

MAY 13

BEFORE  
& AFTER

TUNKU  
ABDUL RAHMAN



PENERBITAN UTUSAN MELAYU,  
KUALA LUMPUR.

\$3.00

MAY 13  
BEFORE AND AFTER



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### DEDICATION

With all humility I dedicate this book to those men and women of all races, old or young, who rallied round the Government of Malaysia in a time of dire distress, to those who suffered injury or loss, and above all, to those who died in innocence through no fault of their own. I also dedicate this book to our Security Forces for their deep devotion to duty during the tragic disturbances by restoring law and order in the cause of peace.

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TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA.

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*"No man is an Island, entire of itself; Every man is a piece  
of the Continent, a part of the main."*

*"Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved  
in Mankind; And therefore never send to know for whom  
the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."*

**John Donne**

## I

### THOUGHTS FROM A HOSPITAL BED

WHEN one is in hospital, recuperating from an operation, there is plenty of time to think. Awake or asleep in the long lonely hours of the night, events and circumstances, causes and reactions form patterns in the mind; problems and explanations, facts and solutions wrestle with each other. Solitude, they say, is good for the soul; it is certainly helpful to meditation.

On June 6th, 1969, at a time of national crisis it was my ill luck—or perhaps for some good purpose—to be ordered into hospital while my heart was sad and my mind full of tragic events that had taken place in Malaysia, only three weeks before.

I did not go into hospital of my own wish, but due to circumstances beyond my control. The days and nights of tension and crisis caused severe strain on my eyes. I realised that as a result of mounting pressure my right eye had been seriously affected, and if not attended to quickly might cause the loss of my sight.

So on the advice of my eye specialist, Dr. Keshmahinder Singh, and of my personal physician, Dato Dr. Pillai, I agreed to undergo a long-deferred operation. The services of a famed eye-surgeon were obtained; he was Mr. Redmond Smith of Moorefield Hospital, England. He arrived in Kuala Lumpur on June 6th and I found myself promptly admitted to the University Teaching Hospital in Kuala Lumpur the same afternoon and operated upon the next morning.

Throughout my political career I have always done my most serious thinking in the early hours of the morning after prayers. In fact this has been my life-long habit. The harrowing sorrowful events of recent weeks weighed heavily on me. In a way I welcomed the enforced sojourn in hospital as a chance to think deeply on what had occurred in my beloved country.

This small book is the result of those ten days and nights of contemplation. Before entering hospital I had already decided, in fact I had announced, that sooner or later I would write about the recent elections, the riots and their effects. So in a sense the operation was "heaven-sent", and a blessing in disguise, although it was agonising.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to the specialists and to Dato Professor Danaraj and the staff of the University Teaching Hospital for the patience and consideration they showed in every way in looking after me.

My effort in publishing this book may seem amateurish, but while I reclined in bed, with nothing to do, with all that time on my hands, I thought it best to jot down my thoughts on paper. I recalled the saying—"In the country

of the blind, the one-eyed man is King". Here was I for the time being a one-eyed man, and not wanting my country or my people to be blind to the realities we must face, then here was my opportunity to express my views.

I have had no experience of journalism, but what value these thoughts of mine may have do not belong to either the realms of journalism or literature. This book is on my part a simple, honest endeavour to open the eyes of the good citizens of this country to truth; and to falsehood which gives rise to intrigue, and in doing so to suggest how best we can all play our parts together for the future.

This book is not addressed to the world in general but to my fellow-citizens, to whom all local references to persons or places will be only too familiar. I want to present them with the facts according to my knowledge and enquiries, the facts as I see them, shocking though they may be. This is my purpose, and it is my hope that they will ponder, as I have, on the unfortunate events we endured, determined that such a tragedy will never take place again.

In our twelve years of independence we have faced up to difficulties before, both internally and externally, and have survived successfully as a sovereign nation and a free people, living and working together in true democracy.

We suffered together the unhappiness and misery of three years of War and Occupation. Next, after three years of peace we endured the trials and tribulations of an insurrection from within, inspired and led by the Malayan Communist Party—the Emergency which lasted twelve long years. During this time we achieved a double victory—



emerging not only as a free nation but also with the distinction of defeating the Communists.

Then after the formation of Malaysia, in 1963 we met a new threat of aggression, this time from without. This was our embroilment with Indonesia, which lasted three years, being known to the world as "Confrontation". I am happy to say that following this unfortunate conflict Malaysia and Indonesia are now close friends and good neighbours.

Throughout all these years the voice of the people was always paramount. They expressed their views and cast their votes four times in General Elections—first in 1955 in British colonial days, and then three time in our free nation in 1959, 1964, and finally this year, 1969.

Time and again during these years of independence since 1957 I have been asked as Prime Minister how I managed to keep the many races in this country with their different customs, religions and ways of life so peaceful and united.

My reply was always that the answer lay in the nature of the people themselves, as all our component races are tolerant and friendly. Everyone is free to carry out his own interests in life, whether in business, in the professions, or in politics. As individuals or groups we might have our likes or dislikes and were at liberty to pursue them. We might agree or disagree, but always we worked together because we believed the spirit of democracy was the best medium of expression of our way of life.

A typical instance of our democracy in action was the evolution of our Constitution. Its form and content were openly debated up and down the land at all levels of

society, groups and individuals freely putting forward their views, with the final result that common understanding was reached on the Constitution as a whole, including such controversial matters as citizenship, the National Language and special consideration for the economic position of the Malays. Our Constitution was a national compact binding us all together.

There was, however, one limit to our tolerance as free people. The Malayan Communist Party was banned, a proscription that still applies, because we had found out from bitter experience that Communist ideas and our own chosen way of life were fundamentally opposed. We could never forget the insurrection that had caused untold havoc in lives and property, draining our country's finances and hindering our economic progress.

We had no wish then, and we have no wish now, to allow this political cancer to grow and fester in our national body. Unfortunately, as events will show, the insidious evil of Communism still exists among us, always on call to damage our peace and prosperity. We likewise must remain constantly on the alert against such designs.

In all other respects, however, Malaysia has been a liberal working democracy. Any political party could be freely formed and openly active, and new parties have frequently come into existence, and as quickly they vanished. My party, the Alliance, remains to defend our democracy.

So it was in this spirit of common understanding and mutual respect among our people that the nation developed methodically and smoothly since the first popular triumph at the polls in 1955, especially in the conduct of General

Elections at both Federal and State levels—that is, until this fateful year of 1969.

In fact, throughout all these years our political evolution and economic development advanced together hand-in-hand in a country united, with its people contented and happy, so much so that I frequently and openly said that I was the happiest Prime Minister in the world. On May 13th, however, I suddenly found that I was the unhappiest Prime Minister. I do not doubt that, with the blessing of God, the time will come again, and soon I hope, when I can say once more that I can count myself a happy Prime Minister.

Looking back, perhaps, it would be fair to comment that Malaysians in general were too free and easy, taking things too much for granted. We were living in a state of euphoria; there seemed no reason why our happy way of life should not continue forever.

Little did we know that our dreams of continuing success would explode in our faces on May 13th this year in racial riots in the peaceful city of Kuala Lumpur, in violence completely unprecedented in both nature and character in this country's history.

Many people were caught in the midst of violence, terror and fear, especially those in the cinemas, in the clubs, in the restaurants and other places of amusement. Men, women and children of all races had to seek shelter and security where they could and as best as they could.

Many people died, and hundreds suffered injury. Houses were burnt, properties destroyed, vehicles wrecked. The whole capital city, normally so peacefully busy,

trembled with apprehension. Such an unleashing of violence had never happened before in this country where people of different races had enjoyed tranquility and peace for as long as anyone could remember.

The whole nation suffered a profound shock, shaken to its very core, to such an extent that we can still quiver at the thought of what happened. Geographically speaking, Malaysia does not lie in the earthquake belt, but May 13th, 1969, was certainly a social and political eruption of the first magnitude.

## II

### SHADOWS FROM THE PAST

COMING events, they say, cast their shadows before, but one would have had to be a man of extraordinary prescience to have been able to forecast that important factors contributing to the occurrence of these distressful disturbances were events which took place in 1967 and 1968, long before the announcement in 1969 of the date of the General Elections.

Before I go into detail on these events, however, I wish to make several points clear. The first is that the General Elections of 1969 and the precipitation of violence on May 13th are intricately intertwined.

All previous General Elections in this country had been carried out and completed in a spirit of harmony and accord. Oddly enough, even the General Elections in 1969, which fell on Saturday, May 10th, in West Malaysia, went off as smoothly as in the past without any single incident to mar the day. The actual conduct of the election campaign, however, was marked by unrestrained and almost

unbelievable actions and irresponsible utterances. It is, therefore, necessary to realise and appreciate both what happened before, during and after the elections to understand why and how the riots took place.

The second point I wish to emphasise is the influence of Communism. No country in the world can stand apart in isolation, feeling insulated against ideological influences from without. Malaysia and all countries in Asia live today under the looming menace of Communist China. In our world of closely-linked communications it is impossible to escape the emanations of Communist ideas radiating from Peking, picked up and passed round here with fanatical intensity.

Some people seem to think that I see a Communist behind every bush, but as Prime Minister, with all the sources of intelligence open and available to me it is my duty always to consider the security of the nation, both within and without. At no time have I ever underestimated the influences at work which stem from Communist designs. We must always be vigilant to anticipate at any time the impact and extent that Communist ideas may exert on the hearts and minds of our people, especially the younger generation.

An example of what I have in mind occurred in Penang on November 19th, 1967, which illustrates to what extent supporters of the Communist cause, open or clandestine, are prepared to go in working against the interests of Malaysia.

Racial trouble broke out there when Chinese members of the Mao Tse-Tung Youth Movement used as a pretext the devaluation of the old Malaysian currency as an excuse

to declare a hartal. Clashes took place, with Malays and loyal supporters of the Government becoming targets for attack. Some people, taken by surprise, were killed or injured. The Security Forces soon restored order with the imposition of a curfew and the arrest of suspects.

It was the Communists' intention to make the hartal nation-wide, but they failed to do so as the people elsewhere ignored their call and went about their business as usual.

In June 1968 eleven Chinese members of the Malayan Communist Party who were sentenced to death for helping Soekarno's men to invade South Malaysia were about to be executed in Kuala Lumpur. Similar execution orders had also been signed against two Malays in Perak.

Dr. Tan Chee Khoo, then Labour Party Member of Parliament for Batu, made an appeal against the execution. He, together with members of the Labour Party and Communist sympathisers, conducted an intensive campaign, on a house-to-house, door-to-door basis, collecting signatures with the aim of whipping up sympathy and emotions for eleven of the condemned men. The Press, too, played a big part in this campaign.

Pro-Communist elements instigated parents and relatives of the condemned youths to hold protest rallies. Their appeals, however, were rejected by both the Rulers of Johore and Perak.

In the meantime, the impending date of the execution drew near. Outside the gates of Pudu Jail in Kuala Lumpur and all along the roads leading to the prison menacing crowds, including young Communists, gathered in unruly

demonstrations, throwing stones at passing cars and blocking traffic in the busy thoroughfare.

Fearing nation-wide trouble which might lead to racial unrest and bloodshed, I myself made a personal appeal on behalf of the condemned men to the Sultan of Johore and to the Sultan of Perak as a result of which both Their Royal Highnesses commuted the death sentences to life imprisonment. Rightly or wrongly, my object was to save one thousand lives by saving eleven Communists in Johore and two Malay traitors in Perak from death on the scaffold.

The demonstrations ceased and peace was restored. There was still, however, an under-current of uneasiness and festering unrest, and the Government realised that this might not be the end of the whole affair. So we did everything possible to prevent any further trouble, increasing our vigilance as a precautionary measure. Smouldering fires need careful watch.

As subsequent events were to prove, the lesson was not lost on the Communists. They had aroused emotion on behalf of the eleven Chinese, but there had not been any similar outcry for the two Malays. The lesson was that if people could become so desperate to a point of creating upheaval from developments arising within the law, then the possibilities of trouble-making by arousing public emotions, and especially racial feelings, outside the law could be even more disturbing and nation-shaking. Sow the wind and you reap the whirlwind.

In fact elements of the extreme left, ever-watchful for opportunities to make trouble, lost no time in pointing the way to a course for future action, inimical to the interests of the country. Only six weeks after the commutation on

October 13th, the Labour Party (i.e. Socialists) declared that they would boycott the General Elections which were due to be held in 1969.

It always baffles me why any politician should want to support the idea of a boycott because efforts have been made before and have always proved unsuccessful, both in Malaysia and Singapore. The Labour Party's idea was not even original, being a tactic strictly copying the Barisan Socialis in Singapore who had also refused to take part in elections and, as a result of obdurately adhering to this policy, had virtually vanished from the public eye. They withdrew their members from the Singapore Legislative Assembly, but beyond that they did not do anything rash. Perhaps as the Government in Singapore was a mainly Chinese Government, it suited the Barisan Socialis' purpose to preserve it as an entry point for Communist subversion.

The Labour Party in Malaysia was taking a poor example unless they intended to remain as quiescent as the Barisan Socialis. Its leaders could have no way of knowing how events would turn out, but from their point of view the new line might cause the disaster they desired. It is a typical Communist method to keep fire going under as many kettles as possible in the hope that one of them will blow up violently.

The year 1968 was up till this time comparatively quiet on the political scene as far as Opposition parties were concerned. The only new development had been the announcement in April of the formation of a new political group, the Gerakan Party, composed of so-called intellectuals with dissident elements opposed to the Alliance Government.

No announcement had been made as yet when the General Elections would be held. It was within the power of the Alliance to call a snap election at any time in this final year of their term of office, but instead of doing this I announced that the Government would serve out its full five-year term.

The Labour Party treated this as "kite-flying" on my part, being convinced that I had some joker up my sleeve. According to the Constitution, if elections were not called earlier, then they had to be held within ninety days of the ending of the five-year term. This would mean at the latest by the end of April in 1969.

The Labour Party now took another page from the Barisan Socialis book, a step quite unprecedented in our democratic State since independence. They announced that they would withdraw forthwith all their members at present sitting in either Parliament or State Assemblies. In Parliament they had two members, Dr. Tan Chee Khoon and Mr. Lim Kean Siew.

This decision precipitated confusion and division within their own ranks. It was obvious to the general public that this new move was not supported by all the Labour Party members. It took Mr. Lim some weeks to decide to go along with the proposal, but Dr. Tan declining to withdraw from Parliament, left his Labour comrades and promptly joined the new Gerakan Party.

Perhaps this was a cunning ruse on his or the party's part to offset the Socialists' defeat in the previous general elections. As it turned out Dr. Tan's new party, of which he became Secretary-General, continued to receive solid

support from members of the now non-contesting Labour Party and from all those others who were in backdoor sympathy with the Communist cause.

So the year ended, politically speaking, with the fasting month beginning in mid-November culminating in a unique conjunction of celebrations of both Hari Raya and Christmas in three consecutive days of national festivities. The life of Malaysia was going on in its usual friendly, normal way. So we too believed and felt on New Year's Eve. What the New Year would bring we could not foresee but no one had doubts of continuing future success.

### III

## GENERAL ELECTIONS

WITH the dawn of 1969 my own immediate pre-occupation was the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in January, and it was not until my return from London that the Government announced on March 20th that the next General Elections would be held on Saturday, May 10th and that Nomination Day had been set for Saturday, April, 5th.

Immediately all parties stepped up the momentum of political campaigning which had been going on quietly behind the scenes up to this point. It rapidly became evident that this was going to be a hotly-contested election, as political activity mounted feverishly. As Nomination Day drew near, with widespread speculation on the choice of candidates, the various Opposition parties tried once more to come together to unite against the Alliance. This they failed to do collectively, but partial agreement was reached amongst certain parties not to contest against each other.

It also became clearly evident that the threat of the Labour Party to boycott the elections would be carried out—with the Communists, of course, supporting them behind the scenes. On Nomination Day itself the Police discovered fifty-five Communist flags in Perak and on the same day Labour Party youths in Kuala Lumpur held a lightning demonstration. On the next day, April 6th, a motor-scooter belonging to a Police constable was found burnt in Ampang and nine days later on April 15th, a mobile Police vehicle was stoned in Cheras. Both these places are suburbs of Kuala Lumpur.

On Nomination Day all parties signed on for the battle royal and the campaign, already started, could now begin in full earnest.

The only party contesting all seats was the ruling Alliance Party composed of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC).

Five parties were on the slate in opposition to the Alliance. These, for the Parliament elections, were:—

- (1) The Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PMIP), the ruling Islamic Party in Kelantan State, with nine representatives in Parliament;
- (2) The Gerakan Party, a new party which had Syed Hussain Alatas as President, Dr. Lim Chong Eu and Mr. V. David as Vice-Presidents and Dr. Tan Chee Khoo as Secretary-General;
- (3) The Democratic Action Party (DAP), a branch of the People's Action Party (PAP) in Singapore,

with Mr. Goh Hock Guan as Secretary-General and Mr. Lim Kit Siang as the Organising Secretary.

- (4) The People's Progressive Party (PPP), with Dato S. P. Seenivasagam as President;
- and (5) a recently-formed party in Seremban, known as the United Malaysian Chinese Organisation (UMCO) with Mr. Chin See Yin as President.

In addition, in the eleven elections for State Assemblies there were candidates from the Party Raayat, an extreme left organisation, with Enche Kassim Ahmad as Chairman and Syed Hussein Ali as Secretary-General. A number of Independent candidates stood at both Parliamentary and State levels. In West Malaysia polling day was May 10th; in East Malaysia polling days were "staggered" until the latter part of June.

The campaign was to last seven weeks before the hubbub of the hustings gave way to Polling Day on May 10th. Previous General Elections in Malaysia proved to have been comparatively harmonious in comparison with the turbulence, acrimony, bitterness and unscrupulousness that erupted in these elections of 1969.

From the very beginning of the campaign the PMIP played up racial and religious sentiments to win the support of the Malays in the States, besides Kelantan where they were already in power. On the other hand, also in full swing, the DAP, the Gerakan and the PPP stirred up Chinese emotions and sentiments, declaring that they intended to deprive the Malays of the rights provided for them in the Constitution and asserting that they would

introduce multi-lingualism in Malaysia if they were successful in the elections.

With the utmost disregard for restraint these four parties hit on the raw on all these sensitive points, harping again and again, upsetting the innermost feelings of both the major races of Malaysia.

Ever since the previous General Elections in 1964, subtle propaganda had naturally been put out by all Opposition parties aimed at winning seats in the next elections, but the conduct of the campaign in 1969 went beyond all bounds of propriety. Friction between the two major races appeared inevitable. The Communists were quick to take advantage of the situation.

The threat posed by the Communists, using any party and any means to achieve their aims, was very serious because they had adopted a new type of propaganda to win over the Chinese masses, especially those who refused to look to Malaysia as their home. They worked on racialism in the hearts and minds of these elements to induce them to join their cause.

In the past, their ideology and their methods had not succeeded in making any impression because the people in the country were happy and contented. They had seen and experienced during the twelve years of Communist insurrection enough uneasiness and misery to last a lifetime. So this new tactic would not get very far with these people who had known the Emergency at its worst.

But life goes on and men grow older, and in Malaysia the vast majority of the population is in its teens or twenties. Many of them would not even remember, parti-

cularly those very small children, the stress and strain of life, the nearness of danger and death with which people had to live when the Emergency was at its height.

The new line of the Communist party was to aim at these young men and women who were not old enough to know any better, but who had grown up in the meantime and were now among the voters in the elections. Even those who were not still eligible to vote were subject to their threats and their influence in the hope that their actions would cause reactions in return and thus induce feelings of doubt and insecurity among their elders.

These young people to whom the Communists directed their attention were fanatically Chinese in outlook. Many, if not all, turned to China as the object of their loyalty. They could be found in the ranks of all the Opposition parties, in particular the Labour Party, which had no hesitation whatsoever in using them unscrupulously during their campaign.

It is not easy to contain these youths or to prevent them from joining the Communists. They could do so mentally, even though not physically. Their parents exercise no control over them, so they grow away from family ties and thoughts, deaf and blind to everything around them except the blandishments of Communism.

Then there is another class of young people among the Chinese, ambitious and articulate, the so-called intellectuals, fresh from the universities and now able to vote, young men and women who refuse to acknowledge the hitherto-accepted division of interests or balance of power as between political and economic forces for which the Constitution had so studiously and fairly provided. These



young men are perfect examples of what Robert Louis Stevenson meant when he wrote "Politics is perhaps the only profession for which no preparation is thought necessary".

They aim to go into politics in a big way hoping ultimately to win undisputed leadership for the Chinese in both the economic and political fields of Malaysia. They do not accept Malay dominance in politics any more so they find the concept of Malaysian Malaysia, as advocated by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, in line with their ambitions.

They even manage to ignore the fact that it was for this same reason that Singapore was forced out of Malaysia. It was because of the type of politics carried out by the PAP at that time would have led inevitably to racial conflict that I decided for the sake of peace and happiness in the rest of Malaysia to give independence to Singapore.

Neither of these two groups, the teenage Chinese youths and the young Chinese in their mid-twenties, were interested in the MCA, the principal political party of the Chinese which had always drawn considerable support from the financial sections of the community. To them the MCA had been around too long, had become too compromising, and the gap between the generations was too great. Therefore they had no time for the MCA policy of working together with UMNO for a united Malaysia.

I think I can fairly say that only one quarter or even less than that of the Chinese in Malaysia share their views, or owe any allegiance, in whole or in part, to Mao Tse-Tung's China. Three-quarters of the Chinese population want to live in peace and in harmony with the other races

in this country so that they can carry out peacefully their livelihood or occupation in either trade or business, or the professions as has been customary for them to do for generations past.

However peace-loving these three-quarters of the Chinese in Malaysia might be, they could never hold back this new force, still less be a match for any organised body of men subtly bent on making trouble, such as the Communists, nor would they prove able to cope with yet another despicable element, the parasites who prey on all Chinese, the secret societies.

#### IV

### SECRET SOCIETIES AND THE CHINESE

**S**ECRET SOCIETIES are not new to Malaysia. Members of such societies are an integral part of Chinese life. As the Chinese community gains in wealth these pests grow, too, in numbers. Their influence extends to Chinese living almost everywhere, even in Chicago, San Francisco and London.

In Malaysia, where the Chinese are the wealthiest community, these secret societies quite unscrupulous in their methods, have grown in strength because of the easy money they get from businessmen through extortion, kidnapping and blackmail. They do not confine their attention to big business. Their happy hunting grounds include call girls, massage parlours, petty traders, from all of whom they demand protection money.

In the past they had never played any part in politics, or at least very little, but now in 1969 their self-assumed role had become more important, being omnipresent. Many Chinese politicians employ their services, either for personal protection or to build up their image and influence among

the community and thus advance their cause. So the secret societies, no longer regarded as pests and parasites, came to win for themselves, rather like the MAFIA in the United States, a curious kind of respectability, and as such pose another serious threat and problem to the happiness of society in Malaysia.

In this last campaign they found for themselves new roles, as election agents and workers for the candidates contesting the election, and in these roles they employed all the tricks best known to their crooked and criminal minds. People were intimidated into voting for candidates for whom in normal circumstances they would not have. As a result of their nefarious activities the democratic conduct of elections, which had always been observed here in the past, was severely interrupted and adversely affected. The campaign became anything but democratic where these parasites were involved.

The Royal Malaysian Police have always been active in thwarting members of these secret societies, especially in the last five or six years. Their investigations had produced some very important information concerning their activities but had not anticipated these new tactics during the General Elections.

The attitudes of the Communist elements and the three other groups I have mentioned earlier had resulted for some time past in the building up of anti-Malaysia feeling, which came out quite strongly in the elections. There are many reasons for this, but the main one is the National Language.

When the National Language was first introduced many Chinese and Indians had not found it to their liking, as a number of letters I received at various times revealed to

me. As an offshoot, this difference over Malay being the foundation of the official language, other Chinese chauvinists—for that is the only word to describe them—demonstrated their own particular feelings by agitating for separate schools and hospitals and a university for the Chinese only.

The reason they put forward was that pork could not be served in the canteens of national institutions. Perhaps this question of food has a relative degree of importance, but it is a matter which can be easily resolved by having separate canteens, or if separate cooking facilities cannot be provided, then there are plenty of types of food that can be served, which are common to all communities and not likely to be objectionable or prejudicial to any one community on either religious or other grounds. One has only to visit such popular street-stalls as those in Jalan Campbell in Kuala Lumpur to realise that this is true.

Such minor issues as food are only excuses. The real grouse of such chauvinists is against the idea of being Malaysian at all. It is repugnant to them to think of themselves as anything but Chinese. Such an attitude of course is entirely up to them if they choose to have it so, but let us in this multi-racial society share a common loyalty to the country, whatever our racial origin may be. When the nation provides for a national language, in our case Malay, then I think in all fairness it is the duty of all to contribute our share towards making it a success as was agreed upon and written down in the Constitution.

This was an issue on which the MCA lost its popularity. It must be agreed that the Alliance policy is constitutional, then the MCA's backing of such a policy is correct and as such it should have the support of all right-minded and loyal Chinese in Malaysia. The failure of such Chinese to res-

pond to the call for a united Malaysian nation inevitably resulted in anti-Malay feelings. This was in turn not lost on the Malays, who indignant with non-co-operation on what had been agreed, tended to work up anti-Chinese feelings and in their turn charged the Government with being soft.

Extreme feelings, whether from the right or the left, in one community or another, can never hope to bring about a united Malaysian nation. Unfortunately during the General Elections full advantage was taken by all who had no sense of responsibility to other communities to give vent to such feelings.

For two months I travelled up and down the country pointing out to the people of all races the dangers of this type of politics, that quarrels among the people could only result in the break-up of the society and the destruction of the nation we had so earnestly and assiduously worked together to achieve. The North and South Poles can never meet, but all can mingle together on the Equator.

It was a shock to me that the Chinese who had shown such strong support for UMNO candidates in the past as against those of the PMIP, had suddenly made a round-about turn. I had the unfortunate experience to see this for myself in my own Constituency when I was accompanied by a friend, who was a member of the MCA. I found Chinese going to the PMIP "hut". I was naturally surprised, and thought that they might have mistaken the PMIP for UMNO. When I stopped my car to enquire the would-be voters showed resentment for what they considered interference with their freedom to vote as they liked. To my dismay I found it was happening everywhere in North Kedah.

It was very hard to understand why this should be so because during the whole campaign the PMIP candidates had been openly against the Chinese and here they were receiving support from the Chinese. Obviously, there was something deeper going on than met the eye. Either some directive had been received from certain quarters, or they were being intimidated and voted out of fear for the parties in opposition to the Alliance. When one of them was asked why he went to the PMIP "hut" he remarked the fact that since the PMIP held power in Kelantan and the Chinese there had not suffered as a consequence, then why should the Chinese fear the PMIP in Kedah or elsewhere despite the anti-Chinese policy of the Party?

Another reason given was that a few days before the elections one of the Alliance candidates insulted the Chinese by saying that even if the Chinese did not support him he still would have a chance of winning—and this was Dr. Mahathir.

I learnt this from the Chairman of the MCA in Kedah, Dato Dr. Cheah Toon Lock. I said to him that in spite of what Dr. Mahathir might have said the duty of a Chinese was to stand by the Alliance, unless of course he happened to be a member of a party normally in opposition to the Alliance.

There was one thing that is quite certain, and that is that no Chinese is eligible to be a member of the PMIP, whereas until 1966 he could be an associate member of UMNO, and of course a full member of the MCA which is in alliance with UMNO. So for the Chinese to vote for the PMIP could have had no excuse whatever except as an act of enmity against the Alliance, or, as was more likely, through fear.

Of Opposition parties, the PMIP is the oldest. It will be recalled that in the first General Elections during the British time held in 1955 when fifty-two seats were being publicly contested for the first time in Malayan history, the Alliance Party won fifty-one and the remaining seat went to a PMIP member from Krian, Perak.

The PMIP was in a sense founded by the late Dato Onn bin Ja'afar, who was also father of UMNO. His purpose in joining it, then known as Jawatan Kuasa Ugama was to provide religious advice to UMNO.

Soon after Dato Onn left UMNO the members of this religious group turned from religion to politics so as to fight elections in their own right and incidentally divide the strength of the Malays. This was the PMIP as we know it now. In doing so they went along strictly religious lines, for the Malays as a whole feel deeply for Islam. The party did not make much progress in the beginning, but as time went on they began to win more adherents, mainly because of their religious stand in the State of Kelantan where the Alliance was in power at the time of independence.

In fact they were so successful that they toppled the Alliance in that State in the General Elections of 1959 and also in Trengganu, in both of which States they were able to form governments. As it turned out they were ousted from power in Trengganu by the Alliance through party defections in 1962, thus leaving the PMIP in Kelantan the only State Government outside the ambit of the Alliance.

