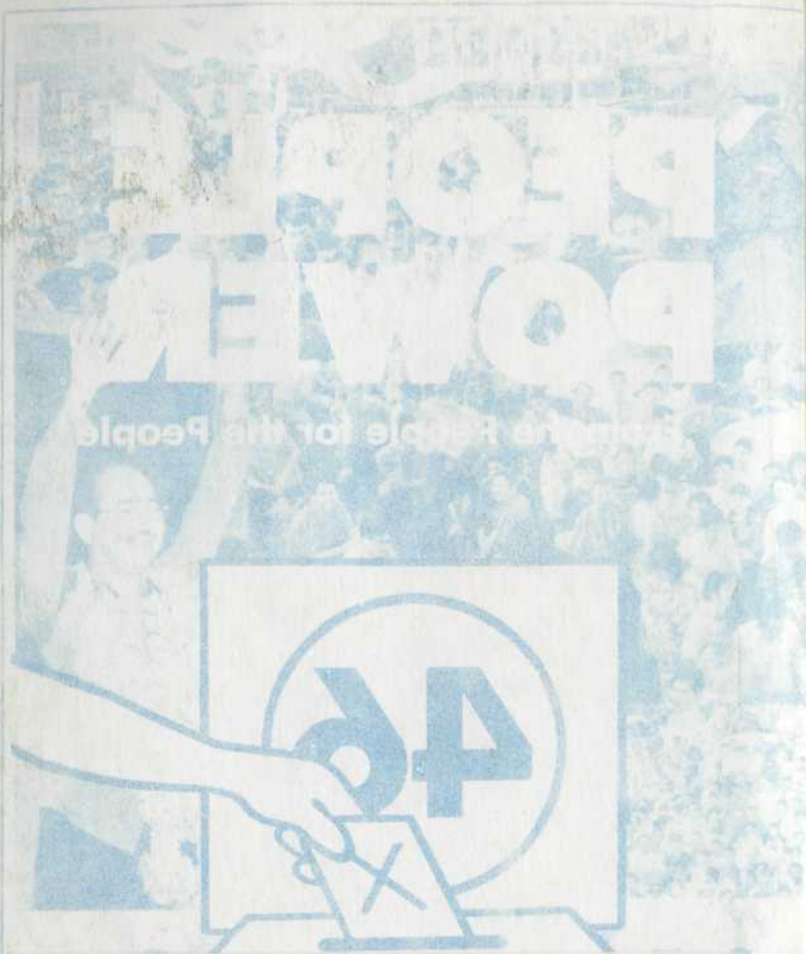


PEOPLE POWER

From the People for the People

Ahmad Mokhtar Hj. Mohamad



Sumbangan daripada:

*Yg. Bhg. Tan Sri Dato' Seri Ahmad Sarji b. Abdul **Hamid**
Ketua Setiausaha Negara*

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324.209595
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Dedication:

For my wife Sal and my children Sham, Linda and Sherly

If because of the struggle for rights and justice, for upholding the truth, for opposing sins and cruelty, we are forced to become a sacrifice or are sacrificed, consider that sacrifice as a form of welfare gift of ourselves for the whole community.

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FOREWORD

THE last 3 years have been full of political upheavals and upheavals and upsets. Changes have taken place. Not all these changes have been for the better. In fact since the narrow win by Dr. Mahathir in the April 1987 UMNO party election, there have been many casualties both in the political sector and in the business sector. Those opposing or not clearly identified to be with the Mahathir camp have been "mercilessly destroyed" so that they will not have another chance to oppose or criticise the leadership. Only those who are prepared to be puppets or "yes" man survived and are clinging on to their jobs, positions and business.

What could we do? How are we to fight a person who has no sense of guilt, justice or fair play? He breaks all rules to win the game, and even when he has lost he changes the rules by which he played to proclaim himself winner.

What could we do? How are we to fight a person who has no sense of guilt, justice or fair play? He breaks all rules to win the game, and even when he has lost he changes the rules by which he played to proclaim himself winner.

Men and women of Malaysia, this is YOUR country. The future of your country depends on you. We are told we are living in a democratic country. Yet, today there are many things we are unable to do, things which a truly democratic country would allow and permit as normal. Under the Police Act more than five people cannot even meet to have a simple discussion without a police permit.

FEAR has become part of our way of life now. So

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much so that we now look over our shoulder and who is around us before we dare to speak, even then our words are carefully chosen so as not to implicate us or create trouble for our family.

However there is a limit to what the people can take. All these cruelty, abuse of power, corruption and erosion of justice must stop and people's power will triumph once again to save the people and the country. Whether it be political parties, public interest groups or voluntary bodies, there is always a role for everyone to play, to build a better country for all of us, for our children and our children's children.

The colours of our skin or our origin should no longer be the prime concern or be turned into issues to divide the races. It is time to discard racial issues and build a sense of love and understanding among us. The time for politicians to thrive on racial issues should end and a new era should be built by all of us for the next generation to make this a happy and prosperous country for all Malaysians.

Let us pool all our resources and energy together to fight against the menace and evil that is spreading, which if left unchecked will ultimately bring complete chaos and destruction to us. May God bless us all.

HAIJAH MARINA YUSOF

PREFACE

GREETINGS to the whole beloved community!

When we talk and think about the things which are connected with all aspects of our livelihood, our race, the sovereignty of our country, and the glory of our religion, we are talking about politics. Politics is a field which has direct connections with all aspects of our life now and in the future.

We agree with the view that politics and religion cannot be separated. As we prepare ourselves for the next world, we cannot ignore the question of our life in this world, to follow the way of life that is demanded by our religion and Allah.

In our struggle to uphold the truth and justice as well as to oppose sins, we should not be afraid of anybody; we are only afraid of Allah.

To be afraid of them who are cruel and sinful means that we are in collusion with them. We will become hypocrites and will be hated by Allah.

In Islam it is the duty of every Muslim man and Muslim woman to expose all forms of sin, cheating and betrayal which are carried out by whatever party which can destroy the interests of the community and the nation, whether they are perpetrated by individuals, groups and those who govern.

As people who profess Islam, if we do not fulfil this responsibility, we can be considered as committing a wrong against our faith as a Muslim.

We are aware that under the system of administration under Dr Mahathir Mohamad and in the political context of our country at present, for any person to say anything regarding the sins of the government leaders openly,

CHAPTER 1

Dictatorial Power

THE political turbulence which is now raging throughout the country is said to have originated from an individual named Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, who was described by the former PAS refugee Haji Nakhaie Ahmad as possessing 'Vision' which is very far and sharp, which no former Malaysian Prime Minister had. He now considers Dr Mahathir as a unique leader who is very special and great. Contrary to his picture of Mahathir before this.

Before Mahathir held the scales of administration of this country, Malaysia's image was very high in the world. Malaysia was considered to be the Asian country with the most potential for investment for both foreign and local investors. Malaysia stood then in third place, after Japan and Korea. However, now that position is only left as an historical record.

During the leadership of Dr. Mahathir, all kinds of political and economic scandals which have gravely shamed the nation have happened. Among the big financial scandals which involved government leaders are the BMF scandal which lost \$2.5 billion of the people's money, Maminco UMBC, Pan-El, Deposit-Taking Cooperatives, EPF-Makuwasa, and the North-South Highway Contract. Many questions have arisen in connection with these scandals, but Mahathir's government continues to be silent and has not replied. Those who spoke up, and exposed these scandals and government leaders were put behind the Kamunting Camp.

must be compelled to be ready to face and accept great risks. There are now many Malaysian Muslims who are hypocrites because they fear the ISA (Internal Security Act). The ISA haunts them.

If we have been destined by Allah to be detained under the ISA, however much we flatter those who are cruel, we will be detained. We are punished because of detention, we sin because of the collusion with sins. Punishment in life because we uphold the instructions of Allah will be compensated with happiness in the life thereafter.

If because of my desire to uphold the truth and justice, oppose sins and cruelty, I am detained under the ISA, I shall consider this as a national honour for me. On the contrary, perhaps there is mercy in detention. If Dr Mahathir detains me, it means that he is afraid of me • I who am poor and disadvantaged, a helpless person without any power except the belief in the power and greatness of Allah.

Ahmad Mokhtar Haji Mohamad

The people know that most of these big financial scandals involved government leaders and important people in UMNO. It is said that Dr Mahathir himself is directly involved in many scandals, especially the BMF scandal.

The conflict of interests of those involved is very clear, and needs no elaboration or detailed investigation. For instance, the award of the contract to construct the North-South Highway to a company owned by UMNO. Also, the Dayabumi project and many more.

By way of the privatisation eyewash, large industries have been changed from public ownership to the private ownership of certain groups, which though small in number, are said to have strong ties with those in power in the government and the Prime Minister. Worse still, privatisation activities often are carried out extremely quietly. The open tender system has been replaced by offers and counter offers which are made in a closed manner. This is to enable only those groups linked to those in power to obtain the offers and special service in the privatisation scheme.

Although suppression efforts against corruption are carried out, right up to this moment no corrupt giant of the rank of minister, chief minister, menteri besar or public agency director or chief executive of any private body has yet to be prosecuted in court. Many accusations and allegations with sufficient detailed evidence have been brought to the attention of the government, but the actions taken vanish like coughs up the stairs. Even if forced to act, if those involved are from heads of government agencies or high government officers, they are asked to go on optional retirement or are transferred. There are deputy ministers who are said to be on the verge of bankruptcy before they became deputy ministers but are millionaires and have settled their multi-million-dollar debts even though they have been deputy ministers for less than a year.

Money politics has spread especially within government parties. How corruption money has been used widely by UMNO in by-elections to buy votes of the people can be cited as examples. Although there have been denials and such acts have been condemned by some government leaders, such efforts are not full-hearted, because ministers are also involved.

Dr Mahathir has failed to give a good moral example to be followed by the people. During the campaign to save and be thrifty in 1983, he built a new Prime Minister's official residence which cost tens of millions of dollars. The kitchen renovation of Sri Perdana cost as much as \$1.7 million of the people's money.

The country's economic policies under Dr Mahathir's government are seldom thought out and researched thoroughly. From Finance Ministry sources we understand that some projects are implemented, even before study, on the instructions of the Prime Minister. Thus, the findings of the study made afterwards do not benefit the people, leading to the country's loss. But, these projects are carried out to promote the interests of certain groups who have already obtained kickbacks.

The heavy industry policy. Although the objective to build an industrial base is good, the choice of heavy industry is wrong. The Malaysian car project, the cement project and the steel project have caused the country to lose thousands of millions of dollars. Because these projects were carried out during the recession, the losses not only reduced our national income but also have burdened the people. The people have been forced to absorb this financial problem through all kinds of taxes imposed.

Acute unemployment has increased, because the government cannot provide jobs as it has no money.

Because of bad planning and the wrong projects, our

tensions are also due to other factors. However, as the prime Minister, he is also responsible. On a few occasions he has twisted issues which has nothing to do with race and projected them as racial problems.

He has made the suggestion that some sincere government critics have exposed scandals to challenge the Malay leadership. Government scandals endanger the interests of the country and that of the people as a whole. Every Malaysian irrespective of race has the right to question, especially those who know that such stories are true. The question of Malay Leadership and non-Malay leadership does not arise.

Some of his subordinates have also taken a similiar posture on other political issues which also have nothing to do with race. When the controversy regarding the Official Secrets Act (OSA) was at its climax, one of his ministers twisted the whole controversy, saying that it was a racial issue. In truth, that Act has to do directly with government leaders' scandals and its aim is to protect the cover-up of the abuses committed by government leaders in the financial and economic administration of the country.

The worst attempt to colour an atmosphere with racial elements was made just before the ISA mass arrests on 27 October 1987. The issue of the promotion of Chinese school senior assistants was a political ploy of UMNO and MCA to divert the attention of the people, especially that of the Malays, from the financial scandals of the Malay leaders. With this it was hoped that the Malays would become angry with the non-Malays.

The Malay and Chinese leaders and politicians in Dr Mahathir's government have clearly exploited various racial issues. Racial issues are deliberately created. The national leadership does not do anything to dampen racial feelings which have been lighted.

national economy is now in a severe situation. Although the drop in the prices of our primary commodities between early 1983 and 1987 is a factor for our economic recession, it is not the only factor. The increase in unemployment especially among graduates which has exceeded 80,000, and our foreign debt which has exceeded 100 billion ringgit are due to the weaknesses in our financial administration and to the mismanagement and waste by the government.

We acknowledge that the national economy has revived since the middle of 1988. This is because of the increase demand for our palm oil and rubber by foreign countries. The increased demand is possibly also due to the fall in our currency. As a matter of fact, the increased demand does not increase the value of our national income. The general business climate in our country is still sluggish.

The people know that a great amount of capital has been taken out of the country. It is said that in 1988 more than \$9 billion of our money has gone out to other countries through Singapore to look for higher investment opportunities. This situation follows the low interest-rate in this country. This is because money goes out in search of a better interest-rate. Our own people have no confidence to invest their capital in their own country. The massive outflow of capital and our huge national debt are responsible for the fall of the value of the Malaysian ringgit. Although foreign investors have increased their investments moderately, this is not enough to really revive our economy sufficiently. Foreign investors are more involved in buying our property because of our cheaper currency. The continuation of this situation can lead to the pawning of our country.

Under the leadership of Dr Mahathir, inter-ethnic relations have worsened. Although it would be unfair for us to put the whole blame for this on him, because racial

The public demonstration organised by UMNO Youth led by Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak at the TPCA Stadium, Kampong Baru, Kuala Lumpur on 19 October 1987, played with racial issues which nearly caused a racial conflagration. The Youth demonstration followed the racial issue started by the MCA component of the Barisan Nasional, of which UMNO is the backbone. The MCA1 through its Deputy President Lee Kim Sai, who openly and without manners, challenged the dignity of the Malays by questioning the right of Malay dominance and who made various claims including the claim for the position of Deputy Prime Minister.

When the country was brought to the very doorstep of racial riots through the deliberate plans of UMNO and MCA leadership, Dr Mahathir intervened by arresting scores of opposition leaders and critics of his policies with the ISA

It is thus proven that the racial atmosphere was exploited by the government itself and racial tension was deliberately designed to enable the government to face the people's challenge to its power and position.

Dr Mahathir is ever ready to put aside democratic principles and practices if he feels uneasy with them. This is proved by his actions with regard to the judiciary and his manipulation in UMNO affairs. Dr Mahathir's action in amending the Internal Security Act, 1960 and ending the powers of the courts to question and review detention orders made by the Minister of Home Affairs shows his dictatorial attributes. This amendment clearly shows that the government uses its absolute power without considering the rights of the people. This amendment denies the fundamental right of the people to clamour for justice because it gives the government the power to rule forever at its pleasure. This amendment is against the democratic prin-

ciple which gives the freedom to the people to voice and uphold freedom. The amendment to the Act involves doing away with judicial review of decisions made by the King or the minister.

It is also clear that Dr Mahathir does not respect the voice of the people. The truth and justice are his and up to him to determine. He did not pay any heed to the call to set up an independent Commission of Inquiry to investigate the Memali incident. He refused to entertain public views on issues like the Bakun Dam, Bukit Cina, the disposal of radioactive wastes in Papan, the College General in Penang, and others.

Dr Mahathir has amended so many laws so much so that he has jeopardised fundamental human rights in this country. Compared to Prime Ministers before, his laws are far worse and oppressive. According to these amendments, the Prime Minister is considered as someone with the most appropriate power to consider information as proof before him.

These amendments are tantamount to an action which is most cruel, and which does not respect in the least the principles of the Rukun Negara (the National Ideology) which guarantees the sovereignty of the Rule of Law.

How can the Rule of Law in this country be maintained if the courts are no longer impartial in determining justice?

During the debate on the amendments to the Act in Parliament on 26 June 1989, Dr Mahathir had shown arrogance when he openly questioned the membership and expertise of the courts to make decisions on security matters in the country.

Dr Mahathir's statement, that the courts cannot be allowed to decide on matters of security in this country because they are not experts in such matters, shows Dr

the detainee to file a writ of habeas corpus in court, a human right that is most fundamental in a democratic country and in a civilised society.

The country's Constitution and its essence have been changed until they are in tatters. The Judiciary has nearly lost its independence as a consequence of the amendment to Article 121 of the Constitution which was passed by Parliament in November 1988.

With this, the Judiciary is appointed under parliamentary powers, that is by the Executive.

This means the principle of the division of power that is the basis of the Constitution has been clearly molested.

If amendments to the Constitution in previous times increased the powers of the Executive, Dr Mahathir's amendments have demolished the basis of the Constitution itself.

The foundation of democracy in this country is now no more as a result of the cruel laws and big changes to the Constitution.

Changes to the laws and the Constitution are not for the interests of the people and country, but are meant to make it easier for the government to face pressures which are able to endanger the position and power of the leaders. This is the way Dr Mahathir solves the problems which exist because of his own weaknesses,

Dr Mahathir has done things which have never been done by other leaders in Malaysia or in any other country which recognises democracy.

He has sacked the Lord President and suspended five Supreme Court judges, and after that terminated the services of two of them. The people are aware that the sacking and the suspensions were politically motivated. The sacking of former Lord President Tun Salleh Abbas is considered as the darkest in the country's legal and judicial his-

Mahathir's arrogance.

His action is an abuse of power of a national leader who leads a democratic government. Only a dictatorial leader can do what he has done.

Dr Mahathir has abused his powers at his pleasure. He has tried to show through his whims and fancies that he wants power and can amend anything he likes and nobody can challenge and question his actions.

Dr Mahathir's attitude has directly lowered the courts which all this time had been considered the highest adjudicating power. The aim of Dr Mahathir in doing this is to protect his power. The Printing and Publications Act has been amended twice to tighten control by the authorities on the freedom of speech.

The Official Secrets Act was also amended twice. With the latest amendment, anyone who is charged for exposing what are considered as secret, although the expose is for the interests of the public, will get the mandatory sentence of between one year's and fourteen years' jail if found guilty by the courts.

Feeling that all these amendments to the laws which are oppressive were not enough, Dr Mahathir also amended the Police Act in December 1987.

The new Police Act is aimed to stop us from organising public gatherings. Similarly, the Societies Act which was amended in March 1988, restricts further the establishment of political parties, except parties formed or sponsored by the government itself.

Among the worst amendments are the amendments to the ISA. These amendments enable the authorities to detain and imprison anyone without trial in a court. Those detained have no right to question their detention or to know their alleged offences.

These amendments are aimed to deny the right of

tory. Tun Salleh, who can be considered as a 'saint', became a victim of Dr Mahathir's cruelty, because he wanted to uphold the truth and legal justice.

Because he wanted to be sincere, just, trustworthy and always faithful to Allah, he was considered weak; for not wanting to become a 'yes man', the wants of Mahathir, he was considered sinful and wrong. To Dr Mahathir, Tun Salleh's great virtues were considered as an obstacle to his political ambitions. Tun Salleh was sacrificed to enable powerful but cruel people like Dr Mahathir to continue to be in power and to perpetrate sins and cruelty.

The aim is to ensure that important political cases which can threaten his position as Prime Minister for life will be judged according to the manner he himself wants. Judges who can protect his interests more, although they are prejudiced.

Other democratic institutions have been eroded in power. Parliament which has always followed the whims and fancies of the Executive, has been further weakened through amendments to its standing orders. The small total number of Opposition MPs in Parliament will experience more difficulty to hold the Executive responsible to Parliament.

Even the powers of the Constitutional Rulers who could in certain times control the political leadership, have been robbed by those in power.

In 1983, the attempt by Dr Mahathir's government to reduce certain constitutional powers in the hands of the Rulers met with failure. However, through public rallies organised by him, he succeeded to show the palaces that the people's power can determine the position of the Rulers in this country. Those rallies can be considered as a challenge to the palaces, if they could not be considered as a threat to the future position of the Rulers.

The specialty of Dr Mahathir's government, if compared to previous governments, is its ability to control and empower the mass media and to restrict the people's freedom.

On 27 October 1987, he simultaneously suspended the licences of three local newspapers which were considered not to be pro him or the government.

Many daily newspapers in our country now are mere propaganda instruments and government gazettes really. They do not any longer act as critics of government policies and actions in order to survive.

Among the reasons why our mass media have become the slaves and tools of propaganda of those in power is the existence of a climate of fear among the people.

The cause is the manner the ISA was used in October 1987.

People with different backgrounds, belonging to the whole political spectrum, were detained without trial.

The fear that had arisen from the October arrests has obstructed the people from acting, although they are aware of the wrong things that are being done now.

The democratic system under the leadership of Dr Mahathir in actual fact does not function any more in this country. His administration has given rise to the worst political upheaval in the political history of Malaysia. He will do anything even if it is against the Constitution and the laws of the country, if what is done is for his own interests. He will use his own position as chief executive of the government to amend any law to achieve his objective. Parliament, the Judiciary and the Monarchy actually do not have their roles anymore. The power of the Monarchy has been weakened, the power of the Judiciary has been put under the power of the Executive under him. There is no Judicial independence any more. The judges are like being

accept Mahathir's leadership and allow the Barisan Nasional government to continue to govern this country it means that the people are consciously carving the coffin for burial in the grave dug by Dr Mahathir and his cliques.

