

FACES IN THE CORRIDORS OF POWER

FACES IN THE CORRIDORS OF POWER

A pictorial depiction of
Malaysian personalities
in positions of power and
authority

RAIS YATIM



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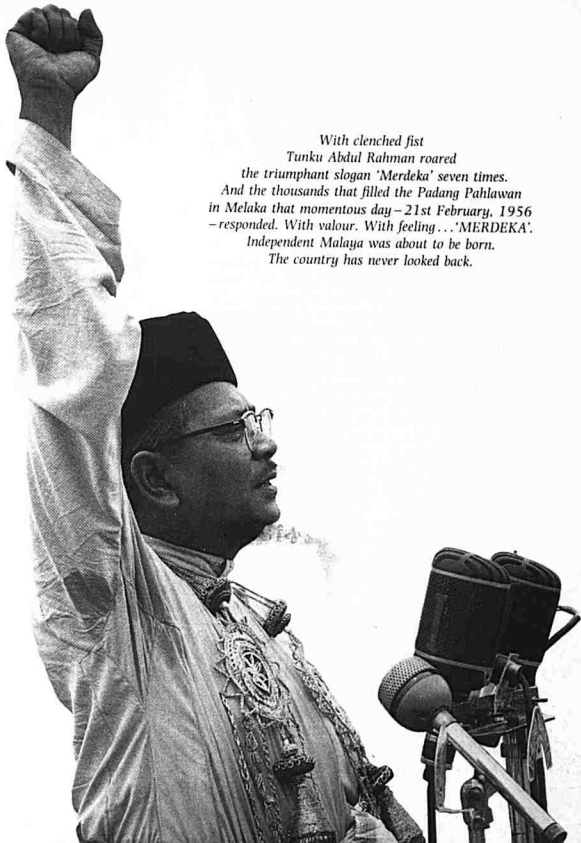
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*With clenched fist
Tunku Abdul Rahman roared
the triumphant slogan 'Merdeka' seven times.
And the thousands that filled the Padang Pahlawan
in Melaka that momentous day - 21st February, 1956
- responded. With valour. With feeling... 'MERDEKA'.
Independent Malaya was about to be born.
The country has never looked back.*





FOREWORD

The author of *Faces in the Corridors of Power* came to me and asked me as one of the oldest politicians in the country and its first Prime Minister to write a foreword for his book. I told him that at this stage of my life to be requested to write a foreword for an important book like his, is truly an honour. I thought I would have been forgotten by people, particularly by political figures in high places.

According to Datuk Rais, I am the right man to write the foreword because the book is a depiction of our leaders past and present in pictorial form. This book covers the activities of political leaders, politicians, civil servants, judges and even some members of Royalty. I can claim to be connected with all these. First, I was born a Tunku, then I worked as a government servant, then as a law officer in both the legal and judicial services, then I became the Executive Head of Malaysia, and lastly, I am the President of PERKIM and RISEAP, a religious organisation in Southeast Asia.

This is a book that is worth reading, and according to the author, he started to think seriously about writing it five years ago while he was serving as Menteri Besar of Negeri Sembilan. He thought it would be good for light reading, but in actual fact, it makes good reading. It tells of the works of various important persons and depicts their character. This gives an insight into their lives and activities and to some extent into their characters.

I came on first as was to be expected, as I was the first Prime Minister, but Datuk Rais was not yet in politics at that time or in service, he was still studying. If he had he might have been a very important person to know and he would be useful to the Party and the Government. He is keen on his work and is always working on how best to improve the condition of his country. As Minister he has done a lot and tends to be articulate, and he appears often on the T.V. and the press to say his piece.

Datuk Rais is the right man to record in the pages of this book his views on the leaders of Malaysia, the men who have helped to make Malaysia what she is today. At one stage of our independence, Malaysia was considered about the most successful nation in this region. Malaysia's record then should be an example to be followed by the Third World countries. These leaders are among those who have given their loyal services to the country and have helped to make her famous.

Datuk Rais has more to say of the leaders who are his contemporaries, and what he has to say about them is most interesting and sometimes humorous.

He has divided his work into five segments: each pertains to leaders who have passed away but not forgotten, the Federal segment of leadership, those who have retired but still very much in the minds of the people, the State Corridors, the Second Echelon leaders, and finally some annotations on transitional matters like the resignation of Datuk Musa Hitam as Deputy Prime Minister, the appointment of Encik Ghafar Baba, and other events of interest.

The book when ready will have 298 pages with good photographs taken by the author himself or collected by him when he was the Minister of Information from the library of his department.

The unfortunate is that when the book was first brought to me I had eye trouble and was not able to read it and I had to obtain the help of some friends to read part of it. I couldn't even see the pictures clearly. I would like to say more but under the circumstances I had to make do with a short foreword.

According to the author, 'It is not a book of biographies, neither is it a volume of who is who. It is just a compilation of Malaysians in power depicted through photographs and with my own annotations, some of which may be found to be too self-opinionated.'

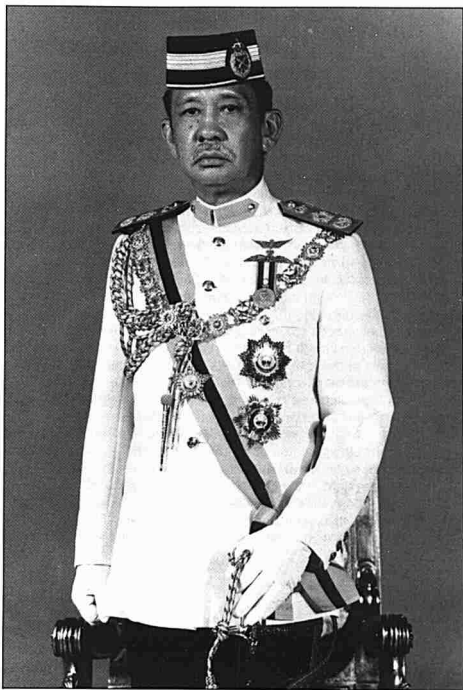
Datuk Rais was Menteri Besar of Negeri Sembilan in 1978 when he succeeded Datuk Mansor Osman, and then he became Minister of Information and now he is Minister of Foreign Affairs, but he is still a young man and he can look ahead to a bright and happy future, and with his legal qualification he can argue his cases to good and convincing effect.

I hope his book will be read widely. It has given information on various persons whom we know but the young do not, and the future generation can have an idea as to what calibre of men we had at the time of those early years of our independence. Every person in the book has played his part in this country's history, and in the years to come people can refer to this book to see who are who and what they had done for the good of this country and the society in which we live.

Things change so quickly and many things happen in the course of these changes, but we all have a part to play in this country's progress and development. We cannot do better than to follow the good examples of our former leaders in politics, in administration and in business of this country. This country will stand or fall through us, and it is our duty to serve it loyally.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra', with a long horizontal flourish underneath.

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA
28th January, 1987



DYMM Seri Paduka Baginda
Almutawakkil Alallah Sultan Iskandar D. K.
YANG di-PERTUAN AGONG
MALAYSIA

*I dedicate this volume
to those who photograph to earn a living and,
of course, to those who work in the corridors of power
with a feeling of love and loyalty
for the country.*

PROLOGUE

Leaders come and leaders go but the party must go on. Variably, the last phrase is at times modified to mean 'the show must go on' or 'the struggle must continue'. Whatever the metaphor, the notion of continuity is there. Malaysian leaders indeed have come and gone and in good numbers at that. Some have made their exit through the rigorous process of elimination. Others by choice of retirement have left public office and the limelight. Some have passed away and we only have their images to cling to.

The corridors of power are crowded, with politicians, of course, coming to mind in the first category. Then the others: judges, top civil servants, corporate directors and up all the way to Royalty.

Admittedly, not all these notables can be depicted in photographs and presented here. Admittedly too, art may not feature in all these prints. If that be the case then perhaps it is best that these particular photographs be regarded as mere prints of record. I believe that these too, have their place in the abyss of time.

This volume is offered in testimony to and in appreciation of the services of all those who are currently serving or have served in their respective capacities in the corridors of power in Malaysia. They all have played their respective roles in making Malaysia the progressive nation that it is today. I know Malaysians remember those who have served them. I hope that with this volume in their hands they will remember better.

DATUK RAIS YATIM
October, 1986
Kuala Lumpur.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In preparing this volume I have received invaluable assistance in many forms from many quarters. I wish to convey my thanks to all of them. Needless to say without their goodwill and cooperation this book could not have resulted in its present form. However generally it is intended, a few of those thoughtful and contributive persons must be given mention.

I wish to thank Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj our beloved first Prime Minister who has been so kind in giving his foreword for this book. His words of encouragement when I showed him the dummy of the book at his residence in Penang in early January this year propels me to accept the fact that writing should be one of life's more pleasant pastimes if only one does not expect to gain a livelihood from it.

I also wish to put on record my appreciation for the assistance given by Datuk Mohd Kaus Salleh, Director-General of the Department of Information, his deputy, Encik Osman Said and their staff who assisted me in the selection of photographs from their photo library at Jalan Tun Perak, Kuala Lumpur; Datuk L. Krishnan for his continuous words of encouragement, not to mention the early editing by our mutual friend, Felix Abisheganaden; Tuan Hj. Yusof Yaakub and Tuan Hj. Mokhtar Ibrahim who persistently supplied me with materials from the library; Encik Dahlan Abdul Rahman, Encik Abdullah Ariff, Encik Ibrahim Che Mat and Tuan Hj. Said Taib for their efforts in updates; Mr. Goh Boon Teik of Tien Wah Press for his timely act of saving this work from unwarranted delays and publication bureaucracy and last but not least, my beloved wife Datin Masnah who ardently encouraged me to complete this work after noticing the piles of photographs stacked in our library shelves collecting dust. To the others who have assisted and contributed towards making this volume in its final form: *terima kasih*.

DATUK RAIS YATIM



I started compiling and annotating this book some five years ago when I was still serving as Menteri Besar of Negeri Sembilan. It struck me then as it still does now that at least some observations ought to be put on record depicting the notables who have in one way or another wielded power and authority in this country. The rigours of office I must admit allows me very little time and opportunity in completing this project on time.

The politicians, judges, top civil servants and the Royalty to name a few have become major role players towards making what Malaysia is today. Indeed their acts and decisions have chartered and changed the lives of many.

This is not a book of biographies of people. Neither is it a volume of who is who. It is just a compilation of Malaysians in power depicted through photographs with my own annotations, some of which may be found to be too opinionated.

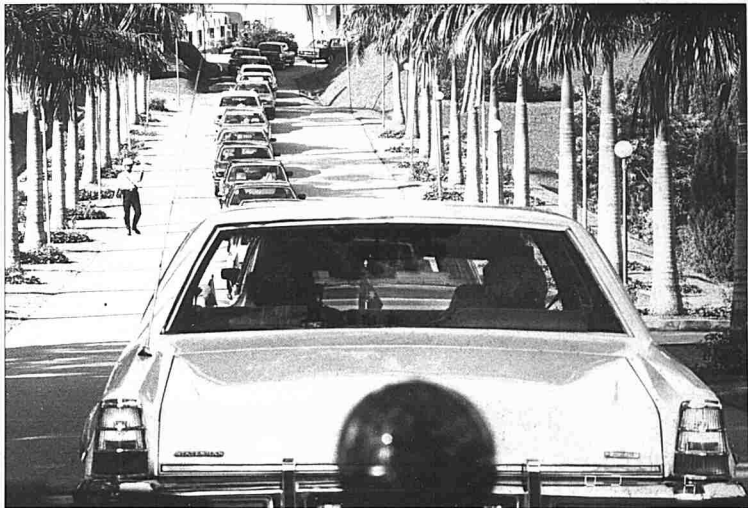
While writing the captions for the photographs herein contained many events have overtaken me. For instance, Datuk Musa Hitam resigned from the Government and in his place Encik Ghafar Baba emerged as the Deputy Prime Minister. Sabah had its second State Elections within less than eleven months. There have been a few Cabinet reshuffles involving promotions, resignations as well as lay-offs for members of the administration. And people's names keep on changing from *Encik* to *Datuk* or even *Tan Sri*. Wherever possible I have inserted their newly acquired peerage. If I am found to have missed some somewhere, my apologies. At the time of going to press the country has just gone through another general election. I choose not to indulge in comments pertaining to this development.

Whilst the majority of photographs in this book are my own, a good number of them originate from the photo library of the Information Department. A few are reproduced with the consent of *Bernama* for which I am very grateful indeed.

The photographs and captions throughout this book cover the period 1952-1986.



These are but a few of the unsung heroes of the Malaysian mass media. They are the faceless photographers. They swarm the scene of accidents, 'shoot' VIPs in action, record visits by dignitaries, project seminars and events of human interest. In their own specialised field, knowingly or unknowingly, they have contributed towards nation-building. They are by far the most graphic and at times artistic depicitors of our time.



This could very well depict the corridor of power that the title of this book suggests if not for the neat rows of royal palm. And with the bumper-to-bumper scenario it is just another day and another occasion when Ministers, diplomats, top civil servants, sultans and governors come to attend many of the Ceremonies of State at the Istana Negara (National Palace) in Kuala Lumpur.

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THE DEPARTED, THE UNFORGOTTEN

*'The virtue of the camera
is not the power it has to transform
the photographer into an artist.
but the impulse it gives him
to keep on looking....'*

Brooks Anderson
'Once Around The Sun'

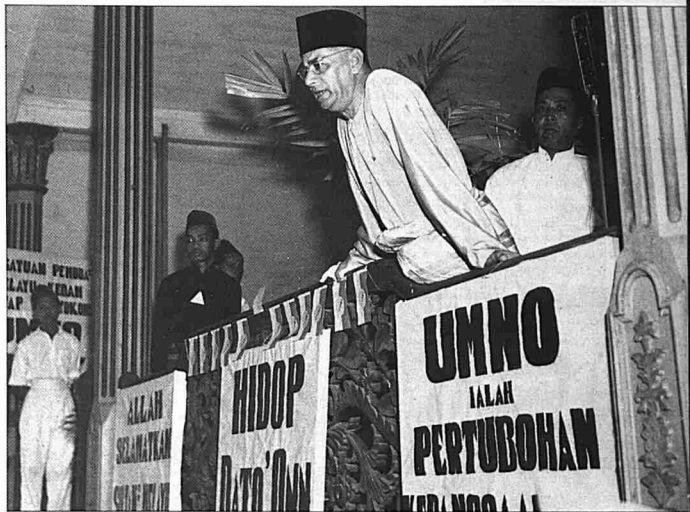
A generation of Malaysians have seen these photographs of Dato' Onn Jaafar the founder of UMNO (United Malays National Organisation). He was definitely Prime Minister material. He had all the makings and ingredients of a statesman.

When he left UMNO in 1951 to form and head Party Negara he lost popular support from the Malays. Nonetheless he had carved a niche for himself, the Malays and the country. Where Dato' Onn left, his son Tun Hussein took over. One might say both father and son were born to rule.

Dato' Onn's contribution towards the creation of the Malayan nationhood through nationalism is beyond doubt. His one sterling contribution that must remain to be said and sung in praise is his successful and timely gathering together of the Malay Rulers and nationalistic leaders to oppose the concept and implementation of the Malayan Union, the so called British brainchild of a political 'solution' for Malaya. If accepted and implemented the Malayan Union would have stripped the Malay Rulers of their sovereignty and citizenship would have been liberalised for all.

To these issues the *Selangor Malay Union* and the newspaper *Majlis* were quick to react together with Dato' Onn who had led the Johor Legislative Council in championing Malay interests. On 11th May, 1946 UMNO was born with Dato' Onn as its first President. *Hidup Melayu* was chosen to become the official slogan.