Throughout its history the PMIP has been a party without any aims or plans. Its emphasis has always been on the religion of Islam and this they play up to the full.

Such normal activities of a political party as the evolution of a constructive economic policy were completely beyond its ken. In fact, on one occasion a PMIP woman member, Che Khatijah Sidek, who was a Member of Parliament, threatened to resign from the PMIP unless they produced an economic plan of their own within the next six months. Nothing ever came of it, and she has since left the political scene. The PMIP, however, continued with its own pro-religious ways and has not changed its character or methods ever since except to combine it with a narrow communal issue.

Tunku, they say, has sold Singapore to the Chinese, next he will sell Malaysia, and what is most disturbing people believe it.

## V

## CAMPAIGN INTRIGUES

IN various by-elections the PMIP had made attempts to extend their influence beyond Kelantan into the States of Kedah and Perak, but to no avail. My information was that religious issues did not help them much in any of the States on the West Coast, because the people there were more advanced and more tolerant in matters of religion and more progressive in their general views of life than the parochial-thinking people of Kelantan.

In the 1969 elections, however, the PMIP adopted a new line, waging a campaign of hatred and vilification against UMNO which turned out to be very successful. They charged UMNO with being pro-Chinese and of selling out the country to the Chinese. The anti-Chinese campaign they built up in the rural areas in the Northern States of the West Coast was subtle and severe, putting fear in the minds of the good-hearted religious Malays that the Chinese were going to take over the whole nation, and that I was giving them the opportunity to do so.

As proof they circulated thousands of pictures of Enche Khir Johari, a Cabinet Minister, and his wife attired in Mandarin dress, a photograph which he had taken in fun in Hongkong to send to his friends as a New Year greeting. These costumes are available at a restaurant for tourists to wear for pictures as a token of their visit.

In the spirit of jovial goodwill, so characteristic of Khir Johari, he and his wife used this photograph to send out to their Chinese friends on the occasion of Chinese New Year last February. The PMIP quickly saw that this photograph could be suitable ammunition and circulated it widely amongst the Malays, taking the opportunity to malign Khir and alleging that he had even become a Chinese. Poor Khir! his friendly joke had misfired and as a result he lost a large number of votes.

This is only one example of the extent of the deception and malpractices to which the PMIP resorted to gain their political ends. In fact, their activities were most mischievous, Machiavellian opportunism of the worst kind, previously not heard of in Malaysian political history.

For instance, the PMIP went about saying that I was a Siamese, although they knew full well that my father was the late Sultan of Kedah. They also alleged that I was practising the Buddhist religion, although they were quite aware of the good and outstanding work I had done for Islam since Merdeka. I am not a man given to boasting but I can say with all due modesty that my record in relation to Islam can match that of any leader in any modern Muslim country.

In the course of their election campaign the PMIP made widespread personal attacks on UMNO leaders,



Enche Khir Johari, Minister of Commerce and Industry, and his wife, Che Tom, in Mandarin dress, a photograph used in a greeting card to Chinese friends in the jovial spirit of Chinese New Year.

attacks so vicious in nature that it was impossible to imagine that anyone could be capable of perpetrating. They knew that everything they were saying about the other leaders and myself was untrue, yet they went about from kampong to kampong continuing a campaign of lies, quite regardless of the consequences or the fact that what they were doing and saying might set alight the flames of racial animosity. They simply did not care; they were all out for seats at any price.

I myself was trying to get hold of a picture which the PMIP surreptitiously showed around to people in my own constituency. It depicted me using a pair of chopsticks at a Chinese dinner. Superimposed on the photograph was a suckling-pig in the centre of the table. I can swear that at no time in my life have I attended a Chinese dinner at which pork was served, or any other food that is considered "haram" (that is, forbidden) to Malays. My Chinese friends had always seen to it that this could never happen, as being good hosts and familiar with Muslim ways, they know what Muslims can and cannot eat.

To say that I was a non-Muslim, although they knew very well that I had been to Mecca and that I am a Haji, and were aware too that I was the son of a father who had been known throughout his life for his piety and saintliness, this charge was, of course, wicked. I am sure it will be a shocking surprise to those who read this book to realise to what depths a political party such as the PMIP can descend.

Although I am a practising Muslim, I have of course during my term of office as Prime Minister accepted many invitations to functions, social or otherwise, and have

enjoyed European, or Chinese or Indian cuisine. I have declared open places of worship for people of other creeds, and I have seen to it that funds were provided to build places of worship for other religions in Malaysia.

After all, why should it not be so, the money comes from the people themselves? I recall with warmth in my heart the many thousands of donations, aggregating millions of dollars, that came in from people of all religions when I launched an appeal to raise funds to build the National Mosque.

All the people of the country contribute to the nation's wealth and because of this we have been able to do many things for Islam, such as the building of mosques, suraus and religious schools, as well as holding religious festivities from time to time. All this has been done in the interests of the religion of Islam, our official religion.

At no time did the non-Malays ever raise any objection to what the Government had done and was doing for the religion of Islam, nor were there any queries about what sums of money were spent in propagating Islam. In fact it can be bluntly stated, despite all the pretensions of the PMIP, that the Alliance Government has done far more for Islam than the PMIP has ever attempted or is ever likely to do, even in their own state.

I have given a number of instances of the despicable behaviour of the PMIP, but there were many other vicious lies, too personal and too childish to enumerate here; in fact, if I did no one would believe them.

What the PMIP did during the elections was difficult for any man of commonsense to understand. No one who has the interest of his country at heart could possibly agree with their conduct. In this campaign the PMIP produced another paradox. If it was true, as they alleged themselves, that they were anti-Chinese, then why did they gang up with the DAP, the Gerakan and the PPP?

The intention of the PMIP was to divide the Malay votes so that the Alliance candidates standing in various constituencies would not be able to get in, and in this conspiracy of foul play they succeeded. Where the number of Malay voters in a constituency was not sufficient to return the PMIP with any chance of success, and in many cases even if they had won the Malay votes they might still have lost their deposit money, yet they still put up candidates. And by ganging up with Opposition parties known to be anti-Malay, the PMIP showed the extent to which it would be prepared to go for political gain.

They might as well have helped the MCA, which has all long been known to be Malaysian-minded and has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt its loyalty to the country. But instead, wherever the MCA contested a seat against any man of an anti-Malay party the PMIP would step in to prevent the Malays from voting for the MCA candidate, or at least to split the votes to such an extent that the Alliance nominee would not win in a three-cornered tussle, just as they did in constituencies where UMNO candidates were contesting.

Let me quote two instances where they took part in the elections by helping anti-Malay parties. In the Setapak constituency in Selangor one man, whose name I will not

disclose, was seen to pay money to a member of the PMIP. This man belonged to the DAP. In the Sepang constituency, also in Selangor, the DAP and PMIP candidates worked in the same office, and the Chinese workers for the DAP put up posters for the PMIP. This is proof that the Party is not in actual fact what it claims to be, when it can prostitute religion for its own financial and political ends.

According to the PMIP, if they came to power, they would set up an Islamic State or Government fashioned on religion. What this would be like one cannot tell; certainly the PMIP has never set it out in detail. Whether they would take this course or not if they came into power is a matter of doubt.

Before the elections the PMIP knew that it had no prospect whatsoever of taking over the country, and, if any prospect at all existed, then there was certainly none at present or in the foreseeable future. Knowing this they could afford to be irresponsible and make rash promises to please the ears of those Malays who are ignorant of the affairs of the world. Rightly or wrongly their pledge to give complete control of the country to the exclusion of all others could sound very attractive to many Malays. This being the country of their birth, these people naturally would be enraptured with such a thought.

For generations extending over several centuries Malaysia had been subject, having been governed at one time or another by either the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Siamese, the British or the Japanese. The prospect now of being ruled over by Chinese was naturally unwelcome to the Malays, especially since it had been agreed that with independence Malaysia would be characteristically and nationally Malay-based, certain rights being guaranteed in



the Constitution for Malays. According to the PMIP, all these rights would be completely lost if "the Alliance wins the Election".

Meanwhile the other Opposition parties had been harping on Malaysian Malaysia, thus affecting support for the MIC and MCA, and this tactic only added to Malay fears. It was, therefore, very easy for the Malays to listen to the PMIP since their platform was Malaysia for the Malays. It was just as natural for Malays to support this idea as it was for the many Chinese to support Malaysian Malaysia as propounded by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. In this way the two extremes of chauvinist thinking helped each other.

There must be some reasons for what the PMIP did in helping or using pro-Chinese Opposition parties or others known to be anti-Malay and in putting forward such extreme views, which like time fuses and land mines could prove to be extremely dangerous.

A Hongkong newspaper "The Star" reported on June 17th that the Bank of China in Singapore was not able to balance its liquid assets because of the large sums of money paid out "to finance trouble-making in Singapore and Malaysia". There was evidence to show that this money was given to big operators in Kelantan to finance the PMIP campaign. It is certainly clear that the PMIP Malay supporters could not afford to pay out millions of dollars for the election. It certainly came from somewhere, and I would like to reiterate that it was from a source known not only to the PMIP.

If the PMIP received financial backing from the Communists then it was surely the cruellest of hoaxes for their leaders to play on their own people. In fact many religious

issues raised by the PMIP are not in keeping with modern Islamic thinking and inconsistent with conditions under which we live in Malaysia. This tactic itself was a deception practised by the PMIP on the ignorance of the poor, but to allow themselves to be used by other forces to break up Malay unity was a most grievous offence, not only against their own people but against the religion of Islam which they so professedly state is the core of their politics.

## VI

### HISTORIC CONFERENCE ON ISLAM

ONE of the ironies of the General Election campaign in 1969 was that while the PMIP was carrying out its undisguised attacks on the Alliance Government, in particular UMNO, in the name of Islam, Malaysia at that time was making modern history in the Islamic world. Although Malaysia is a secular State, it has as its official religion, Islam.

No less than twenty-three Muslim countries representing various Muslim nations met in Kuala Lumpur to take decisions on various matters in which Muslims in many parts of the world have special interest and concern. It was the first time in centuries that Muslim nations had come together to discuss the religion of Islam and its relation to the modern world, and Malaysia was the country which deserved full credit for having brought such an historic conference into being.

It was of course a coincidence that this conference should take place during the election campaign, because many years of planning and contacts had gone into the

preparation for such a meeting. In fact it was at the Woking Mosque in London in 1961 that I first mentioned the substance of my dream by referring to what I chose to call the 'Muslim Commonwealth'.

But before I go any further on this conference, in view of the baseless and fictitious allegations of the PMIP, it is relevant to the elections to emphasise what Malaysia has done for the religion of Islam. In fact it always has been a modest personal satisfaction to me to realise that our achievements for the religion of Islam in this day and age far exceed our wildest dreams.

In the first place we have replaced all the old mosques and places of worship, such as suraus, with new mosques which have been built at great cost to the Government and the country, each being designed to suit the particular surroundings or likings of the people in each place.

Why did we give so much attention to building the mosques? Firstly, to win the hearts and minds of all the devout Muslims in the country, and secondly, to give the religion of Islam the prestige which it occupies as the official religion of the country under the Constitution.

In the mosques built in new areas you will find in each case the site befits the importance of the religion. In the hundreds of suraus that have been erected people gather together to pray, to talk and mix freely with one another on all occasions, whether these be religious or social. No expense was spared, no details overlooked. For instance, approach roads and water supply were provided for all the new mosques and suraus, whereas in older days the Muslims of this country had to depend on wells dug in

unhealthy grounds or on rain-water for their ablutions. And many of the mosques had fallen into a state of disrepair owing to the low economic standards of the Malays as a community.

Next there is the question of religious schools. At great cost the Government built many such schools, planning them according to the people's needs and training teachers to teach in them. All these schools fit well into the pattern of the education system which the Government has approved. Not only are the students taught the national language, and naturally Arabic, because this is the language of the Koran, but they are also taught English as well. In fact, anything such religious schools need, such as playing fields and other amenities is generously provided for them.

These great advances in construction took place all over Malaya in the days before Malaysia, and the policy has been continued ever since. Although the Government of Kelantan was run by the PMIP themselves it did not deter the Alliance Government from extending financial assistance for the erection of new religious buildings even in that State. Could one imagine the PMIP Kelantan Government ever contributing one cent to build a mosque or surau except in Kelantan? In fact they have not even done this in their own State; they have left the whole physical development of the religion entirely to the Alliance Government and they take the credit.

During the rigours of the fasting month the Central Government encourages all the mosques to give free food to the people, to arrange various festivities so as to make the ardours of the Fast not only more bearable and the

month more significant. Koran competitions are arranged, with prizes being distributed to winners. Everything is done to make the month as bright and as enjoyable as possible so that those who fast will feel the importance of being near to Allah, elevated above all those other men who cannot resist the material temptations of the world. Muslims everywhere in this country have been helped by the Government to celebrate this important month in a most fitting manner.

Malaysia has also led the way in Koran competitions, which were first begun in 1960. These are held at State level annually, with the various champions being sent to Kuala Lumpur to compete at Federal level for national honours. In addition, countries outside Malaysia are invited to take part at the international level and suitable prizes are awarded. It can be truly said that ever since these Koran competitions began in 1960 Malaysia has received great praise, being held in an esteem in the world of Islam accorded to no other Muslim country except to Saudi Arabia, the home of Mecca and Medina.

In this age of the atom, this era of rockets, this time when travel is faster than sound, Malaysia is famous throughout the Muslim world as a leading country in giving Islam the impetus it needs to cope with the changing world. In this age, too, where men show signs of weakness, losing their faith in God and mankind alike, and at the same time seeking for new ideas, new ways of life and new worlds to conquer we in Islam hold on to our religion to keep ourselves sane. Malaysia, with the Alliance in power, has given this leadership to the Islamic world.

In other Asian countries political leaders have found out at great cost to themselves what severe setbacks advancement and progress can face when religious zealots interfere in the political activities of a nation. One Prime Minister lost his life and his country suffered a severe setback as a result of mixing religion with politics. This was common in medieval times, but is unheard of in progressive European countries in the world today. In fact in a number of Muslim countries Islam has been accorded its rightful place as spiritual food for thought, while politics is concerned with material progress, and, as has been remarked, "Politics is the science of exigencies."

Crowning all the achievements of Malaysia in its forward-looking policies in Islam was this April Conference in 1969, held in Kuala Lumpur. Here distinguished Muslims from all over the world gathered together to take decisions on matters of common concern, religious matters such as what time prayer should commence in countries outside the tropics, or what attitudes Muslims should adopt in the exchange of vital parts of the human body between Muslims and non-Muslims in the interests of science or medicine.

The main fact is that this was the first time that so many Muslim nations, twenty-three in all, had come together in goodwill, friendship and brotherliness to discuss such matters and other issues of common interest to Islamic countries, whether in the political or economic fields at Governmental level.

In the past most Muslim countries had been rather segregated, or not interested in one another. Malaysia was the first Muslim country to hold such a meeting of minds, a conference of interest to all taking part in one

place in the hope that this would lead to many other meetings in future and to closer ties between all countries with the common bond of Islam.

Let me repeat that a conference of such importance was historic in every sense of the word, and yet some people do not seem to appreciate how significant this event was. To me I felt that this conference of Islamic nations was almost as important as the achievement of independence for Malaya. Independence gave status to our people who had lived for years in a state of abject subjection. This conference drew the attention of the world to the common feelings of Muslims everywhere and to their wish to meet in a spirit of mutual benefit and forward-looking progress for the true Faith they share.

## VII

### FUNERAL OF RED "MARTYR"

**E**VEN while this conference of international importance was being carried on in a thoughtful and studious way, the election campaign was in full swing throughout West Malaysia.

As the campaign proceeded bitterness, acrimony and hostility grew more open. I have already given a number of examples of what was going on, showing how libel and slander were openly practised, with malicious gossip of the most personal nature being bandied about freely.

Of course, hot words and foolish statements are typical of elections anywhere in the free world. In Malaysia, too, such conditions could also be reasonably expected, but the latitude and liberty of open free speech normally voiced in elections is no excuse for unreasonable excesses, particularly in a multi-racial country, where people do not like their sensitivities bruised.

The mood of high temper being aroused was especially evident in the Northern half of West Malaysia: in the

southern half the elections campaign was proceeding in a much lower key throughout, with no ugly incidents taking place.

In such an atmosphere the Communists, of course, were in their element. Their main objective was rapidly becoming plain. By fair means or foul they were determined to remove the Alliance from power by breaking it up. Their evil influence was exercised on two flanks, with two main targets—getting at UMNO through the PMIP, and undermining the MCA through the Gerakan and other Chinese political parties.

From their point of view the elections provided the Communists with excellent opportunities for provoking incidents, either major or minor, wherever they possibly could, so as to provide strength and encouragement for their key weapon, the election boycott. The more they could spread feelings of either insecurity, or despair, or fear, the more successful the boycott was likely to be.

When the campaign was half-way through they started out in earnest using red paint—red being their colour—to scrawl slogans and signs on roads and walls. These slogans urged everyone to boycott the elections or eulogised the qualities of the leadership and thoughts of Mao Tse-Tung. The fact that this was illegal did not bother them; it is very difficult to catch anyone painting signs; this was done in the dead of night, the slogans which in broad daylight stood out plainly for all to see.

They intensified their campaign by using personal threats, and distributing pamphlets urging boycott among the Chinese. It was obvious that they were looking for some incident from which they could take off successfully into more venomous excesses.

Such an incident occurred on April 24th with little more than a fortnight to go before Polling Day. In the Jelutong area of Penang at about 8.30 p.m. that night an UMNO worker, Enche Kassim Omar, returning home saw some men gathered together. Thinking it was an accident, he stopped the motor-cycle he was riding to look and enquire. Immediately he was set upon by a hostile crowd and killed mercilessly. Then after killing him they smeared red paint all over his body. It was a deliberate act of murder, and anyone could have been the victim. His assailants were Labour Party youths.

Naturally this brutal slaying caused the gravest concern amongst the Security Forces as it could easily become the starting point or excuse for a communal riot. For fear of such retribution the Government requested the family and Malay leaders in Penang to act with restraint, and they agreed not to give publicity to the killing so as not to provide the Communists with any excuse to stop the election. Their restraint was rewarded and the Communists were thwarted for the time being, but they had tasted blood.

Ten days later, on May 4th, only six days before the polling, another incident, this time in Selangor, gave the Communists the opportunity they were seeking. In the early hours of that day three Police constables on their rounds came across a group of young men in Kepong, an outer suburb of Kuala Lumpur. The young men were painting signs on the road. When challenged by the Police, they set upon them, hurling firewood, iron spikes and iron balls at the constables and then retreating into an old market area nearby.

After identifying themselves, the three policemen gave chase. The members of the gang who had obviously come



The body of Enche Kassim bin Omar, an UMNO worker, brutally slain in cold blood in Penang on April 24th by Labour Party youths who smeared him with the red paint they used to scrawl "Don't Vote in the Elections".

out fully prepared and looking for trouble, now had what they sought. They put up such a fight that the constables found it necessary to open fire in self-defence. As a result one of the trouble-makers was injured, and subsequently died of his wound in the General Hospital. His name was Lim Soon Seng, aged 24. The family and friends then brought the body to be kept in the House of the Dead in Jalan Sultan, one of the busiest streets in Kuala Lumpur's Chinatown, instead of sending the body back to his home in Kepong village.

This fatality, which would have normally ended in a small-scale funeral, as the dead man was not well-known, gave the Communists a chance that was far too good to miss, and they took full advantage of it. At last they had someone of their own kind whom they could proclaim as a "martyr" to the cause.

The Police received an application to hold a funeral procession on May 10th, the actual day of the Elections. The motive behind this request was plain, the elements who had taken charge obviously intending to create an incident which would disrupt the elections, or even prevent polling taking place at all.

Quite rightly the Police refused permission to hold the funeral on that day, but after pleas made by the parents of the deceased and by the Labour Party leaders in Kepong to give the man an honourable funeral, the Police agreed to allow the funeral to take place on May 9th, on the express condition that the procession would only follow a certain route, and that those attending the funeral or following the hearse should be limited to a small number of mourners. In other words, the burial ceremony was to be treated as any other normal funeral.

As events turned out, however, this funeral became one of the largest ever seen in Kuala Lumpur. The Communists made sure of that. It was not a funeral at all in the accepted sense, but was turned into a Communist political demonstration of a most hostile nature. Several pictures I publish here tell their own stories and are proof that the Communists and other bad elements were responsible for the conduct of the whole affair. The demonstration lasted all day, the procession traversing eight miles, with many thousands of people either taking an active part in it or viewing it from the five-foot ways or roadsides.

To establish the facts later on, I made arrangements to have statements recorded by Senior Police Officers who had either been connected with the arrangements of the funeral or for the maintenance of peace and order during the vast demonstration the funeral evoked.

I publish the statements here so that the Malaysian public can know once and for all, apart from what they have already read in the Press, what was involved and who contributed to this procession which was a series of deliberate provocations on the very eve of the elections.

Enche Abu Bakar bin Abdul Aziz, the Officer-in-Charge of Kuala Lumpur Police District, stated:—

"On May 7th 1969, the father of the deceased (Lim) came to see me at my request to finalise arrangements for the funeral of his son. After he met me he agreed to hold the funeral on Friday, 9th May 1969. He however admitted to me that he was not responsible for the funeral arrangements and that he would later on bring those responsible for the arrangements to see me.

"Later on the father came again accompanied by another man, Yap Kau, to work out the route for the

procession with me. We did not finalise the route because Yap Kau said he was not in a position to do so.

"The next day, 8th May, 1969, Yap Kau, Miss Tan Siew Eng and a Malay came to my office, without the father. They said that they had worked out the route themselves and showed it to me on a piece of paper. Then I contacted Enche Mansor, the Officer-in-Charge of Traffic, who came along to my office. We then discussed the route together. That was the route as mentioned by Enche Mansor in his statement.

"Yap Kau introduced to me Miss Tan as one of the members in charge of the funeral procession, and then introduced Syed Hamid as a member of the Organising Committee in charge of the funeral arrangements for the procession. I then introduced Enche Mansor to the three persons.

"The two Chinese, that is Yap Kau and Miss Tan, spoke to us in Malay and they were able to understand the language. Syed Hamid was present. When I asked Syed Hamid why he was here he said that he was here to see that there would be no misunderstanding on what was agreed, and of course he was one of the Committee members responsible for organising the funeral procession.

"Before Syed Hamid left he said "It is now agreed" His intention by saying this was that we must not change the route as had already been agreed between us all.

"Miss Tan also said that in order not to provoke those who were taking part in the procession the Police had better not allow any of their men in uniform to be around,

especially the the F.R.U. boys. She said that the presence of uniformed F.R.U. would provoke the people taking part in the procession because the dead man shot by the Police was regarded by them as a martyr, and so the sight of the Police in uniform might easily provoke them. They asked that the licence be issued in the name of Yap Kau."

In Enche Abu Bakar's statement the person he refers to as Yap Kau was a Committee member of the Kepong Branch of the Labour Party. Miss Tan Siew Eng was Vice-Chairman of the Branch. The Malay introduced as Syed Hamid was Syed Hamid bin Syed Ali, who is the President of the University of Malaya Students' Union. The "F.R.U." boys" mentioned are the Federal Reserve Unit, a highly-trained section of the Police Force, especially in the handling of demonstrations and riots.

It is clear from the statement and the presence of these persons that the funeral had literally been taken out of the hands of the family so that political elements with ulterior motives could reap the fullest advantage by turning a simple funeral into a prolonged excuse for political provocation.

Enche Mansor bin Mohamed Noor, the Office-in-Charge of Traffic, Kuala Lumpur Police District also made a statement:—

"At 9.55 a.m. on Thursday May 8th, 1969, I was in the O.C.P.D.'s office to discuss with him the route for the funeral procession of Lim Soon Seng. At 10.05 a.m. three persons came into the O.C.P.D.'s office. They were Yap Kau, Tan Siew Eng (a female Chinese), Vice-Chairman, LPM, Selangor and a Malay, Syed Hamid bin Syed Ali.



"These three persons came into the office and applied for permission to hold the funeral procession of Lim Soon Seng. They demanded to hold the procession along certain routes, but the O.C.P.D. and I did not agree with the routes proposed by them.

"I insisted that the routes should be from Jalan Sultan through Jalan Petaling, Jalan Kuching, Jalan Maxwell, Jalan Ipoh then to Kepong. They however demanded for alternative routes as follows:— Jalan Petaling, Jalan Kinabalu, Jalan Raja, Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, Jalan Ipoh.

"This would mean that the procession would pass through the heart of the town. They insisted on these routes and said that whether the Police agreed with them or not they were going through all the same. I therefore had to agree on condition that the number of people following the procession should not exceed one thousand. The O.C.P.D. then issued the licence."

In his statement it is interesting to note that the route proposed by the Police would have taken the procession for most of its journey along a river road which is a through-way not in a built-up area, whereas the route proposed by the "organisers" was the main North-South artery of the city, busy commercial venues packed with shops, in fact a route which in normal times would be alive with people all day and at least half the night.

In a sense the hands of the Police were tied. The next day would be Election Day. Obviously in the national interest it was essential that nothing should occur to mar the elections. While it was the standing duty of the Police to keep law and order, they obviously had no wish to



The funeral procession in Kuala Lumpur on May 9th, showing portrait of the "martyr", Lim Soon Seng, preceded by the banner of the Labour Party of Malaysia.

provide potential hostile forces with any excuse for causing trouble.

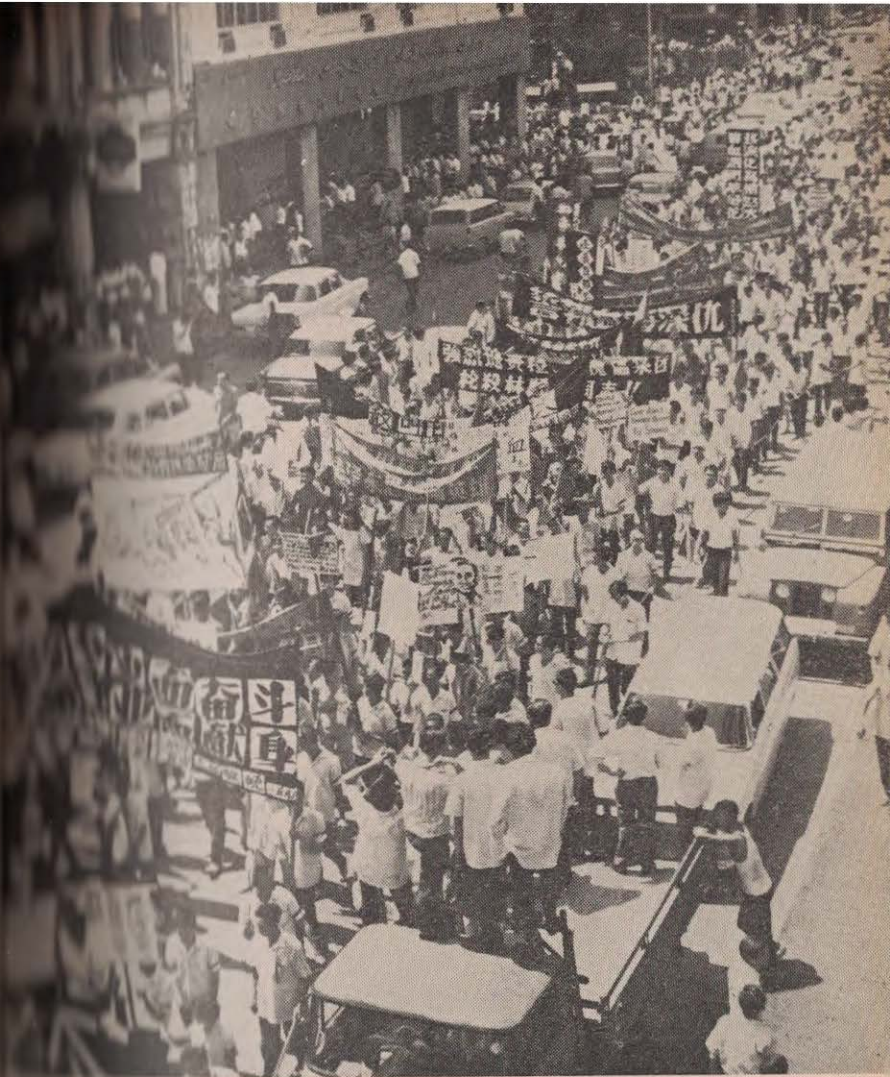
The family was legally entitled to hold the funeral, the normal practice being to obtain permission for a procession from the Police. This was part of the Malaysian way of life, and in fact in Kuala Lumpur hardly a day goes by without a funeral procession of one kind or another in some part of the city. The fact that the arrangements for the funeral had been "handed over" to the Kepong branch of the Labour Party and to other elements far outside family connections was not one which the Police could object to, although of course the significance of the "take-over" was not lost on them.

