in order to favour Pakatan Harapan or Barisan Nasional. Of course, the opposition will not support this. But if the government is willing to draw the constituencies fairly, they will still have the support of Syed Saddiq to reach the two-thirds majority.

In the same situation, if Syed Saddiq refuses to support for the sake of opposition, he will have to be held accountable by the public. So, in short, there is no need to focus too much on the term two-thirds majority.

2. Was Syed Saddiq wrong to withdraw his support for the government?

Let's look at this from two perspectives: legal and political.

From a legal perspective, the answer is very simple. Yes, he has every right to do so. There are no legal consequences for him.



In the Johor state election and the six state elections that have already concluded, MUDA and PH contested in the same seats, and it is obvious that PH's member parties received more votes than MUDA. (File photo: Malaysian Perspective)

The part worth discussing is the political angle. The Pakatan Harapan leaders are claiming that Syed Saddiq won the seat, but in fact, it was Pakatan Harapan that gave up the seat, so morally, the Muar parliamentary seat does not belong to him. On this point, I can agree with the Pakatan Harapan leaders. Let's look at a few elections, such as the Johor state election and the 6 state elections that have ended before, where MUDA and Pakatan Harapan contested on the same seat, and it is clear that the component parties of

Pakatan Harapan received more votes than MUDA. So, I can accept the claim that the votes of MUDA in the 2022 general election actually came from Pakatan Harapan supporters, and therefore Syed Saddiq's actions were actually a betrayal of Pakatan Harapan.

Yet, at the same time, in the 2022 general election and even earlier in the 2018 general election, the PH supporters wanted PH to be in power and put those corrupt leaders in jail, most notably former Prime Minister Najib and then former Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad Zahid. Of course, they were not asking the PH government to interfere in the judicial process, but like in Najib's case, it was up to the courts to judge. Now it is the Attorney General's Chambers that has suspended the charges against Ahmad Zahid, rather than the courts terminating the trial, which is what the supporters wanted to see when they voted for PH? Therefore, when Syed Saddiq does what he and PH promised in the election, he is also right.

So, when it comes to political ethics, both Pakatan Harapan and Syed Saddiq have their own arguments.

in conclusion

For me, I think we should give Syed Saddiq some breathing space. If Malaysian politics wants to be more mature and advocate for more diverse opinions, then more space should be given to MPs. Otherwise, MPs will just become puppets of political parties. Of course, there is a fine line between being a puppet of a political party and abiding by party discipline. Perhaps we can learn from the British Parliament and give MPs more space to express their views on certain controversial issues. Malaysian politicians should learn to tolerate different opinions.

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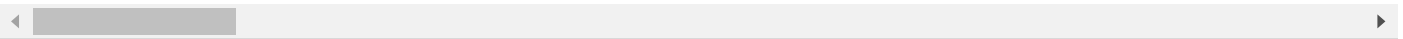


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