The future of the people, our religion and our country lay in the hands of the people. Mahathir and his government can be rejected without violence. We will not use violence because we are people who love peace and a harmonious life.

The power to choose or reject the government and leaders is the right of the people. That power can be used through elections. The people do not need weapons and torpedoes to throw out Mahathir and his cliques; only use a pencil.

under Mahathir's thumb and have become his 'yes men'.

Because of the power madness of a human being named Dr Mahathir Mohamed, the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, our country faces a big problem.

The institution of the Judiciary, which represents the special basis of the system of Parliamentary Democracy, has been destroyed. The questions of truth and justice are no longer considered as important and worthy. No more awareness of what is true and what is wrong. What is true is only with the government or, in other words, what is true to the people becomes wrong and what is wrong with the people becomes true to the government.

Those who struggle for truth and justice are considered as criminals while those wicked people who rob, cheat the people of their property are respected as heroes. People who are hypocritical are called patriots, given all kinds of big medals and only those who get big medals qualify to be presented to the Rulers and Sultans. Their bad actions are covered up. Their sins they try to transfer on to other people. Will these people meet Allah in the end? The Pharaohs who considered themselves as gods also died at the end.

Dr Mahathir and his cliques do not feel any shame. They do not feel any shame in doing terrible things which other people never thought of doing, like sacking the Lord President who did not sin; they are not ashamed of cheating and lying to the people with the aim of protecting their own power.

Dr Mahathir has effectively and completely destroyed the institution of the Judiciary for his own interests.

The people know and have seen all the political and economic sins, witnessed and experienced all kinds of cruelty as well as abuse of power perpetrated by Dr Mahathir and his government leaders. If the people still want to

CHAPTER 2

WHO BETRAY THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS?

FROM what has been said and illustrated to the public by government leaders, especially the present UMNO leaders, it can be summarised here that if we struggle for truth and rights, try to uphold justice, outlaw the unlawful, do not want to collude with sinful actions, do not want to support or cooperate with their actions which are intended to destroy the interests of the people and the country, we will be considered as TROUBLEMAKERS, NATIONAL CARPETBAGGERS, TRAITORS AND UNITY BREAKERS, ANTI GOVERNMENT and, the latest, ROTTEN CREATURES.

This is the picture that is given of them who do not support the government under the leadership of Dr Mahathir Mohamad.

The leadership of the government under Dr Mahathir has led the people to live in a suspended situation between the sky and the earth, not sure of their direction, like being lost without a compass. The people are forced to live in a land of deceit. Feelings of dissatisfaction and hatred towards government leaders who are corrupt, deceitful and cruel they keep in their hearts, because they fear the ISA and other drastic actions if their feelings come out into the open.

If one wants to have an easy life, gets flattery, gets big medals and all sorts of facilities and special treatment, then carry and support the leaders who are presently in power.

Don't care that they abuse, are not trustworthy, cheat the people. Protect one's own interests and position. The question of our race and the country's future should be left to the sense of decency of the government.

For us that sort of life is meaningless. Such a life is not blessed by Allah. Living with deceit and living with many faces. We become human beings who are hypocrites. However, this is the sort of society wanted by the government led by Dr Mahathir.

What is the meaning of comfort and plenty if we are forced to sell ourselves and our self-respect? For those who are followers of Islam this is not the correct quality of Muslims who are faithful to the teachings of Islam. This is the quality of hypocrites, people who are more afraid of the punishment of humans than the punishment of God.

A struggle which is pure is a struggle which upholds truth and justice, not struggling in search of positions. Every person's position is determined by Allah.

The dictatorial attributes of the present government leadership really worry not only the people but also the country. The harsh attitude and arrogance of Dr Mahathir in administrating the country, as though this country is under a republican government and he is the president. All his ministers are led by their noses. Some Rulers bow to his wants indirectly. There are some Rulers who transform themselves into political tools to protect Dr Mahathir's position. Perhaps this has happened unconsciously with the cheating tactics of Mahathir.

The division of powers among the Executive, the Judiciary and Parliament does not seem to exist anymore. The Prime Minister controls all three institutions. The institution of the Rulers can now be played with, acts and decides according to the desire and instruction of Dr Mahathir. There are those who say that they are forced to

Mahmud, appointed Tun Mutahir of Indian ethnic origin to become the Bendahara (The Prime Minister). This does not mean that those of Malay origins are one hundred percent good. Destruction was brought to the country because among the leaders there were those who were insincere and power greedy, and who wanted to strengthen their own positions even though the people did not accept them any more.

Tun Mutahir had become extremely rich from the fruits of his corruption, and with his twists and turns and his cleverness in manipulating the sultan, the administration of that state became topsy-turvy and disunited. He was ever-ready to collaborate with enemies of the state so as to promote his own political power. State dignitaries who tried to block his ambitions were slandered until they were punished by the Sultan arbitrarily. Because of the intrigues of Tun Mutahir, the state was destroyed, and the Sultan was deposed and became a refugee. In this world nothing is impossible. A situation like this can happen in the present age.

Just like Dr Mahathir, Tun Mutahir gave priority to his relatives and his trusted friends to snatch wealth and to occupy special positions in the government. The question of whether they were sincere, or whether they had a sense of duty towards the interests of the country and the people never arose. What was important was that they must be completely 'yes men' and stooges of the Prime Minister.

These actions led many Malay leaders to distance themselves from the palace because the palace itself was frankly partial and the administration was infested with corruption, and towards the end its weakness made it easy for the Malay government of Malacca to fall into the hands of the western colonialists. Now the relics of western colonialism have become the symbols of glory for the Barisan Na-

support Dr Mahathir because of gratitude. They had become indebted to Dr Mahathir because they had eaten the baits offered by him earlier.

If this situation is allowed to go on, it will mean that not much longer this country will be ruled by a dictator. The success of the Barisan Nasional leadership in sowing the seeds of hatred of the people towards the Rulers will lead to the end of the institution of the Rulers.

We do not consent that such a situation should come about. The institution of the Rulers and the sovereignty of the Rulers must be defended. Every Malay citizen is responsible for the defence of the sovereignty of the Malay Rulers in this country.

Programmes or courses on the sovereignty of the people, organised by Mahathir's government which are aimed to challenge the position of the Rulers, must be opposed to the very end.

The Malay people still love and respect the sovereignty of their Rulers. We will not permit anyone to try and sow seeds of hatred of the people against the Rulers. The Rulers are the protectors and umbrella as well as a great symbol of the Malays. They must be strengthened and their sovereignty must be defended until the last drop of blood.

Anyone who collaborates with any of the political and economic sins of, as well as blesses, the cruelty of the leadership is considered to have committed a very grave sin against Allah, against the people and the country.

If the people, especially the Malays, are still not aware and do not act quickly, the history of the fall of the Malacca Malays will repeat itself.

The Malays in this country still remember how the famous and glittering period of the Malay government of Malacca was destroyed when the Sultan of Malacca, Sultan

sional government of Rahim Thamby Chik. Is there a blood relationship between the descendents of Tun Mutahir and others?

If the government of our country continues to strengthen in the hands of Mahathir, Malaysia will get the same fate of the Malay government of Malacca. Our ever-increasing national debt can cause our country to be pawned. Those who loaned us will become the masters of our country. The Malays are still living precariously. The achievements of the New Economic Policy have failed. Many Malay businessmen have become bankrupt. Unemployment among Malay graduates has exceeded 100,000. Among non-graduates it is almost half a million. The government cannot provide jobs because it has no money as a result of the huge debts. Debts to pay for the beautiful and glorious projects of Mahathir and his cliques.

According to the accounts until the end of 1987, the national debt had risen to \$80,313,000,000.00 million or \$80.3 billion.

The position of the national debt from 1980 to 1987 (This is according to Ministry of Finance's annual economic reports):

<u>End of Year</u>	<u>Total Debts</u> <u>Million f\$1</u>	<u>Prime Minister</u>
1980	23,771	Tun Hussein Onn
1981	28,857	Dr Mahathir
1982	41,879	"
1983	51,712	"
1984	57,948	"
1985	63,607	"
1986	63,607	"
1987	80,313	"

These figures show that the national debt has exceeded our National Gross Product. The people's questions for the government:-

- a) Is this debt to pay for rural projects or for prestige projects?

The People's Answer:

For prestige and glorious projects.

- b) Where is our self-respect?

The People's Answer:

Our self-respect has ended long ago.

Leaders under Dr Mahathir all do not have self-respect.

- c) Will not this frighten foreign investors?

Answer:

Not only are foreign investors scared, but local investors too are not bold enough to keep money and invest capital in Malaysia. Because there is a great outflow of money from the country, the value of the ringgit is half that of the Singapore currency. Our currency is not wanted any more in Singapore.

appointed from above. Honour in the next world has not been obtained! If one could obtain honour in this world, don't miss the opportunity. The question of what is forbidden and what is permissible, sin and merit can be settled later. Isn't this the right way, ustaz?

- d) Do we want to allow Dr Mahathir to continue to rule, increase the national debt further until our country is pawned?

Answer:

If the people want Dr Mahathir to continue to govern, it means that the people and country are carrying the coffin to hell.

With such a gigantic debt, every citizen in this country, whether young or old, whether working or not - 14 million in total - is forced to carry the burden of debt amounting to a sum of \$57,000 a year, and this debt will not be paid off until the year 2000.

The struggle to oppose and overthrow a cruel leadership is a collective religious obligation. Remember this command of Allah which says: "Whoever prays for the strengthening of cruel people, whether the people's leaders or the rulers who govern, he favours an act of treachery towards Allah on this earth".

Six groups of people will enter hell because of six reasons: national leaders who are cruel; persons who are fanatical; rural settlers who are stupid stooges; leaders who are arrogant; those who betray; and religious teachers who are spiteful and who collaborate with the deceit of government leaders. Dr Yusof Nor is the UMNO ulama, Minister in the Prime Minister's Department who is learned on this question. However he has been forced into this because it is not easy to become a Minister, what more when he was

CHAPTER 3

TOWARDS A SINFUL STRUGGLE

THE extremely unfortunate split among the people, especially among the Malays, became very obvious since Datuk Musa Hitam, the former Deputy Prime Minister, resigned from his posts in November 1986. Why Datuk Musa Hitam resigned, the answer had been given by him through the videotape distributed in Johore Bharu. Among the reasons given by him, he admitted that Dr Mahathir was a dictator.

24 April 1987, the historic date and the date of crossroads for the Malays in UMNO, when the crack in the unity truly could not be controlled any more. The General Assembly of national Malay fighters who should have worked towards strengthening the unity of the race became an arena of squabbles between those who upheld truth and opposed sins on the one hand, and those who defended their positions and power so that they could still be in power, on the other.

Those in power continued to oppress with terror those whom they considered as wanting to rob them of their power so that they and their group could exist with power and abundance through sinful actions.

Values of sincerity and truthfulness and courtesy as well as Islamic ethics of life were pushed aside. The idea of teaching leaders from below had become old-fashioned.

This brought about the promotion of new and young groups who were inexperienced and untested for high positions in the party and in government.

The system of cronyism began to take place and to widen. Those who were sincere were pushed aside and

those who lost were broken. The norms of power and traditions in the party and the government were straightaway banished without much reckoning. The struggle to cheat and scheme began in the government and the party.

The 24 April 1987 contest was made the frontier by those in power, especially by the top party leadership and top government leadership. Those in the alternative leadership, that is the group led by Tengku Razaleigh, were openly and arrogantly attacked and discredited. They were condemned as power crazy, anti unity, traitors to the race, and most unethically, as rotten creatures and rubbish of the river estuary.

Lastly, many Ministers, Deputy Ministers, political secretaries and hundreds of others lost their jobs and positions as well as their means of livelihood connected to their jobs; rules of the struggle like "those who win do not win all, those who lose do not lose all" were left merely as utterances exactly by the month of May 1987.

They were dropped without any consideration as an act of revenge on the glorious month of Ramadan, on exactly Hari Raya Aidilfitri day.

Among those sacked were Datuk Abdullah Badawi, Datuk Shahrir Samad, Datuk Zainal Abidin Zain, Datuk Radzi Sheikh Ahmad, and Datin Paduka Rahmah Osman. All of them represent Malay leaders and fighters who have integrity.

The announcement of their sackings and the appointment of the new Cabinet were made by the Chief Secretary and not by the Prime Minister, as should have been the tradition with the Cabinet system of government.

What was before limited and regulated are now and here made possible.

Before April 1987, a Minister could only claim a fixed sum when on leave overseas, with first-class air tickets for

The fear syndrome entered the hearts of many people. It became natural for some leaders and individuals to feel suspicions and fearful that their interests and positions could be similarly jeopardised.

It is an era of the reign of political and economic sins. Those who are sincere, trustworthy and who want to uphold truth and justice have no place under the rule of Dr Mahathir Mohamad.

himself, his wife and three children. This regulation was changed after May 1987 to one which gives many more special privileges.

Allocations for small development projects for MPs and State Assemblymen who opposed Dr Mahathir were withdrawn. These allocations were shared by Menteri Besar and Hon'ble Members of the Mahathir camp in their respective areas and divisions.

The main aim of this action was to weaken the leadership of members of Tengku Razaleigh's group in their areas. However, this was not done in MPs' areas represented by other opposition parties like PAS and the DAP.

The sources of livelihood of many of Tengku Razaleigh's followers were closed. Banks were instructed to take bankruptcy actions against those who owed money. Like the Malay saying, "Failing to take the horn, the ear is twisted".

Things that never happened before had at last happened. The refined complaints of the leadership were hacked off. Knuckle-duster politics and dictatorial leadership attributes appeared like a snake.

UMNO 1946 was silenced from the face of the earth so that Dr Mahathir and his group could continue to live and hold power until the end of time.

The power of the Judiciary was eroded and molested. Judges who did not want to collaborate with Dr Mahathir's sins were sacked.

It appeared that the force of law was no more meaningful. Changes, which obstruct the right of the people to bring cases to the courts with regard to charges under the ISA, the Dangerous Drugs Act 1985 and Prevention of Crime Ordinance 1969, were passed in the Dewan Rakyat although they were opposed by some government and opposition MPs.

CHAPTER 4

COMPARISON OF LEADERSHIP TYPES OF TUN RAZAK AND MAHATHIR

THERE are obvious differences between the leadership patterns of the late Tun Razak and the leadership style of Dr Mahathir Mohamad.

During Tun Razak's rule, the people witnessed how wisely and well a generous leader governed the nation. No enmity with voluntary organisations or organisations including the Bar Council or some individuals as it is so bad now.

Dr Mahathir sacked Lord President Tun Salleh Abas improperly after the latter was slandered and distorted to enable Tun Hamid, someone he trusts and whose personal record is questioned by many, to be appointed as the new Lord President.

Tun Salleh who was sacked because he had decided to hear the appeal in the UMNO case by the UMNO Group of 11 on 13 June 1988, before nine Supreme court judges to give natural justice to the UMNO case because it was that important to the struggle and interests of the Malays, was sacked because he wanted to carry out justice.

The late Tun Razak respected opposition party members and their leaders. Although the political atmosphere in the country was keen, it pleased all sides. During the time of Tun Razak the alliance with some opposition parties was successful. Unity that was felt to be extremely

difficult to achieve before this. During the rule of Tun Razak, the voices of opposition leaders were stronger. However, never was it heard before that any side tarnished the image of the country as of now. Perhaps there was full freedom to voice the feelings and opinions of the people without fearing the ISA. Mahathir does not allow the freedom of expression like it was given during the time of Tun Razak, because he has dammed that freedom; as a result, terrible stories in the country have perhaps been related outside the country.

However, today Dr Mahathir has arrogantly insulted opposition parties and has employed all kinds of harsh and cruel actions against their leaders and members. Those who are not detained under the ISA are bankrupted if they have problems with the banks. Berjasa and Hamim have been forced to leave the Barisan Nasional.

Communists have been freed, whereas critics of his government's policies which have harmed the people and the country are detained under the ISA

The world knows that Dr Mahathir, Daim Zainuddin, Sanusi Junid and Ghaffar Baba are involved in the Cabinet which approved the North-South Highway project which costs more than \$3,400 million and will bring an estimated profit of more than \$60,000 million for Syarikat Hatibudi of which the four of them have interests in. From the legal point of view and in terms of evidence in court, their action is a crime and a criminal breach of trust. Who can act except the people?

The Malaysian government questions the sincerity of the Singapore government in allowing the United States to establish a military base in Singapore. UMNO Baru Youth leader Najib, the champion of demonstrations, made an open protest, sent a representative to the Singapore High Commission, sent a memorandum. The drum of UMNO

Rulers are being involved in UMNO politics unconsciously.

The leaders of UMNO Baru under the leadership of Dr Mahathir have frankly joked and brought down the dignity of the institution of the Rulers.

The incident which took place in Selangor, where the Selangor Menteri Besar, a big Malay leader, with the title of Tan Sri, has audaciously lied to His Royal Highness the Sultan of Selangor and teased the dignity of His Royal Highness.

If the dignity of the Sultans could be teased, Sultans could be cheated, what about the dignity and interests of the people?

Under the leadership of Tun Razak, not so many scandals and incidents like this happened. However, under Mahathir's rule, such happenings are common practices among their leaders.

The late Tun Razak returned to Allah leaving his good name for his family. But it is a big likelihood that Dr Mahathir will leave the gold mountain not for the people, not for the nation but for his descendents.

In the system of administration now under Dr Mahathir's leadership and in line with his style of administration, any citizen to say anything openly against the sins and abuses of the government and the lies of the leaders is forced to face high risks.

To speak up for what is true and aware that it is Allah who determines our fate as well as that of their leaders. Not Dr Mahathir, Ghaffar Baba or Anwar Ibrahim. The people should not be deceived any more. Political leaders like Dr Mahathir, Ghaffar Baba, Mohamad Rahmat are clever at acting, clever at coaxing, clever at claiming to become Malay heroes and heroes of the people.

The people must become aware and together stand up to oppose their lies, to oppose their sins and their cru-

Baru Youth is no more than beating an empty tin. They have no power to do more than that.

Why must they be angry with the Singapore government? Is that not their right as an independent and sovereign government?

Why have not UMNO Baru Youth protested against the action of the government in bringing Russian communist agents into this country? It is said that there are also communist elements in UMNO Baru.

During the time of the late Tun Razak, the people were reminded to beware of Russia and communist agents.

Mahathir has opened the door so widely for Russia. The eye hospital which is constructed in Langkawi is a joint venture between Promet and Russia. Russian doctors have been given such a huge entrance with this concession for them, although they do not possess the minimum qualifications. They are allowed in so very easily.

What is the aim of placing some Russian officials as rubber graders in Port Klang? What is the aim of Ghaffar Baba in sending some of our youngsters to Russia to be trained as astronauts? Now, almost all civic courses and other courses for UMNO members especially and for civil servants are held throughout the year in Pulau Langkawi. Why in Langkawi, and Langkawi has become the centre for raising civic consciousness? Perhaps because there are already 14 communist agents in Langkawi who are prepared to help with the courses organised by the government.

The late Tun Razak treated Their Highnesses the Rulers so well and never did he once use any rough words on them as Dr Mahathir and some UMNO leaders have now done. Who limits the power of the King?

Today Dr Mahathir and some UMNO leaders have openly and indirectly polluted the dignity of the Malay Rulers with the excuse of the unity of the people, and the

elty. The people have their own self-respect, have a responsibility towards their race, religion and the nation. It is the people who will determine the fate of the race and nation, with the permission of Allah, and Allah will definitely give victory to those who are true, although various obstructions and cruelty are being perpetrated against them who oppose those sins.

CHAPTERS

POLITICAL AND MORAL CORRUPTION IN DEVELOPMENT PROMISES

THE background of the political developments in China, although a Communist country, during the early stages of the expression of the people's dissatisfaction with the government, the Chinese government took a position that was more liberal and open if compared to the position taken by the Malaysian government which, strictly speaking, still represents a democratic government and which follows democratic practices. Here I am not saying that the Chinese Communist government is good and we are disciples of the communist ideology. Comparison from the angle of governmental actions with regard to the people's freedom of expression - about their rights. The freedom to speak up and to voice dissatisfaction regarding abuses, political and economic sins committed by the leaders of the Barisan Nasional parties and government.

Massive demonstrations by the Chinese students were accepted by the Chinese people throughout and were not stopped by the government. Steps taken by the government were aimed only at security so that the demonstrations would not endanger the safety of the students and the public.

In Malaysia, which follows the democratic system, such a situation does not exist any more and is no longer allowed. The Education Act 1974 has been used to tie up

been acknowledged by the government itself. Communal issues and communal problems do not exist any more, only that at times racial tensions do arise when it is brought into existence by the government and Barisan Nasional leaders themselves. For example, in the Parliamentary By-Election in Bentong, the Deputy Prime Minister himself raised the matter by playing with racial feelings with this war issue. At every campaign he said that if the BN candidate was not chosen, we would have war. His meaning was that if people voted the DAP, racial quarrel would take place like May 13, 1969. Is not such a statement dangerous to racial harmony in this country? Who raised it? Why must May 13 be seesawed again? Who wants war?

