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TRIBUTE
TO
TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

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(On His 60th Birthday)
February 8th 1963

Foreword by
THE HON'BLE TUN ABDUL RAZAK AL-HAJ S.M.N., S.P.M.J.

Edited by
S. DURAI RAJA SINGAM

TRIBUTE

TO

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

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S. DUKAI RAZA SINGAM

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TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN
S. DURAI RAJA SINGAM

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TUNGU ABDUL RAHMAN
S. DURAI RAJA SINGAM

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It is a source of particular pride to us that of the six states in the Far East formerly under British rule which have recently become self-governing three have a Cambridge graduate chosen to be head of their government. Among them this man upon whom we rejoice to confer our honour to-day has already achieved a conspicuous place, and he will leave a reputation which will deservedly last. For he undertook a truly Herculean rôle, to persuade the three commingled races who inhabited the great peninsula and were far from likely to coalesce, that they should sink their differences and work for a common policy. Yet against all expectations this was accomplished, and in a surprisingly short time that independence could be granted.

How, you may ask, did he effect this seeming miracle? By patience, certainly, and skill; also by justified outspokenness in season; but perhaps still more by tact and a rare geniality which won the regard of men exceedingly diverse and then brought them into harmony. For these qualities he was already conspicuous while still a young man, when he studied, or at least resided, in Cambridge as a member of Saint Catharine's College. There are those who well remember.

He is said moreover to have left a lasting memorial of his sojourn among us. For a Riley car which he used to drive about the place is reputed to have led to the appointment for the future of the Special Pro-Proctor for Motor Vehicles. He himself in return has often shown that he remembers his foster-mother. For one thing, he follows the precept of the poet Martial,

At ball the young, at ball the old should play,

to the extent of encouraging among his own people with most enthusiastic support and patronage the game of football, which he used to play here in those days.

I present to you the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya,

Tunku ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ

Honorary Fellow of Saint Catharine's College




FOREWORD

On February 8, 1963 our illustrious Prime Minister will be sixty. It is almost unbelievable for, to us all, the Tunku is always forever young, vivacious and versatile. On that day he will receive many garlands of flowers, many heartfelt tributes and many congratulatory messages from both within and outside the country. One of them is this book of tributes, entitled "Tribute to Tunku Abdul Rahman", which is in fact a literary gift of many essays written by many well-known writers and painstakingly compiled by Enche' S. Durai Raja Singam. All these essays successfully portray the various aspects of the Tunku's adventurous and colourful life as well as his illustrious career both as a political leader and a statesman. It gives me, therefore, the greatest pleasure to write this Foreword to the Volume.

To me the Tunku is more than a leader. He has been a close friend to me since our student days in London. He has been the source of inspiration to me, and indeed to all of us, Malaysians, in the attainment of our independence, for the successful achievement of which he has been rightly conferred with the title of the "Father of Independence". And today he is yet the father and architect of another concept of our new Nation, Malaysia. With his wise and farsighted guidance and by the will of God, we shall soon by the 31st August 1963 see the birth of our new Nation, upon which we all must strive to prevail peace, justice and prosperity for all. When this is achieved, there is no title which could rightly be accorded to the Tunku other than the "Father of Malaysia". During the many years that I have been privileged to know him and to work with him I have always the greatest admiration and respect for his sincerity, integrity and common touch. The Tunku always appears the same and at ease whether he is with Kings or Heads of State or with the ordinary common man. In Politics as well as in Administration he has been able to guide us with a "touch" which only belongs to the Great. We in Malaya are indeed very fortunate to have him, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, K. O. M., a man of noble birth and character and of outstanding statesmanship and diplomacy, as our first Prime Minister and National leader.

May Allah shower upon him His kind and merciful blessings on this great day of his birth and grant him good health and long life so that he will be able to continue to guide us, Malaya, and the new Nation of Malaysia, to further success, glory and prosperity.


(TUN ABDUL RAZAK BIN HUSSAIN AL-HAJ)
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER,
FEDERATION OF MALAYA.



Prime Minister
Wellington
New Zealand

14 January 1963

It gives me great pleasure to pay tribute to the Prime Minister of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. The outstanding progress which Malaya has made since independence owes much to his wise leadership, to his gift for winning the respect and friendship of the many peoples of the Federation, and to his broad vision of the part which Malaya can play within a wider grouping of nations. We in New Zealand wish the Tunku many more years of happy and useful endeavour in the service of his country.

Keith Holyoake

I am most grateful to the Honble The Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak Al-Haj S.M.N., S.P.M.J. for writing the Foreword.

I told Field - Marshal Sir Gerald Templer G.C.M.G, K.C.B, K.B.E, D.S.O, A.D.C. that I was producing this book and in his reply he said.

"I am a tremendous admirer of the Tunku, and we are great friends. No one knows better than I do how much Malaya owes to him"

In his farewell speeches he made frequent references in similar terms. Appointed to end the Emergency and to restore law and order he took a wide view of his task and was much helped in "the battle for hearts and minds" by the Tunku.

I have importuned many people for their advice and where that has not been followed and for the mistakes which occur I alone am responsible. Grateful thanks are due to them and to the various contributors. Particular thanks are due to the *Malayan Times* for the loan of several photographs, to the Department of Information and to several of the Foreign Embassies for much help in many ways.

From the timid, tentative first steps of the infant Malaya on August 1957, to the confident bold leap to Malaysia today is by any standard an amazing performance and it is in this context that I am compelled to believe that it is appropriate that this volume should be placed before him in all humility as a modest offering on this auspicious day with the prayer that he may live long to dedicate to the expansion of peace for the people, prosperity of the people and progress by the people.

S. Durai Raja Singam.

29 Circular Road
Kuala Lumpur
February, 8th, 1963.



PREFACE

It might be considered rather odd for anyone to attempt to produce a book on the life of an eminent person without even having met him once.

I only saw Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Malayan Prime Minister at an election rally in Kuantan. It was way back in 1954. Since then much has happened and in 1957 the Tunku led the nation into independence.)

I am amongst those who believe that the very nature of greatness precludes the necessity to have personal touch with the subject who is so much in the limelight and the gaze of the public. This belief has prompted me to bring out this modest birthday souvenir on the Tunku's 60th birthday. We in Asia believe that the 60th year - or "shastiaphaburthi" in Sanskrit - is a notable event in any man's life. It is indeed much more important when that man is to guide the destiny of a nation.

What I have attempted, here within my own limitations, is to present the qualities of both the prince as a man and also as a premier, as seen through many eyes and minds. In compiling these "notes" I am fully aware that this volume is by no means a complete assessment of the Tunku's accomplishments. But I have endeavoured to include material, as possible, that would reveal the Tunku's personality - the gay sportsman and the serious statesman.

Malaya in the last sixty years has climbed from obscurity to a prominent position in South East Asia and now is heard with

respect in the United Nations. Producing abundant tin and rubber it was able to finance large systems of communications, health and education. Though it has thrown up notable men in Administration like Tunku Kudin and Sultan Idris, it has not so far seen world figures in the Arts, Literature, Engineering, Science, Philosophy Religion or even in Heresy. In Medicine its record is of the highest order. Sir Malcolm Watson was the first to apply the field treatment in the war against Malaria. Dr. Lim Boon Keng and Dr. Wu Lien—Teh did grand work in China, in combating plagues. The Institute of Medical Research (founded in 1902) which discovered the cause of beri-beri has an international reputation and does invaluable research.

But in the other fields our standard has a high average but there has been no world figure of the magnitude that wins a Nobel prize. Perhaps the Tunku will be so rated. No one in Malaya has ever received such warm and spontaneous affection, gratitude and respect. He, after deep thought and with reluctance took over the headship of the United Malay Nationalist Organisation and went from strength to strength. Malaya conducts its revolutions with calm. The Tunku never sought popularity, never tries to create any personality cult but looks and is the embodiment of good-will and integrity.

He is the Viscount Atlee type of statesman who without fuss, bother, hardship or any injustice established a real democracy on the Parliamentary pattern.

Various facets of the Tunku's career, personality and achievements have been portrayed by the various contributors to this book. Many have paid tributes to his many-faceted character and have hailed him as Malaya's man of destiny. The Tunku's many splendoured achievements have been told. His eminence has a special quality which deserves to be cherished. An endeavour has been made to arrange them in a logical order. A few of the Tunku's most characteristic utterances and opinions have been brought together.

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Various Moods of the Tunku



The Verdict of History

(Gerald Hawkins O.B.E.)

The Muse of History is an austere and forbidding female with a particularly sharp eye on heroes and hero-worship. To anticipate her verdict is a piece of presumption so great as to amount to contempt of the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, it is worth trying and it is fascinating to imagine what she, with the advantages of perspective and hindsight, will have to say on the man who has been guiding Malaya for the first six years of independence. She has seen many such changes where the new presbyter was but the old priest writ large, where the new commissar is a more ruthless Tsar, where in the French Revolution the dictator Napoleon followed the democratic Mirabeau.

She will look first at his character, background and aims. His background is royal but he is, genuinely and sincerely, a good mixer. His scholastic career was as undistinguished as Sir Winston Churchill's. In his early, pre-war government service he was regarded as pleasant, indifferent and averse to the inevitable routine of the service, though at least one shrewd judge, the late S.W. Jones, noted that "he had quality". The outbreak of war revealed him as a man of courage and resource. He is a keen sportsman. No one, least of all himself,

would place him among the intelligentry. His aims are to spread peace, good-will and plenty. To him, politics is a business of practical experience, not of theoretical ideas. He is the apotheosis of the ordinary man.

His rise to fame and power was unsought and greatness was thrust upon him. Ten years ago the leadership of a somewhat distraught United Malay National Organisation fell vacant and rather reluctantly he took it over. The United Malay National Organisation was re-organised and re-inspired. In 1952 it joined with the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress to form the Alliance Party and won handsomely the first Municipal election in Kuala Lumpur. In 1957 the Alliance won Malaya's first general election with an almost complete capture of the seats.

~~The~~ Tunku had much serious thinking to do. By nature he is a "Modern Conservative" who likes to retain and reform rather than a left winger who prefers to destroy and rebuild on the ruins. A survey of the situation showed that he had many assets. Malaya was wealthy; the standard of living was the highest in Asia; the public service was honest and efficient; schools, hospitals, communications were good; there had been no violent struggle for Merdeka and he had no generals and strong-arm types clamouring for the rewards of place, power and profit in the new set-up.

His liabilities were heavy. The nine year old emergency remained and the psychological side, the battle for the hearts and minds of the people had to be re-inspired. The toughest of all the problems was that Malaya is a plural society. Lesser but still weighty questions came from the change over to a modern welfare state. Staffing the new departments, Social Welfare, Trades Unions, Broadcasting, Public Relations, Provident Fund, etc.etc. was far from easy. Defence forces had to be demobilised. The population explosion and the influx of country people to the town demanded the palliative of industrialisation. Rural areas lagged behind and had to be wakened from the sleep of centuries. Outside Malayan borders were some powerful nations which might become ill-disposed and covetous.



Across the Frontiers



Photo: By courtesy of Malayan Times

Back Home

A plateful of troubles.

The Emergency was draining away much blood and money. Militarily, it was nearing its successful end. Psychologically, the Tunku's meeting with Chin Peng at Baling smashed the pretence that it was rebellion for the freedom of Malaya by demonstrating that freedom had been won and further resistance was pointless.

The dark cloud of a plural society lowered all over Malaya. The Tunku's attitude is that "Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants". Human wisdom must hasten to contrive something that would provide employment, happiness and a true home for all.

A plural society is one in which the component communities are linked only by economic ties. In Malaya the population is three-sevenths Malay, three-sevenths Chinese, and one-seventh "Others".

The Malays include Indonesians who often hope to return to Indonesia. They plant rice, catch fish, seldom engage in trade and commerce but form the large majority of government servants. The Chinese, of whom more than half are Malaya-born, work harder and almost monopolise trade, commerce and the technical industries. "Others" are mostly Indians and Pakistanis in agriculture, trade, government service and the professions. The remaining "Others" are Eurasian, European, (which includes American and Australian), Ceylonese, Philipinos and Japanese etc. Most non-Malays tend to look on their country of origin as their spiritual home, closely follow the course of events there and are often educated in schools that instruct almost exclusively in their national cultures. There are differences in race, religion, language, custom and culture. Inter-marriage is rare. There are many cases of warm individual friendships between persons of the different countries but, after leaving school, most men are swallowed up in their own communities.

During and after the War, waves of nationalism beat on the Malayan shores. The situation could easily have been explosive. The Malays, as ground land-lords, naturally claimed some special

rights. The Chinese principle - "where ever born, A Chinese is a Chinese subject". - made it hard for them who paid the largest part of the taxes to have the feeling of really "belonging" to a country where they had no political power officially. The "Others", as small minority groups, were suspicious and watchful but anxious not to antagonise. There was no single satisfactory answer to the questions.

The Malays have always been tolerant. They acted with much generosity and compromise. The higher civil service was opened to non-Malays. The language was made easier for foreigners by using the letters of the Roman alphabet instead of the Jawi script. Citizenship was granted by registration and the issue of certificates on extremely generous terms. There were common electoral rolls and no communal representation.

Many and various means were employed to decrease separatism and to promote racial harmony. Communal clubs, whether sporting or social, threw open their doors to all. National celebrations, national sports, village halls and women's institutes, courses of instruction in civics, in agriculture, animal husbandry etc., etc., adult education, technical colleges and a University were available to all without discrimination. A Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka was set up to refashion the language so that it could carry the vast burden of twentieth century science and knowledge, accelerate the use of Malay as a medium of intercourse and become the national language.

Gradually Malaya is being divided not into communities but into the natural form of citizens and non-citizens. Already non-citizens have a differently coloured identity card and government posts are limited to federal citizens. In due course, most of the government forms that request particulars of name?, address?, age?, occupation?, sex?, race?, married or single?, will omit their inquisitiveness about race? and in its stead will ask Citizen or non-Citizen? Thus will we resemble the United Kingdom and the United States where a man retains his native and stimulating qualities and culture but weaves them into the general pattern of "British" or "American".

GERALD HAWKINS

It is not pretended that the Tunku did all these reforms by himself alone. The Tunku is aware of his limitations and a man of his charm can readily obtain expert and expensive advice from the leading authorities and, in due course, his practical common sense gives to such advice the practical application most suitable for Malayan conditions.

Of the other problems, rural development, education, housing, medical services, trades unions, ports, industrialisation etc. the daily press gives daily and exhilarating success stories.

For problems outside Malaya, the Tunku who also holds the portfolio for Foreign Affairs has been more personally responsible. The pending merger with Singapore, and the Borneo territories; A.S.A. that joins in friendly co-operation Thailand and the Philippines with Malaya; and United Nations and Commonwealth Premiers' Conferences are notable victories. He has shown his desire for peace and good-will among all men and has proved that a Parliamentary Democracy can unite a multi-racial state and goes ever forward without friction or force.

The Muse of History will relax her frown and give an approving nod to a man who in an exceptionally complex situation saw clearly what wanted doing and did it well.



MALAYA'S MAN OF DESTINY

Y.T.M. Tunku Abdul Rahman

Putra Al-Haj

(Francis Cooray)

In Malaya's Hall of Fame in which will be enshrined one day the names of men and women who have contributed to the making of modern Malaya, none will occupy a more prominent place than that of Tunku Abdul Rahman, the first Prime Minister of Malaya. But there is another place, in the hearts of Malayan men and women, where he will find an abiding place long after brick and mortar and gold and marble have disappeared.

In an age when the revival of nationalism is being exploited to emphasize racial, communal and religious differences the Tunku's achievements like ASA and Malaysia are of considerable significance. ASA, now confined to Malaya, Thailand and the Philippines but open to other countries in South-East Asia which wish to join, has already begun to pay dividends. Malaysia, which will bring all the Malay-speaking territories except Indonesia under one flag and one Parliament, will come into being on Aug. 31, 1963. Neither of these projects could have been thought out and carried to the present promising stage except by a statesman of the highest calibre possessing both courage and vision. The Tunku is the originator of both ideas and has spent a great deal of time and energy in giving them shape and substance and in smoothing out innumerable difficulties.

If the Tunku were an ambitious man, these two achievements alone would have already earned for him praise and glory sufficient to satisfy him. But he is made of sterner stuff and dominating all his political thinking is the fixed idea that the path along which he is leading Malaya shall lead nowhere but to the ultimate peace and prosperity of the Malayan nation. Therefore I am certain he will not want to rest from his labours until he feels sure in his own mind that the happiness and peace of the people whom he has sought to serve are firmly established on foundations which cannot easily be undermined by their enemies. Who those enemies are the Tunku has repeatedly and unequivocally announced for all the world to hear.

This is not a biographical record but an appreciation of the achievements which are already to the Tunku's credit and a realistic survey of the tasks which lie ahead. For a proper appreciation of those tasks and the Tunku's ability to overcome the many problems connected with them it is necessary to hark back to the days when he appeared in the unaccustomed and unfamiliar role of a British government servant. It was also unpalatable to him because he came from Kedah where the British Civil Service was not always *persona grata*. In those days he might have, even occasionally, puzzled over the curious spectacle of the British in the Federated Malay States struggling to create a national movement. For at that time it was only in the F.M.S. that one saw the extraordinary sight of British officials more interested in the spread of the national flag, national anthem, a national army, a national police force and national schools than the people of the country themselves.

At a critical moment in the history of their political evolution the Malay people needed the right leader. The Tunku stepped into the situation when they were almost on the brink of taking the wrong turning. If they had done so they would still be bogged down in a morass of inter-racial conflict.

The Tunku took up the leadership at the moment when the minds of the Malays were confused and when realities faded away in the glittering illusions with which they were presented. Having

accepted his leadership Tunku Abdul Rahman proceeded to inject his own realism into his closest friends and through them to the general Malay community.

The Tunku realised very early in his political career that the Malay community had only belatedly and hesitatingly entered into the modern world, and therefore they had to work hard to catch up with the immigrant racial groups who had progressed much further. At the same time however he also realised that the Malays could not make any headway without the goodwill, co-operation and help of other racial groups. It was, therefore, a stroke of genius to have brought together the three main ethnic groups to share in the administration of the country. From this sagacious arrangement, a political expediency no doubt, has arisen every hope of integration of a Malayan nation.

One country in South-east Asia which has so far retained its democratic institutions despite great internal diversity is Malaya. Here, on the basis of what happened else-where the Jeremiahs were, and still are, entitled to assume that radical discord must soon bring civil strife or strong-man rule, or both, but the Tunku and the Alliance have been able to hold the leading parties together within the constitutional framework. Malaya has been independent only since 1957 and known precedents suggest that the momentum derived from the British period and the **elan** coming from winning independence take a longer time than this to run down.

It is inevitable that as the Malays develop their own middle class and intelligentsia and become more urbanised there will be a shift in internal power relationships. Almost the whole of the Malay political leadership has been drawn from the traditional governing class. A similar shift as in the Malay community will occur in the Chinese as its lower strata is enfranchised and challenges the power of the rich and generally conservative elements which control the Malayan Chinese Association.

Politicians, more frequently than not, are prone to use their power and influence in a national sense and rarely look beyond the

boundaries of their own countries. It takes a statesman to look beyond the parochial scene and study and assess the effects of the interplay of international politics on his own country. Cold war tensions and hot war threats have made a terrific impact on the Tunku's outlook and character. His personal contacts with some of the outstanding statesmen of this highly explosive decade has gradually created in him one ruling passion, and that is to ensure the happiness and prosperity of his country. He is undoubtedly convinced that he cannot achieve that object without also ensuring that Malaya shall never fall into the hands of the communists.

The Tunku is not only a born leader, which is really an inherited quality, but he is also a courageous fighter. Whether at football, golf or politics you will find him a worthy opponent who will always keep to the rules of the game. He will always play straight. When at one of the more recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conferences, he came out openly condemning South Africa's apartheid policy, while his more experienced colleagues halted and hesitated he was defending the right against powerful interests. We have more than one instance where the Tunku has thrown the weight of his country on the side of peace and good neighbourly relations and where he has quietly withdrawn from the scene when he found that his services were not welcome.

The Tunku, owing to his uncompromising attitude against communism has made not a few political enemies who never tire of saying that he is being led by the nose by his ex-patriate advisers and British imperialists. A former Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, often related this story against himself. Once when he was visiting Rome he was taken by his Private Secretary who thought his chief's cultural education needed improvement, to see a famous picture by Michael Angelo. Sir John stood before a picture and listened to a very learned lecture on the artistic merit of the picture by his P. S. As he was leaving he saw the official guide showing another picture to a crowd of visitors. On enquiring what the picture was Sir John was horrified to learn that it was the actual Michael Angelo and that his Private

Secretary had lectured him on the indifferent picture of an unknown artist. I cannot imagine Tunku Abdul Rahman being taken in like that by his Private Secretary, or for that matter by any other Secretary. But it is true that Prime Ministers are sometimes shown not only the wrong picture but also the wrong side of the picture.

The Tunku has in hand the task of framing and implementing the Federation of Malaysia in such a way that in whatever he does or says there is not the slightest hint that the Borneo territories will join the Federation except as free and equal partners. The Tunku launched his Malaysia plan not with any idea of deriving benefit for Malaya but in the firm belief that closer association between these territories and Malaya would help the former to improve the living and material conditions of their people. The situation demands delicate but firm handling and to do that it must be plain to everybody that the Tunku is master in his own home. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Prime Minister was provoked recently to declare:

As long as I remain Prime Minister I will not put up with any nonsense by a subordinate Minister. I am no dictator but while I am the Prime Minister my word must be accepted. Otherwise no Prime Minister can run the country.

Thus it may be said with perfect truth that Tunku Abdul Rahman is a man of destiny. He appeared on the political scene when the country needed a leader who could be trusted by all people and in whose motives and judgement they had complete faith. He has amply justified the trust which has been placed in him and through a difficult and dangerous period he has led the country into the open road of happiness and prosperity. As he stands on the threshold of the new world which Malaya is about to enter, the Tunku will, I am sure, be heartened by the success which he has so far attained, and be emboldened by the feeling that neither greed for power nor any idea of self-aggrandisement has inspired any of his actions.

The task ahead is tremendous, the problems are many and complicated, fears are genuine even where they are ill-founded and Malaya is taking on serious responsibilities for the welfare of the people of the new members of the new Federation. Tunku Abdul Rahman is today the symbol of that new happiness and prosperity which they expect. He will, therefore, need the co-operation and goodwill of all Malaysians.

I am indeed happy to pay this tribute to the man who stands head and shoulders above many of his contemporaries in this part of Asia and who has guided the Federation of Malaya to the front rank of progressive nations.

What lies ahead of the Tunku is in the lap of the gods but come what may he will always be the same loyal, generous and patriotic Malay who, though born a prince, can always say with the poet:

With whom I feast I do not fawn,
Nor if the folks should flout me, faint:
If wanted welcome be withdrawn,
I cook no kind of a complaint:
With none disposed to disagree,
But like them best who best like me.



Tunku Abdul Rahman

Supreme Leader And Diplomat

(G. H. KIAT O.B.E.)

History always reveals that in any great crisis and emergency, a leader emerges. Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister of England during the Second World War - an office which was the ambition of his whole life.

Any one conversant with the present history of Malaya must be aware that due mainly to the untiring and herculean efforts of the late Dato Onn bin Ja'afar, the Malayan Union, which was never a credit to the British, was scrapped. When the United Malay National Organisation was founded after the Japanese Occupation, Tunku Abdul Rahman was just a humble member and admirer of the father of Malayan nationalism, but when Dato Onn's proposal to broaden UMNO by allowing other races to join as members was rejected, an earnest appeal was made to the Tunku to replace him and it was late in 1951 that he was elected President and has remained in this office ever since.

Prior to his holding and assuming this high office of State, there was not much that was known to throw much light of the great man he is to-day. When as a young man, may be a little irresponsible, he could not get a place at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, and was told none were available for him and that the College was built for Englishmen only, to his credit it must be added that he had told the story without any bitterness; but all the same, this has taken root and made him decide, perhaps, for the first time

and once that he must help make his country his own. This may be the dominant factor that rules his life when he takes up the rein of UMNO.

There are three poignant, vital, important and outstanding events in the history of this country that will ever be remembered by this and many generations to come and with each of these, the Tunku has played a leading and an important part. The accomplishment of such events of tremendous value were not thought possible at one time and none could conjecture that they could be realised so quickly and in such a short space of time.

Where Dato Onn failed, the Tunku succeeded in linking together loosely the different communal parties and formed in 1952 the Alliance of UMNO, the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress. This was, undoubtedly, a real, hard and tough task, but with true leadership and diplomacy, it became an accomplished fact. Having done this, he led the Alliance and won a sweeping election victory by capturing fifty-one out of fifty-two seats in the Federal Legislative Assembly - a world record by any standard. After having gained power and recognition in the Federal Government, he worked with might and main to resolve, as far as possible, the various conflicts of interest between the Malays and the Chinese by demanding Merdeka, thus providing a common objective to all parties. In his quiet, simple and modest way, he succeeded in accomplishing what his fiery predecessor, Dato Onn failed to do - the Federation of Malaya.

Then came the long-drawn struggle with the men in the jungle, commonly known as the Communists. These were long years of despair, with great loss of lives on the side of or those serving the Government, the disrupt of trade and business and the ordinary run of life of the people. It was considered and thought in certain quarters that, in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people and to bring life to normalcy, the Government should seek peace or come to terms with the enemies in the jungle at any price, if necessary. The meeting of the Tunku and Chin Peng is still fresh in our memory and also the term and strong stand that the Tunku took in the

interest of the country. After twelve long years of suffering, hardship and inconvenience, the Tunku together with his co-workers has again succeeded in another great and outstanding task of freeing Malaya from the Communists, though there may be some remnants left.

Now is the third phase and perhaps the final and the last of the Tunku's great contribution to this country. The idea of first merger and then Malaysia was first mooted by the Tunku in early 1961. Then came the news on the 16th September 1961 that Tunku Abdul Rahman and the Singapore Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, agreed that Singapore should join the Federation. Then arose the almost insurmountable objection - by merger, Singapore citizens would be Federal subjects only and not Federal citizens. One explanation after another was given and authorities were quoted, trying to show and prove that a Federal subject would enjoy the same rights as a Federal citizen. This got nowhere and many refused to be convinced. On the 31st July 1962, there was in the news that the Tunku and Mr. MacMillan had signed the agreement to bring Malaysia into being. Then followed in quick succession the announcement by the Tunku that Singapore citizens, when Malaysia becomes a reality, would be Malaysian citizens or citizens of Malaysia—a feather to the cap of the Tunku.

His humble way, his good humour, his simplicity and his intense sincerity have won the affections and the confidence of the people amongst whom he moves and works. He is no orator, he speaks directly and simply, with few mannerisms, but he convinces you and makes you feel at home. He creates, above all, trust and understanding.

The Tunku is without bitterness and harbours no ill-feelings - a great quality of a great man - as he always has a good word for any member of the Malayan Civil Service, who is an expatriate, when he retires or is Malayanised in spite of the fact that he has served under the Colonial Government for a number of years. When a slight aspersion was cast against the England-educated, through no sins or faults of theirs, as decades ago the acquirement

of an English education was a means or channel to earn a living, he came to their rescue and publicly stated that the English educated were quite alright and that they were good citizens.