Dato' Onn Jaafar, the founder of UMNO.

RI BESAR,
HORE

With supporters in the millions and throngs of obedient followers, yet the late Tun Razak one day in March 1975 found himself all alone in the calm waters of Tasik Perdana, paddling away in leisure, quite oblivious to the onerous task of a Prime Minister. Perhaps this is one of the rare pictures that depicts the late Tun in a surrounding that spells loneliness. How very true when someone of his stature in another country once said, 'It's very lonely up there.'





◀ Tun Razak (left) being greeted by Tun (Dr) Ismail at Subang International Airport in 1971 on the return of the late Prime Minister from a domestic trip. Looking on is Datuk Ghani Gilong from Sabah who later became Minister of Works.

The relationship between Tun Razak and Tun Ismail was always warm. Even during the trying period after the 13th May, 1969 disturbances which saw the beginning of the New Economic Policy (NEP) and the emergence of Tun Razak as Prime Minister, we are told of the two leaders' rapport and brotherly relationship. As it turned out, it became easy on the country and UMNO despite the fact that a few followers had urged Tun Ismail to contest the Deputy Presidency of UMNO—an event which took place in 1971—this never really adversely affected their relationship. To them, the cohesion of party politics was paramount and personal glory never really took the upper hand.



◀ On 28th July, 1973 Tun Ismail in his capacity as Home Minister took time off to officiate and witness that year's Police Exhibition at the Police Training Centre, Kuala Lumpur. Accompanying him was the then Inspector-General of Police (IGP), Tan Sri Abdul Rahman who was killed not long afterwards by a hit squad that was believed to be an offshoot of the underworld. To this day no one theory has been accepted to be authoritative. One version has it that the gang of terrorists that shot the IGP beside the Lee Yan Lian Building at Mountbatten Road (now Jalan Tun Perak) hail from a splinter group of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP). Tun Ismail admitted then that whatever the motive, the country had just lost an IGP as a result of the ruthless pursuit of terrorism. The Force lost a dear patriot.



▲ From left: Datuk Senu Abdul Rahman, Secretary-General explains a finer point to the late Tun Ismail, Deputy Prime Minister/Deputy UMNO President while the late Tan Sri Syed Nasir Ismail, UMNO Supreme Councillor looks on. The lady arched in between Tun Ismail and Syed Nasir is the then Ketua Pergerakan Wanita UMNO, Puan Sri Fatimah Hashim (see page 71).

Occasion: The official opening of UMNO's Silver Jubilee in May 1971 at the Stadium Negara, Kuala Lumpur.

The late Tan Sri Syed Jaafar Albar was known more for his leadership as UMNO Youth Head than for his other capacities in Government or business. He once walked out of an UMNO Supreme Council meeting chaired by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's first Prime Minister, in protest over the decision to cede Singapore from Malaysia in 1965. A tenacious speaker, it was habitual for him while delivering a speech to sway from left to right keeping an eye on his audience and as a technique to maintain their attention. His gestures were rapid and ample. He took over the UMNO Youth leadership in 1977 when Datuk Harun Idris had to serve a prison sentence following the celebrated Hong Kong Shanghai Bank case. Tan Sri Syed Jaafar also served as Assistant Minister of Information during Tunku Abdul Rahman's Government.



▲ The late Tan Sri Jaafar Albar cut a popular figure in Post-Merdeka party politics just as he did in his constituency work in Johor. He was in the midst of delivering a fiery speech at a Pemuda UMNO gathering in Muar in 1980 when he collapsed and died of a heart attack. Many of UMNO's veterans today still fondly refer to Syed Jaafar Albar as 'Singa UMNO' or 'UMNO Lion'. A strong ally of Datuk Harun Idris, he chartered vocal support for what was popularly termed as the 'rehabilitation' of the former UMNO Youth chief.

◀ Tan Sri Jaafar Albar walks past a kampung road (Jalan Bukit Senggir) constructed by the people in Mukim Pagoh. With him (holding umbrella) is the *Penghulu*, Encik Abdul Hamid bin Mohd. Alin and Encik Saidon bin Ibrahim (Headman of the road construction). 23rd July, 1960.

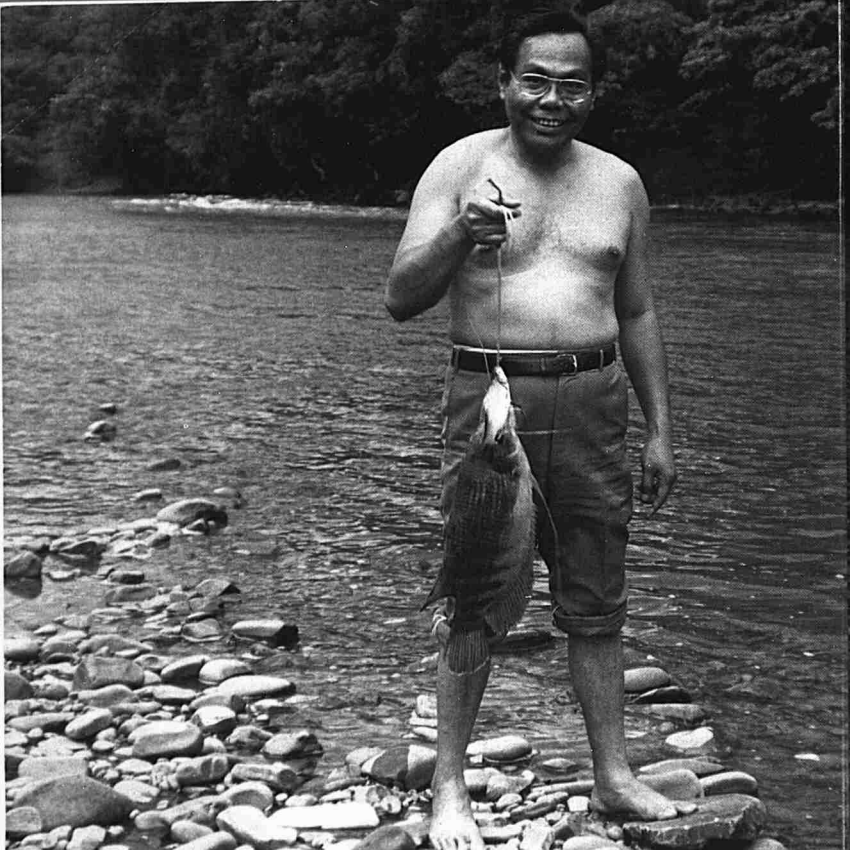




The late Tan Sri Syed Nasir Ismail as Director of Dewan Bahasa at a press conference in conjunction with the then National Language campaign. On his right is Encik Rosedin Yaacob who later rose to serve as political secretary to Datuk Harun Idris, during his tenure as Menteri Besar of Selangor. In the 1960's the issue of Bahasa Kebangsaan received top billing. The slogan '*Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa*' was everywhere. I remember now how the teachers' training colleges and University Malaya (the only local university then) combined efforts to put up campaign materials and programmes to be presented to Syed Nasir, the national campaign Chairman. Syed Nasir, MP, businessman and one of UMNO's strong-willed stalwarts became Speaker of Dewan Rakyat in 1978. In 1982, he died of a heart attack.



▲ The 'three musketeers' of Perikatan (Alliance): From left Tun Sambanthan, Tun Abdul Razak and Tun Tan Siew Sin. It was Tun Sambanthan's proud moment as President of MIC (Malayan Indian Congress) when he accompanied Tun Razak and Tun Tan Siew Sin to the Dewan Bandaran Sungai Siput, Perak to attend an award ceremony of 'Pingat Emas MIC'. As it turned out the MIC honoured the three national leaders each with a *Pingat Emas* (gold medal), an MIC Party decoration which continues till today.





My favourite shot of the late Datuk Ali Haji Ahmad, Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports (later Agriculture Minister succeeding Encik Ghafar Baba) in gay abandon in an 'ulu' area in Sarawak. As Parliamentary Secretary in 1974, I accompanied him throughout the Sarawak visit. Datuk Ali, always fresh in my memory as a smiling and unassuming Minister was particularly at home in Bintulu, the kampung of the then Sarawak Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Mr Celestine Ujang (now Dato'), Speaker of Sarawak Legislative Assembly.

Datuk Ali hardly spent an hour at '*meladek sungai*' with some local fishermen when he caught a large carp. That night at Long Mo his prize catch made a delicious meal.

Datuk Ali was the first Cabinet Minister under whom I served as Parliamentary Secretary in 1974. He philosophised to me quite often about power and politics. He believed in the truism that one should never force an issue just for the sake of popularity or political mileage.

By a strange twist of events the ill-fated flight—MH 645—on the night of 4th December, 1977 took him, his bodyguard, and his political secretary, Encik Hood Fadzil, among others, from Penang to Singapore. This flight ended tragically when the plane crashed killing all on board. The remains of Datuk Ali and many others on that fateful flight were never found. But we know they are all there, somewhere at Tanjung Kupang, Johor where a '*Tugu*' has been erected in memory of him and those who so untimely perished collectively amidst strewn metals and mysterious circumstances.

The late Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad former Menteri Besar of Perlis in an audience with the late Sultan of Kelantan, May 1976.



He served as MP of Perlis for more than a decade (1959-1971). If Lat, the cartoonist had been the contemporary of Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad the first Menteri Besar of Perlis, he would have no doubt drawn many caricatures of him and his unique ways—just like those on Tan Sri Kadir Yusof, former Attorney-General and Minister for Law, slim to the point of being skinny yet hilarious and very debonair! One day so the story goes (I prefer to call it a legend), Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad wanted something out of Tun Razak—a development project for Perlis, or something of that nature. The office of the Deputy Prime Minister (as Tun Razak was then) indicated to him that the Tun was not free that day. Tan Sri Sheikh refused to take 'no' for an answer. He literally camped at Tun Razak's office and refused to leave until he was allowed to meet the Deputy Prime Minister. His stubbornness paid off. It was to this man that Tunku Abdul Rahman our first Prime Minister once said: 'Sheikh... I have given and will continue to give 75 per cent of my life and endeavours in the service of my country, my God and my people and keep that 25 per cent for myself and my family to do what I like with it.'

Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad died at the ripe age of 87. All the Menteris Besar and Ketua Menteris had paid tribute to him only days before his demise in Kangar on 4th February, 1982.



Dato' Wan Abdul Kadir, Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's Department, died of a heart attack in early 1976 after giving a speech near Kelang. Wan Abdul Kadir, an Azhar University graduate, was actively involved in the Islamic Development programmes under the Bahagian Agama Islam, Prime Minister's Department. He held various 'deputy' jobs, including that of Transport prior to his untimely demise. A brother of his who has made his mark at State and national politics is Dato' Wan Mokhtar Ahmad, Menteri Besar of Terengganu and one of UMNO's three Vice-Presidents since May 1984.



▲ Tun Sardon in October 1969 as Minister of Health flew by helicopter to three Orang Asli medical posts and a Malay kampung in the Kuala Lipis District of Pahang for an on-the-spot study of the medical and health situation. He is shown here distributing gifts of tooth brushes, tooth paste and other goodies to an Orang Asli child at Sinderut Medical Post.



► In April 1966 former British High Commissioner the late Sir Gerald Templer returned to Malaysia for a short visit. He took time off to visit B.P. (Baden Powell) House, the headquarters of the Scout movement in Kuala Lumpur where Tan Sri Sardon as Scout Commissioner received him. They no doubt found the brief get-together nostalgic as both men underwent many rigorous episodes during as well as after the Emergency. Templer died in 1979.

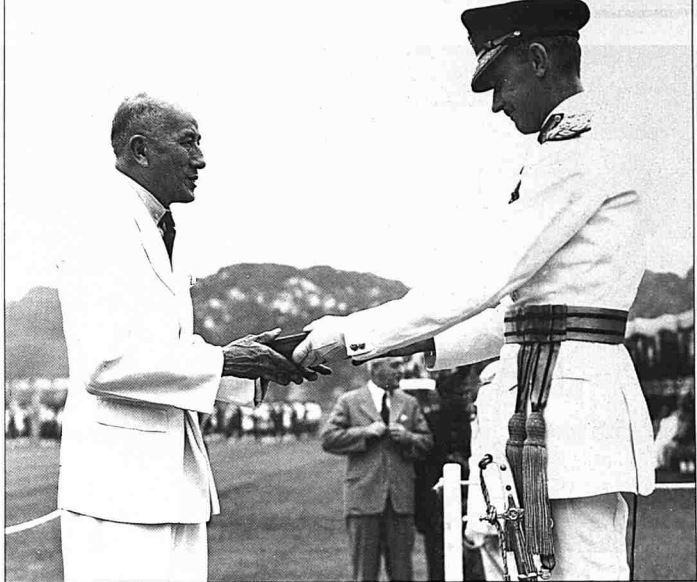
The late Tun Sardon Jubir completed a big circle of duties both in politics and in government proper. He held Cabinet posts in Health, Transport and a host of other assignments during the premierships of Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak. Tun Sardon had always been a cheerful leader and his love for the Boy Scout movement occupied many enjoyable years of his younger days. In his own right he had trained and coached leaders. Datuk Musa Hitam and Dato' Mohamed Rahmat are two proteges of his who have made it to the top. Both of them served as Tun Sardon's political secretaries in their early days of national politics. Of course there are those hilarious anecdotes of Tun Sardon as the fiery speaker and the 'speedy Transport Minister'. Many will recall that he loved to drive his car himself. And so the story goes, that when he gets behind the wheel even Stirling Moss in those days would have found him tough to beat. His demise in December 1985, saddened the nation.

The pinnacle of Tun Sardon's career was as Governor of Pulau Pinang in which he put to full use his vast experience as a Statesman. The Pulau Pinang mosque, which is one of the most beautiful in the country, received Tun Sardon's persistent attention and dedicated service, especially in getting public support notwithstanding the State Government's substantial contribution and full support.

I met him at official functions. And at one informal occasion during Deepavali in 1984, while enjoying *cendul* and sampling Indian delicacies he lamented, '*Orang macam kami ini pun hendak dirompak. Nasib baik tak benjol.*' He was referring to the incident when burglars broke into his Kuala Lumpur residence and scuffled with him. He then broke into one of his sunshine laughs: 'They of course bolted when Toh Puan shouted. I think they fear her more than me...'. He never lost his humour.



In May 1966 Indonesia's Air Commander Soesahto (left) visited Malaysia for three days and was introduced to many notables of Malaysia. In this photograph Soesahto meets Lt. General Tunku Osman Jawa (right) at the office of the MINDEF Secretary-General the late Tan Sri Datuk Abdul Kadir Shamsuddin (centre) who later was appointed Chief Secretary to the Government.

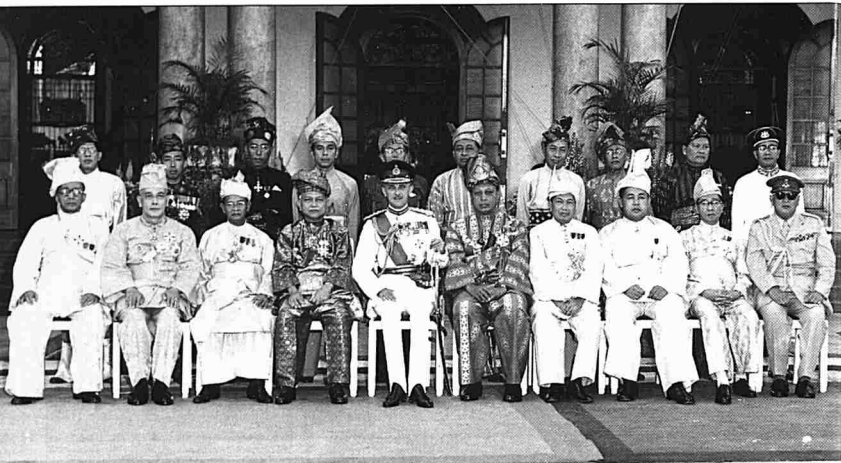


▲ Datuk Sir Tan Cheng Lock receiving the KBE from Sir Gerald Templer on the occasion of the birthday of H. M. Queen Elizabeth II on 5th January, 1952.