Quite obviously, therefore, the Police had to be ready to play their normal role and cope with whatever the funeral demonstration might produce, but to do so without real trouble breaking out in a highly emotional atmosphere stretching right throughout the day. They could only set the terms and conditions of the procession, and this was agreed on both sides, and with the family's consent. How the agreement would turn out only the morrow would show.

Enche Mansor bin Mohamed Noor, in a recorded statement, reports as follows:—

"At 8.45 a.m. on 9th May, 1969, I went to the House of the Dead (Chik Sin Tong) in Jalan Sultan to see if the funeral arrangements were carried out as agreed to by the Police. A big crowd was assembled there. According to the licence the procession was to begin at 9.30 a.m. but it did not start until 9.55 a.m.

"The procession was supposed to turn to the left from Jalan Sultan towards the Merdeka roundabout but instead



Funeral procession. Banners read "Carry Out the Revolution to the end" and "Down with American and British Imperialists and their Stooges — Rahman-Lee Clique".

it turned right and proceeded along Jalan Petaling, jeering and booing at the Traffic Police on duty with the intention of provoking them (the Police). By turning right they had broken the first condition.

"The procession then stopped at the junction of Jalan Petaling and Jalan Cecil. There they started to harangue the crowd, singing songs and distributing pamphlets with Mao's thoughts, pasting pamphlets on the walls and pillars of shop-houses. One of the pamphlets read "Regime Tunku Abdul Rahman Kejam" ("Tunku Abdul Rahman Regime Is Cruel") Or another, "Only Mao's thoughts can be practised here". They carried Mao's picture on placards in the procession—I can't say how many there were.

"I went ahead of the procession to Foch Avenue and asked the leader in the forefront of the procession (because they had taken the wrong route), "Which route are you going to take?" His reply was, "I do not know, I do not care".

"The procession stopped every five or six yards to harangue the crowd where thousands of people were lining both sides of the streets. I was then standing in front of the Malayan Banking Building from where I could see the crowd rapidly increasing in number. There must be some thousands already, in any case it exceeded many times the one thousand which was originally agreed. They shouted, "Police, running dogs of the Government".

The restraint of this report is noteworthy. The procession is still in its early stages, having proceeded only about one mile, yet it is already evident that those in the procession were not simply mourners, professional or otherwise, but demonstrators trying to provoke trouble, and its leaders had

no powers of control. The demonstrators quickly sensed that the Police would not interfere unless the reasons for doing so were very drastic. Provocation was part of the plan, but despite their efforts, haranguing and challenging, they were not able to upset the Police.

A further recorded statement by Enche Mansor bin Mohamed Noor gives a general picture of the procession as a whole, the nature of its participants, and what took place in various sections of the route. It is as follows :—

"When the procession came to the end of Jalan Petaling in front of Malayan Banking they turned right into Jalan Yap Ah Loy, an unauthorised route to Jalan Klyne and then turned left into Jalan Mountbatten—all these were forbidden routes.

"They then proceeded along Jalan Mountbatten until they came to the junction of Jalan Mountbatten and Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman. At 11.25 a.m. the procession arrived at this junction. They then proceeded slowly towards Jalan Ipoh.

"In front of the MARA Building about 500 motor-cyclists waiting there joined the procession. I jotted down as many of the numbers of the motor-cycles as I could at that time. They stopped in front of the MARA Building to harangue the crowd again.

"At 12.35 p.m. they arrived in front of UMNO Headquarters and started to harangue the crowd and shout insults.

"At 2.25 p.m. they came to the junction of Jalan Hijang and Jalan Ipoh. Rain then started to pour down.

“At 3.00 p.m. they arrived at LPM Headquarters Kepong. At Kepong thousands of people lined the road giving them refreshments and drinks. When they arrived there they stopped for forty-five minutes to re-arrange the procession.

“At 5.00 p.m. they reached Kepong Police Station and moved yard by yard, at the same time haranguing the crowd, extolling the thoughts of Mao and cursing the Police. The tension was extremely high and we expected trouble at any time.

“At 5.30 p.m. they came to the junction of the path leading to the cemetery and went inside the cemetery.

“I then returned and arrived to report at the Control Centre at 6.00 p.m.

“The behaviour of the funeral crowd was most provocative and if the Police had not exercised tolerance and patience there would certainly have been an outbreak of violence that day. Their number were no less than 10,000 strong. Thousands would have been killed if we had not exercised tolerance and patience. I have no doubt about that. They were well organised.

“According to Inspector Satkunathan, he saw weapons hidden inside the coffin while the body of the deceased was carried outside covered with cloth. This was confirmed by the Inspector.”

The manner in which the Police handled the whole of the highly dangerous situation brought about by the Communists and the extreme left in trying to exploit this funeral procession was highly praiseworthy. In the light of subsequent events, and given the nature of the explosive



Funeral Procession. Above, Banner reads “The Enemy’s Might Will Never Defeat Us” (“Mao Tse Tung’s Thoughts”).

Below, Banners read (1) “Carry Out the Struggle Against British-American Imperialism and the Rahman-Lee Regime to the End” and (2) “Topple Modern Revisionism Headed By the Russian Revisionist Reactionary Clique”.

emotional feelings the procession aroused, the tension growing greater, the nearer the funeral reached the cemetery, Enche Mansor's statement is remarkable for its modesty. Let me repeat it, "Thousands would have been killed if we (Police) had not exercised tolerance and patience. I have no doubt about that".

As the photographs show and the reports reveal the whole of this huge demonstration was highly planned and organised. Quite obviously from the very moment that the Labour Party accidentally acquired a "martyr", it is evident that the Communists and the extreme left intended to exploit this opportunity to the full.

They succeeded in getting control of the funeral arrangements. They made open demand for the actual day of the funeral to be the same as the elections. Word went out to all party branches and supporters to get ready to make the most of the funeral day when it came up. In a busy five days thousands of placards and banners were prepared. Nothing was left to chance, the details were all set out.

One does not casually arrange for five hundred motor-cycles to be in a particular place at one time, unless it happens to be a motor rally, yet they were there ready and waiting to join the already-long procession at the half-way mark. One can just imagine how the roar and whine of motor-cycle engines in their hundreds could contribute to raising the temperature of an atmosphere already highly-charged.

This was no accident, no coincidental get-together; it was deliberately arranged as part of the whole proceedings. This motor-cycle aspect illustrates, as few other single facts



Funeral procession. Above, Slogans read (1) "Down with the Imperialists headed by America" and (2) "To Repay Blood Debt with Blood, and To Return Violence with Violence".

Below, Banners read (1) "Hold High the Red Flag of Martyrs and Carry Out Revolution to the End" and (2) "To Die for the People is as Heavy as the Mountain of Tai".

can, the trouble and effort the Communists took to use the funeral in an effort to create a tense situation which could be rapidly got out of control, and thus hurl Kuala Lumpur and the nation into chaos.

In this vast effort they were thwarted. The question now was whether they would try again. What effect the events of this long-tense and funereal Friday would have on the General Elections the following day remained to be seen. One thing was finally plain that night—despite the boycott the elections would take place as scheduled. The Communists were to fail again, for when the morrow of elections came the turnout of voters was a record in Malaysian history.

## VIII

### VOTERS GO TO THE POLLS

**S**ATURDAY, May 10th—General Election Day—dawned bright and sunny in the capital city of Kuala Lumpur and the weather was fair. So I was told in Alor Star, where I had spent the previous day going round my own constituency of Pulau Langkawi. Technically speaking I suppose I was not Prime Minister just then, but simply another candidate putting his prospects before the voters for their democratic approval.

The hectic, hot-tempered campaign, unparalleled in our history for sheer political malice, was over at last. This was the day of decision. The Elections Commission was in full control, and until they had exercised their mandate, and the returns were coming in no one could forecast the results.

I might say that despite all the unpleasantness of the campaign, the like of which I had never experienced before, I was very confident that the Alliance Party would get in again with the same two-thirds majority as in previous elections.

I think it would be fair to state that this result was the general expectation throughout the country, except of course by Opposition party members who were staking their all to turn the tables on the Alliance. They had their fingers crossed, hopeful but not confident.

Election day in Malaysia is more complicated than in most countries for polling takes place not only to decide the composition of Parliament at the Federal level but also the future of the Legislative Assemblies in the various States. With eleven separate States in West Malaysia, twelve elections were taking place on the same day.

In all these twelve elections, naturally the voters of all communities were vitally interested, and it was their reactions which would determine the results. I have already shown that the main targets of Opposition attack in their campaign against the Alliance Government were the UMNO and the MCA. What attitudes did the Opposition adopt towards the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), the third pillar of the Alliance?

The PMIP directed its onslaught in the most outrageous manner against the UMNO; the other Opposition parties, whether by calculation or merely mutual convenience, aimed at the MCA candidates. The Communist party through their supporters were egging on all opposition elements either openly or behind the scenes.

As to the MIC, the Opposition generally showed no cohesive plan. They felt that results could be more productive if they shook the two main pillars of the Alliance, the UMNO and the MCA, hoping that in doing so they would bring down the MIC as well. As compared with the UMNO and the MCA, the MIC had only three Parlia-

mentary candidates in the field. Therefore the Opposition could afford to ignore them as an even partner.

They treated the MIC as a minor factor, but to be certain they split up their campaign against MIC candidates amongst two parties, the DAP leading the attack in two constituencies and the PPP concentrating on the leader, Tun Sambanthan, in a straight fight.

The MIC is the only exclusively Indian party in Malaysia, although people of Indian origin number more than one million. Three Opposition parties had Indian candidates, these being the Gerakan, DAP and PPP, the Gerakan nominees having formerly been members of the Labour Party. DAP had previously been represented in Parliament by only one member, Enche C. Devan Nair, but he chose not to contest, even though he was one of the most widely-known of all Opposition MPs. Why he was not in the fight at all is a mystery. Perhaps the DAP knows! Apart from three Indian candidates for Parliament the DAP fielded one solitary Malay, who was defeated. So much for Malaysian Malaysia!

In these elections the Alliance, as in the past, was the only party truly representing all communities. Ever since independence each party in the Alliance trinity has always had members in the Cabinet, the MIC never less than two Ministers.

As a whole the Indian community in Malaysia has different characteristics to the Malay and Chinese communities. The Malays are mainly agricultural, while the Chinese are broadly spread throughout commerce, mining and agriculture. The Indians are represented throughout

all sections of Malaysian society, being approximately half-rural and half-urban.

Where the Indians stand out distinctively is their dominance in the trade unions, in which they have wielded a major influence from the beginnings of the movement in Malaysia, and still do. In fact, it can be broadly said that Malaysian Indians are far more involved in unions than in political parties, and those who are interested in parties make certain to keep in close contact with the unions.

For example, the Indians are omnipresent as industrial and manual workers, especially in the Malaysian Railways, the Public Works Department, the Port Authorities and the rubber industry. The National Union of Plantation Workers (NUPW), which is predominantly Indian, is by far the largest union in the country and one of the biggest in Asia. It is aligned to no political party, and its leadership is very influential in the Malaysian Trades Union Congress, which also stands apart from parties, leaving political activities to individual members' own inclinations. The Indians are also very strong in the Congress of Unions of Employees in the Public and Civil Services (CUEPACS).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Indians as a whole are comparatively apolitical, but basically interested in the question of wage increases. From time to time their Union leaders have made representations to Government for wage increases for Government workers. Being the biggest employer in the country it must be realised it is not possible for Government to give in to such demands every time increases are asked for, because the wages bill would be enormous; the Government would not be able to afford it.

For example, in 1965 the actual Personal Emoluments and Pensions etc. amounted to \$540.7 million or 33.2% of the Total Ordinary Budget, while in 1969 it is estimated that the figure will rise to \$650.6 million or 33.8% of the Budget. These figures do not take into account the Unified Teaching Service or the daily-rated workers. If these salaries or wages were included the Federal Government's annual wage bill would exceed 50% of the Total Ordinary Budget. This is on Federal level alone, not including the Personal Emoluments paid out in all the thirteen States.

Union leaders who fight the case for workers for increased wages do not realise Government's predicament; if their demands are always met every time they are brought forward then the Government would face economic ruin.

Nevertheless Union leaders keep on promising their workers that they will fight their case for wage increases if they are returned, and naturally the workers fall for this line. They also say that the MIC has not done much for the workers.

In their Ministerial capacities both Tun Sambanthan and Enche Manickavasagam are directly involved with workers on a large scale. They also appreciate, however, that the Government can ill-afford to meet demands for increases, so they cannot make promises such as union leaders can, or politicians who woo the workers for their own ends. Rash promises are easily made; realities must be faced.

In the election time union and political leaders alleged that these Ministers had not helped to get more pay, although everyone knows how much Tun Sambanthan has done to create property-owned co-operatives among Indian workers



to answer the problem of the disintegration of estates. Union leaders, however, were rash enough to promise that they could get more increases to get the support of the workers.

One incident in a previous election illustrates the extent to which this campaign of anti-Government feeling was being aroused among Indian workers. Tun Sambanthan told me that when he went to a temple in Bungsar for a ceremony, he came out to find that the Federation flag on his car had been torn to shreds. This area is a nest of Indian workers, so who could have done it except those living there?

Such feelings against the Government are very sad, especially when one realises how much the Government has done for the workers with so little appreciation on their part. Compare Malaysia with some of the countries around around us, and you will realise "How good it is to live here".

The Indian workers had thus had their basic grouses worked on for a long time, and their possible reaction as voters in the 1969 elections was a factor that could not possibly be calculated. Would they support the Alliance or would they go another way?

## IX

### SHOCKS AND SURPRISES

THERE was a major unknown quantity at work in this year's election—the many new voters on the register. When they went into the polling booths to mark their crosses on their ballot papers how would they vote?

While it could be possible to predict results on the past performances of the various parties, and here the Alliance could stand solidly on its record with every reason to feel that it would be amply rewarded, the Opposition had to gamble on the possibilities of a "swing" and up to date in earlier elections no "swing" had ever occurred. In other words, they had to depend on whether or not their questionable underhand tactics in the campaign would pay off.

There was another variable quantity at work. Whereas in the 1964 elections, when voting was held at Federal and State levels for the first time, the result had been a confirmation of the Alliance as a party to be entrusted with the Government. Five years had now passed, new parties were in the arena, younger voters were having a say for

the first time, and in some States local issues had become inflamed, such as in Penang where the question of free port status had been raised again. In short, would local feelings decide the national vote, or would it turn out the other way round? Would they remember what the Alliance had done for the people and the country?

As in previous elections, polling day proceeded smoothly throughout West Malaysia, the twelve hours of voting being an interlude of calm before the excitement of counting could begin and the announcement of the returns.

The ballot boxes meanwhile kept their own secrets; as it turned out the polling was to spring surprises in every direction in all political quarters. Such is the way of democracy.

Election sign-boards had been erected throughout the country to record the progress of the polls. After voting closed down at 8.00 p.m. people gathered at such places or went home to await the outcome with either their television sets or radios, not to mention portable transistors.

Interest was undoubtedly nation-wide and over in East Malaysia the listeners were just as keen, perhaps more so as their own polling at both Federal and State levels would not only be taking place later on but on "staggered" dates, and their votes would be placed together in the same boxes for the first time.

I was in my house in Alor Star, as was my usual custom on election night, and all the other Ministers of the Cabinet were home in their own constituencies, too.

As happens in elections, the counting in urban areas comes out more quickly than in the more scattered rural electorates. As the early returns were announced beginning

shortly after midnight it became evident that things were not shaping up too well for the Alliance in Penang.

Penang, that stronghold of extremists in the past, no longer had a Labour Party to vote for, but the success of a new group, the Gerakan Party, one candidate after another getting in at State level, showed that there was a definite "swing" operating there. It soon became clear that the odds were lengthening against the Alliance retaining power in Penang.

Over the airwaves came more shocks and surprises, both the Gerakan and the DAP scored sweeping successes in Kelangor electorates, and then to my dismay it was also becoming evident that erosion of UMNO was taking place in Kedah. The spiteful campaign of the PMIP was turning out in their favour.

The defeat of UMNO in several constituencies in Kedah, always an Alliance stronghold to date, was due to lack of support from the Chinese, who had in the past helped to tip the balance in favour of UMNO candidates.

UMNO was suffering setbacks in my own State, in some cases it is true by a very small majority. The Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Enche Abdul Rahman, for instance, only lost by eighty-five votes. Had a few thousands Chinese voted for him he would certainly have been returned. The same was true of Dr. Mahathir and Enche' Mohammed Zahir.

So pronounced was the swing that I myself just scraped through by about three thousand votes, whereas in the past I had no less than an overall majority of eleven thousand votes or more.

By early morning on Sunday, May 11th, with another member of the Cabinet, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Dr. Lim Swee Aun, failing to get in, in Taiping, and well-known Alliance Members of Parliament losing out in Selangor, the prospects were looking pretty grim. But then returns started coming in from the rural electorates and the Alliance score-board of successes began to mount.

Results from the South and from the East Coast began to show that these States, with of course the exception of Kelantan, were still standing behind the Alliance. The influence which had overawed or frightened the Chinese in Kedah appeared to be absent in Johore and Pahang, and so whatever the influence was that had forced the Chinese to vote against the Alliance had come from Penang, the stronghold of the Communists, secret societies and other extreme chauvinists.

On the other hand, there are also in Penang the Babas and the Nonyas, the Straits-born Chinese, who are as loyal to the country as the native Malays themselves. Their ways, character and even their food follow closely those of the Malays; even their language is a mixture of Hokkien and Malay. These are, however, no match against any strong united force, such as the Communists, so instead of fighting it out they choose to remain quiet.

I have already shown how trouble started in Penang over devaluation of the old currency, the killing of an UMNO worker, and other activities connected or associated with the Communists and other disloyal elements, all of which had been spearheaded from Penang.

This explains the loss of the Alliance in Penang island itself as well as in Province Wellesley, where the Chinese also voted in reverse. This about-face of the Chinese spread through to Kedah, particularly in the North of the State, but in the Southern part the loyalty of the people to the Alliance was still strong.

By midday on Sunday, May 11th, the overall results of the elections were quite clear. The Alliance Government had retained power in all the States, except in Penang, where the Gerakan had won, and of course Kelantan, where our efforts to capture that State, though gallant, were unsuccessful, and the PMIP remained in power. Their vicious campaign had produced an increase of their strength at Federal level, their number of Members in Parliament growing by three.

In Trengganu, Pahang, Johore, Malacca, Negri Sembilan, Kedah and Perlis the Alliance Government had clear majorities. The Alliance, however, suffered very narrow escapes in Perak and Selangor. In Perak the Alliance won 19 seats, the largest for any single party, and due to the attitude of the Gerakan, the Alliance managed to form a Government. In Selangor, the number of Alliance victories vis-a-vis the combined Opposition parties came out equal, but there is one Independent member in addition, who holds the balance of power.

In the elections for the Federal Parliament the Alliance emerged with a resounding majority, more than double the whole of the combined Opposition, winning seventy-six seats as against thirty-seven captured by four of the seven Opposition parties. The break-down of the other party results on that Sunday, May 11th, was as follows:— DAP

13, PMIP 12, Gerakan 8 and PPP 4. The other two contestants, the UMCO and the Independents failed to gain any seats.

In the previous Parliament the Alliance had won eighty-nine seats in West Malaysia, giving the Party a clear two-thirds majority in the Dewan Raayat (House of Representatives). In these elections the Alliance majority, had been reduced by thirteen. The DAP, the Gerakan, the PMIP and the PPP all increased their membership in the House.

This must prove what I had been telling the Malays during the campaign—that only the Malays could be the undoing of their own people.

The unholy alliance of DAP, PPP, Gerakan and PMIP had brought in the non-Malay parties with a strength they had not previously enjoyed. The loss of UMNO seats in Perak and Selangor did not benefit the Malays of the PMIP. It may have brought joy to them, but to the Malays and the country in general, it was a severe set-back. If this should continue, what does the future hold?

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## X

### "VICTORY" ON THE RAMPAGE

I COMMENTED earlier that as it turned out "the polling was to spring surprises in every direction in all political parties". No one was more surprised, I am sure, than the DAP and the newly-formed Gerakan with their unexpected successes. They felt not only cocky, but downright arrogant.

In fact they were so elated that any foreign visitor could pardonably have believed that these parties had won the elections outright. They lost no time in arranging to celebrate their "victories".

On the morning of Monday, May 12th, Dr. Tan Chee Khoo, who had won his seat in Batu, Selangor, with a big majority, asked for Police permission to hold a victory procession by members of his Gerakan Party. A permit was granted on condition that the procession followed a route authorised by the Police.

The DAP decided to hold a procession the day after, on Tuesday May 13th, but without the permission of the Police. This proposal was not followed up. The DAP joined in with the Gerakan parade.

Enche Abu Bakar bin Abdul Aziz, Officer-in-Charge of Kuala Lumpur Police District, in a statement recorded reports on Dr. Tan's application as follows:—

"On 12th May, 1969, Dr. Tan Chee Khoo rang me up and asked for permission to hold a victory procession to thank his supporters only within his constituency, that is Batu, Sentul and Ipoh Road. He wanted the procession to start from his Headquarters in Jalan Broderick. He wanted to start at 4.30 p.m. and end at 7.00 p.m. The number of people taking part would be about 500, and there would be a motorcade as well.

"I then discussed the route with Enche Mansor as well as the timing, and decided that as 4.30 p.m. was a peak period (for traffic) we thought that the procession should start at 5.30 p.m. as otherwise the public would be greatly inconvenienced.

"I spoke about this new arrangement with Dr. Tan Chee Khoo and explained to him the position. He agreed and requested that as the timing had now been made later by one hour the procession should end an hour later, to which we agreed and a licence was issued in his name."

Dr. Tan's victory procession was held on an unprecedented scale, politically speaking, and was accompanied by acts of rowdyism and hooliganism and in utter defiance of the Police after the main procession had ended. The procession went through unauthorised routes, jamming traffic everywhere as a consequence. With victory emotions on the loose and—there can be no other explanation—Communists urging them on, the victors made a serious blunder, and blunder it was.

The procession shouting its way along turned into Jalan Campbell and Jalan Hale—roads on the edge of and



The Gerakan-DAP "victory" parade in Kuala Lumpur on May 12th Above. — Gerakan Secretary-General Dr. Tan Chee Khoo with the Party banner.

Below. DAP Secretary-General Goh Hock Guan marching in centre beneath Party banner.

leading into Kampong Bharu, where thirty thousand Malays have lived in peace for years beneath the palms in their own settlement in the centre of Kuala Lumpur. Jalan Hale is the main street of Kampong Bharu. There they proceeded to provoke the Malays, gibing at them and throwing their victory in their faces in the midst of what is virtually an UMNO stronghold.

Enche Mansor bin Mohamed Noor in a recorded statement reports as follows:—

“A group of them about twenty strong, stopped in front of Travers Road Police Station. One of them shouted in front of the Police Station Quarters, “Melayu mati” (“Malays dead”), and also showed his private parts to the Police, making this indecent gesture in front of the Policemen’s wives who were in the compound of the quarters. One of the Policemen made a report of this indecent behaviour, and a report was immediately entered.

“After that they broke into small groups and one went down Jalan Mountbatten stopping vehicles with Malays in them and insulting the occupants with the intention of humiliating them. In fact one of them threatened to jab the eyes of the O.C.P.D’s daughter, aged about 17. At the same time they shouted “You Malays bodoh” (“stupid”), “Tidak Kuasa” (“No power”). One Malay youth reported to Police Headquarters that he was beaten up by three Chinese in Foch Avenue.”

The disturbance caused to the public by the behaviour of the procession was admitted by the Gerakan Party’s Yeoh Teck Chye, the President of the Malaysian Trades Union Congress, who had succeeded in winning a resounding victory in Bukit Bintang constituency in Kuala Lumpur.



“Victory” parade. Above, “Broom to sweep out the Malays”.

Below. Gerakan supporters in “victory” mood.

On Tuesday, May 13th he made an open apology in the Press for his party supporters having caused such inconvenience to the public, but the emotional damage had already been done. He certainly had some reason to apologise, as apart from Dr. Tan's main procession, which had dispersed at the agreed time of 8.00 p.m. he had later taken part in an illegal procession himself, as Police reports record.

From the course of subsequent events that night it is clear that the Gerakan leaders had now lost control of the elements and emotions they had unleashed, or to put it in another way they were now themselves being led in turn by the mob. After dispersal their supporters split up into various groups, going to different areas to carry on with their victory cries and continuing to celebrate their triumph, and two more processions started out, both illegal.

Enche Abu Bakar bin Abdul Aziz, the Officer-in-Charge of Kuala Lumpur Police District, reported in a statement recorded as follows:—

"I was in the Control Room at 10.10 p.m. and I got information that Yeoh Teck Chye was leading a procession along Bukit Bintang Road without permission. Another one was coming from Petaling Jaya led by David, also without permission. (Note:— Enche V. David of the Gerakan Party, had won a Federal seat in Penang, and also won a State seat in his home State of Selangor).

"I gave orders that these two processions must be stopped as they were not authorised by the Police. The Federal Reserve Unit troops were sent to stop them.

"In the meantime the one at Bukit Bintang dispersed but the one headed by David went to the Peking Hotel (in Jalan Brickfields) where 200 Indian youths were waiting for them. F.R.U. troops were sent to disperse them.'



"Victory" parade. The jeers of jubilation.

"David then tried to contact the Chief Police Officer but could not get him; he then contacted me. He told me not to send F.R.U. men to provoke his people. The time then was 12.05 a.m. on May 13th.

"I told him that his supporters (obviously drunk with success and toddy) were causing a nuisance by making noises and I had received many telephone calls complaining about this. I told him that his crowd must disperse or else they would be made to do so.

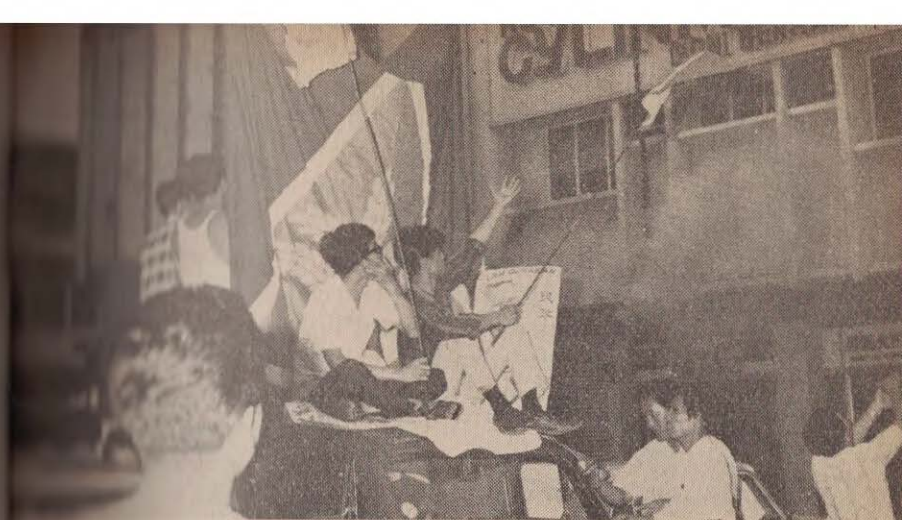
"He asked me if I knew who he was. I said that I knew him as Mr. David. He said that he was a newly-elected Member of Parliament. I told him that was immaterial, but as far as I was concerned he should tell his supporters to disperse or else the F.R.U. troops would do that. To this he said, "To hell with F.R.U., you bastard!", and jammed the telephone.

"Part of the procession also went round Pudu and insulted the Malays and the Police there.

"One lorry full of Gerakan supporters shouting and screaming went round Sentul but was stopped by the Police because it had no haulage permit.

"It would appear that the DAP also joined in the procession but it was difficult to distinguish them except by their party symbol. Who was to be blamed was difficult to say, but in my mind both Gerakan and DAP were equally to be blamed for creating a nuisance which was likely to cause a breach of peace. This would have happened if the Police had not taken prompt action".

It is significant here to point out that both the subsequent processions referred to in Enche Abu Bakar's statement were started without permission. If the Gerakan



"Victory" parade. Above. Gerakan supporter throwing a smoke-"bomb".

Below. DAP supporters in the demonstration.



Party had held its victory procession, then why on earth was there any necessity for further demonstrations on the same night?