If one can point out with his finger the greatest deed of the Tunku in his office as the Prime Minister, it is his great and almost unbelievable ability and capacity to promote and create racial harmony among the races and weld them together for the common and greater good. If Communism is bad and destructive to the country, racial disharmony and discord is worse. In this, the Tunku can lead the country to success. When Malaysia is fully realised and is a reality, the Tunku has completed his biggest work and done the greatest good to this country as no one else has. He is, undoubtedly, both a real great leader and diplomat. When the history of Malaya and also Malaysia is re-written, the name of Tunku Abdul Rahman will occupy a very prominent place and will ever remain so.

* * * *

A Note on the words Tun, Tunku and Tuanku.

Tun - A hereditary title, once common in Malaya.

Tunku - Prince or princess.

Variants in Spelling - Tunku, Tungku and Tengku.

Tuanku - Your Highness (tuan-ku). Used when addressing a ruler. (The etymology of the title is uncertain; there are difficulties in accepting tun-ku or tuan-ku as the original form). — S.D.R.S.

Tunku—The Man I Know

(R. Ramani)



Politics has been variously defined as 'The Art of the Possible' / and 'The Science of Compromise.' These definitions emphasise perhaps the negative aspects of Politics, but they both contain that core of truth which every politician learns by experience and which lies at the foundation of political success. In their positive aspects they indicate firstly, that for any success at

all, a political leader must have his vision focussed on

the real and the practical and not lose his head in the clouds of the ideal and, secondly, that even the real is unattainable if one develops inflexibility in his approach to any problem. This is not to say however that one can go through political life without a basic regard to principles by which one must needs be held as if by an anchor.

In modern democratic societies where it is possible to postulate of any citizen of a state that given a modicum of intelligence, education and articulation, articulation most of all, he or she can rise to the heights of political power, it is doubly necessary to cultivate the aptitude for compromise in the effort to see clearly and see whole what is possible. No longer are hereditary attributes or any exceptional powers predicated for political leadership. In the final analysis therefore a successful politician has to have, whether inborn or cultivated, an ability to understand and accommodate other points of view, with his own, and the conscious desire to make his views acceptable not only to those with whom he is in friendly contacts but also to those with whom he will inevitably find himself in conflict. Individuals in whom these attributes are inborn become, given the opportunity, natural leaders of the people; others who stray into politics by accident or design earn to cultivate these attributes and then achieve the leadership of a people.

The Tunku came late to politics and public affairs; and when he came on to the stage he, quite understandably, gave the impression of a stranger to a scene having inadvertently walked on to the stage. There were many people who shook their wise heads at that spectacle. They were not without their excuse. Those were days in which administration meant an intellectual elite and Government was principally an efficient machine in the hands of a paternal Government which was fully aware if not perhaps what the people wanted, at least what they ought to have and which was fully conscious of being in possession of the power to bestow it. That attitude changed literally overnight and Government came to mean an

administration that reflected the hopes and aspirations, the struggles and heart-aches of a whole people composed of anti-pathetic racial groups that saw the future in terms of separate interests and had not been taught and given no opportunity to learn and see even at a distance the vision of a cohesive and purposeful nation standing on its own feet.

The Tunku therefore inherited an administration which however competent, had had its efficiency sharpened and tuned to considerations and circumstances that ceased to exist on the stroke of the midnight hour of the 31st August, 1957 and opened the windows to the vision of a new dawn. After that fateful hour the ability to govern had to be matched to the conscious desire of a people willing to be governed.

That the Tunku met these new problems as they arose straight in the face and without deviation or device, schooled himself to their solution and the signal successes he thereby achieved are matters of history. I believe profoundly that he was able to do so because as a man, no rigid formula ever *dominated his mental attitudes, no inflexibility impaired his* approach to problems, no preformed prejudices to men and matters ever stood in his way of his seeing what he had to do and what he can do. He has an inborn sense of tolerance which is not the same as the cultivated quality of toleration, which latter spells an attitude of patronage, and which indeed is altogether alien to his nature. He has a supreme sense of understanding and hence his success in holding together a team of colleagues of varied capacities and uneven talents and successfully heading a party of disparate racial groups. And lastly he *is extremely human, so that though born to the purple as he was, the common touch comes naturally to him.* He never assumes the God and affects the nod. To that all, add the rare and healthy quality to laugh with others as well as at himself and, you have a picture of an uncomplicated personality to whom political leadership comes effortlessly, if only because he regards every political problem as essentially a human problem and not an academic exercise. He does not

affect the intellectual attitudes that can see a dozen difficulties to every simple solution. He arrives at solutions more by intuition than the slower process of rationalisation. He recalls the classic example of a famous chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States who invariably collected his colleagues to tell them of his decision and left it to them as lawyers to find all the good reasons for it! Whatever else he may yet achieve he has already left his foot prints on the sands of our time and the vision of new realms that he so wishes to conquer is forever sustained by the sole desire to enlarge for himself the areas of his service to his own people. His talents as a politician are therefore no more than the projection on to a wider stage, his personal qualities as a man and, these are the ideal qualities that make for leadership in the modern world.



Without a Crystal Ball

(J. S. H. Cunyngham-Brown O.B.E. M.C.S. (rtd).)

"I cannot aspire to encounter a Prophet", said Confucius; "all I dare hope is to meet a perfect gentlemen"

Not having the honour of close personal acquaintanceship with Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-haj K.O.M. I am acutely conscious of inadequacy in the company of so many better qualified whose names appear here to pay him tribute.

But having been requested by the author of this book to write a word or two in reference to Malaya's first Prime Minister on his 60th birthday, a strong desire not to remain churlishly silent on so happy an occasion and a very real sense of pleasure at so kind an invitation have overcome a natural diffidence, at least to the extent of placing on record such facts concerning the Tunku's actions and their background reasons as are easily gleaned by any man who reads the daily papers.

Let us first examine that background.

The races whose contributions to this country have made her what she is today - the Chinese with their restless energy, pertinacity and business acumen; the Indian peoples of so many differing ethnic stocks whose lucid and articulate temperaments, patience, brilliance and mental, as well as physical, courage have matured the Malayan population in the sunshine of their philosophy; the British Islanders and other western races whose short period here (it was only a total of 182 years, if we exclude the presence, restricted solely to Malacca, of Portuguese and Dutch from 1511 to 1820) has utterly metamorphosed the peninsula, has

caused it to undergo a mutation, endowing it with law and order, education, good health and an admirable administration, whose practical approach and engineering skills have interlaced its face with roads and railways and whose commercial interests have caused vast areas to be cleared and planted and cities, towns and docks to sprout like mushrooms throughout the land; all these, contributing their energy, their philosophy, their practical knowledge and their sense of humour, have been the welcome guests of among the most courteous, forbearing and good-natured hosts the world has ever known - the Malays.

The Malay contribution to the Malayan people and temperament, (a point which should never be overlooked,) is one therefore which in the end proves more essential than all the others' put together.

"Of Courtesy, it is much less than courage of heart of holiness, but in my walks it seems to me that the Grace of God is in Courtesy" said Chesterton; and that Malay attribute of courteous hospitality, of uncomplaining acceptance of a host of new strangers in their midst, has been (though often unconsciously accepted and unnoticed) as vital to the creation of the present Malayan nation as the air around us or as is water to a swimming fish.

Though this has frequently been said before it may not perhaps be out of place to restate such sentiments here, in a book of birthday tributes to a Malay Prime Minister who, beyond all others, expresses in himself the suave good manners of the finest of his race. And it is well this country has such a man at its head, for, under pressure of post-war trials and ambitions, these noble attributes - the Malay's great gifts to the conjoint Malayan population - were in danger of being lost; and would probably have indeed been lost had it not been, in these years, for a statesman of the Tunku's patience, restraint, wisdom and moderation in affairs both domestic and foreign.

In matters of Malaya's internal policy the Tunku has grasped how vital it still is that the Malays should be given no cause to abandon their honoured position as kindly hosts to a past influx of other

races. He sees his own people's contribution to the Malayan population as the matrix in which all other races live and thrive - and in his successful efforts to preserve the country's peace and that 'courtesy of Malay acceptance', it has been necessary for him to make special provisions - often very important ones - for Malay survival, well-being and progress; special provisions that must depart at times from his own ideal of equality of opportunity for everyone, but which he has had the courage to insist upon, even at the risk of losing popularity among the non-Malay half of the population, for the very obvious good of all. He knows his own people and realizes, kindly and peace-loving though they are, that in matters of their good name, position and national honour they remain as sensitive, brave and proud as the Highland Scot. Let that fact be overlooked in word or deed and the air we breathe, the very medium in which we all live and flourish, would soon cease to support us.

Being no more than human his judgement of how long such internal inequalities should continue may be at fault, or again it may not. It must be generally agreed at any rate that he has not been wrong so far; and as he is at the helm of State he must certainly see more than we do and should be given peace and all the Malayan people's support and good wishes in keeping the country clear of danger and on the right course to future prosperity for as long as he remains in command.

In foreign affairs one recalls with particular pleasure his exceptionally able steersmanship. In every word and action the Tunku's understanding of Malaya's place in the world has throughout been manifest. He realizes for instance - as not all national leaders of their peoples do - that his country is a small one; that it is an international cross-roads at the extreme southern tip of the land mass of Asia; with a wasting asset in its mines; an uncertain future for its largest export, rubber; a soil that is by no means rich; a largely mountainous hinterland that cannot be developed for many years to come and a small mixed population totalling less than 3% of the world's peoples..

In such a situation the Tunku sees clearly the vital need to win friends and influence people in the right direction. He therefore

promotes technical skills and has no false pride in calling to his aid as many foreign instructors as are willing to assist to that end. His ambassadors to foreign countries are in general carefully selected and able men. He provides Malaya with as much, but only as much, defence as it can afford. He knows instinctively that neutralism in this modern world is an attractive but highly dangerous policy. He is for peace, though not for peace at any price, but only for peace if it is in any way honourably possible. And he is wise enough to realize that a country is foolish to make a close ally of any country much stronger than itself. In short the Tunku has no such ideas as '*Kadok melampau junjong*', but realistically surveys the world around him and makes only such promises as he knows the country can afford and fulfil.

The Malays are not good haters - not for long at any rate. The animosities of World War II have disappeared. Peaceful co-existence has been established, with one exception. The Tunku has not forgotten the Communist-inspired Emergency which lasted ten years and cost much blood and treasure. He distrusts Communism and will assist Democracy when attacked by Communism. Accordingly he encourages financial assistance to India in its border war with China,

In view of factors such as these, of geography and economy as well as of temperamental inclination, it was sound politics on the Tunku's part, as among his first actions to cause Malaya to join the Commonwealth and the United Nations. In the former he has been heard with respect over Apartheid in South Africa, exchange of scholars under the Colombo plan and other matters; while in the United Nations his voice has been for peace and for the establishment of law and order by such practical means as financial aid and the sending of Malayan troops to troubled areas overseas.

Nearer to our doors he has formed the A.S.A. among various neighbouring countries of size and strength approximately equal to Malaya, an association steadily being strengthened by growing commercial ties; in spite of temporary political set-backs; and to which he is prepared to admit South Vietnam.

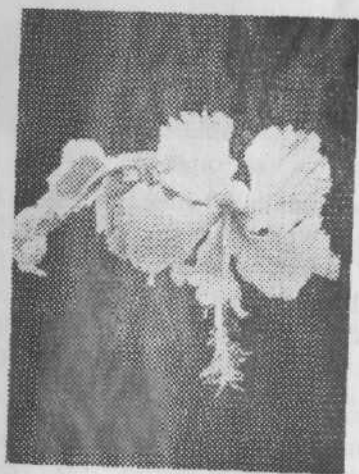
The forthcoming Merger with Singapore, Sabah, Brunei and Sarawak is a natural and highly necessary development in which the Tunku's characteristic share has been to announce it, publicise it, give everyone a chance to express his opinions about it and to pay visits to see for himself what Malaya is like; and though the untoward speed with which the scheme has progressed (a haste certainly forced upon him by the rising tide of 'leftist' opportunism that flared-up in Brunei) has in some respects marred the ordered and unhurried pace which it would have been in line with the Tunku's character to pursue if left in peace, the fact remains that his whole approach to the concept of Malaysia has been thoroughly democratic in act and intention and a refreshing contrast to Mussolini's grab of Abyssinia, Hitler's rape of Austria, or Russia's seizure of Chekoslavakia, Poland and the Baltic States; all of which were carried out in 'blitzkrieg' fashion by sudden onslaught and without reference to the people most concerned. It is necessary to view the Merger against a world-background containing such as those comparatively recent events in order to understand its conception and value, rather than to cavil at the imperfections that must always occur in any work of art or achievement. Not even the finest omelette can be prepared without the breakage of at any rate a few eggs.

Here again the verdict of history and the test of the Prime Minister's greatness will disclose themselves in time, for ill or well, from the results of this bold, important and it would seem most logical and necessary Merger of small units into the greater unity of a Federated Malaysia; and one's admiration for the Tunku merely increases when it is realized that he is endowed with no more powers of divination - though with much deeper knowledge - than the rest of us; and that he is merely doing the best he can for all concerned. His record so far should give us every confidence in the future.

One may indeed hope that the Tunku's longer-term plan for a 'Muslim Common Market' may ultimately be carried through with as much success and as little heart-burning. It is an idea that will take long to attain, but an object well conceived and well worth pursuing.

In short - and it is scarcely possible to offer the Prime Minister higher praise - his policies both at home and abroad are nothing involved, elaborate or fine-drawn. They rest on those simple ideas of human decency and good-conduct which it would indeed be well if the rest of the world would adopt and follow.

To offer a panegyric of blind hero-worship and adulation to Malaya's Prime Minister would seem to me wrong in principle as well as false to so sane and wise a person. A short, true account, as seen by the man in the street, of his attitude to life as it appears to us all from the daily record of his actions - of his practical, sensible and kindly approach to the various problems that confront him - add far more to the stature of the human picture that one desires here to represent. Though the Tunku is the last man, one hopes, of whom it might ever be said - 'call him a god and you soon make him a devil', I should nevertheless, rather than endowing him with so dangerously radioactive an attribute as a halo, prefer to say how honoured I feel to be permitted to add this, my poor bay-leaf, to a garland of sincere admiration, friendship and respect, contributed to him by so many upon his 60th birthday.



AN APPRECIATION

**(Dato Sir Alexander Oppenheim P.M.N., O.B.F.,
PH.D. (Chicago) D.S.C. (OXON) F.R.S. ED.)**



The general political awakening in South East Asia which followed the Second World War stimulated politics in Malaya, culminating in the formation of the UMNO/MCA/MIC Alliance. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-haj was the prime moving force in creating this alliance which contrary to a great deal of public opinion did not occur of its own free will.

The Tunku was first elected President of UMNO in 1951 and it was his outstanding ability which was responsible for the formation of the Alliance Party. The Tunku has reached his prominent place in world politics not through fiery oratory

or a display of rabid nationalism or revolutionary emotionalism so fashionable in this day and age.

On the contrary, he has climbed to the heights of political leadership through an acute acumen which enables him to act at the correct psychological moment and because he is a political realist who possesses the gift of finding ground for compromise between opposing factions when all other are blinded by the enormity of the problems which face them.

His leadership of the UMNO Party immediately after his becoming President proved his calibre in this direction. At the time he took over the organisation was facing an extremely critical situation and almost the entire leadership had resigned en bloc. Morale was then at its lowest ebb and internal dissension threatened to disrupt the Party. The Tunku was at that stage by no means even a nationally known figure but he confronted and defeated the problems which faced him and has year after year been re-elected as President of the Party.

Perhaps the most outstanding quality of the Tunku is his sincerity which stimulates loyalty in all those who surround him and inspires them to follow his example in winning friends and so disarming their opponents. This quality has stood him well in bringing together the heterogeneous population of Malaya with its delicate communal relationships. He is forming a Malayan nation for the communities: a nation whom he is leading through independence to progress and prosperity.

Malaya may indeed deem itself fortunate to have such a man at the helm of Government.

His approaches to the communal problems have been realistic and moderate. He has steadily attempted to improve the lot of those who do not have enough without penalizing those who have.

Under his leadership Malaya is rapidly becoming a major world power. He has formulated an independent external



At the Imperial Palace, Tokyo.
Photo: By courtesy of the Embassy of Japan, Kuala Lumpur

policy through which each international issue is considered on its individual merits in the light of how it affects Malaya, her friends and her neighbours. There is no blind anti-Communist front nor an avid pro-Western approach. Malaya is not committed to pre-judge individual issues by a bloc stand. She has condemned the Chinese in Tibet, the French in Algeria, the Russians in Hungary, and the Americans in Lebanon. The foreign policy is therefore Malaya orientated. The stability of the Government has received recognition throughout the world, created a favourable climate for investment and allowed the population to reach the highest standard of living in South East Asia. Such are the benefits which the country has reached under the leadership of the Tunku.





At the Tokyo Race Course,

Photo by courtesy of the Embassy of Japan, Kuala Lumpur

A TRIBUTE

(S. Rajaratnam)

In an age of revolutionary violence and leaders whose bellies rumble with ideological wrath Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya is the "odd man out". He offers no coherent and complex ideology for his followers to annotate and elaborate into a grand political philosophy. If the Tunku has a political philosophy at all, it is the earthy common sense, one of the man-in-the-street. It is the political philosophy of a man with a philosophic attitude to life. It is based on an understanding of the frailties of human nature for which he, unlike the moral zealot, makes allowances. It is this tolerance, this refusal to treat all men as wholly saints or wholly villains which has made the Tunku a leader loved by his followers and respected by even those who disagree with him.

It is this innate sense of tolerance of other peoples beliefs and weaknesses which makes the Tunku the right leader at the right time. In a multi-racial and multi-cultural society such as ours a leader who sees the world in sharp contrasts of black and white, good and evil, right and wrong could have been a major disaster. It is because of his ability to interpose a large shading of grey between the extremes of white and black, good and bad and right and wrong, that the Tunku has been able to make Malaya, which whatever its defects and shortcomings, is one of the most stable, prosperous and peaceful countries in the whole region.

For example, the Tunku is an anti-colonialist and like all nationalist leaders in Asia and Africa he and his party were propelled into power and eminence on popular anti-colonial sentiments. But after the attainment of independence, the Tunku did not like lesser leaders seek to maintain his popularity by continuing to exploit the well-worn anti-colonial slogans whenever he felt that he had to rally the people around him. This is in contrast with some leaders who having made a mess of things under conditions of independence; who having failed to use the power and responsibility they had wrested from the colonial rulers for the betterment of their people return to beat the empty drums of anti-colonialism in an effort to distract the people from their sorry lot.

The Tunku, like Nehru, realised that once the anti-colonial battle was over, it was the duty of responsible leaders to accept responsibility for whatever shortcomings there may be under conditions of independence. A true leader is one who girds himself to fight new battles which he has already won.

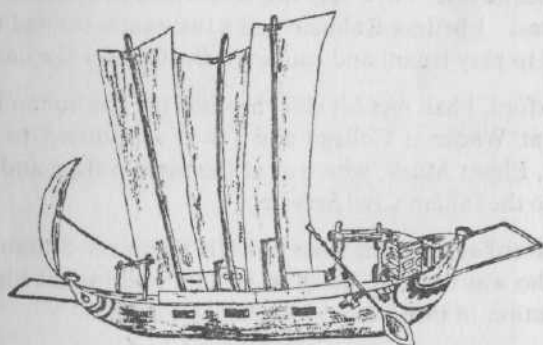
Instead of wringing his hands over the evils of colonialism, the Tunku has, quite rightly, concentrated on trying to rectify the many shortcomings of colonialism. There may be disagreement on how far he has succeeded in this or whether he is setting about it the right way but what one cannot deny is that he and his government have tried to lay emphasis on constructive work to improve the lot of the people.

His refusal to beat his breast and wail about the evils of colonialism has led some of his less discerning critics to charge him with lacking anti-colonial fervour. But the true anti-colonialist is not one who makes fierce anti-colonial speeches but the leader who has made life a little better and more secure for as many people as possible after the end of colonialism.

Similarly the Tunku whose political strength and influence is rooted in the Malay masses could have consolidated and secured his position by playing up to Malay chauvanism and

Malay racialism. There are many second rate and third rate Malay leaders in the Federation who having neither the strength of character or intellect to offer the people anything worthwhile are openly and recklessly pandering to Malay chauvanism. These stupid and dangerous demagogues know that this open pandering to racialism and religious prejudices can only result in violence and chaos but these third rate leaders are only interested in short cuts to political power and loot.

An undeniable source of the Tunku's greatness is that he has steadfastly refused to win popularity by playing to racial and religious prejudices. But for his determined and courageous Malayan stand, the Federation might well have seen the communal tragedy that has visited and ravaged many other countries in Asia. Though socialists may not see eye with the Tunku on a number of things, no socialist can deny that the Tunku is a source of strength to the cause of Malayan nationalism and, in the coming years of Malaysian nationalism as well.



The Making of a Prime Minister

(M. SARAVANAMUTTU)

Cambridge and Penang Days—Independent Spirit of Kedah Royal Family—The Ozair Incident—Kidnapping of Father—Disillusioned by Japanese—Reaction to McMichael Treaties—Leaves Home State—D.P.P. at Kuala Lumpur—President of UMNO—Prime Minister of Malaya.

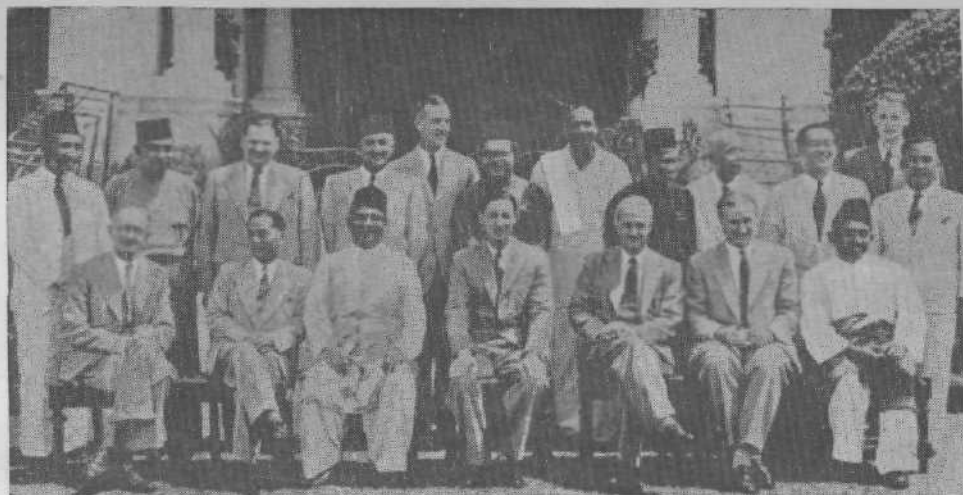
I first came to know of Tunku Abdul Rahman from my younger brother, S. Saravanamuttu, who was with him at the same college at Cambridge, St. Catherine's. This was in the early 1920's. I had already come down from Oxford and was in London, playing cricket for the Indian Gymkhana. When my brother came to London for the summer vacation in 1921, he told me about his friend, a Malayan Prince, who, he said, was a very fine fellow and with whom he used to go to dances. I believe Rahman had a two-seater car and the pair of them used to play truant and run up to Bedford for the dances there.

At Oxford, I had met his elder brother, the late Sultan Badlishah, who was at Wadham College and I was introduced to him by a Ceylonese, Elmar Mack, who was at the same college and who later passed into the Indian Civil Service.

At Oxford at the same time was His Highness Sultan Ismail of Johore, who was the first Asian to be admitted to that highly exclusive institution in those days, Magdalene College.

It will thus be seen that my contact with Malaya dates more than a decade before my arrival in Penang in 1931.

My first meeting with Tunku Abdul Rahman was when he returned from England in 1931 and it took place at the Wembley



The High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray (centre), the Chief Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman (3rd from left), and the Ministers of Malaya.

Dance Hall in Penang. It was the custom in those days for Government officers in South Kedah to take advantage of the weekly Thursday half-day and Friday holidays to run up to Penang and Thursday and Friday nights were usually spent at the Wembley Dance Hall which was the only night club in those days. The proprietor, the late Mr. Heah Joo Seang, kept an open table and most of us used to gather at it.

As a result of these trysts, my acquaintance with Rahman ripened into a warm friendship, assisted no doubt by his earlier contact with my younger brother. We had many interesting talks and I soon learned that the young Tunku was imbued with a very vibrant independent spirit. In fact the independent character of the Kedah Royal House was already well known in those days. It was said that the underlying reason for the first abdication of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid, Rahman's father, was not the alleged mental illness but really because he was riled by the constant British requests for concessions. So he appointed his next brother, Tunku Mahmud, and then his eldest son, the late Tunku Ibrahim, was made regent when the Sultan became really ill.

Tunku Ibrahim himself was no less independent. I remember Sir Cecil Clementi telling me of the difficulty he had in meeting Tunku Ibrahim. When he went to Alor Star, he would be told that the Regent had gone to Penang, and when he followed him there he found he had gone off to Singapore! Kedah was not prepared to come into the Federated Malay States as they saw that the Sultans of the Federated States were mere figure heads and the real rulers were the British Residents. It was this that led to Sir Cecil Clementi's now famous Decentralisation Speech at the meeting of the Rulers' Council at Sri Menanti in 1932 which advocated more local autonomy for the Malay States so that they could all come into a Federation of the whole of Malaya - a consummation which was not achieved till 1948.

There is no doubt that Tunku Abdul Rahman inherited this independent spirit from his father whose youngest son he was though Tunku denies that he was the favourite because he was considered too



Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj delivering his inaugural address at the opening of the Federal Parliament (1962)

wild in those days. He used to write letters to the *Straits Echo* under the pseudonym of "Tunku Putra" and his present assumption of "Putra" in his name was due to his being known by that pet name when he was a boy. My first direct impact with this independent spirit was in connection with his nephew, the late Tunku Ozair, a son of Tunku Ibrahim.

Tunku Ibrahim's sons were all high-spirited young men and their father's independence was in them enhanced by the rebellious spirit of modern youth. This involved them in frequent clashes with Europeans in Kedah, some of whom were unable to shed the "Tuan Besar" complex. As a result the Kedah Europeans resented the pranks of the Ibrahim boys who, they felt, were unnecessarily throwing their weight about. The climax came when Tunku Ozair was involved in a fight with some Indians culminating in the shooting of one of them in a coffee-shop. The C.P.O. and others made much of the case and, in the outcome, Ozair was sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Rahman was very upset as Ozair was one of his favourite nephews and on his next visit to Penang, he told me about it when we met. To me the answer was simple. I advised Rahman to get on the next train to Singapore - there were no planes in those days - and go and see the High Commissioner, Sir Shenton Thomas. I suggested to him that he should ask Sir Shenton a simple question, namely whether if the grandson of the ruling sovereign of Great Britain had been guilty of the same offence, he would have been sentenced to imprisonment in a common gaol. Rahman did not see Sir Shenton Thomas but instead saw the lawyer, Sir Roland Bradell, and in the appeal which followed, the sentence was confirmed. Rahman then saw the Regent of Kedah and the gaol sentence was amended to one of banishment, and Ozair left for Denmark, his wife's home country.