Public rallies are not allowed for the government and BN leaders to monopolise with heavy stories to defame the opposition and to chant stories to try and cover up all the political and economic sins committed by the government and its leaders through closed meetings and whispers carried out by UMNO leaders and Kemas officers and Information officers who have become tools to carry false messages of the government. UMNO has now become the champion which sells, buys and cheats its own people.

Public rallies are not allowed because the government is scared to face the people like gentlemen. Barisan Nasional leaders are scared to stand in front of the people, except to stand in front of those they themselves have brought and transported with payment, free transportation, drinks and food and those chosen to attend.

Public opinion says that ceramahs which are closed and house-to-house campaigns are more dangerous to national security compared to public rallies which can be controlled. The majority of Malaysians today are rational in their thinking. They cannot be fooled and do not simply follow like during the period when Ghaffar first started

and to regulate all activities of students which are considered a threat to the interests of government leaders. In this context, threatening the people's interests does not arise because the history of students' struggles in our country all this while have proved that demonstrations and protests made by the students were for the interests of the people and the nation. Student leaders collide with each other to use the National Civic Bureau boys, ala German feelers, formed specially in the Prime Minister's Department.

Saudara Y.B. Encik Anwar Ibrahim cannot deny this statement, because before this he was considered as a student leader who was most radical who opposed the sins committed by the government and leaders at that time, although actions of before were not that bad compared to the political and economic sins committed by Barisan Nasional leaders today which Encik Anwar himself is part and parcel of.

Today the Barisan Nasional government and its leaders, especially Mahathir the top most UMNO leader, are ready to do anything to safeguard their interests and their political power, the questions of what are permitted and what are forbidden, sins and merit do not exist in their dictionary. They do it under the pretext of the interests of the nation and the people and the deception of democracy. Democracy ala Mahathir. Democracy for the leaders' interests. Genuine democracy is democracy which gives rights and freedom which is equal to all sections and the people who initiate such activities do not break the country's laws.

The people feel suspicious why the government is still afraid to lift the ban on the holding of public rallies, although the Election Commission has recognised that there is no reason why such a ban should continue. The ban on public rallies was made after the May 13, 1969 incident. Now security in the country has been restored and this has

politics. Through public rallies the government need not worry about seditious acts, because they are open. If there are people who try to commit sedition against the people, the sedition law can be used. There are enough laws in the country today to ensure that such worrying things do not happen.

We very much regret that in this country, even to talk about the question of the people's interests in religious meetings and Hari Raya meetings are not allowed. Although those who speak are elected representatives of the people.

Political questions are questions of everyday life of the people. Increase in the prices of everyday essential items, the fall of the currency, the problem of unemployment are daily problems of the people and they are political problems. There should be nothing wrong if leaders or individuals explain to the people at any meetings about the reasons for this situation and the internal security should not restrict them. This is the people's right and freedom to express their dissatisfaction for the public good, which is provided for in the Malaysian Constitution.

If they tell stories that are untrue, stories of lies and stories which threaten the people, the government can use the existing laws on them. Not all Malaysians are stooges and can be led by the nose. During the time when Ghaffar Baba was new in politics many people were simpleminded and were easily confused by leaders like Ghaffar Baba who were eloquent speakers.

The government is afraid of public rallies because its leaders are scared to stand in front of the people openly, because of the big and many sins and abuses and anti-religious activities carried out by them which jeopardise the interests of the people and the country, and which cannot be covered up any longer. Their sins are very great. Dr.

Mahathir, Encik Ghaffar and their cliques can cheat a hundred people, but they cannot cheat all the people.

The victories of the Barisan Nasional in the by-elections in Parit Raja, Ampang Jaya and Bentong cannot be taken as a measure that the people always support the government. If they did not use cheating tactics in their dirty campaigns, political and moral corruption which are considered ungentlemanly and undignified, we don't think the Barisan Nasional could have won. The support of the people cannot be measured through by-elections. The true test is through a general election.

Encik Ghaffar is the chief of the rambling storytellers of Dr Mahathir going all over the country to bluff the people on Mahathir's behalf with the hope of getting confidence and trust for Dr Mahathir. He certainly dreams of becoming the Prime Minister, if it is only for a day. As has been said before, Dr Mahathir does not trust Ghaffar very much. If Ghaffar becomes Prime Minister, Anwar's politics will drift away. All the people behind Ghaffar are Anwar's enemies. Mahathir's ploy is to send Ghaffar all over the country to weaken his batteries quickly. When Ghaffar's batteries are dead, there will be no need for any contest and for Mahathir to explain why he takes Anwar as his number 2.

Touching on the Barisan Nasional victory in the Bentong by-election in 1989, for us that was a very costly victory. The offices of the Deputy Prime Minister and the Pahang government were forced to move to Bentong. For the whole fasting month and until polling day, there were open days, open breaking-fast feasts and every night by government leaders led by Encik Ghaffar and Tan Sri Khalil. Gatherings for the interests of the party but using government machinery and facilities and the people's money. They actually could not leave Bentong because they were afraid

not corruption, not giving of money, they are all for development, not aimed to confuse the thinking of the voters. The question is why only are they made during by-election campaigns? If they are the right of the people and must be given by any government, why were they not made before? Perhaps Saudara Anwar Ibrahim as the Chairman of the Special Cabinet Committee on Government Management could give a correct definition in connection with this matter. Encik Anwar does not dare to substantiate my statement because if he said it was true, the bridge of the nose of his boss and that of his own will be affected. If this is the attitude and practice of Barisan leaders, corruption will not be got rid of even on the last day of Judgement. Ghaffar's statement is like if we are given women for our pleasure, take one. Not financial corruption. As regards the Special Committee on Government Management, the aim of which is to correct bad practices and abuses in the government, we do not think this Committee plays any effective role because many scandals and abuses in the government today directly involve members of the Committee themselves, namely Encik Daim Zainuddin and S. Samy Vellu, Cabinet Ministers. The North-South Highway Contract, the UMBC scandal and the EPF-Makuwasa scandal are some examples of the involvement of the members of this Committee. When robbers are appointed as judges to investigate robberies carried out by themselves, sure enough those who report the crimes will be punished. This is the specialty of the government led by Dr Mahathir. Those who are sincere and trustworthy do not have a place in his government.

We respect Encik Ghaffar as a veteran politician, a former Malay school teacher graduated from Teachers College, Tanjong Malim before Merdeka, an orator who some-

of losing. We believe that had Semangat '46 put up a candidate and leaders of '46 were totally involved in the Bentong campaigns as in Ampang Jaya, perhaps Encik Ghaffar would be forced to go overseas to seek further medication treatment, because his health would be disturbed by the lack of sleep and hardworks. He wanted to show that he was a champion in order to gain the confidence of Mahathir. However, all the people know that with his rambling ways, it is easy for him to become more popular than Mahathir among the Malays.

With regard to the allocation of \$30,000 given to every leader of ten, as was told to us by UMNO people themselves, this cash spent to buy the people's votes was not less than \$30 million. This did not include other expenses. The spending to win the Bentong Parliamentary seat, the Barisan Nasional is estimated to have spent no less than \$400 million, including allocations for development. We do not suspect from where UMNO can obtain such a vast amount of money. *The Observer* newspaper in London, published on 7 May, openly reported that UMNO of Mahathir got kickbacks of \$300 million from the purchase of heavy weapons from the British. This did not include kickbacks of more than \$200 million to the families of government leaders and their agents. If not true, why no court action was taken against that newspaper?

How with such tactics can Mahathir's UMNO and the Barisan Nasional government beat their chests and say that they had won because they got the sincere support of the people? Before Encik Ghaffar had also asked to what use the Malays struggle until death to uphold the Malay Language; the Malay Language could not help us to fill our stomachs.

To Encik Ghaffar, development promises and immediate approval of allocations for projects in by-elections are

times talks like an eccentric. But we do not agree with his definition of corruption. He naturally asserts that development promises and approval of allocations for projects made during by-election campaigns are not political and moral corruption. It looks like the Election Commission has no courage to comment on Ghaffar's statement.

What is more shameful is that the development promises made by Encik Ghaffar during the by-election campaigns in Johore Bharu, Parit Raja, and Ampang Jaya have hitherto still not been implemented. The squatters in Kampong Pasar Dalam, Ampang Jaya who were overwhelmed with working for the victory of the candidate of Lee Kim Sai, who insulted the Malays in the Ampang-Jaya by-election, who were promised TOLS have been ordered to move out of their area because it has been given to some private developer for a project, although most the squatters have settled there for more than 18 years. And their case has reached the High Court. What has happened to the promise of Encik Ghaffar who promised that he wanted to protect the interests and welfare of the people? How long do they want to cheat and buy the people? Don't, because he wants to consolidate his power to avoid a war with the banks if he did not become Deputy Prime Minister, Encik Ghaffar becomes a champion who sells and buys his own race. We feel enough about the big award given by the government of Communist Russia and Encik Ghaffar should be thankful and proud about himself because he is the first Malaysian who receives a big award from that communist country. We do not know for what services he was given that award.

The Barisan Nasional does not allow public rallies to be held because it is afraid that the political and economic sins committed by its leaders will be exposed. Only leaders who are guilty are afraid to stand in front of the people.

The Barisan Nasional is afraid to hold a general election because it knows it will lose and cannot use political and moral corruption to cheat and buy the voters like it does in by-elections.

volved in this scandal, but it is difficult for the ordinary people to prove the charges because it is entirely covered up by the government, unless an independent commission of inquiry is established to investigate. Dr Mahathir can cheat the people, but he cannot cheat Allah who is all powerful and all knowing. Perhaps Mahathir has prepared his answer when he meets Allah in the next world. Who knows if Allah also can be cheated by Dr Mahathir and his cliques?

The Maminco Scandal which involved the savings of workers, EPF money, more than \$1,000 million, because the price of tin fell in the international market. The aim of jacking up the price had the contrary result, and the country and the people had to carry the loss.

The Pan-Electric Scandal in which Daim Zainuddin is said to be involved also, which nearly paralysed the Kuala Lumpur and Singapore Stock Exchanges. Many Malaysian businessmen became bankrupt. Daim continued to make wealth. Tan Koon Swan, who was declared a bankrupt, could hold a huge wedding dinner at a grand hotel. An ordinary person who steals 40 cents gets 8 months.

Abuses in putting up projects like the Penang Bridge, Dayabumi, the North-South Highway, and Pulau Langkawi which has now become a high class prostitution and pornographic centre, happened because Dr Mahathir as the chief executive did not exercise his responsibility effectively, because it is said that he is directly and indirectly involved in the same scandals. Is it true that Dr Mahathir already has a younger wife? This news is from the family of Datuk Hus-sain Ahmad, the Information Chief of UMNO (Baru). So long as this story of his marriage is not explained so long will it remain the people's story. Dr Mahathir should not be ashamed to marry another one. He has the right and the ability. He is not taking another person's wife as was done by his Youth Leader, Dato Sri Najib. Perhaps he is forced

CHAPTER 6

THE LEARNED PRIME MINISTER

THE image of Malaysia as a country which became an example of a government which was clean and as a business centre with the most potential in Asia has been jeopardised gravely as a result of events which have shamed us, committed by government leaders themselves, the Barisan Nasional government led by Dr Mahathir Mohamad.

The BMF Scandal, the Maminco Scandal, the Cooperatives Scandal, MOIC, the UMBC Scandal which involved the present Finance Minister Daim Zainuddin directly, have caused Pernas the people's agency to carry the heavy burden of debts directly so much so that the credibility of Malaysia as a business and investment centre most important after Singapore has been tarnished.

The BMF Scandal has caused \$2,500 million of the people's money to vanish, money that was loaned to a Chinese company in Hong Kong without any collateral, on the orders and desire of those in power in this country, who had interests in the business of that company. Because of that abuse, Petronas was burdened with the responsibility to rescue Bank Bumiputra, the parent body of BMF which was nearly bankrupt, because of that immoral and untrustworthy act of those who were responsible for that bank. People who owe 2 or 3 thousand ringgit and cannot pay can be made bankrupts, but the debts of BMF of \$2.5 billion or \$2,500 million can be finished off just like that.

The world knows that Dr Mahathir was directly in-

to keep it a secret because he is afraid of Datin Sri Dr Siti Hasmah. There are other persons Dr Mahathir fears. He is more afraid of Siti Hasmah than of Allah.

We feel proud when our Prime Minister is considered as the Prime Minister who is the 10th richest in the world. This is indeed marvellous, if we look at his clinic business that is the MAHA clinic in Alor Star, such a position is only like a dream. How in a period of only eight years after becoming Prime Minister he has already become one of the richest men? Perhaps he has Aladdin's magic lamp and Daim Zainuddin is his genie.

Dr Mahathir as a chief executive who has self-respect and who is accountable should be responsible for all the scandals that took place, but what he did is the opposite. He searches for a scapegoat to cover up his own weaknesses, and the person who is the butt of his attacks and lame excuses is Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah who, I had said before, Mahathir is prepared to end his political career by sacrificing Kelantan and UMNO in that state, including Tan Sri Muhamad Yaakub, his Menteri Besar. His hatred of Tengku Razaleigh is perhaps because he knows that Tengku Razaleigh is loved and trusted more by the people. More former UMNO members support Tengku Razaleigh than support him.

The active and clever Dato Musa, now Mahathir makes him his messenger boy. In trying to destroy Tengku Razaleigh's politics, Ghaffar and Sanusi Junid and he were forced to undergo heart surgery, but the influence of Tengku Razaleigh is still strong and is increasing. Tengku Razaleigh is the leader of the people. Mahathir is the leader of the government. The people's leader will be strengthened further, the government leader can be replaced. Why do the people still love and respect Tengku Razaleigh although he has no more power? Dr Mahathir surely has the answer.

The supporters of Mahathir are paid, bought and materialistic supporters. Tengku Razaleigh's supporters are they who are ready to sacrifice anything for the people and the struggle to uphold justice and truth. Their struggle is not to look for material gains and to search for positions, but for the welfare of the people and the national interests.

Apart from having no sense of responsibility, Dr Mahathir also does not hold to his promises. His promise and oath to Parti Berjaya leader Datuk Harris Salleh in Sabah before, where he declared that he would "sink or swim" with that party, what has happened? Now who is sinking and who is swimming? The people know that Parti Berjaya was sponsored by Encik Ghaffar Baba and blessed by Dr Mahathir with the aim of killing of Tun Mustapha politically. Recently Ghaffar Baba has repeated the same promise and undertaking made by Mahathir to Tan Sri Mohamad Yaakub in Kelantan, that he would sink or swim with Tan Sri Muhamad Yaakub. Perhaps if Muhamad Yaakub wants to fight His Royal Highness the Sultan of Kelantan, he would help to fight together. What about the position of Tan Sri Muhamad bin Mohd. Taib, Selangor Menteri Besar, is Dr Mahathir ready to sink or swim with him? Isn't he a strong supporter of Anwar Ibrahim, the golden boy of Mahathir? Surely Ghaffar will not agree as he is the unique enemy of Anwar. Looks like there are two of Mahathir's Menteri Besar with the same name and title, except different fathers who have problems with the royalty. The action of Tan Sri Muhamad Taib can be likened to the proverb of the fence eating the padi. Is this the example that is shown to the people by the UMNO Baru leadership?

We wonder how a person like the Selangor Menteri Besar could have got the title of Tan Sri. Perhaps he is very pious, his Islamic piety shown during the Ampang Jaya by-

trator, and he ought to be dismissed or he should resign.

To Mahathir the struggle and welfare of the people are not important. The dignity of the race and the nation is also not important. The question of the unity of the Malay community and the Muslim community in this country is not important. What is more important in his struggle and his life are his own dignity and his political power. Dr Mahathir will be prepared to do anything to preserve his own position and power. Where do UMNO Baru leaders have self-respect? For positions and political power there are those who are prepared to sell their wives. Example: a senator from Batu, Kuala Lumpur, Federal Territory. There is proof and it is a true story and not a fictitious story. His own former wife has testified. Journalist Halim Mahmud wrote this in the newspaper for the information of the people; he sent gangsters, Halim was beaten up. Tried to obstruct the rights of the people. Leaders without self-respect.

President Nixon of the United States was prepared to resign because of the Watergate issue. Tanaka, the Japanese Prime Minister, resigned from office because a Japan Airlines aircraft crashed, and a Singapore Minister committed suicide because he was suspected of corruption. They did what they did because they wanted to protect the self-respect of the country, of their race, and showed attributes of a leader and a patriot who was responsible. However, in Malaysia, we have a minister who lives with somebody's wife; eloping with the Sultan's daughter and marrying in Thailand, and getting involved in all sorts of scandals; they are protected and given all sorts of positions in government. Mahathir is prepared to collaborate with these ministers because they are his loyal people and are his obedient boys. For Mahathir, let these people be without self-respect, corrupt and as evil as Satan; their positions must be defended so long as they are loyal to him. Go to hell with

election previously in which he directed all the mosques and prayer houses in Selangor to recite special prayers to ensure the victory of MCA candidate Ong Tee Kiat and the defeat of Datuk Harun Idris. We guess that service of his got him his title of Tan Sri together with Tan Sri Khalil Yaakub who is now taking Pahang to bankruptcy. It does not matter if the state is bankrupt, it does not matter if the people suffer, so long as all the needs and desires of top people are fulfilled and he gets some side benefits. If forced to be a timber broker also does not matter so long as one could have an easy life.

The Memali Incident still haunts the thinking of Datuk Musa Hitam, and is difficult to be forgotten by PAS and its followers. How could such an incident occur? Leaders of the people who were ready to kill the people who did not sin and were weak in order to strengthen their own power. Now Allah is showing one bad event after another to those who were cruel. Datuk Musa does not live in peace any more; apart from facing personal problems, he is also facing some family problems.

All things done do not become successful. It is also the same with Dr Mahathir. Allah's might is usually being demonstrated in the world. The people will punish Mahathir and his cliques before they are punished by Allah.

Every time events like this happen or will happen, Mahathir, as though already planned, will be overseas. We believe that such incidents were planned earlier. He left the country to avoid condemnation and did not want to be held responsible. It is impossible that he did not know. As the chief executive, surely such actions had been planned earlier and he was informed of them beforehand.

As a chief executive he cannot say that he did not know; if this thing was planned by his subordinates without his knowledge, this shows that he is a weak chief adminis-

the dignity of the people and the country.

If compared to the scandals of those who had resigned their offices or had committed suicide, the scandals committed by national leaders including Dr Mahathir himself, which have harmed the honour of the race and the image of the country, are worse and more terrible.

Until when do the people want to shut their eyes, block their ears and want to wake up from their sleep? When this country has been pawned and the people have become refugees like the Vietnamese refugees, only then do they want to wake up, only then they want to be conscious when everything is too late? Don't reach a stage when our children and grandchildren have to weep and to regret our attitude. Then it will be too late.

Today's short-term gains will not ensure the future of the country and our future generations. Those who can be bought with money are those who are with the least self-respect and are hated by Allah.

CHAPTER 7

THE PEOPLE'S WEALTH & UMNO BARU'S WEALTH

AFTER 32 years of Merdeka, there is not much change in the way of thinking among Malay society, especially the Malays in the rural areas. There are still many who cannot differentiate between political parties and the government. UMNO is a Malay political party which since before Merdeka had become the basis of the struggle of the Malays in this country, and then later became the backbone of the Alliance government and now the Barisan Nasional, is considered as a government which rules. UMNO is deceptively the government.

The Malays in the rural areas who are known to be very straightforward and ready to accept whatever from top leaders who are UMNO leaders who become their elected representatives or party strongmen, who use the people for their own interests and their political power, make them more passive and fanatical to UMNO until UMNO was made illegal by Dr Mahathir through the declaration in the High Court on 4 February 1988. Many of them, because of cultural factors and their simple way of life, make it easy for UMNO leaders who are greedy to turn the Malays in the kampongs into stooges and a subsidy society; they are easily cheated, sold and threatened.

The people are deceived because they are purposely deceived by the leaders. Because UMNO has become the backbone of the government, they always guess that UMNO is the government and the government is UMNO. The

and sell their own race, can be bribed with money, alcohol and women; the Berjasa and Hamrin parties have left honourably. Berjasa and Hamrin were forced to leave the Barisan Nasional, leaving UMNO high and dry in the Barisan Nasional, because as parties whose struggle is based on the struggle of Islam, they certainly cannot collaborate with all their moral, political and economic sins committed by Barisan Nasional leaders including UMNO leaders themselves.

The people should be aware that UMNO is a political organisation and not the government. Vice-versa. If there are still UMNO leaders who say that UMNO is the government, then that is a lie to the people.