As Enche Abu Bakar reports the two processions did disperse, but the wildness and excitement and personal injury that they generated continued thereafter, the processions breaking up into groups to make separate demonstrations in three different sections of Kuala Lumpur—in Brickfields, in Pudu and in Sentul—these areas being in the South, the Centre and the North of the city, the distance between the first and the third areas being nearly seven miles and the demonstrations continuing until well after midnight.

There is no doubt at all in my mind that these scattered and separate demonstrations only served to exacerbate the atmosphere in Kuala Lumpur, which was beginning to show signs of becoming taut with rapidly-mounting tension.

## XI

### FIRES IN THE NIGHT

I RETURNED to Kuala Lumpur from Alor Star about lunch-time on what was to turn out to be not only a fateful but also a fatal day—Tuesday May 13th.

My Principal Private Secretary informed me that he had received news that a counter-demonstration was to be held as the Malays in Kuala Lumpur were very annoyed with the anti-Malay demonstration, accompanied by insults and indecent gestures, perpetrated by the Opposition on the previous day, May 12th.

He told me that UMNO was going to stage a procession to celebrate the Party's victory, and that a crowd would gather in the compound of the house of the Menteri Besar of Selangor, Dato Harun bin Idris, in Jalan Raja Muda, and that the procession would start from there. It was intended to have the Menteri Besar address the gathering before the procession began.

That same afternoon Tun Tan Siew Sin, Enche Khaw Kai Boh, Dr. Lim Swee Aun and Tan Sri T. H. Tan called

on me at the Residency to tell me how concerned the MCA was about the results of the election, saying it was obvious that the Chinese had lost confidence in MCA leadership. In the circumstances, they considered it would probably be unwise for them to take part in the Cabinet as they could no longer represent the Chinese.

My reply to them was to the effect that it would be a great loss to the Cabinet if they did not participate as their services to the country and to the Alliance Party had been most invaluable in the past. I said that perhaps after a lapse of time they might be able to return to the fold, but I advised them to take a little time out to think over their decision.

We then discussed the events of the previous few days, such as the funeral of the Labour Party youth, the victory procession of the Gerakan and unauthorised demonstrations. The MCA delegation then left me, but I was left with the thought that if the Chinese community could let down the leaders who had served them and their country so well, what would follow next?

There is no doubt that the demonstration by the Gerakan on May 12th had not only annoyed the Malays but incensed them. I was personally worried that the procession which UMNO was about to hold might lead to trouble. It was not easy to stop it at this stage as the Opposition had already held processions, and permission had already been obtained for UMNO to have theirs. I could only pray to God that nothing serious would happen.

Tun Sambanthan then came to me and we discussed the election results. Although he had tried his best to serve the interests of the Indian community, Tun Sambanthan

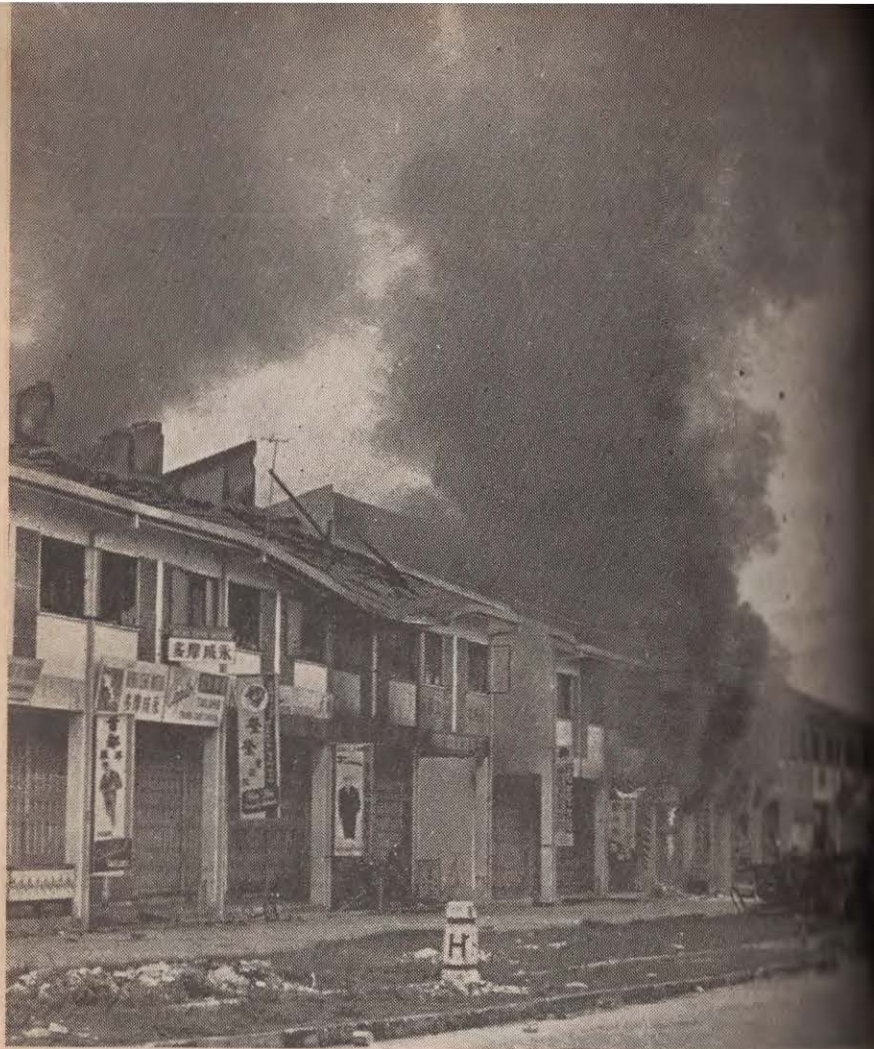
felt that the MIC too had lost their Indian support in the elections in certain areas. He wondered in view of the attitude being taken at that time by the MCA whether the MIC should continue to represent the Indians in the Cabinet or not. I advised him that in the interests of the Alliance and the nation it would be best if he and Inche Manickavasagam stayed on. I was very pleased when Tun Sambanthan agreed to do so.

As we were talking about the election results a phone call came through at 6.45 p.m. to the effect that an ugly incident had taken place along Jalan Raja Muda in which some Chinese were assaulted.

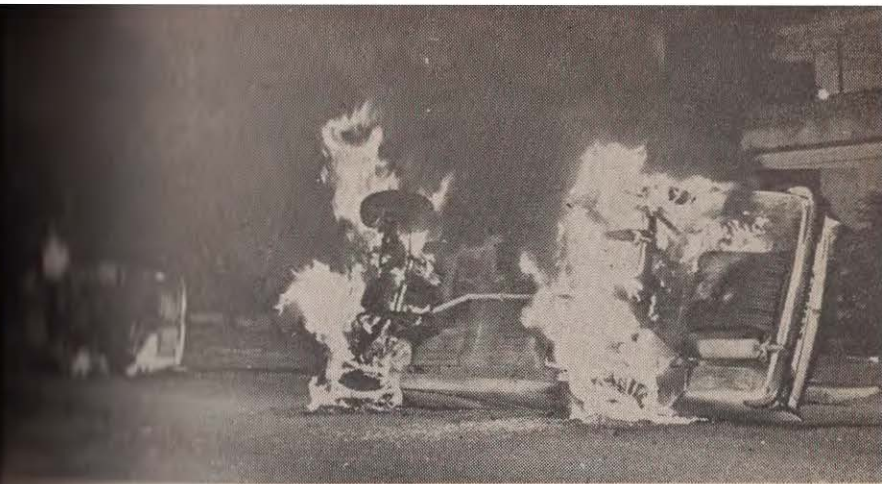
Immediately afterwards Enche Mansor, the Kuala Lumpur Police Traffic Chief, and one or two others came to see me and said that there had been some killing. The city had been placed under immediate curfew as at 7.00 p.m. The Security Forces were out, the Army called in.

I told them that I would go and see what could be done, but it was suggested that the best thing for me to do was to proceed to Police Headquarters and to listen to reports coming in.

Immediately after my prayers I went straight to Selangor Police Headquarters in Jalan Bandar. After being briefed by the Police I returned to the Residency to have my dinner and I arranged for Radio Malaysia to send an officer so that I could make a recording. When he came—it was about 9.30 p.m.—I was so depressed in mind and sad in heart that I found it difficult to collect my thoughts. Knowing the urgency of immediate action I spoke directly into the microphone without giving myself any time to



May 13th in Kuala Lumpur. Shop-houses going up in fire in Kampong Pandan.



May 10th in Kuala Lumpur. Above, Overturned motor-cars on fire in Jalan Raja Muda, where the riots began.



Below. Guttled shop-houses in Jalan Campbell.

prepare what I wanted to say. This is what I said on that fateful night :—

“Trouble has broken out in Kuala Lumpur and Security Forces have taken control of the situation and many places considered a security risk. I have no choice now but to declared a State of Emergency in Kuala Lumpur and, if necessary, to declare a State of Emergency throughout Malaysia. It is my duty to safeguard life and property, and to maintain peace at any cost in this country. I appeal to all responsible citizens to support and give their fullest co-operation to the Security Forces for the maintenance of peace and security in this country.

“There should never have been, in the first place, this trouble. It should never have occurred. I know what had occurred during the procession held by Opposition Parties, and I hold them responsible for what is happening now but retaliation does not help matters. I am aggrieved at what has taken place. For two months, I toured without consideration for my convenience, my safety or for my own self in order to give my warnings to the people. Because of the composition of the people here, we must not risk communal trouble.

“Now this is what has happened. We must prevent it from spreading and, if necessary, to form a Goodwill Committee throughout the country in order to maintain goodwill among all races in this country. This country depends on you, good citizens, to do your duty and stand by me in order to help this country, which we love so much, in this hour of her need.

“I pray to Allah to secure you against all dangers. At the same time, look after yourselves. I will do all I can

without fear to maintain peace in this country. God bless you all!”

From the Residency I then drove directly to Television Malaysia. A current popular programme came to mid-halt, as the announcer broadcast that I would be speaking over TV almost immediately. Facing the “live” cameras I was so choked with emotion that at times I could hardly get my words out, but I managed by sheer will finally to repeat in both Malay and English what I had just recorded at the Residency. The time was 10.32 p.m.

At about 11.00 p.m. as I was on my way back to the Residency I decided to re-visit Police Headquarters in Jalan Bandar instead of returning home. This I did, and asked my driver to change course. When the car turned on a side road into Jalan Bandar I came across some thugs but on seeing my car they fled. I then arrived at Selangor Police Contingent Headquarters and stayed there until after midnight. It was an event and an evening that could not be easily forgotten, certainly never in my life by me.

Naturally I did not sleep that night, my mind upset with the tragedy that had overtaken our peaceful capital and nation. I was restless, walked about, and spent a longer time in my prayers to God. I went out on to the balcony outside my room looking down on the city in the valley by night. Flames were burning high in several areas, near Kampong Bharu and to the North.

Kuala Lumpur was a city on fire; I could clearly see the conflagrations from my residence at the top of the hill and it was a sight that I never thought I would see in my life-time. In fact all my work to make Malaysia a happy and peaceful country through these years, and also my



May 13th in Kuala Lumpur. Above, Wrecked vehicles in Jalan Bungsar.

Below, Fire-brigade pouring water on blazing shops in Kampong Pandan.

May 13th in Kuala Lumpur. Above, Wrecked cars burning in Jalan Raja Muda.

Below, The morning after. Overturned and wrecked cars in Jalan Hale, Kampong Bharu.

dream of being the happiest Prime Minister in the world, were also going up in flames.

So many dire things had happened down below there on that dreadful night, and so many previous incidents had contributed to what had taken place, that I realised it would be some time before all the series of events fell into a sequence that could be understood.

I had received that day reports of the Gerakan procession on the previous evening, throwing insults at the Malays by telling them that the sailing boat—the symbol of the Alliance—had been sunk, and that the Malays might as well return to their kampongs and villages. All these came to my mind as some of the contributory causes.

Such despicable and uncalled-for provocation, going beyond all bounds of human decency caused intense emotion and anger among the Malays. That is why UMNO members had gathered at the Menteri Besar's house in Jalan Raja Muda on the evening of May 13th. As Chairman of UMNO in Selangor State he had acceded to the request of the party members that they, too, should hold a similar procession to celebrate the victory of the Alliance; and as permission to do so had already been obtained the procession should have begun as scheduled.

While they were gathered in the compound of Dato Harun's residence news came through suddenly that Chinese had attacked Malays in Setapak, a mile or two to the North, as they were on their way to join the procession starting from Jalan Raja Muda. The news created a storm of indignation; hell broke loose. Two Chinese passing by on motor cycles were attacked and killed. And so the riots of May 13th began, triggering off violence unprecedented in the history of Malaysia.

I recount now with special interest other facts that happened earlier that afternoon of May 13th along Jalan Ipoh, the main road leading to the North. Many days later an eye-witness reported to me that buses coming from the North, from places such as Selayang, about twenty miles away, were stopped and searched by a group of Chinese youths looking for Malays while at the same time chanting "Darah bayar Darah!", in English, "Blood will be repaid with blood!", the same slogan as was heard at the funeral procession.

Therefore it is true to say that the incidents of May 13th were really sparked off by these Communist Chinese youths, the same kind of people, if not the actual ones, who took part in the funeral procession. "Darah bayar Darah!" was among the many such slogans painted on the placards carried in the funeral procession by Labour Party youths on May 9th, slogans chanted aloud by them all through the procession.

In fact, it can now be said that these slogans of "Darah bayar Darah!" and the irresponsible actions of members of the Gerakan Party and DAP when holding their victory procession, and also other demonstrations by equally irresponsible ruffians all combined to culminate in the violence of May 13th.

As I brooded on the balcony, the occurrence of such violence brought back to my mind the situation which this country had faced in 1948 because the British authorities at that time did not take prompt and firm action against trouble-makers, as a result of which the Emergency took so much toll in life and property. The violence of the Emergency which we experienced for ten years under the colonial administration and for a further two years in

independent Malaya, and the ravages and havoc that flowed therefrom, were entirely due originally to lack of initiative.

It was now clear to me that all the signs of what had happened during the election campaign and the rioting and arson now taking place in Kuala Lumpur indicated that there might well be a repetition of deep trouble as experienced in 1948, if no immediate action was taken.

I determined at once that this would be done, that the Government had to act and to take every precaution to prevent the disturbances in Kuala Lumpur from spreading or developing into something of a more serious nature, and nation-wide. This was essential if the trouble was to be ended as quickly as it had blown up.

I determined, too, that the plans we would put into action would have to be of an enduring nature so as to prevent any recurrence in future of what was taking place now. Nobody, whatever his racial origin, be it Chinese, Indian or Malay, would want to see such things happening again. Except for the Communists and their sympathisers, and all those politicians who used or allowed themselves to be used by these elements for their own political ends, there was no one in Malaysia who wanted to see this peaceful country in deep trouble. After all our successful years of peace and prosperity such a calamity was a terrible tragedy.

## XII

### ACTION AND PARADOX

FOR ME, Wednesday, May 14th was a day of constant action and also a day of paradox.

In normal circumstances, this being the first Wednesday after Election Day, I would have received from the Istana Negara a summons from His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to wait upon him as the leader of the victorious party in the elections, the Alliance, and to have received a Royal Command to form a new Government.

Then I would have returned to the Residency to decide upon my Cabinet and to make arrangements for the designated holders of portfolios to go to the Palace to be sworn in by His Majesty and to take the Oath of Office in my presence. In Malaysia such a day would have been one of much formal ceremony and conviviality.

Instead, and herein is the paradox, I had a national crisis on my hands, so I asked for His Majesty to be informed that I would like to have an immediate audience to report on the complete reversal of the situation due to the crisis that had come about overnight.

I also arranged for a special meeting of the senior Ministers of the old Cabinet to be called that morning at the Residency, and issued an invitation as well to Tun (Dr.) Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, a retired Cabinet colleague, to attend.

He had telephoned Tun Abdul Razak the previous night offering his services to the nation in any capacity if I required him. Tun Razak had thanked him warmly, especially because he knew Tun Ismail had not been in the best of health and had intended shortly to leave for the United Kingdom to consult his specialist.

In Malaysia Wednesday is usually Cabinet day, but on this occasion, instead of holding a first formal meeting of a new Cabinet, I was presiding over an ad-hoc Cabinet of "emergency". I informed my colleagues of my intentions, the decisions I had arrived at overnight.

First of all, I said it was necessary for me to advise His Majesty to proclaim a State of Emergency throughout the country, as there was no other way of dealing effectively with the current situation. Also polling in East Malaysia would have to be postponed indefinitely.

I had also decided to set up a National Operations Council to deal with all matters pertaining to the emergency. Concurrently, I would also form an Emergency Cabinet from both old and new members to deal with administrative matters.

The idea of an Emergency Cabinet was not to stop any discussion on its possible composition on a permanent basis but to proceed urgently with the day-to-day affairs essential to smooth administration. I would be proceeding to the Istana that evening to obtain from His Majesty the necessary authority to carry out these decisions.

I also arranged with Tun Abdul Razak to try and work out a plan for immediate distribution of food to people in those areas where a twenty-four hour curfew was now imposed, and consequently they could not get out to make their purchases of foodstuffs. We decided to turn the Sekolah Hishamuddin into a Food Distribution Centre, this place being most conveniently situated in the centre of the city. He took immediate action with the result that the Centre was in operation the next morning.

On a visit to the Centre the following day I was impressed with the vast amount of work being carried out by hundreds of volunteers, some of whom were members of diplomatic missions and their wives, and all rendering women service in packing food into parcels and cartons for distribution.

Many of them were covered with flour on their clothes and faces. They never lost their composure or wit in spite of the unusual and heavy type of work they were doing. One young member of the diplomatic service said as I passed him, "We are now flower people".

At the beginning the task was tremendous, as volunteers had no previous experience of such a contingency, but within a couple of days the Centre was working very smoothly indeed.

That afternoon I summoned the Solicitor-General to my house and drafted with him the various legal notifications to declare a State of Emergency in the country and to proclaim all areas in the Federation as Security Areas, and that evening I called on His Majesty at the Istana to obtain his Royal signature on all the Proclamations.

On this second night, too, I appeared on television again announcing the postponement of elections in East



Malaysia, as well as speaking over Radio Malaysia, and after these broadcasts I went to Selangor Police Headquarters where I remained till past midnight. I might say here and now, I repeated this routine the next day, May 15th. So on three days and nights—13th, 14th and 15th—I was going about doing my duty, conscientiously and with a heavy heart, and at the same time the pressure on my right eye was getting unbearably oppressive.

In arriving at all these decisions and taking all these actions I was impelled by the primary duty of the Government to save lives and property. I realised as for myself that owing to my eye trouble and the work involved I would not be able, or expected, to tackle the task efficiently of administering the country and overseeing the Emergency at the same time.

So I obtained the approval of His Majesty to appoint Tun Abdul Razak, who was both Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, to be the Director of the proposed National Operations Council. He was the right man, younger and more active, full of vim and vigour, and better suited to the arduous task of restoring the country to normalcy in view of his vast experience in handling the portfolios of both Defence and National Development.

The question of life or death for many was involved. Our duty therefore was to ensure that no one need live in a state of fear and apprehension from the doings of extremists and arsonists of any race.

We all had to realise that this national crisis arose as the result of racial trouble, far more serious than the Communist insurrection, as the whole structure of the country could be in danger of complete collapse, if the

situation was not dealt with speedily and efficiently. There was no time to waste.

Our duties and responsibilities were clear. The best man suited to carry out the major work was Tun Razak. It was my belief that with the assistance of members of the Cabinet, of the Security Forces, of Government Service and of all good citizens, our job could be achieved in good time.

I was therefore prepared to step down a rung or two to give Tun Razak full authority to carry on with this important task, but I still remained Prime Minister, and thus responsible for the prosecution of the Emergency, Tun Razak being in continuous consultation with me.

Attempts at character assassination against Tun Razak had been made by a certain section of the Chinese in the past by saying that he disliked the Chinese, in other words that he was anti-Chinese. I have known Tun Razak for many years, both as a colleague and a friend, and during all my experience as Prime Minister I have always found him to be a nationalist and a patriot, and a person who is both dedicated and fair-minded.

I will go much further than this by saying that the association of Tun Razak and myself is unique in this country's history. Our partnership throughout all these years of independence has been inseparable, bound by mutual ties of understanding and respect. We are such close friends, both in and out of office, that we are mutually dependent on each other, he being able to seek my counsel at any hour of the day or night, or I to turn to him for advice whenever and wherever it is needed. If I am called "Bapa Malaysia", the "Father" of my country, then Tun Razak is one of the engineers of our independence.

Tun Razak's work during the Emergency alone proves his capacity and dedication beyond all doubt. He, along with the other members of the Cabinet, will give our all to see that everyone will live in peace and harmony with one another and free from fear.

Tun (Dr.) Ismail's gesture in returning to the Cabinet at this time of national crisis was a true and noble act, typical of the character of a man who is deeply loyal to both his country and his colleagues, a spirit which I am happy to say has, with a few minor exceptions, always permeated the members of the Alliance Cabinet, whose teamwork and co-operation is a remarkable achievement in itself.

On the evening of May 15th a report came through that an incident had broken out in Malacca, in which one man was killed and another injured. I immediately arranged for a helicopter to take me to Malacca on the morning of May 16th.

On arrival at Malacca airport I was rushed straight to Police Headquarters, receiving a briefing there, and then visiting the scene of the incident.

According to the Malacca Police, Chinese thugs set upon two Malay trishaw peddlers in Jalan Bandar Kubu, beating them up so severely that one died later, but the other managed to escape. Luckily the Police were on their rounds at the time, so they immediately gave chase. The thugs fled into a block of flats pursued by the Police, and in no time a capture was made.

The investigation that followed disclosed that a member of an Opposition political party had paid them money to create an incident. To cut the story short, this particular

party member was shortly afterwards arrested in another State. Action was immediately taken against him, and he is now in the safe custody of the Police.

I then went to UMNO Headquarters in Malacca to meet hundreds of members from as far away as Kedah and Negri Sembilan, who were stranded there. They had come to Malacca to celebrate Mandi Sa'afar, the annual festival of purification by water, and as a result of the curfew had not been able to return home. After making arrangements for escorts to see that they would get safely home again, I returned to Kuala Lumpur.

What with meetings daily with my senior Ministers since the outbreak of violence and visits to various Centres, not to mention attending nightly at Selangor Police Headquarters, I was constantly on the move.

On the afternoon of May 16th, after my return from Malacca, I called a meeting of Ministers at the Residency at which Tun Razak was formally appointed as Director of Operations, his appointment being gazetted the following day, May 17th.

At this meeting, too, I detailed other Ministers to look after specific jobs relating to the new Emergency, such as supervision of food supplies, formation of Vigilante Corps and dissemination of correct and true information to the public.

Later that day I visited the Red Cross Headquarters to see hundreds of volunteers, men and women, old and young, working away cheerfully to despatch supplies of clothing where these were most needed. Then I went to Stadium Merdeka and Negara where more than three thousand refugees were being looked after, to speak to them and see what could be done to find new homes for the homeless

and to facilitate their return to their normal ways of life and livelihood. I also visited the Kampong Bharu mosque where many people were accommodated. Some came for the procession and could not return to their homes and others came to seek shelter.

But that day was not yet over for me. My most important task had yet to come. That night I drove to Television Malaysia, a script in my pocket which was historic, probably the most significant manuscript I had ever written since I was involved in the composition of our Declaration of Independence twelve years ago. I was about to tell the people of Malaysia and the world that, after three days and nights of killing and arson, there must be an end, once and for all, to the growing toll of lives and damage to property.

I had a profound feeling of despondency in my heart, but at the same time I was very conscious that what I was about to announce was the only right and proper action to take in the dire circumstances overwhelming us all which the entire country had to confront and overcome. In that studio I was going to declare a State of Emergency throughout the nation.

### XIII

#### A STATE OF EMERGENCY

IN that Television and Radio broadcast on the night of May, 16th, I said :—

"A State of Emergency has now been declared because circumstances demand that we must act, and act quickly, as otherwise the situation might well deteriorate and become uncontrollable, and we will be faced with a State of Emergency as was faced by the British in 1948.

"The threat which we face now is very severe and very serious. We have no choice but to act immediately.

"The only course open to us is to declare a State of Emergency and to take all such measures as are possible to prevent the situation from worsening.

"The terrorist Communists have worked out their plan to take over power. They have managed to persuade voters by threat, by intimidation and by persuasion to overthrow the Alliance through the process of democracy, but fortunately for us, we were returned in sufficient majority to

form a Government, as otherwise I dread to think what would have happened to this country.

"They branded the MCA as pro-Malay and not pro-Chinese of Malaysia. They got the Chinese to vote against the MCA, and what is more astounding was to see the response they got from the combination of intimidation and threat.

"Earlier, they tried every means possible to prevent the elections from taking place, but without success. Then they resorted to other methods to sabotage the elections.

"Opportunity presented itself when one of their men was killed by the police in self-defence.

"They made a martyr of this man, and paraded his dead body through the streets in defiance of the authorities by following routes not authorised by the police.

"The Police exercised the highest degree of patience and allowed the procession to proceed. Had they lost their heads, chaos would have followed, for these people came out fully prepared with all kinds of weapons to do battle with the Police.

"In the procession they displayed anti-Government slogans, carrying red flags openly, arrogantly showing pictures of Mao Tse-Tung, singing praises of Mao Tse-Tung. This is truly Communist terrorist tactics.

"But we did not take action until after the elections; they chose to hold a procession in Kuala Lumpur against the conditions imposed by the Police.

"Furthermore they provoked the people by abusing and insulting them.

"It is obvious that the intention behind it all was to cause a serious breach of the peace and create lawlessness and disorder.

"I have therefore no choice but to show these people that the Government exists and will continue to function.

"We have enjoyed peace for a long time, ever since the State of Emergency ended with all its attendant regulations.

"Now they have started it again and so we must act, and act quickly by invoking the Emergency Regulations.

"Unless this is done, there is no way of maintaining peace and harmony in this country.

"Now that these Emergency Regulations are revived, everybody is expected to obey. Otherwise innocent people will suffer.

"To prevent this from happening, the Government must deal with these bad elements, and I have asked all good citizens of this country to keep out of the way and give the Government a free hand to deal effectively with them.

"And the quicker we can bring this state of Emergency to an end, the better it will be for all of us.

"I am now setting up a strong defence force in this country. Recruits will be called for enrolment to the Local Defence Force which will be fully mobilised during this period of Emergency.

"Recruiting centres will be set up as soon as possible in every town, and Army officers will be called to help with the recruitment.

"Out duty is to tackle the task before us, and that is by dealing with the Emergency.

"The task is great but not insurmountable and with the support of the people, I am sure we can succeed.

"Immediately centres will be set up in Selangor, Perak and Penang. Other States will follow suit as soon as we are able to do so.

"The people must not take the law into their own hands because the innocent will suffer on both sides.

"We know that in this country the loyal Chinese elements are in fact stronger and more numerous than the other disloyal elements, but these people are well organised while the peaceful and law-abiding citizens are not.

"Therefore, it will be necessary for those who want to serve the country in time of stress and strain to come forward and offer their services by joining the Forces.

"Young men must answer the call for national defence of this country. I say that Malaysia expects every man who owes allegiance to her to do his duty by her.

"I have now set up a National Operations Council with Tun Abdul Razak as the Director of Operations, charged with full responsibility of administration under the proclamation of Emergency. Included in this Operations Council will be members of the Security Forces.

"Tun Razak will be immediately responsible to me, which means that much of his work will be given first priority.

"State Operations Councils will be set up and direction will be given by the National Operations Council under Tun Razak.

"Those persons who will form these Councils will be chosen from men who have absolute honesty, integrity and loyalty to this country.

"The object of the National Operations Council is to co-ordinate the work of the Civil Administration, Military and Police in an all-out effort to restore peace.

"I have got to restore confidence in this country as quickly as possible. Otherwise the people will suffer, the administration will break down and all that we have been doing in the interest of peace and the economy will come to naught.

"I am afraid people might criticise and say that because of our small majority, we are forced to embark on this plan. But this is not so.

"We have a working majority to carry out administration, but circumstances demand that we take effective and strong measures to deal with the terrorist elements.

"Many millions of dollars have been lost already in trade and in business in the last few days, so much loss also in life and limb.

"How sad it is that all this had to happen to our happy and amiable country. May God help us to restore once again peace to the country which we love".

## XIV

### RETURNING TO NORMAL

THREE DAYS had passed by since the outbreak of violence in Kuala Lumpur. Now that the declaration of the State of Emergency was in effect, the National Operations Council was in active charge.

I was confident that with the Council at work in daily sessions, fully authorised to initiate and execute any decision considered essential for national security and the restoration of normal life, a good foundation existed for coping with any unforeseen circumstances that might arise, and at the same time ensuring that peace and progress could develop hand-in-hand.