Tunku Muhammad, who had succeeded Tunku Ibrahim as Regent, was a mild personage with little of the fighting spirit of his elder brother and it was left to the youngest of the old Sultan's sons to show that spirit on behalf of his nephew. This, to my mind, was an outstanding early sign of the make-up that blossomed as the Prime Minister of independent Malaya. The then Mentri Besar of

Kedah once told Rahman that he was knocking his head against a brick wall. Promptly came back the reply, "I will break it down (meaning the brick wall) with my head."

The Japanese invasion of Malaya followed soon after and poor Ozair had a difficult time in Denmark cut off from the source of funds in Malaya, but that invasion gave an opportunity to Tunku Abdul Rahman to display again that same independent spirit as well as a true appreciation of one's proper responsibility that makes him the ideal Prime Minister. I refer to his now famous "kidnapping" of his father, the late Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah of Kedah.

Even now one shudders when one remembers the speed with which the invader overran the country. In less than a week Kedah had fallen; Penang was evacuated in eight days and three days later, the Japanese had occupied the island. In that nightmarish period, a British official thought - rightly from his point of view - that if the Sultans were evacuated the Japanese would rule during their occupation only *de facto*. If, however, the rulers were left behind and were made under duress to consent to the Japanese regime, there might be legal complications later on. So the order was given to evacuate all the Sultans starting from Perlis and Kedah. The motorcade was to start from Alor Star with the old Sultan, his household, and the Raja Muda Badlishah.

Tunku Abdul Rahman at the time was District Officer at Kulim. I have read a version that he intercepted the motorcade at the junction of the branch road to Kulim and persuaded his father to leave the procession and go with him to his house at Kulim. It seems unlikely however that the others would have stood by and allowed him to upset their plans in this manner. According to Tunku, this is how it happened.

The previous night when he was on duty at the Kulim A.R.P. Headquarters, he received a message from his brother-in-law, Syed Omar Shahabuddin, who is now Menteri Besar of Kedah, that the British were going to evacuate the Sultan at dawn. That same night, he made up his mind to prevent them taking his father away at all costs, so he armed himself and to

gether with his friend, Syed Abu Bakar Al-Idrus, waited for the Sultan at Kepala Batas junction. The first car with the police escort passed by and two minutes later came the yellow Rolls-Royce of the Sultan. He stopped it, jumped into the car and forced the driver to take the turn to Kulim. It was only when they reached Penang that those following the Sultan realised that they had arrived without the Ruler. After some investigation, they found that Rahman had his father with him in Kulim.

The Regent, Tunku Badlishah, phoned Rahman up and asked him to bring the Sultan to Penang immediately or else he would order his arrest. Rahman replied that he could come and take the Sultan if he liked but it would be only over his dead body. He was prepared to fight it out. It was later that day that the Japanese bombed Penang and in the evening, Badlishah himself came to seek the protection of his brother Abdul Rahman at Kulim.

It transpired that morning, when the Sultan reached Gurun the officer-in-charge of the convoy arranged for the cars to travel at two-minute intervals to avoid the dust and that is how the others lost sight of the Sultan because Rahman's bold action took place within these two minutes. But if this arrangement for two-minute intervals had not been made, there would be no knowing what would have happened to Rahman. He would probably not be alive to lead the country, because, according to him, he would have shot it out.

Viewed in the light of calm reason, it will be agreed that Tunku Abdul Rahman's concept that his father's duty as the ruler of his people was to remain with them in time of trouble was the correct one, but his ability to make that split-second decision at the time of crisis, when all the others had acquiesced in the evacuation, carries the stamp of the true leader - who was later to become the first Prime Minister of Malaya.

Of course the Japanese could not make enough fuss of Tunku at first for having kept his father behind but he soon found them out fo

what they were - the military clique who took their country into war. It was not long before he got into trouble with them for refusing to mobilise a labour force to plant cotton at Padang Serai and was demoted in service. When I went to see him at his house by the river in 1944 I found a very disillusioned person, longing for the end of the purgatory that we were all going through. He was in the right frame of mind to receive his nephews with open arms when they were dropped behind the lines in 1945 and to assist their guerilla activities in every possible way. Fortunately the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki led to the surrender of the Japanese without the necessity of a battle for the reconquest of Malaya and the liberation in September 1945 saw the Tunku a happy man again.

Then came the notorious McMichael Treaties. In my enthusiasm for an United Malaya I supported them and wrote an editorial saying that it was nonsense to treat the old treaties with the Sultans as sacrosanct. I received a curt note from my old friend, "Sara, don't you dare set foot in Kedah. Your life will be in danger." It came as a shock to me but it also brought me to my senses; it made me realise the Malay point of view and prepared me to support Dato' Onn when he stomped the country to rouse the Malays in revolt against the Malayan Union.

But it also showed Tunku Abdul Rahman as a Malay of Malays. In the prewar days, he was noted for the free manner in which he mixed with all races - a trait that he carries to the present time. In fact, there were some who said he had more Chinese friends than Malays, but his friendship for individuals from other races was not inspired by sloppy sentimentality. It was the true comradeship that is born "when two strong men stand face to face" - to complete that oft-misquoted quotation from Kipling. And Rahman made ample **amende honorable** for that threatening note to me at a party I gave him when he first became Chief Minister. He publicly stated, "I am doing today what Sara advocated years ago and about which I fought with him those days." A magnanimous gesture from a truly great personality.

The Tunku, however, soon became an unhappy and frustrated person in post-war Kedah. His father had died during the Japanese

occupation and Badlishah was Sultan. It was an open secret that the two brothers did not see eye to eye. There is no need now to go into their differences as they made it up over their father's grave when Rahman was Chief Minister. But here again Tunku Abdul Rahman showed the stuff of which he is made. When he felt there was no room for him in his home state, he went back to London to complete his examinations and be called to the Bar some twenty five years after he enrolled as a student at Inner Temple. He then returned to Malaya to take up a job as Deputy Public Prosecutor at Kuala Lumpur.

Destiny, however, was knocking at his door. When Dato' Onn, becoming impatient that the Malays would not keep pace with him and change the name United Malay Nationalist Organisation to United MALAYAN Nationalist Organisation, resigned from that body, the Malays naturally turned to Tunku as their leader. Among them was Dato' Abdul Razak, who was Secretary to Rahman's President of the Malay Students' Association in London and well knew his qualities of leadership. Tunku, who was merely kicking his heels in his petty legal job, accepted the invitation to be President of UMNO, and the evolution of the Alliance Party under his leadership is recent history.

Rahman and I have always remained good friends. When he introduces me to his new political and diplomatic friends, he says, "This is Sara, the old scoundrel from Penang" and he immediately turns it into a compliment by adding, "I was the biggest scoundrel in Penang those days." Yes, the playboy Rahman of those Cambridge dancing days and hectic Penang nights of Wembley and after has today become to beloved leader of Malaya and a statesman of world stature. Soon he will be Prime Minister of Malaysia - a new country he has brought into being. May he be spared many years to guide its destinies.



Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj

Some Personal Glimpses

(JAMES F. AUGUSTIN)

Although a statesman of international stature Tunku Abdul Rahman is at heart very much a human being. To me, through the years, he has always been the same likeable, slightly shy, fun-loving boy whom I first met at Alor Star in 1918 when he came home from the Penang Free School for the holidays.

Then, as now, the Tunku liked friends and believed that it was a social duty to make the lives of others pleasant. As his guests he brought to Alor Star a party of schoolmates. They played soccer against the Government English School (now, the Sultan Abdul Hamid College) and took on Mr. J. S. W. Arthur's XI at hockey.

The Tunku did the honours royally. Among other acts of hospitality he took his visitors for drives round the town in the Sultan's horse-drawn coach, and the whole group which included some of the local boys and I, posed for a photograph in front of the Balai Besar, with the Tunku as the central figure. It was at this time that preparations were being made to send him to a public school in England.

Ten years before this the Tunku had had his first taste of schooling. He was only four and the Government English School had been opened by the late Mr. Mohamed Iskandar.

His Mother, Che Menyelara, a gracious lady in advance of her age, sent him to the school, and as it was not meet that the Sultan's son should walk, he was daily carried pick-aback by an attendant named Idris.

CAMBRIDGE

In 1924 I met the Tunku at Cambridge where he was an undergraduate at St. Catharine's College. It was my first visit to England and I had written to say that I would like to visit him.

On the appointed day he met me at the railway-station, and in his two-seater car he took me round the University town and showed me the Colleges and the sights - the river, the "Backs", "the Bridge of Sighs", Clare College Bridge, the Great Court and King's Gateway of Trinity College, and King's College Chapel.

We lunched at his digs and after lunch he took me to call on Mr. P. W. Wood, Senior Tutor of Mathematics, who lived at Emmanuel College, to whom I had a letter of introduction. We also dropped in at Christ's College to see Chua Sin Kah who had been a classmate of mine at St. Xavier's in Penang.

As luck would have it, I missed the evening train back to London; but as usual, the Tunku solved the difficulty with the facility which was to distinguish him in later years. He took me to hall (dinner) with him. I thus had the opportunity of dining with the undergraduates for whom attendance at hall was compulsory.

In the following year the Tunku came home after graduating at Cambridge, prior to returning to England to resume studies for the Bar. Even at that time he was a strong believer in the advantages of higher education for Malayans, and he urged his elder brother, Tunku Ibrahim, the then Regent, to send more Kedah boys to England. He cited

the example of Thailand which had several hundred students in the United Kingdom

At the same time he took up the question of an increase in a student's allowance with the British Adviser and told him bluntly that the amount given was not sufficient for a student to move even in *third-class English circles*.

KEDAH CIVIL SERVICE

When he returned from England after his studies he joined the Kedah Civil Service where he soon earned for himself the soubriquet of "stormy petrel", because his views of what constituted correct policy did not coincide with those of others in *higher places*. His forthright manner of speaking, too, was frowned upon.

Matters came to a head when he was District Officer at Kuala Muda in Sungei Patani and took sides with the taxi-owners against the order from the Government for them to amalgamate. He was on the verge of throwing up his post and going off to England rather than go to Kulim at *twenty-four hours' notice*, when *wiser counsels prevailed*. I was one of those who made a special journey from Alor Star to see him in his quarters at Sungei Patani, to dissuade him from leaving for England. It was afternoon. The Tunku was resentful and dejected, but I pointed out to him that those who opposed him were in a position of strength and, what weighed with him most, his Mother whom he loved dearly, was ill and would feel his departure most deeply.

With the sweet reasonableness for which he is noted, the Tunku decided to accept the transfer to Kulim which he afterwards made into the happiest district in Kedah. "There is nothing", he once remarked, "like a district". For him it provided opportunities to meet people. To him they were more important than the passing of minute-papers.

It was to Kulim too that he took his Father, the Sultan, when the Japanese invaded Malaya. Anticipating that the

Japanese would pass through the District, he arranged for the Sultan and his relatives to evacuate to a specially prepared camp at Kuala Sidim, some miles outside Kulim town. His last words before I left to go south to the hills of Gopeng (where my brother-in-law, the late Mr. C. A. Rodrigues, was in charge of the hydro-electric power-stations belonging to French Tekkah) were bitter- "This is what they call British Protection!"

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION

To the Tunku, as to the rest of us, the Japanese Occupation brought much hardship; but the Tunku never lost the respect of the Japanese to whom he was not always **persona grata**, for he was transferred from Kulim at twelve hours' notice after he opposed them on forced labour.

Shortly after I returned to Alor Star in February, 1942, the Chief of the Kempetai sent for me. As I sat in his office I chanced to meet a Liaison Officer, Lt. Toda, who knew the Tunku well.

By a fortunate coincidence, my wife and I had stayed with the Tunku's sister, Tunku Habsah, and his brother-in law, Syed Sheh Shahabudin (now Malayan Ambassador to Japan) when we passed through Kulim. From them I had learned how the Japanese had commandeered the Tunku's car and how University-educated Lt. Toda had retrieved it and restored it to the Tunku.

The Kempetai Chief happening to go out for a moment. I mentioned the incident to Lt. Toda who said, "Too bad!".

When the Kempetai Officer came in again Lt. Toda spoke to him in Japanese. I did not understand what he said but he ~~he~~ must have vouched for me because he (Lt. Toda) then turned to me and told me I could go home. I was surprised and greatly relieved because I had expected to be browbeaten, beaten up, and put in the lock-up. It dawned upon me that my knowledge of the incident relating to the Tunku's car must

have convinced Lt. Toda that I was a friend of the Tunku and therefore a "good" man.

B.M.A.

When the Japanese surrendered the M.P.A.J.A. attempted to take over control. The Tunku was wideawake to the dangerous potentialities of the situation and began to organise opposition to such a takeover. He spoke to me about it, and it was mainly due to his representations to Force 136, then in North Kedah, that the M.P.A.J.A. were restrained from moving into Alor Star and causing general anarchy.

Under the B.M.A. the Tunku became Superintendent of Education. I was Headmaster of the Sultan Abdul Hamid College, and owing to his understanding, my colleagues and I were able to get the College going within six weeks of the Liberation.

I remember going with him and Captain P. Whitworth (Staff Officer in charge of Education) to see the College after the Japanese had left it. Local lads had invaded the premises and on the walls they had scribbled obscenities. Capt. Whitworth asked the Tunku what the words meant but he tactfully said they were very bad words, but he did not elaborate.

FAMILY DIFFERENCES

The aftermath of the War having sorted itself out, misunderstanding arose between the Tunku and his elder brother, Sultan Badlishah. The long and short of it was that the Tunku fell into the bad books of the Sultan and their relations were severely strained. The Tunku harboured no malice, however, and he told me on one occasion that there was no reason why he and his brother should have fallen out. From their student days in England they had played together, stayed together, and been the best of friends, I was able, indirectly, to make the Sultan aware of these sentiments, and I like to think that by doing so I helped in a little way to heal



**Dr. Rajendra Prasad, India's first President received the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, at Istana Teraju, Kuala Lumpur.
Picture shows the President talking to the Prime Minister.**

the breach. The Tunku subsequently received the Kedah Order of Merit, the highest decoration the Sultan can confer. This is the honour (K.O.M.) which comes first after the Tunku's name.

FIELD OF SPORT

On the field of sport I remember the Tunku as a hard-driving and stylish tennis-player. At hockey he kept goal, and on one occasion he was asked to settle a dispute between a player and an umpire. Words on the field were followed by acrimonious correspondence between the two and they appealed to the Tunku who made them bury the hatchet.

Speaking of sport reminds me of the time when Selangor came to play Kedah in an H.M.S. Malaya Cup Match at Alor Star. The Tunku was President of the Kedah Football Association. The Selangor players brought their own water on to the field, and at half-time declined the water supplied by the K.F.A. This annoyed the Tunku very much, and as I was covering the game for the *Straits Echo* he asked me to make mention of it in my report. This I did and a similar incident did not recur.

The Tunku's rise to the Premiership is recent. His pre-eminent position and protocol preclude me from reminiscing further. I must therefore refrain from giving details of my nomination to the Federal Legislative Council and how I was selected to represent the Federation at the Coronation of Pope John in Rome in 1958; but of this I am sure - that as in the case of Abou Ben Adhem, in the Recording Angel's book of gold, the Tunku's name must hold a high place "as one that loves his fellow men."



India Will Always Remember The Tunku's Friendly Mission

(V. N. NAIR)



The magic touch of Malaya's Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman has worked miracles in India. He came here on a goodwill visit, met the leaders and

the people and promptly conquered their hearts. Few VIP visits in recent times have left the impact that the Tunku's goodwill tour has produced in India. It is agreed on all sides that the Malayan Prime Minister's visit was, indeed a memorable one.

Memorable not only for the strengthening of Indo-Malayan friendship, which was the Tunku's main objective, but also for the esteem and affection with which the Tunku was greeted wherever he went as a "friend in need."

Perhaps, the timing of the visit also contributed to its success. The Tunku's arrival in India coincided with the Chinese Communist aggression at the frontier. All India was bewildered by the



Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra and his wife, Puan Sharifah Rodziah with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in New Delhi.

Photo: By courtesy Information Services of India, Kuala Lumpur.

turn of events. There was an emergency in the country. And the Tunku's first pronouncement on Indian soil was Malaya's all-out support for India in its hour of crisis.

If the Tunku and party discovered India on their 11-day tour of the country, India discovered a genuine friend in a few fleeting minutes at the Calcutta airport.

It was a discovery that went right into the hearts of the people.

The Malayan leader's informality, the tone of sincerity in his statements, the spirit of crusade against communism he inspired, won him 400 million friends and admirers.

It was a triumphant tour across India for the Tunku and party.

Wherever he went, people flocked around him—and he seemed to enjoy it. They cheered him lustily, listened to his views with respect.

An Indian official said: "The Tunku is a crusader. He brought light to India, when darkness seemed to envelop the country. He gave India's leadership a great deal of encouragement in this crisis."

Perhaps, the men who liked him most were the newsmen. He was amiable, informal and extremely helpful to the fraternity of the Fourth Estate. The unofficial verdict of the press is that the Tunku's presence in India had considerably influenced the Indian 'climate' at the crucial juncture.

At Ajmer after worshipping at the holy Darga Khwaja Sahib, the Tunku was in a contemplative mood. He talked mainly about saints. He narrated the story of his mission to the Darga Khwaja Sahib.

At the Taj Mahal in Agra, again, the Tunku was in a meditative mood. For a little while, he left his party and went to a nearby mosque for prayers.

Coming back with a radiant smile, the Tunku said: "Perhaps, you wouldn't understand me. It was my belief in Allah that made

me work and undertake the heavy responsibility of Prime Minister. I am a Muslim. My Faith is God."

On other occasions, the Tunku's talks with newsmen was largely about Malaysia, the tremendous tasks that await the new Federation. Every time he spoke proudly about Malaya and Malaysians.

"Our people live happily. My country is one of the richest in the world. Our people are better fed, better clothed than most others in our part of the world..."

His statements on Communist machinations, based on practical experience, were treated with great respect. They opened the eyes of many people to the seriousness of the threat they were confronted with.

Before he left India, the Tunku said: "I am taking back with me shiploads of goodwill and love from India."

But the goodwill and love he left behind for the Indian people are of inexhaustible proportions.

Here was a genuine friend of India who could rightly claim that his goodwill visit was a case of "I came, I saw, I conquered."





With Queen Elizabeth and Commonwealth Prime Ministers at Windsor Castle, England May 1960.

Photo: By courtesy of British Information Services

With the Tunku in London

(Frank Sullivan)

Mr. President, Fellow-guests and members of Rotary:-

I do not intend to go into details about the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, because all of you are familiar with the sequence of events. I propose rather to throw some light on aspects of the Conference with which you are not familiar but which are known to me in the course of my duty as a member of the mission (as a most privileged observer you may say) and in doing so to give a personal assessment of the achievements of our Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra.

First, I would like to set the scene, to picture the background of this historic Conference. The first thing to note is that no Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers had taken place in London for nearly three years. In fact, the previous one happened only three months before the Federation of Malaya became independent. Our Prime Minister, therefore, was representing his country for the first time.

The second point is that the Prime Ministers' Conference, like the Commonwealth itself, has no written rules or Constitution. There is, however, a general understanding that members do not interfere in the domestic policies of other members. This is not

Text of speech entitled "With the Tunku in London" given by the Press Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, Mr. Frank Sullivan, at the luncheon meeting of the Kuala Lumpur Rotary Club at 1.30 p.m. on Wednesday, July 6, 1960:

unusual; it is an accepted practice in most countries, some of which, particularly the Communists, are only too quick to insist on it.

The third important point is South Africa's policy of apartheid. The Government there has been carrying out this policy for twelve years, but in the nine months or so immediately before the Conference apartheid was attracting general concern in many parts of the world owing to the excessive rigour used in enforcing every letter of the law. The South African Government obstinately refused to listen to the protests, continuing to act with blind contempt of the Declaration of Human Rights. Sooner or later the crescendo of oppression seemed bound to explode into violence. Finally, it did explode, at Sharpeville in mid-March. The shots fired there rang around the world; the tragedy of Sharpeville was a bitter shock to the conscience of free men.

One of the very first to protest was our Prime Minister. He sent an immediate telegram to Prime Minister Macmillan deploring the action of the South African police in shooting down unarmed men, women and children, and he asked for the agenda of the Commonwealth Conference in London to include discussion on apartheid.

That was just six weeks before the Conference began. During that intervening time not a day passed without worldwide news on apartheid or events in South Africa, not the least being the attempted assassination of the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd. Correspondents and feature writers on the spot, editors and columnists everywhere in the free world, wrote volumes condemning South Africa. Governments and national leaders cabled the strongest protests. Parliaments met in the Commonwealth to debate apartheid. Our own Parliament was unique because it gave the Tunku an open and unanimous mandate to raise the question at the Prime Ministers' Conference. The Afro-Asian group in the United Nations brought the matter to the Security Council, which authorised the Secretary-General to make a personal investigation. In short, all civilised opinion was opposed to apartheid. Yet in spite of this international clamour and concern South Africa persisted in claiming that apartheid was purely a domestic matter.



With Queen Elizabeth and Commonwealth Prime Ministers at Buckingham Palace, London, March 1961.
Photo: By courtesy of British Information Services

It is interesting to note that the South Africans quickly changed their diplomatic tactics. Previously South Africa declined to attend *any discussion on apartheid and ignored any attacks*. After Sharpeville, she began to answer back, attended the Security Council meeting, and also announced that she would be represented at the Prime Ministers' Conference in London by her Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Louw. This settled one question because many had *begun to doubt if South Africa would appear at all in face of the tide of hostile criticism*.

South Africa, however, had a particular reason for wanting to be there. The Government had announced its intention of *holding a referendum on South Africa becoming a Republic*. The most extreme elements wanted a complete break with the Commonwealth, but the Government was more guarded and left itself uncommitted on whether the proposed Republic should be inside or outside. One of Mr. Louw's assignments, it turned out, was *to try and get a blank cheque endorsement for a South African Republic to stay in the Commonwealth*.

Apartheid produced one unexpected reaction - a great deal of heart-searching on the future of the Commonwealth, particularly *in the Press*. The most pessimistic had grave doubts whether the Commonwealth could survive the shock of Sharpeville; surely it could split wide open. The most optimistic were confident that the Commonwealth, with its remarkable record of adapting itself to changing circumstances, would not fail to meet this new challenge *to its genius for association*.

The British Press managed to work itself into a tangle of speculation whether apartheid would come up in the Conference formally or informally, or whether it would come up at all. The words "formal" and "informal" *began to assume extraordinary importance*. The argument went like this. If apartheid is formally discussed it is a victory for public opinion; if it is informally discussed, then the Prime Ministers are handling it with kid gloves; if it is not discussed, then they are baulking the issue.

The public generally tends to simplify any important issue and the Press is never slow in helping it to do so. In the public mind, therefore, the question of apartheid and the endurance of the Commonwealth became linked, inextricably. As often happens they hoped for the best but were prepared for the worst. They waited for an answer to a question of their own making - if the Prime Ministers do not discuss apartheid what is the value of such meetings?

It must be remembered, too, that the Conference in London was due to end just before the opening of the much-heralded Summit Talks in Paris. This left another question mark hanging in the air. If apartheid exploded at the London talks, would it affect Commonwealth unity on major topics in Paris?

It was against the background of all these events and opinions that the Prime Ministers converged on London. There was no question at all either in their minds or in the minds of the public that this Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers would be the most momentous ever held. With the attention of the whole world focussed on London, the statesmanship of the Commonwealth leaders faced a stern test.

It was in this atmosphere of crisis and challenge that Tunku Abdul Rahman set out with the full backing of the nation to attend the Conference. Malaya was the new member. He had clearly stated his intention to raise the question of apartheid. He was not a figure well-known on the world scene in the sense that Mr. Nehru is. So what he would say or do became the subject of much speculation; the statesmanship of Tunku Abdul Rahman faced a stern test.

I wonder how many people at that time really appreciated how great a test it would be. Now that the Conference is over and the Tunku's actions are known to all, it is very easy to praise him for what he did; the whole nation is proud of him, and rightly so. But while he was flying to London the Tunku was going to take a task that was almost superhuman. His situation was quite different from that of the other Prime Ministers, most of whom were committed only by opinions they might have expressed. The

Tunku was committed by his own wish, by his own opinion, and by a national mandate, and this was the crux of his difficulties - unlike the other Prime Ministers he was committed to action.

However, the Tunku did not let the handicaps ahead daunt him in any way. He knew some of the Prime Ministers already, but others he had not met. As it was his first Conference, he had no previous personal experience to guide him. For the people of Malaya apartheid was the only issue, but the Tunku was well aware there were many other important subjects on which he would have to be the leader and spokesman for Malaya.

He lost no time in making his intention clear. In the middle of the bubbling welcome at London airport, he spoke to the Press. That night or next morning the whole world knew that the Tunku had declared once again he was going to bring the question of apartheid to the Conference. That was on Sunday night, May 1, and the Conference opened two days later. For the next two weeks the Tunku was fully occupied with the work of the Conference, a heavy round of official and social engagements, and a constant stream of callers such as students, old friends, Members of Parliament, businessmen, and of course the Press.

At this point I think I should say something about the Press in relation to the Conference. In the past when Commonwealth Prime Ministers met in London, usually a statement would be issued on the first day and a final communique on the last day. As the proceedings were secret, newspaper men could glean very little in the intervening period. They found these doldrums very trying, but from the Prime Ministers' point of view very little could be reported in the Press to disturb the serenity of their arrangements.

Because of the terrific interest of the Press in apartheid, this Conference turned out very differently. Reports in the morning newspapers about the opening day were confusing and contradictory. While they all stated there would be informal discussion between the Prime Ministers on apartheid, it was not at all clear how or where this was to be done. The "Daily Mail" came up flatly with a startling headline, "Victory for Louw", and declared there would

be no discussion on apartheid by the Prime Ministers, but there might be some soundings **outside** the Conference.

From this point on the Commonwealth Relations Office issued a very short statement of proceedings each day, and a whole team of Press Officers were kept busy for three or four hours after sessions ended briefing news men on the background either in person or on telephones. This was very necessary, otherwise apartheid would detract from the many-sided work of the Conference throwing the record out of balance. The men from Fleet Street haunted the hotels where the Prime Ministers and their delegations were staying and gave full publicity to speeches and rallies made outside the Conference, for instance Mr. Diefenbaker's attack on racial discrimination. The result of this Press activity was that by the time the Conference ended it was the most widely publicised Premiers' meeting ever held.

At the very first formal session the Tunku kept his promise; he raised the question of apartheid. As the Prime Minister has said himself, he was lucky in a way as it fell to him as the newest member to reply on behalf of all the other Prime Ministers to the speech of welcome by Mr. Macmillan. In the two weeks before leaving Kuala Lumpur the Tunku had devoted much time and care to the preparation of this important speech. He studied it on his flight to London, giving the final touches of revision after arriving there.

