

RAHIKA GROUP CORPORATE PROFILE

RAHIKA	HOLDINGS	SDN BHD.
RAHIKA	DEVELOPMENT	SDN BHD.
RAHIKA	CONSTRUCTION	SDN BHD.
RAHIKA	TRADING	SDN BHD.
RAHIKA	AUTOMOBILES	SDN BHD.
RAHIKA	TELECOMMUNICATION	SDN BHD.
RAHIKA	PETROL STATION & SERVICES	SDN BHD.

With Best Compliments From

DIRECTORS

Encik Kamaruddin Bin Md. Nor - Chairman Of The Board Director
En. Mohd K. Jabayee Bin Yahaya - Managing Director
Pn. Rahimah Bte Soehod - Director
Pn. Rashidah Bte Musa - Director

MANAGEMENT

Tuan Haji Mohd Yusoff Bin Haji Shamsuddin - Chief Executive Officer
En. Azzahari Bin Hassan - Group General Manager
En. Ismail Bin Yusof - Administration Manager
En. Ahmad Radzuan Bin Abd. Ghani - Head Of Development & Construction
En. Hafizan Bin Abdul Kuddus - Head Of Petrol Station & Services
Pn. Mazian Bte Hassan - Head Of Finance
Pn. Nadimah Bte Mohd Khir - Head Of Trading

COMPANY SECRETARY

En. Mohd Azhar Bin Haji Shamsuddin
Mahaway Sendirian Berhad
Tingkat 5, Bangunan Strait Trading Building
No : 4, Lebuhs Pasar Besar,
50050 Kuala Lumpur.

PRINCIPAL BANKERS

Perwira Habib Bank Malaysia Berhad
Cawangan Pusat, Ground Floor, Wisma SPK,
Jalan Sultan Ismail,
P. O. Box 12744,
50788 Kuala Lumpur.

Bank Bumiputra Malaysia Berhad
No : 227 & 228, Jalan Bandar 13,
Taman Melawati,
53100 Kuala Lumpur.

LAWYER

Yusoff Shamsuddin & Partners
Peguambela & Peguamcara
Tingkat 5, Bangunan Strait Trading Building
No : 4, Lebuhs Pasar Besar,
50050 Kuala Lumpur.

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6th. Floor, K11B Building
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58000 Kuala Lumpur.

APB 714525

08 NOV 1994

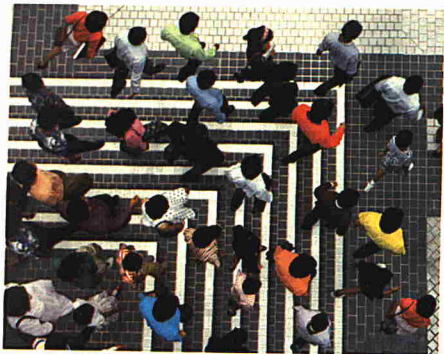
NASKAH PENCATATAN

PERPUSTAKAAN NEGARA MALAYSIA



RAHIKA HOLDINGS SDN. BHD.

LOT. 206 & 207, PARAS 1, JALAN NEGARA 2,
METRO MELAWATI 1, 53100 KUALA LUMPUR.
TEL : 03-4074941 (4 LINES), FAX : 03-4074608



KETEGUHAN KAMI ADALAH KOMITMEN UNTUK MAJU BERSAMA ANDA. UNTUK ANDA.

Telah bertahun-tahun lamanya kami berada di samping anda. Membantu anda bergerak maju mencapai cita-cita impian anda. Tiada apa yang menggembirakan selain dapat melihat kejayaan anda. Kemajuan anda merupakan kayu

pengukur pencapaian kami. Sesungguhnya, kejayaan kami sama cemerlangnya dengan kejayaan anda. Dan dalam melangkah ke arah WAWASAN 2020, marilah kita sama-sama berusaha merealisasikan aspirasi negara, juga aspirasi kita.



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MARA HOLDING SDN. BHD. is into *real business*. As an entrusted conglomerate, **MARA HOLDING** is today leading an industrious network of vast subsidiary companies, diversified into major business sectors, from public transportation to property development.

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The name of **MARA HOLDING** is the silent trademark of success, seen in their diverse business, quality products and excellent services, everywhere in Malaysia.

MARA HOLDING...the investment arm to your benefit, with business to lead.



MARA HOLDING

The SGS Group in Malaysia

Your Quality Partner

You may know us as the world's leading inspection company with offices in over 140 countries. Or you may know us as a world class provider of technical and consultancy services. But first and foremost, you should know SGS as "Your Quality Partner".



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The traditional role of SGS is providing quantity and quality surveys for commodities, semi-finished products and finished products. Our inspection services also include evaluating conformance to recognized standards, safety regulations and buyer's technical specifications for all types of industrial equipment and consumer products.



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SGS offers a network of laboratories in Malaysia with sophisticated equipment to carry out all types of testing. Our services range from specialized sectors such as petroleum, latex products and microbiological testing to physical testing and chemical analysis on a wide variety of products.



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SGS offers a comprehensive range of technical and certification services. Our technical services include metering and calibration for the petroleum industry and non-destructive testing for major engineering projects and local fabricators. The SGS certification for ISO 9000 Quality Systems and BS 7750 Environmental Management System are internationally recognised for both manufacturing and service industries.

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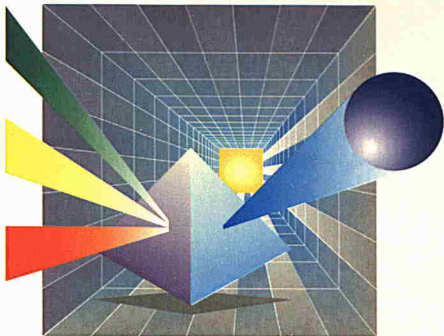
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We are driven by forces of ideas and knowledge



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Over the years, Malaysian Resources Corporation Berhad (MRCB) has grown with Malaysia. Today, after our transformation from a modest public listed company, we are one of the fastest growing and diversified corporation in Malaysia.

MRCB now manages a portfolio of large, profitable and diversified companies in a range of industries that include property development, property investment, power, media, telecommunications, construction and engineering.



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All this hasn't happened by chance. We have established a corporate philosophy of honesty, hard work and efficient management, aimed at the growth and expansion of our many and varied businesses.

MRCB is now professionally managed by Malaysians and its operation is of international standard.

Underneath it all, we are a company driven by forces of ideas and knowledge to meet challenges of the future.



Media and telecommunications



Construction and engineering

MRCB
MALAYSIAN RESOURCES

Kurang pencemaran Lebih berkuasa

PRIMAS
UNLEADED
PX2

Petrol tanpa plumbum generasi baru yang unggul

Semua petrol tanpa plumbum dicipta untuk kebersihan alam sekitar. Tetapi yang mana satukah yang berkesan mengurangkan pencemaran ekzos dan kereta anda? Primas PX2.

Primas PX2 berkesan mengurangkan pencemaran ekzos yang berbahaya seperti karbon monoksida, nitrus oksida dan hidrokarbon yang tidak terbakar. Ya, udara lebih bersih!

Primas PX2 juga memberi anda prestasi lebih baik la membantu membersihkan sistem bahan api ijar pancutan bahan api lebih lancar dan lebih betenaga. Alami kelebihan kuasanya!

Ujan yang telah dijalankan oleh pihak-pihak berkuasa berikut menunjukkan prestasi Primas PX2 semestinya unggul.

Pihak Berkuasa	Ujian	Perkara
Fench Institute of Petroleum	Mercedes-Benz M102E Test Procedure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kebersihan Pemandi Bahan Api Pengeluaran Bahan Cemar Kebersihan Injap Salur Masuk
Southwest Research Institute	BMW 318i Lifetime Performance Standard	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kebersihan Pemandi Bahan Api Kebersihan Injap Salur Masuk
SRM 5 Universiti Teknologi Malaysia	Ujian bagi pelbagai jenis kereta Proton, kereta-kereta buatan Jepun dan Enjap di alam raya Malaysia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kebersihan Pemandi Bahan Api Kebersihan Karburator Kebersihan Injap Salur Masuk

Hargalah alam sekitar, kereta dan wang anda. Bertukarlah kepada Primas PX2. Datipada syarikat petroleum yang pertama memperkenalkan petrol tanpa plumbum di Malaysia.

Udara Lebih Bersih. Prestasi Lebih Baik.

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DAGANGAN**



MENUJU KE ERA KECEMERLANGAN

KUB

"Potensi KUB untuk menjadi syarikat gergasi adalah cerah...bahkan di luar Malaysia (pun)"

Y.A.B. Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad
Perdana Menteri

*Semasa Perasmian Mesyuarat Agung Perwakilan
Tahunan KUB kali ke 14 pada 16 Julai 1994.*

Berita Minggu 17 Julai 1994



Ahli KUB No. 1



**WAHANA EKONOMI BUMIPUTRA
YANG PALING BERPOTENSI KINI**

KOPERASI USAHA BERSATU MALAYSIA BERHAD

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Selangor D.E.

Sekalung budi

SAYA terutang budi kepada Ibu Pejabat Barisan Nasional kerana memberi kepercayaan untuk menyusun buku ini. Di kesempatan ini saya rakamkan rasa terima kasih yang tidak terhingga kepada beberapa pihak terutama YBhg Dato' Mazlan Nordin, Pengerusi Bernama yang banyak membantu saya dengan sumbangan fikiran dan nasihat. Juga dirakamkan penghargaan kepada Pertubuhan Berita Nasional yang menyediakan gambar-gambar untuk melengkapkan penyusunan buku ini. Begitu juga dengan Kumpulan Akhbar Utusan Melayu. Apa jua kecacatan adalah kelemahan diri dan dipohon sama-sama kita membetulkannya. Wassallam.

— *Shafie Nor.*



Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad



BARISAN NASIONAL MALAYSIA

PENGERUSI

SAYA ingin mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada setiap parti anggota Barisan Nasional (BN) yang begitu setia serta mendokong Parti sehingga dapat kita menyambut hari Ulangtahn Barisan Nasional yang ke-20. Saya juga mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih dan penghargaan kepada setiap parti anggota Barisan Nasional yang telah memberikan sepenuh kerjasama kepada pucuk pimpinan Barisan Nasional selama ini.

Barisan Nasional adalah warisan Perikatan yang ditubuhkan sebelum Merdeka dahulu antara UMNO, MCA dan MIC untuk memperjuangkan kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan tanahair.

Perikatan merupakan satu gabungan parti yang mewakili tiga kaum terbesar di Semenanjung. Perikatan kemudiannya diperluas untuk menggabungkan parti-parti di Sabah dan Sarawak hingga ia mencerminkan hasrat dan cita-cita hampir tiap kaum dan suku-kaum dalam masyarakat Malaysia.

Sebagai satu cara untuk memberi tempat kepada semua Parti menyertai Kerajaan, parti-parti lawan diterima untuk bersama-sama dengan parti-parti Perikatan dalam satu gabungan yang lebih besar yang dinamakan Barisan Nasional. Ditubuhkan pada 1 Jun 1974 BN berjaya merapatkan semula rakyat Malaysia yang telah berpecah-belah akibat rusuhan kaum pada tahun 1969.

Penubuhan BN sejurus selepas rusuhan kaum 1969 mencerminkan kesedaran rakyat Malaysia. Sejak tarikh itu sifat toleransi semakin berkembang di kalangan rakyat Malaysia. Barisan Nasional menjadi simbol semangat dan kematangan rakyat. Kemenangan BN setiap kali pilihanraya diadakan membuktikan bahawa rakyat menerima konsep kerjasama dalam BN.