In their own ways what was Malaya or Semenanjung Tanah Melayu received a healthy chunk of their services.

General Sir Gerald Templer, in robust style, played his role in combating the Communist terrorists while Datuk Sir Tan Cheng Lock played his part in uniting the Chinese community in the pre-Merdeka era.

Datuk Sir Tan Cheng Lock's son, Tun Tan Siew Sin, continued in his father's footsteps, leading the MCA into political maturity.



The British High Commissioner General Sir Gerald Templer and Malay Rulers – Selangor Istana, Kuala Lumpur, 23rd February, 1954. Group picture of the late Sir Gerald Templer, High Commissioner, with the Rulers of 8 states, the Regent of Johor, and top executives of the Malay states.

Picture shows, front row (*from left to right*): The Sultan of Perak; the Sultan of Kelantan; the Sultan of Kedah; the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan; General Sir Gerald Templer; the Sultan of Pahang; the Sultan of Selangor; the Raja of Perlis; the Sultan of Terengganu; and the Regent of Johor.

Back row (*from left to right*): The State Secretary of Perak, Encik Hashim bin Mat Dris; acting M.B. of Kelantan, Tengku Mohd. Hamzah bin Tengku Zainal Abidin; the M.B. of Kedah, Tengku Ismail bin Tunku Yahya; the M.B. of Negeri Sembilan, Encik Shamsudin bin Naim; the Keeper of the Rulers Seal, Tengku Ya'acob ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah; the M.B. of Pahang, Tengku Mohd. ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Ahmad Ali-Mu'adzam Shah; the M.B. of Selangor, Encik Othman bin Mohammed; the M.B. of Perlis, Raja Haji Ahmad bin Raja Indut; the M.B. of Terengganu, Dato Kamaruddin bin Haji Idris; and the M.B. of Johor, Dato' Syed Haji Abdul Kadir bin Mohammed.



▲ The Federation of Malaya Agreement, the culmination of all agreements that ushered in Merdeka was signed on 5th August, 1957. To mark that auspicious occasion the three top role players, The British High Commissioner Sir Donald MacGillivray (*centre*), The first Yang di-Pertuan Agong Tuanku Abdul Rahman (*left*) and the Deputy Yang di-Pertuan Agong (*right*) took time off to pose for this historic picture.



From an ordinary *mata-mata* to Inspector-General of Police (IGP), that is the ascending line in the career of the late Tun Mohamed Salleh bin Ismail. He fully understood his men and their problems. Noted for his highly disciplined style in running the force, Tun Salleh was the first Malaysian to receive the award of Tunship posthumously. It was in recognition of his vast and sterling service for the country as a law enforcement officer that the award was given. He was the country's top crime buster within a force of 50,000. Being innovative, especially since he assumed the IGP position in 1966 Salleh was quick to grasp and implement new

ideas. One such innovation was the 'Salleh System' whereby he brought the *mata-mata* into the direct fold of community living. The policemen left their *balai* and barracks to live and mingle with society that they protect. Soon there were hundreds of makeshift police huts and mobile beat stations. The impact was favourable and the *rakyat* appreciated it. Salleh continued to think and act. Soon the Police Cadet Corps comprising the Malaysian young was formed in 1970, no doubt after taking stock of the need after the May 13 tragedy of 1969. During Salleh's ardent tenure as IGP crime rate took a nose-dive.

A 'gentleman officer' as his colleagues will always remember him to be, he had done more than his share for society.



Former Dewan Rakyat Speaker, Datuk C. M. Yusof (left) receives a memento from Mr. Sjaichu (right) leader of an Indonesian parliamentary delegation in October 1967 at the former's office at Parliament House in Kuala Lumpur.

Datuk Yusof epitomised the legislator's dream of an efficient, effective Mr. Speaker.



▲ Encik Sulaiman is seen talking to two lady settlers at the Kuala Lumpur Railway Station on 30th September, 1965.

The late Encik Sulaiman Bulon, Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development met a group of 300 Felda settlers during their stopover at the Kuala Lumpur Railway Station enroute to the Rancangan Felda Sg. Tikam in Pahang. The settlers were from Bukit Mertajam and Nibong Tebal. This picture was taken in September 1965 during a time when leaders of the Perikatan Government had to do their bit in encouraging the landless and the rural poor to join Felda schemes. At first the response was not overwhelming. In fact for many years to be known as '*orang rancangan*' was not very complimentary to the kampung folks. But this negative disposition soon gave way to a clamour. Even within the Chinese and Indian communities Felda began to leave a positive mark although participation from them in the land schemes was slow and their number as settlers was never really on the high side.



◀ In February 1958 the late Tan Sri Nik Ahmad Kamil was chosen by the Government to be Malaya's Ambassador to the United States of America, the first Malayan to serve in that capacity. At hand to send him off at the Sungai Besi Airport was Dato' Abdul Razak Hussein, Deputy Prime Minister and a large crowd of well wishers and friends of Dato' Nik.

Tan Sri Nik Ahmad Kamil was a man of immense charm and capability. Legally trained, he was admitted to the English bar in 1930. For 22 years (1931-1953) he dominated the Kelantan Civil Service. He was Kelantan's State Secretary for four years (1934-1938). As if that was not notable enough, he continued to excel and soon the Deputy Menteri Besar's seat was his for some ten years. The culmination was his appointment as Menteri Besar of Kelantan (1948-1953). In those days the Menteri Besar's post was entirely non-elective and was more entrenched as part of the civil service in place of the British Resident, the post which was scrapped in most states after the 1948 Federation of Malaya Agreement. Tan Sri Nik continued to render his invaluable services to the nation even after his term as Kelantan Menteri Besar ended in 1953. He served in various posts as Malaya's High Commissioner in the Commonwealth countries prior to his ambassadorial posting to Washington D.C. After his return from Washington in 1962 he broadened his career by entering the public sector. Dunlop Industries, Rothmans of Pall Mall Ltd. and Malayan Banking to name a few received his direct participation within their top management. Prior to his death in 1977 at the age of 68 Tan Sri Nik was Speaker of the Dewan Rakyat, a post which he so impressively filled and carried out. I still remember his deep resonant voice booming over the Dewan, not without its sprinkling of humour and air of advocacy.



Perhaps this is one of the few last photographs of the late Tun Adam Malik, former Vice President of Indonesia, taken in Malaysia prior to his death in September 1984. A few weeks previously he headed a delegation of Indonesian high officials to visit Malaysia in conjunction with a state ceremony to commemorate the end of the 1963 confrontation and the friendship that helped to normalise ties of brother nationhood. Tun Adam Malik, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie and Gen. Moerdani among others were significantly recognised for their services in achieving that for both countries. In the background (from left) Datuk Seri Adib Adam, then Minister of Information, Datuk Shahri Abd. Samad, then Federal Territory Minister, Tan Sri Hashim Aman (then the Chief Secretary) and Tan Sri Ghazali Mohd Seth Chief of the Armed Forces. I can't remember exactly the lighter vein banter that made both of us laugh but it had something to do with an incident in Chemor, Perak where Tun Adam had many relatives.

The late Tun V. T. Sambanthan was the first national President of the Malaysian Indian Congress and co-founder of the Alliance Party that governed Malaya until the Barisan Nasional was formed in 1974.

Tun Sambanthan was close to Tunku Abdul Rahman during and even after their days in power. Tunku fondly makes anecdotal references to Tun Sambanthan's fondness for the dhoti in his well-received column in *The Star* newspaper under the heading 'Looking Back'.

Before his death in 1978, Tun Sambanthan headed the National Unity Council in the Prime Minister's Department which was established after the May 1969 racial riots.



One night in December 1981 both of them attended the 'Malam Puisi' at Port Dickson organised by the Negeri Sembilan State Government and theatrical group called *Theatre Elite*. Cikgu Embong who then, like Taha, was already a Datuk, rendered a sajak which he had written in 1949, of course with 'perjuangan' as its theme. The last stanza runs like this:

*"Biar sehelai sepinggang kain di badan
Penjahaj kau kan ku hapus
Biar merah titis darah di badan
Perjuangan ku tak putus."*

Some four months later, on 13th April, 1982 Datuk Taha died of gunshot wounds in Sri Asahan Gemenchih, Tampin. The rest is history. Datuk Embong died only months later of a heart attack.

Datuk Taha Talib and Datuk Embong Yahaya were friends. They both gave a big chunk of their productive years for UMNO and the country. Both died without the opportunity of seeing the fruits of their labour.

They were together in the early days of 'Pekembar', an offshoot of UMNO. It was normal in the late 1940s and indeed well into the '70s for teachers to pave the way for political issues to be highlighted and pursued.

The Kempen Bahasa Kebangsaan, for instance, which went on with ardent efforts and fervour got its magic slogan of 'Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa' from the 'Cikgus' (a favourite term of endearment for the teachers).

Both Taha and Embong were teachers having very early political exposures at the grass root level. Both were members of the 'Persatuan Guru-Guru Melayu (PGGM)' one of the most active teacher-based associations having to do with national issues such as language, culture and, of course, politics.

Both Taha and Embong need not turn in their graves for what they had stood for are now national realities and partly the fruits of their participative struggles. They in fact have tasted part of the sweet smell of success for the country.

One day in May 1972 Cikgu Taha and Cikgu Embong told me over lunch at Restoran Kak Yan in Seremban that the second generation politicians in the country are having it easy. The struggle or 'perjuangan' is no longer there, so they lamented. Everything calls for money and material consideration; nothing, almost nothing that a political practitioner does that is hinged upon pure 'perjuangan' now. Not so simple to follow but I knew then and I know now what they meant.



◀◀ Datuk Taha Talib.

◀ Datuk Embong Yahya, Deputy Minister of Information died of heart attack in 1981. One of the country's most ardent party (UMNO) workers and a literary figure in his own right in the post Japanese Occupation of Malaya. He also headed the Ministry of Information Special Information Officers Division when Dato' Mohamed Rahmat was Minister.

Tunku Abdul Rahman has a very high regard for Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi. In his 'Looking Back' column he wrote '... but one man whom I can never forget was Encik Ghazali Jawi, the head of the Bagan Serai division. He stood up, announcing his division's support for UMNO. "Perak can leave, but Bagan Serai will sink or swim with UMNO". Tunku was referring to the 1953 UMNO-MCA Conference which sought to have a Malayan National Election in 1954 and which was opposed by Dato' Panglima Bukit Gantang, the then Menteri Besar and UMNO Chief of Perak.

Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi proved to be a productive Cabinet Minister, Ambassador and Menteri Besar. He gained the confidence of Tunku Abdul Rahman and subsequent Prime Ministers. He started as Menteri Besar of the tin-rich state of Perak. He then sojourned to Egypt as Malaysia's Ambassador, returning to the service of the Federal Government as Minister of Agriculture in 1971. On Tun Razak's advice he went to Perak to be Menteri Besar again but this second tenure as Menteri Besar saw a rift between him and the late Sultan. Months of silent feud ensued. The Perak State Government and body politics underwent difficult times and created embarrassment of sorts as a result of the strained relationship between the Menteri Besar and the Sultan.



▲ The late Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi, in his capacity as Agriculture Minister receives a blowpipe from Batin Bulin, headman of an Orang Asli settlement in the upper reaches of Grik, Perak when the former visited the area in March 1971.



The late Tan Sri Manickavasagam succeeded Tun Sambanthan as MIC President in 1975, a position he held till October 1979 when he died of heart failure. Traditionally, since the days of Tunku Abdul Rahman the MIC President has always been a Cabinet Minister. Two portfolios, Labour and Works have been favourite slots. True to this tradition Tan Sri Manickavasagam was Minister for Labour and the present MIC President, Datuk S. Samy Vellu is Minister for Works. In his capacity as Minister for Labour, Encik Manickavasagam, as he then was, officially opened the Kampung Pandan Sikh Temple on 15th April, 1969.

THEY HAVE STRIVED
AND
THEY HAVE SERVED

*The world is divided
into people who do things -
and people who
get the credit.*

Dwight Morrow

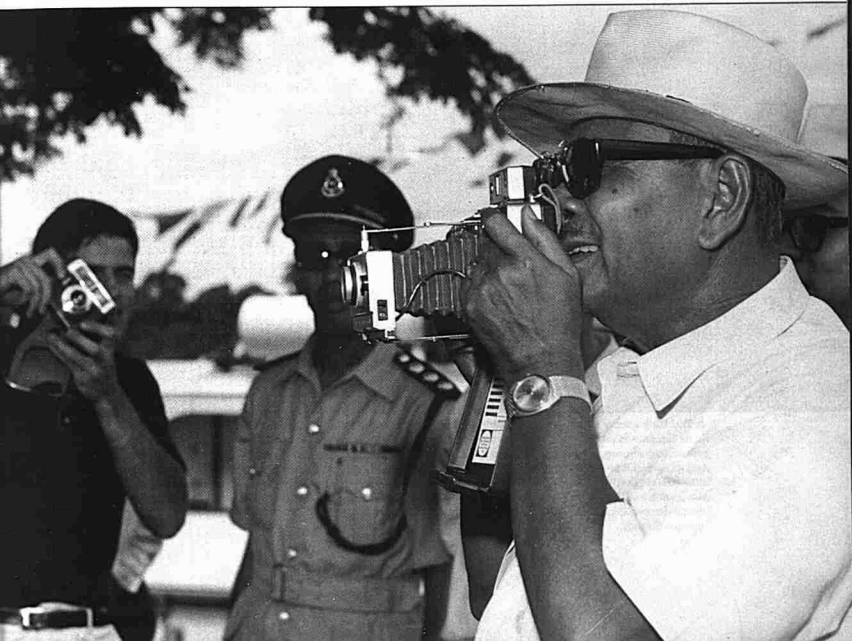
The Merdeka delegation headed by the Tunku returned home. The multiple thousands awaited their arrival at Sungai Besi Airport, Kuala Lumpur on 20th May, 1956. It was a tumultuous and historic day. Everyone was expansive and reacted by shouting 'Merdeka' each time the Tunku was seen.

▼ Together with Tunku on the celebrated convertible are (from left) Encik Abdul Aziz Majid and Dato' Panglima Bukit Gantang. The young man in white beside the convertible is Encik Mohd Tahir Abdul Majid (now Dato'), then UMNO Youth Head. He was also entrusted to lower the Union Jack on the night of 30th August, 1957 and raise in its place the Federation of Malaya Flag.



On a *Qalam* magazine cover in 1958 were these words: *Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra—'Berdarah Raja Berjiwa Rakyat'*. The Tunku proved this to be a maxim of truth in specific reference to his ways and style of leadership. Everytime I see the Tunku in person or his photograph, the impassioned cry of 'Merdeka' rings in my ears and thunders in my mind.