I am committing no breach of security by saying that what happened on the first day was briefly as follows: After Mr. Macmillan had welcomed the delegates and formally inaugurated the Conference, the Tunku spoke in reply. The texts of these speeches were not released, but the Tunku himself has disclosed since, here in Parliament in Kuala Lumpur, what he said about apartheid. Following this there was a formal discussion on the agenda and proceedings. There was in fact a discussion on how, when and where apartheid would be discussed. It was agreed that a special room should be provided in No. 10 Downing Street where not more than four or five Prime Ministers or representatives at a time would talk

together with Mr. Louw at the end of the morning and afternoon sessions.

Informal talks on apartheid actually began next morning and were resumed in the afternoon. But just after luncheon that day, Wednesday, May 4, Mr. Louw gave a Press conference at South Africa House in Trafalgar Square. As it turned out his action in doing so was to have remarkable results. There were about 150 journalists there by invitation; all of them were white, not one was an Asian or an African. I did not receive an invitation but I attended, arriving a little late. There was some discussion as to whether I could go in. But I got my way; I did not really see how they could refuse.

I shall never forget the experience. The atmosphere was like ice, when Mr. Louw made his opening statement, declaring flatly that South Africa intended to stand by apartheid. The temperature rose rapidly during question time. One news man said in print the next day that it was the most belligerent Press conference he had attended in 38 years of reporting. The news men did not spare Mr. Louw, and he did not spare them. The headlines tell the story best; "Louw speaks, I am not a penitent, Our policy stays" - "Mr. Louw unyielding on apartheid; World condemnation blamed on press" - "Mr. Louw comes near to losing temper". The Times declared sedately, "Hostility at Mr. Louw's Press Conference". The Manchester Guardian headlined its front-page story, "With Mr. Louw through the looking-glass; Picture of contented South Africa".

Mr. Louw seemed to be unaware of Mr. Diefenbaker's views on racial discrimination. He also declared that some Premiers backed him, although he was not prepared to name them. He said he had been invited to visit Ghana, but forgot to mention that this invitation depended on a return one for the Foreign Minister of Ghana. Each of these statements was later to react on Mr. Louw.

I cannot refrain from quoting from Stephen Barber's story in the News Chronicle. He said that Mr. Louw "stood off a barrage of hard, hostile questions". Except for his officials there was

"not a person in the room who regarded (him) with anything but fascinated, even astounded disapproval. Grudgingly one had to marvel at his single-minded tenacity. Here we had a pure undisguised fanatic" . . . "The only question which left this remarkable performer flummoxed was a final one from a woman reporter. 'Can you point to any other country that supports apartheid?' 'That is not a fair question', he spluttered. 'I would be disclosing confidential information'. . . ."

"As we left the building in Mr. Louw's wake we overheard Mr. Bate, one of his publicity minions, whisper aloud and with some feeling, 'Thank God, that is over.'"

I mentioned earlier that when the Tunku came to London he would be facing a task with considerable handicaps. You can see from the Press conference that Mr. Louw himself was one of the handicaps. But as it turned out he was to meet his match in the Tunku.

From this Press conference, Mr. Louw, leaving rather late went out to Downing Street for the afternoon session, being greeted on his departure from South Africa House by chants of "Murder, murder" coming from students on the steps of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

The Tunku returned to Ritz Hotel about a quarter past six that evening. He seemed pre-occupied, and unlike previous occasions, he didn't talk about what had happened that afternoon at Downing Street. It was obvious he had something on his mind and gave no indication what it might be. For the rest of the night he made no reference to the Conference. At a quarter to six in the morning the telephone rang beside my bed. Sleepily I reached for the phone and heard a voice saying, "Is that you, Frank?". Only half awake I said, "Who is speaking?" and the telephone replied "It is Tunku here". "I want you to come down here". I half dressed quickly, grabbed a notebook and pencil, and hurried downstairs. I should explain here that those who work for the Tunku know from experience that the early morning is often a time when he firmly makes up his mind.

As I entered the Tunku's suite, he said "Sit down, I want you, to take a statement". The Tunku then gave me what was to be the first draft of his famous Press statement. While he was doing so Enche Ghazali came in. The Tunku pointed to the newspaper reports of the Conference. He went on with his statement and then instructed me to go away and type it. This I did, returning in about twenty minutes. The Tunku read it through very carefully, sometimes aloud but sometimes to himself, making a number of corrections, additions, re-phrasings. He then asked me to go and type a second draft. This I did, returning in about another twenty minutes to find the Tunku beginning his breakfast.

He asked me to read the statement aloud, while he went on eating he considered it, talking about it with Enche Ghazali. When he had finished his breakfast he sat down and read the statement again, and made some more revisions. I went away and typed it a third time. When I returned, the Tunku read it, seemed satisfied and then said to me, "Hold on to that. You are not to release it unless or until I say so" I asked when that was likely to be. He said he would be coming back from the Conference about noon. Then he sat down with Enche Ghazali to go through his papers for the Conference session that same morning.

While the Tunku was away at Downing Street news men were ringing me up asking for his views on Mr. Louw's Press conference. I replied that I would not be seeing him until after the morning session. Usually the Prime Minister returned from there about one o'clock, but on this occasion he was leaving early to come back to change before going off for a private audience with the Queen at Buckingham Palace.

He came hurrying in at seven minutes past twelve, being due at the Palace by twelve-thirty, changed quickly and left. I went with him along the corridor as he left, asking "How about the statement, Sir?" He replied, "I will deal with it when I come back from the Palace". I mentioned I did not think that was possible, as he was having lunch with Prime Minister Macmillan at one. The Tunku said, "Oh of course", and stopped a moment to think.

Then he said, "Well, in that case you had better come with me". I grabbed a songkok, put on my coat and joined the Tunku in his car.

It was the eve of Princess Margaret's wedding and crowds of sight-seers and cars were thronging The Mall. As we were driving along, the Tunku read the statement over again, stopping occasionally to think or to look out at the crowds. The sentries saluted as his car, with the Malayan flag flying, swept through the gate amid waves of greeting and into the courtyard of the Palace, finally drawing up at the doorway leading to the Queen's Apartments. The Tunku told me to wait there till he came down. I rang Malaya House and asked for a typist and a telephonist to be standing by during the lunch hour, because it looked as if this might be necessary.

At two minutes to one the Tunku came down, smiling broadly, and got into the car. He did not say anything until he had gone through the gates of the Palace. Then he asked me to read the statement again. I did so, with the Tunku nodding his approval at the end of each sentence. At one point he said, "Leave those three words out". By this time we were approaching Whitehall, and there was a traffic jam. The Tunku was silent for a few minutes and then he turned to me and said, "All right, Frank, put it out". The car turned into Downing Street, and after the Tunku had disappeared through the doors of No. 10, we drove up Whitehall to Malaya House.

A flurry of organisation began at once with the statement being finally typed on a stencil and all the telephones busy with staff members ringing up the newspapers, asking them to send representatives down to Malaya House. There was great excitement; one girl said, "I don't think we have ever handled really hot news before". Then the duplicating machine jammed for the first time in its career, and it was twenty minutes before it could be put right. The first few copies were being run off as the first newsman arrived, Fraser Wighton of Reuter. As the other newsmen began to come in to read the statement and rush to telephones I could hear Fraser Wighton describing the Tunku's statement as a "bombshell". He

gave a quick digest of the story, and followed up with the full text; that meant that soon all the world would know. The Press Association man also telephoned the full text; that meant that soon every newspaper in the United Kingdom would know. Satisfied that the Tunku's views were well under way, I walked back to the Ritz Hotel.

That is how the Tunku's famous Press statement came to be published. I tell this story just to put the record straight, because there have been minor criticisms, a few, both in England and here, hinting that the Tunku's action was impulsive, taken on the spur of the moment. You will see from what I have said that his action was far from being impulsive; his decision was carefully considered and his method prepared with equal care.

When the Tunku was preparing the statement this was the first news for any of his staff that he had walked out of the talks with Mr. Louw the previous afternoon. He had said nothing about it, obviously considering what he ought to do that night and during the early hours. It was his problem and he grappled with it alone. If the Tunku had any temptation to waver at all, this was clinched by one newspaper headline, "Premiers beaten into silence". Nearly all the morning papers carried smiling photographs of Princess Margaret for her wedding day, but most of them also had big photographs of a smiling Tunku.

The Conference was not due to meet again until Monday. Friday was the wedding day, and on Saturday and Sunday most of the Prime Ministers, including the Tunku, and also Mr. Louw, were to spend the week-end in the country, either with Mr. Macmillan or the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Lord Home. When the Conference resumed on Monday morning there was a special private and secret conference, with no advisers present, only the Prime Ministers. The subject - apartheid and Mr. Louw's Press conference. The Tunku has revealed that Mr. Louw attacked him for issuing the statement. The Tunku declined either to regret his action or to retrace one word. The full details of what happened at this formal session will probably never be publicly known, at least for a long time to come.

The British newspapers, however, amazed me with the amount of inside information they published about this meeting, using such terms as "Show-down", "Crisis", "Apartheid row" or "Flare up". Amazed me because I know none of their information came from the Malayan mission. The Conference lasted two hours and was held in the Cabinet Room. "The Daily Telegraph" described the meeting as the stormiest in the history of such Conferences. Reading these reports the public learned that Mr. Diefenbaker objected to Mr. Louw's remarks because his country's views on apartheid were crystal clear. They were also informed that several Prime Ministers objected to Mr. Louw's remark that some had supported him. And that afternoon Ghana announced that it had rescinded its invitation to Mr. Louw.

After this eventful day, the Conference resumed its normal course, covering a wide variety of important subjects, including Malaya's own proposal for technical aid, which was very well received. But the Conference was still not finished with apartheid. This key question came up again and again during what the Press, or some sections of it, called "the Battle of the Communique". *Officials sat past mid-night drafting the communique.* They were in general agreement on most points, but disagreed on aspects relating to South Africa, and these were referred to the Prime Ministers who debated the final form in two sessions before reaching final agreement. It is no secret now that at one point the Conference adjourned to enable the unrepentant Mr. Louw to ring up his Prime Minister. When he returned, there was agreement.

As might have been expected, the communique was a compromise, but it still contained much solid food for thought for South Africa. It reaffirmed the tradition of non-interference in domestic matters, *but it also stated that the racial situation of South Africa was discussed.* In addition, all the Prime Ministers and Mr. Louw emphasised that the Commonwealth itself was a multi-racial association and expressed the need to ensure good relations between all member States and peoples of the Commonwealth. The Conference welcomed Nigeria as a future member, and also welcomed Ghana to remain a member after becoming a Republic, but there

was no commitment on what members of the Commonwealth would say if South Africa decided to become a Republic and asked to be a member again. Mr. Louw was not going home with a blank cheque.

The Press conference given that afternoon by Lord Home was the final scene ringing down the curtain on the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference. When he had finished his general review of the communique, Lord Home said he wanted to make it quite clear that apartheid was discussed by all the Prime Ministers. Newsmen asked, "What did the Prime Ministers say?" Lord Home replied, "I am not at liberty to tell you what each Prime Minister said, but I suggest you should ask the Prime Ministers themselves. I do not doubt for one moment that they will tell you". The dominant attention of the Press was still concentrated on apartheid. I suppose Lord Home must have been asked fifty questions altogether, and only four of these did not relate to apartheid or South Africa. There was only one question about Cyprus, and only one about the vitally important subject of the Commonwealth's attitude towards the Common Market.

Later when Tunku Abdul Rahman was asked for his views on the Conference, he told the Press that he thought the Conference had done a very good job, but the communique did not do justice to its work, and he reserved the right to speak his mind in the Parliament of Malaya.

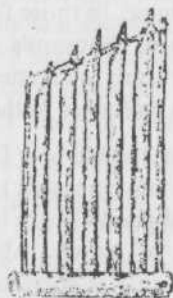
At the final Press conference Lord Home made one interesting observation which I shall always remember with particular pleasure. He said that the non-Asian members appreciated very much the opportunity the Conference gave them to benefit from the wisdom and experience of such eminent Asian statesmen as Mr. Nehru and Tunku Abdul Rahman. That particular remark leads me to my final one.

Before the Conference began our Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, was well-known as an Asian leader; by the time the Conference ended he was known all over the world as a statesman.

Our Prime Minister faced a task of tremendous difficulty when he went to London. He said he was going to get apartheid discussed and he did, both formally and informally. He was the spokesman for the conscience of mankind.

The Tunku is known to be a man of moderation, respected for his tolerance, geniality and good humour, a man dedicated to a philosophy of happiness. In London he showed the world what we in Malaya have always shown, that where fundamental principles are concerned such as the struggle for freedom or the assertion of human rights, he is also a man of force and determination. He went to London bearing the faith, hope and trust of the people of Malaya; he came back from London returning these - with honour.

When I think of the personality and character of Tunku Abdul Rahman, as expressed in his mission to London, and in all he has done for Malaya and is doing for South-East Asia and the world, I recall a familiar quotation and think of our Prime Minister as one who walks with kings, yet keeps the common touch.



With the Tunku in Europe

(Frank Sullivan)

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Fellow Guests and members of Rotary:

Last week when I spoke on the subject "With the Tunku in London" I concentrated on one particular point - the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference with particular relation to apartheid. This week, talking on the theme "With the Tunku in Europe" I propose to stress various highlights of his official visits to West Germany, Belgium, Holland and France. In doing so I will try to picture the impact of the Tunku on these countries, and also the impact of these four nations on our Prime Minister.

This was the first time he had visited Western Europe as Prime Minister, but when he was a student he had spent brief holidays in Brussels and Paris. Of course, in those far-off days he was an ordinary tourist like hundreds of thousands of others; now he was an honoured guest of State, warmly welcomed not only as the leader of his country but also for his eminence in the world.

So many people have asked me how I enjoyed the trip to Europe that I feel I should make some comment to give an idea of what official tours of friendship and goodwill are like. I can assure you that it is not a leisurely form of travel. Most official tours follow a similar pattern. The schedule is crowded from morning to night,

[Text of speech entitled "With the Tunku in Europe" given by the Press Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, Mr. Frank Sullivan, at the luncheon meeting of the Kuala Lumpur Rotary Club at 1.30 p.m. on Wednesday, July 13, 1960].

with hardly a free moment to spare. The result is that you become subjected to a vivid series of quick impressions which are apt to become confused at the time and in retrospect. There is so much to do, so much to take in, that sometimes you have to stand still and think hard to remember what day of the week it is.

The Prime Minister and his party arrived in Hamburg to begin a 14-day programme in Germany, Belgium and Holland at an historic time. It was the day of the long-awaited, and as it turned out, ill-fated Summit Talks in Paris. Immediately the Tunku was plunged into an endless round of formal calls or official discussions; receptions, luncheons, banquets and parades with dozens of speeches; tours of factories, projects, cities, ports, scientific and cultural institutions, or tourist attractions; and all these interspersed with personal, Press or Radio interviews and the telephones always ringing.

Add to this that you are always on the move, travelling thousands of miles by air, road or water, up early and sleep late, packing and unpacking, changing dress repeatedly for different functions, taking your part in the current day and preparing for the one ahead, and you get some idea of the calls made on your will and stamina.

Add to this again that you are meeting hundreds of new faces and personalities, exchanging views and opinions, always keeping eyes and ears open to learn as much as you can while you can, answering numerous questions about Malaya and putting many more yourselves, and never for one moment unaware or unalert that you are the representatives of Malaya, responsible each in your own way for protecting the personality and prestige of your country, and you get some idea of the calls made on your brain and heart.

Yet when you are on such official visits, moving literally through an ever-changing panorama, involved in the kaleidoscope of new people, new things and new ideas, you are excited, stimulated, interested, but above all, very pleased by the time and effort taken in genuine hospitality and warmth of welcome to do honour to the Tunku and Malaya.

I often wonder how it is possible to maintain such a concentrated expenditure of energy on both sides, and the only conclusion I



H. E. the Malayan Prime Minister and the Federal Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer.

Photo: by courtesy of the German Embassy, Kuala Lumpur.

can make is that official tours, springing from real friendship and goodwill, generate their own impetus, and are impelled by a kind of paradox of voluntary compulsion, because both sides wish to give their best.

The Tunku himself was quite remarkable. Although he was the constant focus of attention wherever he went, his energy and interest never flagged. On occasions of dignity and formal honour, he was the epitome of both. On all occasions, formal or informal, he showed the human touch, his geniality and good humour came bubbling through. I might say, to give you an example of the crowded programme, the Tunku turned to the Protocol Officer on his last evening in Holland and asked, "What does the Dutch Guilder look like?" He wanted to go shopping, he wanted to spend some money and all I can say is he managed to do it.

Now for the highlights. First, the city-State of Hamburg. From the moment the Tunku alighted from the aircraft, meeting there a familiar face, Dr. Vogel, the Federal Republic's Ambassador in Kuala Lumpur, until he left 24 hours later, his whole party was quietly astonished by the public awareness of his presence. People waited outside the hotel, pointed him out whenever his motor car appeared, even stopped work on high buildings to wave as he went by. Everyone seemed to know that the Tunku was in town.

This puzzled me for a while because, although he had a good Press, this didn't seem to be sufficient reason. Of course, the answer was television. Nearly all the time he was in Germany ubiquitous but unobtrusive cameras were flashing his major journeys on T.V. screens everywhere. The German people were obviously most interested in the Tunku.

There were three particularly Malayan touches in Hamburg. The first was a film about Malaya, which pleased our Prime Minister very much. Made by German technicians in Malaya towards the end of last year, the Tunku was told it was going to be shown over the national network the following week. The second was the speech made by the venerable, spade-bearded President of the South-East Asia Association (a Hamburg businessman in many fields) who made

his welcoming speech at dinner in Malay. He had worked in Malaya for three years at the turn of the century, and for many years in Indonesia. The Tunku was surprised and delighted. The third was the Tunku's own remark following a 2-hour tour by boat of the great harbour of Hamburg. He said he looked forward to the day when the Malayan flag would be flying on ships coming to the port of Hamburg. This pleased the far-sighted and city-proud Hamburgers very much indeed.

But it was the city of Hamburg itself which left a deep impression on the Malayan party. No less than 380,000 buildings were totally destroyed or badly damaged during the war, yet there was hardly a sign of this obliteration today. A whole brand-new city, a bustling, driving, energetic city is there now, reborn from the ashes and humiliation of war. For all of us the miracle of Hamburg was a dramatic introduction to the fabulous economic regeneration of Germany of which all the world has heard and which we were now seeing. Hamburg, once again one of the great ports of the world, once again the greatest commercial outlet of Germany, was a living lesson of what could be done by initiative, unity and determination.

We were to see this again, in some ways more strikingly during two crowded days in Berlin. I do not propose to elaborate at this point on the world status and focus of that divided city. Public opinion today, when speedy communications compress the world, tends to simplify great issues in terms of outstanding men. West Berlin is a centrifugal point of international disagreement and the man at the centre there who personifies the stand of the free world is the dynamic Mayor, Herr Willi Brandt. Even if you are unaware of his heroic record, he strikes you at once as a man of amazing force and character.

Herr Willi Brandt was at the airport to give the Tunku a hearty welcome, and next day he presided at a civic reception when our Prime Minister in the presence of dignitaries and Press signed the Golden Book. Both the Tunku and the Mayor are known to the world as men dedicated to freedom, and a graceful gesture by Berlin symbolised this common bond. Presenting the Tunku with a beau-



H. E. the Malayan Prime Minister signing the Golden Book of Berlin. Looking on is the Governing Mayor of West Berlin Dr. H. C. Willy Brandt.

Photo: By courtesy of the German Embassy, Kuala Lumpur.

tiful replica of the Freedom Bell, Herr Brandt told him this bell rang out daily to remind Berlin and the world of the meaning of freedom, but more important than that to remind them of their responsibility under freedom.

Accepting the gift, the Tunku capped this occasion with a personal touch of quick-thinking repartee. He thanked Herr Brandt for the "Peace Bell". In a loud stage whisper Enche Ghazali said, "It's the Freedom Bell, Sir". Like a flash the Tunku replied, "It's the same thing. You can't have peace without freedom, and you can't have freedom without peace". The great room filled with applause, laughter and smiles. And if anyone can think of a briefer or better way of expressing the whole philosophy of the free world, I for one would be proud and glad to hear it.

The Tunku made extensive tours of both the West and East sectors of Berlin, and the tremendous contrast between these two areas left a profound and deep impression on his mind, as it did on all of us.

How shall I express the experience? West Berlin is a re-born city, expanding and bursting with energy, humming and bustling with activity and progress, a city alive, a city built on sheer will for future life. Even the trees in the once shell-shattered Tiergarten seemed to be in a hurry to grow up!

As you pass through the Brandenburger Gate into East Berlin, you are confronted with ruins and rubble and desolation. As the Tunku remarked, "The war seems to have ended only yesterday". There is a strange silence, only a few vehicles, no roar of traffic, not many people about, and those you see are shabbily dressed, and the shops look drab and forlorn. The only imposing street is the mile-long Stalin Allee, flaunting the vulgarity of Soviet design, but even this commercial centre was only a bright facade drawing the eye away from the empty shells of ruins to the rear. The City's tempo had all the listlessness of a Summer resort in Winter. The City and its people seemed to say, "Life has no point, no purpose; why bother when there is nothing to bother about?" They were getting ready for the arrival any moment of Mr. Khrushchev from Paris.

The flags and banners were out in the deserted Karl Marx Platz, but there were very few anywhere else; the propaganda posters of Soviet and East German leaders were out too, but not very many of them. Half-hearted, grim, dour, it was a city of the Might-Have-Been, a city with a kiss of death. The only inspiring and beautiful scene in all this vast disappointment was the mass cemetery in honour of 5,000 Russian war dead!

It was a relief to return to West Berlin, and coming back the shock of contrast was even more striking. I saw four children playing ball on the footpath, and suddenly I realised what I had missed. In the whole of East Berlin I recalled only three children, two watching bears at the entrance to the Zoo, and one boy playing alone in the rubble. That solitary boy seemed to me now a symbol of a city without hope.

There is no greater argument in all the world against the false promises and unfulfilled ideas of Communism than the city of East Berlin. In Berlin the ideals of the free world and the ideology of Communism live side by side. Both beliefs have had equal opportunity to express themselves in more or less peaceful co-existence during the fifteen years since the ending of the war. Berlin is the object lesson, the example and the answer. In the Eastern sector the heart sags with despair, for this is the result when man exists for the State. In the Western sector the heart soars with hope, for this is the achievement when the State exists for man. If any member of the Malayan party ever had small shadows of doubt about his views on Democracy *viz-a-viz* his views on Communism, then the shock of East Berlin strangled that doubt once and for all.

Now we knew why the Freedom Bell rings out daily in West Berlin, but soon we were to have even more positive and personal proof. The Prime Minister and his party visited the refugee camp at Marienfelde in West Berlin, and had the privilege of sitting in on an interrogation of a farmer and his wife from East Germany seeking refuge in the West. There are twelve Refugee Commissions in West Berlin, each Commission consisting of three refugees from East Germany. It is their task to ensure that all the hundreds of

people who flee daily across the border are genuine political refugees. They keep a watch too for agents who may be planted by the Communists, and also for criminals with major records. It is not sufficient merely to be dissatisfied with conditions in East Germany; you have to prove to the satisfaction of the Commission that you are genuinely suffering from political oppression contrary to your basic beliefs. And it is no use trying to hoodwink the Commission, as the members have been through it all, and know the answers, and their interrogation does not take place until each case has been investigated.

Seated next to the Tunku was one of the best interpreters in Germany, who whispered in his ear every question and answer as the human drama of interrogation went on. But it was hardly necessary to know German; the crisis was written on the faces of the farmer and his wife. He was 53, a lean sinewy man of the soil, with alert blue eyes; she was a little plump red-faced dumpling of a woman, dressed in her Sunday best, a prim hat on her head and gloves on her anxious hands.

Briefly the story he told was this: He had a family farm of a hundred acres, and when the threat of collectivisation first came, he divided his farm and gave one half to his sons. For various personal reasons the two sons and a daughter stole away at different times to the West, leaving their parents alone. There came a second demand for immediate collectivisation. He protested it was mid-season; couldn't they wait till October? He was threatened with arrest if he did not agree at once, and he learned later that the immediacy was due to the fact that the local Committee wanted to report the best possible figures. He told a friend he would rather leave his farm than surrender it, as from his experience collective management ruined farms. The friend said he would help but he must be ready to go when asked.

At mid-night next day there was a knock on the door. A man said he was a taxi driver from East Berlin and he would take them there. So at dead of night they left their farm where the family had lived for generations, putting all their faith and trust in

a man they did not know. He brought them to East Berlin, haboured them in his house. His wife gave the farmer's wife her identity card, which is essential to get rations in East Berlin. Early next morning they locked the farmer in the boot of the taxi; she sat in front pretending to be the taxi driver's wife, pretending to be ill and on her way urgently to a special hospital in West Berlin. They had tense moments at the border check while the police examined their papers; they let them through. The taxi driver drove the farmer and his wife to Marienfelde camp, took the identity card back and returned to East Berlin.

There they sat now being interrogated, the farmer and his wife. He was calm, confident, occasionally showing cold anger; she was anxious, worried whether the husband was putting a good enough case, whether they would be allowed to stay. Once or twice she tried to interrupt, as if to say, "But dear, you've forgotten this." He quietly pushed her hand away, and once he said, firmly, "Don't worry. I know what I want to say; I came here to say it, and I am going to say it." No, there was no need to know German; the truth was as plain as their story. They were asked to leave the room for five minutes, while the Commissioners conferred. Then they were summoned in again and told they were free to enter. They told them too they would find a job for the farmer until they could find him a farm, so he could start on the land again. The farmer smiled, and drooped in his chair; tears of happiness sprang into his wife's eyes; the crisis was over. They bowed and thanked the Commissioners, and then with eyes shining and shoulders back, his arm around her, they left the room.

That was the human drama which the Tunku saw and heard. It sounds like a story from a suspense film, but it is a very common story in West Berlin, where hundreds of people every day seek refuge in the West. There are hundreds of jobs available for them in booming West Germany, where they can live their lives in freedom.

That interrogation was an unforgettable experience. What was happening? Here were two simple people in a kind of voluntary trial, not charged with any offence, but merely trying to justify their

right to live as free men and women in freedom, almost trying to justify their right to live at all. I put it to you. How many people here, how many people in Malaya, how many people anywhere in the free world would like suddenly to be called upon to **prove** their right to live in a democracy, **prove** it or lose everything.

I said it was an unforgettable experience; it was more than that, it was a shattering experience. In the free world are we not inclined to take our freedom too much for granted; are we not inclined to think too much of benefits, and too little of responsibility? That is the great lesson of West Berlin; there freedom and security are living realities, because there day in a day out they are next door to Communist reality, where there is no freedom and no security. For anyone who believes truly and deeply in democracy, there is no doubt at all that the future of Berlin is the future of the free world; there can be no doubt at all that this is the basic reason why the Communists make an issue of Berlin.