With the Security Forces deployed throughout the country, the public becoming accustomed and attuned to daily announcements relating to the curfew, and with thousands of volunteers willingly giving unstinting service, the people could respond to the call for law and order.

In fact within forty-eight hours it was possible for the Council to approve relaxations in the curfew in many areas

of the country, and as the days went by and the situation gradually improved the non-curfew hours grew progressively longer.

Even in the most sensitive areas, Kampong Bharu and the Jalan Chow Kit sections of Kuala Lumpur, where the violence had originated, it was possible after one week from the outbreak to announce curfew relaxations there.

As conditions grew better and with untoward incidents occurring less frequently, one could now bring the whole question of the disturbances into more reasonable perspective. It was clear that, hair-raising stories in the foreign Press to the contrary, the disturbances were not national in character, but virtually confined to Kuala Lumpur.

There was no feeling of insecurity in the East Coast States. In Johore and Negri Sembilan no incidents had occurred at any time. In fact neither the East Coast States or Johore ever incurred a curfew. In Malacca there had been a few minor troubles, but these had now ceased as quickly as they had started. The same could be said to be true of most of Selangor. There were no incidents taking place in Perak and Penang, Kedah and Perlis.

In fact, the calmness of Penang, which in the past had been a frequent source of trouble, was quite outstanding. That State was the first on the West Coast to earn dawn-to-midnight relaxation of curfew.

Apart from Kuala Lumpur, the only sections in the country needing the strictest vigilance were in the Betong salient, the rural areas along the Kedah and Perak borders with Thailand. Over the border the Communist terrorists were erupting occasionally as in the days of the former Emergency, but the situation was well under control at this time (although it was to become more serious later).

The general situation, however, was far from normal mainly for one particular reason—rumours. During the height of the disturbances rumour-mongering was wild and widespread, as always happens anywhere in time of riot.

After such disturbances as Kuala Lumpur had endured it naturally takes time to restore public confidence completely, but although as the curfew hours were lifted and business resumed activities almost normally by day, after dark the streets were comparatively empty. People preferred to stay at home in the evening.

Now that there was a feeling that the Government was in firm control, the only weapon the bad elements had left in their armoury was rumour, and they were doing their best, knowing that a credible rumour, even if quite untrue, could contribute to a basic sense of unease.

Members of the secret societies hawked their nefarious trade by offering protection in return for money. Where their offers were not accepted trouble in the locality would follow; a curfew would be imposed and the residents would be seriously inconvenienced. This was particularly noticeable in the week-ends when Kuala Lumpur citizens usually go out to enjoy themselves to the full, but this was not occurring now.

Despite this aberration in the capital's usual way of life, the situation was gradually improving, so much so that on June 6th I finally went into hospital to undergo the operation which I had long before been advised to have, and there I remained until June 15th.

While there, as I have said in the beginning, I began jotting down the notes that led to the writing of this book. At the same time I was able to consider quietly the most

important task of all, the restoration of public confidence both at home and abroad, and to working out in my mind the best ways and means of ensuring that the goodwill and co-operation so characteristic of Malaysia in happier times could take their place once again as the keynotes of our daily lives.

What I was thinking about was the possibility of forming Goodwill Committees, both on a national basis and in all the States throughout Malaysia. However, after June 15th, when I left hospital to return home to the Residency a certain event occurred (to which I propose to refer to later) which upset me very deeply at the time, thus distracting me from my main purpose.

The general situation throughout the country had improved to such an extent that the curfew hours had now been reduced everywhere, except in the Betong salient, to the periods from 1.00 a.m. to 4.00 a.m. a time when most good citizens are usually sound asleep in bed.

Two weeks later on June 28th, a Saturday, the incident-free days and nights to which Kuala Lumpur was now becoming accustomed, were suddenly shaken by a new disturbance of a major calibre, this time in the Northern area of Sentul.

Fresh disturbances started in the afternoon in Sentul Pasar. A drunken brawl by two people in the Chow Kit Road area set off a chain reaction of fear and panic, with shops closing and pedestrians running. In separate incidents five people died and a row of dwelling houses was set on fire. By 6.00 p.m. the affected area came under curfew, the Police reporting "All Quiet".

There was some considerable provocation for this incident. A group of Indian youths had thrown stones into

the Malay mosque in the area. This was irresponsible enough, but they went further, adding insult to injury, by hurling human excrement into the compound of the mosque. Naturally this incensed Malays who were thereabouts, resulting in a minor riot, causing the death of five persons.

Rumours of the new development spread quickly throughout the city with the result that irresponsible elements began to exploit the situation. In one area, six miles away at Cheras, bands of youths threw stones at passing vehicles while in another, a mile from Sentul Pasar, hooligans injured one passer-by. The new area of disturbance was brought under intensive patrol, the curfew not being lifted for three days, although the rest of Kuala Lumpur was carrying on as normally as it could.

The city, having experienced a reasonably calm return to routine life over the past six weeks, slowly building up self-confidence, was jolted by the new outbreak of violence, all the more so because it was sudden, unexpected, out of the blue. Was it likely to happen again? Surely May 13th had been lesson enough?

Within a few days, however, the people of Kuala Lumpur were changing their minds. The Government was exercising firm control. No further incidents broke out. Instead unofficial Goodwill Committees came into being of their own initiative.

The capital's citizens began to realise that the support of the people had to be active, if their economic life was not to be affected. Those who had been hardest hit to date by disturbances and curfews were mainly the poor, especially hawkers and stall-holders who had always thrived by night.

Slowly the city came back to normal; there were signs of steadily-growing confidence with the result that the whole month of July passed without any further incidents internally.

Over the Northern border, however, there was a most grave occurrence on July 27th, in which six Malaysian soldiers were killed and eight others wounded in an ambush in deep jungle by thirty terrorists from Thailand about two miles from Sintok, a Malaysian village near the border.

With Kuala Lumpur fast becoming its old self again, and the general situation throughout the country greatly improved, the fear and insecurity generated by the May 13th debacle slowly began to recede and prospects for the future were becoming much brighter.

It was regrettable, however, that some Chinese in Kuala Lumpur had been influenced by rumours that if they were to buy durians from the Malays or sell them on their stalls, then harm might come to them. There could be some truth in the rumours, but to allow themselves to be intimidated by a group of irresponsible youngsters is not an attitude expected of good and loyal citizens of this country.

One friend of mine informed me that he had been given some durians. After partaking of this delicious fruit in the privacy of his home he had to go out stealthily at night to dig a hole to bury the skins. He was afraid that if the skins were thrown into the dustbin news might spread that he was breaking the boycott, and he might be faced with serious consequences as a result.

Now if good citizens can take the attitude of allowing themselves to be placed in fear over such a threat as boycott of seasonal fruits, available for sale for no longer than two months, then I am afraid that it will take a much longer time to restore real peace in this country.



I want to indicate here my hope that law-abiding Chinese who owe allegiance to Malaysia should get themselves organised somehow so as to help the Government to fight these anti-social elements. Hence the need for Goodwill Committees.

So on 21st July I announced my plans for a National Goodwill Council, with similar bodies at State level at a meeting of Mentri Besar and Chief Ministers held in Kuala Lumpur, and by the end of the month I had already set out to begin a nation-wide tour to restore goodwill everywhere, and in doing so meeting with widespread support and approval.

Here were the true feelings of the nation, a general desire in all quarters among all races at all levels to renew and ensure the happiness and harmony that everyone knows deep in their hearts to be the real expression of Malaysia.

## A LETTER IN THE MAIL

NOW it is necessary for me to go back a little to discuss trends of thought in certain quarters that had been taking shape for some time but had meanwhile come to a head as an aftermath of the riots of May 13th.

I have related earlier that after I left hospital on June 16th a certain event occurred which upset me very deeply. Two days later—what tactless and thoughtless timing!—I received a scurrilous letter from Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamed, an UMNO Parliamentary candidate defeated in the election in the Kota Star Selatan constituency in Kedah, and a member of the Executive Council of UMNO.

It was a letter the like of which I had never seen before in all my political career, and the last and most unlikely communication I would have expected to get from a man who has always put himself forward, at least outwardly, as a staunch supporter of the Party even though he disagreed with some of its policies.

It was a four-page letter typed in Bahasa Malaysia and dated June 17th from his own house in Alor Star where he is a private medical practitioner. For any party supporter, especially one who had been a Member of Parliament for five years and a Member of the UMNO Executive Council for twelve months, to have written such a letter to his own Prime Minister, the leader of his own Party, was bad enough, but he did not stop there.

He published copies of this letter to his friends. They were later cyclostyled and widely circulated in thousands amongst members of the Civil Service, Malay students in institutions of higher education, and even to people in Malay kampongs.

If Dr. Mahathir himself was not directly and personally responsible for the distribution of his letter in all these quarters, then he certainly did nothing to prevent such an action taking place.

Tun Dr. Ismail also received a copy of the letter from Dr. Mahathir. I arranged for a copy to be sent to Tun Abdul Razak who as Deputy Chairman of UMNO thereupon called a meeting of the party's Executive Council to discuss it. The meeting was held in his house "Seri Taman" in Kuala Lumpur on July 12th. I did not attend, but Dr. Mahathir was present.

It was a closed-door conference confined only to members of the Executive Council, but the Press, sensing something was in the wind, were waiting outside the gates of "Seri Taman". A tight security ring had been thrown around the house, all entrances and exits being sealed off by armed Policemen.

The meeting of the UMNO Executive Council lasted for three hours. At 4.05 p.m. the Minister of Information and

broadcasting, Enche Hamzah bin Dato Abu Samah, gave newsmen a seventeen-line statement over the signature of the UMNO Secretary-General, Enche Senu bin Abdul Rahman. The statement said :

"A special meeting of the UMNO Ex. Co. was held this morning to consider the action that should be taken regarding the widespread distribution of copies of correspondence between Dr. Mahathir, a member of the Executive Council, and Tunku Abdul Rahman, President of UMNO.

"The letters contained vitally important Party matters and details which in view of the present situation in the country should have been first discussed by the Executive Council of UMNO.

"The meeting decided that the action of Dr. Mahathir constituted a serious breach of party discipline and regulations, which unchecked would destroy the unity within the Party and the Government which is supported by the Party.

"The Council, attended by all Cabinet Ministers and Menteri2 Besar who are members of the Council, decided that Dr. Mahathir has ceased to be a member of the Council as from today. The Tunku was not present at the meeting."

I am not at liberty at all at present to disclose the full contents of the letter, but I realise it is necessary for me to refer to it here, otherwise it would be considered remiss of me not to do so.

The graveness of the letter, however, was of such a nature that it drew official action from the Minister of Home Affairs, Tun Dr. Ismail, who two days later on July 14th, made an order under the Internal Security Act 1960 prohibiting the publication, distribution or possession of

copies of this letter, together with a ban of a similar nature on several other publications in Bahasa Malaysia, this action being taken in the interests of national security.

Who is Dr. Mahathir and where does he stand in UMNO? The answer is that there is a group of men, usually referred to as the "Ultras", or as they prefer to be known the "Intellectuals" who have manoeuvred themselves into positions in UMNO. Some of them live in Kuala Lumpur and none of them has much contact with people on the ground, especially in the rural areas.

They can never hope to win mass support on their own, but they can make a lot of trouble, and this is what they are out to do. Behind all this inside opposition in UMNO there must be a man who knows how to plan and how to get others to operate. Is this Dr. Mahathir or someone else?

One might well ask what is it they are after. Inquiring through other people I have tried to find out from some of these "Ultras" what the answer is, and as far as I know they want to establish a new order of things inside the UMNO and the country. For instance, they consider our political thinking is out-dated and out of line with Afro-Asian policies. Among the ideas they have in mind are probably to remove the constitutional monarchy and to set up Malaysia as a Republic. I suppose that, having proclaimed a Republic, they will probably change our foreign policy to bring us closer to the Afro-Asian group.

According to a report received, "Now Soekarno is dismissed, but his ideas, his money, his immediate followers and converts are still spread throughout Asia and his policy is still being pursued fervently by these people.

"During his regime his trusted officers, whether in Government or in business were in direct contact with organisations, leaders of Left-wing parties and individuals in Malaysia and plans were formulated as to how best to topple the Government.

"Many of the so-called Malay leaders have been brain-washed and have become ardent and useful instruments for the implementation of these plans, among some of which is the establishment of Tentera Gerakan Bumiputra along the East and West Coasts of Malaysia and along the Thai border. Their leaders are in close contact with those in charge of the plan.

"Arms and ammunition are to be supplied by sea. An intensive campaign of hatred and vilification must prepare the way for action and so the means employed is by circulating poison-letters in the hope of discrediting the well-known leaders of UMNO and in particular, Tunku Abdul Rahman, who must be toppled at all cost."

Personally, I think the trend of Afro-Asian thinking in Malay, especially since the fall of Soekarno in Indonesia and of Nkrumah in Ghana, is very much in line with ours, but whether this group of persons in UMNO really realises this or not is not precisely known.

What these "Ultras" want, of course, is for UMNO to take over the whole administration of the Government on their own as one Party. This I have repeatedly said is against my policy. In fact I once stated that even if only three MCA members were returned in elections, the Alliance would still continue as such, with the three partner-parties—UMNO, MCA and MIC—working together as representatives of the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians of Malaysia.

If these "Ultras" could only know how often Mr. Lee Kuan Yew tried to persuade me to take the PAP into our coalition, but tried without success!

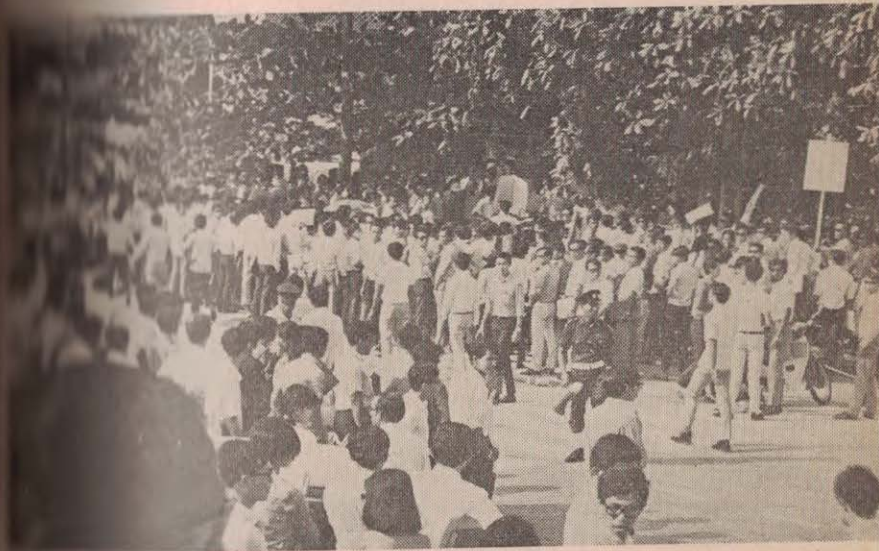
Those in opposition to my leadership have always adopted a tactic of making personal attacks on me so as to weaken UMNO, as I am considered to be the image of the Party. They go along this line because from experience they have always failed to disintegrate UMNO unity by other means, so they resort to a smear campaign to ridicule me as much as possible in the eyes of the people, but until recently to no avail. However, Dr. Mahathir's letter to me was widely circulated and these hostile opponents wasted no time in aggravating the situation.

It is now clear that these people have been using students of institutions of higher learning to do their dirty work for them. What they could not achieve in open fight they now hope to gain with some success by causing trouble within the ranks of the Party. Dr. Mahathir's action was definitely a help to these elements, hostile to me, as events soon proved.

On July 17th at 7.00 a.m. a banner was found tied to the fence in front of the University of Malaya Mosque, a mosque which I built for the students of the University. This banner carried the following slogans:— "Regime Tunku Imperialist and Feudalist" and "Tunku, Give UP".

These same slogans were used, and are still being used by the Party Ra'ayat which is bitterly opposed to the Government. This was the Party that supported Soekarno's policy, "Crush Malaysia".

Students carried placards that day on which the written words clearly depicted their political views. One was, "We



Above: Demonstration at the University of Malaya. Student supporters of Gerakan Party jubilant.

Below: Student demonstration at the University of Malaya, June 17th — General View.

Want A Dynamic Leader". What they want is a leader who can set a fuse, touch it off, and blast our country and society to smithereens.

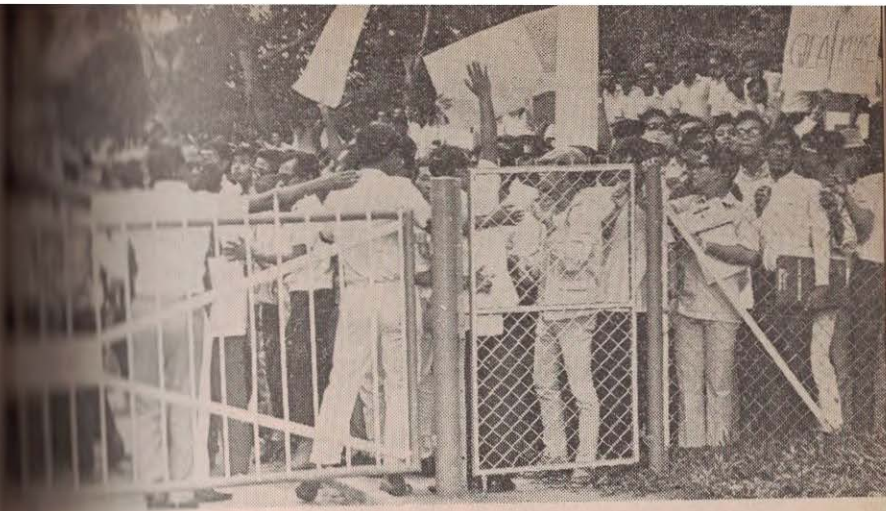
"Singkirkan Kaki Poker Dan Kaki Kuda", another placard declared. That is, "Keep Away From Poker Players and Race-Goers". Another placard read, "Tunku, Step Down".

These placards and many others of such nature convey their intention; such or similar expressions are commonly made use of by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Group and anti-Government organisations.

These demonstrating Malay students in the University of Malaya then met with students from the MARA Institute of Technology and objected to the expulsion of Dr. Mahathir from the UMNO Executive Council. The result was that on the same day many MARA students held a demonstration within their College compound to protest against the action taken by UMNO against Dr. Mahathir. They denounced me as a "Pengkhanat", a traitor to my people. They made fiery speeches demanding my expulsion from the Prime Ministership.

The Minister of National and Rural Development, Enche Ghafar bin Baba, under whose portfolio the MARA Institute falls, had a talk with the leaders. He asked what the expulsion of Dr. Mahathir from UMNO Executive Council had to do with them, and were they members of UMNO? They replied in the negative, but insisted that they had a say in this matter as they were Malays. He then asked them whether they supported UMNO as their political party, and their answer was "No".

Next, to Enche Ghafar's utter surprise, he heard word for word from them what went on behind closed doors at



Above: Student demonstration at the MARA Institute, June 17th. Crowd at the main gate. Placard on right reads, "Abdu! Rahman Fading — Power Crazy".

Below: Student with loud-hailer haranguing crowd.

the UMNO Executive Council Meeting. When he asked who had told them they did not know what to do or say.

All Executive Council members are under oath not to disclose any matters discussed within the Council and it is therefore a source of wonder how such information leaked out.

How easy it is to influence young minds! They will believe anything when told often enough. It is obvious that some members of the staff have much to answer for. Some of them even took to political platforms to campaign against the Alliance in the recent elections. They could not succeed in toppling the Alliance by constitutional methods, so they are now busy working to subvert the Alliance by other means.

The same applies to some of the students of the University of Malaya. The Vice-Chancellor of the University, Professor Ungku Abdul Aziz, talked to student leaders on that campus and received almost the same answers from them.

How dangerous the trend of politics has become! Recruitment of students follows closely the pattern set by the Communist Party in Indonesia (PKI) and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Group in Burma as reported by Aleksandr Kaznacheev in his book, "Inside a Soviet Embassy" published in 1962. Kaznacheev defected from the Embassy in Rangoon, seeking and obtaining sanctuary in the American Embassy.

In quoting from this book I would like to state that I am not making any charges or insinuations against Russians, as I am convinced that they have had nothing whatever to do with the elections, the events of May 13th or thereafter.

This book, however, deals with the time when the Chinese Communists and the Russian Communists were in friendly agreement. It was a tactic of all Communists to use students to further their ends, and one of the instruments employed was the Afro-Asian Solidarity Group.

Kaznacheev, an expert Russian intelligence agent, speaks of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Group as "a tough Communist youth organisation". He describes an interview he had in Rangoon with a youth leader whom he called "a popular lawyer with wide connections within Burmese governmental circles and major political parties. He also had an important voice in the Communist National United Front and was one of the leaders of the tough Communist youth organisation known as the Afro-Asian Solidarity Group."

According to Kaznacheev, this Burmese leader of the Group had this to say about the recruitment of youths:—

"These youngsters are fine material for us. Although politically immature, they are burning with idealism and enthusiasm; the forbidden fruit of Communism seems much sweeter to them than their own Burmese political arrangements. Instead of working or studying hard, our students prefer to attend noisy meetings and banner-waving demonstrations—the better for us (meaning for the Communist cause). They praise Communist achievements and see nothing else; these kids love catchy slogans, conspiracy, and tough leadership, so it's our task to supply them! And you know, these educated youngsters are extremely important in Burma's future; tomorrow they'll leave their studies and enter key jobs in the government apparatus, industry and the armed forces. Some will naturally become disillusioned with our movement, but others will remain with us . . . ."

"They listen to whoever speaks longest and loudest so we do and there is nobody here to contradict us! There is no point in showing difficulties and shortcomings, whatever you still have in your country; crude realism is never attractive! . . . ."

"Our plan of struggle is a simple one, a time-proved strategy of Lenin's; we demand from the national bourgeois government full, unlimited freedom and democracy that will win people to our side and give us a free hand to organise our own forces and to weaken and demoralize our enemies. We infiltrate other political parties en masse, especially the ruling one, plant our people in key positions in the government apparatus and the Army. Gradually, without much noise, actually unseen, we shall take the whole country over. Only then, with one quick and strong punch we shall overthrow the bourgeois government and seize power completely. Of course, we know perfectly well that we'll never be able to carry out our plan without the help of your government and the Chinese.

"We must remember that all means are justified in attaining power here, and once we do, we'll put Burma on the right track! There will be no more need for these rotten bourgeois freedoms and democracies. In their place we'll establish our own Communist order. We'll show what real democracy is, you'll see—nobody would dare to raise his voice against us. Burma needs a strong hand to rule her."

This is the lesson we have learnt of what went on in our neighbouring countries, and experience shows how much these countries have suffered as the result of Chinese Communist subversion. It is beginning to show signs here—the pattern is the same and the result, if the plan is allowed to succeed, could be the same.

What happened in Burma is not peculiar to Burma; it has happened elsewhere. The "Ultras" realise that by spurring on young students, especially the nationalistic-minded Malays among them, they are playing with fire. This is obviously their intention, seeing that in the past few years there is hardly a country, except our own, where student troubles have not occurred for one reason or another.

How does it come about that Malay youngsters are now making charges against the Government for letting down the Malays, for not providing them with business opportunities? According to them all the Malays have been victimised by the capitalists who make money, leaving the Malays poorer. They disregard completely all Government efforts to help Malays in trade and commerce. The very existence of MARA College is in itself a clear proof of the Government's intention to provide them with the right education and training for business.

Places in the University are reserved for Malays, much to the chagrin and frustration of others. Even this privilege of reservation does not seem to be enough. Some of the "Ultra-infected" young students cannot wait but insist on taking over foreign business, such as Soekarno did on the insistence of extremists.

And what happened to Indonesia under Soekarno by succumbing to the pressure of these extremists? Due to lack of skill and experience and business acumen the economy of Indonesia plunged immediately headlong into the abyss of disaster. Capital left the country, industries closed down, investors shied off, the national debt grew alarmingly, and the rupiah fell rapidly in value. Only now, under the new and enlightened regime of President Suharto

is the country beginning to show signs of recovery after the tremendous damage done by the extremism of Soekarno.

Having seen all this happening elsewhere must we follow suit by "robbing Peter to pay Paul?" Everyone knows there is no short-cut to success. What is needed is hard work, honesty, determination and careful planning. If Soekarno could not see this should we be equally blind after the progress and prosperity Malaysia has won since independence by planned leadership working through free enterprise?

If the Malays take advantage of the Federal Land Development Schemes and own a piece of land each, the total acreage owned by Malay smallholders will be the biggest rubber or oil palm collective holdings in the country. Some Malays will not wait for this but want to enter immediately into big money-earning projects without first obtaining the means and experience to own and operate such big business.

There has never been, and there never is, an easy way to the top. Those people who have started with very little and have made money in their lifetimes have done so by hard work, dedication and enterprise, or if they happen to inherit wealth, they have been properly trained to carry on with the family business, whether it is manufacture, commerce or estates and mines.

Some of these "Ultras" egg on Malay students to demonstrate against the Government, and against me in particular, for aims of their own. There are no bounds to their ambition. They want to get into big business at no cost or expense to themselves. They talk grandly about nationalisation of industries. What they mean by this is to transfer ownership in one way or another not for the benefit of the nation but for their own purposes.

They have even by ingenuity or influence managed to get control of large slices of Malay land reserves to this end.

And so some Malay students, hot-headed and ready to be anti-anything, are gullible enough to listen to such people, to believe what they say, to do their bidding by creating demonstrations, and all the time apparently being unaware that they are simply allowing themselves to be used by older "Ultras". Who will benefit? Not the students, you can be sure.

There is no need to prove—it is self-evident—that the Government is giving much of its time, effort, attention and money to help the Malays, and in this respect the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the businessmen of all races, have indicated their willingness to co-operate. The Government is very much aware and the private sector fully understands that much is expected to be done for the Malays within a short time.

So all these murmurings of discontent and disappointment are in actual fact the work of those who aim to discredit the administration, elements who hope to muster all forces available to help overthrow the Government, although they have made their own careers in the very type of democracy they now attack.

The extent to which this insidious behind-the-scenes activity among students, especially Malays, has gone must not be taken lightly or regarded as being unduly alarmist.

On August 24th, during my goodwill tour of the nation, I disclosed in Alor Star that under the pretext of teaching Islam a secret campaign had already begun to start enlisting support for their movement.

This was brought to my notice by the Menteri Besar of Perlis, Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad bin Mohamed Hashim,



who came all, the way from Kangar to tell me what happened at a conference on the previous day.

Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad informed the Press that he came to know about the campaign when he opened and addressed the annual meeting of the Perlis branch of the National Association of Malaysian Muslim Students on August 22nd.

"There were about one hundred people at the meeting and most of them appeared to be innocent kampong folk," he said. "After I had taken my seat and before addressing the meeting three youths came in and sat right in front of me. They behaved in an ill-mannered way and took off their over-coats. I was surprised to see on the back of their shirts the word "Revolusi" (Revolution).

"After I had spoken the Vice-President of the Association, a Malay from Kuala Lumpur named Mansor bin Abdul Rahman, took over the microphone. I was again surprised that this speaker attacked the Prime Minister for taking an active part in the National Operations Council and urged his listeners not to have confidence in the Council. The speaker also criticised the Government's move to form Goodwill Committees, which he described as useless as they were formed after the disturbances.

"There were other matters which no loyal citizen would utter at this time. He even called on his listeners to ignore the Government if it tried to prevent the Association from carrying out its aims".

I might comment here that these people came together ostensibly under the pretext of discussing religion, but instead they went completely off their agenda and discussed politics of a revolutionary brand. What is more these students even suggest that they are not obliged to abide by the age-old

customs and traditions, which include the questions of paying allegiance to the Rulers and paying respect to the customary Malay ways of life.

The extent to which this deliberate erosion of the minds and hearts of young Malay students has gone, was demonstrated further in the University of Malaya on August 28th. The University was at that time the venue of an important international gathering of experts, musicians, dancers and actors, from various countries of South East Asia gathered together to discuss and display the traditional dances and drama of the region, an event unique in this area. Indeed it was a very great compliment that the organisers chose Malaysia and its University as the meeting place for this significant cultural conference.

About two hundred Malay students decided to demonstrate against me, deliberately choosing to do so in the presence of their foreign guests from South East Asia. They went ahead defiantly with their demonstration although they had been warned by their Vice-Chancellor, Professor Ungku Abdul Aziz, that if they did so they would be jeopardising the autonomy of the University.