▼ Tunku Abdul Rahman was a keen photographer – a feature that was not highlighted during those active years of premiership. Many veterans of Malaysian politics did point out to me that the Tunku had his share of the good life in most popular pastimes, including photography. However, Tunku almost never processed his films. That's probably a folding Voigtlander or Linhof that he was using. On a flight enroute to Penang sometime in May 1983 I enquired of the Tunku whether he still kept the camera. He said he had loaned it to one of his close friends. I think he would prefer to regard that act as a gift, since the camera was never returned. *Photo: The Tunku takes a shot of the Regatta in Kanowit, Sarawak in July 1966.*





▲ The Tunku being surrounded and given an ovation by UMNO's top brass at its Annual Assembly at the Kuala Lumpur Hilton in 1980. Tradition dies hard and tradition has somewhat blessed top leaders with honour and reverence. Dato' Hussein Onn is on the right of the Tunku. Standing from left are Datuk Abdullah Badawi (partly hidden by microphone), Datin Paduka Zaleha Ismail, Datuk Mohamad Yaacob, Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, Datuk Jaafar Hassan, the late Tan Sri Syed Nasir, Datuk Wan Mokhtar Ahmad, Datuk Hamzah Abu Samah and Datuk Mustapha Jabar (Former-Secretary General of UMNO). (Tun Hussein Onn, Datuk Jaafar Hassan—former Menteri Besar of Perlis, Datuk Hamzah Abu Samah are no longer members of the UMNO Supreme Council).



▲ RTM paid a tribute to the Tunku on his 82nd birthday by televising a special documentary on him. I took along a few of RTM's officers two of whom were Nurlida Saidi (centre) and Jaafar Kamin, to his Langgah Tunku Residence in Kuala Lumpur and they recorded one of his most lucid interviews in years. He remembers dates and events vividly; one particular event was the few days in Manila in 1966 when Noorlida interviewed him for Radio Malaysia. 'Luckily I didn't introduce her to Soekarno then' he chuckled. I thought I saw Nurlida blush but Bapa Malaysia rambled on.

Dato' Hussein Onn (now Tun), Malaysia's third Prime Minister. He shed tears of deep sorrow when Tun Razak died of leukaemia in London in January 1976, just as thousands reacted in sorrow too all over the country.

His legal training and his solicitor's background served him well during his tenure as Prime Minister.

Dato' Hussein Onn, who is meticulous about writing his own speeches, had the habit of using a six-inch ruler with which he would underline important passages for emphasis, and once done there would be no change.

If you are given an appointment to see him be prepared to talk for at least half an hour. During that time you would have fathomed the deep sense of dedication and earnestness of the man behind the job. Prior to his 1984 bypass operation in London he smoked nothing else but Craven 'A'. Later I noticed there were 'Kretek' too on the table nicely packed and tinned and when he twisted open the lid out wafted the unmistakable aroma of Indonesian tobacco. He would offer you one. Being a smoker that's a galore! Dato' Hussein always listened to your problems. In his own special meticulous way he would help. And when you finally walk away from the office of the Perdana Menteri you knew that you had a backer. For a long time Tengku Razaleigh, Tan Sri Ghazali and perhaps a host of others always smiled broadly with satisfaction after a session with Dato' Hussein.





◀ I took this photograph at Tun Hussein's retirement residence at Langgak Tunku, Kuala Lumpur on the occasion of his 63rd birthday. He gave an interview that 12th day of February 1985 to RTM which contained many thoughts of wisdom. The one aspect that I remember is his advice to the young who now occupy positions of leadership and authority. On the threshold of maturity, he said, 'They ought to reflect and safeguard our Malaysian tradition and way of life.' Many came to wish the ex-Premier 'Many happy returns' that day—among them Tun Omar Ong Yoke Lin (left), the Governor of Penang, Tun Dr Khalid, the President of MCA, Dr Neo Yee Pan and his colleagues, Dato' Mohamed Rahmat, Malaysia's former ambassador to Indonesia, Datuk Manan Osman, former Agriculture Minister and a host of others.

► For years the Kuala Lumpur Hilton's Nirwana Ballroom was UMNO's venue for its annual general assemblies. For three days the 1,000 over delegates would really make themselves heard. They cajoled, praised, criticised and resolved in what has become typical UMNO fashion. At the end of the assembly, usually on a Sunday their leaders—members of the Majlis Tertinggi—take turns to answer queries and matters that are raised by the delegates. An UMNO General Assembly is never dull. Oratory is at its best; humour becomes abundant and chorus upon chorus of laughter ensues at almost every segment of the session. And at times a session is not without its share of touching moments either, as can be seen from this photograph. It was at UMNO's General Assembly in 1981. The President and his Deputy in a spontaneous expression of rapport and friendship locked themselves in a brotherly hug and embrace. The 1,200 delegates from 115 UMNO divisions from all over the country gave these two leaders a thunderous applause and a standing ovation—their way of saying *Terima Kasih* to their outgoing President, Dato' Hussein Onn and *Selamat Berjuang* to Dr Mahathir who won the Presidency unopposed. Looking on from left: Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz (Deputy Head, Wanita UMNO), Datuk Mokhtar Hashim, Datuk Mustapha Jabar (Secretary-General of UMNO) and Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (UMNO's Treasurer and one of the three Vice-Presidents).







▲ It was March 1981. This was the last sitting for Dato' Hussein Onn as Chairman of UMNO Supreme Council prior to his heart operation in London. We preceded the meeting with a group photograph at the UMNO Headquarters. After Dato' Hussein left for London for his treatment, events accelerated. The Datuk Harun Idris' court appeal got well under way and the print media was in hot pursuit of news that developed around the former UMNO Youth Head.

From left: Tengku Razaleigh, Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Dato' Hussein Onn, Dato' Haji Mustapha Jabar, Encik Ghafar Baba and Datin Paduka Aishah Ghani.

◀ Hari Raya 1984 (1 Syawal 1404) at Tun Hussein's Residence, Langgak Tunku, Kuala Lumpur. In radiant health the ex-Premier talked and entertained endlessly that day. To his left Dato' Neo Yee Pan and extreme right Dato' Dr Tan Tiong Hong.



◀ Two of the most recognised faces from the corridors of power in Malaysia. This Minox snap was taken after what was to be, as it were, the last dinner that Dato' Hussein Onn as President of UMNO gave to the 1,200 delegates in 1981. In July that year he handed over the leadership baton to Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, his deputy in the party and the Government. Tun Hussein could have kept power for himself after he returned from London. This he did not do. He gave it away with full confidence and sincerity to a man who also did not ask for it—Dr Mahathir.



▲ A picture of happiness. Every member of Tun Hussein Onn's Cabinet in this photograph has something to smile about. I never got to know what tickled them into laughter.

From left: Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (Finance), Datuk Patinggi Taib Mahmud (Primary Industry), Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie (Home Affairs), Datuk Lee San Choon (Transport), Dato' Hussein Onn (Prime Minister), Tan Sri Ong Kee Hui (Science & Technology), Datin Paduka Aishah Ghani (Welfare - hidden), Tan Sri Chong Hon Nyan (Health), Dato' Mohamed Rahmat (Information) and Datuk Manan Osman (Public Enterprise), January 1981.



◀ Dato' Hussein Onn in his capacity as Barisan Nasional Chairman declares open MCA's Annual General Assembly in November 1980.

From left: Datuk Lee San Choon, Dato' Hussein Onn, Datuk Richard Ho and Tan Sri Chong Hon Nyan.

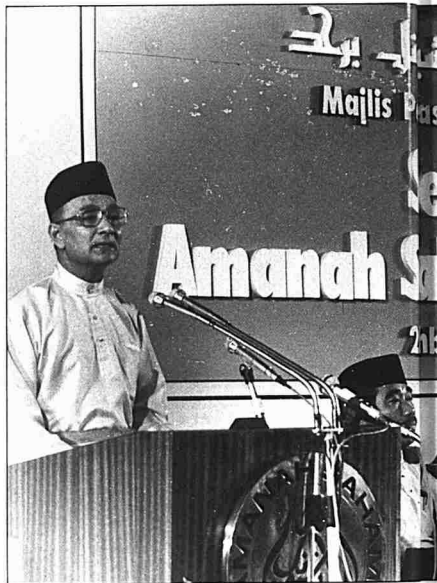


▲ Indonesia's President Suharto shaking hands with local leaders upon his arrival at Subang International Airport for a State visit in 1977. Prime Minister Dato' Hussein Onn was at hand, introducing the President to his Cabinet Ministers and VIPs. That's Dato' Chan Siang Sun shaking the President's hand. Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, then Deputy Prime Minister, smiles in the background. A photograph of this nature is ordinary enough and one hardly finds a noteworthy cause for its presence here. But I've included it because of the smiles on the faces of the three leaders. The other reason being that the Olympus Om-1 that I had that day was hardly a week old. I thought of giving it a field test with a 35 mm 2.8 Zuiko Standard. Not disappointing at all, come to think of it.

On 20th April, 1981 Malaysians ushered in the birth of the Amanah Saham Nasional, the biggest Unit Trust conglomerate ever in the country. Prime Minister Dato' Hussein Onn in his opening address stressed the significance of the ASN scheme:

'It is the objective of the government to oversee that this scheme becomes the most significant means of ensuring at least 30% of the private sector's corporate shares are owned by bumiputras by the year 1990.'

The ASN is easily one of the biggest contributions that Tun Hussein made during his tenure of high office. For the first time bumiputras have a direct investment *modus operandi* that secures high yield and guaranteed by the Government. Up to 1986 (June) some 2.3 million bumiputras have involved themselves in direct cash investment that total in excess of \$2 billion. Each bumiputra individual is allowed to invest up to \$50,000 either by way of instalments or in one lump payment and since its second year of operations (1982) investors have been receiving nothing less than 10% per annum.



▲ Dato' Hussein Onn (left), Datuk Manan Osman (Agriculture Minister), Datuk Musa Hitam (Education) and Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad (Deputy Prime Minister) at the launching of the Amanah Saham Nasional (ASN) at the PM's Department in April 1981.



▲ Every once in a long while they rose to the occasion. Not singularly but severally. On 26th September, 1985 they showed up for the grand opening of the new UMNO Headquarters that now incorporates the World Trade Centre. And for the first time in years the three—Tun Hussein Onn, Tunku Abdul Rahman and Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, each with a specific role to play—dominated the event with their presence. If only Tun Razak were still with us, what a quartet they would form. Nonetheless the three 'musketeers' did and will continue to champion the nation's future.

Admittedly, not many nations can take pride of having three elderly statesmen, who happen to be two former prime ministers, plus one that still serves.



▲ A few weeks prior to Dato' Hussein Onn's departure for his medical treatment in London in 1981 the Menteri Besar presented him with a silver memento. As I recall, every Menteri Besar and Ketua Menteri then signed onto the silver plate, a token of their appreciation of a national leader whose leadership qualities permeated through his very own personality. Tan Sri Abdul Samad Idris, former Culture, Youth & Sports Minister also came along with the Menteri Besar to the Prime Minister's Office and presented an enlarged black and white photograph of the late Dato' Onn Jaafar.

From left: Datuk Wan Mohamed (Menteri Besar of Perak), Tan Sri Abdul Samad Idris, Dato' Hussein Onn, Tan Sri Osman Saat (Menteri Besar of Johor) and Dato' Amar Wan Mokhtar Ahmad (Menteri Besar of Terengganu).



▲ From left: The Raja of Perlis, Prime Minister Dato' Hussein Onn, the late Sultan of Perak and the Menteri Besar of Perak (Datuk Wan Mohamed) at a 1980 Ruler's Conference Meeting at the Istana Negara Kuala Lumpur.

About three times a year the Prime Minister is beckoned by duty to accompany the Yang di-Pertuan Agong at the *Mesyuarat Majlis Raja-Raja* (Meeting of the Council of Rulers). It is at such meetings that the Prime Minister counsels the Paramount Ruler on matters such as development and security. Although the Constitution is rather narrow and restricted in availing the Rulers the right of direct involvement with matters of the Government, the Prime Minister takes liberty to drive home almost any point that he cares to make.

I still remember distinctly when this liberty was made full use. That was in 1979 when Tun Hussein (Dato' then) delivered a keynote address to the Council specifically touching upon the Rulers' involvement in business as well as the very delicate situation within which the Menteri Besar had to carry out his duties as head of a State Government.

From then on all Menteri Besar had to inform and receive the views of the Prime Minister in the event that the Istana forwards to them land, logging concessions and other pecuniary applications. Tun Hussein's concern then was to see to it that a Menteri Besar is left with a lighter burden in administering the state, without having to consider applications from the Istana which are by their very nature difficult to turn down as the Sultan dominates and commands the respect of the rakyat as a whole and to whom the Menteri Besar must demonstrate absolute loyalty.

Before going through actual business, usually the UMNO Supreme Council (Majlis Tertinggi) allows press photographers to take pictures all round. Members of the Council always had a joke for the Minister of Information by saying: 'If you want your face to appear in the TV sit near Dato' Mohamed Rahmat.' (Dato' Mohamed Rahmat was the Minister of Information in 1981 when this picture was taken.) Of course this is not true. It is the PM who gets the splash. In regard to the press photographers the lighter vein lamentation has always been: 'You all take so many pictures and your flash blind our eyes. Where do you put all these pictures?' The politicians ask the photographers because their faces don't appear the next day. One fellow politician gets to see his photos in the press quite often but according to him they were taken some five years earlier. I soothed his nerves 'That's okay. That way you look younger all the time.' He was quite pleased with that compliment for a moment, then he bellowed, 'True, but you see-lah they always print the one with my mouth open.' He was lucky. Some political leaders don't even see their photos in the paper at all.



▲ Some members of the UMNO Majlis Tertinggi at the Conference Room, Seri Taman, the official residence of the Prime Minister (Tun Hussein Onn was the last PM to reside there). *From left:* Datuk Seri (now Tan Sri) Hamzah Abu Samah – aiming to 'shoot' Dato' Hussein for his album, Datuk Hormat Rafiq (MB of Selangor), Datuk Wan Mohamed (MB of Perak), Tan Sri Abdul Samad Idris (Culture Youth and Sports), Datuk Ramli (Deputy Minister: Housing & Local Government) and Tan Sri Ghazali Shahe (Home Affairs), February 1981.



Datuk Pangeran Osman Rauf, former Minister for Federal Territory hands out a gift pack to a patient at the General Hospital (September 1982). Pangeran Osman joined the Federal Cabinet in 1979 via Parti Berjaya slotting from Sabah. He resigned from Dr Mahathir's Cabinet in 1983 to give way to Datuk James Ongkili, Sabah's new candidate in the Federal Government. Since 1984 Osman has tried to make a political come-back but failed.



Encik Ghafar Baba, who is still considered a dynamo in Malaysian politics, has been in high places longer than the ordinary man would imagine. He is presently the longest serving legislator and

Member of Parliament, having served as Chief Minister of Melaka since Merdeka (1957) and held a few Ministerial posts since the formation of Malaysia in 1963. His 'cheerio' to Cabinet participation occurred in 1976 when he was 'bypassed' by the elevation of Dr Mahathir to Deputy Premiership, a decision made by Tun Hussein Onn in 1976 soon after his rise to premiership. With that ended months of speculation as to who was to succeed as Deputy Premier. Ghafar Baba, shrewd in politics, exhibited similar traits in business soon after he left the Cabinet in 1976. He is also the longest serving UMNO Vice-President whilst doubling as Secretary-General of the ruling Barisan Nasional since 1975. He is always calm, composed and collected. Many have mistaken these traits as shades of aloofness. Call it fate, or call it luck. On Saturday 11th of May, 1986 what he missed exactly 10 years earlier suddenly became his. He was appointed Deputy Prime Minister, replacing Datuk Musa Hitam who relinquished the post on 16th March, 1986. In politics anything can happen. In this particular case the happening is certainly for the better for a man who has devoted almost 30 years of his life to UMNO and the nation.



▲ Tun Rahman (*extreme right*) sharing a lighter moment with former Deputy Prime Minister, Datuk Musa Hitam (*centre*) and former Governor of Sarawak, Tun Sallehudin in Kuching sometime in 1983.