I have taken up so much time on these highlights of the Tunku's tour in West Germany, highlights with which you are not familiar, that I must ask you to forgive me for passing over briefly events in Bonn and in the Ruhr which you already know. I would like to make only one comment or two. The Tunku flew to Bonn, arriving in drizzling rain to be greeted with a very warm welcome and full honours of State by Chancellor Adenauer, whom the Germans call with affectionate respect "Der Alte", or in English "The Old One". The Tunku and the Chancellor got along very well together, both in formal discussions and informal conversations.. As you know from the communique, the results were a happy reflection of the mutual friendship and goodwill between Malaya and West Germany. Trade, investments, technical assistance, medical aid, exchange of students are all likely or actual consequences of the talks in Bonn. The future of close relations between the two countries was firmly charted there.

I will give one final example of the cordiality attending the Tunku's visits to West Germany. At the State Dinner the Tunku and the Chancellor sat next to one another and became so engrossed

in their conversation after the speeches that the German Protocol officers were manifestly worried because the dinner was lasting half an hour longer than expected, and there were hundreds of important guests waiting outside for the official State Reception. It was a most enjoyable evening in that famed hotel overlooking the winding Rhine, and ending past mid-night.

I should like to mention finally that the German Government has almost completed a colour film of our Prime Minister's visit, and it is expected that this will be shown in Malaya in the near future.

After the long distances and expanse of West Germany, it was a great contrast to spend three and a half days in small and compact Belgium. The Belgians set themselves out to show the Tunku as much as possible in that short time of their industry, culture and way of life. Only about the size of South Malaya, and with two million more people than the Federation, it is an economic hub of Europe and highly industrialised. The highlights of the tour were the great port of Antwerp, the vast Fabrique Nationale small arms plant near Liege, a tour of the beautiful residential resort of Le Zoute and the artistic splendours of the ancient city of Bruges and a formal Luncheon with his Majesty King Baudouin at the Royal Palace. The young King impressed us very much. He had a long conversation with the Tunku both before and during luncheon, and showed a keen and lively interest in relations between Belgium and Malaya. Sociable and well-informed, he made a particular point of speaking with each member of the Malayan mission, after luncheon.

There were no full-dress formal talks in Brussels as the object of the visit was to enable the Tunku to get an all round picture of Belgium. I have not referred in detail to any official speeches made during the Tunku's visit to Europe, but the speech of the Belgian Prime Minister, M. Eyskens, is typical of the many tributes paid to Malaya and the Tunku. He said on the eve of the independence of the Congo Belgium was looking at Malaya's splendid achievements with increased interest. He particularly praised "two very

important initiatives" taken by the Tunku. The first was Malaya's proposal in the United Nations to set up a Charter of Investments, and the second was his proposal for closer co-operation, economically and otherwise, between the States of South-East Asia. He also paid tribute to the Tunku's statesmanship in the international field.

I must mention one aspect of Belgian life, and that is the food. Except for breakfast all our meals were eaten in different places, and each restaurant or repast seemed to be even more splendid and varied than the one before. I have often heard Belgians say with quiet certitude that they have the best restaurants in Europe. They must feel very sure of themselves, seeing they are next to France. But I can say now I am more than prepared to take their word for it.

We were particularly interested in the roads in Belgium, and in the fact that they had managed to construct great highways - they call them autostrades - in a country so closely populated that land is at a high premium. We had seen the autobahnen of Germany and we were to see the rijksweg of Holland as well. I must say that after the winding narrow roads and lanes of England the highways in Western Europe we saw were a motorist's delight.

At no point of his tour of Europe did the Tunku lose an opportunity of achieving something of particular value to Malaya. In Belgium there were two instances. At the Fabrique Nationale he asked for samples of all their small arms to be despatched to the Ministry of Defence here for examination and inspection. In Brussels, too he asked an eminent civil engineer, M. Leon Marcel Chapeaux, to come to the Federation and draw up a report and design for the projected new International Airport of Kuala Lumpur. The Tunku's only stipulation was that M. Chapeaux should not arrive before he returned himself. As you know, the Belgian expert is here now and has already started work. He was responsible for the design of the airport of Leopoldville, the longest in Africa, and for the terminal at Brussels, the newest in Europe. I might mention he was also responsible for solving the traffic problem in the heart of Brussels, but I am not expecting he will be asked to investigate Batu Road.

While we were in Brussels, the Press reported that Malaya had refused permission for two Dutch aircraft to land here on their way to West Irian. That was the day before we left Brussels by air for Amsterdam, and naturally we expected that the Press would be asking questions of the Prime Minister when he arrived. Of course, they did, but I will say more on this later.

The Tunku's tour of the Netherlands was most admirably arranged, and from the very first moment it was clear he was most welcome. In fact, the Tunku told the Press at the airport, "I have only met your Prime Minister, Prof. Le Quai, for a few moments, but I am sure we are going to get along very well together", and that remark anticipated subsequent events. Not only was the Tunku received with full honours at Schipol airport, but he also received a full-dress welcome in the Press, as nearly every Dutch newspaper carried feature articles about the Tunku and Malaya. Looking nostalgically backwards to the story of Indonesia, they quite frankly welcomed him as the leader of a newly independent nation which represented to them what might have been. They also warmly praised his stand at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. It should be remembered that a little more than a month before the Dutch Parliament had passed a resolution condemning apartheid.

Apart from the Dutch Government's dinner in his honour, the Prime Minister, together with the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Dato Ong Yoke Lin, lunched privately with Her Majesty Queen Juliana, and it was at her suggestion that the Tunku added to his already crowded programme to pay a visit to the great Flower Show in Rotterdam.

Altogether our Prime Minister travelled more than a thousand miles by air and road in Holland in less than four days. He inspected the Fokker Aircraft Company, flew in one of their planes to the industrial area of Maastricht in the South-East corner of the country (incidentally learning that not all Holland is flat), and then back right across to the delta of the Rhine. So on the very first day he had a good over-all picture of this energetic,

thriving land, which has the densest population in the world, so much so that cities and towns and countryside all merge into one another, and seemingly without a single square yard not being put to some productive use.

He spent a most interested and interesting morning at the Hydraulic Research Laboratory in Delft, which is a special kind of headquarters for designing and solving all Holland's battles with its eternal enemy, the sea. Another afternoon was devoted to touring the gigantic Shell Refinery in Rotterdam, the largest in Europe, and a third in visiting the equally vast radio and electronic works of Phillips.

I regret with a sigh, a very personal one, to report that the intensely practical Dutch, wishing to show the all round development of their industrial economy, could not fit in a spare moment or two for a visit to one of the famous Art Galleries.

I would like to tell a typical Tunku story here. When he was a student at Cambridge about forty years ago he lived for six months in the village of Little Stukeley with a Dutch family - Jonkvrouw Van der Wyck and her twin sons, who became his great friends. He knew them as Wally and Rhyn; the family knew him as Bobby. The Tunku and Jonkvrouw Van der Wyck used to exchange annual greetings for many years, but he lost track of her and the family when war began. He often wondered what happened to them, and before leaving Kuala Lumpur he decided to find out. At The Hague he asked the Dutch authorities to make enquiries, and after a day or so they said Jonkvrouw Van der Wyck, now aged 84, was living in a small town named Oomen in Eastern Holland 200 kilometres away.

The Tunku, with a busy day ahead of him asked the hotel to get in touch with her and let her know that the Malayan Prime Minister would ring her that evening. I learned later what happened. When the old lady got the message she rang her son Wally, who was the Burgomaster of a small town about 70 kilometres from Amsterdam. She said, "Why should the Malayan Prime Minister want to ring me up?" Burgomaster Wally replied, "Oh, mother, don't

you read the papers any more? The Malayan Prime Minister is Bobby." So that evening when the Tunku was with the Indian Ambassador he telephoned Jonkvrouw Van der Wyck, and there was a happy reunion. "Are you married now?" she asked. The Tunku laughed and said "Oh, I am a grandfather now." "What happened to Wally?" "Oh, he is a Burgomaster now". "And Rhyn?" "Oh, he died last year, I am sorry but you have missed him. He was our Minister in Venezuela." And so they talked for half an hour. When the Tunku returned to his hotel the telephone rang, with Burgomaster Wally on the phone to invite him to tea next day. The Tunku promptly accepted and arranged for the visit to be added to his crowded schedule. So next day they met. That is the story of how the Tunku found his old friends after forty years.

The most significant event in Holland, however, was the formal discussion between the Prime Minister and the Dutch Foreign Minister, who had a cordial and frank exchange of views on the situation arising round West Irian, and why Malaya stopped two aircraft. A communique later stated that the Malayan Prime Minister was satisfied with the assurances given by the Dutch Government that they had no wish or intention to provoke Indonesia and would try to avoid international incidents.

The Tunku, therefore, by his good offices was able to contribute effectively to the peace of South-East Asia. As you know now, the Dutch aircraft carrier concerned travelled all the way round Australia to avoid going near Indonesian waters. There is no doubt at all that as a result of the Tunku's visit Malayan-Dutch relations remain close and cordial. As the Tunku said in his major speech, "We have never had a quarrel with the Dutch."

So ended the Tunku's first tour in Europe, but a little more than a week later he left London again to pay a two-day State Visit to France, and once again to meet a familiar face at the airport, M. Briere, the French Ambassador in Kuala Lumpur. Paris was looking its best as it always does in Spring. It was a very crowded tour sparkling with hospitality and bonhomie. After driving up

Photo: Courtesy, Malayan Times
 The Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman and the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew after being jointly garlanded on their return to Kuala Lumpur after the successful Malaysia talks in London.



The Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman and the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew after being jointly garlanded on their return to Kuala Lumpur after the successful Malaysia talks in London.

Photo: Courtesy, Malayan Times

the Champs Elysee to lay a ceremonial wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Warrior at the Arc de Triomphe, the Tunku paid an official call on President de Gaulle at the Elysee Palace, and then to a most genial lunch with the Prime Minister, M. Debre, at the Hotel Matignon, with no less than eight members of the Cabinet present, and later the two Prime Ministers talked privately for an hour.

If there is any need to establish the esteem in which the Tunku and Malaya are held in France, then it is most evident in his reception by President de Gaulle. The Press learned from the Elysee Palace, in fact they were officially informed, that it was "an unusually long conversation." The Tunku and the President conferred for more than an hour and a half with only an interpreter present. Officials in the Elysee Palace made no attempt to hide their surprise and delight about what was obviously something unique in their official experience. I learned that usually the President receives callers for five or ten minutes, and exceptionally for half an hour. The Protocol Officers could not recall any previous appointment lasting so long as this one.

Their conversation ranged over most of the world, but particularly Algeria in relation to Africa, and South-East Asia and the East in relation to China. Newsmen told me later that these long talks were most unusual, and a number of correspondents disclosed their interest by ringing up the Malayan Embassy to ask if they could come along to the Ambassador's reception that night. The long meeting between the Tunku and the President seemed to be the gossip talk of Paris, certainly among officials. That meeting was the highlight of the very cordial visit to France, and we left Paris with very much regret.

Summing it all up, the Tunku's tours in Europe were a resounding success, and a great tribute to the real friendship and genuine goodwill the Governments and people of West Germany, Belgium, Holland and France feel for the nation and people of Malaya, and in particular the regard in which they hold our Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, for his leadership and statesmanship, his achievements and his ideals.

World Window

We love the Tunku.

Cornelio . T. Villareal.

(Philippines)

* * *

I am taking with me pleasant memories of my brief contact with the leaders of Malaya, particularly the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman. His able statesmanship, tolerance and capacity to inspire confidence in others has done much to unite people of different religions and cultures into a single nation with forward looking and progressive ideas.

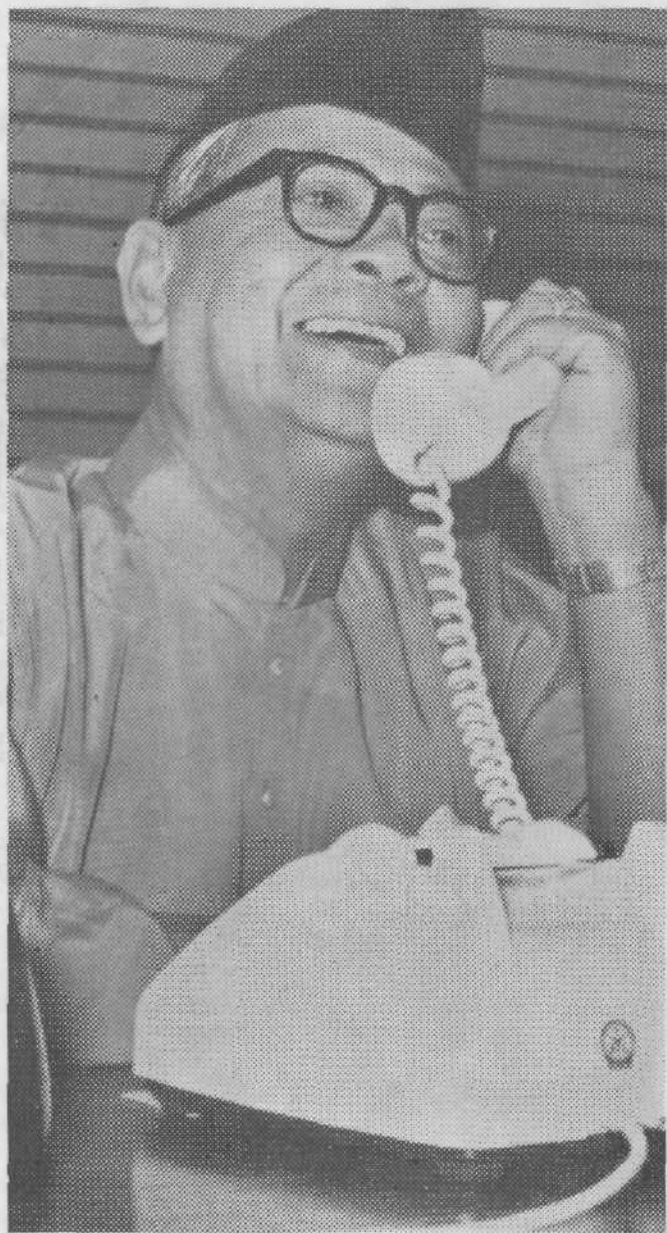
B. R. Sen. (India)

* * *

Tunku Abdul Rahman is not a dogmatist enslaved to political theories, but a unique leader with a keen horsesense. Tunku Abdul Rahman, our national architect is the embodiment of moderation. That is why we in Malaya despite our differences, have learnt to be



—Cartoon
By courtesy, Shankar's Weekly.



The Smiling Premier

On November 6th 1962, a subscriber trunk dialing system was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman for direct dialling calls from Kuala Lumpur to Singapore. Premier-to-Premier chat opens dial-02-for-Singapore link. 200 listen in as the Tunku fixes a golf date with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

Photo: Courtesy, Malayan Times

TRIBUTE TO TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

accommodative. It is a result of political climate born out of sound leadership.

AthiNahappan.
(Malaya)

* * *

I have the greatest confidence in the Tunku and Malaya is fortunate to have such a great statesman — Sir John Barlow (England)

* * *

The Tunku is a Prince with the common touch. He is the one man who believes in justice for all. I have learned a good deal from the Tunku and have tried to emulate his gift of tact and patience. He is very dear to me.

Lee Kuan Yew
(Singapore)

* * *

Tunku Abdul Rahman is well-known throughout the country. We admire him for his leadership. He has a lot of charm, tact, wisdom and above all energy. He is one of the world's greatest leaders. The Tunku managed to gain independence without bloodshed. He united the various races in so short a period and with no trouble at all, brought peace to the territory — though the British failed in the Emergency, gave prosperity despite the fact that the country is still young. Willingness to be friendly with all, even his former Colonial masters, and he has all the energy to work for all these and Malaysia with a smile.

Dr. Hellmut Jansen
(Germany)

* * *

Tunku Abdul Rahman is a maker of friends and has won great popularity not only in South East Asia but also in the rest of the world.

Y. K. Puri
(India)

Whether in Frankfurt, Munich, Berlin or even a small town like Stuttgart, the people who did not know Malaya, would, when the name of the Tunku was mentioned say, Ah, which means, "Oh yes, now I get it. Ja, Ja, Ja."

Malik bin Ab. Rahman
(Malaya)

* * *

The Tunku saw the danger and the opportunity and swiftly planned Pesta. He summoned all the riches of the past and showed us Malaysians our cultural glory. He hoped we would feel proud to be Malaysians. Many of us came and went, marvelling at the strangeness, fascinated by the colour. Curious some of us thought but a little archaic offerings from the shadowy past replaced by, what the Chinese call "electrical shadows". What perhaps we missed was the message of, history. Each performance was a greeting from a past kingdom.

Stewart Wavell
(England)

* * *

I had heard that Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman promised *freedom of speech, education and language* during his election campaign. I am very jubilant to learn that he has kept his word. I refer to the Federation Government's \$100,000 gift towards the building of this Buddhist temple. This is concrete proof that he allows and encourages religious freedom in this country.

Binich Sampatisny
(Thailand)

* * *

The trouble is with us is that we have no leader of Tunku Abdul Rahman's stature and understanding, who could pull out

TRIBUTE TO TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

the conference from the morass of sterile argument into which it has got stuck.

Peter Koinange
(Kenya)

* * *

For Malaya's far-seeing Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, I have nothing but the highest regard.

Lord Lansdowne
(England)

* * *

The Tunku was the only world leader who condemned the Chinese aggression outright and offered every possible assistance. Malaya raised the Tibet question in the United Nations and the Tunku wanted India's support, I am sorry India did not support the Malayan resolution.

Frank Anthony
(India)

* * *

Tunku Abdul Rahman is well devoted to the ideals of a free Press as the instrument of public opinion in a parliamentary democracy.

Sado Roy Otake
(Japan)

* * *

Tunku Abdul Rahman is not only a politician or a statesman but also a man whose first and last interest is the people.

Felicisimo T. San Luis
(Philippines)

* * *

I left the Prime Minister's residence with one burning question "What would have happened to the whole of Malaya

if there was not such a liberal man in power? This question, I think, perhaps summarises my impression of this statesman who had led his country from prosperity to even greater prosperity.

P. Sithi - Amnuai
(India)

* * *

The Tunku is a man of great knowledge and great understanding. We have benefitted much from his wisdom.

Senator Mansfield
(U. S. A.)

* * *

If there is any absolutely hard-headed, level-headed man in South-East Asia, it is Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Purshottam Tricandas
(India)

To my mind, one of the greatest experts in human relations in Malaya today is our Prime Minister. He, through his integrity and goodwill, has enabled many a person to achieve the priceless possession man will always cherish—*independence*.

Haji Abdul Hamid Khan
(Malaya)

Dignity and moderation are the Tunku's salient characteristics. Would there be more like him in the world.

Lotus
(Bangkok)



At Play

Photo: By courtesy of Malayan Information Services

At Work



'SMILE AND THE WORLD SMILES WITH YOU'

(Paul Markandan)

One of the qualities of a national leader lies in his ability to maintain a cheerful outlook in times of stress and strain. In fact, international bodies like the United Nations would achieve far more success in its task, if the Russian delegates smiled now and then, when debating 'disarmament', the 'Cuban situation' and the like.

There is something nostalgic about a smiling face it tends to disarm the opponent, who might have other than cheerful thoughts. It gets to be infectious, and before one knows, the gathering around the smiling face bursts into laughter. And is there anything more worthwhile than laughter? Is there a weapon, if you like to call it that, which is more powerful than a genuine smile? This is one of the gifts that Tunku Abdul Rahman has the ability to disarm the man across the table with a face wreathed in smiles, and then to strike home his point in a seemingly nonchalant manner.

I remember a chilly Autumn night, in 1960 when I was taking my usual evening stroll along Broadway and Times Square in New York City with a friend. New York can be a very cold and lonely city, if you are not a native that is. And from behind me, I heard a familiar voice. It was the Tunku. Questions followed- 'What was I doing so far from home?' and 'How long had I been in New York ?

Somehow, I felt much more cheerful after our chat on the streets. He went on with his entourage and I about my business. I

covered his U.S. tour in 1960 for radio and TV and in Detroit, Akron, and New York, I watched him disarm men and women, ranging from industrial tycoons to Wall Street giants with that dazzling smile, and informal approach.

In the 'Waldorf-Astoria', New York, where he stayed for about five days, the hotel staff who came in contact with him, were impressed by his genuine sincerity and interest - and the 'Waldorf' has in its time seen many a Statesman, King and Ruler.

At the many luncheons and dinners, he washed away whatever misgivings the hard-boiled U.S. entrepreneur had, about investing in Malaya and replaced it with a feeling of confidence and interest. His boundless energy - resulting in doing more than he should, did not go by un-noticed. For, if there is anything an American likes - it is the recognition of effort and dedication to duty. His willingness to understand the other man's points of view; his ability to size up a group, an audience, a given situation; his willingness to compromise without giving in his beliefs and convictions; his relaxed and cheerful manner - these make Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Smiling Diplomat.

Cynical U.S. commentators often confessed their inability to pick any flaws in 'your Prime Minister'. It has been my pleasant task as a broadcaster and journalist to present the Malayan picture overseas frequently. I say pleasant, because in the context of prevailing situations in many post-war independent countries around Malaya, where there is strife, internal conflict and economic bankruptcy, it is refreshing to see one's own country booming along steadily to peace and prosperity.

"I am a man of peace" - how often has the Tunku used these words to good purpose?

In a world, where diplomacy is playing a vital part in maintaining peace - Malaya and now Malaysia is well equipped in its Prime Minister to fill this role.

One of the after effects of the resurgence of Asian nationalism, appears to be the desire of some countries to eliminate as far as



Our Smiling Premier.



The Prime Minister of Australia, the Rt. Hon. R.C. Menzies gave a dinner at Hotel Merlin, Kuala Lumpur, on Friday night (December 11, 1959) in honour of the Federation Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, and his wife Puan Sharifah Rodziah. After the two Prime Ministers had made their speeches, Dame Pattie Menzies stood up to thank the women of Malaya for their hospitality and the warmth of their welcome, and proposed the singing of "Auld Lang Syne", which brought the dinner to a happy close. The guests at the main table with hands linked, singing "Auld Lang Syne".

Dept. of Information Photo

possible, if not completely, the legacies and presence of the colonial powers. This has often manifested itself in the nationalisation of commercial organisations, owned by 'Expatriates', and generally, discrimination against such. Again diplomacy has won in Malaya. The Tunku and his government recognising the need for western technology and finance, has placed it above any misguided sense of nationalism. The true patriot looks to the welfare of his people and welcomes those who can help in his task - be they former colonials or not - patriotism, therefore, tempered with diplomacy, provides the fertile soil for progressive thought. The smile, of course brightens the picture.

Yes - indeed Tunku, you have a powerful weapon in your hands, continue to use it and use it wisely. This nation that is Malaya with its close neighbours forming Malaysia, has achieved what has seemed to be the impossible, both in the field of politics and economics. Your personality and diplomacy has had a great deal to do with this measure of success. Malaysia now looks to your leadership in the years ahead. The years may be filled with problems. But then, what is life without the constant challenge of facing new problems. A leader proves himself, in his ability to steer his nation through such difficulties. Your cheerfulness and smile can be the wedge. So keep smiling.

Smile and the world smiles with you.

Tunku Abdul Rahman won Malaya its independence and as its Prime Minister is guiding its new course so wisely and so brilliantly.

Sir Richard O. Winstedt

K.BE, C.MG, F.BA, DLitt (Oxon) Hon LL.D. (Malaya).

(In *A History of Malaya* (Marican & Sons))

A Day

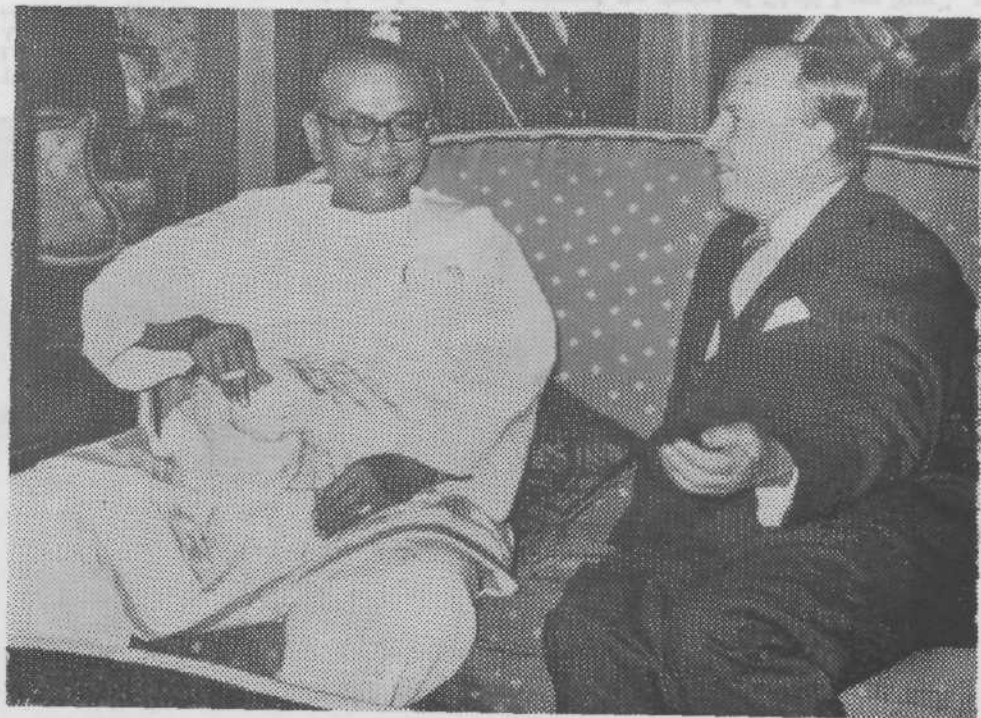
In the Life of the Prime Minister

(Malik bin Abdul Rahman)

To almost every Malayan and many more outside the country, the Tunku is hailed as a great man,—the man who set the people along the path of freedom. He is indeed a great leader and, unlike many others, very accessible. He would talk to anyone who cares to speak to him. In other words, he is a simple man, though deep inside he is fearless, dynamic and decisive. He puts "service to the country and nation" above anything else.

A number of people with whom I have talked to have said that Tunku Abdul Rahman is indeed fortunate to have been elected Prime Minister. He can now have all the fun and really enjoy life. Many of them also wish to have the same privileges as afforded to a Prime Minister. They pray and hope that nature would be kind to them and grant them the facilities the Tunku has. They hope to drive around the country in big cars as the Tunku does, travel all over the world and meet different peoples. But unfortunately those who want to taste the same fruits of his labour have not shown their desire to toil as hard as the Prime Minister. So they have only themselves to blame if such a wish never came true.

To ascertain how true they can be, I took the opportunity of interviewing the Prime Minister some time ago and, I shall try to give as many details as possible.



Sir Garfield Barwick, (right), Australian Minister for External Affairs, is seen in here discussing with the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, on general matters concerning relation between Malaya and Australia, in Kuala Lumpur.

Photo: courtesy, Malayan Times

For example, What does he do hour by hour? Does he have time to read the newspapers? What is his hobby? And probably most important of all, Does he enjoy being a Prime Minister?