Di bawah Kerajaan-Kerajaan BN politik perkauman dapat dikurangkan. Perkara-perkara yang sensitif dibincang dan diselesaikan secara tertutup. Dengan ini ketegangan kaum tidak lagi mengancam kestabilan Malaysia. Sebaliknya tumpuan dapat diberikan secara serius kepada pembangunan rakyat dan agihan kekayaan negara secara yang lebih adil. Kemiskinan juga dapat dikurangkan sementara rakyat ekonomi tumbuh dengan pesat.

Politik BN adalah politik kesederhanaan. Semua kaum dan parti mempunyai kedudukan yang sama dalam Dewan Tertinggi BN. UMNO kerana saiznya dijadikan teras untuk menentukan BN tidak mudah dipecah-pecahkan. Tetapi UMNO juga menghormati pendapat parti-parti yang kecil sama seperti parti-parti lain menghormati masing-masing. Dengan menggunakan keputusan secara 'consensus' kepentingan parti atau kaum yang kecil tidak diketepikan.

Walaupun BN adalah parti gabungan tetapi ia bertindak sebagai sebuah parti yang tulen. Parti-parti komponen tidak bertanding antara satu dengan yang lain dalam pilihanraya. Sebaliknya calon-calon daripada parti komponen bertindak sebagai calon BN dan disokong oleh semua ahli parti-parti komponen.

Oleh kerana BN adalah parti gabungan sebelum pilihanraya, ia tidak lemah seperti parti gabungan selepas pilihanraya yang dibentuk kerana tidak ada parti yang mempunyai cukup kerusi untuk membentuk kerajaan. Sementara parti gabungan selepas pilihanraya mudah ditumbang dengan penarikan diri hanya satu rakan, penarikan diri mana-mana parti komponen BN tidak menjejaskan majoriti BN dan ia terus menjadi Kerajaan. Inilah keistimewaan BN.

Demikian juga Kerajaan BN sukar digugat oleh ahli-ahli dewan kerana rakyat memberi kemenangan dua pertiga kepada BN. Dengan ini Kerajaan dapat menumpu kepada pembangunan tanpa ugutan daripada luar atau dalam parti. Penarikan diri oleh Pbs umpamanya tidak berjaya menamatkan BN, walaupun dibuat semasa pilihanraya.

Kita bersyukur kepada Allah SWT kerana negara kita telah dapat dibangunkan dengan jayanya. Oleh kerana Kerajaan Malaysia tidak bertukar-tukar maka dasarnya juga tidak bertukar. Hanya yang dibuat oleh BN ialah memperbaiki lagi dasarnya dan memperkenalkan idea-idea baru. Oleh kerana kestabilan ini maka pelabur asing dan tempatan tidak khuatir terhadap masa depan pelaburan mereka. Ini juga menyumbang kepada pertumbuhan ekonomi yang pesat. Sebaliknya negara yang maju sekalipun akan mengalami kemerosotan apabila Kerajaan bertukar-tukar dengan kerapnya.


Namun di Malaysia kita memberi tempat kepada parti lawan. Tidak pernah berlaku yang Dewan-dewan tidak mempunyai anggota daripada parti lawan. Ini adalah bukti yang jelas bahawa di bawah Kerajaan BN demokrasi berjalan dengan sihat. Malangnya ahli-ahli parti pembangkang jarang menegur secara membina.

Pada hari yang berbahagia ini, marilah kita kenangkan jasa pemimpin-pemimpin kita yang lalu sambil memperbaharui tekad untuk meneruskan cita-cita murni mereka melahirkan sebuah negara Malaysia yang bersatu-padu, stabil, makmur dan dinamis.

Barisan Nasional telah membuktikan dirinya mampu membawa rakyat dan negara ke arah cita-cita menjadikan Malaysia sebuah negara yang stabil, makmur dan dinamis. Pencapaian ini adalah hasil daripada keutuhan, kerjasama dan sikap tolak-ansur serta kekeluargaan di kalangan anggota-anggota parti Barisan Nasional. Tradisi ini telah tertanam hingga ia menjadi budaya dan nilai hidup kita sejak sebelum merdeka lagi, dipusakai daripada pemimpin-pemimpin kita di masa lalu hingga sekarang.

Kita banyak berhutang budi kepada Bapak Malaysia yang menjadi pengasas konsep kerjasama antara kaum. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, Tun Tan Siew Sin, Tun V. T. Sambanthan, bersama dengan Tun Abdul Razak dan Tun Dr. Ismail, Tun Hussein Onn serta lain-lain pemimpin adalah tokoh-tokoh yang perlu disanjung tinggi oleh kita dan diingat pada hari berejarah ini. Jasa mereka tetap dikenang.

Saya sebagai Pengerusi Barisan Nasional mengambil kesempatan ini untuk mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih dan penghargaan saya kepada setiap anggota parti Barisan Nasional yang telah bekerjasama dalam semangat muhibbah dan tolak-ansur sehingga begitu berjayanya BN. Selagi kita miliki dan kita amalkan pendekatan ini, insya-Allah BN akan terus wujud dan berkuasa sehinggalah tercapai cita-cita rakyat untuk menjadi bangsa yang berjaya dan bermanah.



Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad



Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra



Dato' Mohamed Rahmat



BARISAN NASIONAL MALAYSIA

SETIAUSAHA AGUNG

IZINKAN saya terlebih dahulu mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih kepada Pengerusi di atas kepercayaannya melantik saya sebagai Setiausaha Agung Barisan Nasional, jawatan tinggi yang penuh cabaran dan tanggungjawab. Sebagai Setiausaha Agung yang baru, saya juga mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih atas kerjasama dan sumbangan bulat dan penuh dari setiap parti komponen Barisan Nasional kepada saya menunaikan kewajipan dan tugas saya dengan sempurna dan lancar setakat ini. Sambil itu saya juga tidak ketinggalan mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi tahniah kepada tiap anggota dalam Barisan Nasional di atas kejayaan kita menyambut Ulang Tahun Ke 20 penubuhan Barisan Nasional.

Barisan Nasional kini semakin mantap, kukuh dan berwibawa sebagai parti kerajaan hasil dari dasar-dasarnya yang memberikan manfaat kepada rakyat tanpa mengira golongan, keturunan, agama dan kepercayaan. Barisan Nasional membawa rakyat berada di ambang tahap sebuah negara maju. Kemajuan Malaysia kini dianggap sebagai satu 'keajaiban ekonomi' atau 'economic miracle'. Malaysia terdiri sebagai contoh teladan sebuah negara berbilang kaum, berbilang agama dan kebudayaan yang sejak merdeka pada tahun 1957, mempunyai kemampuan dan kebolehan mencapai pertumbuhan dan perkembangan politik, ekonomi, sosial dan budaya yang tidak ada tandingnya dengan negara-negara lain yang menjadi bekas jajahan Barat.

Prestasi dan pencapaian cemerlang ini adalah lahir demi kepimpinan negara yang berpandangan jauh, progresif dan dinamis dan rakyat majmuk yang toleran, tekun dan rajin, persefahaman antara satu sama lain, serta bertolak ansur demi kepentingan membangun sebuah negara yang stabil, makmur dan bersatu padu.

Kita kini menghadapi cabaran era penjejagatan dengan keyakinan dan kepercayaan penuh memandangkan prestasi dan pencapaian kita pada masa lalu.

Kestabilan politik dan prestasi ekonomi kita, keharmonian masyarakat kita dan kemantapan negara dalam tiap bidang telah memungkinkan pemimpin-pemimpin dan negara kita memainkan peranan yang bererti dalam arena antara bangsa. Suara kita dihormati dalam isu-isu antara bangsa sebagai suara yang mencerminkan hasrat dan cita-cita dunia ketiga dan rakyat membangun.

Kestabilan politik dan prestasi ekonomi negara kita di tengah-tengah dunia yang dilanda berbagai rupa krisis politik, ekonomi, sosial dan budaya dengan sendirinya menonjolkan kerajaan dan pemimpin-pemimpin kita sebagai juara masyarakat dunia yang menuntut keadilan, hak persamaan dan demokrasi sejati dari kuasa-kuasa besar.

Dekad-dekad akan datang merupakan dekad-dekad yang akan penuh dengan cabaran dan ujian tidak sahaja kepada pemimpin-pemimpin kita tetapi juga kepada rakyat negara ini.

Apa yang berlaku di Bosnia Herzegovina, di Asia Barat, di Afrika khususnya di Rwanda memperlihatkan kepada kita satu pengajaran yang amat penting iaitu nasib kita sebagai sebuah negara demokrasi, sebagai sebuah negara yang sedang membangun untuk mencapai tahap negara industri, sebagai suatu bangsa pelbagai kaum yang utuh pendeknya 'survival' kita di masa depan, adalah bergantung semata-mata kepada diri kita sendiri. PBB tidak mampu menyelesaikan masalah Bosnia-Herzegovina, tidak mampu menyelamatkan Somalia dan membantu rakyat Rwanda.

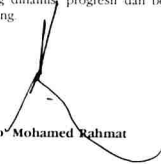
Kerana itu masa depan kita sebagai sebuah negara merdeka dan berdaulat, sebagai satu bangsa yang bersatu padu, sebagai sebuah negara demokratik, adalah bergantung semata-mata kepada kegigihan kita, keceklakan hati kita dan tekad bulat rakyat kita untuk menentukan dan mencorakkan nasibnya sendiri.

Prestasi Malaysia yang cemerlang di tiap bidang ialah kerana keharmonian, kestabilan dan ketenteraman yang menjadi nilai-nilai hidup masyarakat kita dan sistem demokrasi yang memberikan hak kepada tiap rakyat tanpa mengira keturunan dan perbezaan agama serta kepercayaan untuk memilih kerajaan mereka sendiri.

Sistem demokrasi kita telah berkembang sejak merdeka hingga ia menjadi akar umbi dalam masyarakat mengukuhkan lagi sendi-sendi seluruh budaya hidup rakyat.

Prestasi Barisan Nasional sebagai sebuah gabungan parti-parti politik dan sebagai sebuah kerajaan ialah kerana pihak kita menghayati nilai-nilai dan budaya yang menghormati hak dan kebebasan tiap rakyat untuk hidup mengikut kepercayaannya, kebolehannya dan cita-citanya sendiri sambil memberikan sumbangan mengikut kemampuan masing-masing ke arah membangun suatu bangsa yang bersatu padu, makmur dan progresif.

Pada hari memperingati Ulang Tahun Barisan Nasional Yang Ke 20 ini, marilah kita membaharui azam dan tekad untuk menjunjung tinggi cita-cita kita membentuk suatu bangsa yang dinamis, progresif dan berbudaya tinggi demi menghadapi cabaran dekad-dekad akan datang.