Tun Abdul Rahman Yaakub was in the centre-stage of Sarawak politics for slightly more than a decade as Chief Minister (1970-1981) of a State that is rich in natural resources and culture.

In 1981, he relinquished the Ketua Menteri's post to become Governor of Sarawak, favouring his nephew, Datuk Patinggi Taib Mahmud, who moved in as Chief Minister. Both have had substantial experience in the Federal Government as Cabinet Ministers under Tun Razak and Tun Hussein Onn respectively.

Politics has within its fold many unexpected twists and turns. In 1985 the uncle and nephew suddenly became strange bedfellows (at least that was how the media depicted them). The relationship between the two took on an unexpected turn while their followers became politically antagonistic towards each other. But in 1986, the political squabbles seemed to subside after Tun Rahman, at his own will chose to lead a normal private life, consequently giving up the Governorship of Sarawak.

Tun Rahman, a charismatic and moving orator left a lasting image in a State that is reminiscent of the rule of White Rajas. Whilst the uncle and nephew may not be in the same political camp (at the time this book went to Press) many observers believe that a reunion of the two at a later date will take place. Just like the popular Malay proverb: '*Carik-carik bulu ayam lama-lama bercantum juga*'.

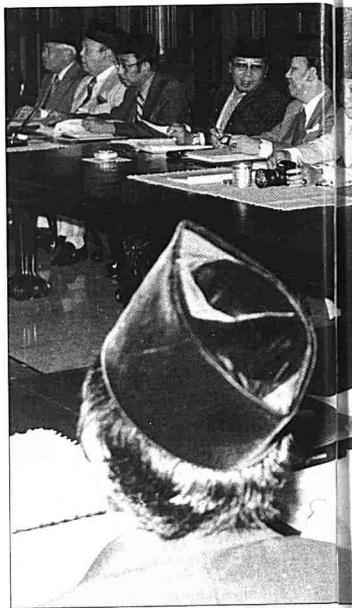
If the late President Sadat of Egypt and Begin of Israel could see eye to eye, why not relatives!

The Conference of Rulers (*Majlis Mesyuarat Raja-Raja*) is a constitutional entity which goes into session about thrice a year. Its members comprise all the Rulers of the Peninsular States, and the Governors of Pulau Pinang, Melaka, Sabah and Sarawak. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong attends every session with the Prime Minister who advises on matters that touch upon the Federal List. Procedurally the Menteris Besar and Ketua Menteris sit next to their Rulers and Governors respectively, advising on state matters.

Normally matters concerning royal prerogatives, issues on Islam, appointments of persons to commissions set under the Constitution and other matters that come under the purview of the Conference as permitted under the Constitution make up the agenda. The Conference also receives briefings on security and development on a right-to-know basis.

A day before the actual Conference the respective Menteris Besar and Ketua Menteris hold a special meeting among themselves to prepare and determine the agenda for the Rulers Conference. Amongst other things matters of State are discussed on a comparative basis as well as the Royal Scholarship Fund which was set up sometime in 1981 with a view to provide financial help to students of merit in higher education.

The Royal Scholarship Fund is now incorporated into an Act of Parliament, currently enjoying a sound financial position. The fund is supervised closely by its own Investment Committee. I am happy (and naturally quite proud) to be associated with the initial setting-up and growth of this project up to its present form. It is only fitting to record the substantial assistance I received from Tan Sri Osman Saat, the then Menteris Besar of Johor who acted as the Investment Committee Chairman.





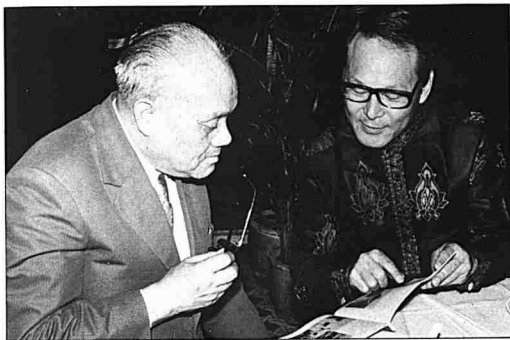
▲ From left: Datuk Jaafar Hassan, MB of Perlis and the Raja of Perlis; the late Sultan of Perak, Wan Mohamed, MB of Perak; The Yang Di-Pertuan Besar Negeri Sembilan and Datuk Rais Yatim, MB Negeri Sembilan; The Sultan of Terengganu and Datuk Wan Mokhtar Ahmad, MB of Terengganu; The Regent of Pahang and Haji Ruhim Bakar, MB Pahang; The Governor of Melaka and Datuk Seri Adib Adam Chief Minister, (back to the camera); The Governor of Sabah and Datuk Harris Salleh, Chief Minister.

Tan Sri Chong, former KSU (Secretary-General) of the Finance Ministry has had a wide and varied career in public administration. Prior to his Transport portfolio, he was Health Minister. He was known to be a staunch supporter of Dr Neo Yee Pan, a fact well-tested during the 'phantom membership' issue which created factions within the MCA. Neo Yee Pan on one side and Tan Koon Swan on the other. As MCA Secretary-General, 1984 must have been a trying year for Hon Nyan. He retired in November 1985.

Hon Nyan is a clear thinker, able to tackle problems both through the eyes of a politician as well as through the assessment of a civil servant. His 11 years in active politics (since 1974) have earned him a reputation that is hard to supersede. He was for many years Secretary-General of the MCA and represented the Batu Berendam (Melaka) Parliamentary Constituency since 1974.



▲ Tan Sri Chong Hon Nyan and Puan Sri Chong posed for the album during the 1984 Merdeka celebrations in Kuala Lumpur.



Datuk Richard Ho, former Minister of Labour and Manpower explains a feature of interest to Lee Chiang, China's Minister for Trade, just before dinner, at an official function in March 1979 at the Kuala Lumpur Equatorial.

Soft-spoken Richard did well both in government as well as party politics. In the latter he rose to the lofty height of being MCA's Deputy President for one term (1979-1982) but affairs between him and the President, Datuk Lee San Choon, were not smooth sailing. This finally drove Richard to leave the party and Government in 1982. He did not contest again in Lumut, Perak when the nation went to the polls in April that year.

The constituency of Lumut was Richard's power base for the Barisan Nasional. Earlier, in 1969 he started off via the Parliamentary Constituency of Sitiawan, also in Perak when he responded to the DAP's call. Four days before the 1969 General Elections, so the account goes, he was at the Station Hotel in Ipoh talking to a lawyer friend when he had a phone call from Mr Goh Hock Guan, the then Secretary-General of the DAP. His response and willingness to contest in the Sitiawan Constituency for the DAP was Richard's advent into full-time politics. His days in the DAP, due to major differences between him and the leaders of that party came to an end two years later at which point in time the MCA beckoned him.

Listening to Richard's Parliamentary delivery in 1974 for the first time convinced me that he was indeed one of the most eloquent speakers both in English as well as Bahasa Malaysia. He was never in a hurry. Each sentence came on clear and succinct with the right diction. His legal training no doubt facilitates this command.

One night in June 1984 we bumped into each other at the Kuala Lumpur Equatorial Hotel. Before parting he beamed and admitted that life in retirement for him was all-rewarding. Of course, without the hustlings of political activities and without having to succumb to endless days of appointments one ought to be justified in saying just that. And as it came to pass, Richard is now Deputy Chairman of Malayan Banking Berhad, the country's largest commercial bank.



Bahaman Shamsudin, Minister of Health opens the Federal Pharmaceutical Laboratory Store in Petaling Jaya in April 1965. After the ceremony Encik Bahaman gets an in-depth briefing from the Supervisor, Mr KH Lim (holding a glass tube).

Bahaman, one of those who never got around to allowing himself to be awarded any Datukship, perhaps on the same principle as held by Khir Johari, is one of the country's old guards in UMNO and Perikatan. He served as one of Tunku Abdul Rahman's Cabinet Ministers in the early 60's. He had held various portfolios, *inter alia* Labour (1960) and Health (1962). In 1964 he was the country's first Minister of Justice. He retired from politics in 1969.

On 27th September, 1985, in memory of UMNO's historic official opening of its new headquarters at Jalan Tun Ismail Kuala Lumpur he stiffened up his sinews and joined the VIP crowd.

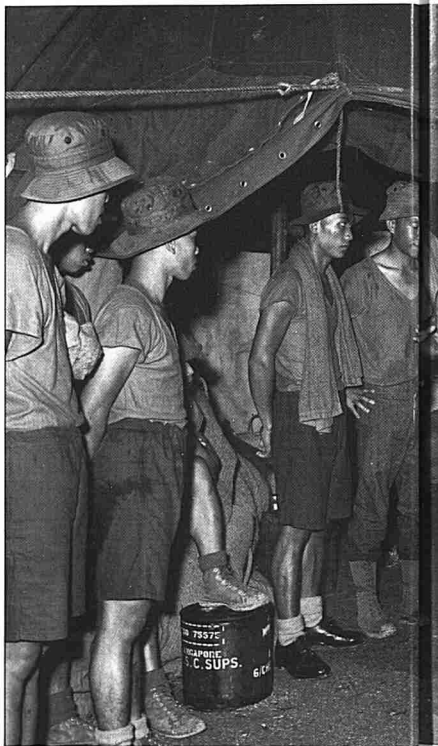


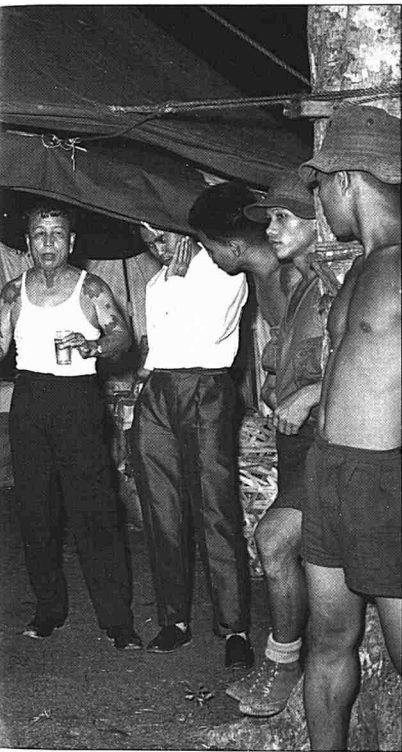
Both of them were Chief Secretaries to the Government. In January 1981 they attended the INTAN Fellowship Presentation Ceremony at the Institute's headquarters in Petaling Jaya. Tan Sri Abdullah Salleh (left) receives the INTAN Fellowship Insignia from Tan Sri Abdullah Ayub (right). It is almost a tradition in Malaysia to award the KSN with an SMN or PMN both of which carry the title *Tan Sri*. While the Chief Secretary receives the title during the tenure of his office, political figures may expect the award on the verge of or during retirement.

Very seldom has a Minister been awarded that title while holding his Cabinet portfolio. On the other hand almost all Cabinet Ministers and Secretary-Generals carry the title 'Datuk' or 'Dato' before their names. Datukship is a peerage of sorts awarded by the respective Sultans or Governors of the various States in Malaysia. A recent survey shows that no less than 50 Datukships were given away each year for the past four years. In the early days the number was higher.

The late Tun Datuk Patinggi Temenggung Jugah Anak Barieng former Minister for Sarawak Affairs visits The Rangers camping site near Kuching, Sarawak in June 1964. His political involvement in Sarawak affairs dated back to the late twenties when he took part in the 1926 Vyner Brooke peace accord that involved the Ibans from Batang Rajang and the Kenyahs from Long Nawang, Kalimantan. He was *Apai* (father) to everybody and his traditional *penghulu* title earned him respect through his somewhat patriarchal leadership. He was also actively involved in various intelligence work for the Australian SRD Forces in the mid-forties. The British were very fond of him and indeed made life easier for the colonialists by making him a leader to be reckoned with. He was given the honour by the British to be whisked to London in late 1952 to witness the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. He served for the most part of 1955 as a member of Kapit District Council. As a Temenggung he was a full-fledged traditional leader in Sarawak.

In 1963 he was returned as a Member of Parliament and was appointed Minister for Sarawak Affairs after the birth of Malaysia. He retired from politics in 1974 to concentrate on his work as president of *Adat Istiadat Sarawak*. He executed this function right up to 1981 when his demise in July that year closed a very colourful chapter in the leadership annals of Sarawak. One of his sons, Datuk Leonard Linggi is a successful politician-businessman.





► Tun Mustapha accompanying Prime Minister Tun Razak in a 'guard of honour' ceremony in Kota Kinabalu during one of the many state visits that the latter performed in Sabah. This particular visit was made by the late Tun Razak on 26th June, 1971. The usual crowd at Kota Kinabalu comprising political leaders, top civil servants, uniformed personnel and, of course, true to the tradition of the Land Below The Wind, scores of Sabah's *Pri-bumis* in full traditional attire and cultural bouts lined up to welcome the *Bapa Pembangunan*. Despite the respect, honour and magnanimity that Tun Razak had, Tun Mustapha had managed to assert his own personality and carved a niche for himself into and within Sabah's relationship with the Federal Government which was seen to be in dire need of betterment especially within the two years prior to Mustapha's end as Chief Minister. What was remarkable was that Tun Razak never as much as mentioned the high style or disapproved of the controversial ways of the Sabah Chief Minister although many knew then that the Federal Premier's wrath and disenchantment were expressed in other ways. Tun Mustapha on the other hand, long after Tun Razak died, in the first week of June 1985, in a 'bare-it-all' interview with a regional weekly said many things which in retrospect did little justice to that beloved Malaysian leader.





Tun Mustapha bin Datu Harun evokes different feelings in different people. Most of the attributes that people use to describe him were earned whilst he was Chief Minister of Sabah for the period 1967-1976. Whilst his State Government's relationship with Kuala Lumpur was not particularly in peak form, especially during the last three years, he managed to establish a reputation for himself as a patronising and benevolent leader. Others, however, prefer to paint him as the lean, chain-smoking charismatic figure who ruled the East Malaysian State of Sabah with an iron hand.

Whatever the description, Tun Mustapha is a household word among political families of Malaysia. Many believe the history of Sabah shall always contain a paragraph if not whole pages of him, in whatever ways the historian cares and dares to paraphrase his doings.

At 67 he is still energetic and politics still flows freely in his veins. His beginnings, humble as they were from the Sulus tell of an office boy in the then British North Borneo Company who rose to become Sabah's Governor. After a series of conflicts between him and the late Tun Donald Stephens, who then was heading Sabah as Chief Minister, Tun Mustapha relinquished the decorative post as Governor. He soon revamped USNO and brought home victory at the polls in 1967 and succeeded Tun Stephens as Chief Minister.

Meanwhile, headline after headline enmeshed controversy after controversy. It was widely reported that his relationship with Tun Razak was strained. There was speculation that he was trying to pull Sabah away from the Federation. This he denied soon enough in 1973. Stories were rife that he might be appointed Defence Minister in Tun Razak's Cabinet. The appointment never took place. Tun Mustapha was too independent a character to be amenable enough to accept such an appointment. Many chose to believe that he could not resign to work under a superior, at least not after having tasted power as Chief Minister in the Land below the Wind.

In 1976, USNO was almost annihilated at the polls by Berjaya, a fresh brew of a political party with Tun Donald Stephens and Datuk Harris Salleh as its top leaders. Datuk Harris was in Tun Mustapha's State Cabinet earlier on but chose to opt out to join Berjaya after a systematic series of consultations with Kuala Lumpur. Political observers then believed that the ousting of Tun Mustapha and USNO in 1976 was one of the best orchestrated political manoeuvres in the history of local politics. Datuk Harris Salleh's gleaming moments were about to begin and for the next nine years, up to April 1985, he ruled Sabah under the banner of Berjaya while Tun Mustapha was reduced to being an underdog of sorts.