To be precise, I have found out that it is not as simple as it appears to be. The Prime Minister cannot just ignore his duties or shut the door of his room and relax. Neither can he ask someone else to do his work for him. The country wants his attention and though we ordinary citizens can put off something until tomorrow, this would not be possible with the Prime Minister. He has to attend to matters of state no matter whether he has the mood for doing it or not. In short, it means the world around him never stops.

Thus the Tunku is not enjoying life, as some people think, in the exquisitely designed and furnished suite of rooms in the Residency. He is *struggling hard to keep himself on his feet* in order to give the people the happiness he has promised them. We all know that it is very easy to make promises, but implementing them is not so simple.

I have narrated what appears on the surface but not mentioned other personal problems which he has to attend to. I dare say that many of you are not prepared to accept my statement that the Prime Minister prepares his own coffee or tea in the early hours when he gets up from bed. This is no exaggeration. It is true and confirmed by many of his household employees. According to them, the Tunku does *not like* to trouble either his wife or servants, since they too have to work round the clock all day.

I have still another surprise. Many of you will not believe that he gets up as early as 4.45 every morning. And this is again true. At times, he would rise even much earlier, at about 2.00 or 2.30 a.m. depending on the amount of work involved. He would cast aside his work temporarily in order to have his morning prayers at 5 a.m. Having fulfilled his duty towards the Almighty, the Tunku now turns to the files. There are too

many of them, some containing massive criticisms arrayed against him which demand all his resources to manoeuvre. He once related to me that this was a bit too much for him at the beginning, but gradually he got used to it. There is no denying about his courage. The Tunku has proved that he has got all what it takes to be a great Prime Minister. This early morning routine normally lasts until 6.30 or 7.00 a.m., and from now he would either go for a game of golf or do a little gardening to keep himself fit and enjoy the fresh air.

The following hour is spent for a bath, dressing up, breakfast and glancing at the newspapers. Then, after rattling off a long shopping list of personal needs, he is soon off,—on his way to office.

But this routine is not the same throughout. At times, he would have to remain at the Residency much longer, as friends and relatives like to take the first opportunity of discussing matters with him before he goes to attend some official functions.

I can still remember a warm day in 1957 when I paid him a visit at his private residence in Alor Star. He was on leave and was supposed to relax. But there was never a dull moment for him. Somebody from somewhere was always there waiting to get an audience. He looked very tired, so much so that when I popped in to greet him, he quickly remarked that he was prepared to give me anything but time. Yes, he has less and less time as the day goes on. And this is also the same even for his beloved wife, Puan Sharifah Rodziah and family. But no matter however occupied he was, the Tunku has never on any occasion turned anybody away. I strongly believe that this characteristic has brought him fame, love and respect. He also told me how he would like to put aside his responsibilities for a while and become an ordinary man. But again, this has never been possible with the Prime Minister.

I have travelled far and wide and met different types of people, but I must admit that the Tunku has something extra-

ordinary about him. He can laugh and smile all the time, as though he has no worries at all. He puts one at ease with his ready wit and humour. He likes nothing more than to see others happy and smiling.

In the office until midday, the Tunku attends to correspondence, calls and to visitors and foreign dignitaries. On some occasions he is never in the office at all, due to heavy pressure of work outside.

This great leader, who has had no experience of politics before he became President of the United Malay National Organisation about ten years ago, would then return home for his midday meal.

Some of the readers may now think that he has finally found time to discuss family problems with his wife. But this is a poor guess. The Tunku is never alone at his meals. Somebody was waiting and this was not a coincidence at all. According to the Residency officials the Prime Minister and his wife can only get together and discuss their problems when they are in the car on the way to a function or a ceremony. One employee said, "They were mostly together before 1955, but the general elections of 1955 had changed all that."

Then follows the noon prayer and being a true devotee, the Prime Minister withdraws himself from public life for a short while to put himself before God, followed by a nap, after which he again prays at 4.00 p.m.

This is not the usual routine throughout. This could be adopted on a normal day when there is no Parliament sitting, no foreign dignitaries to entertain, no receptions, no Cabinet meetings and no invitations to ceremonies.

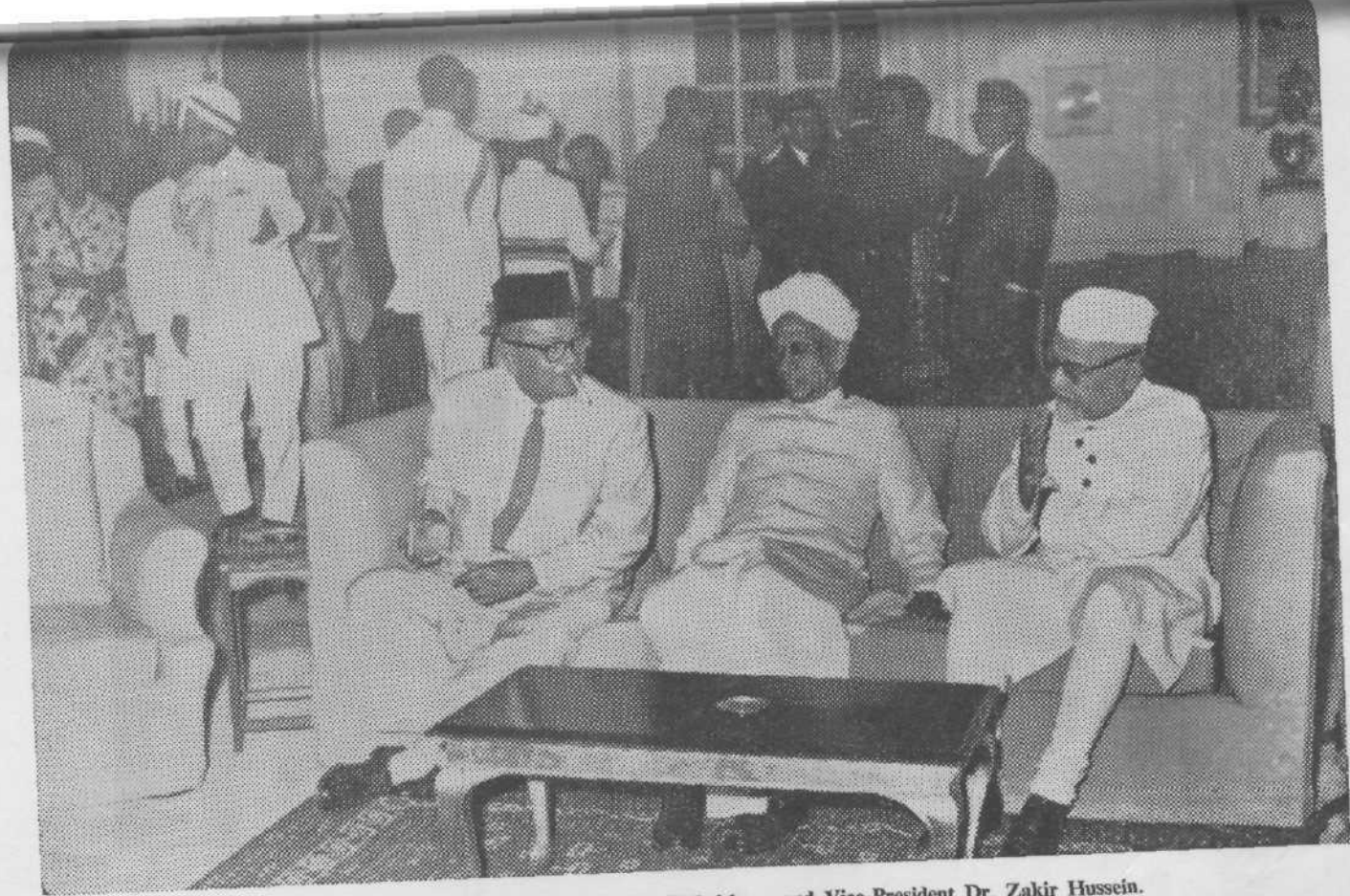
Readers can now imagine how occupied he would be if there was a Royal Guest around on a State visit or when a strike or revolt is on. There is no doubt that the Tunku can rise to all these occasions. He has proved this and will continue to face the challenge.

Equally difficult it is to define the Tunku at work and play. The Tunku would at times be playing golf from 5.00 p.m. until 7.00 p.m. but even during this period he would discuss all matters arising, with a few of his Ministers at the golf club or on the course, partly playing and partly working, to be more exact.

To give a true picture of what he does from 8.00 p.m. to midnight, is rather difficult. This is only perhaps possible by taking a good look into his diary. But I can safely say this much. He would lock himself in one of his rooms and attend to the files until he is too sleepy to carry on.

There are numerous other incidents which I have not mentioned here. For instance, how he feels when he has to go round and shake hands with hundreds of people, or after attending a party and then hurrying back for another appointment. This reverent wish of the people—demanding his attention or presence at everything they do has not upset the Prime Minister. In fact, when he was asked whether or not he enjoys being a Prime Minister, the Tunku replied, "I have no regrets."





The Tunku with India's President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Vice-President Dr. Zakir Hussein.
Photo: Courtesy, Information Services of India, Kuala Lumpur.



The Tunku— Leader with the Gandhian Touch

(S. Durai Raja Singam)

On October 2nd of 1962, the birthday anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation, the Tunku, the Father of the Malaysian Nation, left on a three-week goodwill trip which took him to various parts of the Indian sub-continent.

It was a happy augury for the success of the Tunku's mission and for the strengthening of Malaya's friendship with India and Pakistan.

Again on October 29th, the Tunku paid homage to the Mahatma at Rajghat where Gandhiji was cremated by laying a wreath of flowers.

The Mahatma and the Tunku are men of two different moulds. But they have very much in common. And this applies to spheres other than their dedicated service to the cause of freedom.

The Mahatma — the Tunku. Both are household words. Both have cut a niche in the hall of fame.

Gandhi's name will be cherished not only by Indians but by all who love freedom. He has been the fount of our inspiration in our fight for freedom—Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Both the Mahatma and the Tunku are barristers of Inner Temple. The former was the son of a Prime Minister, the latter the son of a Ruler. Both have the regal and legal touch about them.

Children surrounded Gandhiji. Love for children is a passion with the Tunku as well.

Have you noticed the broad Tunku smile, above a load of garlands? Often it reminds you of the Gandhian smile, except that in the last years of Gandhiji, it was a toothless smile.

Yet, the smile of both these great men has the same quality — that of instilling regard and affection in the minds of people.

Mahatma Gandhi's wit and humour are well known. The Tunku thrives on these attributes.

Once I saw a picture of the Tunku, treading a lonely path and crossing a bridge in the countryside. Here was another pilgrim, like Gandhiji, spreading the gospel of freedom and democracy.

Gandhiji bearded the British Lion in its own den. So did the Tunku. If the Tunku did not have to go to jail, as Gandhi did, it was because the times were different and circumstances had changed during the days of Malaya's freedom movement.

Allowing for these and other changes, there is a great deal about the Tunku which are Gandhian in ideals and outlook.

Like the Mahatma the Tunku is never ruffled. He is gifted with infinite patience and a remarkable capacity for good with his powers of persuasion, conciliation and compromise, and the readiness to accommodate any reasonable point of view.

It is this ability as the practical statesman that enabled the Tunku to achieve Malaysia through friendly negotiation with Britain.



The Tunku and party visited Mahatma Gandhi's Samadhi at Rajghat, where the Tunku placed a wreath and paid homage to the Father of Indian Independence. The Rajghat area was decorated to welcome the Tunku who, with Dato Sambanthan, walked barefooted to the Samadhi and bowed low before the Gandhi Memorial. With the officials in attendance, the Tunku talked of Mahatma Gaudhi's life and mission.

Photo: Courtesy, Information Services of India, Kuala Lumpur.

When Gandhiji sought independence for India, it was a struggle that inspired and aided the freedom movement in other Asian countries. The Tunku's achievement of Merdeka for Malaya is already leading to the freedom of four other territories which merge with this country in Malaysia.

The Mahatma was often quoted as saying that his desire was to retire to the Himalayas. And the Tunku often says he would love to retire to Pulau Langkawi.

It would be absurd, ofcourse—the Tunku would be the first to call it so—to pretend that the Tunku will have a name in history the equal of that of Gandhiji.

The Tunku's creed for Malaya and the world is probably best expressed in an introduction he wrote for a biography of himself, entitled "Prince and Premier" by Harry Miller. In that introduction he said:-

"I have wanted all my life to do something for the people of Malaya, and in particular to better the lot of my own race, the Malays. If I am accredited with nothing more I can at least thank God that I was able to lead our country along the path of independence, and beyond, without one drop of blood being shed.

BAPA MALAYSIA

(Tunku Ahmad bin Tuuku Mohamed)

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj is popularly known as **Bapa Malaysia**. Like all leaders, Tunku Abdul Rahman has his own streak of dogged determination and indomitable spirit, though as a child he was not physically strong. Such characteristics and determination have never left him — and even now, once he has decided on a course of action then little is going to make him deviate unless very convincing reasons can be put forward. A touch of such determination and independence was evident when as a nineteen year-old student entering Cambridge University he was refused rooms. There was a certain amount of unpleasantness and in the end it created a minor University row. However, when rooms were offered, the Tunku politely declined them. "I was offended at the time, but it soon passed" he once said.

The Tunku whether by accident or design has built a reputation for integrity and honesty of purpose. He is sincere in his dealings and simple in his approach. In stature, Tunku Abdul Rahman has grown from a politician to a statesman. His stand against South Africa's apartheid policy has won Malaya respect and the entire free world congratulated Malaya for the help it has given the United Nations in helping to restore law and order in the Congo.

As Prime Minister of the Malaya today and Prime Minister of the Malaysia of to-morrow the Tunku has never lost the common touch. No one, not even his political opponents could

APRIL 1954 - 1955
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Leaving Harada Airport Tokyo,

Photo: By courtesy of the Embassy of Japan, Kuala Lumpur

TRIBUTE TO TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

ever accuse him of being haughty or arrogant. His courteousness and generosity has done more to win friends and influence people than he could have ever hoped by pounding a table and expecting people to follow because of fear or intimidation

He has few verbal histrionics and his speeches, which somehow hold crowds in rapt attention, are of the persuasive almost pleading variety. He can be firm but prefers the velvet glove. He has few mannerisms. When talking he uses his hands expressively, palms together to express unity and agreement, a great deal of waving to denote emphasis without raising his voice, a slow nodding of his head for agreement. Not a great one for pomp and ceremony, the Tunku is much happier just being himself. That a certain amount of protocol does go with being a Prime Minister is unquestioned but he shuns it whenever he can. Today, the Tunku has won respect not only from the people of his own country but also from the entire free world.



Tunku—The Sportsman

(Alex Soars)



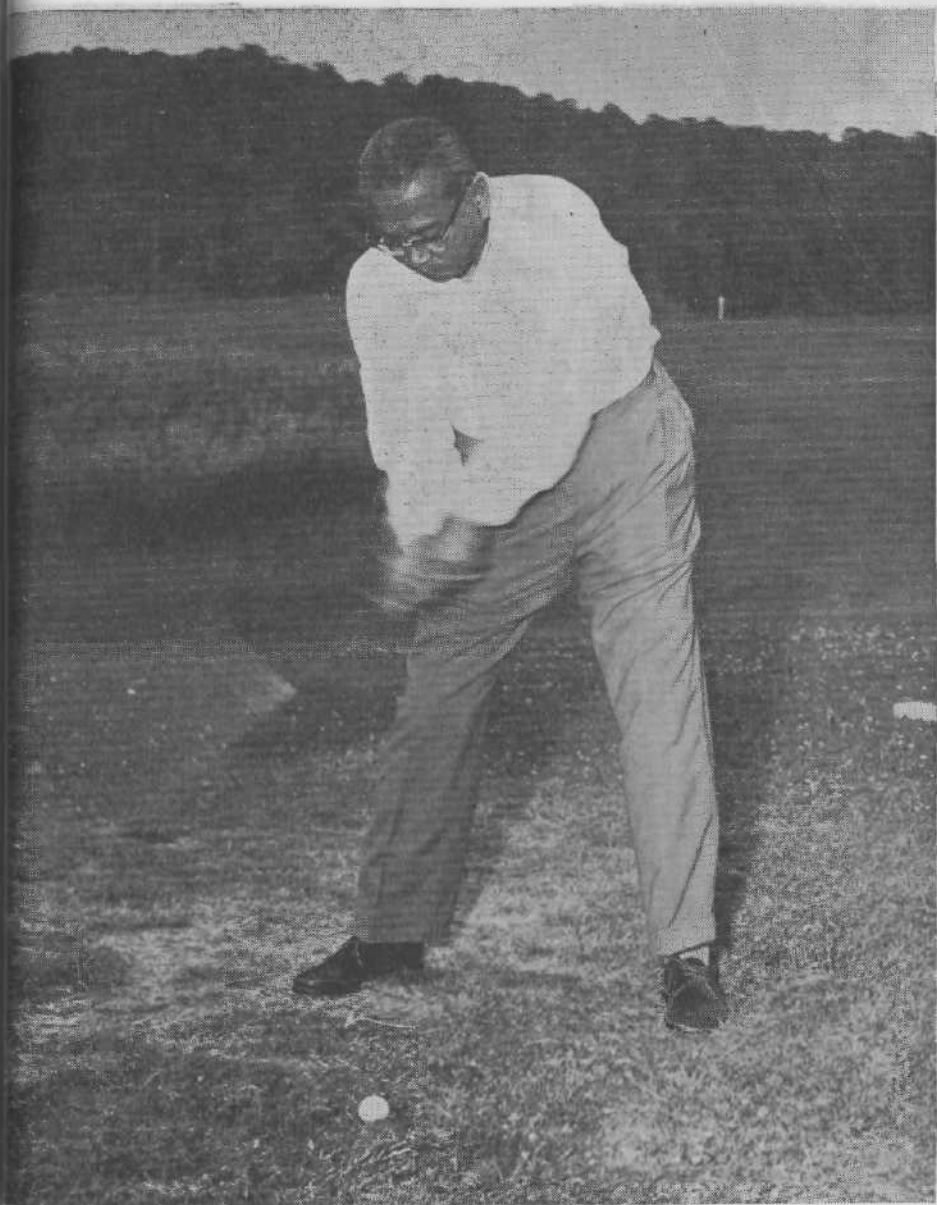
The name Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra is synonymous with sport not only in Malaya but in other parts of the world. It would require more than this humble chapter to adequately cover the Tunku's love and interest in sport. Name any sport, soccer, badminton, athletics, horse or motor racing or billiards and the Tunku has more than a passing interest in the game. If one may be permitted to twist an old saw to suit the purpose—some people are born with a love for sports—others with an abhorrence for it and yet a third category, those who acquire a taste for it, somewhat like the socialite who acquires a taste for beer just to be in the swim of things.

Fortunately for the sports loving people of Malaya the Tunku was born with a love for sport. A firm believer that sport is a great leveller and is the rock on which the solidarity of friendship and



At the Third Asian Games, Tokyo.

Photo: by courtesy of the Embassy of Japan, Kuala Lumpur



The Premier enjoying himself at golf in New Zealand.

Photo: By Courtesy of Information Services, New Zealand.

goodwill is founded the Tunku never misses an opportunity for furthering the interests of and encouraging sport.

Born at Alor Star on 8th February, 1903, the scion of one of the wealthiest families in Kedah he gave early indications of his leanings towards the playing fields. The Kedah palaces had high walls but these did not prevent the young princeling from playing, outside the confines of the palace, with the children of commoners. Like most youngsters of his age the young prince was full of harmless pranks and mischief. He spun his tops, flew his kites, kicked, hit or threw a ball about in the Malayan sunshine.

When he grew older he won a pre-University scholarship and went to England to study the Arts. Finding life at Cambridge too restrictive for his blithe spirits the Tunku switched over to Law. He graduated from the Inner Temple in 1949. Of his academic career the Tunku humourously confessed that he studied horse racing, dog racing and everything but Law. On his return to the homeland the Tunku despite his arduous duties of State made time to progress in his favourite hobby-sport.

Today soccer is Malaya's national game. And the man who has raised it to that pinnacle is Tunku Abdul Rahman. Football is Tunku's first love. Although he did not reach the heights in the sport he was keen enough to make the Penang Free School Junior Soccer eleven in his school days.

In 1951 Tunku Abdul Rahman became the President of the Football Association of Selangor. This was a shrewd move by the soccer barons of that time. A week later he was unanimously elected to the Presidentship of the Football Association of Malaya and has been at the helm ever since. But the Tunku was not content to merely preside at Board meetings. He had his dreams of placing soccer and Malayan sport in the forefront of the world.

The need for a first class Stadium first mooted as far back as 1932 figured largely in the Tunku's early dreams. In 1957 with the attainment of Merdeka the dream became a reality when the massive edifice of concrete and steel—the Merdeka Stadium—was the sports centre-piece during the Independence celebrations. Honours of the football world fell at the Tunku's feet. He became the first President of

the Asian Football Confederation and was offered a top appointment in the International Football Federation which the Tunku declined.

Sports bodies in Malaya clamoured for this unique personality with the 'golden touch'. Asian Badminton Associations made him their first President. They had formed the Asian Badminton Confederation on Thursday 30th July, 1959 at 10.30 am at the Tunku Abdul Rahman Hall, Kuala Lumpur. Representatives from 13 nations attended the inaugural meeting.

One can go on and on showing the Tunku fostering and encouraging sport. His patronage was eagerly sought and given to widely divergent sports like weightlifting to motor racing.

Golf was given a boost when the Tunku inaugurated the Asian Golf Championships three years ago. It is believed that the idea of Malaysia was born on the Selangor Club golf links.

The racing public know this well known sportsman too. It has been said that whenever the Tunku is on the course, see if any of the Alliance Stable horses are running and have a bet on it. The Tunku has a part interest in two of three horses running on the Malayan turf.

Our visionary Prime Minister who has led the country to Independence and looks forward to Malaysia, still has his dreams for sport. The holding of the World Olympics in Malaya will be the fulfillment of one of his most cherished dreams.

In conclusion one brings to mind odd incidents here and there which demonstrate the Tunku's humility and regard for his fellow men as a stamp of his greatness. The Merdeka Stadium was under construction and the Tunku as usual whenever he had the time made his pilgrimage to the site to see how things were coming along. A young Malay mendicant approached the Tunku for alms and having to his surprise received more than he had ever expected thought to improve on the moment by asking for clothes. The Tunku asked him to come to the *istana* but the mendicant said that was not possible as the *istana* guards were efficient and would not let him pass. To silence his oppotuning the Tunku then divested himself of his own jacket—the beggar overwhelmed by such generosity retired abashed.



Picture shows the Tunku enjoying a game of billiards, after the official opening of the Students' Hostel with the Chancellor of the University of Singapore, Dato Lee Kong Chian, watched by University students. Kuala Lumpur.

Photo by University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur

TRIBUTE TO TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

There was another occasion during the days when the Emergency was at its highest. A Legislative Council meeting was recessed for two hours and the Tunku unerringly found his way to the nearest football match which was being played at the Tamilian Physical Culture Stadium. Officials taken by surprise rushed



The Tunku leading in Tinggi Harapan at the Race-course, Kuala Lumpur.

Photo: By Courtesy Malayan Times

around for chairs for the Tunku and his party but he quickly put them at ease, "I will not be here long", said he and promptly sat down on the wooden planking. Needless to say his party also did the same. An elephant never forgets and the same thing can be said about the Tunku when it comes to remembering his friends. At the opening of the Football Association Malaya House the Tunku remarked that he missed one of his friends, a founder member of the F.A.M.—it was obvious who he was referring to.

Tunku Nominated Asia's 'Man of Year'

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, was nominated for "Man of the Year" in Asia in a letter to the editor published by *Bangkok Post*.

The letter signed "Lotus" referred to the *Time Magazine* selection of Pope John as the Man of the Year and endorsed that selection.

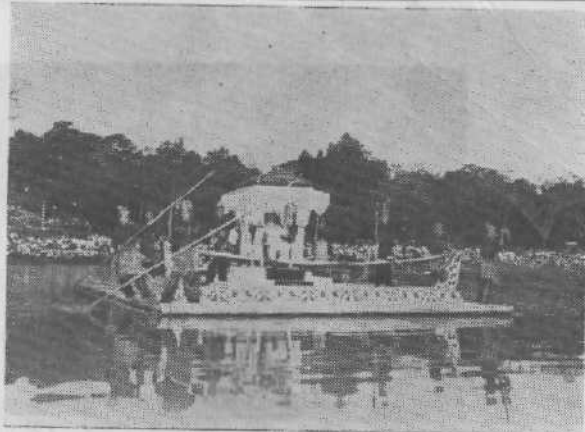
But it added that the Tunku "deserves the title of Man of the Year in 1962 in Asia."

The letter said: "When I took around me and note the chaos and disorder, suppression of liberty, civil wars, imprisonment of political leaders, muzzling of press and other distressing evils in many of the new and so-called free countries throughout the world, I am filled with wonder when I compare these miserable conditions with peace, prosperity happiness and steady progress of the fortunate people of Malaya."

The letter said the Tunku's task has not been an easy one, in view of the different races and cultures living together in Malaya.

It said that Malaysians are living "in peace and harmony together...as a result of wise and enlightened statesmanship.

"Dignity and moderation are the Tunku's salient characteristics. Would there be more like him in the world."



Tunku Abdul Rahman arriving to open "PESTA" 1957.



Tunku Abdul Rahman examining a painting in the National Art Gallery after declaring open the Annual National Exhibition.

The Prime Minister at a M. A. H. A Exhibition (1962)

A Princely Patron of the Arts

(By Haji Abdul Mubin Sheppard P.P.T., C.M.G., M.B.E., E.D.)

“By hearing the music of a Prince we know the character of his Virtue”.

More than two thousand years ago a great philosopher made this observation and his pronouncement is still accepted and honoured even today.

Princes had provided the chief source of patronage both for music and the Arts in general long before our philosopher flourished, and in many Asian countries their patronage only ceased with the advent of colonial “protection” and the development of democratic institutions.

In Malaya, music was an adjunct of the Arts rather an individual manifestation, but it played an important secondary role in Court dances and Court drama, and in the ritual and ceremonies which were a feature of man’s cycle of existence. We know that many of these elaborate dances and ceremonies were still performed at the Courts of Malay rulers at the end of the 19th. century, but the growing influence of Western civilisation in most of the Malay States, and the absence of any individual Prince with the determination to revive the role of a Patron of the traditional Malay Arts, resulted in half a century of hibernation which might have been mistaken for complete extinction.

The Japanese occupation and the subsequent state of Emergency crushed latent artistic initiative and banished the leisured atmosphere in which the Arts thrive.

It is against this supremely unfavourable background, covering more than fifty years of neglect and a decade of terrorism that we should view what follows and, bearing these obstacles in mind, assess the magnitude of the achievement.

Early in 1956, six months after he had been elected Malaya's first Chief Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman conceived the idea of organising a "Festival of Culture" in Kuala Lumpur, in which the old Malay dances, dramas, ceremonies, games and pastimes could be revived, and presented side by side with those of Chinese and Indian origin.

He entrusted Enche Ya'acob bin Abdul Latif and the staff of the Information Service with the task of discovering the veterans of an earlier generation of actors and actresses, dancers, musicians, puppeteers and the like and coaxing them back to the foot lights.