Dato Mohamed Rahmat



Barisan Nasional

**Barisan Nasional
Barisan kita
Penegak wawasan
Rakyat Malaysia**

**Membina satu bangsa berjaya
Itulah wawasan kita
Berpada kita rakyat semua
Menuju Malaysia jaya**

**Barisan Nasional Parti kita
Parti untuk rakyat jelata
Khidmat kami untuk semua
Tanpa mengira bangsa**

**Barisan Nasional
Barisan kita
Penegak wawasan
Pembela bangsa**

**Membina satu bangsa berjaya
Itulah wawasan kita**

**Membina satu bangsa berjaya
Itulah wawasan kita**

Lagu: Ahmad Dassillah
Lirik : Madzhi Johari
18.7.94



Tan Sri Dato' Muhammad Haji Muhammad Taib



BARISAN NASIONAL MALAYSIA

PERUTUSAN YAB MENTERI BESAR SELANGOR MERANGKAP PENERUSI PERHIMPUNAN ULANG TAHUN KE-20 BARISAN NASIONAL

KITA bersyukur ke hadirat Allah SWT kerana dengan keizinanNya, Perayaan Perhimpunan Ulang Tahun ke-20 Barisan Nasional dapat kita adakan dengan jayanya. Perayaan ini penting supaya kita dapat menghayati bagaimana perjuangan Barisan Nasional yang berteraskan perkongsian kuasa, musyawarah, kerjasama antara parti, nilai toleransi dan rasa hormat menghormati antara masyarakat berbilang kaum, berjaya memberi peluang rakyat merasa nikmat kesejahteraan dan kemakmuran.

Sejak 20 tahun yang lalu, Barisan Nasional telah banyak membawa kemakmuran. Kita bersyukur rakyat dapat merasa nikmat ekonomi yang lebih kukuh dan sistem politik yang lebih stabil. Negara Malaysia hari ini dihormati sebagai sebuah negara unik kerana masyarakat berbilang kaumnya mampu bersatupadu mengusahakan sumber ekonomi dan sosial dengan berjaya. Semua ini kerana perjuangan jujur dan amanah pemimpin-pemimpin Barisan Nasional.

Kita yakin, di bawah pimpinan YAB Perdana Menteri Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamed, Barisan Nasional akan terus menjadi teras kemajuan negara, malahan mengorak langkah lebih besar dan muncul sebagai model perkongsian kuasa di peringkat antarabangsa.

Namun kita perlu bersedia menghadapi cabaran lebih getir. Di dalam negeri, kita menghadapi cabaran budaya selesa dan keruntuhan moral, membasmi kemiskinan, perpaduan, penyusunan semula masyarakat dan tahap sosio-ekonomi Bumiputra. Di peringkat antarabangsa, kita berdepan dengan gelombang kebangkitan Asia sebagai pentas ekonomi dunia, keselamatan serantau, nilai kedaulatan, kepimpinan berkualiti negara-negara Asia Tenggara, dan pengurusan perubahan dalam era pasca Perang Dingin.

Sambutan Ulangtahun ke-20 Barisan Nasional ini diadakan dengan harapan generasi baru dapat menghayati Semangat Barisan Nasional untuk bersedia bergerak seiring dan satu wawasan. Sebagai pejuang, rakyat dari seluruh kaum harus memiliki satu semangat Barisan Nasional yang baru dan waja, bekerja, kuat, setia dan taat kepada pimpinan, mampu mengurus perubahan, amanah, bermoral dan berfikiran sejagat. Dengan ini, kita dapat membantu menjadikan Barisan Nasional satu model perkongsian kuasa yang terbaik.

Syabas.

Tan Sri Dato' Muhammad Haji Muhammad Taib

OF BARISAN'S FORMATION AND TUN RAZAK'S HUSTINGS

TWENTY years on, the Barisan Nasional's definitive role in the national scheme of things remains stronger than ever. Just as its predecessor, the Alliance, this coalition of various political parties has been forming successive governments without any break since 1957. This role takes on an added significance as the nation steps into the 21st century.

The Barisan will be the guiding light in providing the impetus to the realisation of the national agenda which calls for a fully industrialised and advanced Malaysia which practises the much admired eastern moral and spiritual values dear to its national soul.

That the Barisan has the strength to continue its catalytic role in carrying out its political task speaks volumes for the wisdom and foresight of the coalition's founding father in his tireless effort to eliminate politicking so as to enable the country to focus its energy on the more urgent business of nation building.

Today, this strength is reflective of the clarity of vision and singleness of purpose of Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, the incumbent leader, who has adroitly and successfully

galvanised the coalition into a powerful vehicle which delivers successive electoral victories. This has given Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir the moral and physical strength to guide Malaysia onto the global stage thereby staking this country's rightful place among the community of nations.

The Barisan's strength, coupled with the keen intellect and much respected style of diplomacy of its current leader, has won Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir the recognition as a heavyweight in international affairs whose views are given serious thought befitting that of a world statesman.

The envious position earned by the coalition among the elites of political parties within the world's democracies belie the many and often complex moves undertaken by Tun Razak in nurturing the Barisan into existence. As the coalition steps into its third decade, it would not be out of order if we took a layman's look at its formative days.

Following the May 13 watershed, national political leaders began to earnestly address themselves to finding policies which would withstand the dictates of communal pressures. This



By
TENGGU MOHAMED TAIB



● DR MAHATHIR registers his smile of satisfaction with the smooth running of the Barisan election machinery at his Kubang Pasu constituency.

brought into focus the need for, among others, sustainable political and socio-economic policies aimed at reducing politicking, ensuring UMNO's key role and position in any subsequent political arrangement, the preservation of Malay unity and the continued practice of political consensus developed by the Alliance.

Significantly Tun Razak spoke of the possibility of political parties working together in resolving national problems in his state-of-the-nation address on the eve of the 1972 National Day. This concept developed into a practical reality upon the coming into agreement of a coalition between the Alliance and

PAS on January 1, 1973.

This was the culmination of a series of moves which started in December 1970 when Tan Sri Samad Idris, then a deputy minister, spoke in his personal capacity of the need for establishing coalition governments in Kelantan and Terengganu to prevent Malay disunity. The idea gained momentum when Encik Ghafar Baba, then a minister, put across the view that the Alliance Government was prepared to consider a coalition government in Kelantan.

The concept was crystallised further at the UMNO General Assembly in June 1972 when Tun Razak in his presidential address announced that

UMNO was prepared to work with any political party willing to cooperate with it. The favourable response from Datuk Asri at the subsequent PAS Congress led its central executive committee to work out a coalition government with the Alliance at all levels.

Following four rounds of talks, an announcement was made in September of that year that an agreement had been arrived at in principle for the formation of an Alliance-PAS coalition government.

The Barisan was registered on Jun, 1, 1974.

Earlier in February 1972, the first cooperation between two different political

parties in the peninsula came to fruition when the Alliance formed a coalition with the Gerakan which had come into power in Penang following the 1969 general elections. With the Penang move, the implementation of the federal economic policies in the state was made easier. The coalition with the moderate Gerakan also marked the stabilisation of a highly politicised state.

Coming close on the heel of the Penang coalition was the coalition government of Perak which was announced on May 1, 1972. In this instance the cooperation was between the Alliance and the People's Progressive Party (PPP).

Across the South China Sea, coalition was already a

familiar political arrangement as early as 1970 when the Sarawak Alliance and SUPP signed an accord to the effect on July 7 of that year. This had come about upon the conclusion of negotiations between SUPP and Parti Bumiputera, one of the three state Alliance components with the Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA) and Parti Pesaka Anak Sarawak (Pesaka).

Bumiputera was made up of Barisan Rakyat Jati Sarawak (BERJASA) and Parti Negara Sarawak (PANAS) which had merged in November 1966. In early 1973, Bumiputera and Pesaka merged to form Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB).

Sarawak National Party (SNAP), the other major political entity in the state, joi-

ned Barisan Nasional upon an announcement of its formal acceptance into the coalition on June 21, 1976.

On the same date, it was also announced that both USNO and Berjaya were formally accepted into the Barisan Nasional.

The coming into being of the Barisan Nasional saw a drastic reduction of political competition, thus allowing the national leadership of the day to put in train the urgent implementation of the New Economic Policy with all the energy and resources at its disposal.

The niggling doubt at the back of Tun Razak's mind that the socio-economic engineering would fail and come to naught, if the socio-political situation was not stable, was put to rest.



● DATUK Seri Anwar Ibrahim charming his way into the hearts of young Malaysians as Datin Seri Dr Wan Azizah beams on approvingly.



● SENIOR Wanita UMNO leaders sharing a hearty joke with Encik Ghafar Baba during a break at one of the party's annual caucus.

With the Barisan Nasional in place, his wish for the reduction of political tension so as to allow the Government to concentrate on intensifying development was fulfilled.

The Barisan Nasional passed its first test when Tun Razak called for general elections on August 24, 1974. Up for contest were 154 parliamentary seats and 360 state assembly seats, excluding Sabah's which did not hold its state elections.

Indicative of the sterling performance of the Barisan which was to come was the unopposed victory of 47 Barisan parliamentary candidates at the close of nomination. At the same time 43 coalition candidates

were returned unopposed to the various state assemblies. The country was about to witness the perennial performance par excellence of the Barisan.

Bouyed by this strong initial showing, Tun Razak went into overdrive to the hustings in order to secure a comprehensive and total victory. In the event, the Barisan's performance confirmed its early signal when it galloped away with a landslide. The coalition garnered 135 parliamentary seats and won clear control of every state assembly.

The Barisan campaigners went about their task at a breakneck speed and Tun Razak himself took to his campaign trail with relish.

Privileged was this scribe - then a young reporter - when he was assigned by his editor to follow Tun Razak. Traversing the peninsula, Tun Razak was the quintessence of a seasoned political campaigner.

Possessed of a "quiet" oratorical style he went about his job efficiently, devoid of the flamboyance associated with fiery speakers. Peppering his speeches with his now famous little coughs, Tun Razak thoroughly convinced his audiences of the merits of returning the successor to the Alliance to power.

Time and again the consummate and polished diplomat in him shone through brilliantly as he met the

various constituents. This was amply illustrated in Tappah where his concern for every eligible voter exercising his political right saw Tun Razak entertaining a group of *Orang Asli* community leaders to tea at the Rest House.

The ease with which he circulated around having quiet words with them while at the same time offering them sweetmeats and cigarettes left everyone with admiration. The *Orang Asli* leaders left the Rest House completely enchanted, assuring him that the Barisan could count on their community's votes.

Tun Razak's high work rate is legendary. Those reporters who followed him on his 1974 hustings were left breathless as he criss-

crossed the peninsula from Perlis to Johor and across to Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan and back to Pahang.

One particular reporter who was so physically drained one late evening after filing a copy on his campaign speech in Kuala Terengganu overslept in his hotel room when Tun Razak left early in the morning for Kota Bharu. The poor chap was so rushed in his effort not be left out of anything newsworthy along the way to Kelantan that he left his toiletries in the room.

After all has been said about his campaign style, the very humane side of Tun Razak was equally illuminating. The following anecdotes are a testimony

to this endearing quality of his.

During his stop in Maran, Tun Razak spoke at the local common of the government's plan to turn the fledgling township into a model growth centre. When it was over the reporters scrambled off to find public phones to file their stories.

Before anything else, they were pleasantly surprised to find the late Sharif Burok, then Tun Razak's press aide, hurrying after them in a bid to distribute some cash. Tun Razak, Sharif hastened to explain, was concerned that no food was available for the reporters. The stipend was thus meant for it so that they would not be out of pocket.



● DATUK Seri Dr. Siti Hasmah, the First Lady (seated left), is a study in concentration as she combs through the latest election results. Dr Mahathir is himself busy studying other results.



● THE Chief Executive of the Nation listening attentively to the views of overseas UMNO Clubs representatives, a breeding ground for future leaders.

During his campaign in Kuantan and Pekan, the reporters who were bunked in the former town made daily trips to Pekan on three mornings at the insistence of Tun Razak to have breakfast with him.