Thus, the people should wake up from this longtime deception which views that anything done or given by the government is a gift and service by UMNO. Whoever rule this country have the amenities for the basic needs of the people, and development is the responsibility and duty which they must implement.

This deception is not only among the people, but also prevalent among some UMNO Baru leaders who learn politics through the daily newspapers and obtain their positions in the party through blind and unquestioning support of top leaders through buying power with money. UMNO leaders are prepared to spend hundreds of thousands of ringgit to get important positions in the party. For example in the election of the Youth leader and the deputy leader.

On 9 September 1989, the Pekan Division UMNO committee candidates standing for the posts in that committee had spent hundreds of thousands of ringgit to buy votes. They are prepared to spend so much because they know that after getting good positions they will be able to get all sorts of personal facilities and interests. The opportunity to become a candidate in the general election will

trust and confidence of the Malays towards UMNO is thick, until when Dr Mahathir formed his new party on 13 February 1988, forced to borrow UMNO although with a method that was most immoral.

UMNO leaders always picture to the people, especially the people in the rural areas who are all so feeble, that UMNO is the government.

If the political concept of government is used to the maximum level, it will be shown that UMNO is the government. UMNO is a Malay political party which is one of the political parties which form the government with a coalition of other parties which are non-Malay.

In the context of the present government, UMNO's share in the government does not exceed 30%, if we treat the present government as a business company. This means that Malay political power in the Barisan Nasional government is not more than 30%.

How UMNO led by Dr Mahathir can now struggle and preserve the right of dominance and political power of the Malays, if its political power in the government is not more than 30%? The present political trend explains that the majority of the Malays have lost their confidence in the UMNO Baru struggle. The results of the five by-elections in Johore Bharu, Parit Raja, Ampang Jaya, Teluk Pasu and Tambatan prove that Malay support for UMNO has fallen between 15% and 28%. The hope of UMNO candidates to win in areas with more than 80% majority Malays in the next general elections is dark. If before MCA had to depend on UMNO to win for its candidates, now the situation has reversed. Looking at the situation now, the MCA has actually become the basis of the Barisan Nasional government. With some cunning ploy, non-Malay leaders from component parties in the Barisan Nasional, through UMNO leaders who are mostly low in morals, ready to buy, murder

become bright. They struggle for their personal interests.

Up to now there are still UMNO divisional and branch leaders who feel that they are very powerful and they want government servants, whether district officers, agricultural and other officers to follow their index fingers. When these officers refuse to follow their instructions, UMNO leaders begin to slander and condemn these officers.

Many have been tyrannised because they did not want to follow the orders of UMNO leaders, many of whom are stupidly arrogant and who raise all sorts of problems for the people. Administration in the districts becomes a mess. UMNO Baru leaders consider government servants as workers whose salaries are paid by UMNO.

Also, there are some government officers who seek sides for their own interests by following orders and the desires of UMNO leaders. These types are not too many, only those who are commonly seen at golf courses before 4.00 p.m. or those who seldom come to the office; many waste their time at Coffee houses and night clubs or often frequent 'private houses' with political leaders from the Barisan Nasional and non-Malay businessmen.

The attitude shown by some lower UMNO leaders is also prevalent among some ministers and elected representatives.

They consider government offices and government officers as cover-up tools behind the government. Government offices and their staff must put the interests of the party before the interests of the people. Whenever there is a by-election, the whole government machinery and effort would be brought down and used to the full to help the government party candidate. The most terrible abuse and cheating are being carried out. The government uses the people's facilities to cheat and to kill the rights of the people. Government staff and officers are made into robots which

can be ordered to do anything and they would obey. Every time government leaders hold some public functions or gatherings, the attendance of government officers and staff is compelled, to ensure good attendance for the interests of morale of the leaders and to bluff the people that such meetings get the people's welcome. Government officers and staff are allowed to leave their duties and offices to promote the morale of the leaders, although they are forced to put aside the interests of the people. Work for the people has been put aside before. This happens everywhere and is common and usual. What is important is that the interests of the leaders must be given priority.

UMNO Baru, under the leadership of Mahathir, actually wants to turn the administration of this country to something like a country which practises repressive administration similar to the regime in a communist country or a police state which is largely determined by the rulers. The people are their tools for obtaining power, and after that, to be used to oppress the people's interests.

Because of the stupidity of the people for so long, many of them still consider every development project in the kampungs as the property of UMNO and to be given by UMNO.

The government in office is chosen by the people, is given the trust and the responsibility to govern the nation's money, that is actually the people's money. The people's money, whether accumulated through the productive wealth of the country and the collection of various kinds of taxation, is distributed to the ministries to implement the people's projects under the various ministries. The people's money is for the people. The government is the property of the people, not the property of UMNO Baru.

The government's money has nothing to do with UMNO and the present UMNO leaders, especially Ghaffar

ery day not only through their leaders' utterances, through the news broadcast, through daily newspapers which have become government propaganda tools, that those who **oppose** UMNO Baru and the government arc from rotten creatures, vampire crickets and other things.

UMNO Baru leaders try to picture to the people that the leaders of this group arc frustrated and immoral.

When we talk about the question of morals and leadership, we can see for ourselves how low arc the morals of the present UMNO Baru leaders. If we want to expose national and government leaders one by one on the basis of morals, not one government leader from UMNO Baru can be accepted as a leader. The question of keeping and playing with women, living with another man's wife, can be found among ministers and deputy ministers now. Alcohol and gambling are their daily practices and activities considered as hobbies.

It is only natural that those of us who feet responsible for the people and the country give awareness to the people, that the government is the people and the people are the government. Those who rule and administer the country are the instruments and trust of the people. It is the people's right to determine their positions. If they are caught cheating and betraying the people's rights, they must be punished and replaced with others. It is the people who determine the government and leaders of this country.

Baba who should feel ashamed for making a claim that is not his.

We truly feel sad and ashamed when we hear some people who describe Encik Ghaffar as a "useless old man", because he did not achieve Malay unity until Malay parties are no more in the Barisan Nasional except UMNO Baru, because they do not want to be in the coalition any more. We feel even more ashamed when "that useless old man" is given the title of "BIG LIAR FATHER OF THE PEOPLE OF MALAYSIA". Ghaffar also has served the struggle of the Malays in this country, although when he was the Chief Minister of Malacca, there were many abuses by him, among which was connected to the sale of the building site of Public Bank in Malacca town. Because of that, he naturally retired and made devoted deeds and to complete his remaining years with his young wives. There is news that Encik Ghaffar has a young Chinese wife. This old man is still vigorous

Berjasa and Hamin are no longer with the Barisan Nasional and UMNO; if inside, have to put up with a lot of sins.

UMNO Baru leaders cannot claim that their party represent the majority of the Malays if they have less than 2 million members. With the existence of the Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah, (APU) which has succeeded to establish a Malay and Islamic front represented by four Malay and Islamic political parties comprising Semangat '46, PAS, Berjasa and Hamin, naturally this federation represents the struggle of the Malays and of Islam in this country.

UMNO now cannot claim that all government projects are their right because their group only represent 1/12 of the tax payers out of the total population of more than 14 million people in this country.

UMNO leaders always try to confuse the people ev-

CHAPTER 8

PEOPLE BECOMING STOOGES

THOSE in Malay society who want to be used by Barisan Nasional government leaders headed by Dr Mahathir Mohamad now, are the stooges of Malay society whose only capability is to become 'yes men' to the government and its leaders.

The majority of such people are infected by the fear syndrome disease. The ISA haunts their thinking and becomes a weapon for Mahathir's group to tie up their freedom of thinking and expression, to say anything that is true, what more to voice openly against the corruption of ministers and the cheating and abuses of government leaders in carrying out their duties to defend the people's trust.

The people are afraid to express their hearts' dissatisfaction and fear, to oppose government leaders who have now been proven to commit political and economic sins, because of the fear of being punished by the ISA.

If they are punished by the ISA it means that all their freedoms and rights, although the country is supposed to follow a democratic system, are restricted. All the people know that this is a cruelty. Such actions upon them are not based on any just consideration but are initiated by the leaders' sense of revenge. Such actions are most undignified and most immoral.

However, this situation will continue so long as the ISA haunts us. To end the ISA we should not be afraid of it. To uphold truth and justice as well as to struggle for rights, we should be ready to sacrifice our freedom, to be ready to be detained. If all the people are prepared to

sacrifice like this, the Kamunting Camp and other detention places will not be able to hold the people.

The detention of a big number of the people under the ISA because they oppose a government which is not democratic, not just and cruel, will open the eyes of the world and the government's cruelty will be exposed to the outside world. We are not alone in our struggle for fundamental human rights and freedom.

If such a situation comes about, it will certainly endanger the administrative stability of the country, especially in the fields of economic and international relations. A government in such a situation will not last long, because all sorts of sanctions, from foreign countries which struggle for fundamental human rights and freedom, which have commercial, economic and other ties with this country, will follow.

A country which is in such a situation will not taste political stability and peace.

The struggle to oppose political and economic sins and to uphold truth and justice is a commitment by every citizen who loves this country.

The freedom to live has no meaning if everything is in shackles and we are always in fear or become yes men, become stooges to leaders who are mad for power.

Our sacrifice today is for the interests of our future descendants and generations. In Islam the sacrifice for the welfare of the community is a welfare claimed by the religion and blessed by Allah. More so the power or leaders.

If we are detained under the ISA because of upholding justice and the truth, consider that as a fate determined by Allah, and because our struggle is pure, perhaps that detention is a mercy. We shall die when Allah has decided on our death. We shall succeed and achieve victory if Allah blesses our victory and success although the sinful and cruel

But also the Rulers, Even in the Conference of Rulers there are now actually two camps. For example, there was lobbying in the election of His Royal Majesty the King. This never happened before Dr Mahathir became Prime Minister.

Never before did it happen in the political history of this country where certain sultans expressed open support for a certain political party and asked the people to join that party. It is happening now. In Pahang, leaders of Mahathir's UMNO are openly warning rural settlers that if they do not join UMNO Baru, they are being traitors to His Royal Highness the Sultan. The name of the Sultan is being used to threaten and to frighten the people. When the people curse the Rulers, they smile because their twin-objective, of trapping the people and sowing the seeds of hatred of the people towards the Rulers, has succeeded.

If Their Royal Highnesses the Sultans involve themselves in the ordinary politics of the people, Their Highnesses are exposing themselves to public attacks and criticism, and this can cause their purity and their honour and the sovereignty of the institution of the Monarchy to be eroded. This is certainly what the UMNO Baru leadership wants.

The Rulers should not be trapped with the political game of the UMNO Baru leadership. Dr Mahathir has his own political motives when involving the Rulers in politics. The Rulers' involvement will quicken his effort to have total power in this country, as a dictator who sows the seeds of hatred of the people against the Rulers. Kelantan UMNO Baru leaders have openly dared to insult His Royal Highness the Sultan of Kelantan. If without the blessing of Dr Mahathir they would not have dared to adopt this discourteous attitude. Their action is out of step with the customs of the Malays. If we follow Malay customs, they will natu-

side carries out all kinds of cruelty and pressures against us. So long as we are sure that our struggle is true and for the good of the community, so long is that success with us. There is no defeat in the struggle against sins and cruelty so long as we continue to oppose. There are no defeat and regret for upholding justice and the truth so long as we still continue with the struggle.

Not feeling enough for betraying the people's interests, Dr Mahathir and his cliques are working to betray the institution of the Monarchy. The treachery towards the institution of the Monarchy very much worries the people, especially the Malays.

If in 1983 the people were persuaded to oppose the Rulers, but failed, seeing that the Malays oppose his concentration of power, Dr Mahathir with his position and power to buy is using those Rulers who can be used to get (he support of the people. Dr Mahathir does not make use of the Rulers directly, but uses deceitful strategies and ploys without the awareness of those Rulers involved. The strategy of Mahathir is almost like that of the English colonialists who obtained the signatures of the Rulers to accept the Malayan Union agreement which was aimed to put an end to [he sovereignty of the Malay Rulers themselves.

The institution of the Monarchy is the symbol of the cultural glory of the Malay race. What has happened to His Royal Highness the Sultan of Johore and His Royal Highness the Sultan of Pahang is proof of the success of Dr Mahathir in dragging the sultans into the boiling pot of political disunity.

The Malays are forced by Dr Mahathir to join UMNO Baru by making use of the names of sultans.

The policy of divide and rule practised before by the colonialists is now being practised by Dr Mahathir.

This situation of disunity involves not only the people

CHAPTER 9

MARCOS' SHADOW IN MALAYSIA

NEVER in the history of UMNO had the authority and dignity of the President of the Malay party that is UMNO been so polluted throughout the world. UMNO is the symbol of the national struggle of the Malays. When the party president already has no dignity, the dignity of the race is also threatened directly. This is because all this while it is understood that UMNO was the Malays and the Malays were UMNO, except for UMNO Baru which was established on 13 February 1988.

Corruption scandals, abuses, wasting the people's money, economic, political and other social ills are washing the country.

This situation happened and began to exist since 1981, since Dr Mahathir took over the reins of administration from Tun Hussein. The administrative weakness and the weakness in financial management and economic management of the country now have caused the country to be lame. The government implements policies which are very detrimental to the people's interests. Its policies benefit the interests of individuals and certain groups more. People who are sincere and good as well as law-abiding, like the former Lord President Tun Salleh Abas, have no place in this country.

To cover up all weaknesses in the national administration, the OSA of the government was implemented. This law which aims to protect Mahathir's weaknesses was hur-

rally be impaled and cast adrift into the sea.

The UMNO Baru constitution explains that the people are more sovereign than the Rulers. That is why throughout the country now the government is holding courses on the sovereignty of the people. Before this we never heard that the people were sovereign except from the Sultans who ruled.

With the system of government based on parliamentary democracy, in which our Parliament is completely controlled by Dr Mahathir because his side has the majority, if a government supporter, with the blessing of Mahathir, brings a motion to abolish the system of Monarchy in this country with the explanation that that is the need of the people, then that will be the end of the monarchical system in this country. Will the people allow this thing to happen? Do the people want this country to become a republic ruled by a repressive government and dictator?

Blessing the sins and cruelty of the leaders led by Dr Mahathir's government means we bless the death and destruction of the people and country, and getting into the coffin before our time.

as his political power.

4. Extraordinary actions and decisions made in connection with constitutional amendments give the power to the Prime Minister to declare a state of emergency, usurping the right of the King and behind the back of Parliament which has become a "rubber stamp", shows that Mahathir wants to become the absolute leader in Malaysia, although he does not aim to be president of a republic. All the stories about government scandals and its leaders, all leaders' sins and government weaknesses are considered as secrets hidden by the OSA. The Act which protects the interests of the leaders more than the interests of the people and country.
5. Mahathir's way to overcome problems of the country is to cover up, not to solve. Mahathir has no more credibility and resources to resolve problems, because if firm action is taken it can be analogous to being between the devil and the deep blue sea. He involves direct and indirect methods for those problems.
6. Mahathir encourages direct political intervention in economic and business affairs. Political persons without business knowledge and experience have been appointed as Board Directors of business bodies. This interference has resulted in the country's economy becoming lame. Foreign and local investors have lost confidence in the country's economy. Malaysia should be proud that its Finance Minister

connected with the government leader.

- c) The purchase and sale of UMBC shares by Finance Minister Encik Daim Zainuddin and Pernas. This sale profited Daim Zainuddin personally but, it cost Pernas the people's agency to be saddled with a debt of \$600 million. Up to now the government has not dared to release all relevant details regarding this UMBC shares sale, although challenged to do so many times. Pasir Mas MP, the Hon'ble Haji Ibrahim Ali has challenged in Parliament. Daim was as quiet as a church mouse.
- d) The economic slide of the country is increasingly severe. Unemployment among Bumiputera graduates is more than 100,000 people at the end of 1988.
- e) The government is forced to borrow to pay the salaries of its staff. The country's foreign debt is more than \$100 billion.

Mahathir leader without principles:-

- i) He has said many times that he was ready to resign his office if there were signs that people did not like him. He did not remember his statement although 37 UMNO divisions nominated Tengku Razaleigh to oppose him. He did not consider those nominations as people not liking him. His attitude is in contrast to Tun Hussein Onn's attitude.
- ii) He asked for support of more than 55% to enable

and his Deputy Prime Minister are successful businessmen. Daim Zainuddin's business success has obtained him Mahathir's confidence to take care of the country's financial administering which has led many Malay businessmen to bankruptcy or the verge of bankruptcy. Chaffar has destroyed the people's hopes with the failure of the Perbadanan Nasional Berhad of which he is the Chairman, leading to the bankruptcy of the Kompleks Kewangan Malaysia Berhad. If the crocodile is asked to look after the fishes in the pond, it will eat up all of them,

7. Some of the weaknesses and scandals during Mahathir's leadership are;-
 - a) The BMF Scandal - a finance company sponsored by the government - involved in cheating the people of \$2.5 billion loaned to a non-Malay company in Hong Kong. Loans without collaterals. Kampung people who want to borrow \$3,000 for business, all kinds of conditions and collaterals are required. If obtained must be after climbing the bank stairs a good number of times. That does not include going back and forth to the bank.
 - b) The Maminco problem is Mahathir's attempt¹⁰ to Glance the world tin market price which involved the workers' EPF savings amounting to US\$600 million. An investment which became^a a 'me'. Those who benefited were the middle-me & in the government and those who were

son's sins and accept his repentance if that person wants to ask for forgiveness and repentance quickly. It is not too late for Dr Mahathir and his cliques to ask Allah for forgiveness and repentance.

him to serve more effectively. Indirectly he knew that almost 50% of UMNO members wanted him to step down. For us a leader who does not get unanimous support from the people is a leader who is already weak and is no longer in authority any more. He should naturally step down before he is deposed.

- iii) He will continue to lead UMNO although he wins by one vote. This shows that he is a leader who gives priority to his own interests rather than to the interests of the race, party and country. In order to get 100 per cent support from party members, he made the original UMNO illegal, formed the new UMNO and introduced subsidy votes for himself. With this method, he can be party president until death. Syed Hussin Al-Atas the astrologer-writer in the pay of UMNO dared not comment on the subsidy votes. Tuan syed, why are you afraid?
- iv) Even if he were to lose the post of party president, he will retain the post of Prime Minister, because the appointment of the Prime Minister is determined by Parliament. This shows a leader without self-respect. For the interests of his political power and position he was prepared to involve colleagues from component parties of the Barisan Nasional to interfere in the business and decisions of his own party UMNO. In fact, who is power crazy?

Leaders who betray the struggle and interests of the race, country and religion will not be permanent. All the treachery and cheating and sins committed will receive afflictions in the next world. Allah is the great leveller. Allah will be ready to forgive a per-

CHAPTER 10

DEMOCRACY WHICH IS NOT FOR THE PEOPLE

WHEN launching the semarak (loyalty with the people) campaign in Sik, Kedah on 27 August 1988, Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad said that the victory of the independent candidate in the by-election proved that he was not a dictator and that democracy still lived in this country.

The same statement was made by the Deputy Prime Minister, Encik Ghaffar Baba, when commenting on the victory of the Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah (APU) candidate, Dr Harun Taib, in the Telok Pasu State by-election on 24 June 1989, as defending the authority of his boss.

If what was claimed by Dr Mahathir and Encik Ghaffar is correct, we propose that he reviews all development policies of the country as a proof that Dr Mahathir truly respects the democratic principle and accepts the results made by the voters of Johore Bahru and Telok Pasu.

It cannot be denied that the people of Johore Bahru and Telok Pasu have decided firmly that they reject and do not agree with the policies, approaches and actions made by Dr Mahathir's administration since the 1986 General Election.

The results have recognised that the administrative policies now are detrimental to all the people's interests and the country's interests for both the long and short terms.

The people have rejected firmly those policies which have nearly destroyed the country now.

The huge victory achieved by Datuk Shahrir Samad and the glittering victory of Dr Harun Taib show that the voters and the people have stood erect to struggle for their rights and dignity for the restoration of democracy, the nation's sovereignty, the sovereignty of the institution of the Rulers, justice and the independence of the Judiciary.

The people rejected the Barisan Nasional led by Dr Mahathir as a statement from their hearts that they no longer wanted to bless or collaborate with the political and economic sins carried out by Dr Mahathir and his cliques.

The decisions also represent attitudinal statements of the people that they can no longer be dragged by the nose like cattle or become Dr Mahathir's stooges.

If democracy truly still exists, Dr Mahathir must accept the decisions of the voters of Johore Bahru and Telok Pasu.

He must seriously study the grievances from the people, and be prepared to review all government policies with the view to bring about changes in those policies in line with the wishes and needs of the people.

It is meaningless for Dr Mahathir to shout that democracy still lives in Malaysia and that the government accepts the decisions of the people, but, on the contrary, his administrative practices do not at all show an attitude of respect for the decisions and views of the people in the right spirit.

Dr Mahathir should be aware that it is useless to criticise and condemn those who disagree with his decisions, because such an attitude can only worsen the problems now facing the country.