Although burdened with a multitude of other problems, Tunku Abdul Rahman found time to inspire with his personal enthusiasm and infectious goodwill and charm those who, at the outset, lacked sufficient faith in his capacity to work miracles, and by June a galaxy of long forgotten gaiety was assured and a new word "PESTA" had been added to the Malay language.

The Lake Gardens took on the appearance of a Royal Demesne during high festival, with eleven separate stages, skillfully sited out of ear-shot and view of each other, and when Tunku Abdul Rahman was poled down the lake in a royal barge to open the Festival at dusk on Friday July 13th. eleven different programmes entertained an immense cosmopolitan audience who moved from one stage to another until the lights were turned out at midnight. This continued for three nights in succession, while Top Spinning, (King sized from Kelantan), Kite Flying, Sepak Raga and other traditional Malay pastimes could be seen each afternoon.

The phenomenal success of "Pesta" lay not only in the achievement of Tunku Abdul Rahman's ambition in July 1957



The former Minister for Education and now Minister for Health, Dr. Abdul Rahman bin Haji Talib being awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws by the Chancellor of the University of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman.

(Photo: Courtesy, Malayan Times)

Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, being installed Chancellor of the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur on June 16, 1962. Picture shows him being installed at a ceremony at Stadium Negara, Kuala Lumpur.



but even more in the ever widening ripple of Pesta's reviving influence all over Malaya, which can still be recognised in 1962.

A year later, among a host of subjects which demanded a decision by the Chief Minister before the proclamation of Independence, two in particular called for impeccable good taste and a knowledge of the Fine Arts.

A National Anthem and Orders of Chivalry are the hall marks of an independent nation, but someone must select the music of the anthem and design and approve the ribbons and decorations.

Tunku Abdul Rahman gave orders for a competition to be held, open to composers from any part of the Commonwealth, and more than 200 tunes were entered. The final choice, which was made by Tunku Abdul Rahman personally, and with which we are all familiar, is another example of his unerring good judgement. After considering entries which included one from the distinguished composer Benjamin Britten of England, the Tunku chose the tune which had been adopted more than half a century earlier by Sultan Idris of Perak, and which possessed a lilting majesty surpassing all modern compositions. Tunku Abdul Rahman's choice, which we know as "*Negara-ku*" has won the acclamation of music lovers and men of taste all over the world.

Medals, ribbons and decorations have been created in such profusion in so many countries during the present century, that it is no easy task to devise new patterns and designs which are both original and artistically satisfactory. Two new Federation Orders of Chivalry were instituted in 1958: the Darjah Utama Sri Mahkota Negara (D.M.N.) which is a Sovereign's Order of one grade, and the Darjah Yang Mulia Pangkuan Negara with four grades, to which a fifth has since been added. Royal yellow predominates in the riband of the D.M.N., but thin stripes of blue, red and white have been skilfully intro-

duced, and the result is a Sash of impressive dignity and refined splendour. A handsome shade of royal blue is the principal colour in the riband of all grades of the second Order, with narrow stripes of yellow, red and white introduced along the edges and down the centre. The Collar, Star and Badge of both the D.M.N. and the Order of Pangkuan Negara are talented examples of craftsmanship, but they owe much to the artistic genius and originality of Tunku Abdul Rahman, who was personally responsible for the final designs of both ribbons and decorations, after receiving suggestions from a Committee of Honours and Awards.

A few days before the first investiture of Malayan Orders and Decorations, which coincided with the first anniversary of Independence, Tunku Abdul Rahman made another notable contribution to the cultural life of Malaya when he declared open the National Art Gallery. It had been the ambition of members of the Federation Arts Council for a number of years to acquire a permanent building where exhibitions of paintings and sculpture by Malayan artists could be held. But there seemed to be little prospect of their hopes being realised until one day in March 1958, soon after the end of the E.C.A.F.E. Conference, the Chairman of the Arts Council approached the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, and enquired if it was possible for a portion of the Conference building to be converted into an Art Gallery. With typical spontaneous enthusiasm the Prime Minister ordered his car and drove at once to Ampang Road to inspect the rooms which had been asked for. Half an hour later he had given a favourable decision which has been of incalculable value to Malayan artists. A two storied wing, spacious and self-contained thus became the home of the Malayan National Gallery and has since provided the setting for more than twenty national and international Exhibitions. Whenever possible Tunku Abdul Rahman has declared open succeeding annual exhibitions, and in many other ways has given a new status to Malayan artists through his personal patronage.

The Art Gallery houses the products of only one of the Arts, but in the "Hall of the Muses" - (the Museum) - all the Arts can expect to find a place, and so it had been, until a misdirected stick of Allied bombs destroyed the Kuala Lumpur Museum in March 1945. In the next fourteen years the Muses remained homeless and patronless but in 1959 Tunku Abdul Rahman directed that plans should be prepared for a new National Museum. Later the same year he decided that the building should be of Malay design and he entrusted the work to a Malayan architect who was also a talented artist. Tunku Abdul Rahman has since taken a close interest in every phase of the planning and decoration of the Museum and in the preparation of its displays.

* * * * *

What a paragon of philosophic virtues emerges from this brief survey. Pesta, Negara-ku, New Orders of Chivalry, the National Art Gallery and the National Museum,—each of these was a notable achievement, yet all have been the work of an intensely busy National Leader, who has never allowed the turmoil of the twentieth century to quench his unique devotion to the Arts. A Leader, moreover, who has secured much of his success by the soft music of a famous smile, which itself evokes virtue in others.

By observing the music of this Prince the whole world knows the character of his Virtue.

★

An Autobiographical Fragment

When I was a Boy at School

(and satay cost one cent a stick)

(by Tunku Abdul Rahman)

(In a speech to the Penang Free School.)

This is a great day for me having for the first time the opportunity to address the boys of my old school. Naturally I feel excited and proud but to you boys, the occasion may be regarded just a normal prize giving day affair because year in and year out some persons have come to address you giving you all kinds of advice and giving you talks on all kinds of subjects.

But to me, it is a different thing. I have come here as an old boy to talk to students of my old school. Therefore whatever I will say to you will be in the nature of a heart-to-heart talk.

I felt as I came in that the atmosphere of the Penang Free School is still here, but the school building and its surroundings have gone.

Gone are the familiar old dome, the passage way, the old classrooms and the familiar faces.

Perhaps the old school bell still remains: the bell that used to herald the beginning of school lessons, leading to the heart-breaking task of having to answer questions which we were supposed to have learned; the task of having to work out the answers to Arithmetic, the task of having to spell the words correctly in a spelling or

dictation lesson; the wonderful sound of it when it rang to announce the respite for fifteen minutes or the break for lunch and finally the welcoming last toll which told you that your worry for the day was over.

I wonder if you still have that bell.

It is a wonderful bell to which the teachers and the boys alike pay the highest respect. Your school hours have also changed and so have the methods of teaching.

Gone are the old ice-carts with familiar faces of the men behind them. Gone is the face of the old Mamak who used to prepare the best mee I have ever tasted at the price of five cents a plate with eggs thrown in and with his constant notes of warning when disturbed "Nanti, Nanti" used to add to our pangs of hunger; gone is the rice and fish curry stall that used to serve our hunger for the price of 10 cents; gone is the *satay* that used to sell 1 cent a stick.

Everything is new to me here. The building itself is modern, big and imposing and in the place of those ice-carts, mee-stall and rickety rice-stall, you have a modern tuck-shop and nicely arranged foodstalls.

The hawkers of the old days too used to count their profits in cents and were happy to get their return after a hard day's work if they could hear the tinkling of the coins. The hawkers of today would bemoan their ill-fortune if they got their day's takings in less than the \$10 denominations only.

The boys of my days were older than the boys of to-day in their respective classes. They were too less bent on their work than the boys of to-day.

There were some boys who failed continuously in their classes and further chances were given to them.

Pocket money never used to exceed on the average 5 cents per day. Nevertheless we were able to get what we wanted with it. Boys of the old days, more so than are the boys of today, built up their reputations on the playing fields rather than in their class-rooms.

More notice was taken of the boys who could kick the ball the farthest or who could use their fists the quickest and the hardest.

As I said earlier the boys in the schools were older than they are today. I myself joined the Penang Free School in what was then the second standard at the age of thirteen. Today the boys of that age would be knocking at the door of Form Four or even Form Five.

The boys in the upper classes in a few cases used to be as old as the teacher himself. Nevertheless the word of the teacher was to them a command.

There were Prefects who used to sneak in on the boys when they smoked cigarettes in the latrines, and Prefects are Prefects and the boys used to respect them in spite of the fact that they were deprived of the joys of the cigarette.

The teachers were respected but a few of them were nevertheless given nicknames such as Mr. Owl (he happened to be my first teacher) because he had big eyes, and Mr. Blachan was known as such because he was jet-black, but they were not given uncomplimentary epithets out of disrespect but only because of their peculiar looks or ways.

There was our Headmaster, Mr Pinhorn who was referred to as Kaki Kayu because he had one wooden leg. As far as he was concerned you could call him that to his face because he would not know the difference between "Baju" and "Batu." as he had no knowledge of Malay at all, and where he and I had affinity of interest was that both of us could not multiply 2 by 2.

Nevertheless he was a great master, he was revered and respected by the boys and by those who knew him.

He contributed much in the great reputation which the school now enjoys.

We had Mr. Cheeseman who was the brain behind all the school organisation, in work, in sports and the scouts and the cadet

movement. He is now in happy retirement proud in the knowledge that he had done a good job in the cause of education.

Those were the great days, the good old days though I used to dread the lessons and the sternness and strictness by which they were applied.

I live today to remember with gratitude the good that they have done to me.

I believe however when any of the old boys of the school give lectures they must have said the same thing as I say now—those days were the good old days—and I am almost certain that those of you who are on the benches today will return here one day when you have become famous to tell the boys of the future that your school days were too the great days.

Let me assure you that while there is this feeling from among the past boys about their school days then the country is safe.

It means that the products of the schools are disciplined to guide the ship of State and the State will be in safe hands. When the boys start to violate the sanctity of the school by misusing it, then God help the country.



*H. M. Sultan Abdul
Hamid Halim Shah,
Tunku Abdul Rahman
(right) and his brother*



*The Parents of
Tunku Abdul Rahman*



*The Tunku (right)
with a brother scout*



A Study in Biography

(Frank Sullivan)

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, was born at Alor Star, the capital of the State of Kedah, on 8th February, 1902. He was the seventh child of the reigning Sultan, Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah, who was then 39 years of age. He died in 1943 at the age of 79 after having ruled for 61 years.

The mother of the future Prime Minister was Makche Menjelara, who was half Burmese and half Siamese by birth, being the daughter of Luang Mira, a Chieftain of one of the Siamese Shan States.

The Royal Family of Kedah is probably the oldest in Malaya, as the present dynasty reaches back more than a thousand years, and can be traced through nine Hindu Rulers and sixteen Muslim Sultans.

The State of Kedah (area 3,660 sq. miles, population 701,000) lies in the North-West corner of the Federation of Malaya, bounded on the North by the small Malay State of Perlis and the Kingdom of Thailand, on the South-East by the State of Perak, on the West by the Indian Ocean, and in the South by the State of Penang.

As a child the Tunku was not physically strong but was distinguished by his indomitable spirit. At the age of four he was sent to school to study Malay in the morning and English in the after-

noon. Later he went to the Government English School at Alor Star - now known as the Sultan Abdul Hamid School.

When he was eight he was sent to Bangkok with his brother, Tunku Yusof, who was a captain in the Siamese Army. On the death of his brother a year later, he returned to Kedah. At twelve he became a pupil of the Penang Free School and in 1919, when he was 16, he was awarded a Kedah State Scholarship which took him to England to prepare for the university entrance examination.

Eventually he entered St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, where he obtained his B.A. in December, 1925. He was the first Kedah Prince to gain a degree in any British University.

After obtaining his degree, he returned to Malaya, but his elder brother, Tunku Ibrahim, who was then Regent of Kedah sent him back to England to study law.

Though there were a number of Malay students studying in Britain, they had no organisation of their own, but at Tunku Abdul Rahman's suggestion they formed the Malay Society of Great Britain. The first President elected was Tengku Abdul Rahman, of Negri Sembilan, who later became the first Paramount Ruler of the Federation, with the title of Yang di-Pertuan Agong. The first Secretary elected was Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, of Kedah.

Although Tunku Abdul Rahman stayed in England for five years he did not pass his law examinations, and returned to Malaya to join the Kedah Civil Service as a cadet in the Legal Adviser's Office in Alor Star. He was then aged 27. Later he served as an Assistant District Officer and then as District Officer in various Districts of the State.

He went back to England again to study law in 1938, but his studies were interrupted by the outbreak of World War II, so he returned to Malaya to work as a District Officer in the thriving Kedah town of Sungei Patani, and later in Kulim, also in Kedah. He was holding this post when Japan started the War in the Pacific.

In 1940, Tunku Abdul Rahman had become Deputy Director of Civil Defence for South Kedah. In December 1941 as the Japanese advanced into Kedah he was warned by his brother-in-law, Syed Omar Shahabudin, who was State Financial Officer at that time, that the British were preparing to evacuate and planning to take the Sultan with them to Penang, and thence abroad.

Accompanied by a Health Inspector the Tunku intercepted the convoy in which his father was travelling and succeeded in diverting the Sultan's car to Kulim, because he believed that his father's rightful place was with his people in a time of national emergency.

Tunku Abdul Rahman's actions as District Officer in Kulim displeased the Japanese, and he was transferred to Alor Star where they could more easily keep an eye on him. When Japan ceded Kedah to Thailand in 1943 he became Supervisor of Education and remained in this post until the return of the British to Malaya. While in Alor Star he formed a welfare organisation to look after refugees from the "Death Railway".

In 1947, two years after Japan's surrender, Tunku Abdul Rahman went to England to study law again, and in 1949 he was called to the Bar from the Inner Temple. He was then aged 46, and in his admission speech he quipped that he was probably the only student in the history of that famous Inn who had been admitted to the Bar on his Silver Jubilee as a student.

During this sojourn in England, he continued his keen interest in the welfare of Malayan students, and became President of the Malay Society of Great Britain. One of his closest friends at that time was Dato Abdul Razak, now Tun Abdul Razak and Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, and Minister of Rural Development of the Federation of Malaya.

While Tunku Abdul Rahman was in England two important events had occurred in Malaya. The first was the institution on February 1, 1948, of a new Federation of Malaya, a Union of the nine Malay States and the two Colonies of Penang and Malacca.

The second was the declaration of the state of Emergency in the country on June 16 of the same year following the outbreak of Communist terrorism.

Tunku Abdul Rahman returned to Malaya early in 1949, and immediately accepted the chairmanship of the Kedah Branch of the United Malays National Organisation (U.M.N.O.) which had been primarily responsible for the pressure of public opinion which resulted in the formation of the Federation of Malaya.

He was not able to retain this post for long, as he was transferred to Kuala Lumpur as a Deputy Public Prosecutor in the Federal Legal Department, and as such could take no part in politics. Two years later, however, he resigned from the Government service to become President of UMNO in succession to Dato Onn bin Ja'afar. In 1952 he was appointed to both the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Federation as an unofficial member.

It is interesting to note that at this stage of his career Tunku Abdul Rahman, although well-known in Northern Malaya, was by no means a national figure, politically speaking. It was Tun Abdul Razak who suggested his name as a possible President of UMNO, and his proposal was accepted. Nevertheless, his future as leader of the foremost political party was the subject of much public speculation.

The Tunku had long held the view that the best solution to the political problems of Malaya lay in cooperation between all the races in the country and it was this idea that led to the political alliance of the United Malays National Organisation with the Malayan Chinese Association led by Dato Tan Cheng Lock. The Alliance was formed for the purpose of contesting the first municipal elections in the Federation in 1952, and it was highly successful, winning twenty-four seats out of forty-three.

By February, 1953, after a series of round table meetings between Tunku Abdul Rahman and Dato Tan Cheng Lock agreement had become so close as to lead to the setting up of

liaison committees between the local branches of the M.C.A. and U.M.N.O. throughout the Federation. Shortly afterwards, the Alliance evolved a common policy in regard to the holding of a general election in the Federation.

Tunku Abdul Rahman presided at the general assembly of UMNO in Malacca in April 1953, when the draft election plan was adopted by UMNO delegates amid shouts of "Merdeka" (Freedom) and a unanimous resolution was passed calling for speedy Federal elections. Shortly before the Federal Elections the Malayan Indian Congress joined forces with the UMNO and MCA.

The first Federal Elections in July 1955 swept Tunku Abdul Rahman and the Alliance into office. The Alliance gained 51 out of 52 elected seats. Immediately afterwards the Tunku became the Chief Minister and Minister for Home Affairs.

One of the points in the Alliance election manifesto was a pledge to end the "Emergency" quickly with the promise of an amnesty for Communist terrorists and a meeting with Chin Peng, the Secretary-General of the Malayan Communist Party - if he wanted it.

The amnesty was declared on 9th September, 1955, and on 27th and 28th December, Tunku Abdul Rahman with the then Chief Minister of Singapore, Mr. David Marshall, and the President of the M.C.A., Dato Tan Cheng Lock, met Chin Peng and two other Communist leaders at the English School, Baling, Kedah.

During the meeting, Chin Peng promised that should the Chief Minister obtain control of internal defence and security he would order the Communists to lay down their arms. The Tunku refused to countenance the recognition of the Malayan Communist Party and insisted that members of the M.C.P. should be investigated once they came out of the jungle in order to test their loyalty to the country.

After the meeting, Chin Peng returned to the jungle and two days later, Tunku Abdul Rahman led a "Merdeka Mission" to

London to negotiate with the British Government for self-government and independence for Malaya.

The Mission in January, 1956 was completely successful. It obtained for the elected Government of Malaya control of internal defence and security, finance and the "Malayanisation" of the public service. It was also agreed that a Constitutional Commission should be set up to recommend a new Constitution for the country and that independence should come by 31st August, 1957.

On his return to Malaya Tunku Abdul Rahman assumed the office of Minister for Internal Defence and Security in addition to the offices of Chief Minister and Minister for Home Affairs.

In May 1957 Tunku Abdul Rahman again took to London a delegation comprising representatives of the Alliance and the Malay Rulers in order to reach final agreement on independence for the Federation.

The climax of Tunku Abdul Rahman's efforts on behalf of Malaya came on the morning of 31st August, 1957, when, as Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, he accepted from the Queen's representative, the Duke of Gloucester, the Constitutional Instruments by which the Federation became a sovereign country.

The historic ceremony took place in the newly-built 2½ million dollar Merdeka Stadium built by the inspiration and the impetus of Tunku Abdul Rahman as a memorial to Independence.

Since Independence Day, Tunku Abdul Rahman has been untiring in his efforts to ensure stable, responsible Government at home and good relations abroad. The Federation of Malaya became a member of the Commonwealth and signed a Defence Agreement with the United Kingdom.

During the first months of 1958 Tunku Abdul Rahman, as Prime Minister, personally made goodwill visits to Vietnam, Ceylon and Japan. In June of that year, because of a promise

he had made to give thanks for Malaya's peaceful attainment of independence, Tunku Abdul Rahman made a pilgrimage to Mecca. His official style and formal title now became Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj. (A Haji indicates a man who has made the pilgrimage).

In September he paid an official visit to the Malay State of Brunei in Borneo, and in January 1959 he was a State Guest of the Republic of the Philippines. It was during this visit to Manila that the Tunku first suggested, and President Garcia heartily endorsed, the idea of forming an association for close economic and cultural cooperation between the countries of South-East Asia. This was the genesis of ASA.

Towards the end of 1958 the Federation of Malaya was host for official visits by the President of the Republic of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. John Diefenbaker.

In the first quarter of 1959 the Federation of Malaya was host again to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, and the then Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Djuanda. This latter visit was marked by the formal signing of a Treaty of Friendship between Malaya and Indonesia.

Under the Federal Constitution General Elections were scheduled to be held in all States and at the Federal level before the expiry of two years from Independence Day, 1957. In February 1959 Tunku Abdul Rahman announced his intention to resign as Prime Minister in April for the purpose of touring the whole country to ensure the success of the Alliance Party in the Federal elections. When his resignation took place Tun Abdul Razak, the Deputy Prime Minister, became the second Prime Minister of Malaya.

A series of elections in the eleven States resulted in victories for the Alliance Party in nine States, the exceptions being Kelantan and Trengganu. When the Federal elections were held in August

to contest 104 seats in the Lower House of the new Parliament, the Alliance won 74 seats. Tunku Abdul Rahman became Prime Minister of Malaya for the second time. The new Parliament of two Houses was formally opened by His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in September.

In October 1959 Tunku Abdul Rahman made an official goodwill visit to the Commonwealth of Australia, and in December of the same year this visit was returned by the Prime Minister of Australia, the Rt. Hon. R.G. Menzies.

In January 1960 Tunku Abdul Rahman went on a goodwill visit to New Zealand for two weeks. A return visit was paid by the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Walter Nash, to the Federation of Malaya in June. In the following month, President Ngo Dinh Diem paid a State Visit to the Federation.

The Federation of Malaya suffered a severe blow as a young nation with the death of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Tuanku Abdul Rahman, in April 1960. Malaya had lost its King and the Prime Minister an old friend. The Sultan of Selangor, Tuanku Hisamuddin Alam Shah, became the second Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

At the end of April 1960 Tunku Abdul Rahman left Kuala Lumpur to attend for the first time the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in London. The Federation of Malaya was the newest member of the Commonwealth. During this Conference the Tunku achieved world prominence by his outspoken criticism of the South African policy of apartheid.

After the Conference he made a highly successful tour of Europe as the State Guest of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Kingdom of Belgium, the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of France.

On June 6, 1960 Cambridge University conferred on Tunku Abdul Rahman an honorary Doctorate of Laws. This tribute is among the most significant honours he has received. The Tunku

had already been honoured with the same degree by the University of Malaya, the University of Sydney and the Araneta University in the Philippines. Later he was to receive the same honours of Doctor of Laws from the University of Saigon in 1961 and from Aligarh Muslim University, India in 1962.

Tunku Abdul Rahman returned to Malaya at the end of June to receive a hero's welcome for having carried out the national mandate to condemn apartheid.

In July, as Prime Minister, he took the lead in the national celebrations which marked a declaration of the ending of the 12-year old state of Emergency and military victory over Communist terrorism.

The Federation of Malaya celebrated its third anniversary of Independence on August 31, only a month later with great rejoicing everywhere but there was a shadow over the land. On the very next day Malaya lost its King for a second time with the passing of Tuanku Hisamuddin Alam Shah. Messages of sympathy poured in to the Prime Minister from all over the world.

The Conference of Rulers elected the Raja of Perlis, Tuanku Syed Putra, as the third Yang di-Pertuan Agong, but owing to the prolonged period of national mourning His Majesty was not actually installed in office until January 1961.

Before this historic event, however, the Prime Minister during October and November went on an extensive tour of Canada and the United States, and also visited the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. This tour was remarkable for the prescience shown in the Tunku's speeches. He warned of the dangers inherent in the current situation in Laos (and within five months Laos was a matter of world concern); he stressed also the danger to peace in South-East Asia arising from the undecided question of the future of West Irian (in fact, his tour was a personal effort to persuade the United Nations and world leaders of the need to solve this explosive problem).

TRIBUTE TO TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

The year 1961 was packed with constructive efforts made by Tunku Abdul Rahman. Immediately following the State Visit to the Federation of Malaya made by President Garcia of the Philippines in February, the Tunku and the Foreign Ministers of the Philippines and Thailand issued a historic statement in Kuala Lumpur stating their formal joint agreement to go ahead with the establishment of the Association of South-East Asia.

In March the Tunku went to London once again, attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which finally resulted in the decision of South Africa, in the face of concerted opinion, to withdraw from the Commonwealth. It can be fairly stated that the stand taken by the Tunku and Malaya on the question of apartheid was an important factor in bringing about this result.

In May there occurred one of the most significant events in the whole political career of Tunku Abdul Rahman. Addressing a luncheon meeting of the Foreign Correspondents' Association at the Adelphi Hotel in Singapore on May 27 the Prime Minister electrified his audience by stating that Malaya should sooner or later have an understanding with Britain and the people of the territories of Singapore and North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak. This was the genesis of the Malaysia Plan, which ever since that day has been the prime subject of interest and discussion throughout these territories.

In July, the Association of South-East Asia was formally launched at a conference in Thailand with joint agreement by Malaya, Thailand and the Philippines and the signing of Bangkok Declaration. The seed sown in Manila two and a half years before by the Tunku had burgeoned into fruitful life.

In October the Prime Minister flew to Saigon on an official visit during the Independence celebrations of South Vietnam, and stressed the close ties of interests between the two countries in the struggle against Communism.

With the future of Malaysia in mind Tunku Abdul Rahman visited London in November for talks with the British Government which resulted in agreement to go ahead with the Malaysia concept and to appoint a Special Commission to enquire into public opinion in North Borneo and Sarawak.

While the Tunku was away in London the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and his Consort made official State Visits to India and Pakistan, a memorable journey in international goodwill.

The year 1962 saw Tunku Abdul Rahman being as active as ever both at home and abroad. In February, his birthday month, the Tunku celebrated his tenth year of leadership of UMNO and was also honoured by being named as the first Chancellor of the newly-formed University of Malaya.

ASA and Malaysia were his principal preoccupations during the year. A second meeting of Foreign Ministers of ASA was held in Kuala Lumpur and the Cameron Highlands in June, and in July Tunku Abdul Rahman visited London again for further discussions on Malaysia which resulted in the decision to establish the new nation on or before August 31, 1963.

In October the Tunku, keeping a promise of long-standing, toured Pakistan and India for three weeks. In Pakistan he stressed the importance of close understanding between Muslim nations, and in India he declared Malaya's support for that great democracy in unjustified border aggression by Communist China.

On his return to the Federation in November, he made his first official visit amidst popular acclaim to North Borneo and Sarawak. In December his attention was taken up by the sudden and unexpected uprising in Brunei, which was quickly quelled.

In a message to the nation on the New Year's eve the Tunku looked forward with hope and confidence for the future of Malaya in 1963, but he warned the people that it would be



Washington diplomats pose with Malaya's Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman (centre front) Blair House steps. A state visitor in 1960, he is shown with diplomats of many countries' including Ceylon, Pakistan, Nigeria, Canada. Many other Asian leaders have stayed at Blair House during their official visits to the United States.

Photo: By Courtesy, U.S. Information Services

a year of great challenge, a year of test and national determination. Nevertheless, he declared that nothing would prevent the formation of Malaysia or the development of ASA, because Malaya firmly believed that both Malaysia and ASA were essential to the future peace, prosperity and happiness of our region.

Tunku Abdul Rahman is a man of remarkable energy and is known and loved throughout the Federation for his geniality, good humour, political sagacity and his personal talent for getting along with people of every age and class.

He rises early to say his prayers, and then reads the newspapers before coming down for breakfast between 8 and 9 o'clock. He spends one hour working on correspondence in his office in the official residence of the Prime Minister familiarly known as the "Residency" which has a remarkable view overlooking the city and the surrounding hills.