After completing his campaign in Kelantan, Tun Razak backtracked to his kumpang house at Peramu in Pekan where he was to cast his vote at the Pekan District Office the following morning. The gracious man invited the horde of reporters to relax with him at his residence for the evening. Engaging in small talk about how the elections would sway, Tun Razak was a picture of confidence and serenity.

Knowing that the reporters had their ears to the ground, he bantered with the boys about the results to come. Being cautious in the company of a national luminary, everybody was reluctant to offer his view. Except one, that was.

Shafie Nor, a Berita Harian reporter, suggested that the Barisan could take 144 seats out of the possible 154. To which Tun Razak smilingly concurred as he also had the figure in mind, more or less. As it turned out, Shafie was off the mark by nine seats.

The altogether pleasant evening with the great man came to pass when Tun Razak had to go off next door to the late Tengku Arif Bendahara's for a private chat with him. Which left the reporters to the equally pleasant task of tucking themselves in to the savoury noodle prepared by the just as gracious Toh Puan Rahah.

The task of covering Tun Razak on his campaign ended at his official residence, Seri Taman, where he followed the results with the other big wigs of UMNO and Barisan. But before that, the return to Kuala Lumpur, after witnessing Tun Razak casting his vote, was done at a laidback pace with stops along the

way to check on the rate of voter turnout.

Before leaving Pekan he asked in jest whether the reporters would be voting. Again Shafie Nor quipped to the effect that chances were the boys would not have the time to do so as most of them were registered as voters in Kuala Lumpur.

That was 20 years ago. Today Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, a skillful strategic thinker, presents just as formidable a campaigner as any. And with a general election lurking around the corner, there is no doubt that the man, known for his strength of conviction, will lead and guide the Barisan to yet another resounding victory.

Twent years on, the coalition is as strong and solid as ever. There is no reason why the picture should not remain the same for the next multiples of 20.

● The writer was a former New Straits Times reporter and press secretary to Prime Minister Tun Hussein Onn.

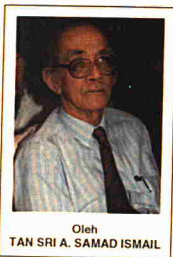
BARISAN NASIONAL BINA SATU BANGSA BERSATU PADU

BARISAN Nasional dan sebelum itu Perikatan merupakan satu tenaga politik yang dominan sejak merdeka. Tetapi sebenarnya Perikatan bermula dari sejak sebelum merdeka lagi dengan bibitnya tumbuh dalam masa Pilihanraya Municipal di Kuala Lumpur bila UMNO dan MCA bekerjasama merebut kerusi yang dipertandingkan dalam pilihanraya itu. Kerjasama itu antara dua parti suku kaum terbesar di Malaya meluas kepada peringkat nasional. Allahyarham Tunku Abdul Rahman dan Mendiang Tun Tan Cheng Lok menggunakan Perikatan sebagai satu kekuatan politik untuk tawar-menawar dengan British

dalam rundingan-rundingan mencapai kemerdekaan.

Pada peringkat awal penubuhan Perikatan, tidak ramai yang menyakini bahawa ikatan itu akan kekal lama. British sendiri tidak yakin dengan ketahanan Perikatan. British lebih cenderung menggalakkan parti politik yang tidak perkauman. Kerana itu mereka menggalakkan Datuk Onn menubuhkan IMP (Independence Malaya Parti). Datuk Onn berusaha memujuk UMNO menerima anggota-anggota bukan Melayu tetapi usahanya itu gagal dan Datuk Onn pun keluar dari UMNO lalu menubuhkan IMP.

Perikatan sahaja yang



Oleh
TAN SRI A. SAMAD ISMAIL



● PRESIDEN MCA Datuk Seri Dr. Ling Liong Sik menyambut kunjungan kanak-kanak buta dalam satu perayaan Tahun Baru Cina.

terus kekal sekalipun menghadapi berbagai ujian dan cabaran. Hubungan antara kaum masih belum mantap. Terlalu banyak persoalan yang merangkumi bidang-bidang politik, ekonomi, sosial dan budaya di mana kedua-dua kaum terbesar itu masih belum dapat mencapai kata sepakat. Rasa saling curiga mencurigai antara kaum masih tebal mempengaruhi persepsi kaum Melayu dan kaum Cina.

British keberatan memberikan kemerdekaan kepada satu kaum sahaja. British berpegang kepada prinsip asalnya ketika membawa gagasan Malayan Union selepas perang bahawa tiap penduduk Malaya yang menjadikan Malaya sebagai tempat kediamannya yang kekal dan menjadikan negara ini tumpuan taat setianya yang tidak berbelah bagi harus diberikan hak kerakyatan dalam sebuah negara Malaya yang merdeka. Ini berarti tidak sahaja semua rakyat British di Malaya pada waktu itu secara otomatis mendapat hak kerakyatan Malaya tetapi juga semua penduduk yang menjadikan Malaya tempat kediamannya yang kekal dan menumpukan taat setianya yang tidak berbelah bagi harus diberikan taraf kewarganegaraan. Dasar ini bergelar dasar 'jus soli'. Orang-orang Melayu membantah dasar ini kerana bimbang hak mereka di tanahair sendiri akan terhakis.

Orang-orang Melayu ketika itu masih menganggap orang-orang Cina dan India



● DR. MAHATHIR bersama rombongan Sukan SEA 1993 sebelum berlepas ke Singapura.

sebagai orang asing yang menumpang hidup di tanahair mereka. Orang-orang Melayu takut kalau sekiranya orang-orang Cina diterima sebagai warganegara, kedudukan orang-orang Melayu di masa depan akan gelap. Maka itu terpaksa di antara para pemimpin UMNO dan MCA mencari satu formula yang berupa tolak ansur dua kaum terbesar itu.

Kita perlu mengambil ingatan akan latar keadaan negara ini khususnya dan rantau ini umumnya pada masa itu. Seluruh rantau ini sedang bergolak ketika kita memperjuangkan kemerdekaan

pada dekad-dekad tahun 50-an itu. Keganasan komunis sedang memuncak. Selain itu, bukan UMNO dan MCA sahaja yang bergerak aktif di bidang politik. Terdapat parti-parti berhaluan radikal, parti-parti sosialis, parti-parti perkauman yang setengahnya amat sempit kefahamannya, parti-parti agama dan sebagainya, semuanya cuba mencorakkan masa depan negara.

Di samping itu rantau ini bergolak pula dengan perjuangan anti kolonial di Indochina dan di Indonesia sementara di China, komunisma telah berjaya mengu-

asai negara itu. Dunia di-ancam oleh satu peperangan baru, kali ini peperangan nuklear yang lebih dahsyat antara Barat dan empayar komunis. Dengan lain kata, perang dingin sedang marak.

British bimbang sekiranya ia memberikan kemerdekaan maka negara ini akan huru hara akibat permusuhan antara kaum, sekiranya kemerdekaan itu tidak diasaskan pada dasar-dasar politik, ekonomi dan sosial yang kuat. Sedangkan asas-asas itu pula perlu merupakan satu formula di mana kepentingan tiap kaum dapat dipertahankan tanpa merugikan sebarang pihak.

British pula berkejaran dengan masa. Kalau ia lambat memberikan kemerdekaan, mungkin terjadi pergolakan yang lebih tajam yang boleh mengancam

kepentingannya sama sekali.

Bagaimanapun satu formula akhirnya dapat disepakatkan oleh British, UMNO yang mewakili kepentingan Melayu serta MCA yang mewakili kepentingan China.

Sementara formula itu berupa kompromi antara semua pihak - bangsa Melayu diakui haknya di atas bumi Malaya sementara kaum China tidak terjejas akan kepentingannya di bidang ekonomi - tetapi beberapa persoalan yang menyentuh kepentingan kaum-kaum itu belum dapat diselesaikan.

Bahasa Melayu diakui sebagai Bahasa Rasmi di samping bahasa Inggeris sedangkan bahasa-bahasa lain diakui sebagai bahasa kedua. Tetapi bagaimanakah peruntukan-peruntukan

itu yang dicatat dalam perlembagaan negara yang dilaksanakan.

Masalah-masalah ini berlarutan sehingga selepas negara mencapai kemerdekaan.

Pada masa ini berdasarkan pengalaman masa lalu, soal-soal sensitif yang mengenai kepentingan tiap kaum, tidak dibahaskan di tengah umum: Pemimpin-pemimpin Barisan Nasional sekarang mengkaji, menimbang dan memutuskan isu-isu sensitif di antara pemimpin-pemimpin BN sendiri. Isu-isu yang mungkin menimbulkan reaksi yang tidak sihat di kalangan masyarakat biasanya di bincangkan dan disepakatkan dalam sidang-sidang tertutup BN.

Tetapi tidak demikian halnya pada tahun-tahun 50-an dan 60-an itu. Isu-isu



● PERDANA Menteri dikerumuni oleh anak-anak yatim.



● PERARAKAN besar menyambut pelancaran Tahun Sukan Untuk Semua 1993.

bahasa, pendidikan dan kebudayaan menjadi bahan perdebatan dan kontroversi dalam masyarakat dengan semua pihak membincangkannya secara terbuka dan selalunya pula secara tidak rasional.

Sehubungan ini kita bertuah sekali mempunyai pemimpin-pemimpin seperti Almarhum Tunku Abdul Rahman, Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak dan Allahyarham Tun (DR) Ismail serta pemimpin-pemimpin lain seperti Mendiang Tun Tan Cheng Lock dan Mendiang Tun Sambanthan.

Keputusan Tunku Abdul Rahman diterima oleh semua kaum, demikian juga keputusan Tun Abdul Razak. Mereka merupakan pemimpin-pemimpin nasional yang dianggap oleh kaum-kaum lain sebagai pemimpin-pemimpin

yang adil dan saksama.

Penubuhan Perikatan dan kemudiannya Barisan Nasional sebenarnya dimaksudkan untuk membatasi dan mengurangi 'politiking' di antara parti-parti politik di negara ini. Perikatan dan kemudiannya BN membuka pintunya kepada tiap parti politik yang sedia menerima dasar-dasarnya iaitu membina satu bangsa bersatu padu, harmoni dan saling hormat menghormati kepentingan masing-masing.

Perikatan begitu 'fleksibel' hingga ia dapat menerima Parti Progressif Rakyat dan SUPP di Sarawak. Malahan Pas ketika di bawah kepimpinan Allahyarham Tan Sri Datuk Mohd Asri pernah menjadi anggota Barisan Nasional.

Kekuatan dan keunggulan BN ialah kerana ia tidak berdasarkan satu-satu

fahaman yang 'rigid' tetapi berupa satu kelompok parti-parti politik dari berbagai suku kaum dan berbagai aliran yang disatukan oleh cita-cita membangun sebuah negara Malaysia yang harmoni dan bersatu padu.

Barisan Nasional digerakkan oleh cita-cita untuk membangun sebuah negara Malaysia yang dijiwai oleh Wawasan 2020, untuk membina sebuah negara industri, setaraf dengan negara-negara maju di dunia.

Ia menggabungkan hampir seluruh parti politik di Malaysia termasuk Sarawak dan Sabah.

Parti-parti lain cuba mencontohi formula Barisan Nasional tetapi ternyata bahawa usaha itu tidak berhasil kerana masing-masing lebih mementingkan muslihat kelompoknya sendiri.



Tun Abdul Razak

KEMENANGAN BN: BUKTI RAKYAT MAHU KERAJAAN KUAT DAN JUJUR

SAYA bersyukur ke hadirat Allah Subhanahu Wataala kerana dengan berkat limpah rahmat dan hidayah-Nya, Saya dapat berucap kepada saudara-saudara sekali lagi sempena dengan Perayaan Hari Kebangsaan kita yang ke-17 esok.