What he should now do is to accept the defeats of the Barisan Nasional with an open and sincere heart, with a positive spirit, recognises the genuineness of the grievances from the people on various issues, especially those in con-

In the present situation, the Cabinet is the legislator, the prosecutor and the judge, like government in the dark ages in which government affairs were determined by the sultan in power.

The separation of powers is very necessary in a democracy. With the courts which are free and independent, which are not controlled by the government and Parliament, as Dr Mahathir himself has said, are not against the National Constitution, especially with regard to the separation of powers and the individual's rights in society.

With independent courts, disputes between the government and Parliament, or between them and the people, or between the people will be considered and resolved fairly and justly.

Dr Mahathir's leadership appears to have a cool attitude towards the power of the courts, because the courts give the people the opportunity to question or challenge its decisions. The latest action of Dr Mahathir which ridicules the courts is his action in amending the ISA 1960. This action is a molestation upon the Judiciary in this country. This step represents the destruction of the Rule of Law through legislative amendments and is a violation of the glorious values contained in our Constitution.

The excuse of Dr Mahathir that the courts cannot be allowed to make decisions regarding internal security of the country because they are not experts in that field, is an insult to the Judiciary.

The Nation's Constitution proclaims the concept of the separation of powers between the Executive and the courts, so it is natural that the Judiciary be given the right and authority to check the exercise of power of the Executive.

It is the right of the Judiciary to question how the Executive uses its power, especially in connection with the

nection with the scandals of his leaders in the government, and affirms that democracy that is meaningful and genuine would exist and be protected for forever.

The actions taken by the government to hide, instead of to safeguard the interests of the people and democracy, have already brought bad and negative effects upon the nationbuilding process in Malaysia, and unless speedy action is made to correct this unhealthy situation, dissatisfaction among the people against his leadership and the Barisan Nasional government will continue to go on. So long as the people are in a state of restlessness, so long will the country not be in peace.

If Dr Mahathir truly wants to struggle for the people's and country's interests, he must take speedy actions which are serious and positive to review nationbuilding policies, with the main objective of overcoming factors which obstruct the existence of a united and democratic country based on principles of justice, freedom and genuine democracy. Actions based on the Rukun Negara. Dr Mahathir should get the views of the public to decide seriously for the people and the government.

The concentration of power in one leader will bring us towards repressive and dictatorial rule.

To confirm that democracy and justice still exist, the separation of powers among the Executive, Parliament and the Judiciary must be made permanent.

In accordance with the tenets of democracy, the government that is the Cabinet, Parliament (the legislature) and the courts need to have their various and separate powers.

Without separate powers, a government not only can make laws according to its political interests, but also can take action, against anyone who is considered someone who opposes or obstructs, according to its own lust.

His actions against the former Lord President, Tun Salleh Abas, and five Supreme court judges is because of his uneasiness with the role of the Judiciary which did not want to follow his wishes.

If Dr Mahathir truly wants to uphold democratic principles and a Judiciary which is independent, then he must be sincere and bold enough to accept all decisions although they are against the wishes of the government. Dr Mahathir must put the interests of the people and the country before his own interests.

Democracy can only be guaranteed if power is shared in a tripartite fashion among the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary.

The concentration of power towards the Executive through legal amendments which destroy the power of the Judiciary, as done by Dr Mahathir, will bring about the death of democracy.

ISA, Emergency Ordinances and the Dangerous Drugs Act, because these Acts enable the Executive to detain anyone without a court trial. Knowing the attitude of Dr Mahathir, the ISA amendments will be abused by the Barisan Nasional government under his leadership, like he has done before.

What is most regrettable about these amendments is that the people cannot ask the courts to restrict the abuse of power, and it is difficult to believe that these amendments will end the right of the people to apply for prerogative orders of mandamus, injunction, certiorari or the writ of habeas corpus.

The people do not accept the calumny which says that the Executive should be allowed to use its power without checks by the Judiciary because the situation in Malaysia is different from that of other countries.

The question of security cannot be an excuse to restrict the people's freedom and the freedom of the Judiciary.

Dr Mahathir's leadership is not comfortable with the present system of democracy. This is the reason why he tried to weaken the role of the courts in the settling of disputes which arise in society. The freedom of the Judiciary which enables the people to question whatever action and decision of his in the administrative problems of the country worries him. Moreover, many of the things questioned by the people are actually and especially issues connected to government abuses and financial scandals.

Dr Mahathir's discomfort with the courts was personally acknowledged by Datuk Musa Hitam in the videotape which says that every time a dissenting court decision is made, it is considered as a decision which opposes him personally and opposes his leadership and the government led by him.

In order to perpetuate ruling power and position whether in the party or in the government, Dr Mahathir is prepared to use whatever methods and tactics, many of which are dirty tactics, to achieve the objective of his political struggle and to safeguard his position.

In the context of Malaysian politics, the first objective of Mahathir is to destroy all groups which oppose him, the first target is Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah who has the majority of the people's trust, especially among the Malays as a leader who can safeguard the dignity of the people and the country; the political maxim of "the end justifies the means" is used by him to the full to end the political career of Tengku Razaleigh.

For example, Dr Mahathir will use the laws so long as the laws are suitable to his wishes and political objective, and he will make laws or amend laws if these laws are no more suited to the objective of his struggle.

As a whole, the tactics and methods used give a picture of politics as being no more for those who are sincere and true. Politics is no longer for the interests of the people, but to safeguard the political interests and positions of leaders who have committed a lot of political and economic sins like Dr Mahathir and his cliques.

For them, politics is now necessary to have manipulative elements, oppression, throwing stones secretly, and slander and evasions. To achieve political success, oppression, cheating and pressures become things that are compulsory. The questions of what is permitted what is forbidden, of sin and merit; wrong or right in terms of law and humanity, do not exist in the dictionary of their political struggle.

Dr Mahathir is a disciple of Machiavellian philosophy. Machiavellian politics is the politics which puts first the interests of oneself, one's family and one's group. There

CHAPTER 11

DISCIPLE OF MACHIAVELLIAN PHILOSOPHY

AND he has said many times that he is not power crazy, that what he does is for the interests of the country and people. He wants to turn the people of this country into a people with high self-respect, if not at least in line with the status of the peoples of Europe who are already developed. He is firm in wanting the people to work much harder to make Malaysia a country that is respected and admired by the world.

As a matter of fact, what is said to be his aspiration has already been achieved before Dr Mahathir became Prime Minister. Previous national leaders like YTM Tengku Abdul Rahman al-Haj, the late Tun Abdul Razak, were not only considered as excellent patriots in this region, but they were also respected by all leading world leaders. They succeeded in raising the image of the country without taking on a harsh attitude and governing cruelly.

Malaysia nearly overtook Japan and through Malaysia, Singapore got its independence indirectly.

His administrative style has caused the image of the country to become very terrible. His Colleagues, who do not raise the image of the country, are considered as second-class leaders and half of them have no class if compared to leaders like Dato' Rais Yatim, Dato' Shahrir Samad, Dato' Rakzi Sheikh Ahmad, Datin Paduka Rahmah Osman and a few others who are with YBM Tengku Tan Sri Razaleigh Hamzah now.

is no place for those considered as enemies or those who try to obstruct their ambitions.

For example, Dr Mahathir is prepared to sacrifice Kelantan and UMNO leaders in that state so that he can kill the political career of Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah. He is prepared to work with the devil than with the angel if that is the best and most effective way to finish off Tengku Razaleigh.

Who is Machiavelli and what are the political thoughts introduced by him?

What is his concept of power in the political system?

Machiavelli (1469-1527) was a political thinker from Florence, Italy. In the 16th Century, Machiavelli published a book *The Prince*. Machiavelli also analysed how political leaders control sources of political power and destroy their political enemies with all sorts of methods which are most undemocratic. Among the methods carried out:-

- i) Work to control full support of the people by their swearing and oath-taking of loyalty towards the leader.
- ii) Get the people into a position in which they always depend fully on the leader.
- iii) Work with all kinds of ways to destroy all his political enemies.
- iv) Destroy all forms of opposition from them who oppose, whether they be friends or foes.
- v) Campaign throughout the country to meet the people posing himself as the people's benefactor. Example in Malaysia, Semarak rallies or-

ganised by Dato' Mohamed Rahmat for Dr Mahathir throughout the country. A waste of public funds amounting to millions of ringgit. Aimed to ask the people to bless Dr Mahathir as the dictator.

- vi) Ensure that every supporter is mesmerised into a loyal follower who is committed to his leadership and his political objective.

These are very accurate comparisons if made against what had been and are being done by the Barisan Nasional under the leadership of Dr Mahathir. Based on the present situation, we get a picture that many modern political leaders follow Machiavelli's political precepts. Among those we can take as examples are Hitler, Idi Amin, Marcos and Sukarno. Can Dr Mahathir be placed in the same group? Can we categorize Dr Mahathir with Marcos and Idi Amin? Look at their leadership styles. We are only questioning his leadership style. From the personal angle, he is also included in the group of good people, although his expression shows a bit of arrogance, but perhaps he is not arrogant.

From my study and attention of his administrative style, Dr Mahathir has directly and indirectly been influenced by Machiavellian tactics and philosophy. Consciously or unconsciously, he has followed the basics of Machiavelli because he has certain reasons. Among which perhaps he wants to close up his own personal and leadership weaknesses, or wants to safeguard his political position and power.

Is Dr Mahathir putting his own political interests before the interests of the people and country?

For Machiavelli, power is extremely crucial to a leader, and power has to be used for one's own interests. To him,

be perpetuated even if every person among us is forced to sacrifice or is sacrificed. To sacrifice our own interests for the interests of the many and that of the country is a virtue.

Are we prepared to cheat ourselves, sell and pawn our self-respect and the future of our children and grandchildren, stain the purity of the struggle of our race utterly so as to safeguard our own personal interests?

Will we not regret if tomorrow the people ridicule our children and grandchildren with the mocking that your father or grandfather was a traitor of the race and country?

They will move away from their own society. The promise of the influence of our personal interests today with insincere and untrustworthy methods have not guaranteed a life of peace for the future. Power, position and wealth possessed now with cheating, treachery, buying and oppressive ways will, in the end, devour ourselves.

Power which is blessed and permanent is power which has been blessed by Allah.

moral and wordly laws are the work of human beings, and laws need to be changed or put aside if such laws threaten the political power and position of the government.

From the thinking of Machiavelli, the political precept which is important is "the end justifies the means", meaning in achieving the objective of power, the method is not important, so long as the aim is achieved. Here the methods he means are the methods which contain elements of cheating, repression, oppression and force as well as threats. In today's context, corruption and selling and buying of human beings can also be carried out.

Such methods are shown by the Barisan Nasional government led by Dr Mahathir in every by-election held in the country. In wanting to perpetuate the people's influence and support, they appoint followers loyal to them; their own family members in the armed forces, police, judiciary, government agencies and the cabinet so as to ensure undivided support and trust. The questions of ability, sincerity towards the people's interests, and qualifications are not important. Although a person is a womanizer, a drunkard and has a bad personality, if that person can be a yes man, is considered a loyal supporter, he can be appointed as a Lord President.

Machiavellian politics is always used by world leaders who are cunning and with no self-respect, who use their power to destroy the power of their rivals. Dr Mahathir will do anything to silence his rivals so as to perpetuate his own power.

Leaders should realise that the interests of the race and country are more important than their personal interests.

UMNO 1946, which is being campaigned by Parti Semangat 46, which has become the tree stump of the strength of the Malays and the spirit of UMNO 1946's struggle, must

CHAPTER 12

STRUGGLE TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE A FAIRY TALE

MAY 11 is a sacred date for the political struggle of the Malays in this country.

On 11 May 1946, the United Malays National Organisation, or UMNO in its English abbreviations, was formed at the Istana Bcsar at Johore Bahru in Johore.

As has been fated, on 11 May 1989, the official approval letter for the registration of Parti Semangat '46 was received by its sponsors. The mentioned date is the date on the envelope of that approval letter. Actually the real date of approval is 5 May 1989, but the time between 5 May and 11 May, the birth of the party is considered as still being in its mother's womb, because the birth was only known officially on 11 May 1989.

Perhaps this is the corrective way fated by Allah - the approval and registration as well as the exact date of birth at the time of the unofficial binding together of the Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah, which represents the coalition of PAS, Semangat '46 and Berjasa to face the Telok Pasu by-election in Trengganu as the first test in opposing the Barisan Nasional candidate from the Mahathir-sponsored UMNO.

The UMNO Baru rally in Johore Bahru which failed to achieve its objective on 11 May 1989, aimed to celebrate the 43rd anniversary of the birth of UMNO '46 also, cannot

be considered at all as celebrating the restoration and rebirth of the original UMNO, which fainted since 4 February 1988, as it was made to faint by the present UMNO leadership.

The restoration of the original UMNO is being made through Semangat '46, and nobody whosoever can question that this party is actually the original UMNO, that is UMNO '46. Only those who are ignorant of that fact will deny this statement. They who do not accept or are forced to reject the truth because they are controlled by lust for material things and interests. Perhaps they are sinning together with UMNO Baru leaders now to kill UMNO '46.

Thus, Semangat '46 cannot be considered as a new party on the argument that it was formed on 5 May 1989.

The party's constitution is the same as and not different from the constitution of UMNO '46, in blue colour, which was approved in 1979, except for the words United Malays National Organisation, or UMNO. It is different from UMNO Baru's constitution, For example, section 3 on "Fundamentals and Objective".

With this we can accept that 11 May 1989 is the date UMNO '46 was restored from its fainting. Perhaps there are people who question this view based on the different name of that party. Parti Semangat '46.

We acknowledge that in terms of the name it is certainly different. The laws and regulations of Dr Mahathir's government do not allow us to use the name UMNO any more, because in accordance with the Societies Act 1966, no two political organisations can use the same name.

The name of the original UMNO is the actual right of Parti Semangat '46. We did not get to use the name UMNO, because during the time when it had fainted, its name was robbed by those untrustworthy and irresponsible, and later stolen by the present UMNO leadership who also

revive UMNO '46. Semangat '46 will continue with the struggle of UMNO '46. Three quarters of the process of the life of the original UMNO have already been achieved by Parti Semangat '46. To achieve 100 per cent success, all we have to do is to get the UMNO name.

The name of UMNO will again be restored by the '46 group when political power is in our hands again. For the time being, public opinion is that the party name is not important, because names can be changed or lengthened and can also be used as pen-names. What is more important is the spirit.,

With the support and welcome which are now so enthusiastically given to the struggle of Parti Semangat '46, the people, especially the Malays in this country, acknowledge that Parti Semangat '46 is the original UMNO. The constitution of UMNO Baru is more restricted to protecting the interests and positions of the leadership of that party. The 10 subsidy votes for the president and deputy president prove the validity of this statement. The constitution of Semangat '46 gives priority to the rights of members and the interests of the struggle of the Malays throughout. The appointment of the Youth leader and the Women leader by the president shows that UMNO Baru is not democratic and party members do not have the freedom to choose the leaders they like.

The world knows that the Proton Saga is actually a Japanese car although in name it is the product of Malaysians. Because it is being driven in this country, but more than 80% of the necessary parts to make the car are imported from Japan, can we accept that it is a car made originally in Malaysia?

With the birth of Parti Semangat '46, it has in principle agreed to form a coalition with PAS and Berjasa of a Malay and Islamic front which is most united to be known

collaborated directly in this robbery. Mahathir uses the name UMNO to disguise and to cheat the Malays and former members of the original UMNO to assert that the present UMNO is the original UMNO. We know that a large number of the supporters and leaders of the present UMNO admit that the present UMNO is a dead UMNO. They are forced to accept because their positions force them to be hypocrites. Deliberately seeking sins.

Because of their insincere intention, they forgot about the birth certificate and title in the robbery. Parti '46 lost the name, but the birth certificate and the title of the original UMNO are still the property of that party. In other words, UMNO Baru possesses the physical body of that party, but the soul and spirit of that party is possessed by, and is with, Parti Semangat '46.

The birth certificate which represents the date of formation of the original UMNO on 11 May 1946 and the title, that is the party's constitution, are being kept by Semangat '46. As stated before, the constitution of Parti Semangat '46 is 100% the same as the Constitution of UMNO '46, the blue colour approved in 1979. No change whatsoever except the name of the organisation. With this nobody can deny that Parti Semangat '46 is the shadow of the original UMNO. Only people like Ghaffar Baba are forced to reject this fact, because they want to protect their lives and positions.

With the birth of Parti Semangat '46, the UMNO which is now led and sponsored by Dr Mahathir Mohamad, which was formed on 4 February 1988, cannot beat its chest and hit the gongs around the country to cheat the Malays by saying that his sponsored UMNO is a continuation of the original UMNO. They can deceive the people, but they cannot deceive history.

Parti Semangat '46 is a temporary political party to

Islamic front which is the strongest in this country, so as to struggle for and to protect the dominance and sovereignty of the Malays and of Islam in this country. The three of them join together in a front named Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah.

The strength of this federation has been proved when its candidate Dr Harun Taib succeeded in defeating the Barisan Nasional government candidate of UMNO in Telok Pasu. This is a proof that we Malays no longer trust the present UMNO leadership and reject that party.

With the will of Allah, with the permission of Allah, and the united support of the Malay community in this country, the Angkatan will become the alternative party to the Barisan Nasional and will take over the administration of this country after the next general election.

The Angkatan government will abolish all the cruelties, political and economic sins carried out by Dr Mahathir's government.

The truth and justice for all the people will be upheld. The dignity of the people and the country will be repaired and raised. The purity and sovereignty of the institution of the Rulers will be defended.

as the Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah. UMNO now cannot say that it is the party which represents the Malays in this country. UMNO now is a minority Malay party and has less than 30% political power, and the MCA is more successful and energetic in struggling for the interests of its race than UMNO in the Barisan Nasional now.

The victory of the Angkatan candidate Dr Harun Taib in the Telok Pasu by-election on 24 June 1989, shows that the Malays already reject UMNO now and accept as well as support the Angkatan as a party which represents the largest Malay and Islamic voice in this country. Malays who have openminded thoughts and views will acknowledge this fact. From very early on since the Semangat '46 started its activities, the support of the people for this group had worried the present UMNO leadership. The number of people who attended the gatherings and ceramahs of the '46 and Angkatan candidates in every by-election had exceeded the attendance of people at Semarak gatherings organised by the government.

With the restoration of the original UMNO through Parti Semangat '46, it is natural that all former members of the original UMNO, whether those who have not joined any other political organisation, or those who have become UMNO Baru members as a result of being cheated, forced, threatened or bought, should join Parti Semangat '46. Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah and his colleagues who have sacrificed everything for UMNO '46 would not have joined Semangat '46 if that party is not a reflection of UMNO '46.

Parti Semangat '46 represents the site and platform for leaders of Angkatan Semangat '46 to get back the name of the original UMNO, apart from bringing changes of the present leadership of the country.

Parti Semangat '46 together with PAS and Berjasa have concluded a pact, to get themselves into a Malay and

Even if a party leader is no good, his position must be perpetuated for the sake of unity.

The UMNO Baru leadership has not only changed the refined constitution of the original UMNO, they have also amended the country's Constitution extensively, to strengthen and to guarantee their own personal interests.

Never before in the history of our country, or that of any other country in the world, were the Lord President and five Supreme Court judges summarily suspended, moreover with foggy actions.

The freedom of the newspapers, radio and television is in shackles, so much so that the mass media are biased towards the government in everything and are not brave enough to expose, let alone to find fault with government policies and their implementation. Those who are brave to express, those who are brave to criticise and those who are brave to oppose, are pushed hard and hunted after to the very end.

Because of this, many have been forced to keep quiet although they are aware that the national situation is weak and precarious. Many others have become stooges, in order to safeguard their rice bowls and be influenced by material gains.

Freedom and fundamental human rights are so restricted that actually this country is ruled by a dictator.

The people cannot do anything any more. The ISA haunts them. All sorts of abuses like the BMF, UMBC, EPF-Makuwasa and the North-South Highway Contract scandals have been left as they were without any follow-up action being taken. What is forbidden has been legalised, and what is legal has been forbidden. The denial of Dr Yusof Nor, Minister in the Prime Minister's Department, UMNO Baru's ulama (religious expert), that he never advised the government to legalise the forbidden, shows us

CHAPTER 13

ILLEGAL ONLY FOR THOSE WHO ARE WEAK

THE leaders of UMNO Baru are not sincere in struggling for the destiny of the Malays and the people of this country. They put their own interests first, are partial and use the illegality of the original UMNO to form the new UMNO and to push aside whoever is considered able to challenge and threaten their positions.

Although UMNO Baru uses the name UMNO, its constitution and spirit are different from the original UMNO's. With the formation of UMNO Baru, that party's leaders show an attitude which does not respect the good service and struggle of former leaders and old people who had founded and struggled for UMNO '46.

The constitution of UMNO Baru has been changed so much that even people who have been allowed to become members do not wish to be registered, or those who have registered themselves will slowly but surely realise that the spirit of UMNO Baru is very far from the spirit of the original UMNO and will leave that party.