Tunku Abdul Rahman then walks downhill, usually carrying an open umbrella, salutes his Police Guards as he goes by, and two minutes later enters through the side-door his official office, in the Prime Minister's Department which is only 100 yards below the "Residency".

This was his invariable practice during his first four years of office as Prime Minister, but during 1962 he has spent most of his time in the "Residency", visiting his official office occasionally for conferences and meetings.

Each day Tunku Abdul Rahman eats a hearty luncheon, usually in Malay style, and preferably with Kedah recipes. He always tries to have half an hour's sleep after lunch. In the afternoons he may work either at his office or his house. Hardly a day passes without the Tunku entertaining guests at either afternoon tea or dinner. He travels widely throughout the Federation addressing meetings in villages and towns.

A keen sportsman, he has been a football fan all his life (soccer was his favourite game as a youth). He has been President of the Football Association of Malaya for the past thirteen years, and was

the first President (and still is) of the Asian Football Confederation, which was formed five years ago. Four years ago he was elected President of the newly initiated Asian Badminton Confederation.

A great believer in the value of sport, in building either the character of people as individuals or the nation as a whole, he spends so much time in fostering sport that he should have little to spare for exercise. In spite of this, he endeavours not to let a day pass without some form of physical exercise. He is also extremely fond of racing and is considered a very good judge of a horse. He attends race meetings in various parts of Malaya as often as his official duties will allow him to do so. He has led on his own winners on several occasions.

Tunku Abdul Rahman is also extremely interested in out-board motor boats, and in the past two years he has regained an old enthusiasm for golf, which is now his principal relaxation, as he endeavours to get a game in almost daily.

He is also keenly interested in gardens, particularly the growing of orchids, and a persistent devotee of cine photography. He wrote a play about an ancient legend of Langkawi Island, where he was once District Officer. This has been performed many times in North Malaya in Malay and has also been filmed.

These recreations and hobbies do not exhaust the activities of the Prime Minister. He takes the greatest possible interest in architecture and planning, as can be seen by his promoting and building the Stadium Negara and by his sponsorship of public appeals for a National Monument and the National Mosque in the Federal Capital. He is also President of the Kuala Lumpur Flying Club, and owns one of the most important and varied collections of the Malay kris in the whole country. He is a great patron of all Malayan cultural entertainments and is also very fond of dancing.

Tunku Abdul Rahman has been married three times. By his first wife, he had two children, Tunku Kathijah, who is the wife of a Malay in Government Service, now studying in the United



The Malay Prime Minister in West Berlin

Kingdom and a mother of two children, the favourites of their grand-father, the Prime Minister, and a son, Tunku Nerang, who is a Captain in the Federation Regiment, and is married with two children. The Prime Minister's first wife died shortly after his son's birth.

Tunku Abdul Rahman has been married to his present wife, Puan Sharifah Rodziah, daughter of a well-known family from Alor Star, for the past 23 years. A most attractive and charming woman, she has been a great influence in his life. They have had no children, but they have adopted two orphans, a Chinese girl named Meriam, now aged 8½, and a Malay boy named Suleiman, now aged 7 years.

The Prime Minister and his wife have also another adopted son, Syed Abdullah bin Omar, a 24-year old cameraman in the Malayan Film Unit.

The Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, has received a number of foreign Awards, but the Award which he treasures most is the Kedah Order of Merit (K.O.M.) which he received from the late Sultan of Kedah in May 1958. The Kedah Order of Merit, which is given for illustrious service, cannot be held by more than three persons at the same time. At present Tunku Abdul Rahman is the only holder of the Order. The Tunku was created a Companion of Honour by H. M. Queen Elizabeth on New Year's Day, 1961.

The Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, received another most unusual distinction when the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation, established in the Philippines, decided to confer on him the 1960 Award for Community Leadership.

One final interesting fact about Tunku Abdul Rahman is the way his title is popularly used. "Tunku" is the Malay equivalent of "Prince", and with the ruling Malay Sultans in nine of the eleven States of the Federation of Malaya, naturally there are quite a number of Tunkus. Usually the title is spelt "Tengku" but in one or two States, particularly in Kedah, the title is spelt as it sounds, i.e., "Tunku".

It is a personal tribute to the "Father of the Nation" that in ordinary conversation if anyone mentions "the Tunku" there is no doubt at all about whom he is speaking. The same is true of newspapers. The headlines in papers or bill posters simply use "Tunku". Even if half a dozen Tunkus are speaking together and they happen to refer to "the Tunku" it does not mean anyone present: it can only mean one person and the one person only, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya.

Tunku Abdul Rahman is dedicated to the service of Malaya and her people, and in doing so he always expresses an unshaken belief in parliamentary democracy, the value of the Commonwealth and the world importance of the United Nations.

A man of faith, he is imbued with deep trust in God in His mercy and justice and unwavering confidence in the fundamental goodness of man. As he once said, "In Malaya with the complications of its multiple races, we have come to understand that the basis of our peace and happiness is tolerance and goodwill among our fellow-men."

A man of peace, he abhors force and violence, believing that the ways of compromise and patience and reason alone can produce true understanding. As he once said, "If I am credited with nothing more I can at least thank God that I was able to lead our country along the path of independence, and beyond, without one drop of blood being shed."





PROUD RECORD

Tunku Abdul Rahman

A Chronology

of His Life

and Events:

(S. Durai Raja Singam)

ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA, TUNKU (Prince). Kedah Order of Merit; C.H. 1961; Prime Minister, Federation of Malaya; Born: 1903; Married: 3rd 1939. Puan Sharifah Rodziah binti Syed Alwi Barakbah; 1 son & 1 daughter (both by 1st wife); 2 sons and 1 daughter (all adopted.) Educ: Alor Star; Bangkok; St. Catherine's College, Cambridge; Inner Temple, London.

1903 - Born 8th February at Alor Star. Seventh child of Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah and his wife, Makche Menjelara, who was half Burmese and half Siamese by birth, being the daughter of Luang Mira, a Chieftan of Nonta Nagara, one of the Siamese Shan States.

1907 - At the age of four attended a Malay School in the morning and learnt English in the afternoon. Also went to a Siamese school in Bangkok. Later a pupil of the Government English school, Alor Star, now Sultan Abdul Hamid College.

S. DURAI RAJA SINGAM

- 1916 - Became a pupil of the Penang Free School in the second standard at the age of 13.
- 1919 - Awarded a Kedah State Scholarship which took him to England to prepare for the University entrance examination.
- 1922 - Student at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge University on a Kedah scholarship. (October 1922 to December, 1925).
- 1924 - Graduated, Bachelor of Arts, Cambridge University—the first Kedah Prince to gain a degree in any British University.
- 1927 - Founder and first Secretary of the Malay Society of Great Britain. Kesatuan Melayu United Kingdom (K.M.U.K.) Tengku Abdul Rahman, later Tuanku Abdul Rahman, the first Yang di - Pertuan Agong was its first President.
- 1931 - Returned to Malaya from England. Joined the Kedah Civil Service. District Officer. Met Mr. Eugene Chen, then Foreign Minister of China - both of whom became great friends.
- 1936 - District Officer, Sungei Patani. Received Nehru at Butterworth.
- 1938 - Returned to England to study Law but studies were interrupted by the outbreak of World War II.
- 1940 - Deputy Director of Civil Defence for South Kedah.
- 1941 - In December during the British retreat he diverted tactfully his father's car going to Penang and kept the Sultan at Siddim Valley, Kulim to be with his people in that time of National emergency.
- During the Japanese Occupation of Malaya, when the Japanese returned Kedah to Siam, he served as Superintendent of Education and Director of Passive Defence until the reoccupation, September, 1945.*
- 1946 - Opposed the British Government fusion of Malay States and Colonies to form the Malayan Union which deprived

TRIBUTE TO TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

- the Malay Rulers and States of all but nominal authority and took a leading part in the formation of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), when the Malayan Union gave way to the Federation.
- 1947 - Went to England to continue his law studies.
- 1948 - The shooting war against communist terrorists (The Emergency) started.
- 1949 - Called to the Bar (Inner Temple) London at the age of 46. Returned to Kedah and was seconded to Federal Legal Department as a Deputy Public Prosecutor. Became Chairman of the UMNO. in Kedah.
- 1951 - Took over the leadership of the United Malay Nationalist Organisation (President of UMNO). Resigned from the Malayan Civil Service.
- 1952 - Appointed to both Executive and Legislative Councils of the Federation as an Unofficial member.
- 1954 - Leader of the Alliance Party (UMNO, Malayan Chinese Association and Malayan Indian Congress.)
- 1955 - In the first Malayan Elections led the Alliance to victory (July 27th). Elected to the Federal Legislative Council. Became Chief Minister and Minister for Home Affairs/ Headed Alliance Delegation to London to negotiate Independence for the Federation (December). He went with Tunku Kassim, his half-brother and a Federal Councillor to an invited jungle-clearing in Kedah to discuss ending the emergency but no communist leader turned up. On 28th December on another invitation he with Tun Sir Tan Cheng-Lock and Mr. David Marshall, the Chief Minister of Singapore, met at Baling, Chin Peng, the Secretary General of the Malayan Communist Party, Chen Tien and Rashid bin Mydin. The talks were unsuccessful and Chin Peng returned to the jungle.
- 1956 - In reshuffle of Cabinet, also took portfolios of Minister for Internal Defence and Security and was also Chairman,

Emergency Operations Council which decided on policy in fighting the Malayan Communist Party.

1957 - Achieved Merdeka (Independence). The title of BAPAK KEMERDEKAAN (Father of Independence) was bestowed on him by the people. After Independence on 31st August 1957 became Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs and continued to be Chairman, Emergency Operations Council. The University of Malaya conferred the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (September).

In September, Malaya was admitted as a member of the United Nations.

1958 - Made a pilgrimage to Mecca. Also made goodwill visits to Vietnam and Thailand. In January of this year he held discussions at Saigon with President Ngo Dinh Diem and spoke about the close relations between Malaya and South Vietnam. The next month he was at Bangkok where he spoke about a new strategy to clear the Malayan - Thai border of the Communist elements. In March, he visited Ceylon and two months later he visited Japan. Received the Kedah Order of Merit (K.O. M.) in May of this year from the late Sultan of Kedah. Paid an official visit to the State of Brunei (September).

1959 - Resigned as Prime Minister in February to prepare for General Elections in August.

Became Prime Minister for the second time (August). In September initiated Ministry for Rural Development. Was a State Guest of the Republic of Philippines (January). The trip was aimed at forging unity between the free countries of South-East Asia. It was in Manila that the formation of the Association of South-East Asia was first discussed.

The Aranets University, Philippines conferred the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (January) In October, made an official goodwill visit for seventeen days to the Commonwealth of Australia. It was stated

TRIBUTE TO TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

then that the Australian Government regarded Malaya as the most stable and reliable friend in this region of the world. He returned home with a promise from the Australian Government of aid in establishing a faculty of medicine in Kuala Lumpur.

The Sydney University conferred a similar award (November)

1960 - January, found the Tunku in New Zealand. He spoke there of the common heritage linking the Malay and Maori people, and returned with a \$1 million grant for a civil servants' training centre. In October left on a mission of peace to Canada and America. A few minutes before his departure, he disclosed that his main purpose in visiting the U.S. was connected with the West Irian dispute. On his way home, he stopped for a few days in Holland. A month later, he flew to London for talks on Malaysia. It was then that the joint commission to ascertain the views of the Borneo people on the matter was decided upon.

Became Minister for External Affairs (November).

Attended Prime Ministers' Conference in London (May)
Responsible for Malaya's contributing troops to the United Nations Congo Force.

The Cambridge University conferred the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (June). Won the Ramon Magsaysay Award for Community Leadership.

In August, the "Emergency" was declared ended. The country had been cleared of the bulk of Communist terrorists.

1961 - Attended Prime Ministers Conference in London (March)
Opposed Apartheid Policy of South Africa by championing the cause of the non-whites on South Africa and organised a boycott of South African goods.

Made a historic speech on his concept of Malaysia to the Foreign correspondents' Association in Singapore (May 27th) Awarded the C.H. by Her Majesty, the Queen of England.

Became also Minister for Information and Broadcasting (June). The University of Saigon conferred the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (October). Headed mission to London to discuss and agree in principle proposed formation of Federation of Malaysia (November).

Saw the formation of the A.S.A. (Association of South East Asia) comprising Malaya, Thailand and the Philippines - the fruition of an idea propounded by the Tunku in 1959. The Association aims at greater economic and cultural co-operation between member states.

1962 - Opened the Second Meeting of the A.S.A. Foreign Ministers which included the Vice-President and concurrently Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Emmanuel Pelaez and the Foreign Minister of Thailand, Mr. Thanat Khoman. Appointed First Chancellor of the University of Malaya (June). Headed second mission to London on formation of Malaysia (July). In October, on a 20 day visit to India and Pakistan which proved a very successful tour. The Tunku's mission strengthened the bonds of friendship with Pakistan and India. Whilst in Pakistan announced the concept for a Commonwealth of Muslim States. Again in Agra he said that India must surely be one of the members of an Islamic Commonwealth. Should such a Commonwealth become a reality it would help to bring about a realization of one of the main tenets of Islam,—the brotherhood of man. The concept of an Islamic Commonwealth was purely cultural and social, and had no politics behind it. Was conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at a special convocation of Aligarh Muslim University. Whilst in New Delhi paid his respects to Mahatma Gandhi, by placing a wreath at Rajghat, where Gandhiji was cremated. His visit to India coincided with Chinese aggression on the Indian border. He was the first to support India's cause and pledged Malaya's support for India in her conflict with Communist China. On his triumphant return from India he inaugu-

rated the "Save Democracy Fund" in a nation wide broadcast pledging Malaya's support for India. On November 17th. left for the Borneo territories on a goodwill tour and for talks on Malaysia with the leaders and peoples of these territories.

**ORDERS AND DECORATIONS OF THE PRIME MINISTER
TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA**

LOCAL:

Kedah	.....	K.O.M. (Kedah Order of Merit) May 1958.
Kelantan	.....	D.K. (Darjah Kerabat Yang Amat di-Hormati (Al-Yunusi) - The Most Esteemed Royal Family Order of Kelantan) - March 1960.
Johore	.....	D.D.P. (Darjah Kerabat Yang Amat di-Hormati Pangkat Yan Pertama - The Most Esteemed Family Order, First Class) October 1961.
Selangor	.....	S.P.M.S. (Seri Paduka Mahkota Selangor) - June 1962.

FOREIGN:

Morocco	.....	Order of Istiq'lal - August 1957.
Vietnam	.....	Order of Kim Khanh (First Class) January 1958.
Brunei	.....	S.P.M.B. (Seri Paduka Mahkota Brunei) - July 1958.
Belgium	.....	Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown of Belgium - August 1958.
Philippines	.....	Order of Sikatuna (Raja) - January 1959.
United Kingdom	.....	C.H. (Companion of Honour) - January 1961.
Thailand	.....	Knight Grand Cross of the Most Illustrious Order of Chula Chom Klao - June 1962.
Cambodia	.....	Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Sahametrei - December 1962.

Publications:

Publication: *Mahsuri* (imaginary play of Malaya: performed on stage in North Malaya throughout 1941; filmed in Malaya, 1958). Relevant publications: *The Architect of Merdeka* by Abdul Aziz bin Ishak, Wan Kin Cheong, Ian Kah Jee (1957) *Prince and Premier* (Biography) by Harry Miller (Harrap) 1959.

Recreations: golf, football, racing, tennis, walking, swimming, motor-boating, photography (both cine and still), collector of ancient weapons, particularly the Malay kris. President, Football Association of Malaya, President of Asian Football Confederation; President of Asian Badminton Confederation; President of Kuala Lumpur Flying Club.

Address: Office of the Prime Minister, Brockman Road, Kuala Lumpur, Federation of Malaya.

Telephone: Kuala Lumpur 88223 and 84432.





Selections from the Tunku's Speeches and Writings

I am nothing without my country and my fellow Malaysans.

* * * *

I am the happiest Prime Minister in the world.

* * * *

In Malaya we have everything we desire. We believe in food rather than bullets, clothes rather than uniform, homes rather than barracks.

* * * *

We are not the kind of people who change our minds just because other countries have decided to switch their tactics. Once we are committed to do a certain thing we will do it.

* * * *

A new nation is born and, though we fully realise the difficulties and problems that lies ahead, we are confident that, with the Blessing

SELECTIONS

of God, these difficulties will be overcome and that today's events, down the avenues of history will be our inspiration and our guide.

* * * *

We desire to build a country of which we can be justly and truly proud, a country in which we can live and share our happiness in brotherhood, a country to which we can all be truly loyal, in short, a new nation of Malaysia, a democracy of many races and creeds living in peace and harmony which a democracy space can be an example to the world.

* * * *

We do not go by any 'isms or ideologies. We are nationalists and we will do whatever is good in the interests of the people. For this reason, I refuse to label our economy as socialist or capitalist.

* * * *

There is no half-way house in loyalty, and loyalty to the land of his birth or adoption is the only true test of a citizen. Any laws or regulations on citizenship which do not ensure and maintain the preservation of that fundamental and sole loyalty must fail in their purpose. If you honour and love your country you must value its citizenship as a treasure of great price. That is the standard by which our citizenship laws must be measured.

* * * *

As far as I am concerned, I am not very interested in politics. I am more interested in administering the government and looking after the welfare and the well being of the people and the nation.

* * * *

Malaysia will be a crescent among the nations of Asia.

* * * *

The creation of Malaysia will be one of the most significant events in all the long history of South-East Asia, because it will bring to an end the era of colonialism in Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei. They will share with the eleven states of our peninsula the freedom and prestige, which the sovereign state of the Federation of Malaya now enjoys.

Malaysia will be formed on the desire of the people themselves. Nobody will be drawn, forced or coerced into it.

* * * *

I have come as a man of peace. In the short time that I have been Prime Minister, I have travelled extensively - first to get to know the various peoples of Asia, and second to spread my mission of peace and goodwill.

* * * *

We want a nation where there will be freedom, equality, peace, justice and prosperity for all. No one single race must try to dominate the others. The less fortunate of them are to be given help, and this is the reason for the reservations for the indigenous races of Malaya and Malaysia.

* * * *

Citizens of the country of whatever race have the right in Malaya, and later Malaysia, to be the Prime Minister and to form the Government and the Governments of the states.

* * * *

In our multi-racial society, our Malayan democracy, nothing is more fundamental than harmony between the many races which form the Malayan nation. In fact, if I were asked to name one single outstanding quality to explain the success of Malaya as a free nation, I would without hesitation say it is due to racial understanding and co-operation. Not only does this harmony express the trends of thought and feeling in this country, but it is a treasure of priceless value to each and everyone of us.

* * * *

It is sheer hypocrisy to suggest that when democracy is attacked we should remain silent and consider ourselves at peace with the world. Small as we are, we are not cowards and we are not hypocrites. In fact today, neutralism is no guarantee of one's safety.



The Farewell

Photo: By courtesy of Malayan Times

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

GERALD HAWKINS, O.B.E.- Entered the Malayan Civil Service in 1920 and served in Penang, Selangor, Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Johore, Singapore and Perak. Part Author of *Malaya* and of *Malayan Pioneers*, has broadcast and is now retired in Malaya.

FRANCIS COORAY.- Had the unique distinction of being a veteran among journalists of two countries - Ceylon and Malaya. In Ceylon where he was trained under the famous Fergusons who founded the *Ceylon Observer* well over a century ago, there is only one contemporary of his 1910 days still surviving. He has grown up with the Malayan Press which he served from 1918 to 1947 and in 1942 when the Japanese overran Malaya, as the Senior Journalist who remained behind he had the unpalatable task of editing the *Malay Mail* during the occupation. In the years before the war he travelled extensively not only in Malaya but also in Thailand, China and Japan. He has published two books: *The Thai - Our Neighbours* (1941) and *Merdeka for Malaya* (1957). He left Malaya in Feb. 1962.

G. H. KIAT, O.B.E.- Comes from a prominent family of four generations in Singapore. Began life as a teacher and later established G. H. KIAT & Co., Ltd. He has all along for the last 30 years taken an active interest in social service work and has sat on several enquiry commissions. He was a City Councillor in 1949 and was awarded the O.B.E. in 1958.

R. RAMANI.—A distinguished lawyer and a member of the former Federal Legislative Council, Chairman, Bar Council, Federation of Malaya. In 1961, he represented Malaya at the Tokyo Conference of Asian Jurists.

MALIK bin Abdul Rahman. On the staff of the *Malayan Times*, Kuala Lumpur.

M. SARAVANAMUTTU was Editor, *Straits Echo*, Penang (1931-1947); Ceylon Commissioner in Malaya (1950-57); Ceylon Minister to Indonesia (1954-57); Is now retired and living in Penang.

J.S.H. CUNYNGHAM - BROWN O.B.E. - Retired member of the Malayan Civil Service, living in Penang; was last President of the Municipal Councillors, George Town. Hobbies, boating, hill-climbing, history, drama and painting. Also travels a good deal in Europe and Asia. Honorary Consular Agent for France and President of L'Alliance Francaise Penang; Chairman of Malayan Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and serves on various other committees, local and otherwise.

J. F. AUGUSTIN.- Joined the Kedah Education Service in 1917 and retired in 1953, on reaching the age-limit. In 1954 the Kedah Government recalled him to take up the duty post of Asst. Superintendent of Education, Kedah and Perlis, from which he retired at the beginning of 1958. In that year he was nominated to be a Member of the Federal Legislative Council, and in November 1958 he represented the Federation of Malaya at the Coronation of Pope John XXIII who made him a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Sylvester Pope. For his public services in Kedah the Sultan appointed him a Justice of the Peace in 1953.

PAUL MARKANDAN.- Journalist and broadcaster since 1952. Currently Managing Director of Far Eastern Features Service Ltd. Has travelled widely in Far East, Pacific, U.S.A. & Canada on duty. Received the 'Marshall Award' from the Singapore Union of Journalists in 1958 for his reports on 'The Shocking Lives of Malayan Fishermen'. Publications include 'The Problem of the New Villages in Malaya' (1955); 'Report on Finance, Commerce & Industry - Federation of Malaya' (1960) and 'Media Studies on the Far East' (1962); Television productions include 'Malaya - Land of Color and Sunshine' & 'The Malayan Story'- a one hour documentary on the Emergency in Malaya.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

SABAPATHIPILLAI DURAI RAJA SINGAM.- Born in Port Weld and educated in Kuala Lumpur. Joined the Malayan Educational Service in 1925 and has served in Pahang and Selangor. Now retired. Author of *Gandhiji, the Ever-Smiling Mahatma; Homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy; Malayan Place Names; Malayan Tit Bits; Insignia Malayana; Munshi Abdullah to Anak Singapura; India and Malaya Through the Ages; A Malayan Heritage*; and other Malayana. Lives in Kuala Lumpur where he continues to write various articles of Malayan interest and broadcasts over Radio Malaya.

ALEX SOARS.- Sports writer of considerable experience in India and Malaya.

HAJI ABDUL MUBIN SHEPPARD. P.P.T, C.M.G., M.BE Obtained an Honours Degree in History at Cambridge University before entering the Malayan Civil Service by a Competitive Examination in January 1928. He was the first Director of Public Relations in 1946, the founder of the Arts Council, the First Chairman of the National Art Gallery and is currently the Director of Museums. He is the author of: *The Adventures of Hang Tuah, Historic Malaya, History of Trengganu, Malay Courtesy, The Magic Kite and other Ma'jong Stories*, and many other articles on Malay Culture.

FRANK SULLIVAN: Press Secretary, Prime Minister's Department for the past five years (April 1958) was born on April 27, 1909, in New Norfolk, Tasmania, and has been a Singapore citizen since October 1956. Professional journalist in either Press or Radio or Government service since 1933. Deputy Chief Editor, British Far Eastern Broadcasting Service, Singapore, 1946-48; Senior Press Officer, Department of Public Relations, Federation of Malaya, 1948-50; Editor, Special News Service, Radio Malaya Singapore, 1950-57; Acting Public Relations Secretary, Singapore, 1952-53; Malayan Information Officer, London, 1953; Press Liaison Officer, Marshall Cabinet, Singapore, 1955. Recreations Reading, writing, talking, collecting paintings, art criticism and helping to advance culture, world affairs and anything Malayan.

TRIBUTE TO TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

TUNKU AHMAD bin Tunku Mohammed. A free lance writer living in Kuala Lumpur.

V.N. NAIR. Delhi correspondent of the *Free Press Journal*, Bombay; also *Malayan Times* correspondent in India.

DATO SIR ALEXANDER OPPENHEIM. P.M.N., O.B.E, M.A, P.H.D. (Chicago) D.Sc (OXON) F.R.S.Ed; Vice-Chancellor, University of Malaya.

S. RAJARATNAM. Minister for Culture, Singapore. A member of the Peoples Action Party and was associate editor of the *Singapore Standard* (1945) and later on the editorial staff of the *Straits Times*. Elected in May 1959 to the Singapore Legislative Assembly and was appointed Minister for Culture.



PICTURE CAPTIONS

1. Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Al-Haj, K.O.M., C.H., B.A., BAR-AT-LAW, HON.LL.D. (Malaya, Araneta, Sydney, Cantab., Saigon, Aligarh)

(Frontispiece)

2. Tunku Abdul Rahman, leaving Admiralty House London, after lunch and talks with Britain's Premier, Mr. Macmillan. Accompanying the Malayan Premier are Tun Abdul Razak (right) Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister and Finance Minister Mr. Tan Siew Sin.

*Photo: Courtesy,
U.K. Information Services, Kuala Lumpur.*

3. At the United Nations Assembly with the late Mr. Dag Hammarskjold Secretary-General, U.N.O.

Photo: Courtesy, U.S. Information Services.

4. With President D. Dwight Eisenhower

Photo: Courtesy of U.S. Information Services.

5. Tunku Abdul Rahman with the Chancellor of Sydney University, Sir Charles Bickerton Blackburn, after he had received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The Deputy Chancellor, Major General I.H. Dougherty, is behind the Chancellor.

*Photo: Australian News and Information Bureau
photograph by John Tanner
Photo: Courtesy, New Zealand Information Services, K. L.*

6. An offprint of the Orator's speech on the occasion of the conferring of an honorary degree on Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj by the University of Cambridge.

Photo: Courtesy of Cambridge University, Cambridge

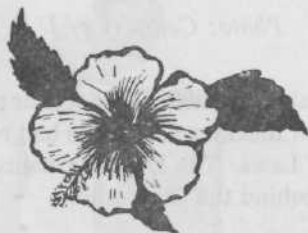
TRIBUTE TO TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

7. Tunku Abdul Rahman receiving the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws, Cambridge University, England.

Photo: Courtesy, U.K. Information Services.

8. An historic picture taken outside Admiralty House, London, following the signing of an agreement on the formation of the Federation of Malaysia. From left to right are the Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Britain's Premier, Mr. Harold Macmillan, Britain's Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary of State, Mr. Duncan Sandys' and Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

Photo: Courtesy, U.K. Information Services, Kuala Lumpur.





The Home Coming

Photo: By Courtesy of Malayan Times