They ignored his plea and went ahead, not caring two cents for the fact that they were damaging the good name of the University, betraying all traditions of their race for good manners. They demonstrated at the Dewan Tunku Chancelor against me—a building which is named in tribute to me as the Chancellor of the University.

If these misguided students thought they had made any favourable impression on the University's foreign guests then they were very much mistaken. Their behaviour was utterly disgraceful, a shame to their nation, their race, their families and their University. Never had I thought that

such things could happen in my life-time in the University which I had helped to build.

If the complaints of students, such as those I have just mentioned, were on matters of Government policy in so far as it affects education or the University, one could understand their reasons for grumbling but not on purely personal grounds. Their objection is to my leadership of Malaysia.

For seventeen years I have been a leader, respected and honoured for what I have done for my people and my country. Now with dissemination of malicious falsehoods against me I am branded as a traitor and an enemy of my people, and so I must be removed.

Do they appreciate that what in fact they are doing is not against me, but against the lawfully established Government of the country, of which I am the Executive Head? I was returned to office by the free choice of the people through the process of democratic elections.

To attempt to topple me as Prime Minister as demanded by these extremists and agitators, and to do so through the mouths and with the agency of young innocent students, encouraging them to behave in such an undemocratic way, is an unforgivable act, tantamount to treason.

This is the most treacherous action yet tried by anyone in this country of Malaysia. Most people know that I have planned to retire. This I have said often enough even before the elections. What I have done in the past to prepare for my ultimate retirement shows my intentions. I have grounded and groomed Tun Razak for the task, and this is no secret as I have proclaimed this fact to the nation often enough.

I have also bought a piece of land with financial help from friends so that I can build a Home for the Dis-  
tressed on that land, and run it myself in retirement, and thus do some good for people who really need help. So why all of a sudden this change of heart against me, and all the fuss about my leadership?

I am the target of constant attack by the elements who are out to get me. By besmirching me they hope they can discredit and topple the Alliance Government. The Opposition failed to do so in the elections, and now the "Ultras" continue with this line of attack, using students in particular as agents. They are in full cry with the campaign, "Discredit the Tunku and Overthrow the Government".

I am now determined to carry on to ensure that the interests of our nation and people for whose independence I am in no small measure responsible and of our peace, progress and prosperity to which I have so largely contributed, are not jeopardised by the actions of this small group of extremists, agitators and trouble-makers.

I have dedicated my whole life to this nation and I am not going to be deterred from continuing to do so by the more irresponsible demand made by these people whose aim is to wreck the peace, harmony and stability of our country.

When I am convinced that the country has no more need of my services will I then step down.

## XVI

### INSIDE UMNO — STRUGGLE FOR POWER

THERE is no denying the fact that there is a struggle for power going on inside UMNO as between those who built the Party and helped in our independence and the new elements, the "Ultras".

In fact this struggle started two years ago, even longer back than that. The truly loyal supporters of the Party were able to keep the "Ultras" in check because UMNO was strong, and had the full support of all who belonged to it, from the top level right down to the lowest rung.

As a result of this, the so-called "Ultras" have generally kept quiet although they have never ceased to be active, carrying out an intense underground campaign among the younger generation, the so-called "Intellectuals".

My advice to the young students has always been that we must be on guard against these politicians. The ways of Western students are different because universities and other place of higher learning in the West have been established for hundreds of years. They can well take the

risk of trying out experiments which they think would be more after their own hearts, but for us in Malaysia the situation is entirely different.

The country is new, the university is new, and it is almost completely supported by the Government, having developed from small beginnings to a University of standing with more than six thousand students. There is still much more to be done to improve the University, as we gain more experience and as funds become available. The Government's intention is to build this University, and other universities we have planned, to standards of no less importance and prestige than the best in the Commonwealth. For instance, the University of Penang has already started with a modest beginning, but with an eye on the future, as with everything we have done.

Soon a University Kebangsaan will be set up, intended for those who have no opportunity to go up into higher learning in other languages than Malay, so that they too can have the same openings and opportunities as others with University qualifications already have. A beginning has already been made with the Department of Malay Studies in the University of Malaya.

The intention is the same for MARA Institute where students are given courses to provide them with the necessary knowledge to go into business, and above all to help them to improve the lot of our people who are scattered in the fields and the rural areas right up to the fringes of the jungle.

The Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka was established to produce and improve the Malay language, setting higher levels in doing so with the result that the Malay language is already accepted as the National Language — Bahasa Malaysia.

In all these various plans for higher learning it was intended that the students should be the ones who in the future would be able to help spread knowledge and to help wipe out ignorance and poverty among our people. It was hoped that they would help the Malays who in general have shown a lack of interest in the betterment of their livelihood, being a people who have been carrying on much the same as they have been doing in the past without any idea of how to obtain material goals in life.

It was hoped that through this generation of educated students, graduating annually and flowing out into all spheres of our society, that they would be able to introduce a new urge and a new spirit into the Malay pattern of life. They should work hard while they are in these Universities, colleges and other training establishments, so that when they leave they can show their usefulness for the benefit of their own people.

It is sad to know that the so-called "Ultras" and "Intellectuals" make use of these institutions and establishments to interrupt the studies of students by injecting into them their own type of politics. It is indeed a great pity to realise that what the Government has done for their own good has had an opposite effect, and has now posed for us a genuine problem.

In a quiet talk with Tun Razak we went over together everything that has been done by this Government for the people since the attainment of independence. Mosques, suraus and religious schools have been built throughout the length and breadth of the country. In many cases the people who benefitted turned against the Alliance Party.

In the same way the establishments of higher learning, intended for education and knowledge to bring good to

themselves and benefit to their families are turning out to be a source of concern. Tun Razak said, "Everything seems to go wrong, but how can they have the heart to do this to you after what you have done for the people and the country, this beats me".

What else can one think, except that they have been got at, at a time when they are young enough to believe anything? Just when this country is on the threshold of new developments, new prosperity, perhaps unparalleled in the history of South East Asia, all these switches are taking place.

With the General Elections over and the crisis precipitated by the riots under control, and with the State of Emergency going along successfully, if anything were to happen to this country now, then chaos, lawlessness and disorder would break loose. If this occurred, then Malaysia would slide back many, many years, and all that has been achieved in twelve years of our independence, all the prosperity and success we have had at home, and all the goodwill and status we have gained abroad would be ruined. We must be firm so that this will never happen again.

The Opposition and the enemies of the Party in power would naturally cash in on such a situation, and in fact this is the opportunity they have been waiting and working for. Their plan is to wreck the Alliance, and by wrecking the Alliance, to wreck the nation which the Alliance Party helped to build.

We must realise, if this country has enemies within and without, that it is a difficult task for any Government to keep it together and at the same time maintain the standards of peace and security we have enjoyed since independence. All these recent happenings are strange,

producing contradictions to the policies we have successfully carried out in the past.

So I pray God that sanity—I repeat sanity—will return to the people, and it can return if the people will only give themselves a little time to think, for the sake of their children, their families and for the future well-being of Malaysia.

The struggle for power within the ranks of UMNO is not helping matters. Many of the honest members were taken in by the "Ultras" and so coveted the prospect of going it alone without the MCA in the Cabinet. When Tun Tan Siew Sin made his statement that the MCA should keep in the background and take no share at all in running the Government, the "Ultras" openly supported him. Many of them breathed a sigh of relief, for what they wanted was in fact happening.

Their plan is to get me to step down first and if this takes place the rest will follow—whatever their idea of "the rest" may be. Hence Dr. Mahathir's charges against me received wide publicity.

These "Ultras" have been at work behind the scenes trying to sell this idea to the members of UMNO in particular and the Malay masses in general. In some cases they have managed to achieve a measure of support, such as among the thoughtless young people, but on the whole their ideas are rejected as inconceivable and unworkable in a country like Malaysia.

It has been shown in the past that the Chinese generally have no very strong political convictions about how they vote: sometimes they vote for one party, at other times for another. Take the case of Dr. Lim Chong Eu, the present Chief Minister of Penang. He was once a leader

of the MCA but he left the Party just before the 1964 elections. Nevertheless the Chinese supported the MCA candidates in those elections. In the recent elections, however, the Chinese took an about-face and gave their support to other candidates and Dr. Lim as leader of Party Gerakan by the turn of events is now Chief Minister of Penang.

We cannot predict what the Chinese voters might do in the next elections. Perhaps they may turn out and vote for the MCA. Because of the defeat suffered by the MCA, or what they regard as a defeat, there is no reason for us to get unduly disturbed or pessimistic about the future chances of the MCA, still less to cast overboard a friend who has stood by us all these years and helped us to gain our independence.

There are some from among our loyal members who want the UMNO, or the Malays, to govern the country alone. This is simply not possible in a nation where the combined population of the other races just falls short of half of the number of Malay population, yet the "Ultras" persist in this way of thinking in order to win the masses to their side.

This is not the attitude of far-sighted people within UMNO who consider that having business and economic interests the non-Malays must be represented in the Government, as otherwise the economy may go down, even into ruin. The success we have achieved in the past has been due to the co-operation of all races, in particular the business community, which in the main is non-Malay.

The proposal of the "Ultras" and the young bloods to go it alone in long term planning is unworkable. In other words, to get the better of the PMIP by resorting to the latter's game does not solve the problem we face. Is it

likely that they would make an uneasy alliance with the PMIP? It is certain that such an alliance would be very uneasy indeed. Therefore, to try and change the whole concept of UMNO, proven successful to date, is only to court disaster.

For many years now UMNO has aligned itself with MCA and MIC to form the Alliance Party. While UMNO looks after politics as its main platform, the MCA continues to help build up business confidence in the country, and the MIC's influence among the industrial and manual group of workers has helped to bring about industrial peace in the country. All three working hand in hand have not only brought peace and prosperity to the country but have helped to provide vast funds for rural development.

In the circumstances, is it wise to change the policy just because we have suffered a few reverses here and there? Reverses! If you take the election as a whole there is the undoubted fact that the Alliance has won more than twice the number of seats in Parliament than all the Opposition parties put together, and thus has been returned to power for another five years.

It is a very unusual achievement in any democratic country for any one party to hold sway for so long. Unfortunately many of our people can only enjoy victory; they do not know how to take defeat. A verse from the Koran says:—

لَا يَسْتَمِ الْإِنْسَانُ مِنْ دَعَاةِ الْخَيْرِ وَإِنْ مَسَّهُ الشَّرُّ فَهُوَ مِنْ قَوْتٍ

It means "Man does not tire of praying for good, But if evil touches him he desponds and gives up all hope".

Such an attitude shows lack of moral strength and courage. With such people victory with a little setback is

looked upon as a defeat, so they get thoroughly rattled and turn round and find fault with everybody, with the Party, even though it has won. The leaders, with me as the main target of attack, are to be got rid of, and the policy, even though it has served us so well, is to be cast overboard.

Young people perhaps do not know about all this; they tend to accept the present situation as painted by the "Ultras". One thing, however, is certain—that in a multi-racial society in which we live the Government of this country must represent all the races. Only in this way can the confidence of the people be maintained, and only with that confidence can we expect harmony, goodwill, peace and prosperity.

If the attitude of these "Ultras", now joined by chauvinists, is against this policy, then it is clear that they are playing a dangerous game which will place UMNO at a lower standard of politics than what we have been given credit for—in short, put us on the same low level of political thinking as that of the PMIP.

钟伯煊藏书  
赠于2002年

## XVII

### CONSTITUTION AND MALAY RIGHTS

ACCORDING to these "Ultras", who have won over some of the youth, this country belongs only to the Malays and to the Malays only. Nobody can deny that originally this was the country of the Malays, who are unquestionably the indigenous people. Therefore any Constitution must make provision specifically for the traditions, customs and rights of the Malays.

Our Constitution does this. It must be remembered that our Constitution was achieved with the agreement of all races, who understood and appreciated the special position of the Malays. Because the Malays have always had an innate feeling for Royal leadership, the Constitution provides for a monarchy in this country, with one of the reigning Sultans elected to be King.

In the same way the Constitution safeguards the position of the Malay Rulers and maintains their prerogatives, for example in relation to religion and to *adat* (Malay custom). The Constitution also provides that the religion

of Islam shall be the official religion of the country and Malay the official language. In short, the Constitution preserves and enshrines the rights of the Malays for all time.

The Constitution goes even further than providing for traditional rights for the Malays. It acknowledges the fact, which nobody can deny, that at the time the Constitution was formed by mutual agreement everyone believed and accepted the fact that the economic position of the Malays lagged far behind the other races living in this country. Therefore special provision was made to overcome the economic difficulties of the Malays.

In fact, the Report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission states that they found "that as a result of the original treaties with the Malay States, reaffirmed from time to time, the special position of the Malays has always been recognised, and that this recognition was re-stated in the Federation of Malaya Agreement 1948." (Note particularly the words "always been recognised").

The Commission went on to say that they found at that time there were four matters in which the special position of the Malays was recognised and safeguarded. These were extensive Malay reservations of land in the various States; operation quotas for admission into the Public Services; quotas in respect of issuing permits and licences for the operation of certain business, e.g. road haulage and passenger vehicles; and finally many classes of scholarships, bursaries and other forms of aid for educational purposes, giving preference to Malays who would be at a serious and unfair disadvantage, compared with other communities if these preferences were suddenly withdrawn", and the Com-

mission went on to recommend that the position obtaining at that time should continue for a substantial period.

In other words, the Commissioners were stating that economic preferences for Malays were essential. They recommended that the whole matter should be reviewed after fifteen years have passed. All these views are embodied in the Constitution.

Acting under this Constitution the policy of the Government, that is of the Alliance Party which has held power since independence, has been to see that emphasis should be given to the overall economic progress of the Malays. To this end the Government has carried out and put into effect extensive rural development projects, so much so that it is correct to say that everything is being done to give benefits to the Malays from the womb to the tomb.

As part of these development plans we have established MARA so as to train Malays in many types of careers in which they previously had no opportunity so that they could take their rightful place throughout the whole society of our nation. Places are reserved for Malays in the University of Malaya and in the technical colleges. Primary education is given in the national language in all schools, irrespective of race. Very shortly another university will be established to open up new avenues for opportunity and employment for Malays, and as long as the Alliance Government is in power many more constructive ideas will be put into effect for the benefit of the Malays.

Every effort is being directed to the achievement of economic well-being of the Malays, while others help themselves. In spite of this so much more has to be done. Any review of the situation now would obviously have no effect on Malay rights under the Constitution.

At the same time we must not forget the legitimate interests of other races as provided for in the Constitution. Above all it must be remembered that all these other races joined with the Malays in fighting for the independence of this country.

Let us not overlook the fact that before we became a nation we were simply separate colonies. If all the races had not joined together in the cause of independence we would still be today a colony of Britain. As a result of the drive for independence, led by the Malays and shared and supported by other races, a wind of change swept over our land to drive out the colonial era and system, and by doing so helped to emancipate us so that we could take our rightful place as a sovereign country among all the other nations of the world. We should take note that it was the same kind of wind of change in our country that brought emancipation and sovereignty to the countries of Africa as well.

Let me repeat that this nation had been accepted by all the other races living here as being fundamentally a Malay country, and this will remain so unless the Malays themselves decide to turn everything upside down and thus create a veritable hell among us all.

Nobody grudges the efforts of the Government to help the Malays, as all right-minded people realise that for generations past the Malays had been neglected in their own land. The Government's policy is to encourage the have-nots and the sons and daughters of have-nots to come forward, and to provide them with amenities and facilities to better their prospects in life.

It is as clear as daylight for all to see that from the very moment we achieved independence until today great



changes have taken place in this country, especially in the position of the Malays, in our national society.

One old expatriate remarked to me that the advancement made by the Malays in the first ten years of our independence was phenomenal. I replied that, given the chance, and with continued peace in this country with the attendant prosperity that goes with peace and development, we could do much more, and were determined to do so.

When the National Language Act was passed the "Ultras" faction in UMNO did not agree because of certain clauses which empowered the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to permit the continued use of the English language for such official purposes as might be deemed fit.

Nor did they agree that the Federal Government or any State Government had the right to use any translation of official documents or communications in the language of any other community for such purposes as might be deemed necessary in the public interest.

The "Ultras" maintained that we were encouraging others to use their own languages. They wanted the National Language to be implemented fully and at once, without giving a chance to others to take to it gradually.

Little did they realise that for many years past other newly-independent countries had been trying to introduce a national language without success, and a number of them are still having difficulty with this problem. Nor did they seem to realise that even India, with one people but of many ethnic groups, has not been able to implement a national language yet, so the impatience the "Ultras" have shown is quite unreasonable.

I consider it as an achievement that we have had the National Language Act accepted at all in this country,

and I believe in giving others time to adopt it fully. A policy of forcing everything down others' throats is wrong in a country with a mixed population such as Malaysia has.

Classes are held in schools and courses in the National Language show such popularity that one is encouraged to hope that it will soon be given its rightful place in independent Malaysia.

One has only to consider the attitude of students in the Chinese schools whose loyalty turns to China. They oppose the national language as a matter of principle, and because of this they condemn our partner, the MCA, for having agreed to it. This is one reason why the MCA lost so much support from Chinese in the elections. It is obvious, therefore, that the full adoption of the national language needs time.

My prayer is that internal peace will be restored quickly and soon, and with its restoration I am confident that more benefits, greater progress and better standards of living will be earned and enjoyed by all the people of this country, and in particular by the Malays.

I repeat once again that this is a Malay country, but it is up to the Malays themselves to play an active and constructive part in every aspect of society, to take up the challenge that a brighter future offers, bearing always in mind that it is the Constitution, its spirit and its application, which is and will be the safeguard of the security and progress of us all.

If the 'Ultra' Malays want to overturn the Constitution, then they will be blindly stumbling downhill into backwardness and chaos.



## XVIII

### MONARCHY OR REPUBLIC?

**M**AKE no mistake about the intentions of these "Ultras" they are extremists. They are not satisfied with Malaysia as we know it, with the Malaysia we have built. They want to tear down the whole edifice and reconstruct it all over again. They aim to do away with the Monarchy and to set up a Republic, so I heard it said.

According to the "Ultras" it is a waste of money to maintain the offices of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and of the Rulers, and it follows therefore that they want to abolish the Sultanates in all States. These extremists argue that most countries have discarded monarchy, and maintain that the money expended to uphold the dignity and prestige of Kings and Rulers is a waste.

I would like to point out that in countries which have set up Republics in place of monarchies, whatever was saved has only been squandered in other ways. In fact many countries which made the change have found it difficult to make ends meet, in spite of the fact that they no longer have to provide for Civil Lists.

In any case if you do not have a King and your nation is a Republic you must have a President, and his dignity and prestige have to be upheld in exactly the same manner.

In past days, the colonial era, such countries could produce surplus revenues, and pay for the maintenance of the Rulers, and at the same time make annual contributions to the coffers of their colonial masters. Now they are poor and without rulers and colonial masters, but where have all the riches vanished to?

Just look around the world, and ask yourself why countries with constitutional monarchies generally seem to be rich and prosperous. We can find an analogy in the ordinary lives of men. A country to its inhabitants is like a house to an individual. If he takes pride in his home, there is no saying to what expense he will go in decorating and furnishing so that he can enjoy the comfort and beauty he has created.

In the same way, the citizens of a country can take great pride, not only in the way their nation is administered, but also in maintaining traditions and customs, culture and pageantry. They are proud of their heritage of Kingship and their Monarchy is the symbol of their pride.

In Europe, the United Kingdom, the three countries of Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium and Greece are all monarchies. In the Middle East and Africa, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Jordan, Morocco and Ethiopia are monarchies. In the Far East, Japan, Thailand, Laos and Malaysia are monarchies, and Cambodia in its own special way.

In most of these countries their origins and traditions date back for a thousand years or more. Royalty and the Throne remain, but there is an important change behind

all the pageantry. The Emperors or Kings are no longer absolute in their powers, they have become symbolic of the nation's tradition and dignity.

In Malaysia, the Malays have always followed the tradition of royal regime, because we believe in Sultans as Heads of States as we have done throughout our history. The Malays, never having had a chance to become one country, lived in a peninsula divided into a number of separate States, but these States had one thing in common, they were all monarchies.

Things have changed in modern times. Malaysia is now one nation, a formal Federation of States. In a Federation, as one can see in the United States or Canada, for instance, each State has a Governor, because each State has a Constitution, quite apart from the Federal Constitution, and any Constitution requires someone at its head, whose name and signature are the final seal of authority and responsibility for the laws and Government.

What we have done in Malaysia is to combine in our Federation both the past and the present. Of the thirteen States in the Federation, nine have Rulers and four have Governors, although their titles vary slightly in different States. At the very top there is the Yang di-Pertuan Agong who is an elected King, in effect the Constitutional Monarch of the Federation as a whole who thus symbolises the nation and its unity. In fact, in having an elected King, Malaysia is unique in a world rich in ideas.

The "Ultras" are all Malays, who as a race have always had the tradition of Rulers. The respect in which they hold their Rulers is integral to their whole way of life. Therefore, it is difficult to understand why these "Ultras",

if they are proud of being Malays, or part-Malay, should wish to throw away a heritage which runs in Malay blood.

Quite a number of these "Ultras", too, in fact most of them, have studied in the United Kingdom, and have even acquired European wives. I for one cannot comprehend why such persons who have learned their careers in the United Kingdom, have not kept their eyes open whilst studying there, to what was going on around them.

For twelve long years when I was in England I was deeply impressed with the way the British people gave their loyalty to the Throne and to their Kings and Queens. In fact, the British people always have fashioned their lives according to the reigns of their monarchs. For instance, they refer certain customs, tradition or practice to the reigns of the Sovereigns, speaking of the Regency, the Victorian or the Edwardian periods. So deep in their hearts is their faith and loyalty to the Throne, that the British throughout history and today have willingly given their lives in the names of their Kings or Queens.

The British, as all the world knows and history records, are not an ignorant people, but very practical. Yet kingship is inseparable from their history and way of life. In these days, as distinct from older times, they do not accept the monarch as their Protector, or as one under whom they seek shelter for their security. They accept the monarch only as a symbol of the glories of their past, of their pride in their monarchical heritage, and for the constitutional need to have a Head of State, who for the British must be Royal.

Did not these "Ultras", these young bloods, these so-called "Intellectuals" take note of the significance of these things? When I asked them what they proposed to substitute for the Rulers, so that the Malays could always

possess a sense of belonging to the country and a certain measure of security and protection, a certain pride of race and place, the reply I received was that they would look after that when the time comes. What this means, I do not know.

There is one thing that is fundamentally true about politics in a democracy. There is no guarantee whatever that a politician will get in the next time he stands for election, or that the same party will be returned to power after a new popular ballot. Politicians come and go, parties rise and fall, but Rulers remain.

Their presence gives a sense of security to all, a feeling of continuity in the nation's history, and in particular to the Malays a sense of belonging. In fact, this feeling of identity the Malays have with their Rulers, is one of the reasons why non-Malay Opposition parties harped in the election campaign against Malay rights. Do the "Ultras" want to play the same game as the non-Malay Opposition?

As to the money expended in maintaining the institution of Sultanates, I personally think it is money well spent, as it has shown good results, for today we are one of the most prosperous countries in Asia, and the Rulers have played a very active role, always in a constitutional way, by giving spirit and support to the Government's plans and ideas. The many projects we have carried out since independence uphold my contention that no money has been wasted. There are some aspects of nationhood that no money can buy.

As the Head of the State His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is the personification of the nation. He summons, prorogues and dissolves Parliament, and generally he opens a new Session with a speech from the Throne,

forecasting future policy. He is the fountain of honour, and the final arbiter of justice. He acts on the advice of his Prime Minister, which he cannot constitutionally ignore, and his consent and approval are required before a Prime Minister can be named, a Cabinet formed or a Minister take up office. In short, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is the unifying factor in the multi-racial society in which we live.

The people of Malaysia have subscribed to a Constitution, of which Article 71 states, "The Federation shall guarantee the right of a Ruler of a State to succeed and to hold, enjoy and exercise the constitutional rights and privileges of a Ruler of that State in accordance with the Constitution of that State".

The Constitution is supreme, it must be observed by all, from the Yang di-Pertuan Agong down. If any amendment has to be made to the Constitution, this can only be done in respect of provisions pertaining to day-to-day administration. If any attempt is made to throw the Constitution overboard by a major amendment then calamity will befall the country.

The Constitution, of which the Yang di-Pertuan Agong might be called the guardian, is therefore a permanent guarantee of stability and continuity in administration.

These young "Ultras" take no account of the stability Malaysia has enjoyed since independence. They seem to have no understanding of what stability means and how important it is to progress and development, which benefit the Malays. They demand change, apparently change at any cost.

There is nothing wrong whatever in making changes, provided they are constructive and changes for the better,

but if changes are to be made for no more reason than as a matter of expediency they are simply not worth making. Such changes are bound to upset the pattern of life we enjoy. If these "Ultras" insist on changes, fundamentally radical in nature, then they must be prepared to accept the responsibilities of the worst that may befall.

The main aim of these "Ultras" is to do away with the Rulers, and it is a very dangerous game that they are playing. It will serve no useful purpose, in fact the Malays, their own people, will be the losers. I do not defend the position of the Rulers for any personal reason. My object is to defend the Constitution, and all the articles and provisions it contains, for I feel that the Constitution as agreed to by all has served the country well, has done good for the nation, and will guarantee peace and harmony among all our people, whatever their origin or race may be.

His Majesty and Their Royal Highnesses the Rulers have felt very concerned with the crisis arising from the unhappy events of May 13th. You will recall how sad His Majesty was when he appeared on Television to give a Message to the nation on the occasion of his official birthday on June 4th, which because of the Emergency was not being celebrated with all the ceremonies that usually grace the day.

His Majesty mentioned especially that when we set out to seek independence it was agreed between the Rulers and all the races that we must work together to make this new nation a home for all of us for all time. He went on to say that this was the home in which we had all lived for many hundreds of years. This was the home that since independence had become a source of pride to us all, irrespective of race. This must be the home in which we hope to live for all time.

The disturbances, His Majesty said, were the most tragic events he had ever had the misfortune to experience. He laid stress on the fact that every effort had been made to build racial unity in our diversity, when all of a sudden this dire episode occurred to mar our unity and our good name. He said that for him this was a very sad thing indeed, and that there was no reason whatsoever for it to have occurred, no reason that one could see.

Before we made our demands for independence this country had a mixed population, His Majesty pointed out, yet because independence meant so much to us we were prepared to accept all the terms and conditions in order to be independent.

I would like here to quote His Majesty's reminder of our duties as citizens. He said, "In a multi-racial society like ours we must all learn to live with one another, to understand one another, to respect one another's rights, religions and customs. This multi-racial society that we have found is not something that we have created; it is something that we came into, and thus it is for us to make the best of it. This we all had pledged when we claimed the right to rule ourselves. Twelve long years have shown how well we have made of our life in this multi-racial society and how much prosperity we have brought to the country. Every man has been served".

My advice to the "Ultras" is not to go haring off on a wild goose chase. Let us be content with what we already possess, and what we do possess now stands very high in prestige and reputation throughout the world. Let us be thankful for small mercies!

## XIX

### SERVICE AND SACRIFICE

UMNO members know, as all UMNO members must do, that the Party has always been run with wide and free range of freedom of expression and opinion inside the Party. This has always been so, criticism being welcome, especially if it is constructive. The only restrictions on members are the normal limits, that they stand by the decisions of the majority and hold themselves bound by Party discipline.

But this is not Dr. Mahathir's way. Having written a letter to me which is as foul as it can be, condemning me for the atrocities I am supposed to have been responsible for, copies were distributed in thousands so that not only would members of the Party be pitted against me but opportunity provided to turn others against me as well.

In writing so was he acting in the best interests of UMNO? Surely this letter was not intended against my person only, but aimed to split the whole of UMNO, and indeed the Alliance by attacking its leaders. He has shown that he is opposed to the leadership of UMNO as a whole, and not my leadership only.

What otherwise were his motives? With hate in his heart he penned that letter attributing to me the responsibility for what happened on May 13th. Making copies of the letter available to others he hoped with the stroke of a pen to subvert my lifetime of work for my people and my country.

Whatever sacrifices I have made for the Party, whatever services I have given to the nation, are known to all. To create mischief is easy, but to correct it is difficult. It is like setting fire to a timber house, an easy thing to do, but to try and put out the fire can be exceedingly hard.

There is no point now in my going over the whole of this regrettable affair, except to remind him that I am not shaking away like a dog with his tail between his legs. I will clear my good name in public so that those whom he attempted to mislead will know the truth.

If it were found that I had enriched myself while holding office as Prime Minister, or that I had been dishonest, or that I had committed criminal acts, or that I was guilty of criminal negligence in respect of my duties, then I can well understand a reason for anger against me. On the contrary I am fully conscious of my duties and responsibilities. The country enjoys good government, economic stability and prosperity unsurpassed by any other country in this part of the world.