Sempena peristiwa yang penting dan bersejarah ini, sudah sayugianya kita sebagai rakyat Malaysia, di mana-mana juga kita berada, menyambut hari yang berbahagia ini dengan penuh ghairah sambil berdoa kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Kuasa agar kita berada dalam keadaan aman sentosa serta mendapat perlindunganNya pada setiap masa.

Dalam pada kita merayakan hari ini dengan berbagai acara yang meriah, patudlah juga kita bertafakur sejenak untuk mengenang dan menghormati roh para pemimpin kita yang telah pergi mendahului kita dan juga para pahlawan yang telah gugur kerana mempertahankan tanahair yang kita cintai ini.

Saya lebih-lebih berasa gembira serta bersyukur ke hadirat Tuhan kerana kali ini saya berucap kepada saudara-saudara dalam suasana yang penuh gembira berikutan dengan kemenangan besar parti Barisan Nasional dalam Pilihanraya Umum yang baru lalu.

Hanya di Sarawak Pilihanraya belum lagi tamat akan tetapi saya yakin dan percaya dengan izin Tuhan di sana juga bersama-sama dengan rakyat di tempat lain akan memberi sokongan penuh kepada Barisan Nasional.

Kemenangan cemerlang yang diperolehi oleh Barisan Nasional jelas membuktikan bahawa rakyat berkehendak kepada Kerajaan yang kuat dan jujur yang boleh memelihara dan menjamin perpaduan rakyat dan kemakmuran negara.

Seperti yang seringkali saya tegaskan, hanya Kerajaan Barisan Nasional sahaja yang dapat memenuhi hasrat rakyat membawa mereka menuju zaman baru yang aman damai dan bahagia.

Saya suka mengambil kesempatan ini mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi penghargaan dan terima kasih di atas kepercayaan dan sokongan penuh saudara-saudara dengan memberikan mandat baru kepada Kerajaan Barisan Nasional untuk berkhidmat kepada Negara untuk lima tahun yang akan datang.

Kerajaan Barisan Nasional berazam akan terus memberikan pimpinan yang jujur dan penuh dedikasi untuk membawa keamanan, kemakmuran dan keadilan kepada rakyat dan

Sedutan ucapan Hari Kebangsaan oleh Perdana Menteri, Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak melalui RTM pada malam 30 Ogos 1974. Inilah ucapan penting Allahyarham seminggu selepas Barisan Nasional mencapai kemenangan besar dalam Pilihanraya Umum pada 24 Ogos 1974.

negara.

Kepada wakil-wakil rakyat dari Barisan Nasional yang telah mendapat kemenangan, saya suka menegaskan bahawa kepercayaan yang besar yang diberi oleh rakyat adalah bermakna kita mempunyai tanggungjawab yang berat bagi menunaikan kehendak-kehendak dan harapan rakyat kepada kita. Kita mesti bersungguh-sungguh berkhidmat kepada rakyat dengan penuh dedikasi dan kejujuran.

Saya berharap akan dapat mengumumkan Ahli-ahli Jemaah Menteri yang baru tidak lama lagi.

Sementara itu, saya ingin menyampaikan penghargaan saya kepada beberapa orang Menteri yang telah mengundurkan diri setelah

memberikan perkhidmatan mereka kepada rakyat dan negara sekian lama.

Kita akan sentiasa ingat kepada Tun Tan Siew Sin, Tun V. T. Sambanthan dan Tan Sri Sardon Jubir dan saya percaya rakyat akan sentiasa mengingati jasa-jasa mereka yang akan kekal tercatat dalam sejarah negara kita.

Saya yakin Ahli-ahli Jemaah Menteri yang bakal dilantik itu akan melaksanakan tugas dan tanggungjawab mereka dengan penuh minat dan kejujuran untuk kemajuan rakyat dan negara.

Kepada generasi muda khasnya, perayaan Hari Kebangsaan ini mempunyai penuh erti kerana hari ini kita mengenang kembali detik-detik perjuangan me-

nuntut kemerdekaan negara kita Malaysia yang dipelopori oleh pejuang-pejuang kebangsaan dulu.

Pada segi yang lain, setiap kali kita menyambut Hari Kebangsaan, bermakna setahun lagi kita melangkah maju mengisi kemerdekaan dan setahun pula kita bertambah dewasa serta yakin kepada masa depan bangsa dan negara kita ini.

Tabun 1974 ini pada amnya menunjukkan lebih banyak kemajuan serta membawa harapan yang lebih cerah dalam semua bidang usaha Kerajaan.

Seperti yang sama dimaklum, pelaksanaan Rancangan Malaysia Kedua di bawah Dasar Ekonomi Baru menghasilkan kemajuan yang amat memuaskan sehingga hari ini.



● PERHIMPUNAN besar UMNO.



● DR. MAHATHIR disambut mesra oleh ahli-ahli parti MCA.

Tetapi rancangan kita mempunyai jangka masa 20 tahun sebelum segala matlamatnya dapat dicapai.

Setakat ini sudah banyak yang telah dicapai terutama tentang peluang-peluang pekerjaan menerusi projek-projek perindustian dan pembukaan tanah oleh Felda dan pihak swasta.

Saya yakin dengan langkah-langkah tegas dan berani yang kita jalankan maka matlamat itu akan dicapai sepenuhnya dalam jangka masa yang ditetapkan itu.

Tiada siapa yang boleh menafikan bahawa Dasar Ekonomi Baru adalah memberi jaminan kepada golongan rakyat yang tidak berada di Negara kita mendapat kedudukan yang lebih sempurna dalam bidang ekonomi moden dan mendapat bahagian kekayaan dan kemudahan yang lebih adil dan saksama.

Saya suka mengulangi iaitu dalam usaha Kerajaan hendak membina masyarakat adil dalam negara kita yang berbilang bangsa ini, faktor yang paling penting ialah perpaduan dan persefahaman di kalangan rakyat.

Tanpa perpaduan, hasrat baik Kerajaan itu adalah sukar hendak dicapai.

Oleh yang demikian, saya menyeru seluruh rakyat supaya saling faham memahami dan hormat menghormati di antara satu dengan lain supaya dapat menjamin serta mengekalkan keharmonian dan ketenteraman di kalangan masyarakat kita.

Jauhilah daripada perbuatan yang boleh membawa kepada pertelingkahan antara kaum dan perpecahan sesama kita sendiri.

Bagaimanapun, Kerajaan yang saya pimpin akan terus mengambil langkah-

langkah yang wajar bagi menjamin ketenteraman dan keharmonian negara dalam segala usaha yang melibatkan kehidupan rakyat seluruhnya.

Memandang pada hakikat inilah maka sejak beberapa tahun ini kita sangat menitikberatkan konsep perpaduan yang termaktub dalam Rukunegara sebagai tema Hari Kebangsaan.

Tahun ini kita memilih tema 'Sains dan Teknologi Alat Perpaduan' kerana mengingat betapa pentingnya pengetahuan Sains dan Teknologi dalam usaha mempercepatkan kemajuan dan pembangunan negara yang mana pada muktamadnya akan menjamin kestabilan serta wujudnya negara yang kita cintai ini.

Ilmu pengetahuan terutama pengetahuan Sains dan Teknologi merupakan faktor yang sangat penting dalam pembinaan masyarakat Malaysia yang moden

dan maju.

Kejayaan kita dalam usaha hendak memperibadikan keadaan masyarakat luar bandar dengan masyarakat bandar akan banyak bergantung kepada penggunaan Sains dan Teknologi terutama dalam bidang pertanian dan perindustrian.

Dalam tempoh beberapa tahun yang akan datang ini, Kerajaan akan melipat gandakan usaha untuk memodenkan rakyat kita sama ada mereka itu kaum tani yang hidup dengan bersama padi atau pekebun-pekebun kecil getah, kaum nelayan yang membanting tulang di lautan luas, pedagang-pedagang dan pekedai kecil di kampung-kampung.

Sayugia diingat, selagi ada mana-mana golongan masyarakat kita yang tertinggal di belakang, maka selama itu pulalah terdapat jurang perbezaan ekonomi antara pihak yang berada dengan pihak yang tidak berada.

Kesimpulannya, jika keadaan ini tidak diperbaiki maka tidak akan tercapai perpaduan yang sebenar sepertimana yang dicitakan itu.

Dengan yang demikian, amatlah kena pada masanya kita memilih tema "Sains dan Teknologi Alat Perpaduan" bagi perayaan Hari Kebangsaan kali ini dengan harapan semoga rakyat seluruhnya menyedari hakikat ini dan menerimanya sebagai satu faktor penting dalam kehidupan kita.

Begitu juga, kita maklum



● **DATUK S. Samy Vellu bersama penyokong dalam satu perhimpunan besar parti MIC.**

bahawa ilmu pengetahuan membolehkan rakyat berfikir dengan cara yang mendalam untuk memahami dan mengatasi masalah-masalah rumit yang mungkin timbul dari latar belakang kebudayaan dan tradisi yang berlainan di antara kaum.

Di samping itu unsur-unsur permodenan yang berlandaskan sains dan teknologi boleh dijadikan asas untuk memupuk perpaduan rakyat.

Perkara yang penting ialah percantuman ciri-ciri yang baik dari kebudayaan dan tradisi kaum terbesar di negara kita dengan ciri-ciri ilmu pengetahuan moden yang berlandaskan sains dan teknologi supaya dengan demikian dalam beberapa generasi akan datang akan muncul satu masyarakat yang benar-benar bersifat Malaysia, yang

bersikap serta mempunyai cara hidup Malaysia yang sebenarnya.

Saya bersyukur kepada Allah bahawa keadaan keselamatan dalam negeri pada keseluruhannya adalah baik walaupun masih terdapat ancaman dari pengganas-pengganas dalam hutan yang dibantu oleh anasir-anasir anti-nasional ejen-ejen mereka di bandar-bandar dan kampung-kampung.

Bagaimanapun, langkah-langkah tegas yang kita ambil telah berhasil membawa sebahagian besar pengganas-pengganas di Sarawak meletakkan senjata dan kembali ke pangkuan masyarakat.

Di Semenanjung Malaysia, saya sentiasa bersedia menerima mereka sekiranya mereka menghentikan perbuatan ganas mereka dan meletakkan senjata.

BN BERJAYA MENGANGKAT NAMA DAN IMEJ MALAYSIA

BILA bercakap tentang *plural society* atau masyarakat majmuk, Malaysia menjadi contoh terbaik yang dapat menunjukkan bukti dan baktinya membina sebuah negara berbilang kaum yang hidup dengan penuh toleransi dan persefahaman.

Malaysia tegas memelihara warisan budaya, agama dan bahasa pelbagai kaumnya, dengan Islam menjadi agama rasmi dan Bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa Kebangsaan serta budaya peribumi tegak menjadi teras budaya negara.

Namun satu lagi hal yang menjadi contoh terbaik malah ingin diteladani oleh beberapa pemimpin politik dunia terutama dari negara-negara membangun ialah kesediaan sebilangan para pemimpin politik negara bersefahaman dan bekerjasama dalam ikatan Barisan Nasional (BN) demi menjayakan cita-cita negara.

Barisan ini dianggotai oleh 13 parti politik dengan UMNO memainkan peranan sebagai teras.