In politics anything can happen. How very true. On the night of 22nd April, 1985, Berjaya suffered almost the same fate that USNO suffered way back in 1976. It retained only six seats. Tun Mustapha got nothing less than a resurrection when USNO was returned with 16 seats. Of course Datuk Pairin Kitingan with his PBS (Party Bersatu Sabah) romped home with a 26 state-seat victory, and with that, the mandate to form a government. Though the political Crown was logically Pairin's, moves and countermoves were executed in rapid fire, including the one episode that almost made Tun Mustapha once again the Chief Minister of Sabah.

Through fast and dubious events that night of 22nd April, Tun Mustapha was somehow made to believe that a coalition between USNO and Berjaya could prevail towards forming the next Government in the light of what was represented to be the Federal Government's blessing for such an arrangement. Of course there was no such blessing, let alone agreement. Even if USNO's 16 seats were to be reckoned for the final bid of a come back the marriage could only entail 22 seats, still substantially distant from the two-thirds majority required under the State Constitution.

Things continued to move fast and again, dubiously that night. In the early hours of 22nd April, Governor Tun Adnan Roberts was made to appoint Tun

Mustapha Chief Minister in circumstances that could supercede a Hollywood political thriller. The State's Attorney-General and State Secretary, among others, did not consent to be present, nor the usual entourage of State Presence. It was later reported that the Governor acted the way he did upon his belief that he feared for the safety of himself and that of his family during that pre-dawn episode. Thus the so-called appointment was in fact and in law, never a reality. The Court in Kota Kinabalu which heard the case at the insistence of Tun Mustapha, in late May 1985 slightly more than a month after that historic night of 22nd April, decided that there was no case to pursue, let alone answer. The merits or demerits of other constitutional issues brought upon the Court to decide were no longer relevant. Tun Mustapha's claim for a declaration that Datuk Pairin was unconstitutionally appointed as Sabah's Chief Minister was viewed as a plan poorly conceived and crudely executed. However, his ardent followers maintained that while he might still have lost the court case, but with USNO's 16-seat victory, he is still a winner and a bigger hero at that. Meanwhile, Datuk Harris Salleh's fortune was at its lowest ebb when Berjaya only won 6 seats and lost 38. The one significant seat, Tenon, Datuk Harris' very own *kuawasan* was also lost. What was thought to be a day of reckoning turned out to be a disastrous affair for Berjaya.

In March 1986, hardly some 11 months after PBS came to power and due to the constant political tremors in Sabah (partly due to Tun Mustapha's move within and without the Court) Pairin decided to settle the score once and for all by having a fresh state elections. A good number of Sabah as well as Federal leaders were made to appear besmirched pursuant to what took place in Sabah weeks before the new state elections. But all the innuendoes and sporadic explosions that hurt a few innocent people were actually domesticated expressions of violence which no one wished to be identified with.

With Kadazan battle cry Pairin romped home with more than a landslide victory. PBS got 34 seats, USNO 12 and Berjaya, due mainly to the personal magnetism of its new leader Datuk Mohd Noor Mansor managed to cling on to only one seat. Meanwhile Tun Mustapha's fate in the Court of Law, pursuant to his prayer for a declaration that Pairin was unconstitutionally appointed Chief Minister of Sabah, fell through. The overwhelming victory of PBS in March 1986 sealed many politicians' fate in that state.



I served as Deputy Minister for Law in 1976 when Tan Sri Kadir, as he was more popularly known, was Law Minister and Attorney-General. (Now the Ministry of Law is modified somewhat and its name changed to the Ministry of Justice. The post of Attorney-General is presently held by Tan Sri Abu Talib Osman, an able and respected legal personality who has earned the reputation of being an outstanding Public Prosecutor.)

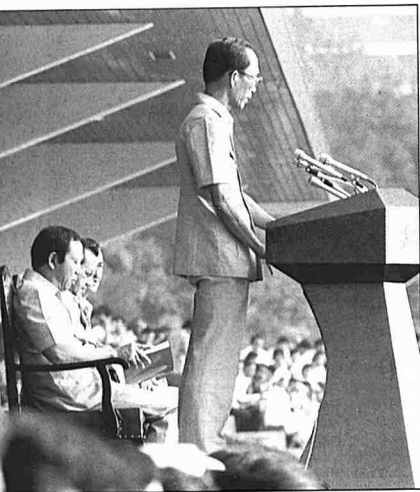
Tan Sri Kadir had an illustrious legal career prior to his appointment as Minister in Tun Razak's and Tun Hussein's Cabinets. Tan Sri Kadir was the only Cabinet member in the history of Government in Malaysia who held Cabinet positions together with his wife, Tan Sri Fatimah Hashim. She served as Minister for Social Services while Tan Sri Kadir held the portfolio of Law and Attorney-General at the same time. Many of the country's top law men, like Tun Salleh Abbas, Tan Sri Abu Talib, Datuk Zakaria Yatim and Datuk Mohd Lamin, among others, served under Tan Sri Kadir.

He has this knack for telling jokes about our daily chores and overseas trips. One day, so he narrated at his office at the Sultan Abdul Samad Building (now occupied by the Mahkamah Agung), he was in New York attending the Law of the Sea Conference which never seemed to end because of countless resolutions and U.N. deliberations. After one of the sessions he took to the streets and was bent on exploring New York by himself in the evening, sporting a flamboyant scarf and a jazzy hat to match. Hardly a block away from his hotel, according to him, a few men who appeared to be drug addicts approached him to negotiate some drug transactions. Obviously they mistook Tan Sri Kadir's very slim physique to be a manifestation of characters they knew so well in their drug world. Of course my slim boss lost no time in yanking himself away from the scene.



▲ Tan Sri Fatimah Hashim former Minister for Social Services talks to a group of flood victims in the Kuala Lumpur area in February 1971.

I believe the record is still not broken. Even the Guinness Book of Records should take steps to update its facts. There was a time when Tan Sri Fatimah Hashim, as Chief of Wanita UMNO then, served in Tunku Abdul Rahman's Cabinet as Minister for Social Welfare and not long afterwards, her husband, Tan Sri Abdul Kadir Yusof, Attorney-General then, joined the same Cabinet as Minister for Law and Attorney-General thus creating a unique precedent for Malaysia in that for the first time ever a husband and wife served in the same Cabinet with separate and distinct portfolios. When I served as Deputy Minister for Law in 1976 Tan Sri Kadir, my boss, then joked around the office, 'If you want to know what it's like to have a Minister as a wife, you can always ask me.' He never got around to telling me actually what it was like to this day. One thing was sure, they might be the odd couple to some, but to many they offered a unique combination of talents to the Malaysian Government.



▲ Seated behind Tan Sri Hashim, former Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam, Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad and Minister in the PM's Department then, Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (partly hidden).

Tan Sri Hashim Aman (standing and addressing), former Chief Secretary of the Government (KSN), giving an introductory speech to thousands of civil servants, political leaders and diplomats in March 1983 on the occasion of the launching of 'The Leadership by Example Campaign' (*Kepimpinan Melalui Teladan*) at Stadium Tun Razak, Kuala Lumpur. The entire civil service personnel in Kuala Lumpur went to town that historic day to participate in the campaign. In Malaysia it has become almost a custom to have the Prime Minister declare open almost all types of public-spirited campaigns. From productivity to anti-drug the PM never ceases to imbue his interest and personal involvement. To a large extent his patronage goes a long way to making a national campaign successful.

Tan Sri Hashim, the mild-mannered top civil servant from Rembau, Negeri Sembilan was always seen to be composed, prim and proper, never in a hurry. But he got things done. In 1977 he was for three months made the 'Supremo' of what was an Emergency Rule in the State of Kelantan as a result of political unrest precipitated by PAS onslaughts against the authorities then. Now he is in retirement but 'retirement' was not to be in his case, as in the case of previous Chief Secretaries and even Cabinet Ministers. Companies and corporate bodies find some of them very useful.

In March 1985 Tan Sri Hashim was made Chairman of Malayan Banking Berhad, the biggest commercial bank in Malaysia. Whilst that appointment may not keep him as busy as his days when he was the top civil servant, things really stir up beyond schedule at times and the once top civil servants could be just as busy as normal working persons again. What is retirement after all?

Tan Sri Arshad Ayub, vibrant, colourful almost to the point of being flamboyant. This description and adjectives are purely mine to illustrate an energetic and aggressive top civil servant in trying to get things done for his Ministry.

Arshad Ayub served more than half a decade as Director of Mara Institute of Technology (MIT) and developed some productive curriculum including a joint project with Ohio State University. He also served as Deputy Governor of Bank Negara.

For slightly more than two years, he was my Secretary-General in the Ministry of Land and Regional Development. He served me and the Ministry well. Arshad is what the Americans would refer to as a 'smooth operator'. He can manoeuvre his way through anything if he decides to. As Minister one has to be one step ahead all the time vis-a-vis his ideas and proposals. We got on famously. Now Tan Sri Arshad is on the board of a number of companies besides being Chairman of the Johor Tenggara Development Authority (KEJORA).



▲ Tan Sri Arshad Ayub, former Secretary-General (KSU) Ministry of Land and Regional Development

Dato' Mohamad now joins that distinguished group of retired Cabinet Ministers which is by no means a small number if one includes dignitaries like Tun Hussein Onn, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Khir Johari, Seno Abdul Rahman, Manan Osman and a host of others. No one has suggested yet, that these sterling citizens who are of Malaysian statesmen-material should form a Club, say, *The Malaysian Statesmen Club*. It could be useful. Some of these retired friends, I dare say, have still much to contribute in ways more than one.

Dato' Mohamad Rahmat had an array of portfolios to his credit during a political career that spanned the last 20 years. He chose to step down as Malaysia's Ambassador to Indonesia and also gave up his non-portfolio post in Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir's Cabinet on 12th November, 1984. His various positions in the government literally started from the rank and file. Since 1964 until 1984 he served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Education Ministry, Deputy Minister of Trade, Minister of Information (1978-1982) and for the period 1982-1984 as Cabinet-ranking Ambassador to Indonesia. Dato' Mohamad actively availed his leadership as UMNO Youth Deputy Head during the leadership of Datuk Harun Idris.

(At the time of going to press, true to my ardent belief that in politics anything can happen, Dato' Mohamad was appointed once again as Information Minister.)



▲ Dato' Mohamad Rahmat chats with Tan Sri Shekh Abdullah, former PSC Chairman at the Dewan Rakyat foyer in 1981. Partly hidden (left) is Tan Sri Zakaria, former KSU of Wisma Putra, now Malaysia's High Commissioner to Australia.



▲ Datuk Lee San Choon during one of his meet-the-people sessions in the Segamat Constituency, Johor in January 1978.

It was sheer hard work in 1982 to make Datuk Lee San Choon win in the Seremban Parliamentary Election. Win he did – by some 745 votes – and for the first time Dr Chen Man Hin lost that seat to the MCA President. As Negeri Sembilan Barisan Nasional Chairman then, I shared San Choon's inner happiness. When Encik Abdul Malek, the returning officer, announced San Choon's victory and Man Hin's defeat both men shed tears – one of victory, the other of defeat. We literally painted the Seremban town red that night. The enthusiasm shown by the MCA President over the welfare of his voters in Seremban was reassuring. There was talk about a Foundation to be established and hopes were high. Only months later San Choon resigned from his Cabinet post as Transport Minister. Then he also gave up his Seremban seat. Many thought that was a let-down. I thought so too. I felt tired at the thought of the MCA having to fight the DAP one more round. This time, I knew, Man Hin will shed no more tears.

In November 1983, MCA's candidate, Rosie Toh was defeated by Chen Man Hin.

► Tan Sri Sheikh Abdullah (left) former Public Service Commission Chairman and Datuk Manan Osman, former Agriculture Minister (right) chatting in the courtyard of Istana Negara immediately after attending the Yang di-Pertuan Agong's birthday celebrations in 1982.



Datuk Manan Osman left the Mahathir Cabinet in a matter of weeks after the UMNO General Assembly in July 1984 that catapulted a dozen new faces on to a higher level of political echelon. They were mostly from among the group of Menteris Besar and Ketua Menteris who had *de facto* influence and who commanded bigger political control in state politics and in the administration. Apart from Datuk Abdullah Badawi, who was returned in the Vice-Presidential race, the rest of the UMNO Cabinet Ministers performed way below expectation and none amongst them succeeded in attaining beyond the sixth place in the Supreme Council clamour. With Manan, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie and Datin Paduka Aishah Ghani also left the Cabinet, both on their own accord. Perhaps this was so decided by them after some 'soul searching' on their part, visualising as it were the future and taking stock of their track record. Both 'King' Ghaz, as he is still popularly referred to, and Aishah Ghani have left behind a long record of political service. More than a decade each.

In politics one of the most difficult decisions to make is when to leave and call it a day. Unlike the civil service where one can expect to leave upon reaching the age of 50 or 55 for purposes of attaining pensionable retirement, in politics there is no age limit. Many leaders at 50 or 55 are merely reaching what is popularly known as the mellowing era and can expect to be active easily for another decade.



▲ (1968) Lee Siok Yew, (right) Assistant Minister of Education as he was then, being introduced to Mr V N Kuznesov, Russian ambassador to Malaysia who paid him a courtesy call at the Ministry of Education, Federal House, Kuala Lumpur.

Tan Sri Lee Siok Yew served in many capacities both in the MCA as well as the Government prior to his retirement in 1977. His last Cabinet post was as Minister of Health.



Both these personalities have left a long record of service behind them. Easily between the two, some forty years at the least have been spent in the pursuit of public service. Despite the public growing concern, even criticism, over the affairs of civil servants and public service, the sterling qualities of the Malaysian Civil Service have not been overshadowed by negativism. In the photograph above the Ketua Setiausaha Negara, Tan Sri Sallehuddin Mohamad, took time off to honour a long standing personality in the field of Foreign Affairs, in August 1984 by presenting him the Certificate of Excellence (*Sijil Cemerlang*). Tan Sri Zakaria is presently Malaysia's High Commissioner in Australia.



▲ Chief Secretary Tunku Tan Sri Muhamad (left) presents a cheque to the then Assistant Minister of Home Affairs Hamzah Abu Samah. The \$1.136 collected from the staff of the PM's Department was donated to the Heroes Fund, January 1969.

Tan Sri Hamzah Abu Samah's last portfolio was that of Minister for Law and Attorney-General in 1978. He had to give up politics due to health problems and underwent a bypass and major heart operations just after retirement. Though the 'Pahang Menteri Besar' issue of 1978-1980 precipitated many political problems both for Tan Sri Hamzah and Haji Abdul Rahim Bakar the Menteri Besar then, the two remain stoical and relentless to their principles.

Hamzah had served in many ministerial capacities prior to his last Law portfolio *inter alia*, Defence, Information, Culture, Youth and Sports, Trade and Industry. But one lasting love and passion that he still pursues is football. He has been the President of the Football Association of Malaysia (FAM) for some years now after Tunku Abdul Rahman relinquished that post in the late 70's. He also presides over the OCM (Olympic Council of Malaysia).



▲ Datuk Mustapha Jabar and Encik Kassim Ahmad, Deputy Home Minister then flanked by friends at a polling station in Ulu Muda Constituency Kedah during a by-election in 1983.

To the left of Encik Kassim is Encik Ahmad Osman a Perlis UMNO legislator and Member of Parliament for Baling. Encik Seroji Haji Haron is at extreme right.