The spirit and constitution of UMNO Baru will bring more disunity to the Malays, because its spirit is to fight more for the interests of individuals, that is the party's leadership and this will arouse dissatisfaction among the members because the rights of the members and the freedom of the members to determine the leadership, are now restricted thoroughly, contest which has so long been considered healthy, is now said to be possible to spoil the party and unity.

that he talks with a brain without intelligence. He talks not from the heart. We know that he did not legalise the forbidden, but he has collaborated directly with forbidden things carried out by the Barisan Nasional as a member of the Cabinet and government. Only people who are dull accept Dr Yusof Nor's denial.

The screams and shouts of the people to get explanations regarding the leaders' scandals and their abuses are ignored. Many difficulties of the people are not answered or solved.

If this situation is allowed to continue, with all kinds of restrictions and the molestation of freedom, whether the freedom of the press or the freedom of the Judiciary, slowly but surely there will be nothing more to block the present authorities to make whatever abuses and the political and economic sins committed by Mahathir and his cliques to vanish.

The newspapers dare not publish them, government officers dare not expose them, and if brought to the courts, the judges will not dare to decide against the wishes of the government.

Do the people consent to and allow such things? Of course not. The people need to act and to act fast. Power is in the hands of the people. The power that Mahathir has is power temporarily given by the people. This power can be taken back through elections in which the people must reject the government led by Dr Mahathir.

A government which is just and clean is in the hands of the people.

CHAPTER 14

UNITY A-LA MAHATHIR

HOW can UMNO now bring about Malay unity when inside the party itself now turmoil and squabbles have newly started among them? It is no more a secret that there are now camps inside UMNO working for one another's downfall. The delaying tricks to admit Datuk Shahrir into UMNO is a proof which shows that there are groups in UMNO itself which are worried about the strength of Datuk Musa's camp, which is being considered as a possible threat to their positions.

The slogan of Malay unity which is always uttered by the present UMNO leadership is none other than to pull wool over the eyes of the people, especially the Malays. In the name of Malay unity, the UMNO leadership actually is prepared to urge, coax and sometimes threaten former members of the old UMNO to join Mahathir's UMNO. They say all Malays must unite under the flag of UMNO. At the same time, UMNO leaders at all levels attack PAS and the Semangat '46 group, which want to bring about the unity of the community, bitterly and consider them as the side responsible for splitting the unity of the community by bringing in the spirit of Islamic struggle which is narrow and power-crazy. Is this true? What are true about PAS are not the same in the view of UMNO leaders. How could the UMNO leadership in the Ampang Jaya by-election picture that the Barisan candidate Ong Tee Kiat was more Malay than Datuk Harun Haji Idris? Until some UMNO women on polling day were prepared to insult Datuk Harun openly that he was worse than an animal. This is most

leaders who are disciples of the philosophy of 'monkey politics'. Monkeys with long tails jump from tree to tree where the fruits are dense.

We agree with Datuk Harun Haji Idris who says that the present UMNO resembles a party of beggars, a party which has no more self-respect and morals and which is prepared to do whatever without thinking about right or wrong, sins or virtue in order to continue to live. The public view is that the present UMNO has failed and will continue to fail in its effort to unite the Malay community in this country, so long as it is under the present leadership. A leadership that is considered to be most corrupt from the standpoint of morals, prepared to buy, to sell, to corrupt, and to kill their own race in order to rule forever.

PAS is strongly attacked because the community's support for that party is stronger than the support given to UMNO. The attack on the Semangat '46, until its Youth leader Datuk Najib declared war, because it wants to cooperate with PAS and other Islamic parties, is evidence that the Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah, a Malay and Islamic front is stronger; proves that the present UMNO leaders are in fear and are aware that with the existence of this cooperation and the existence of the Angkatan, the position of UMNO leaders, especially those who are the people's elected representatives in states and areas with Malay majorities, are no longer safe. The proof is the victory of Dr Harun Taib, the PAS candidate who represented the Angkatan, the Malay and Islamic front of three Malay and Islamic groups, that is PAS, Semangat '46 and Berjasa. The victory of the PAS candidate from the Angkatan, with a majority of 141 votes, is in fact a big and historic victory.

The Angkatan, which is considered by the UMNO leadership as an empty group, succeeded in defeating the Barisan Nasional government candidate from UMNO which

regrettable because UMNO Baru members were prepared to insult their own race. No Malays in this country can deny the sacrifice and struggle of Datuk Harun for the interests of the Malays, especially in Selangor.

Those who want to cooperate with PAS and other Islamic parties, as the Semangat '46 group want; to, working to bring about one united Malay front which is bigger and stronger, are considered as wanting to destroy the interests of the Malays in this country.

UMNO leaders also say that UMNO is now accepted by the people and that UMNO is now strong and can guarantee the future, dignity and interests of the Malays. They say that UMNO has now obtained the support of the majority of the Malays based on two victories in the Parit Raja and Ampang Jaya by-elections recently. For us, the victory of the Barisan candidate in the Ampang Jaya by-election has shown us what manner Lee Kim Sai, Deputy MCA president, has proved that the present UMNO leaders are not serious in safeguarding the dignity of the Malays. That is why many people are saying that the Barisan victory is a victory for Lee Kim Sai and not a victory for UMNO. The leaders of UMNO are made use of by the MCA to lower the self-respect of the Malays themselves. They have also become the cheerboys and stalking horses of the MCA.

Although all kinds of efforts have been carried out to get the support from a large number of old UMNO members to join the new UMNO, it appears that UMNO has still failed. More than 60% of the members of old UMNO are still with Semangat '46 struggling for the dignity and purity of UMNO '46. The joining of Datuk Musa and his cliques of UMNO again does not weaken the struggle of Semangat '46; on the contrary, it increases our strength because all internal problems are now overcome without those who are unprincipled. They can be considered as

made use all sorts of government machinery and facilities like Risda, the Information Department, the Department of Social Welfare, the Agriculture Department, the District Office, the Trengganu Islamic Foundation, the State Education Department, the Public Works Department, as well as other national and state government machineries.

UMNO leaders came to campaign in the names of government ministers or government positions, using government facilities.

Schools have become officiating places to launch government propaganda until they disturb the children who want to learn.

Lightning projects as well as all sorts of political corruption and immediate supplementaries for buying votes come pouring in to the voters, coupled with threats and force so that they support the Barisan Nasional candidate.

Notwithstanding the needs and the intentions, the people want change and renewal, and with the help of Allah have overcome. The majority of the voters of Telok Pasu rejected the UMNO candidate whose struggle was based on materialism, and accepted the Angkatan by giving the victory to the Angkatan candidate from PAS.

Actually this victory is the early signal of the fall from power of the Barisan Nasional government in the country, and, by the will of Allah, the Angkatan which is supported by the majority of the Malays and Muslims in this country, will emerge as an alternative party to replace the Barisan Nasional which is filled with sins and cruelty.

For us, the illegalization and split in UMNO in recent days is a blessing in disguise from Allah. Because of the split, a unity of the Malay community, an Islamic and Malay front which is bigger and more united, has come into existence through the cooperation of PAS, Berjasa and Semangat '46, whereas UMNO has now failed.

With this federation and pact, all seats whether state Assembly or Parliamentary seats with a majority of Malay voters but are represented by other people as a result of the Barisan Nasional quota, can be contested by Angkatan candidates and be taken back. With the will of Allah, with the permission of Allah, to determine that the political power and dominance as well as the dignity of the Malays be forever guaranteed in the hands of the Malays.

Allah is most caring and most loving. Dr Mahathir still has time to repent all the sins committed. As politicians we cannot deny the probability that they were committed because of wanting to perpetuate his political power. As a Muslim he must surely be aware that only Allah's power is everlasting. Before he returns to meet Allah it is natural that he repents all his sins. We can hide sins from human beings, but we cannot hide sins committed in this world from Allah.

making an attack on this group means that Dr Mahathir had known about it earlier; he can be considered to be irresponsible to the Malay race because he had been keeping quiet all this while.

If it is not the Barisan Nasional, not the present UMNO, who are this group of people? If he had known much earlier, why didn't he act immediately against this group or expose to the people for their information? The people, especially the Malays, want to know, because that is their right. Don't let it become like the BMF scandal and the UMBC scandal and the bloody Memali incident of which the government was more clever to cover up than to inform of the real situation; the government had protected those guilty and responsible.

It is a question mark for us here: what was the involvement of His Royal Highness the Sultan of Johore in the UMNO rally at the Istana Besar in Johore Bahru on 11 May 1989, for celebrating the 43rd anniversary of the birth of UMNO '46? Had that no connection with UMNO politics and was not that a political meeting?

Were not the official opening of the gathering by His Royal Highness the Sultan, as well as his asking the Malays to support UMNO, with the blessing and on the request of the UMNO leadership? The presence of His Royal Highness was not an UMNO invitation and for the political interest of UMNO?

The public know that the present UMNO badly needed the presence of His Royal Highness at the gathering for the purpose of influencing support of the people, especially that of the Malays. The bulk of the people consider the royal presence, in fact that of His Royal Highness the sultan, was made use of by UMNO for the interests of its leaders. The Malays do not consent that sultans be made use of and be made puppets for the political interests of

CHAPTER 15

UMNO BARU LEADERS USING THE RULERS

DATUK Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, in his congratulatory speech and pledge of loyalty on behalf of the government and the people at the awards presentation ceremony to commemorate the official birthday of the King at the Istana Negara on 7 June 1989, was of the view and belief that the Rulers would not be easily made use of by a section of the people who were trying to use the institutions of the monarchy, the courts, and the election system to achieve their own aims and to fulfil their own interests. Making use of the courts and the election system are not questioned here. We are here focusing on the involvement of the Rulers in the field of politics.

The Prime Minister's statement directly and indirectly gives the picture that the open involvement of the Rulers in politics, as seen by the people behind the scenes, is carried out by political parties not in the Barisan Nasional, especially UMNO under his leadership.

The act of involving the Rulers in politics cannot be viewed lightly, and the government must act firmly because it is connected directly to the honour of the Malays and the sovereignty of the institution of the Rulers. Dr Mahathir as UMNO president and head of the Barisan Nasional government must acknowledge that for the struggle of the interests of the Malays and the Rulers he must expose openly who are this group of Malay traitors. Such an expose will show Dr Mahathir to be truly sincere and responsible. By

political leaders.

In Pahang the move of the Pahang UMNO leaders to bless the announcement to join UMNO by the former Youth leader of the Pahang Semangat '46, Raja Abu Bakar Raja Jalil, on 29 May at the Istana Sultan Abu Bakar, at Pekan, in front of High Royal Highness Sultan Ahmad Shah,

is considered to be most irresponsible. An involvement which is more obvious. His -Royal Highness the Sultan actually played the main role at the meeting. This could have been a plan which was arranged as an UMNO political ploy. The meeting was turned into a propagandan instrument to influence the people and the Malays to support Mahathir's UMNO.

Why must that meeting be held in the sultan's palace, why not held in the house of the Menteri Besar himself? What was the aim of having the T.V., mass media on such a big scale? To us their aim was similar to the gathering in Johore Bahru. In this matter, who became a tool and who was used, the people themselves should get the answer. Menteri Besar Tan Sri Khalil Yaakub is responsible to answer the people. To admonish the mistake made by the leaders is every citizen's duty who is responsible and who loves those leaders. Only those who want to destroy those leaders are not brave to admonish the leaders' mistake.

Before this, the Rulers had never been invited or were present at whatever meetings organised in the name of any political organisation, except for the present UMNO. All members of political organisations in this country are subjects of Their Royal Highnesses the Sultans in the states where they reside. If Their Royal Highnesses condescend to attend meetings organised by UMNO, there is no reason why they cannot condescend to attend meetings organised by other political parties like PAS, DAP and others, except

a party that has been banned by the government. UMNO has now violated Malay traditions and has pioneered in ridiculing the purity of the sovereignty of the Rulers. This is all for the political interests and power of its leaders.

Dr Mahathir in his capacity as UMNO president must give an open explanation regarding the involvement of Their Royal Highnesses the Rulers directly or indirectly in UMNO-organised meetings. Especially in giving open support to the leadership of UMNO and urging the Malay people to join UMNO. If the involvement of Their Royal Highnesses the Rulers in politics is not with his blessings, he would naturally bring this matter to the Conference of Rulers to get advice. This can only happen if Dr Mahathir is truly responsible towards the people and the government.

This explanation is very important so that confusion among the people, particularly among the Malays, does not arise with regard to the role of the palace in UMNO politics. The present UMNO is not the same as the original UMNO. Its existence is not based on the needs and inspiration of the entire Malay community. The present UMNO leadership cannot vacillate over this matter and deny the truth of this fact.

The people will always give undivided support to leaders who are sensitive to the struggle and interests of the people and country. Opposing corrupt leaders and not supporting them do not mean opposing the government and betraying the Rulers. The institution of the monarchy is permanent, the government and its leaders are only temporary and are replaceable. They are determined by the people and it is the right of every citizen to choose the leaders and government he or she likes.

The Malay race is prepared to give their lives to defend the honour and sovereignty of the Rulers. Those who try to erode the sovereignty of the institution of the monar-

The MP for Tanah Merah, Hashim Safin, whom we consider as the head of liars and cheerboys of UMNO Youth, number two person after Najib, in a most discourteous and open way questioned the right of His Royal Highness to safeguard the interests of his subjects. Criticisms which we consider as inaccurate and made with emotionalism to get the attention of the top party leaders will easily and quickly get him promoted to at least the position of a deputy minister. The hope to get that position after the next general elections is very dim. Hashim Safin does not think and behave himself like a genuine Malay, and he is not fit to be a subject of His Royal Highness the Sultan. If he had not got the protection of the headquarters, we do not think he would be brave enough to act like this.

However, in that bravery, there is no firmness and justice. UMNO leaders are dumb in a thousand words, except getting one or two voices to support when his Royal Highness the Sultan of Johore and His Royal Highness the Sultan of Pahang are involved in politics for the interests of UMNO. They are really extremely biased. This has caused people to openly consider that Their Royal Highnesses the Sultans of Johore and Pahang have become UMNO advisers and spokesmen. An insult which is not accepted by a race with self-respect, that is we of the Malay race. The honour of the rulers is the honour of the people. Insulting the Rulers means insulting the Malay race as a whole.

Where is the firmness and sincerity of Dr Mahathir and other UMNO leaders in this matter? In our conclusion, UMNO leaders are hypocrites. They are actually that very group mentioned by the Prime Minister. Only those who are blind and heartless will deny this view. Dr Mahathir tries to lie to the people while at the very same time tries to play and joke about the institution of the Rulers. Dr Mahathir tries to make use of the Rulers, while at the

chy by involving Their Royal Highnesses the Rulers in politics directly or indirectly are considered as traitors to the race. If this was during the time of the Malacca Malay sultanate, it would have been natural for them to be beheaded or impaled by the masses.

The Prime Minister and Menteri Besar are advisers to Their Royal Highnesses in political matters. The question of the Rulers involving themselves in politics as they wish does not arise, if the Prime Minister and Menteri Besar carry out their responsibilities as advisers to the Rulers in the true meaning of the word. The question of administration of the country and government is the responsibility of the Prime Minister and Menteri Besar, without pushing Their Royal Highnesses the Rulers from behind. The Rulers need to know whether the administration is carried out for the interests and good of the people because the people are the citizens of Their Royal Highnesses the Rulers. To know and to be aware does not mean to interfere, but to attend meetings organised by political parties is direct and indirect political involvement which is not allowed by the Constitution unless that Constitution is amended, or the Rulers who are involved are already prepared to leave their positions, and involve themselves actively in politics through political organisations which they like, and contest in elections.

We say well done to UMNO leaders for their courage and firmness in questioning distinctly and openly the action of His Royal Highness the Sultan of Kelantan, who sympathises with the opposition and is not pro UMNO and the government in the political turmoil in Kelantan.

The mass media which are the propaganda tools of UMNO broadcast statements of UMNO leaders which question the credibility of His Royal Highness in a big way, without any consideration and respect.

very same time also sows feelings of hatred of the people against the Malay Rulers.

The involvement of the Rulers in politics, caused by the irresponsible pressures and actions of Malay leaders in UMNO led by Dr Mahathir Mohamad, represents a moral scandal of honour that is most terrible in the national political history of the Malays since Merdeka. Does this mean an era of the beginning of efforts of certain groups who want to destroy the monarchy system in this country? Without the Rulers, the Malays would already have no more price in this country. The Malay identity would be finished. The people and the Malay race must ensure that the history of the fall of the Malay government of Malacca, which was caused by the treachery of the Bendahara of Malacca of Hindu origin, is not repeated.

CHAPTER 16

DR MAHATHIR MAKES USE OF THE JUDICIARY

THE political success of Dr Mahathir can be considered as steady and balanced before the UMNO election of 24 April 1987. Although the manner of his rise was already publicly known, the doubts had not yet existed. The people know that Tun Hussein's resignation from office was not due to the health factor only.

As a way of throwing out his tantrums against those factions which opposed him, about a week after the election Dr Mahathir had sacked ministers and deputy ministers from the Razaleigh-Musa camp, even though UMNO Delegates attending the General Assembly on 24 April 1987 had asked both sides to seek a path of reconciliation and peace.

The action of Dr Mahathir is the action of revenge. This move of Mahathir led to anger among Razaleigh's and Musa's supporters, after which they united to oppose him. The validity of the General Assembly was disputed. The Group of 11 brought the dispute to court. This move was not aimed to teach Mahathir, but to safeguard the dignity and integrity of UMNO's struggle. To show the world that Dr Mahathir is a leader who is arrogant and insincere. This suit by the Group of 11 was brought to court about six weeks before the Assembly of 24 April. It had nothing to do with the result of the election. It was forced to be continued because of the arrogance of Dr Mahathir.

The case was started in the Kuala Lumpur High Court,

had no choice but to decide as required by the law in force. With this, Justice Dato' Harun Hashim made the historic decision, a black history for UMNO, the Malay nationalist party which was formed on 11 May 1946, with the declaration that UMNO was an illegal party.

An illegality which was certainly wanted by Dr Mahathir and an illegality which was certainly planned earlier because he wanted to perpetuate himself as the Prime Minister and party president for life. As long as UMNO 1946 still existed, his dream could not be guaranteed.

Dr Mahathir wanted UMNO to be made illegal because of the following reasons:-

- i) He had been elected with a majority which was extremely thin after dashing here and there in a campaign which cost a great deal of spending. As a consequence of the thin majority, he no longer had the confidence that he would win again if there was a new election to replace the illegal election. And even if he were to win again, he would be forced to face continued power struggles.
- ii) Even if he had won the case against the complainants, in other words he had won the abovementioned case, he would be forced to contest in the election that would follow. Because his credibility had eroded the chances of his winning were dim.
- iii) The chess moves conducted by him did not bring any risks as his position as the Prime Minister was tied to the support of Members of Parliament, not dependent on party support,
- iv) He could form a new party which has a name almost

Appellate division, with special powers and where many cases against the government were heard. There was only one judge in this division, Justice Dato' Harun Hashim. The petition was only to ask the court to decide that the 24 April election was invalid and be declared null and void because some delegates who voted in it had come from some UMNO branches which were still invalid because they had not yet been registered.

Because that charge was correct, Dr Mahathir felt his position threatened and that there was a possibility that he would lose his post as UMNO president. With this he, through his lawyer Sri Ram, had used Section 12(1) of the Societies Act to declare the party illegal and null and void in the eyes of the law.

This section states:

"No registered society shall establish a branch without the prior approval of the Registrar."

Whilst Section 12(3) of the same Act states:

"Where a registered society establishes a branch without the prior approval of the Registrar such registered society and the branch so established shall be deemed to be unlawful societies".

To make it easier for the court to make a decision in accordance with his wishes, Dr Mahathir instructed his lawyer to make an admission to the court and also the complainants that UMNO then certainly had branches which were formed without the approval of the Registrar of Societies, in other words, illegal branches.

With this admission, Justice Dato' Harun Hashim

the same as the party which was banned. He could make use of the same delegates, the same property and the same members, but not including his political enemies in the original UMNO who would not be accepted as members of his new party. This is evidenced by the amendments to the Societies Act which give Dr Mahathir space to implement his ambitions. With this, he has solved the problem once and for all of having to face his political enemies inside the party in the future. What has happened and what has been done by him since the formation of UMNO Baru on 13 February 1988, prove this fact.

- v) Dr Mahathir in his capacity as the Minister for Home Affairs can use the power provided him under Section 70 of the Societies Act to allow UMNO to have branches not yet approved by the Registrar of Societies, or at least with the condition that the party makes an application to obtain approval in a few days. Section 70 of the said Act states: "The Minister may at his discretion in writing exempt any society registered under this Act from all or any of the provisions of this Act",

Even though at the beginning of its formation UMNO Baru did not face any problems, unexpectedly it arrived at a dead end. In April 1988, Justice Dato' Harun Hashim gave his written judgement in connection with the suit of the UMNO 11. In his written judgement he suggested that to revive the status of UMNO, the UMNO Supreme Council of 1984 hold a new election. Only that it was null and void during the 1987 election because of the attendance of branches which were not registered.