Sejak pembentukannya 20 tahun lalu hasil idea yang dicetuskan Allahyarham Tun Abdul Razak, Perdana Menteri kedua Malaysia, BN sudah mencatat senarai kejayaan panjang dalam meninggikan eko-

nomi rakyat serta membawa kemakmuran untuk mereka bermula dari pelaksanaan rancangan pembangunan tanah seperti FELDA dan FELCRA kepada pewujudan industri berat berteknologi tinggi hingga menghasilkan pengeluaran kereta nasional.

Kerajaan BN dalam dua dekad lalu berjaya menarik sejumlah besar pelaburan asing bernilai jutaan ringgit bagi pembinaan ratusan industri besar di negara ini yang mewujudkan ribuan peluang kerja untuk rakyat.

Namun bidang kejayaan BN tidak terbatas pada pembangunan fizikal dan kemewahan material untuk rakyat, malahan dalam arena antarabangsa BN berjaya mengangkat nama dan imej negara di mata dunia.

Sekalipun sebuah negara kecil, mempunyai 18 juta penduduk, namun Malaysia mampu memainkan peranan besar dan sering berada di barisan depan di Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu (PBB), Pergerakan Negara-negara Berkecuali (NAM) dan Komanwel.

Di bawah teraju Perdana Menteri ke-4 Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad, Malaysia begitu dikenali dan dihormati dunia kerana keberaniannya bersuara lantang di forum dunia

Oleh
PENULIS UNDANGAN

menentang sebarang bentuk ketidakadilan dan penyelewengan.

Tetapi Malaysia merupakan satu-satunya negara di dunia yang menyuarakan dirombak atau dihapuskan sistem keanggotaan tetap Majlis Keselamatan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu yang hanya dimonopoli oleh Amerika Syarikat, Britain, China, Perancis dan Russia dengan mempunyai kuasa pembatal yang digunakan sewenang-wenangnya bagi menekan negara-negara anggota tertentu dalam PBB.

Malaysia berpandangan setiap anggota badan dunia itu seharusnya mempunyai taraf dan kedudukan yang sama.

Contoh yang paling jelas dan masih hangat diperdebatkan ialah penentangan

negara terhadap ketidakadilan malahan penganiayaan puak Serb, yang layak dipanggil pengganas, ke atas ribuan penduduk Islam Bosnia di bekas Republik Yugoslavia.

Penentangan Malaysia ini mencelekkkan mata para pemimpin Barat yang selama ini dilamun angan-angan dan sangkaan kononnya negara-negara membangun dan kecil boleh diperkotak-katikkan saja.

Kelantangan Malaysia ini juga menyentak Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu yang selama ini bertindak mengikut telunjuk negara-negara besar tertentu.

Kini terdapat tanda PBB dan negara-negara besar berusaha mengembalikan sebahagian besar wilayah Bosnia yang ditawan oleh

Serb.

Keberanian Malaysia tidak setakat melahirkan suaranya tetapi turut dibuktikan dengan tindakan. Malaysia menyertai banyak misi Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu menyelia gencatan senjata di negara-negara yang dilanda persengketaan dan perang saudara serta membantu kelicinan perjalanan pilihanraya di negara-negara sedemikian seperti di Kemboja.

Malaysia kini menukarkan 1,500 anggota tentera ke Bosnia menyertai pasukan PBB, Pasukan Pelindung Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu (UNPROFOR). Terdapat juga 955 anggota tentera negara menyertai UNOSOM di SOMALIA pada masa ini. Negera juga pernah menugaskan ang-



● DR MAHATHIR menerima cek bernilai RM10,000 untuk Tabung Bosnia daripada Ketua Padri Gereja Anglikan Malaysia Barat Tan Sri John Savarimuthu.



● ENCIK Abdul Ghafar Baba berbual mesra dengan Presiden Nelson Mandela di satu majlis jamuan meraikan lawatan pemimpin Afrika Selatan ke Malaysia tidak lama dulu.

gota tentera ke Kemboja dalam UNCTAD serta ke sempadan Iraq menyertai UNIMOG bagi menyalia gencatan senjata dengan Kuwait.

Kecekapan pasukan Malaysia dalam UNOSOM ketika menghadapi serangan puak militia Somalia mengkagumkan askar Amerika. Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu kemudian melantik seorang panglima Malaysia Jen Aboo Samah Aboo Bakar menjadi komander operasi PBB di Somalia (UNOSOM II).

Perlantikan ini mengangakat imej negara di mata dunia dan membuktikan kemampuan Malaysia memainkan peranan penting dalam pergolakan dunia, sekalipun ia sebuah negara kecil.

Pencapaian seperti ini

adalah hasil pemikiran dan tindakan bijak para pemimpin kerajaan BN dalam percaturan politik dunia.

Dalam pergolakan terbaru di Bosnia, Malaysia menyatakan kesediaannya menganggotai pasukan petugas bersatu (Unified Task Force) di Bosnia-Herzegovina walaupun dengan perbelanjaan sendiri sekiranya peranan UNPROFOR berubah di negara itu.

Menteri Pertahanan Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak bagaimanapun berkata tindakan itu tertakluk kepada perkembangan di Bosnia, pendirian PBB dan negera-negara besar.

"Kita bersedia tetapi kita belum pastikan saiz kontinjen, apa peranan kita, apa mandat kita... dan soal ini mesti dikaitkan dengan ke-

mampuan kita sebagai sebuah negara kecil," kata Najib.

Barangkali perkembangan terbaru yang menjadi kebanggaan Malaysia ialah hasrat Afrika Selatan yang baru hendak mencontohi Malaysia dalam merangka perlembagaan baru negara ini.

Tentunya para pemimpin negara itu terutama Presiden Nelson Mandela dapat melihat dengan jelas kejayaan Malaysia membawa masyarakatnya yang berbilang kaum dan agama menikmati kemakmuran dan hidup dalam suasana harmoni serta penuh persediaan.

Menteri Luar Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi berkata, Malaysia akan membantu Afrika Selatan dalam hal tersebut.



Tun Hussein Onn



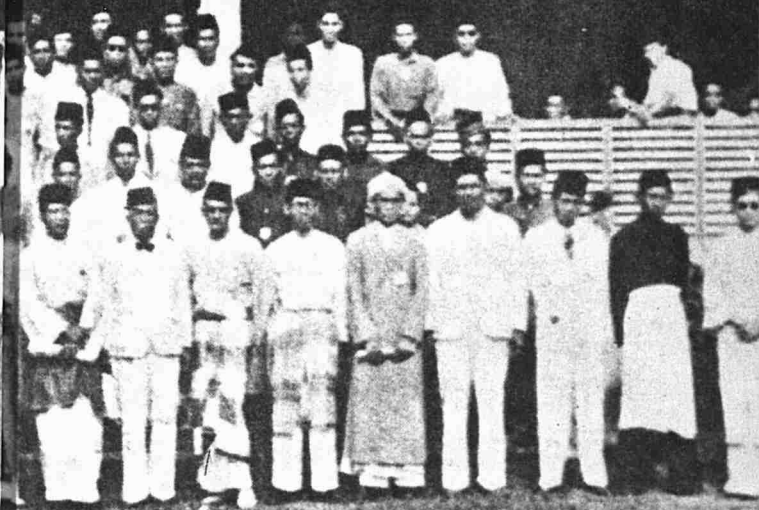
● BUAT pertama kali bendera UMNO berkibar di bumi Sabah.

NOST



● SEJARAH yang menjadi kenangan adalah Perisya Malaya. Perisya ini perhimpunan ijazah S-1 hingga 4 Mac 1936, di bawah pimpinan Malaya Barat.

ALGIA




...nkan pada hari perpecahan bangsa Melayu yang melahirkan UMNO. Dalam
...kalnya ditunjukkan.

HARI KELAHIRAN



MUMNO DI SABAH

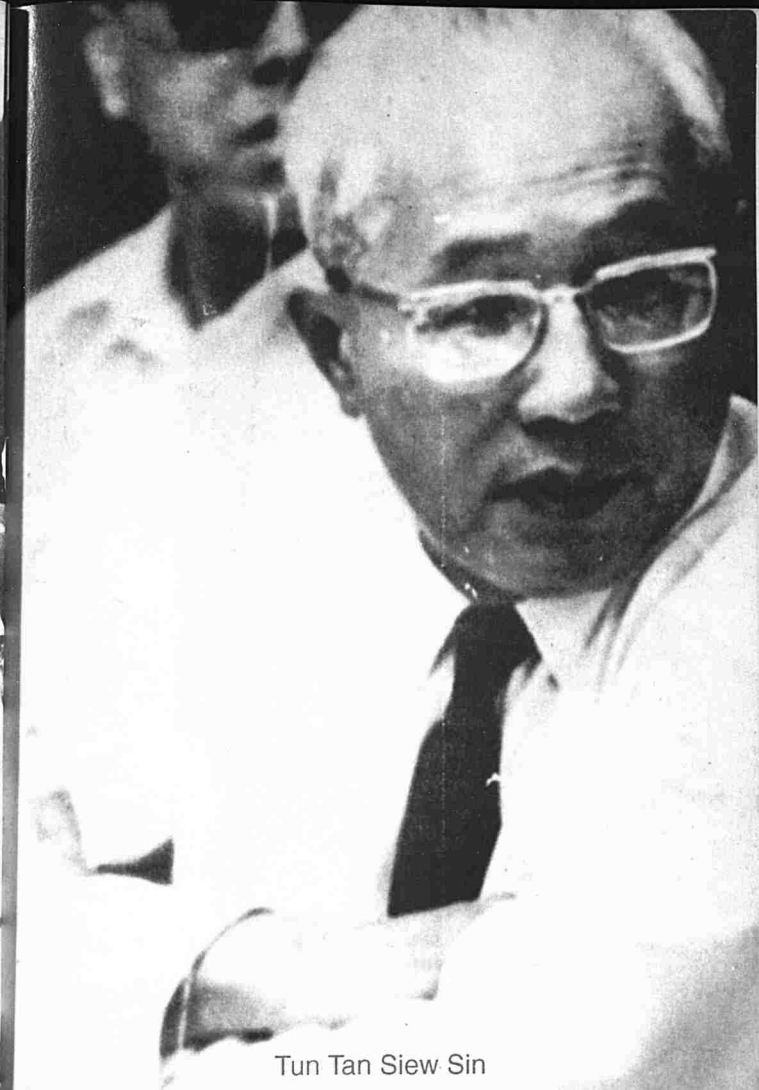




● LAPAN Februari 1956 — detik paling bersejarah bagi Malaya — perjanjian kemerdekaan ditandatangani di London antara Tun Tan Cheng Lock, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra dan Lord, Setiausaha Tanah Jajahan British.



● BERKURUS tiba dari London. Tunku singgah buat sesetika di kediaman Tun Tan Cheng Lock di Melaka.



Tun Tan Siew Sin



Tun Dr. Ismail

THE BARISAN NASIONAL: MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF GLOBALISATION

IN the history of the Malaysian political process, the Barisan Nasional occupies a unique place. Firstly, it has been a coalition that was forged before the attainment of independence. As a matter of fact, the coalition was an important instrument of leverage and political bargaining in the negotiations leading towards independence. Secondly, it has been a coalition that has been closely identified with the political history of the country. It can be safely asserted that the post-independence political history of Malaysia and that of the Barisan Nasional are almost inseparable. Thirdly, the Barisan Nasional coalition is distinctive in the sense that unlike political coalitions elsewhere, it has been formed prior to elections and has not be a consequ-

ence of the pattern of electoral outcomes. Very often, coalition administrations are the products of bargaining and compromise between political parties seeking to maximise their influence and decision-making roles arising from their level of electoral representation in terms of votes and legislative strength. The latter situation is generally prevalent in many European and Asian political systems. What is also notable about the Barisan Nasional has been its capacity to evolve to meet the new challenges and demands of a rapidly developing society, both in economic and social terms. The political success of the Alliance and the Barisan Nasional is well exemplified by the fact that, in the perception of many Malaysians, it is seen as a cohesive and single political unit

By
**PROF. MURUGESU
PATHMANATHAN**



● THE Monarch and his Chancellor, Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad and his deputy Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim in an audience with His Majesty The Yang Di-Pertuan Agong IX, Sultan Azlan Shah.