Datuk Haji Mustapha Jabar (third from left with songkok) quit politics in 1983 when he relinquished the post as UMNO Secretary-General. As Member of Parliament for Sabak Bernam and holder of a score of state UMNO posts in his heyday, he has indeed performed and scored well. Though not particularly known for his administrative skills, Datuk Mustapha had taken care of the UMNO Headquarters in a manner which is both conservative and tactful. In Government he rose to the post of Deputy Minister of Agriculture during Tun Hussein Onn's tenure of office. His fatherly image has earned him the trust of younger leaders and many made it their routine to consult him on matters of politics. He joined politics with his peers like Datuk Samad Idris and Encik Ghafar Baba. Like them he is a true veteran.



Datuk Tahir Abd. Majid, former Senator, and former UMNO Youth Leader. This is the man who hoisted the Federation of Malaya Flag in place of the Union Jack that midnight of 30th August, 1957. He was the UMNO Youth leader then whose task and duty it was to execute that deed for the nation while the Tunku roared away with 'Merdeka'. While sipping coffee with him in Parliament House during one of the sessions in 1982 he smiled wryly: 'I wonder how many still remember that momentous night?' Millions do not remember because they did not witness that episode in the history of our nation. But many will know now that they have read this credit line.



▲ Tun Ismail Mohd Ali explains something about a memento to former Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam after the official opening of the Perbadanan Nasional Berhad Building at Jalan Tun Abdul Razak, Kuala Lumpur in May 1985.

Tun Ismail, chairman of Perbadanan Nasional Berhad was governor of Bank Negara for 18 years (1962-1980). A relentless task master, he dominated the country's financial administration with utmost care and devotion. A highly disciplined individual, Tun Ismail has carved a niche for himself as well as for the nation by being remarkably good as a banker with an integrity next to none. He may be soft spoken but his officers regard his instructions as thunderclaps of command that must be executed.

As chairman of the PNB the 2.3 million investors are counting on his prudence and better judgement for better return on investment. Somehow the personality of Tun Ismail itself augurs well with the confidence shown in the PNB. He invests in nothing else but blue chips and expects nothing less than the best from his officers. Now at 68 he is still as active as ever in financial and corporate affairs.

Tan Sri Datuk Abdul Samad Idris retired from his Culture, Youth and Sports Cabinet post in 1981 after having served the nation in various capacities since 1959. A man never known for abrasiveness,

not even for raising his voice, he rose from the inobscurity of Negeri Sembilan politics in the early fifties and finally found a place in Tun Hussein Onn's Cabinet in 1978. While in Negeri Sembilan he was appointed a "Timbalan Menteri Besar" of sorts under the Menteri Besar then, Dr. Mohd. Said. The Timbalan Menteri Besar's post was more a *de facto* position of senior Executive Councillor rather than a legal or Constitutional Deputy Menteri Besar as the Negeri Sembilan State Constitution contains no such provision as is the case in Kelantan. Thus, Datuk Samad, as he was popularly known then, provided the political input while Dr. Said the Menteri Besar steered the state as Chief Executive.

Whilst the relationship between the two never rose to great heights, Datuk Samad paved his way in his own style – slow and steady. He was most at home with literary and cultural pursuits, thanks to his early stint as an Utusan Melayu journalist. He maintained close association with Pagar Ruyung historical and cultural developments in Minangkabau. The Culture Ministry was indeed a satisfying domain for him. It gave vent to his artistic inclinations. Just before he retired he supervised a project to lace the Cabinet room with an 'awan larat' wood panelling – a most fascinating piece of wood carving festooned with motifs of old.

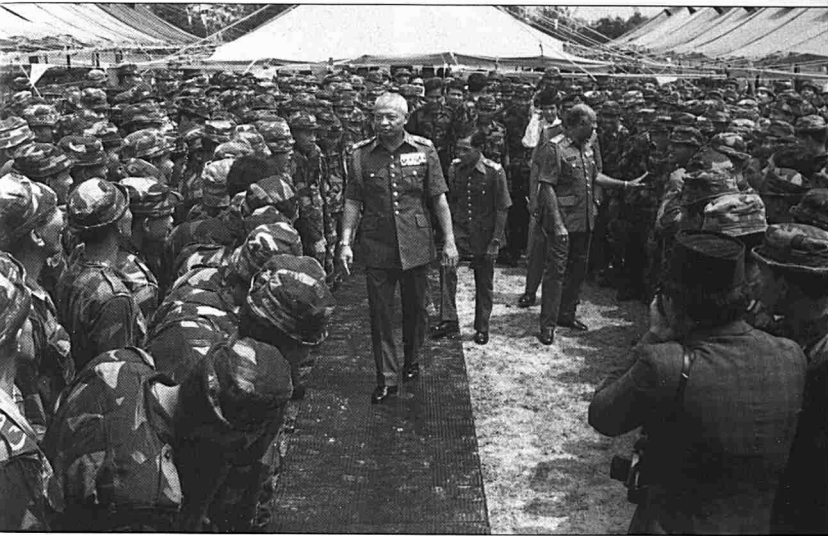


Datin Paduka Aishah Ghani, more popularly known as 'Kak Esah' led Wanita UMNO for more than 12 years, on record the longest-serving Wanita chief. She is at home in both English and Arabic and even prides herself with a stint in journalism prior to UMNO politics in the late fifties.

After Merdeka (1957) very few Malay women dared to venture into politics, let alone make a vocation out of it. She followed the tradition of previous Wanita chiefs – Ibu Zain, Khatijah Sidik, Halimaton and Tan Sri Fatimah, her immediate predecessor in offering leadership for Wanita UMNO. She is known to have had no gimmicks in leading that movement. Sincerity in supporting the leadership was evident throughout her tenure and when she stepped down from her Welfare Portfolio in Dr. Mahathir's Cabinet in 1984, she did it with grace and good faith – no back-biting, no bitterness. She let Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz take on the Ketua Wanita seat with sincerity and a good measure of affection.

▼ The Minister of Social Welfare, Datin Paduka Aishah Ghani receiving a donation cheque from a Bank Bumiputra representative in February 1979 in conjunction with that year's *Welfare Week*.





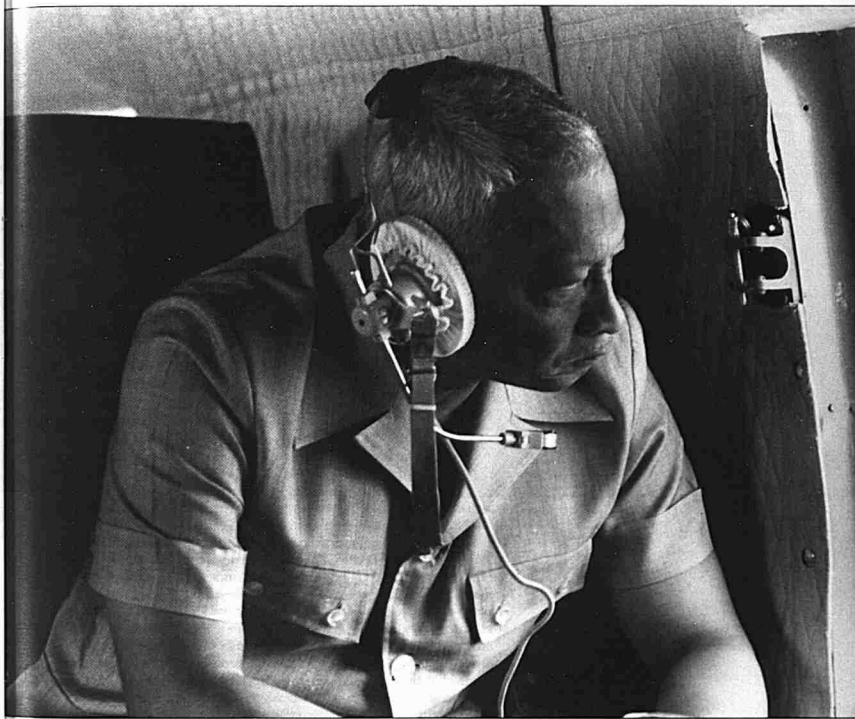
The seventh Yang di-Pertuan Agong, DYMM Tuanku Ahmad Shah loves to mingle with the Armed Forces. This Leica R4 shot of the Paramount Ruler in Kuching Sarawak speaks for itself. Tuanku Ahmad Shah has a style of his own when it comes to enjoying the company of soldiers. He would pat them, coax them into participation in football, or simply share refreshments with them. The boys liked that. In the course of my duty as Minister in Attendance throughout the Tuanku's State Visit to Sarawak in

September 1982 I learnt of his love for *roti canai*, one of our truly Malaysian dishes. He had with him this gifted cook who prepared delicious *roti canai*. One morning I was invited to join the King for breakfast and after tucking into two hefty helpings I was convinced that one day if that chubby lady cook of his decides to open a restaurant business the '*mamak*' in the neighbourhood would certainly have a tough competitor at hand. I wonder if she, like the '*mamak*' also swivels the *roti* in the air before slapping it on the pan. I didn't ask the Tuanku that.

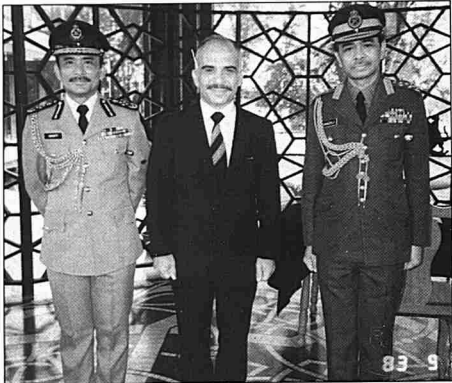
Throughout the entire four-day Sarawak visit I learnt more about the Paramount Ruler of Malaysia and his consort, the Raja Permaisuri Agong, than ever before. At one stage the F.28, the executive jet that shuttled the King, experienced a jam of sorts and its ladder refused to fold. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong gracefully consented to taking another aircraft together with Datuk Patinggi Taib Mahmud, the Chief Minister and a couple of other attendants all crammed in. The people of Miri despite the one-hour delay, were just as enthusiastic as if the scheduled arrival had never changed. One morning, my wife, Datin Masnah and I joined their Royal Highnesses for breakfast and to our delight *roti canai* was served, complete with the usual savoury fish curry. We later learnt that the cook followed the Tuankus almost wherever they chose to go on trips. A travelling kitchen, if you like, was at hand.



► DYMM Sultan Ahmad Shah, the seventh Yang di-Pertuan Agong (as he then was) in a helicopter ride during a Sarawak State visit in October 1982. As Minister in Attendance it was no simple matter to 'shoot' a king as a subject of your lens. I got this after waiting patiently. I was sitting rather close to the King and it was certainly not a matter of course to simply aim and 'shoot'. But 'shoot' I did after opting for a higher shutter speed in order to offset the high vibrating behaviour of the helicopter.



► IGP Tan Sri Haniff Omar, HRH King Hussein and CAF Tan Sri Mohd Ghazali at the National Monument, Kuala Lumpur (September 1983).



In September 1983 King Hussein of Jordan visited Malaysia for three days accompanied by his charming Queen El Noor whose looks reminded me of the late Grace Kelly of Hollywood and Monaco fame. Accompanying him as Minister in Attendance, I turned on my charm as a glorified tour guide of sorts everytime I had to sit next to him either during the tour of Kuala Lumpur city or *en route* to Felda Trolak in Perak. During the helicopter ride from Sungei Besi to Trolak, one of his burly aides dozed off amidst the monotonous rumbling of the heli. The King slowly and most regally indicated to an alert accompanying officer to elbow the sleepy executive. As he did that he elbowed me as well and realising this apologised profusely. No matter at all since every one is supposed to be prim and proper in the course of attending to the needs of a King. On the last day of his visit we accordingly gave him the usual respectful send-off at Subang. Before the handshakes and 'thank yous' the Queen handed Datin Masnah, a small cute gift. It must be one of those tiny goodbye mementoes, I thought. It turned out to be two solid gold Cartier watches. Of course one was for me from the King. I thought the monarch was a little over-generous under the circumstances.

Tun Suffian, now retired from the Bench, finds himself active once again, this time as special adviser to The Chartered Bank, a new career which no doubt will continue to receive his best. He is fond of sending little notes to friends on ideas and suggestions which are positive to society. Over the years I have received a few notes on anti-dadah, TV and crime. I believe that even the Prime Minister, who is a close friend of the Tun receives his share of such notes. It all adds up to the fact that he cares about things and loves his country.

Tun Mohamed Suffian has been a truly 'illustrious judge and jurist besides being an educationist and public-spirited individual.' That was how a local writer, Victor Morais, described the man in 1974 when he published *A Man of His Time*, a biography of Tun Suffian which has been accepted as standard material. Tun Suffian has served the country as Magistrate, Judge and finally as Lord President, the highest judicial office in the land. His academic and professional record of achievements are an open book. His judgements in precise and beautiful prose are delights both for law students as well as practitioners. He loves scholarship but is not affected by it. His scholarship, sought internationally, has been a basis for law schools to appoint him their external examiner or to be on their panel of educators. He retired as Lord President in 1983, leaving behind a tradition of judicial service that has earned both admiration and respect at home and abroad. He now serves as advisor to the Chartered Bank and after being appointed as jurist on the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Panel he earns the distinction of being the first Asian to assume that office.



▲ Tun Suffian having a little chat with Tengku Zainal, Lord Chamberlain of Istana Negara (1978).



▲ Former Agriculture Minister, Encik Abdul Azz Ishak happily resorts to cycling with his agriculture officers in Kampung Pasir Bedama, Teluk Anson (now Teluk Intan), Perak. They were heading for a *limau nipis* farm project in that kampung. This is indeed a rare sight nowadays when one considers the fact that most kampungs are now well paved. In place of the Hercules bicycle that Encik Azz rides we now have Honda, Suzuki, Yamaha and Kawasaki motorcycles.

Two other members of Encik Azz's family that have also made it to the top and therefore are VIPs in their own rights are the late Encik Yusof Ishak, the first President of the Republic of Singapore and Encik Abdul Rahim Ishak, a former Cabinet Minister in Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's Government in Singapore.

Encik Abdul Aziz bin Ishak, 72 joined the Tunku's Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture in 1956 after being elected member of the Federal Legislative Council in 1955. Having served as Fisheries Officer in Pahang and Selangor in the late thirties and early forties the Tunku saw in Aziz an agriculture minister potential. This Aziz in fact fulfilled most impressively throughout his ministerial tenure. But he was always the odd man out and was seen more often with his officers and 'orang kampung' in the 'ulu' areas than in his executive office. For instance, in February 1962 (see next photograph) he spent days on end with fishermen and farmers. They knew that Aziz was someone from high places who understood them and was kind to them. Aziz's stint in the Fisheries Department no doubt served him well in terms of his direct experience that could be translated into policies which in turn would benefit the farmers and fishermen. Aziz pushed himself hard and was totally immersed in his ministerial duties. However his 'Urea project' a pet ministerial programme of his that was generally thought to be of immense benefit to the farmers through the cooperative movement was not approved by the Cabinet of the day. The Tunku too, so went on the report, was not overly excited by the proposal right from the start. Aziz regarded this as a direct rebuff and resigned from the Tunku's Cabinet in 1963. I was at the Language Institute in Pantai Valley then pursuing a full-time language teaching course and for days on end the *Utusan Melayu* carried headline stories about his resignation and events that surrounded it.