Because of this, UMNO members anywhere could

ask Dr Mahathir as Minister of Home Affairs to make an exemption from the provision which required a party not to be approved before.

After this exemption has been invoked, members anywhere could apply to ask the court to put aside the earlier judgement which provided that because UMNO had violated the rule, it could not be used any more. This way, UMNO should certainly be revived.

This written judgement, if upheld by the Supreme Court, will mean that new party leadership elections be held. The Group of 11 of UMNO had requested the Supreme Court to make a declaration that only the 1987 election be made null and void but that the parent body of UMNO still lived.

If this appeal was supported by Dr Mahathir with the use of his power as Minister for Home Affairs and UMNO was revived in this way, this would mean that UMNO would continue to have its old members with the exclusion of leaders who had served the party's struggle a great deal, like YTM Tuanku Abdul Rahmah Putra, Tun Hussein, Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, Datuk Musa Hitam, Datuk Rais Yatim and others.

The written judgement of Justice Dato' Harun Hashim was disputed by Dr Mahathir, and he openly ridiculed the advice of Justice Dato Harun Hashim, and he considered that Justice Dato' Harun Hashim was confused. The integrity of Justice Dato' Harun Hashim was questioned. Dr Mahathir opposed and rejected that judgement. As argued before, he had certainly planned earlier to make UMNO illegal.

Because Mahathir refused to use his powers as the Minister of Home Affairs and did not support the appeal of the UMNO Group of 11 at the Supreme Court, the revival of UMNO through legal means failed, and was straight-

the appeal mentioned. To avoid any attack or criticism from any quarters that he was unfair or biased in his choice, Tun Salleh Abas had instructed that all Supreme court judges would hear the case, with the exception of one judge. This was perhaps to avoid criticisms from lawyers and the people as were received when he and Supreme Court judges heard the UEM case, in which it was said that the Supreme Court was siding the government. To hear the appeal case of the UMNO Group of 11, he had assembled a panel of nine Supreme Court judges, with the proviso that the total number of judges in the panel to hear any appeal must be an odd number. Tun Salleh had appointed the maximum number of nine judges.

Dr Mahathir already knew what the risks were waiting with Tun Salleh's decision. From past appeal cases, excluding criminal and detention cases, seven of the Supreme Court judges, that is, Tun Salleh Abas, Tan Sri Eusoffe Abdolcader, Datuk George Seah, Tan Sri Wan Azmi, Tan Sri Wan Hamzah and Tan Sri Lee Hun Hoe were sufficiently independent and firm in making just decisions.

The appeal of the Group of 11 in the Supreme Court placed the future and position of Dr Mahathir as Prime Minister in the hands of the judges who at the time had become poor victims. Dr Mahathir had abused and reviled the judges everywhere, including in Parliament. If he did not do something quickly, perhaps he could be defeated.

Because Dr Mahathir could not prevent the Supreme Court from hearing the appeal case, he was forced to ensure that the judges in the panel be split from their colleagues. This meant that the Lord President must be replaced with another person who is friendly towards him. Tun Salleh must be fired.

Tan Sri Abdul Hamid Omar, the Chief Justice of Malaya, was the prospective replacement for Tun Salleh.

taway declared as an illegal organisation. An illegality that was blessed by its own party president.

Dr Mahathir certainly did not want a re-election, because he was only too aware that with his narrow win, the hope of him winning again was even narrower. This worried him very much.

He was also aware through his legal advisers that if the legal principles were conducted correctly, his faction would lose in the court proceedings.

If drastic action was not taken quickly, he would have to follow the future decision of the Supreme Court. The decision to be made was with regard to the appeal of the Group of 11 be accepted by the Supreme Court, and UMNO would be revived and his position as UMNO president through the election of 24 April 1987 would be declared as null and void.

To make sure that such a situation did not take place, he directed the Supreme Court to reject the appeal of the Group of 11 through judges blessed by himself, and used His Majesty the King to sack Lord President Tun Salleh and suspended the five Supreme Court judges proposed by Tun Salleh.

From his manoeuvres before the case of the Group of the Group of 11, he was certainly suspicious and uneasy with the power and freedom of the power of the judiciary. Dr Mahathir faced the very critical second when the court would deliberate the UEM case.

After nearly losing in the second UEM case, Dr Mahathir was aware how important it was the panel of judges who would side the government and him in the Supreme Court when deciding the appeal of the UMNO Group of 11.

Dr Mahathir was also aware that the Lord President had the power to chose the panel of judges who would hear

Dr Mahathir was aware that the sacking of Tun Salleh Abas alone would not guarantee the position of his case. He was also forced to ensure that the instruction of Tun Salleh Abas that nine judges should hear the UMNO appeal case was an instruction that could not be carried out.

By plotting to use His Majesty the King, Tun Salleh was sacked. Tan Sri Abdul Hamid Omar was appointed as the Acting Lord President with powers of the Lord President.

Before this, Tan Sri Agil Barakbah had retired from the Supreme Court and this had caused a vacancy. Dr Mahathir quickly exploited this situation with the promotion of Datuk Harun Hashim, the High Court judge who declared that UMNO was an illegal society.

This had a crucial effect on the appeal case of the Group of 11. With the promotion of Justice Dato' Harun Hashim as a Supreme Court judge, Dr Mahathir succeeded in annulling the instruction of Tun Salleh Abas who had wanted a panel of nine judges to hear the case.

Because Justice Dato' Harun Hashim had already heard the case in the High Court, he had lost the qualification to hear the same case at the Supreme Court. This meant that only eight judges could hear the case, and for an appeal it must be an odd number of judges. This situation opened the way for Tan Sri Hamid to pick judges whom he thought were suitable to hear the UMNO appeal case.

Tan Sri Abdul Hamid undid Tun Salleh Abas's instruction and appointed five judges to hear the appeal case, with the certainty that three of them including himself would be partial to the wishes of Dr Mahathir. The decision on the UMNO 11 appeal case sided with the desire of Dr Mahathir. The Supreme Court rejected the appeal of the UMNO 11 and buried UMNO '46 in the grave dug by Dr Mahathir.

What was done by Dr Mahathir explains to us that certainly from the beginning, he of course did not want UMNO to live. He worked hard to find a way to silence UMNO for his own political interests.

In a situation in which the judiciary was under Mahathir's power, any effort to bring cases on abuses, cheating and the corruption of Barisan Nasional leaders by any quarters represents an action that is useless.

As long as Dr Mahathir and the Barisan Nasional government led by him still rule this country, the right to the truth and justice for the people will be an empty dream. The truth and the people's justice only he alone can determine.

from a senior government minister.

The guesses from the public increased when they got to know about new shareholders of that company. According to the news published by a foreign magazine in 1986, a Bumiputra company, Syarikat Hatibudi, had taken control of the management of United Engineers Company by paying \$41.5 million. Hatibudi Company controls 50% of the UEM shares. Nearly all the shares of Hatibudi Co. are owned by a Malay businessman Halim Saad, who also holds the position of Vice Executive President of UEM.

It is reported that Halim Saad had worked previously in Peremba, a subsidiary company of UDA. When he worked in Peremba, his boss was Daim Zainuddin, the present Minister of Finance.

Hatibudi is also reported as owning 30% of the shares of Seri Pacific Corporation (SPC), a company which owns Hotel Pan Pacific, built within the UMNO Building Complex.

Before Hatibudi owned SPC shares, Halim Saad had already become an alternative member in the SPC Board of Directors, that is to Daim Zainuddin who was representing UMNO interests in that company.

However, when Hatibudi bought SPC shares in October 1984, Halim had been appointed a full member of the SPC Board of Directors.

After being acquired by Hatibudi, UEM became more active in its business, looking for engineering works contracts from the government. This took place inspite of the company's number of workers having been reduced and some subsidiary companies having been closed.

To influence financing and skills to fulfil its works, UEM had attracted some leading construction firms in the world. This is not difficult to do as large projects were influenced by it and the Finance Minister was behind the

CHAPTER 17

ABUSE OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY AND THE UEM SCANDAL

THE decision of the government to pick the United Engineers Malaysia Company (UEM) to build and manage the North-South Highway project, as well as the conditions which were agreed with that company, have become a question mark to the people.

Although the tender was an open one, the people would wish to know why the UEM was chosen to implement such a big project which cost more than \$3,400 million.

The people know that the UEM had experienced failures a number of times. The UEM was taken to court because an apartment built by it in Penang was found to be leaning. This had caused hundreds of millions of ringgit loss to the Penang State government because that building had to be demolished for the safety of the public.

UEM had also experienced huge losses. At the end of 1984, UEM reported a loss of \$54 million, causing its shares counter at the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange to be forced to be suspended in the same year.

With this, it is very difficult for us to accept the explanation and claim of Works Minister S. Samy Vellu that UEM was chosen because it possessed strong financial resources, good management and expertise as well as experience in highway construction. A deceit and a lie on facts

company.

For the North-South Highway project, three large international companies, MITSUI from Japan, Taylor Woodrow from Britain and Dragagest Travaux Public from France had agreed to assemble financing and expertise for them.

The people are also suspicious about the conditions agreed upon between the government and UEM which needs only to assemble half of the \$3,400 million estimated to be spent to put up the highway project.

The balance will be put forward by the government in the form of a yearly loan of \$150 million for 10 years, totalling \$1,500 million.

This loan condition benefits UEM which will only have to repay the loan to the government 15 years after the project has commenced.

UEM is expected to finish repaying all the loans in a 10 year period after that period. This means that the loan repayment will be made 25 years after the date the loans were made. Up till now, the people still do not know the rate of interest for this loan. The loan from the government is the people's money. What is more detrimental to the people is that during that 25-year period, UEM is allowed to collect tolls from the users of the highway. Although the project is privatised, the government is still forced to put forward so much money. And the country has no lack of necessary expertise, why did not the government construct the project on its own? We believe that if the government itself constructs the project, thousands of jobs would be created to absorb the number of unemployed people who are on the increase in this country.

Based on this fact, it is natural that the people, who pay towards the national financial pockets through the payment of all kinds of taxes imposed on them, feel doubtful

about government privatisation schemes.

It is clear to the people that this North-South Highway project only benefits a circle of local and foreign capitalists, especially those who have close and direct political ties with government leaders, especially the Prime Minister.

The decision of the government to hand over the privatisation policies initiated by Dr Mahathir himself is directly opposed to Mahathir's slogan of 'Clean, Efficient and Trustworthy'.

The excuse that the North-South Highway project should be given to UEM, although its tender was worse, because UEM had initiated the privatisation proposal, cannot be accepted.

According to the privatisation policy, it is the businessmen and not the government who should face risks. It is absolutely strange if the government protects the business sector from all risks. If that is the case, wouldn't it be better for the government itself to undertake the construction?

There is no proof that the privatisation of the North-South Highway will encourage competition, increase efficiency or raise productivity, although government monopoly on highways will fall into the hands of the private sector from inside and outside the country with all its implications and burdens.

From the point of view of the New Economic Policy, the North-South Highway will increase the cost of living, especially in terms of transportation expenses of the public, particularly the workers, farmers and fishermen with low incomes.

The poor people who have become victims of the economic recession of this era will be pressed again as a consequence of the privatisation of the North-South High-

amount to \$100 billion now.

Dr Mahathir is still not awake. He still intends to rob the people's property, and wants to pawn his own country for his own personal interests and that of his cliques.

In connection with the UMBC scandal which directly involved Finance Minister Daim Zainuddin, if the government were sincere, it should naturally establish a people's commission of inquiry to investigate the matter.

The Attorney-General also has the moral responsibility and task of explaining the legal and constitutional questions connected with the issue.

The picture given by Utusan Malaysia, the mouth-piece of UMNO, in a special article which says tht Daim Zainuddin was the person who saved the UMBC from being taken by the MCA is a big lie.

If it is not a lie, Daim Zainuddin must be prepared to allow himself to be investigated or judged by a People's Commission of Inquiry, the Anti-corruption Agency or the Bar Council, in the court, to prove his innocence and to clean his and the government's names.

The MCA actually wished to find a bank to control and did not buy the UMBC easily. The aspiration of the MCA was achieved when Daim negotiated with the MCA

Daim Zainuddin who owned the French Bank wished to sell it. Daim at the time faced financial problems. The MCA agreed to sell 30% of the UMBC shares to Daim Zainuddin with the condition that the Malaysian French Bank be controlled without the NEP quota condition, ensuring that the MCA obtain control of it fully and to form branches throughout the country without problems. Where is the sincerity of the MCA and Daim in safeguarding the interests of the people of Malaysia?

The action of Daim explains that he puts his own interests before the interests of the race. Daim has sacri-

way, because the compulsory toll collection will increase the prices of essential daily goods.

A large portion of the construction expenditure in the early and middle 1980s had already flowed out of the country because of the control of foreign companies.

In the Dayabumi project, for instance, the local bu-miputra engineering company had admitted that they were only used for public relations by the government, and no useful transfer of technology had taken place.

Construction is not a productive activity although its revival can stimulate a bit of sprouting temporarily.

The question here is how far government spending should be concentrated on a huge construction project like the North-South Highway for a company (UEM) which is largely dependent on foreign companies, as compared to many other agricultural, fishing and small-industry projects which bring more economic benefits including employment opportunities to the people.

Not to mention expenses for the construction of other highways planned as prestige projects. Up till now Dr Mahathir has spent as much as \$5,561 million of the people's money. According to the following items:-

Penang Bridge	-	\$58	million
Dayabumi Complex	-	\$ 313	million
BMF Scandal	-	\$ 2,500	million
Maminco	-	\$ 600	million
Repayment to MCA			
Deposit-Taking Cooperatives	-	\$1,400	million

This does not include the HICOM project, Proto Saga and Perwaja which amount to thousands of million ringgit. The returns are losses for the government and the people. The people continue to carry the burden of debts which

ficed a bank so easily to the MCA, which is not sincere in helping the Malays, but used the Malays for its own survival.

On the excuse to save the UMBC, Daim sacrificed a bank that was wholly owned by the Malays.

After this the UMBC was reported as wanting to increase its total shares through issued PERNAS shares which also held more or less 30% of the UMBC shares, which actually wanted to increase its shares until it fully controlled UMBC,

This is supposed to mean that a semi-government bumiputra institution, belonging to the people, achieved progress.

However, Bank Negara under the supervision of the Finance Ministry whose minister at the time was Daim Zainuddin himself, had stopped PERNAS with the excuse that PERNAS was not strong enough. Then Daim bought the mentioned shares until he became the majority shareholder.

At the same time the Prime Minister annouced that Cabinet members could not be involved in business. Daim sold all his shares in UMBC to PERNAS for double the price. Daim helped PERNAS to get a loan from Japan to buy the mentioned shares.

Isn't this a bigger burden for PERNAS, because it was previously said that PERNAS was not strong enough, and that PERNAS which had its own shares before this did not need to buy all of Daim's shares to control UMBC?

In the end, PERNAS has to endure a Japanese currency loan debt to absorb the purchase, and is curtailed with a new debt which is estimated to be between \$800 million and \$900 million.

Isn't this a betrayal of the people's interests? Because of wanting to safeguard the interests of one person

- Daim - the people and the country suffer the debt burden.

In his UMBC deception and scandal, I consider that all sides in the Barisan Nasional government including Dr Mahathir, had collaborated, if not involved directly.

a matter. Moreover, this matter has direct connection with the political party led by Dr Mahathir, namely UMNO, which is said to be Malay.

In reference to the denial of Encik Anwar Ibrahim, the Education Minister, who has become the Chairman of the Special Committee on Government Management, the public suggest that he resign his posts immediately. How could he spontaneously deny the validity of that news without first investigating?

Perhaps a portion of the commission has been tasted by Saudara Anwar who was previously considered as "very Islamic"? Perhaps it is true that this news cannot be denied. In Malaysia itself, the giving of under-the-table money in all buying and selling transactions and government contracts is a common practice. If not how are there new people who have become ministers and deputy ministers for one or two years who can put up houses costing millions of ringgit? Can keep mistresses here and there?

In connection with this news we propose that the government establishes an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the matter. The government does not dare to set up a Commission of Inquiry because it will bring a lot of hardship to government leaders who are involved or who collaborated.

The purchase of arms which are considered unnecessary for us, according to actual estimates, has cost more than \$16,000 million, including the purchase of necessary replacement and others. How can the government of Malaysia be prepared to pay \$200 million for a Tornado, when the price paid by Germany for a Tornado which is the same is only about \$85 million? A price difference which is extremely high. Who is its agent? Perhaps Mahathir's in-law again, as in the purchase of two secondhand submarines from Russia previously?

CHAPTER 18

MALAYSIA-BRITAIN ARMS PURCHASE SCANDAL

IF what was reported by *The Observer* newspaper of London in its issue of 7 May 1989 is not true, in which it was said that UMNO had obtained kickbacks of more than \$300 million, and the families of government leaders as well as agents who had connections with the purchase of armaments from Britain amounting to more than \$4,000 million getting \$200 million as commission, the government must take court action quickly against that newspaper. This matter cannot be viewed lightly.

The Observer is a newspaper which is very wellknown and influential in England and it is said that that newspaper seldom carries news which are untrue.

The story of the scandal of the arms purchase between Malaysia and Britain, the agreement for which was signed together by Dr Mahathir and Mrs Thatcher in September 1988, not only shames the government but also the people's image directly.

Dr Mahathir needs not hesitate to take court action like he has done against the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in connection with the sale of Limbang. Because of the interests of dignity, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore, has taken court action against *The Star* newspaper last year because he said that paper published news which was untrue.

The dignity of the country is the dignity of the people. A responsible Prime Minister does not keep quiet on such

If Mahathir wants to win the heart of Mrs Thatcher whom she wounded before, don't do it until he pawns the interests of the people and the country. The Malays is a race with self-respect, as the Prime Minister has said. Where is our self-respect now?

CHAPTER 19

THE PEOPLE DETERMINE THE LEADERSHIP & GOVERNMENT

THOSE who understand political science, which is not compulsorily learned from books only, cannot deny the fact that Mahathir's UMNO, which was formed on 4 February 1988, is a political group which are disciples of Machiavelian philosophy (a political philosophy which can permit forbidden things to ambitions fought for by its proponents), and that this trend is so widespread that there exists a culture of "the weak will become the victims of the strong".

As the leading proponent of this philosophy, Dr Mahathir has been considered by many apologist leaders in UMNO now to have 'Vision' which leaders before him did not have. They, because of their personal interests, accept the political philosophy of Mahathir without question. They force themselves to consider Dr Mahathir as their very special leader. They praise and admire Mahathir's wisdom.

This culture of admiration has a place for them, the group of supporters, whose personal interests follow the political sentiments of Dr Mahathir without taking into account whether the policies and objective of Dr Mahathir's struggle are good or not for the interests of the community and country. They consider that the problems of the country and community are not their responsibility.

The question of the unity of the people is a second question to their struggle. The unity of the community for Mahathir's UMNO is for the interests of the leader only. Unity is only to ensure that Mahathir is perpetually in power

UMNO picture to the public that the defeat of the Barisan Nasional candidate in Telok Pasu was due to several weaknesses in the election machinery of the Barisan Nasional.

The number 1 paid UMNO writer, S. Hussein Al-Atas appears to be also dumb and timid to talk about the dirty campaigns of the Barisan Nasional to make its candidate win. By right, he should be brave to write this true story, if he claims that he is a writer who is afraid only of God and that he can actually forecast the luck of human beings, that he is a god because he is an astrologer,

I mention S. Hussein personally, because in his latest book, he indirectly and with humility introduced and popularised me, someone who is not as wellknown and popular as himself.

He compared my position with the position of my Ruler, His Royal Highness the Sultan of Pahang who is also the president of the Football Association of Malaysia, a small post if compared to the status and position of His Royal Highness the Sultan as the former King and a Sultan who is majestic and who is the head of the government of the State of Pahang.

His Royal Highness the Sultan is a sovereign Ruler and reigns over the state; I am only a stunted citizen of His Highness.

Here is shown the stupidity and ignorance of S.H. Al-Atas in the comparison of people. Comparing a reigning Ruler with an ordinary person.

Many people still do not know the true pedigree of S.H. Al-Atas, and there are those who think he is the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya, Prof. S.H. Al-Atas, because of the same name.

I know his true pedigree because we were both born in Wadi Hassan, Johore Bahru and went to the Malay School in Ngee Heng. We played marbles and rode bicycles to-

as long as his death is not called.

The Telok Pasu by-election has proved that the cooperation of PAS with Semangat '46 and Berjasa threatened Mahathir's position.

It is not easy for an opposition party candidate anywhere to win in a by-election, defeating the government party.

Because of that, the victory with 141 votes is a shining victory with a big meaning for the people's struggle.

That election has also directly exposed the arrogance, the greed and deception as well as the abuses of Barisan Nasional government leaders, particularly of the main leaders led by Ghaffar Baba from Mahathir's UMNO.