● RESPECT of a veteran for his Prime Minister. Dr Mahathir at the opening of a gathering of ex-servicemen organised by The Ex-Services Association of Malaysia.

or party. Indeed, for many Malaysians, the Barisan Nasional is, to all intents and purposes, the ruling party.

During the period of its political administration, the Barisan Nasional has been successful in overcoming the threat of communism, communalism and impoverishment. These threats were serious and constituted major obstacles to nation building and the creation of a viable national economic entity. Malaysia like many other developing countries of that period was viewed by many western observers as a likely victim of the "domino theory" (The domino theory predicted the fall of the states of South East Asia one by one to communist rule). From 1948-1960, the nation witnessed the harrowing experience of armed com-

munist insurgency. Even after 1960 when the insurgency was declared to be over, the threat of communism was a major factor that had to be taken into account in the formulation and implementation of national policies both in the domestic and national arenas. Communalism was a major obstacle to nation building and development and the Barisan Nasional had to seek ways and means to overcome this insidious threat. The extent of the seriousness of this threat was shown by the economic and social disruptions caused by their communal disturbances of May 1969. As a political organisation committed to the welfare of the people, the Barisan Nasional sought to address effectively the issue of poverty eradication right

from the onset of the time it came to power. A key element contributory to the efficacy of the Barisan Nasional as an agency of political change and development was the leadership that was provided to the nation. This leadership at the national apex was an amalgam of commitment, sincerity, integrity, accommodation and purposefulness. These qualities were represented by all the four Premiers who were also the leaders of the Barisan Nasional, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, Tun Abdul Razak, Tun Hussein Onn and Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. Each in his own way personified distinctive traits of leadership that were crucial to the economic and political development of Malaysia. The Tunku was instrumen-

tal in forging the national consensus that laid the foundations for Malaysia's independence and nationhood. Tun Abdul Razak laid the track for national development particularly the New Economic Policy and was instrumental in shifting the country to a stance of non-alignment. Tun Hussein Onn consolidated the achievements of his predecessor and provided a sense of continuity, stability and integrity in both the domestic and international arenas. And it has been Dr. Mahathir who has put the nation onto a higher gear of accelerated industrialisation and a more activist stance on international political issues. Since 1955, the Alliance and subsequently, the Barisan Nasional, has been an instrument of effective political competition at the polls. In the various national elec-

tions held in 1955, 1959, 1964, 1969, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1986 and 1990, it has been victorious and usually, has been able to obtain a two-thirds majority.

The performance of the Barisan Nasional has been creditable. Since 1970, the Barisan Nasional has effectively supervised and monitored the implementation of the New Economic Policy. In 1989, Dr. Mahathir initiated the setting up of the National Economic Consultative Council representing every spectrum of the Malaysian social and political framework to craft the National Development Policy to underpin the nation's economic and social progress until the year 2000. It was an exercise in the creation of a national consensus on a development policy to replace the NEP. The political stability and communal harmony

that the country has enjoyed is a direct result of the policies of the Barisan Nasional.

As the country marches towards the 21st century and the achievement of the objectives of Vision 2020, globalisation will present a new dimension of challenge to the Barisan Nasional and its political leadership. Dr. Mahathir has stated that "by the year 2020, Malaysia can be a united nation, with a confident Malaysian society, infused by strong moral and ethical values, living in a society that is democratic, liberal and tolerant, caring, economically just, and equitable, progressive and prosperous, and in full possession of an economy that is competitive, dynamic, robust and resilient".

This vision is challenging. It is a challenge both for the political leader-



● THE cheerful laughter of a statesman. Dr Mahathir poses a striking picture as he shares a joke with Datuk Musa Hitam and MIC Deputy President Datuk S. Subramaniam.



● MALAYSIA'S First Among Equals is a multi-talented man. He is adept in the kitchen as well as at a carpentry bench. He is seen here trying his hands at *roti canai* making, much to his own amusement and that of Datin Seri Dr. Siti Hasmah and Barisan Nasional Secretary General Datuk Mohamed Rahmat.

ship and for every citizen. In his speech to the Malaysian Business Council, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad identified nine strategic challenges that have to be overcome. The Prime Minister has stated:

"There can be no fully developed Malaysia until we have finally overcome the nine central strategic challenges that have confronted us from the moment of our birth as an independent nation." A majority of these nine strategic challenges focus on developing the spiritual, mental and psychological foundations for a united and progressive Malaysian society.

All these challenges have to be fully taken account of in the push for

the status of a developed, liberal, democratic and tolerant society by the year 2020. One can say quite categorically that the agenda for the next quarter century for the nation's political leadership and the Barisan Nasional has been outlined in definitive terms. Given the tremendous significance of these challenges, it is not redundant to restate at least the first two of these nine central strategic challenges.

● The first of these is the challenge of establishing a united Malaysian nation with a sense of common and shared destiny. This must be a nation at peace with itself, territorially and ethnically integrated, living in harmony and full and fair partnership,

made up of one 'Bangsa Malaysia' with political loyalty and dedication to the Nation.

● The second is the challenge of creating a psychologically liberated, secure, and developed Malaysian Society with faith and confidence in itself, justifiably proud of what it is, of what it has accomplished, robust enough to face all manner of adversity. The Malaysian Society must be distinguished by the pursuit of excellence, fully aware of all its potentials, psychologically subservient to none and respected by the peoples of other nations.

● Assoc. Prof. Murugesu Pathmanathan lectures on Government and Foreign Policy at the University of Malaya.

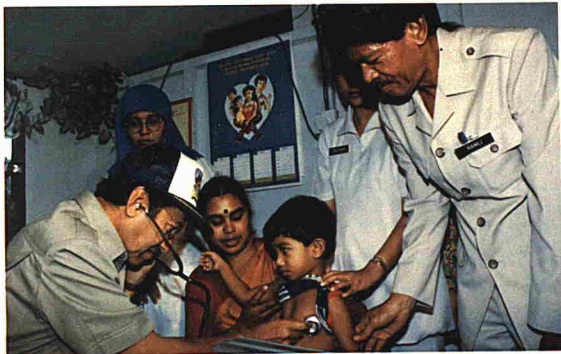
TUNKU'S FIRST CABINET

WITH the brilliant victory of the UMNO-MCA-MIC Alliance Party on the July 27, 1955 general elections, a new era in the country's political history began. The victory prompted the government to gear towards gaining full independence for the country.

The 51 seat victory, out of the possible 52, enabled the Alliance Party leader, Tunku Abdul Rahman to become the Chief Minister in a government that could be defined as self-administration government. Although the British High Commissioner was still chairman of the cabinet, the Tunku had the power to form his own cabinet.

Tunku's first cabinet were as follows:-

- i. Tunku Abdul Rahman - Chief Minister, Defence Minister and Home Affairs Minister.
- ii. Datuk Abdul Razak Hussein (Tun) - Education Minister
- iii. Dr. Ismail Datuk Abdul Rahman (Tun) - Natural Resources Minister
- iv. Encik Abdul Aziz Ishak - Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Minister
- v. Colonel Hau Shck Lee (Tun) - Transport Minister
- vi. Mr. Leong Yew Koh (Tun) - Health Minister
- vii. Mr. V. T. Sambanthan (Tun) - Labour Minister
- viii. Encik Sardon Jubir (Tun) - Works Minister



● PRACTISING his first love. Dr Mahathir takes time off from his busy political schedule to attend to a young child's need for medical attention.



● A politician for all seasons, Dr Mahathir is just as at ease cycling with other political leaders in meeting his constituent.

- ix. Datuk Sulaiman Datuk Abdul Rahman - Housing and Local Government Minister
- x. Mr. Ong Yoke Lin (Tun) - Communications, Post and Telecoms Minister
- xi. Encik Bahaman Shamsuddin (Tan Sri) - Home Affairs Junior Minister
- xii. Mr. Too Joon Hing - Education Junior Minister
- xiii. Encik Mohamad Khir Johari (Tan Sri) - Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Junior Minister
- xiv. Encik Abdul Rahman Talib - Health Junior Minister
- xv. Encik Khalid Awang Othman - Labour Junior Minister

Although the Alliance Party won a tremendous victory in the general elections, its powers were still limited. Its powers were not similar to that of a party which rules in an independent country. As I said a moment ago, the British Commissioner and Finance Secretary and the Law Adviser were comprised of British officers.

But still the victory was very meaningful to the Alliance Party and from this, they started building their foundation as a powerful political party. Motivation towards this effort was further enhanced so as to allow the country and the people to enjoy fully the pinnacles of power.

The Alliance Party's manifesto distributed to the

people said that within four years of the 1955 general elections, the country will be independent and it gives the picture that the people of Malaya were thriving for independence and they also wanted a self-rule government not lacking in sovereignty.

Parti Negara, the main opposition party to the Alliance Party, drifted away carrying with it Datuk Onn's ideology. He failed to influence the people with issues already considered obsolete and outdated. Datuk Onn himself lost in the election by bowing out to Datuk Sulaiman Datuk Abdul Rahman of the Alliance Party in the Johore Bahru constituency. He only managed to acquire 2,802 votes compared to Datuk Sulaiman's solid

8,745 votes.

The Alliance Party lost the Krian constituency in Perak to Pas, the only one. In a three-cornered fight, the Alliance Party candidate Haji Sulaiman Palestin (a non-local) lost narrowly to Pas' Haji Hussein by 450 majority votes while the Perak National Association's (PKP) Encik Mohamad Jan Ngah Mohamad obtained 3,315 votes. The Pas victory was seen as a personal one in the sense that its influence was not accounted for.

However, the Alliance Party's victory was most extraordinary and no country in the world could match it. The Alliance Party candidate in the Seberang Perai constituency Encik Hashim Awang even won his seat uncontested on Nomination Day.

The British government, who openly supported the Parti Negara, had hoped for

an even contest but the tremendous victory only brought them headaches. The British High Commissioner could have appointed five out of the seven appointees for a place in top government administration if the contest was even.

The British did not expect the Alliance Party candidates from the MCA to win in Malay-majority constituencies and it resulted in a do-or-die battle for the Alliance to place candidates there with satisfying results.

With this, the conditions imposed by Malcolm MacDonald where "independence for the country can only be given if all races unite" was abolished by itself. The British had no more excuses to play with.

UMNO and other members of the Alliance Party celebrated in style for four days after the elections. All

UMNO representatives from state, district, division and even branch level assembled in Kuala Lumpur, co-incidentally the same time the new UMNO house was officiated on July 31, 1955.

The UMNO House, situated in Batu Road (now Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman), was opened by His Royal Highness Sultan Hishamuddin Shah, the Sultan of Selangor. All the 51 successful candidates of the Alliance Party attended the ceremony and was introduced to all guests who included Michael Hogan, the Attorney-General, A.H.P. Humphrey, the Defence Secretary, D.C. Watherston, the Chief Secretary and Sir Raja Uda, the Federal Legislative Assembly Speaker.