To take as an excuse an event which happened a year ago as the cause of the outbreak of violence on May 13th is baseless and malicious and what was even worse was to suggest that the loss of lives as a result of that violence, had been due to me.

Dr. Mahathir knows that all my life I have been dedicated to peace, because I saw enough of atrocities committed during the Second World War, and I have seen enough misery since then as a result of them.

He knows, being a man from Kedah, that before the British evacuation and before the take-over by the Japanese Military Regime, I was the one who came out to save the lives of the people under my charge in South Kedah. Day and night I worked, facing all kinds of danger in those trigger-charged times in order to save lives.

He knows, too, that before the Japanese surrender Alor Star was threatened by Communist forces, and that it was I who mobilised the Malays to defend the town, his home town and mine. Dato Aziz bin Mohd. Zain, Syed Agil bin Syed Hassan Barakhbah, both Judges now, and Enche Senu bin Abdul Rahman were sent by me to the Balai Alor Jangos to release the Police constables held prisoners together with the Ketua Kampong, Haji Yusof, in their own lock-up by the "Three-Star" Communist forces.

While Enche Khir Johari and others helped to man the Alor Star Central Police Station, I myself went through the Communist lines to make contact with Force 136. Two of my nephews, Tunku Osman, now General, and Tunku Yusof, were members of the Force which was then in the jungle of Padang Trap.

He knows, too, what efforts I made to recruit some two hundred men to join this Force 136, and how they finally made a triumphal entry into Alor Star under the command of Colonel Hasler, when the Japanese surrendered. Perhaps he does not know that I have not been reimbursed for the money I provided for transport and other expenses incurred for Force 136.

With all this knowledge in his mind, how could he have had the heart to charge me with the loss of lives on May 13th. Only God knows how I have suffered after what happened on that dreadful day. If my people choose to believe him and what he has written down on that piece of paper against my lifetime of devotion to duty, then let them find another leader, but do not treat that leader as I have been treated.

As if the seriousness of these charges was not enough, Dr. Mahathir in his letter to me declared that instead of carrying out my duties at the time of crisis I was busy playing poker in the curfew hours. This is nothing less than an attempt to assassinate my character among the Malays. To charge me in such a vicious letter with neglect of duty during the period of violence is an outright lie.

All those who saw me on Television for the three worst nights of the crisis from the 13th to the 15th May, and again on the 16th, must know that the charges are untrue. Surely he must have known this himself? Then why make such an outrageous allegation?

In the same slanderous letter Dr. Mahathir mentioned that the Malay members of the Security Forces and the Police Force and Malay Government servants hated me. This shows to what extent he is prepared to carry out a campaign of malice and recrimination against me.

I was asked would Dr. Mahathir have done this to me, that is criticised me the way he did in his much publicised letter, had he won the election?

This is a difficult question to answer because I know that he belongs to the other group in UMNO, the so-called "Ultras" or "Intellectuals", but I am certain that had Dr.

Mahathir devoted more time to Party work instead of carrying on business in housing development in Kedah with the Federal Construction Company—a Chinese-owned firm—and other business concerns he might have done better in the elections.

He was instrumental, according to information received, in helping to exclude at least 238 lots of land in a Malay reserve for this project.

As a result of his letter I lodged a report against Dr. Mahathir to the Police for investigation and action, because I felt strongly that I should take some action to give the lie to the malicious charges he made against me. I was thinking in terms of prosecuting him for criminal libel under the Penal Code, rather than proceeding under the Emergency Laws or the Internal Security Act which could have been done as I had in fact been so advised, but I preferred to proceed instead under the ordinary law of the land so as not to be accused of resorting to arbitrary action.

I had originally decided on this course of action, but on further consideration and reflection I felt that he does not deserve so much public attention. In making my comments here, my purpose is better served.

I have enjoyed so much prestige at home and abroad—a gift which this nation has bestowed upon me, and I am grateful for this honour. In the circumstances I am unlikely to end my service with this slur on my character. I must uphold my good name and with it my peace of mind.

## XX

### PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

DR. MAHATHIR'S reference to poker-playing is typical of the "Ultras", who are continuously going about talking and whispering and criticising the way I live. They condemn me for poker-playing, for attending horse-racing, and for taking a very great interest in sports.

A man's private life is his own concern, provided he does not trespass on the rights of others. I admit that I am very fond of life and the joys it can give, but at no time have I ever neglected my duty just for the sake of enjoyment. I do not believe any sane person would wish to deny any man the little relaxation he needs. After all, having worked all days of the week and all the months of the year, one is entitled to some rest or relaxation.

Indulging in racing in a big way is dangerous, but taking it as a sport, which in fact I do, is fun. There is no harm in putting a small stake on a horse to get the thrill of seeing it win. No one can get rich through gambling; on the other hand no one should be poor, and if he can have a little fun and a little luck then so much the better for him.



That is my philosophy of life. Once in a while I enjoy having a game of poker with my friends. These are good friends and companions, and never has any one of them abused their friendship with me. In so far as friends are concerned, for me friendship transcends colour or race. I value the loyalty and devotion of my friends, and as has been proved in this time of stress and strain they are real comfort and help to me.

I regard poker as fun and a happy way of passing time, and as with racing my bets are modest. The horses I own are in name only, except for two which were presented to me for my birthday, one of which has since been retired. My interest in horse-racing, apart from the sheer pleasure of watching horses run, is purely for revenue-raising purposes. For racing is an industry which makes a very substantial contribution to the income of the country, thus helping to finance many of our development projects.

I am also fond of other sports. I have been President of the Football Association of Malaysia for twenty years, ever since I was a Deputy Public Prosecutor in 1949. I have promoted the annual Merdeka Football Tournament and have organised the playing of soccer throughout Asia, resulting in the formation of the Asian Football Confederation in 1957, when I was elected President, a post I have held ever since. I have also initiated and promoted the very popular annual Asian Youth Soccer Tournament.

Then there is my interest in golf, at which I am a third-rate player myself, but which provides me with the daily physical recreation I must have to keep me fit. I think it is not too much to say that my activities in the world of golf, especially with the foundation of the Putra Cup for annual competition in Kuala Lumpur, have led to

the development throughout Asia of what is now known as "The Golf Circuit".

There is hardly a sport played in Asia today in which I am not interested actively. I like walking, sailing, fishing, driving cars, and when I am in London going "to the dogs". I go to watch tennis, cricket, badminton, hockey, athletics, in fact all kinds of sports. The only frustration I have ever felt in the sporting world was for one year when I was President of the Selangor Flying Club, and being so naturally thought of taking lessons. But this was not to be—all my family and friends ganged up against me, so I have never had the thrill of being a pilot.

Above all, although I am a true lover of sports, and although I am too old now to take part in them, I am not too old to help promote sports among young men and women. Young people taking part in games enjoy good health, develop character and cultivate feelings of friendship for their fellow-men and all these help to make them good men or women, the good citizens we need. So as long as I have any breath in my body I shall go on taking an interest in sports and lead my own happy way of life.

Admittedly I am a care-free man at heart. I like the sheer joy of living and I want to see my country peaceful and the people happy. After all, what is there in life? It is far much too short for people either to want to destroy or to harm it, or to endanger it with bodily or mental affliction.

So I refuse to lead the life of an ascetic, because I was not born that way. On the other hand I am a devout Muslim and very conscious of my religious obligations, never missing any of my daily prayers. So with my belief in God and my love of people, as long as I have life in

my frame I will continue to enjoy living, and if others do the same, then the world will be a happier place to live in.

People seem to think that the life of a Prime Minister is an easy one, and in this regard I think it is apt to quote a part of the speech I made at the Guildhall at the Banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London to Commonwealth Prime Ministers on January 13th, 1969.

I quote :—

“Unlike Gog and Magog (the Guildhall mascots) Prime Ministers come and Prime Ministers go; some go the quick way, some the hard way, some the normal way.

“Unquestionably, it is the highest of tributes for any man or woman to be chosen by their people to be Prime Minister. Whatever honours and privileges may accrue to a Prime Minister, these are far-outweighed by the onus and cares of office. His term, in fact his whole career, depends always on the wishes of the people, and sometimes on their whims and fancies.

“Being a Prime Minister, therefore, is by no means an easy life, but one of unending responsibility demanding constant care and unrelenting attention. In fact he must be something of an acrobat—with his ear to the ground, his fingers on the pulse, his eye to the future, and ready in political crisis to walk and balance on the tight-rope between victory and defeat”.

When I spoke those words I could still claim to be the happiest Prime Minister in the world. Little did I dream then that four months later, exactly to the day, what I was saying at that time in London would be happening to me in Kuala Lumpur.

## XXI

### THE PRESS AND THE RIOTS

WHAT happened in Malaysia from May 13th onwards naturally drew foreign correspondents like a magnet. They turn up in droves wherever there is real trouble anywhere. For them no event is news unless they can tell tales of horror or terror or bloodshed. Strife in peaceful Malaysia! What a break! And they made the most of it, some seeming to gloat over our misfortunes.

Seldom has any country had to endure misrepresentations, distortion of facts, or gossip and rumours passed off as truth as the foreign Press on the whole displayed in its reporting of this tragic episode.

Ever since I became Prime Minister I have always been open and accessible to the foreign Press, whether they are representatives of newspapers, radio, television or films. By and large, I must fairly say that in the past they have maintained high standards, and reasons for genuine complaint have been rare.

I used to think that Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia was being unduly hard on the foreign Press when on several occasions he refused to allow any representatives to visit his country. Now, of course, I understand. The damage they have done to our good name by irresponsible and careless reporting is irreparable. Some of them were almost as bad as our enemies inside the country. I never thought I would live to see the day when the Fourth Estate could act almost like a Fifth Column.

Naturally, foreign correspondents look at events from an outside angle, because they do not live here all the time. They are not citizens of either Malaysia or Singapore. They drop in when they like and leave when they wish, so they cannot be expected to see events as we do. Their interests lie solely in providing news or writing articles that are as sensational as they can make them.

Throughout the world today violence breaks out in some form or another almost anywhere, whether it is in the streets of a city or on the campus of a university. So why not in Malaysia? They worse it looks, the more interesting the reading!

They were given every facility, as they have always had here, and with our excellent telecommunications their comments ran rapidly round the world. There was no censorship on what they wrote or telephoned, or on the photographs they transmitted by radio. In all good faith they received curfew passes to enable them to move about freely, but after a few days when it became clear that this privilege was being most callously abused, then the passes were withdrawn.

After I came to know of their disgusting display of irresponsible reporting I refused to give them an interview.

They had already got all they wanted from biased sources and without even attempting to verify the truth of the story they were told. The damage had been done, and nothing I might say could then put the matter right. When one of them asked me what assurance I could give to Commonwealth countries that democracy would be restored in quick time, I told him to "Go to Hell".

Of course not all reports were irresponsible. There were some journalists among the foreign Press who tried to do a fair and conscientious job. My complaint is that the general run of coverage by many foreign correspondents was so scare-making as to be out of all proportion to what was actually taking place.

No effort at all was made to link up events immediately preceding the riots with the actual outbreak, such as the funeral procession or the "victory" demonstration. A riot does not suddenly come out of nowhere; it is an effect and must have a cause. The two must be related. Most foreign press reporters were extremely partial, their bias against the Government or in favour of one race showing plainly.

Their home newspapers showed equal lack of balance in publishing the news. For instance, the Melbourne "Age", a very reputable newspaper, on the morning after the riots began, that is on May 14th, published a story under the heading "Nation Headed for Disaster".

Now I ask in all honesty whether anyone can say that such a headline is fair. If the riots had been going on for some weeks and were out of control and if the Government had proved incompetent and unable to deal with the situation, then such a headline might have been justified. But not on the very morning after the tragedy began! It

was this kind of distortion and lack of balance that I found most disturbing.

To make things worse, the correspondent who had used this phrase wrote in the same news story, "There are no reports from the area stretching North from the capital to Penang, which seems to suggest that the situation is just as bad in the rest of the country". How on earth could any correspondent make such a statement? How dared he make such an assumption? He did not inform his readers overseas that the distance from Kuala Lumpur to Penang is 250 miles. He made no mention at all of the 250 miles South from Kuala Lumpur to Johore Bharu, but that, of course, would not have interested him. Nor did he refer to the East Coast States. There was no trouble at all in the South or the East Coast, and there never was.

This kind of unjustifiable comment, this wild statement of assumption, was unfortunately typical of much of the reporting overseas of the riots in Kuala Lumpur. Such reports coming to Malaysia only served to cause further tension and ill-feeling.

Not so long ago I remarked, feeling irritated and annoyed by the foreign Press, "They can boo or they can clap, but we have to perform". By this I meant, of course, that it is our responsibility to get on with the administration of Government, to deal with the immediacies of crisis. It is no business of a foreign correspondent to presume to tell us what to do, or to preach by comparisons with what happens elsewhere. Misfortune can happen anywhere and, as a proof, Ulster.

One Press man told me that it was cruel to inflict on those Chinese taking shelter in the Victoria Institution the

presence of Malay soldiers who were also accommodated there, and that these refugees had asked to be taken out to safety elsewhere.

I promptly went to the Merdeka Stadium, next door to the Victoria Institution, intent on finding out the truth for myself. There I was told that everyone was happy and so I asked these people whether it was true that those accommodated in the Victoria Institution wanted to go elsewhere. "No!", my informants said, "We feel safer with the presence of the soldiers, and what is more we are getting free rations from them as well".

We had enemies to attend to and unless we could take the steps necessary to deal with them effectively then we must be prepared to give in to them. God forbid that this should be so! In such a serious situation as the riots I state categorically that we dealt with law-breakers without discrimination, irrespective of whether they were Malays or Chinese or Indians, otherwise we could not have been able to restore order in Kuala Lumpur in so short a space of time.

Insofar as the foreign Press is concerned I am sometimes inclined to agree with Thoreau who said, "Blessed are they who never read a newspaper, for they shall see nature, and through her, God". In these days some newspapers are blatantly and outrightly bad, caring not a jot for the truth of the subject-matter they publish. All they seek is headline news, and the more sensational the better. The consequences of their reports seem to cause them no concern. They pretend to be the conscience of the public, yet the sins they commit themselves apparently are exempt, and all this self-importance occurs in the name and profession, self-assumed, of being the voices of public opinion.

Surely they must have known that in the first place the Malays must have had reason to lose their tempers. They did not even bother to examine this aspect of the whole affair but instead placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Malays.

To add insult to injury they accused the Security Forces of killing innocent citizens mercilessly. We are extremely proud of the reputation of our Armed Forces. These foreign correspondents seem to have forgotten that all our battalions have served at one time or another in the Congo for the United Nations, where they won high prestige for their exemplary handling of the very difficult situation existing there over a prolonged period of crisis. So much so that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, sent a special envoy to see me and to thank Malaysia for the conduct of our men and the support our country had so readily given in trying to reach a peaceful settlement in the Congo.

All these years after independence we have had to face various emergency situations ranging from armed Communist insurrection, Indonesian confrontation to some mob demonstrations, and our Security Forces have shown devotion to duty in the best traditions of armed services anywhere.

Do foreign correspondents think that men who have won such a good name can possibly be capable of wantonly slaying innocent citizens? Instead of sympathising with the difficult problems the Security Forces had to handle, they preferred to attack them in the Press. This shows how biased they could be. Can you blame me or any other Malaysian therefore for being indignant about the tone

and temper of the reports of the riots that appeared in foreign newspapers?

One night speaking over television I drew attention to a particular failing these correspondents seemed to share. They are unable to differentiate between Communists, thugs and law-abiding Chinese; they lump them all together. This is a very common mistake made by foreigners about Chinese. There might be an excuse for the man-in-the-street abroad, but there is none whatsoever for a journalist who has risen so far in his profession as to be classed a foreign correspondent. They are expected to know, or at least to find out, the elements of race, tradition or custom of the countries they happen to be reporting on, not to mention their Constitutions and laws.

They know, or should have known, how quiet and peaceful the Malays were in spite of the provocations directed against them by others, especially the Malaysian Communist Party and their sympathisers or by fanatical Chinese or Indian chauvinists. They know how friendly Malaysia has been as a member of the Commonwealth and the consistent contributions we have made to the whole ideal of the Commonwealth. In spite of these facts, which should be at their finger-tips they tended to ignore the bad elements who threaten us and to skip our steady record of peace and progress.

In sharp contrast to the foreign Press the local press responded remarkably well to reporting the general situation. This is only natural as they are citizens of this country, or if they are not then they are deeply familiar with its structure and its ways of life, and as a result they can distinguish between rumours, gossip and facts. They had difficulties their foreign counterparts did not have to en-

counter or even care about, because they are responsible in law, as all citizens are, and most of them have had previous experience of how to write and report in a State of Emergency.

They are always conscious that national interests are at stake, and yet within these bounds they can be very frank and constructive in their opinions of what is going on and what the Government is doing. It is unfortunate that at one period in the early stage of riots it was necessary in the public interest to ban the publication of local newspapers for two days. Our Press was very quick to point out that this was a grave mistake and the Government reversed its decision and raised the ban.

It is unfortunate that the riots erupted at a time of hiatus in administration, the elections just having been concluded, and a new Government not yet formed. This coincidence had its effects on Government, the local Press and the foreign correspondents.

The crisis of the riots was on our hands almost before we knew it, so was the sudden imposition of curfew. With the life of Kuala Lumpur being turned upside down, the Department of Information Services was virtually paralyzed, especially as a new Minister had not yet been named. Bernama, the National News Agency, however, functioned throughout, although its main office was right on the centre edge of the original disturbances. Radio and TV stations were working without breaks on 24-hour stretch during the whole period of the Emergency giving all the news and messages available to them for information of the general public.

The local newspapers, efficient as usual, managed to publish for the first two days but they were totally unable

to distribute their journals owing to the widespread upset occurring all over the capital. The hiatus, however, was heaven-sent for the foreign correspondents and they made a hey-day of the unexpected opportunities offered them with no restraints.

The reports of the riots circulating in Singapore were rather different, particularly those put out over the Radio and Television and in the PAP publication, "The Mirror". The way these reports were written suggested that they wanted others to believe all the adverse comments that were being hurled at us in Malaysia. This was a very great pity indeed because Singapore is faced with the same problems as we are, confronted by the same menaces as we are.

In the circumstances, I would have expected that they would have shown more sympathy for the dire misfortune we faced. On the contrary they seemed to play it up with the result that certain incidents occurred there resulting in the deaths of some unsuspecting and innocent Malays. This should never have happened at all. We on our part did not play up the incidents in Singapore for fear of retaliation here. Let us hope that in our mutual interests there will never be a repetition at any time of such unfortunate emphasis being given in Singapore to any ill-luck that we may suffer.

It is a heart-burning experience to read the dozens of extracts from newspapers and journals from other parts of the world and to realise the extent of the damage they have caused to our good name as a nation, first by wildly exaggerated and partial reports, and second by the editorial comments of armchair critics writing thousands of miles

away, based on inadequate knowledge or sheer ignorance of Malaysian life and affairs.

I do not intend to quote extensively what was written and said abroad; it would be a pointless exercise to do so, as the harm has already been committed. I do however intend to give a few examples from well-known publications to show to what extent reputable journals can go in distortion and disbelief.

First let me quote from "Time" Magazine of May 23rd:— "One man trying to escape from his burning car, was thrown back into it by a howling mob, and died. By the time the four days of race war and civil strife had run their course the General Hospital's morgue was so crowded that bodies were put into plastic bags and hung on ceiling hooks. Government officials, attempting to play down the extent of the disaster, insisted that the death toll was only 104. Western diplomatic sources put the toll closer to 600, with most of the victims Chinese".

Now what are the facts? The morgue at the General Hospital has a normal capacity of six. There are no ceiling hooks and no plastic bags. It is a mortuary run on modern lines, not the refrigerating chamber of a butcher's shop! As in any civilised country our medical authorities handle the dead with respect. They are wrapped in white shrouds by professionally-trained morticians.

Because of the sudden influx of dead, all being sent in the first place to the General Hospital, the authorities there made special arrangements. Those bodies which could not be accommodated in their own mortuary were placed in ambulances and distributed to other mortuaries in Kuala Lumpur, at the Lady Templer Hospital, the Assunta Hospital, the Tuberculosis Hospital and the University Teaching

Hospital, where in each case they were dealt with in the normal way.

As for "Government officials attempting to play down the extent of the disaster", what purpose would this serve? Where else can correct figures be obtained if not from official sources? With all due respect to "Western diplomatic sources" which set the toll closer to 600, this is and can only be a guess, and as I will show, a highly-exaggerated one.

I obtained the official figures of the casualties from Police Headquarters as of August 15th, three months and two days after the riots began. The official figures on that day were:— Killed, 184; wounded, 356; cases of arson to buildings, 753; and vehicles destroyed or damaged, 211.

The misrepresentations in the foreign Press during the first week of the riots were bad enough, but what is totally inexcusable are comments and articles written several weeks later when Kuala Lumpur had returned almost to its normal way of life, with only four hours of curfew from 1 a.m. to 4 a.m.

In this context I wish to refer to an article published in the international edition of "Life" magazine on July 21st, more than nine weeks after May 13th. It was entitled "A Quiet Coup in K.L.", taking up two fully-printed pages.

There is hardly a paragraph of this particular article which does not contain misstatements of facts, distortions of truth, uninformed comments, deliberate omissions, fantastic conclusions or pontifical prophecies. It deserves a special kind of prize for having reached the rock-bottom nadir of modern journalism! The whole article reads as if a misguided editor, in a fit of absence of mind, assigned a gossip-columnist to go off and report a war!

I quote an extract from this fantastic article, which illustrates to what depth a reporter can descend in his search for the sensational. It reads:—

“One story confirmed by a number of sources tells of five army trucks arriving at the leprosarium at Sungei Buloh outside Kuala Lumpur, with soldiers drunk on brandy and cargoes of bodies painted black to make racial identification more difficult. The troops called out the lepers, gave them some of the brandy, then made them dig a huge hole. The leprosarium was chosen, the story goes, because the soldiers were too lazy to bury the bodies themselves and thought no one would go talking to the lepers. Evidence points to other mass graves besides this one.”

Now what are the facts? A total of 102 bodies were buried in the cemetery of the Sungei Buloh Leprosarium, the bodies being transported in Police vehicles, the whole operation taking five days to complete, commencing on May 18th.

It is correct to say that the voluntary help of cured lepers in burying the bodies was obtained with the willing consent of the Leprosarium authorities. There was no brandy, as liquor is forbidden to inmates in the Leprosarium. It was not the Army but the Police who assisted in the operation which was carried out by the hospital authorities. None of the bodies were painted black, but in a few cases, having been burnt beyond recognition they were of course badly charred.

Each body was wrapped in a white shroud, and each buried in an individual grave. The Police photographed all the bodies, giving each one a serial number, and assigning the same serial numbers to the individual graves. This was

done so that in those cases where identification was still possible, families would be able to claim the bodies.

Apart from the dead buried at Sungei Buloh, eleven other bodies, identifiable as being Muslim, were taken to the Muslim cemetery at Gombak, outside Kuala Lumpur, for burial there. Finally, let me state that there is no mass grave anywhere in Kuala Lumpur as a result of the riots.

Need I say more. Yes, there is something else I wish to add, especially for the benefit of British or Commonwealth correspondents. Now that British troops will be leaving these shores it would be a great help to us if the newspapers played down such incidents, knowing that anything they write which can favour the enemy will add further difficulties to our efforts to maintain peace in this country, which is already harrassed by the Malaysian Communist Party, the secret societies and the chauvinists.

It is not we in Malaysia who wanted the British and Commonwealth troops to go. The fact is that we cannot stop them, as they themselves wish to leave. The British must, however, be aware of Peking's interest in our country which has a fairly large pro-Peking element among its population. We are faced with the constant threat of insurgency encouraged by Mao's regime, and unless we can cope with such a possibility successfully then it could get out of hand. If this happens, the future will be very bleak indeed for this region of Asia.

The internal threat we face is very real and very dangerous, assisted from outside not only from China, but it now appears, from our own friends through their Press men—what irony!

One of the reasons I have written this book is to put the record straight, to show that in any serious situation



there are always causes and effects, a series, invariably logical, of one event or circumstance leading to another. This is where so many foreign correspondents fall down badly. They are so taken up with what is happening on the instant that they do not make objective and serious inquiries as to the origins or reasons for the sudden eruption of a crisis. They have dead-lines to meet, competitors to beat, and to them these are all that matter.

If foreign correspondents as a whole were men who had wide experience or knowledge of Malaysia, then I am sure there would be no reasons at all for me to indulge in any recrimination. Unfortunately there are too many transients among the foreign Press today, men who have never visited the country before. Naturally they make the most appalling mistakes and errors of judgement, simply because being landed in a hot spot, they have to act at once, else they will not earn their keep or win that coveted byline. The result is their reports are shallow and superficial; they have neither the time, the wish or the knowledge to write and report objectively in depth.

When I consider this lamentable chapter in terms of journalism today, the incredible stories we have had to read, then I have a good mind to follow in the path of Prince Sihanouk and other Asian leaders who have found the image of their countries also suffering badly from irresponsible reporting in newspapers in the West. But, of course, I will not, although the cross is hard to bear.

## XXII

## LESSON OF BALING, THEN AND NOW

THE conduct of the elections, the riots on May 13th, and what I have narrated as the aftermath are all connected. Reprehensible speeches, provocative incidents, irresponsible conduct all fall into logical sequence. What is the hidden hand behind all these circumstances? Who is really responsible? Who must bear the main blame?

Looking at the overall picture of what has taken place so tragically, and the influences still at work to undermine the security of Malaysia (even at this time of writing) point to only one answer—the Chinese Communists.

As I have said before, some people seem to think that I am haunted by a Communist bogey, that I have some kind of psychological complex about the Communists. Foreign correspondents are particularly prone to this idea. Professionally they are required to report and comment on day-to-day events, but they show a singular inability to face up to the continuity of facts over periods of time.

A learned Englishman said a century ago, "History is past politics, and politics present history". Foreign correspondents do not bother about the past; they are interested only in the present, in fact the actual day. They ignore the vital connection of the past with the present.

Anyone who has lived through all the years since the Second World War, whether in Malaysia or Singapore, following closely and being personally involved in all the events that have taken place in the history of these two countries in the past twenty-four years, knows full well that not a single year passed by without the Chinese Communists, the supporters they control, the misguided elements, whether parties, persons or youths whom they use as their tools having been a cause of constant and incessant source of trouble.

They never let up, they are constantly on the alert to cause disturbance or chaos, major or minor, at any time, in any place, and under any circumstances. How anyone can be deaf, dumb and blind to these facts is beyond any comprehension! In fact there is not a single country in South East Asia, even today, which is not affected in one way or another by the activities of Communism of the Chinese brand. So how can Malaysia escape such attentions?

The fact is we never have been completely free from some kind of Communist intrigue, but having to live with it we have been constantly alert. The difference in Malaysia is that our country was one of the first to have to face up to Chinese Communist subversion, and because we had the distinction of having defeated the Malayan Communist Party in their objectives in the twelve-year long Emergency, the Communists have never forgiven us, and I doubt if they ever will.

The Communists (MCP) have often declared their objection to democratic elections. To them Parliamentary democracy is an imperialist idea, not in keeping with Asian nationalism, not in agreement with Mao Tse Tung's ideology. So when elections are coming round they must wreck them, if they cannot prevent them. They will at least do their best to embarrass the Government in whatever way they can, even if they fail in their design.

My first contact with the Communists (MCP) was when I met Chin Peng, the leader of the Malayan Communist Party, in the Kedah township of Baling in 1955. At that meeting I received unintentionally a big lesson on Communism from Chin Peng.

In a few simple words that he said to me he made me realise what I must expect from the Chinese Communists. He said "I am a Communist and you are not, so as between my Party and yours there can never be a meeting point. It is not possible for the Communists to co-exist with the non-Communists."

These simple words have remained in my mind ever since. All the propaganda put out by the British about Communism at that time, and all it stood for, did not impress me. It was Chin Peng who warned me indirectly about the dangers of Communism. So there is no "bogey" in my mind; I know from the horse's mouth what I must expect from the Communists of the Chinese brand.

It is no use pretending that we have conquered the Communists (MCP). When the Emergency ended in 1960 I never deceived myself into believing that we were seeing them for the last time. I often said that even though the Communists were defeated in this country at that time they

could never be conquered completely, as they would try to make a come-back whenever and wherever they could.