The Barisan Nasional as a government has clearly committed injustices in conducting its campaigns to get votes and support of the people. They try to influence the people with material promises and threats. When they have exhausted their capital and the people are still stubborn, there are among the big UMNO leaders in their campaign who give a warning to the people that if they did not vote the Barisan Nasional candidate, the people of Telok Pasu would have no more opportunity to exchange greetings with Ministers and Deputy Ministers.

A statement which explains and shows the stupidity and ignorance of some leaders of Mahathir's UMNO.

Government machinery and money, that is the money of the people themselves, are being abused to become a kind of trap and weapon of the campaign to ensure the victory of the Barisan Nasional.

The Barisan Nasional and UMNO do not show the attitude of a gentleman. Although they lost, they do not want to accept the defeat and say that the defeat was caused by the dirty games of their opponents.

The paid writers and political analysts who support

gether. I truly know the faults and virtues of this descendent of Habib Hassan.

Now S.H. Al-Atas depends on making a living by becoming a paid writer and a writer of books which knock others. We know who are the writers who actually wrote his book The Challenger, Similarly with his other books.

How can he want to become a writer like Yahya Ismail, Subky Latif and others who are more established than him, if he himself does not understand writing ethics? Writings which are not based on true facts and writings full of abuse, and actually revile them who are said without any feelings at all, and that he does not have any faults and defects.

It is said he was overturned. Became the boss of 'Matá Corporation' which was involved in the business of cheating the public's money in 'Double Your Money' which has connection with 'Labu Peram (Ripe Gourd)'. The news is that he will soon become a police fugitive.

We know his true relationship with Ahmad Sebi. How he gets money, who gives him money. At midday, everyday he would climb the stairs of Tengku Razaleigh's office or house asking for money to attack Musa. Now that Mahathir's UMNO pays him to write, he attacks Tengku Razaleigh.

S.H. Al-atas is not qualified to talk about UMNO '46, he is not an historian and does not know about history. I obtained a first degree with honours in history from the University of Malaya and took a course on the national struggle of the Malays. If S.H. Al-atas wants to learn about the history of the national struggle of the Malays, I can teach him for free. With the will of Allah, as a former teacher, I can become his good teacher.

S.H. Al-atas needs to learn the history of the struggle of the Malays, because his writings prove that he is still

ignorant of the history of the Malays in this country.

I am not like him, because I do not place my status with him who is only fit to become a paid writer, and lives with the food paid for abusing others.

As a paid writer, as well as a fortune-teller, S.H. Atas always avoids recording the logistics or equipment of the election machinery of the Barisan Nasional, because he cannot deny how government facilities were used to help their campaign. He only focuses his attention on the usual weaknesses inside UMNO, whereas whenever there is an election, dirty campaign against the enemies is purposely conducted.

The first weakness inside UMNO is the squabble to become a candidate. The politics of Mahathir's UMNO is the politics of materialism, self-interests and to seek positions as well as one's own wealth. This makes them fight for positions among themselves. Who is strong goes up, who is weak will drift away.

The fight to become candidates takes place because of personal interests or because of the proximity of the camps, until there are those who are jealous with one another and sulk during direct election campaigns. This is the culture of personal politics in UMNO which has become a tradition of that party. The situation of stabbing one another and rubbing one another in UMNO now, is more heated than before UMNO was declared illegal.

This tradition happened in Telok Pasu. This situation has caused the process to unite UMNO members now to be more complicated than before the old UMNO was made illegal. With this situation of disarray among themselves in UMNO now, because they want to fight for places and power, it is impossible for UMNO to unite the people and to bring about Malay unity. Mahathir's UMNO was born in an atmosphere of splits. Mahathir's UMNO was

Teachers College before the war. It would certainly be correct if he was given the post as the head supervisor of KEMAS, Because in this matter of making empty promises and cheating the people, he is Number One, most clever, most reliable.

After the country owes foreign countries more than \$100 thousand million, Ghaffar still says the government will give pipe water, electricity, bicycles, water buffaloes and cattle as well as chicks and other things to the people who are simple minded and honest.

Ghaffar is confident that many people who are simple minded and honest can be fooled and bribed with his empty promises. He still thinks that kampung people in this age are still like the kampung people when he first started in politics. All stupid and honest. All of them can be threatened and led by the nose.

Anyone who had been to Telok Pasu will have witnessed for himself how after more than 30 years of Merdeka there are still kampung roads which are untarred, and many residents still haven't got electricity and pipe water. The distance between Telok Pasu and Kuala Trengganu is less than 10 miles. If someone who is only qualified to be a KEMAS supervisor becomes the Minister for Rural Development, this is the consequence for the rural people. If he becomes Prime Minister, there is the possibility that the country and the people will become stupid and get pawned. His economic theory is that the more our country is in debts the better it is.

The Barisan Nasional as a party and as a government shouts about democracy but the thinking of the people regarding democracy is frozen to matters which act as baits, not to questions of justice and truth. Far from wanting to talk about the government's sins and abuses.

For the people who live from hand to mouth, it is

born out of an insincere intention of its founders. The turmoil among members and leaders existed much earlier. Among them are people who ask who are Ghaffar's people, Anwar's people and Musa's people. They always have this feeling of suspicion among them. This situation has brought forth the birth of instability in the party. Like the saying of an important UMNO Youth Exco member, Encik Kamal Amir, it is hot in UMNO now. We can guess what is actually hot without even being told.

We believe that Mahathir's UMNO will not live long and it will only live as long as Mahathir leads that party. Will Mahathir prop up to the sky? Everyone who lives must die. Don't know if the UMNO fortune-teller S.H. Al-Atas has forecast that Dr Mahathir will not die and will live forever.

During the Telok Pasu by-election campaign, it was difficult for us to make an accurate estimate of the total number of former UMNO members who would be influenced by the Angkatan candidate. This was because among them there were still elements who were shivering to oppose the Barisan Nasional, because they wanted to safeguard their positions, wanted to be excluded to get political corruption and immediate shares.

Looking at the way Encik Ghaffar campaigned and scattered promises, it can be concluded that he was telling the people to support the Barisan Nasional candidate so as to get their personal shares and contributions from the government. Encik Ghaffar is a big towkay and an expert in the business of selling and buying of the Malays. He is prepared to pawn and sell his own race so that he can continue to live.

Everywhere this is his promise. After more than 30 years of Merdeka, his method has never changed and is the same. A veteran politician who passed the Tanjong Malim

difficult to reject the promises made by Encik Ghaffar, although they know that the promises are the same as those made by Encik Ghaffar in other places before and which are still not honoured.

The people's rejection of the candidate of Mahathir's UMNO makes us feel confident that the people do not believe any more in those promises or are interested anymore with the bribes offered to them.

The defeat of the UMNO candidate proves that the people accept and believe about issues like abuses, corruption, and financial scandals of Mahathir's ministers, inefficiency of government leaders in the government and administration of the country.

The stand shown by the people of Telok Pasu will naturally become a lesson and an example for the people throughout the country to reject the Barisan Nasional in the next general elections.

Only in this manner will the people get to uphold the truth and justice as well as put an end to the political and economic sins as well as to bring about renewal and changes in the country's leadership for the welfare of all.

As long as the government leadership under Dr Mahathir is allowed to continue to be king, so long will the dignity of the people and country be polluted, not only will the country be pawned but the people will also be similarly pawned.

Do not allow the head rambler of stories of the musical group of Mahathir's UMNO - Ghaffar Baba, Father of the Big Liars of the People, to continue lying to the people and selling his race.

The people should not believe any longer in the empty slogan of the government on "Leadership Through Example".

This slogan is clearly to pull wool over the people's eyes, because the practices of the government leaders them-

selves clearly molest and pollute the spirit of the slogan.

That slogan has become a propaganda tool for their own interests and the struggle for falsehood of the Barisan Nasional leaders.

The corrupt activities of government leaders have widened. The people should not feel grateful to government leaders as Ghaffar Baba wants them to.

Those who should be thankful are these leaders. They should be thankful to the people who put them in their present places.

Without the support and votes of the people, the government leaders would not have got the comfort and lifestyle they have. Ghaffar Baba perhaps is following the footsteps of Tan Koon Swan. The people have saved Ghaffar from Pudu Prison.

The present government leaders are the holders of the people's trust and are responsible to defend and struggle for the people's interests.

The question of the leaders giving a good life and prosperity to the people does not arise. This is the right of the people and the government's responsibility and that of the leaders who were given the trust and chosen by the people. Dr Mahathir and government leaders have no right to get whatever returns and gratitude from the people.

It is the responsibility of every government and the leaders to give service to the people. This is because the position of the government and leaders is determined by the people. Except in countries ruled by a dictator.

There is no such thing in political history as the people praising and consenting to dictatorial rule. The political situation in countries under dictatorship is always in turmoil.

Although Otto Bismarck's rule, Germany with repression, and perhaps as that shown by Lee Kuan Yew, but

ful?

The right step for the Malays to take is to ensure that we have had enough of the dictatorial features which existed during the time of the late Sultan Mahmud Shah and that they were lifted. After that they have to ensure that such features do not exist any longer.

If there is any exceptional leader who wants to become a dictator, then he has to be restricted. There are two ways the people can avoid these dictatorial features.

First, correct the direction and aim of leader who has such signs of going towards that direction. Not with force, but with the way of open and direct accounting.

Second, if he still does not want to be corrected, then force to replace him by rejecting him in a general election.

However, if there is an accusation against a leader like Dr Mahathir that he is a dictator, the step that needs to be taken is to confirm whether it is true that he is a dictator. If he is not a dictator, then steps need to be taken that his good name be cleared.

Give evidence why he cannot be considered as a dictator.

But to say that other people are more dictatorial than him means to bless the system or to bless him becoming a dictator.

Sukarno was not a dictator, or liked to be a dictator, but the people surrounding him liked and encouraged him to become a dictator, thus he too became a dictator.

If this is what is wanted by the people of Malaysia, allowing Dr Mahathir to become a dictator, then wait for the time of our own destruction.

the risks for the people are high in getting progress through repression.

Just now peoples who are progressive and highly civilised are ashamed to live and be led by persons who are potentially dictatorial. There are individuals or communities who like and consent to be led by a dictator but such people can be considered as not independent yet.

In other words, a race which is ruled by a dictator is a race who is without sovereignty and self-respect. A race who is not sovereign is exposed to all kinds of weaknesses and possibilities of oppression.

A race who is not sovereign does not have the ability to compete with other races, and it will not become a race who is great.

This is why in the Third World, although their numbers are many, they have to bow their heads towards the developed countries even though their numbers are small.

Japan, as an Asian country which succeeded in avoiding rule by a single person, is now able to compete with the peoples of Europe and America, and has become the master of the Asians. Hence, this is the result of a country which is sovereign.

South Korea is now going along the path shown by Japan. Now dictators have no place any more.

However, the Malays in this country seem to feel good when it is said their Prime Minister Dr Mahathir is a dictator. Actually the Malays should feel ashamed if there is such a charge, with black and white proof and foots, against Dr Mahathir.

His ruling style, his attitude and his actions are cruel to the people, particularly to the former Lord President, Tun Salleh Abas, proving to us that he is a leader with dictatorial attributes. But up to now, the Malays and the people still give support to his government. Isn't this shame-



YBM Tengku Tan Sri Razaleigh Hamzah. A unique leader of the people who has brought many good changes for the peace of the people's livelihood A prince with the spirit of the people who has sacrificed and will sacrifice anything for the interests of the country and the welfare of the people, particularly the Malays.



The late Dato Onn bin Jaafar. The Malays in Johore under the leadership of Mahathir's UMNO have started to forget his services. This shows up the people who have no sense of gratitude. The founder of UMNO and the pioneer of the struggle of the Malays before and after independence. The result of his struggle is that the country achieved Independence. Truly a hero of the Malay race. Not because of becoming a drugs president getting the title of hero.



The late Tun Abdul Razak Dato' Hussein. He is the property of the people, especially the people of Pahang. None of the people has forgotten his services. Whoever insults him insults the people of Pahang. Pity the person who claims to be his own son. He who has climbed up because of his services, prepared also to insult and to knock down his dignity.



YTM Tunku Abdul Rahman Putera Al-Haj. Father of Independence, Father of Malaysia. Prepared to sacrifice anything to make the people live in peace and happiness.

Although sickly and aged he still wants to struggle with the people to oppose all political and economic sins committed by Dr Mahathir and his cliques. After many years as a Prime Minister he is still poor. Has no property like Daim Zainuddin. Is the poorest Prime Minister in the world.



Tun Hussein Onn. Father of Unity. His sincerity, firmness and truthfulness are considered as a weakness by Dr Mahathir. Forced to hand over his post of Prime Minister to Mahathir by way of a cunning plot which was subtle. Looks like Mahathir is now more sickly than him.



Dato' Rais Yatim. A young leader with a strong soul Prepared to put aside positions, titles and greatness to struggle together with the people. His services to the land settler community cannot be forgotten by the settlers. Certainly deserves it if given the title of "Father of the Settlers¹". He and Tengku Razaleigh are building a new bridge for the peace and welfare of the people.



Dato' Harun Haji Idris. Truly the hero of the people of Selangor. His obstinate struggle for the future of the Malay race no-one will forget. The time has not come for him to stop struggling for the people. His leadership is still needed.



Dato' Seri (Dr) Mahathir Mohammad After eight years as Prime Minister of Malaysia, said to be one of the ten richest prime ministers in the world. If you have the magic lamp of Aladdin, please loan it to me, Dato' Seri.

I am now poor! The people in the rural areas are almost all poor. When are you going to help our race? Even Aladdin's lamp Dato' Seri has got it free.



Ghaffar Baba. *To say that he is a Malaccan, he is not fully Malaccan. To say that he is a Negeri Sembilan person is also not correct. He hails from the boundary of those two states. A 50/50 person who cannot be trusted too much. Cheats the people a lot. Before when he was the Chief Minister of Malacca, he cheated the people of Malacca. Now he wants to cheat the people of Malaysia also. Enough of his lying to the people now. A Iready old, does good works now. Easy then to be safe in (his and the next world.*



Datin Paduka Hajjah Rahman Osman. Women's leader of Semangat '46 who places the people's interests and welfare above her own interests. Prepared to accept whatever risks for upholding the truth and justice of the people and opposes sins and cruelty. A calm and absorbed countenance shows a glorious spirit and a sincere heart. Attributes of women's leadership which should be followed by all women in this country.



What is this, Dato'? Looks like our people are still hardup, guess that's the question of Hamdan to Dato' Musa. Shahrir does not speak, perhaps because his flu, Musa looks nasty, perhaps he does not believe in Hamdan's talk Johore is mine, who can challenge my influence in Johore?

Wait and see what will happen to Dato's men in a short time. Rahim Bakar contested as Division Chairman in Kuantan, lost his deposit. Dato 'Abdullah, just manages to be still there. Shahrir is still not accepted by Gertek Merah. Dato' has got a post as "messenger boy" of Mahathir; gratejul too, Dr Mahathir also has love for Dato'. Who says Mahathir is not good-hearted?



Haji Ibrahim Ali Semangat '46 Youth Leader who has been tested and most tested in his duties. Respected and feared by friends and foes. Will not compromise with any form of sins. For upholding the truth and justice, he is prepared to sacrifice anything and to accept all risks that come. His courage is not like that of Dato' Najib 's.



YB Dato Abdullah BadawL A victim of his own politics. Thought that when Mahathir reshuffled his Cabinet he would certainly be appointed as a minister. Empty!! How can Anwar give chance? Pray and pray that Dato'Musa becomes PM.



No need to howl, no need to stretch hands towards the sky. No need to demonstrate Ukeyouths of Mahathir's UMNO. That is not the way to change the government and leaders who are corrupted and abusive now. Wait for the election and use your right to vote. With a pencil and the mark of a cross, without having to let out any sweat and energy, the people can reject Mahathir and his cliques.



Hajjah Marina Yusuf. The firmness, courage and sincerity of her struggle have made her more authoritative than many male leaders. Prepared to go through thick and thin with the people. Is not afraid to face risks in order to uphold justice and the truth.



For whom are they serving? To safeguard the security of the people or to safeguard the security of Mahathir Mohammad? Their salaries are paid by the people. But, the people who want to use their right to demonstrate peacefully are often distrubed "I carry out orders, following instructions from the top people," says one of the members of the security force.

Gentlemen, carry out your duties, but don't pressure the people too much. After work, you too return to society; don't do it untilyou get boycotted.



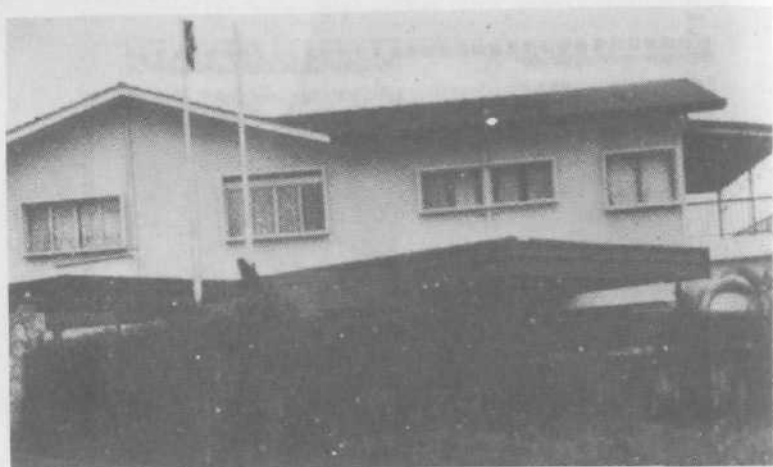
Wherever he goes, he is welcomed by the people as if he is a Prime Minister. A welcome that is given without being forced or paid. This is what is called the people's leader who is pure and true.



Why after 32 years of Independence there are still people who sleep on the roadside and the pavements ?



One of the bungalows of Dato' Abu Hassan Omar.



One of the bungalows belonging to Ghaffar Baba in Kuala Lumpur. Equipped with swimmingpool Many wives, therefore many houses. If not, where is justice?



The Bungalow of Tan Sri Kadir Yusof.



The People's Houses.



A Bungalow of the People.



The Wisma of the People. See the extremely pleasant surroundings!

2/7



YM the Prince and his wife who are loved, listening sympathetically to the grievances of the people who have been sinned against by the actions of the present government leaders. Tengku Dato 'Azlan Shah and wife at a meeting with the people. Also present are veteran leader Haji Sulaiman Palastin and Ahmad Mokhtar.

The direct involvement of Their Royal Highness the Rulers in the politics of the people is not allowed by the country's Constitution, unless that Consitution is amended or Their Royal Highness the Rulers who are involved are ready to leave their various government positions, get themselves directly and actively into political organisations they like and stand in elections.

To oppose a leadership and government which is corrupt and cruel does not mean the people are betraying the Rulers.

the UMNO Baru leadership is like the pioneer in violating the purity and dignity of the institution of the Rulers, responsible for sowing the feelings of hatred of the people towards the Rulers..."

AHMAD MOKHTAR HAJI MOHAMAD

An elected member of Semangat '46 Supreme Council, he hails from a political family. His father Tuan Haji Mohamad Haji Abdullah, was a loyal follower of the late Dato Onn Jaafar. He has followed political developments since his school days. He was a member of the old UMNO since 1966.

He graduated from the University of Malaya with a B.A. (Hons) degree, and a Master degree in Health Care Administration and Hospital Management from the University of Minnesota, U.S.A.

He served in various government agencies for more than 21 years, including having been in the Education Ministry, FELDA, the University Hospital and Tawakal Medical Centre Kuala Lumpur.

He is the deputy Chief of Semangat '46 in Pahang. He was one of the Group of 11 of UMNO who went to the courts to challenge the validity of the 1987 UMNO General Assembly and elections.



riedly and surreptitiously passed by force. This law is meant to shut the mouths of government officers and staff who are sincere. It was passed behind the view of all those who are intelligent, former administrative heads, top leaders of trade unions, former top party leaders including Bapa Malaysia himself.

Why must this law be passed hastily and surreptitiously? The aim was to ensure that all the stories of corruption, cheating, wastage of the people's money, abuses of power by the Prime Minister, scandals of the government, government agencies and business bodies partially headed by government leaders and party leaders with vested interests would be closed from all public knowledge.

Mahathir's Leadership:

1. The rule of Mahathir is rule ala totalitarianism, rule where the concentration of power is in the hands of the Prime Minister. All policies and decisions made by the Prime Minister cannot be questioned any more.
2. Mahathir as head of the government executive body has full powers, powers which supercede the powers of other bodies which are only a 'rubber stamp' to Mahathir. This situation in the view of the public and many people is most dangerous to the political stability of Malaysia.
3. With this total power given to Mahathir, all national problems, like the economic problem which is getting worse, abusing the people's money, corruption, inter-racial unity, are closed because he implements emergency legal powers ala Mahathir. Mahathir uses the laws to safeguard his own interests and position as well