The elections over, UMNO began its struggle to gain full independence for the country. The UMNO



● THE love of a people for its leader. Young and old Malaysians from all walks of life wait patiently to pay homage to Dr Mahathir at the prime ministerial residence, Seri Perdana, during Aidil Fitri.



● A gheeful Dr Mahathir could not resist grandfatherly instinct upon changing a borency pretty baby.

machinery worked smoothly to inform the people about the prospect of independence. The fighting spirit of UMNO was inculcated in the people for the sake of race, religion and country. The people in turn gave an overwhelming response for the UMNO independence campaign. The strength of the three component parties in the Alliance was put in order and was deployed with better strategies to achieve its objectives and its actual targets.

The UMNO Youth Exco in a meeting in Malacca passed a resolution urging the British government to grant independence to the Federation of Malaya on August 31, 1957. Although the Alliance manifesto said that independence would be achieved in four years, UMNO Youth wanted to be a year earlier.

Based on previous experiences, UMNO Youth carefully considered its resolution. They realised the British government's sly deception towards other colonised countries in the world. If UMNO Youth had taken a lenient and tolerant attitude on the matter, it would be like "waiting for a fruit that would not fall". That was why UMNO Youth unanimously decided that they would not be played around by the British where independence for the country was concerned. The August 31 date must be accepted by the British.

The resolution was passed unanimously. The hall where the seminar took place was like a raging storm besieged by lightnings and twisters to show the spirit of the delegates. Every delegate who took

part fired a fiery speech which could not be refrained at all.

The decision was brought forward to the UMNO general assembly held in Kuala Lumpur on Dec 24, to Dec 26, 1955. Although during the assembly various opinions and thoughts were discussed, the desire for independence was the main topic. Even the Alliance manifesto made a "black-and-white" promise that it would be fulfilled.

One delegate suggested that it might be too fast and too early for the party to bear the responsibility of an independent country but this voice was drowned by other louder voices who wanted independence without any more deliberation. In the end, the assembly accepted that August 31, 1957 must be the date of independence.

BARISAN SUCCESS BEGETS CONTINUITY

IF there is a common factor threading the success story of Malaysia, it has to be Barisan Nasional (BN) and its precursor, the Alliance party.

The Alliance and Barisan Nasional, which have been the central players in Malaysia's political process, have formed the government since independence on August 31, 1957. The parties have won eight successive general elections to stay in power.

Among the party's numerous historic achievements are gaining the nation's independence from the British, defeating the communist insurgency, the formation of Malaya and overcoming the confrontation with Indonesia.

Unity-building and inter-communal accommodation seems to be the party's secret for success in leading together a multi-ethnic and multi-religious Malaysia.

The party's coalition building started in the 1952 Kuala Lumpur Municipal election when an ad hoc alliance was formed between UMNO and MCA. The alliance enjoyed overwhelming success when it won nine of the 22 contested seats.

The next test for the

Alliance was in the Federal Election to the Legislative Council held in July 1955.

The Alliance had promised independence in its manifesto and UMNO leader Tunja Abdul Rahman stressed in his campaign the importance of racial unity which brought him a bonus - the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) also decided to back the Alliance.

Another important plank of the Alliance's election manifesto was to end the Emergency (imposed by the British to fight communist insurgency) by way of discussion with Chin Peng, the secretary General of the Malayan Communist Party, and to pardon the terrorists.

The Alliance scored a stunning victory when it won 50 of the 52 seats contested. The Tunja then became Chief Minister and Minister of Home Affairs.

The pardon for the communists was declared on Sept 3, 1955 and the Baling Negotiations were held from Dec 27 to 28, 1955.

However, when the Tunja asked Chin Peng for a surrender of weapons, the communist leader declined and the negotiations ended abruptly.

The election success spurred the leaders of the

By
T. SUNDARA RAJA

three parties to institutionalise themselves as a political party and the Alliance Party was officially registered in 1957.

In the 1959 parliamentary and state elections, the first held in Malaya after achieving independence, the Alliance led by the Tunku, won 74 out of the 104 parliamentary seats contested to form the government.

In the elections for the 11 state legislative assemblies, the Alliance took control of nine states while Kelantan and Terengganu went to Pas.

The Alliance system of political organisation in Malaya was later successfully extended to Sabah and Sarawak when the two states joined the Federation of Malaysia on Sept 16, 1963.

After the formation of Malaysia, the Alliance again contested all the 104 parliamentary seats contested in the 1964 general elections. Sabah and Sarawak did not directly elect members to the Federal Parliament in that election.

The Tunku used the "confrontation" - Indonesia's conflict with Malaysia over the latter's formation - as the main theme to unite the people and win the election.

In the election, two parliamentary and four state seats were uncontested and returned Alliance candidates. This trend of opposition candidates avoiding constituencies considered Alliance strongholds became more pronounced in later elections, particularly for state seats.

This time around the Alliance performed even better. The party grabbed 89 parliamentary seats and gained control of 10 state assemblies, including Terengganu, while Pas managed to retain only Kelantan.

However, in the 1969 general election the opposition parties made marked inroads and the Alliance party's foundation received its first jolt, precipitating the formation of the Barisan Nasional.

The 1969 general election saw the first direct elections in Sabah and Sarawak. The number of parliamentary seats increased from 104 to 144. Except for the Sabah Legislative Assembly, which was due for dissolution only in 1972, the elections to the State Assemblies and Parliament



● CALLING on MCA President Datuk Seri Dr Ling Liong Sik and Datin Seri Ina Ling, UMNO Deputy President Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim and Datin Seri Wan Azizah shike a happy pose.

were held simultaneously.

The Alliance were returned uncontested in nine parliamentary seats while 11 candidates of USNO, an Alliance ally in Sabah, were unchallenged. Overall the Alliance won 74 parliamentary seats while in the contest for state assemblies, the Alliance lost Penang to Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia and Kelantan again fell to PAS.

Opposition parties like the People's Progressive Party (PPP) had captured 12 seats to the Alliance's 19 in the Perak State Assembly while the Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) and the Sarawak National Party (SNAP) had won 12 seats each in the Sarawak Legislative Assembly against 15 for the Sarawak Alliance.

The May 13 incident following the elections resulted in the declaration of a State of Emergency and suspension of all elections which had not been completed on May 15. They were resumed in 1970.

Parliament was suspended and an emergency council, the Majlis Gerakan Negara (MAGERAN), ruled the country headed by Tun Abdul Razak Hussein who was then the Deputy Prime Minister.

On Sept 22, 1970, the Tunku stepped down as Prime Minister to give way to younger leaders. Tun Abdul Razak took over as the Prime Minister as well

as the leader of UMNO and the Alliance.

In view of the delicate political situation in the country, Tun Abdul Razak was then looking for some approach to strengthen the government and the political situation in the country.

He was said to be of the opinion that the best way to do so was to enlarge the Alliance and initiatives were made to invite some of the opposition parties for talks.

Tun Razak told a rally at the Selangor padang, follo-

wing his return from a historic visit to China, that the main aim in the BN's formation was to minimise politicking so that development could be given full attention.

He was confident that it would succeed in raising the living standards of the people with the full support of all sectors.

The talks, which lasted about two years, resulted in the formation of the Barisan Nasional in 1974.

The BN coalition then was made up of the Allian-



● THE throng of well wishers is a testimony of Dr Mahathir's popularity among the people. He is seen here, accompanied by PBB President Tan Sri Datuk Patinggi Taib Mahmud, upon arrival in Sarawak.



● DR MAHATHIR at the opening of The MIC annual caucus.

ce trio of UMNO, MCA and MIC, the Sabah Alliance, the Sarawak Alliance, PPP, SUPP, Gerakan and PAS.

In the 1974 general elections, the number of parliamentary seats were increased by 10 to 154 seats while the state constituencies rose from 360 to 408 following a delimiting exercise.

An early sign that the BN formula was a success was when it won uncontested 47 parliamentary seats and 43 seats in the state assemblies.

At the final count, the BN won 104 of the 144 parliamentary seats in the peninsula and 31 out of 40 in Sabah and Sarawak.

However, the country

went into a state of shock when Tun Abdul Razak, who was bestowed the title "Father of Development" for his tireless efforts to develop the country, died of leukemia in the mid-term of office on Jan 14, 1976.

Following his untimely death, his deputy Tun Hussein Onn took over the BN leadership and in keeping with past tradition also the Prime Minister's post.

In the next general election in 1978, the party scored a landslide victory when it obtained 131 of the 154 parliamentary seats up for grabs.

The BN also took control of the Kelantan state assem-

bly from PAS which had left the coalition earlier.

Tun Hussein Onn, who was honoured with the title "Father of Peace" in recognition of his services, sacrifices and struggle to strengthen peace in the country and the region, citing poor health, did not seek reelection as UMNO president and stepped down as Prime Minister on July 16, 1981.

His deputy Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad then succeeded the party and coalition posts.

Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, who also consequently took over the PM's post, then led the coalition in the 1982 general election and



● THE first couple being created by MIC Deputy President Datuk S. Subramaniam at the latter's residence on Deepavali Day.

maintained the BN's strong showing when it won 132 of 154 parliamentary seats.

The Prime Minister stepped up the industrialisation process by encouraging both heavy as well as small and medium scale industries to fuel economic growth.

The BN's rapid development of the country resulted in very low unemployment, an extensive housing programme and improved living standards.

In the 1986 general elections, nine political parties

contested but only the BN, the DAP and PAS were successful. The BN swept 148 of the seats while the DAP managed to get 24 seats, the PAS one and independents four.

However, on Feb 12, 1988, the BN's major component, UMNO, was deregistered following a court battle as a result of political unrest in the party. The party was reregistered as UMNO Baru soon after.

In the following general election in 1990, the BN's performance was slightly

affected by the deregistration. The coalition won 127 of the 180 parliamentary seats.

The BN with its broad base of support among the electorate and an effective party organisation, has been viewed as the majority party.

With its long term Vision 2020 programme to make the country a developed nation and its time tested political will to see it through, the BN is bound to be at the helm of the government for a long time to come.




Tun V.T. Sambanthan



● PERISTIWA penutupan Sekolah Melayu ternasab, Malaya, dan yang dipaksa oleh British terhadap merdeka.



● TUNKU mengumumkan kepimpinan Kerjasama Rakyat, perhimpunan besar di pangsang Bandar Hilir Melaka.



● SETIAUSAHA Agung UMNO, Datuk Mohamed Rahmat bersama penyokong UMNO dan Barisan Nasional di Kota Belud untuk memulakan kempen pilihanraya kecil kawasan Dewan Undangan Negeri Usukan.



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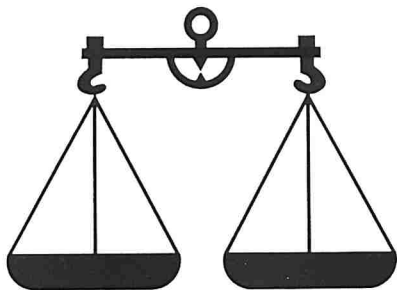
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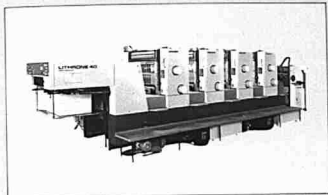
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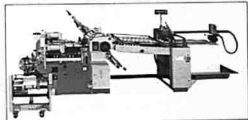
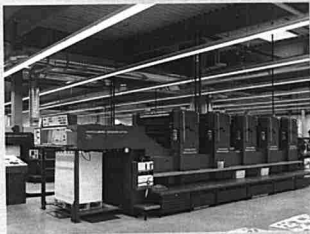
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