It is fourteen years since I met Chin Peng in those historic talks at Baling, and they have been ever in my mind for whenever I consider what Communists do or say I always recall Baling. Today in Malaysia only the middle-aged remember Baling, but to the younger generations Baling is merely the name of a town. Therefore, I think it will serve a very good purpose now if I refer to the unforgettable rendezvous with the man who was then, and still is, the leader of the Malaysian Communist Party.

On September 9th, 1955, I, as Chief Minister, reluctantly approved the British Government's declaration of a general amnesty for the Communists. In response to this offer of amnesty letters were received by me as Chief Minister and other members of the public purporting to come from the Central Committee of the Communist Party. These letters criticised the amnesty terms as "not reasonable and practical" but ended by proposing to send representatives to Alliance Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur to discuss constructive details for a meeting between myself and Chin Peng. In fact, the letter was an indirect offer to the Government to negotiate an end to the Emergency.

The Government firmly rejected this offer, but on September 29th, I repeated my willingness to meet Chin Peng in order to clarify to him the terms of amnesty. The Government's statement went on to say a meeting could be held at a suitable place in North Malaya, and that an official well known to Chin Peng would be nominated as a conducting officer, who would hold himself in readiness to meet Chin Peng at a rendezvous in an area in which a local cease-fire would be arranged. Chin Peng, if he wished to

attend such a meeting, was to address a private letter to me, naming the rendezvous, time and date where the conducting officer should meet him and bring him to the meeting place.

I received the reply on October 14th. It is of interest to note that this reply was dated two days after my statement. On October 17th a meeting took place at Klian Intan between two representatives of the Government and one from the Communists as arranged in the letter from Chin Peng to me. Chin Peng was not present but was represented by Chen Tian, who, however, had no authority to make any firm arrangements, but he accepted the Government's plans for a meeting to pass to Chin Peng. It was necessary to have a further meeting with Chen Tian and details of this had to be notified to me by private letter from Chin Peng as before.

The second meeting was held in Klian Intan on November 19th. Chen Tian, however, arrived without warning and took the opportunity of issuing a prepared statement to the Press and granting interviews for propaganda purposes. As a result of this impertinent conduct I warned Chin Peng that if this behaviour was repeated I would consider cancelling the proposed meeting.

Later I made a statement that I, together with Mr. (now Dato) David Marshall, then Chief Minister of Singapore, would be available for a meeting with Chin Peng at the end of December. The Communists accepted this, and arrangements were made to hold the meeting at Baling on December 28th. At a final preliminary meeting at Kroh on December 13th, the Communists were told that the meeting would have to take place at Baling on December 28th, or not at all. All details were settled subject to a further letter from Chin Peng, confirming his acceptance.

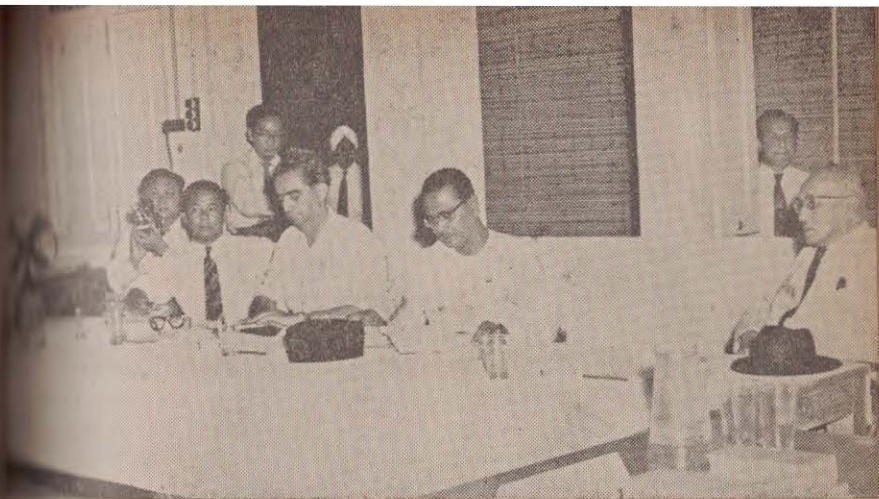
This arrived on December 23rd, but asked for another meeting with Government representatives on December 24th and also requested me to broadcast a guarantee of safety for the Communist delegation. This last meeting was held on the date named, and on the same day I broadcast a guarantee of safety.

The Baling talks then proceeded according to plan, being held on the 28th and 29th of December. There were three sessions held during the two days. I led the Government side, the other representatives being Mr. Marshall and the late Tun Tan Cheng Lock. Chin Peng led the Communist side, the other representatives being Chen Tian and Rashid Madin.

As a result of these talks Chin Peng agreed as follows:—  
“As soon as the elected Government of the Federation obtains complete control of internal security and local armed forces we will end hostilities, lay down our arms and disband our forces. This does not amount to accepting the present amnesty terms”.

So ended the Baling talks. Although Chin Peng had made this agreement, I left Baling under no illusions whatever, because of what he had said during the talks, that it was not possible for Communists to co-exist with non-Communists. I did not really believe that he would keep his word, and so it turned out. Twenty months later, on August 31st, 1957, Malaya became a free independent nation with a democratically elected Government with complete control of internal security and our own armed forces, but the Communists despite their promise at Baling, continued with their armed struggle.

It was not until July 31st, 1960, that Malaya was finally able to declare the Emergency ended. Chin Peng and the



Baling Talks, December 28-29th 1955. Above: The Government side — left to right — Mr. David Marshall, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Tan Cheng Lock.

Below: The Communist side — left to right — Rashid Madin, Chin Peng, Chen Tian.

remainder of the defeated Communists were in hiding over the border in Thailand, where they are now after fourteen years, and where they are still an active threat to our national security, as the ambush so recently as July 27th this year factually shows.

Taking no chances, we have stepped up our security precautions along the border area in close cooperation with the Thai Government, because we realise that the recent disturbances and the unresolved atmosphere in Malaysia offer to Chin Peng and his followers opportunities that they will take if they possibly can.

In Malaysia there are thousands of Communists even now. This is borne out by the fact that during Confrontation from Indonesia about two thousand Communists left the country to join Soekarno's forces to help him invade Malaysia.

The Communists did not love Soekarno nor his regime, because they had reports of atrocities committed against the Chinese in Indonesia on Soekarno's orders. They went over to Indonesia because they thought this would give them an excellent opportunity to make the come-back in Malaysia they had been praying for so long and this time doing so in joint action with Soekarno's forces.

Also as a result of Soekarno's friendship with Communist China, they could come to be recognised again as a force in Malaysia if Soekarno succeeded in his design. At least until such time as they could find a chance to take over the country themselves, they would help Soekarno to do so.

In the funeral procession of May 9th placards displaying pictures of Mao and eulogising his works and thoughts were carried openly by those taking part, ostensibly as mourners.

The Labour Party in Malaysia was under the control of the Communists, and the Party Ra'ayat has always been influenced by them. In one demonstration by Socialist Front members in 1967, Dr. Tan Chee Khoo was heard to say, "These are not my men". Who were they then, when their address was shown to be the Socialist Front Headquarters in Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman in Kuala Lumpur, and it was in front of these Headquarters that they came out and congregated?

Dr. Tan Chee Khoo is not himself a Communist, but can he honestly say that his party is free from their influence, just as with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew when he sought their aid to gain power in Singapore? He should remember, "If you sup with the devil you must use a long spoon." China's constant interference with Malaysian affairs is well-known to him and to all, Peking Radio being full of it.

It would not be out of place to mention here extracts from an article which appeared in the Soviet weekly magazine, "New Times", on June 13th. It charged Peking with stirring up hatred among nationalities in South-East Asia, and cited the Malaysian riots on May 13th as an example.

In fact the Maoists, the article said, had more than once provocatively used for their own selfish purposes the Chinese minorities in the countries of South-East Asia, for example in Burma and Cambodia. Maoist elements were sowing disorganisation in the ranks of the genuinely democratic movement in Malaysia, and by their Red Guard methods were jeopardising it. This was the lesson that Malaysian patriots and democrats could draw from the stormy and tragic events of mid-May in Kuala Lumpur, the article concluded.

For many years now the Communists have tried to make inroads into the society in which we live, and I am more convinced than ever that their ideology is being carried out with some degree of success among the people, especially among misguided youths.

There is still a lot of hostile activity astride the Thai/Malaysian border as the ambush of our Security Forces in Sintok on July 27th proved. Trained Communists from Thailand had crossed the border and made contact with their local counterparts in Malaysia.

Our intelligence had concentrated their attention on Communist activities in that area but because of the vast and extensive jungle that borders the two countries it is not possible to keep track of all their movements. On June 17th 1968, sixteen of our police were killed and seventeen wounded in an ambush on the Kroh/Betong border. This was the incentive their followers had been waiting for.

Most of the reports received dealt with Communist activities in Singapore, or the Indonesia/East Malaysia border. It is obvious, that movements of the Malayan Communist Party are being fed from three sides—from Communists South across the Causeway via Singapore from Hongkong, from Communists North across the border in Thailand, and along the fringes between Sarawak and Indonesia.

Here in Malaysia the Communists are more active and more vicious than in Singapore today. Their tactic of playing on racial sentiment has proved successful, causing a lot of tension in our multi-racial society. Their activities have grown to alarming proportions.

What is more unfortunate is that they have been able to get recruits from the Chinese schools among youths whose schooling is not yet even half-way through. These are the young people whom the Communists use as their agents to do their bidding and to carry out extortion and intimidation of businessmen, shop-keepers and the like. All those who refuse to toe the Party line are put in fear of their safety.

This is the group with strong adherents from Chinese chauvinists as well as the thugs who disrupt peace in this country. They are agitating for the establishment of a Chinese university and for Chinese to be made one of the official languages in the country and resolutely refuse to accept anything but Chinese. With this sentiment inborn in them it is not an easy task to win them over to our side and it is very difficult to separate them from the Communist enemy.

The recent elections showed the activities of the Communists in full play. I have every good reason to believe that they provided the finances for the PMIP in this last election in order to get their help to topple the Alliance Government.

It is the Chinese Communists who are financing the Malay trouble-makers through parties which have close association with these people; to mention one such party, the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), which receives financial backing from the Communist Party of China.

It was the Communists whose influence was at work behind the scenes urging on various other Opposition parties' speakers to harp on people's frustrations and place the blame on the Alliance Government.

It was the Communists who made full use of the procession of May 9th, the day before the Election. It is the Com-

munists who felt very satisfied with the joint Gerakan-DAP demonstration of May 12th which played right into their hands.

It is the Communist Party who are indirectly trying now to urge on the "Ultras" to divide the rank and file of UMNO. We have information to show that some known Communists are in contact with some of those "Ultras" in UMNO.

Propaganda emanating from the Communist United Front is designed to portray the Alliance Government as the real culprit responsible for the communal conflict.

Their present plan is to exploit fully the situation to the advantage of the Communists by giving the public the impression that they are not responsible for what happened on May 13th; that their intention is to create racial harmony. They are active not only in the border area of Thailand and over in Sarawak but also within the country.

By way of showing their strength it was their intention to commemorate the twenty-first anniversary of their armed struggle, which fell on June 20th, but the right opportunity did not present itself until a month later on July 27th. Then they celebrated the occasion with an ambush of our Security Forces in the border area which resulted in six being killed and seven wounded. This was a morale booster for their cause; no doubt it will add a fillip to the Communist Party of Malaysia's plan to revive their armed struggle.

A new tactic developed in Malaysia, following the circulation of Dr. Mahathir's letter, but an old trick as far as Communists are concerned, because they have tried it in Burma, is to write poison-pen letters. These purport to come from one person to another, such as the one I saw

in Trengganu on August 8th, which was supposed to have been written to me according to the typed signature by the Secretary-General of the Alliance Party, Tan Sri T. H. Tan.

I have never seen a letter of this kind before. In the first place if the Party's Secretary-General felt concerned over something serious, he certainly would not have written to me, but he would have come to see me. This is self-evident to any intelligent person, but nevertheless it appears that such poison-letters can carry weight among simple people.

This letter made charges against the Military, charges so heinous and disgusting as to shock ordinary men. The letter accused our soldiers of breaking into homes, raping Chinese women, splitting their stomachs and cutting off their breasts. Such a letter could only come from a fiend or a maniac, but it has all the ear-marks of a Communist propaganda ruse.

Probably many such letters will find their way into the homes of Chinese. In this case, there were two letters circulated both in the same envelope. The first is the one I have just mentioned; the second in Bahasa Malaysia incited the people to take over this country for the Malays. It had a title, "In the Name of God".

Whoever was responsible for originating these letters made the foolish mistake of putting them both in one envelope. The two letters showed that the intention was to cause dissension and chaos by speaking with two voices, but the mistake revealed that both voices came from the same mouth.

On August 21st, when I was in Alor Star, I showed the Press a copy of Communist circulars on pink foolscap paper. Written in both Rumi and Jawi these had the

heading "Kenangan untuk Askar Melayu" ("Souvenir for Malay Soldiers"). These letters had cartoons depicting me as a dictator.

Between the cartoons were the names of the Minister of Health, Tan Sri Sardon, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Inche Khir Johari, the Inspector-General of Police, Tan Sri Salleh, the former Director of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Syed Nasir, an MP from Johore, Syed Ja'afar Albar, and a former Speaker of the Penang State Assembly, Haji Sulaiman Palestine. The letters were posted in Kuala Lumpur to a recipient in Kedah.

I commented at the time that the letters were the latest move organised by the Communists, their associates and glibble partners to topple the Government by inciting the Armed Forces to take up arms against the Government. These people know that it is difficult for them to topple the Government, so they must get the help of others to do it.

As I see it myself, if the loyal Chinese of this country do not listen to Communist propaganda or fear their threats then all will be well. As between the Chinese and the Malays there is no real cause for quarrel, as they have happily lived together in the past. It is the Communist elements who are trying to break up this happy association, backed up by the chauvinist extremist elements of both races.

So the problem in this country is not really a Chinese problem, as others are wont to say, because the Chinese as a whole care mainly only for their success in business and their well-being in an atmosphere of law and order.

But it is the other elements among the Chinese who support Mao Tse Tung who are opposed to Malaysia and

all that she stands for. These are the people and the extremists I mentioned above who daily plan and work to seize control of this country. They are waiting for the day when Communist China will give them direct support. Whether that support will ever come remains to be seen—or in the case of the extremist Malays for the PKI to take over in Indonesia.

I once mentioned that if China were to invade Malaysia I would surrender. What I meant to convey was that since this country is in no position to fight superior forces there is no point in sacrificing the lives of innocent citizens in Malaysia by turning the country into a battlefield. The Malays as enemies of the Communists would be the first to suffer, and what their fate would be is best left to the imagination, if such a one-sided war should ever take place. What was described in the letter of splitting stomachs, cutting busts and rapping would happen.

While Communist China is the force behind the disloyal Chinese elements in Malaysia I know that they are helping too the Malay parties opposed to UMNO, though the rank and file of these parties are not aware of it. Therefore the loyal citizens of Malaysia are being hemmed in on both sides by the Communists—on one side the misguided Malays and the other the misled Chinese.

The only way out, therefore, is to support the Government in every possible manner, and to help strengthen all the forces that can back the Government to meet the threat of our constant enemies—the Communists.

They nearly succeeded in the riots of May 13th, but thanks be to God, and to the firmness of the Government, to its confidence in itself, and to the support of the loyal



citizens of Malaysia and to the good work of the Armed and Security Forces, they failed.

If we work together, and if we never cease to realise that we must be constantly on the alert, both as a nation and individually, against any machinations, open or clandestine, of the Communists in our midst, directed from without, then we can defeat any internal threat to our peace, security and happiness.

In our knowledge of these facts and resolute in our faith in ourselves, if we are determined to overcome the efforts of the Communists to subvert the people of this country and their ways of life, then I have no doubt whatever that the loyalty of all the people will find its just reward in creating once again for all time the happy Malaysia we know and love, the kind of nation, the kind of life, we all deep in our hearts desire.

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## XXIII

### A DREAM AND AN OMEN

**E**IGHT days before the Elections and eleven days before the Riots, on Friday May 2nd, the night of the full moon, I had a most unusual dream.

In the dream I found myself in a back lane between two rows of houses. The lane was narrow, slimy, sloshy, dirty—the filth was such as I had never seen before. As I stood there not knowing what to do, sewer rats as large as medium-size cats, swarmed out from the drain on the left side, coming up the middle of the lane, and started to eat the dirt.

They appeared quite ferocious, gnawing away at the filth. I tried to make my way out to the other side of the lane not infested by them, when all of a sudden dirty blue flies buzzed out from a drain on the right, covering the free area. It appeared to me that my way was blocked altogether.

More rats and flies came out from both sides, so I decided that the only thing to do was to go through them.

Thinking that the rats would attack me, and with my arms before my eyes and face, I tried to push my way through the swarm of blue flies, rather than go among the rats. The blue flies winged and buzzed all round me and pursued me for a little distance, but finally I managed to steer clear of them and walked out on to a clean road and into clear fresh air, and sighed with relief.

When I woke up from my dream I was at a loss to understand its meaning. I mentioned it to my wife, asking her if she could find an answer to this strange awful dream of mine. She said she could not give me an answer but obviously the dream portended some evil that would cause me deep trouble.

To my mind rats and blue flies are the two dirtiest animals or pests in the world, so my dream must have signified something serious to happen. I told my wife I felt I had enemies who were out to harm me, or at least to block my way to peace and happiness. I immediately jotted down notes in my pocket diary, so that later on I could know from any future events what this dream could mean.

During the next few days I kept on wondering what in fact the sewer rats and the blue flies might represent. The whole dream was too vivid, too symbolic of some bad and dire unknown beings at work for me to ignore it.

Then, on the morning of Election Day, after my first prayer something else happened which worried me, too. As I rose from my knees after prayer, my tasbeh (prayer beads) caught on the corner of the table, broke, strewing the beads all over the floor.

This again must mean some unhappy event to follow. I had used those beads for many years as part of my after-

prayer ritual and nothing like this had ever happened before. Why should they break now, and on this particular morning, the day of the Election? I began to feel worried with these strange happenings; perhaps they carried some omen that was neither favourable nor good.

Now I know what my dream was intended to convey. The rats must represent the Malaysian Communists or their followers and supporters and all the bad elements.

These people started the funeral procession on May 9th, and as I have related earlier, they tried to provoke incidents in that procession so as to prevent the elections taking place. They did not succeed in doing so, but they managed to create animosity which left the taste and smell of blood in the air. They injected the idea of racial conflict, and it was their actions which eventually sparked off the conflagration of May 13th. In other words by sowing the wind they were now to reap the whirlwind.

Perhaps I might explain that it is never the intention of the Chinese Communists to create racial disturbances or conflict as such, but the results of their actions always end this way. Why? Because the Malays refuse to take orders from them, so a clash with Malays opposed to them leads to racial strife and violence.

This was shown in Penang when the Communists gave orders for a hartal; the Malays ignored it, and when they attacked the Malays, other Malays came to their help, and the whole fracas turned into a racial conflict. Instead of harming the Government, which was their aim, the boycott brought about a clash between the Malays and Chinese, and this was not their intention. In these ways the Communists persistently meet with obstruction to their plans so far as the Malays are concerned.

Much the same thing happened again on the day of the funeral. The intention was to demonstrate against the Government, but in doing so they hurt the feelings of the Malays whose reactions were if they considered this was their Government then by condemning the Government they also condemned themselves. The Malays are naturally anti-Communist, and it never seems to dawn on the Chinese Communists that this is always so. The number who believe in their ideology among the Malays is negligible.

On May 12th Dr. Tan Chee Khoon and his party members held their parade to celebrate their Party's "victory", in which the DAP joined with them. The procession as planned went alright but it was after it had ended that the rank and file became unruly and misbehaved themselves. Their jubilation was accompanied by indecent gestures, insults and tirades which played right into the hands of the sewer rats.

The combination of the Communist funeral procession on Friday and the "victory" celebration of the Gerakan and the DAP on Monday jointly provoked the most violent demonstration that had ever been seen in the peaceful city of Kuala Lumpur. This sequence of demonstrations, both provocative and mischievous, by the Chinese Communists and these other parties gave clear meaning to the enigma of my dream.

Now how about the blue bottle flies? On the night of May 25th one of the Residency servants brought me a message that Dato Syed Esa Almanoe, an old friend, wanted to speak to me on the telephone. When I picked up the phone it was not his voice, but that of another person speaking in a disguised tone and in English. He told me that twenty members of UMNO were holding a meeting

at that time at a certain place and they had already reached a decision. This decision was to ask me to step down.

I tried to make out whose voice it was, but I could not. When I asked him who he was he refused to divulge his name, so I told him, "Go to Hell". Phone calls of this nature were repeated for three or four nights. When the unknown caller was informed that I was not available he told the servant answering the telephone to tell me to step down as I was not wanted any more in UMNO and in the Government.

Then on June 6th, the day I was due to go into hospital, "Utusan Melayu" published a report which carried the comments of certain members of UMNO to the effect that it was wise for the MCA to keep out of the Cabinet. I persuaded those concerned not to say anything more for fear that it might cause further dissension and would in consequence interfere with the administration. Any more communal issues raised at this juncture might jeopardise peace.

After some time, actually on June 18th, I received the letter from Dr. Mahathir, to which I have already referred. This letter was later found circulated in thousands. Its tone and content could have no other meaning than to condemn me in public and arouse feelings of hatred for me.

This hate campaign going on against me shocked the loyal Malays in general, and members of UMNO in particular. I myself came under severe testing. There was tension in the party which could easily have led to the break-up of UMNO. Good sense, however, prevailed, and the UMNO Ex. Co. expelled Dr. Mahathir.

The matter did not rest there. The persecution against me continued. More scurrilous letters were posted and circulated. The blue-bottle flies were following me, and they are still buzzing around.

The broken beads, I now understand, symbolise the broken peace, the shattering of harmony between the various races. Rats can be killed, flies can be ignored, and beads can be restrung. Let us pray that after all these trials and tribulations, this disaster which we have encountered and its aftermath, will be lessons to all of us.

In the first place the administration had in fact been too tolerant in its attitude to law and order. We should never have allowed the dead body of the Labour Party youth to be kept in the House of the Dead in Jalan Sultan in the centre of Kuala Lumpur but should have had it taken back to his own village of Kepong for burial.

The intentions of the Labour Party were obvious; they wanted to flout the law and commit a breach of the peace. The manner in which they conducted the funeral procession clearly showed their motives and intentions. They had even asked for their procession to be held on Election Day. If that had been allowed there might not have been any election in Kuala Lumpur at all. No matter on what day the funeral was held its effect would be bad on the country as a whole as it would stir up anti-Government feeling.

This being so, and the funeral having taken place, the Gerakan and the DAP should never have followed up by holding their "victory" parade. The manner in which they celebrated their victory could have had only one result.

Simply stated that was exactly what happened, and I hold these parties equally responsible for the trouble that erupted.

That this victory procession should be followed up by another by UMNO on May 13th was inevitable, as otherwise the party members would be demoralised after the show of strength by the Opposition and the insults that had been thrown at them. So what followed subsequently, the riots of May 13th, was deplorable, regrettable and inexcusable.

In the second place, during the election campaign democracy had been mocked and the Constitution derided, scorned and violated by all parties in the Opposition. Their leaders conducted the campaign without any regard for and showed complete disrespect for the Constitution, the nation's charter of democracy.

In fact all of them spoke as if there was no Constitution at all in the country. Speakers on the DAP platform were heard to say that if they got into power they would deprive the Malays of their rights. There were many other utterances in regard to multi-lingualism and other racial issues which were equally thoroughly and absolutely objectionable. Many things said by Gerakan and DAP members were most provocative, conveying only one possible impression to the Malays and that was if the Opposition won the Malays would be put in their "proper place" in this country.

As against this Opposition campaign there was the behaviour of the PMIP who wanted to take over the whole country for the Malays. According to the PMIP, while they would tolerate the presence of others, they would not allow them to be given any share in the administration or any rights in the country.

On the other hand the Alliance Party stood firmly and religiously by the Constitution as the result of which we became the target for attack from all sides. The election results, however, proved one thing. In spite of the tirades and attacks made against the Alliance and the Constitution of this country in the course of the campaign, the people nevertheless returned the Alliance into power. This is a strong and definite indication that the people of Malaysia support the Alliance because they look upon the party as the custodian of our Constitution—defender of the charter of liberty, individual rights and security.

What then should we do to ensure that our Constitution will be honoured? The Constitution, which is the very basis of our independence, the foundation on which we built our nation, should always be upheld and we must defend and protect it with all the strength at our command.

I understand that in the United States of America all parties taking part in the election agree not to discuss their Constitution. It is treated as a sacred document, and never allowed to become a bone of contention during an election campaign or at any other time. There is a proper time and place for any discussion of this all-important charter of American liberty, and the deep respect all Americans show for their Constitution is the way we should honour our Constitution, too.

There are clauses in our Constitution which provide for certain procedures to make amendments, but amendments have only been made in respect of administration and national security where and when the needs demanded.

If we are to prevent a recurrence of May 13th—and is there a true Malaysian anywhere who is not resolved on this?—the Election Law must be amended to provide that

no terms of the Constitution should be raised in elections, and if any party or individual should commit an offence in respect of this then they should be made to pay the penalty. Only in this way can we ensure that democracy will work.

It is not right for those taking part in elections in this country to make a mockery of democracy or to abuse it. If they show no respect or no regard whatsoever for the spirit and letter of the Constitution then they should have no right to contest elections in the name of democracy. Candidates who do contest must be made to take an oath that they will honour and obey and uphold the Constitution, and if they will not do so, then they should be prohibited from taking part in the elections.

May 13th is a lasting reminder to us all how dangerous it can be to disregard the Constitution and to play about with the sensitivities, traditions and customs of the various races, especially in our highly mixed society of so many races and creeds.

After all, is not our own past as a nation, though only a brief twelve years, a lasting proof that in our very diversity lies our fundamental strength? When we founded our nation we realised this truth for we adopted as the official motto of our country “Bersatu Bertambah Mutu” (“Unity is Strength”). The success we have won, the prestige we have earned throughout the world, are not due to the efforts of only one race, but of all the races in Malaysia, of all the people who are proud to call themselves Malaysians.

History and geography have made this land of ours unique in many ways, as here three of the main races of Asia mingle and merge in one home. Working together, living together as of one mind and together we have made this country our homeland and our nation. Our National

Anthem, "Negara Ku", is a proof of our firm determination to live and work together for the glory of our land.

We have every reason to be proud of what we have already achieved. Overcoming all difficulties we have through unity and harmony, through co-operation and goodwill, achieved progress and prosperity unparalleled among the new nations of the world, so much so that Malaysia is the envy of less happier lands.

Surely our past experience shared in common is the soundest guide of all to our future as one nation and people. Let us, therefore, reach out to even brighter horizons by building on the lessons of our past.

I cannot emphasise enough that we must continue to learn to live together, and to learn from one another in a spirit of tolerance, understanding and mutual respect, how best we can maintain harmony and peace. We must depend on ourselves, be self-reliant not only as a nation but as individuals. We must have unshakeable faith in that what we have done so far we can still do better. As long as we realise that unity in diversity is the secret of our success, we have nothing to fear.

Our friends and allies—the British, the Australians and the New Zealanders—who had helped us in the difficult periods of the Malayan Communist Party uprising and Soekarno's confrontation will soon leave our shores on an undertaking that they will come to our aid when such aid is needed. Conditions preceding such aid are necessarily required and these are to be agreed to between all parties.

In the meantime we must first strengthen our own defences, in other words, besides providing ourselves with arms, planes and ships, we must be united, determined and ready to face any enemy from whatever source it may come.

We are also seeking friendship with our neighbours in our search for security and peace. What hope is there for us to win friends if within our own shores we are unable to make and maintain friendship among ourselves?

We must stick to friends who are tried and true, for in this way only can we know friends from foes. This we can achieve by being constantly alert to the dangers in our midst from those who do not wish us well, from those who seek to undermine our unity and happiness, our prosperity and peace.

We cannot afford to think in terms of power and might, but there are no limits to moral strength, to unity of mind and purpose, and these are the weapons to use, the only ones we have, against perils from either within or without.

If we fail to realise this as we unfortunately did in the tragic month of May, then we are inviting disaster on our own heads. There is no reason at all why this should ever be so. May 13th is a lesson we can never forget, for it has revealed the dangers of complacency and exposed weaknesses to be overcome.

On that day we stood on the brink of despair, because we had not been true to ourselves. With determination and will, confidence and trust, let us therefore resolve that we shall never have to face again such a moment of truth. Let us resolve to defend our democracy and the way of life we know and we love.

So I pray to God in His infinite mercy that He will help us to bring back to this country for all time the goodwill, the harmony, the peace and the friendliness which everyone in Malaysia enjoyed before the fatal day of May 13th.