Despite many unfortunate stories and innuendoes about Aziz that tended to cloud many issues he

remained stoical and his fervour for nationalism never ebbed. A few years ago he wrote a book entitled '*Tamu Istimewa*' (Special Guest), a first hand account of his brief detention in 1965 under the Internal Security Act (ISA) for an alleged involvement in the Indonesian Confrontation against Malaysia. This is a marvellous self-account of a former Malaysian Cabinet Minister whose share of nation-building has been somewhat and somehow diminished either by the events or by the men in the same corridors of power that Aziz himself trodded and dwelled in for almost a decade. Aziz was arrested and detained under the ISA in January 1965 and released conditionally in 1966. But for the next five years until 1971 he was restricted in his movement and freedom of association.

I believe Encik Aziz Ishak is the only former Malaysian Cabinet Minister to have undergone this scathing treatment. I highly recommend that every politician, more so every Minister, to read '*Tamu Istimewa*'. Anyone in this category of profession may do well to reflect upon what Aziz has encountered and suffered.

In his foreword in the book Aziz has this to say, *inter alia*:

'... the former Cabinet Minister concerned is me. Therefore this is my story and I intend to evince the truth. There are two justifications for publishing 'Tamu Istimewa'. They are to fulfil a general need and to justify the call of personal conviction (and integrity) but both have only one objective - that is to clear my name.'

After reading the book one tends to hold it longer than necessary for the account told therein touches one's heart. I think Encik Aziz has succeeded in his quest.



▲ Former Agriculture Minister Encik Aziz Ishak joins a couple of fishermen on board and examines their catch. As long ago as August 1956 the act of giving subsidies was already in fashion and it became integral in almost all agricultural projects for the next three decades. See that outboard motor at the back of Encik Aziz? It was bought through a subsidy scheme. This picture was taken off the coast of Mersing in August 1956 when Encik Aziz was just beginning his ministerial career.



▲ Enkik Khir Johari as Education Minister inspecting a domestic science class in Kuala Lumpur, 1967. (In June 1986 the Yang di-Pertuan Agong conferred the title of 'Tan Sri' to Enkik Khir. At any rate, I allow the above caption to remain as it was. Tunku Abdul Rahman upon learning of the award quipped 'Khir has come of age...!')

Encik Mohd. Khir Johari still keeps a busy schedule. Perhaps not as busy and hectic as when he was Trade or Education Minister during the years of Tunku Abdul Rahman's Government. When Tun Razak took over the reins, Enkik Khir soon moved over to Washington D.C. to serve as Malaysia's Ambassador, the last government post he held prior to retirement from the Cabinet. 'Pak Khir' as he is popularly known was made a Tan Sri only in June 1986. Previously he was not readily amenable to any award albeit a *Pingat Jasa Kebaktian* (PJK). Many political observers say that Khir, like Enkik Ghafar Baba, prefer to have simple names. With all the array of titles now being conferred on politicians, civil servants and other VIPs one cannot but wonder, somewhat enviously, how both these gentlemen from the corridors of power have managed to dodge those offers of conferment of awards and keep their names uncluttered.

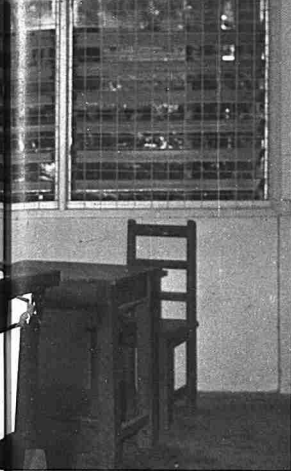
► Datuk Hj. Mohd Asri Hj. Muda as Menteri Besar of Kelantan fulfills his duty as a voter at Sekolah Kebangsaan Longgar, Kota Bharu, Kelantan in May 1969. In 1973 Asri relinquished the MB post to take up a Ministerial appointment in the late Tun Razak's Cabinet.



Datuk Asri Muda will always be remembered for many things by many people. Malaysians will remember him perhaps as a former Cabinet Minister while the people of Kelantan perceive him simply as a charismatic leader that dominated the state political scene for more than thirty years. He built up the Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PMIP) as early as 1953 when he became Secretary-General. Ten years later he was elected Vice-President and in 1971 was confirmed by the PAS General Assembly as President. Due to unscrupulous young mavericks in the party who pressured him from all levels he was forced to resign from the presidency in October 1982. Asri, now in his mid-sixties enjoys his retirement at the posh area of Jalan Seavoy in Kuala Lumpur.

Datuk Asri is an orator. His gatherings have always drawn the necessary crowd. His raspy interjections and

individual style have singled him out to be a notable leader in public speaking. Even as early as April 1982 he managed to garner close to 14,000 votes in the Nilam Puri parliamentary seat tussle against his Barisan Nasional candidate - Datuk Mohamed Ali who was returned by 15,029 votes. And earlier on in July 1978 Asri managed to obtain some 12,000 votes in his bout with former Kedah Menteri Besar Datuk Seri Syed Ahmad Shabbuddin who defeated him by garnering 14,747 votes in the Parliamentary Election of Padang Terap Constituency. With the remaining gusto that he had, Asri formed a new party with his 'Group of 13' (consisting of former PAS loyalists including Datuk Abu Bakar Omar former Deputy PAS President) and called it *Parti Hisbul Muslimin Malaysia* (HAMIM). Through HAMIM Datuk Asri has voiced sharp criticism against the present PAS leadership that



▲ Dato' Haji Mohd Nasir chats with an ambassador at a 1982 reception in Parliament House, Kuala Lumpur.

has turned out to be militant and oblivious to the cause of the Malays. To Asri and indeed to the Barisan Nasional leaders PAS has deviated from its avowed principles.

Asri was the one who answered the call by Tun Razak by joining the Barisan Nasional Government in 1973 when he was appointed as Minister of Land Development and Special Functions. He relinquished his post as Menteri Besar of Kelantan in December 1972 to facilitate this shift. In 1977 PAS was expelled from the Barisan for political breaches and various incompatibility in government. But by then Asri had already sowed the seeds of political virility within a large segment of the FELDA land schemes in the country.

Dato' Haji Mohd Nasir, former Menteri Besar of Kelantan and former Cabinet Minister. He succeeded Dato' Asri Muda as Kelantan Menteri Besar in 1972. Kelantan was a prominent PAS-controlled state for about 15 years (1959-1974) 'Dato' Mat Nasir', as he is more popularly known, took a Federal job as Minister in the Prime Minister's Department in charge of religious affairs when Dato' Hussein Onn, after consultation with Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, Kelantan UMNO Chief, sent back Datuk Mohamad Yaacob who was then a Federal Minister in charge of Public Enterprises to become Menteri Besar (1976). Dato' Mat Nasir is now retired and lives in Kota Bharu, Kelantan. He still serves *Berjasa*, the party that thwarts PAS, as its president and chief adviser.



Tun Tan Siew Sin, Malaysia's second Finance Minister, seen here with former Housing Minister Khaw Kai Boh (right) and supporters. Tun Tan was a tough and, many believe, conservative Finance Minister. He served throughout Tunku Abdul Rahman's tenure as Prime Minister with these qualities. A young man by the name of Lee San Choon through the party's youth wing, slowly made his way up and in 1974 Siew Sin handed the MCA baton to him. San Choon was his very own Political Secretary.

Tun Tan has been a successful businessman since his retirement from the Cabinet in 1974. His father Tun Tan Cheng Lock was the Tunku's compatriot in the independence struggle and the undisputed patriarch of the Chinese community. They forged towards forming the early rudiments of the Alliance with the Tunku as its chief as early as 1954.



▲ Tun Sir Henry Lee in an Alliance gathering in Seremban, circa 1959. The late Datuk Shamsuddin Naim, former Menteri Besar of Negeri Sembilan listens attentively to his right. I believe that's Tan Sri Mubin Sheppard in the background.

Tun Sir Henry Lee Hau Shik, Malaysia's first Minister of Finance, was a member of the Merdeka Mission to London, as an Alliance representative, in January 1956. He has a brilliant track record in commerce and industry and as a politician. His son, Alex Lee, is presently the Deputy Minister for Agriculture.



Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie in a pensive mood allowed me to take this photograph of him in his library at his Ampang Hilir home on the first day of Hari Raya in 1984. A highly intelligent and individualistic person, he had dominated the Foreign Affairs as well as the Home Ministries for more than a decade. An expansive character, he had set ideals about foreign relations and internal security. He was already the Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Ministry in 1970 when he joined politics. His first job was a Minister with Special Functions cum Minister of Information. Earlier on, during the Confrontation period between Indonesia and Malaysia (1963), 'King Ghaz' as he was fondly referred to, played a major role in bringing about the Adam Malik-Tun Razak talks in Bangkok that brought about the cementing of perpetual friendship between the new Malaysia and Indonesia.

I had the good fortune of being his Deputy in the Home Affairs Ministry in 1977. It was there that I learnt of his flair for making strategies of the interior at close range. He has this uncanny style of making complex problems look simple by offering solutions of practical value. The country in my view had in Ghaz one of its most competent Home ministers. His swift action in facing the students' riot at the University of Malaya in 1973, the smooth operation in tackling Datuk Harun's house confinement at Langgak Duta in 1977, the dramatic Japanese Red Guard episode at the AIA Building in Kuala Lumpur that resulted in one Parliamentary Secretary and the Secretary-General of the Home Ministry being made gun-point sureties and many other remarkable episodes certainly qualify him to be recognised as one of the most competent Cabinet Ministers.

Tan Sri Ghazali writes beautiful prose. On the topic of the Great Wall of China he has this to express:

'When linked together, miles upon miles of ramparts and towers, the endless boulders ceased in my mind's eyes to have once been hewed by mortal hands. Like sculptures shaped by timeless winds the chain is seen as one with the scenic nature of the rocky range that has always been there. It is not a thing of beauty nor of splendour, but functional and awesome, conveying the eternal wisdom of the eastern sage...'

As Member of Parliament for Lipis (Pahang), Tan Sri Ghaz served for four terms. For a while prior to 1973 he was appointed Senator and was especially close to the late Tun Razak. He resigned from Dr. Mahathir's Cabinet in July 1984 to devote his time in pursuit of things he likes to do and not necessarily of things he has to do.

Ibu Zain, former Kaum Ibu Chief, making a point in earnest to Terengganu Menteri Besar Dato' Amar Haji Wan Mokhtar during the 1983 Wanita UMNO convention at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kuala Lumpur. Looking on is Hapsah Osman, Wanita UMNO's Executive Secretary. Ibu Zain, now in her late seventies has been a formidable figure in Kaum Ibu (Wanita UMNO) politics of old. In 1980 when I was Negeri Sembilan's Menteri Besar she paid me a visit in connection with a donation campaign she headed for charity. Her recollections and anecdotes flowed freely in amazing sequence and clarity. She seldom fails to send congratulatory cables to the Party's Annual General Meetings in Kuala Lumpur and they are always laced with a poetic touch. Few know that Ibu Zain is the mother of Adibah Amin of 'Sri Delima' fame.



Datuk Senu Abdul Rahman, former Information Minister in Tunku Abdul Rahman's Cabinet (1964-1969) and former UMNO Secretary-General. He also served as Malaysia's Ambassador to Indonesia for about two years after having served as Information Minister in 1969. Always with a smile, Datuk Senu in later years devoted most of his time to the day-to-day affairs of UMNO at UMNO Headquarters in Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman. It is on record that Datuk Senu held his own views on the 1983 Constitutional Amendment issue. His then 'open letter' to the Prime Minister sparked off a public outcry, especially among UMNO Youth members.

▼ Encik Senu Abdul Rahman, Minister of Information and Broadcasting as he was then, receiving the Departmental Challenge Trophy for the Angkasapuri Big Walk from the President of the ANUE (Amalgamated National Union of Employers), Encik Aziz Wok at Angkasapuri, Kuala Lumpur (October 1968).





▲ Tan Sri Tan Chee Khoon invited me to give a talk in the Kajang High School of which he was the PTA's Chairman in 1983. This shot was taken just before we adjourned for tea with the school's PTA members, Headmaster and staff. To the left in the background is Prof. Kamaruddin Kachar of Universiti Pertanian.

Thousands patronised his clinic at Jalan Ipoh in Kuala Lumpur and a good number of them were voters from his constituency. Tan Sri Tan Chee Khoon has indeed emerged as one of Malaysia's leading statesmen in the past decades. His firm conviction in the Malaysian value of government rang loud during his days in Parliament (1969-1978). As the honourable member of Batu, Tan Sri Tan Chee Khoon now speaks his mind more in his column 'Without Fear or Favour' in *'The Star.'* He interviewed me in 1981 and as expected his line of questioning pivoted around the framework of a true Malaysian society, around the premise that the positive good of politics should bring development and basic amenities to all, irrespective of political differences.



◀ Datuk Michael Chen and his wife, Datin Helen.
Istana Negara, 1983.

Datuk Michael Chen, another soft-spoken former Cabinet Minister, used to travel extensively throughout the country as Minister of Local Government and New Villages. He was empowered to give on-the-spot grants for new village projects. The voters remembered and soon Datuk Lee San Choon was facing a big threat from him within the MCA. Michael was reported to have kept pressing on about basic Chinese values and culture. He lost the MCA's presidency to San Choon. He opted out of the MCA and succumbed to the wooing of the Gerakan. In September 1984 he lost the Gerakan presidency to Dr Lim Keng Yaik. Still fairly active in party politics, Michael now divides his time between running his legal firm and Gerakan activities.



▲ 1980 – Datuk Karma Jaya Syed Nahar Shahabuddin (Kedah Menteri Besar) explaining a touchy subject to Datuk Ahmad Zainalabidin (Keeper of the Ruler's seal) while Tan Sri Osman Saat (then Johor Menteri Besar) and Datuk Ahmad Razali (then Deputy Menteri Besar Selangor) provided the laughter. Datuk Syed Nahar in jest expressed his cherished wish, 'If only I could serve half the period that Tan Sri Osman has served as Menteri Besar....'

As a matter of fact Tan Sri Osman had served Johor and the party since 1959 and he only left politics in 1982. He and the late Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad of Perlis are on record the longest serving Menteris Besar in the history of Malaysian politics. Many believe that Tan Sri Osman still commands a sphere of influence in Johor and his followers remain true to him in many matters of politics and policies. He was known to have maintained strong personal bonds with his political friends and remain faithful to them. He is one of those state leaders chiefly responsible for the 'Menteri Besar/Ketua Menteri Club', a loose pact which all MBs and CMs have been subscribing to in making collective decisions and stands on issues related to state interests.



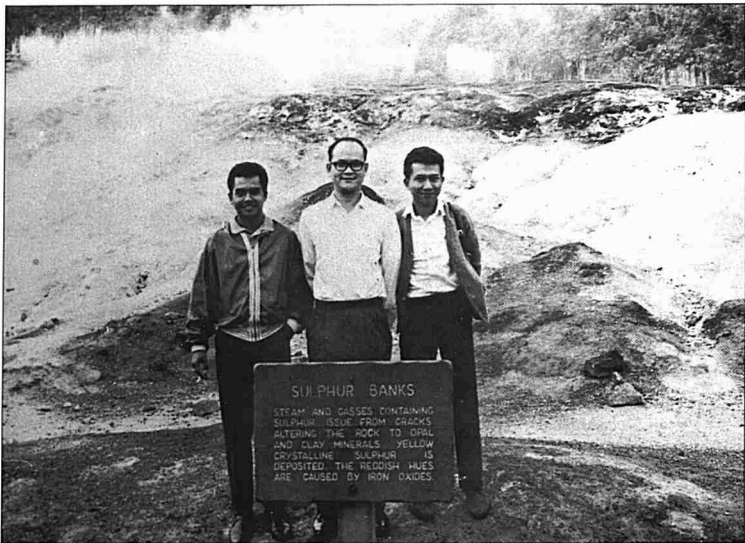
▲ This photograph was taken with a Contax 137M1 at Petaling Jaya's District Council Building on the occasion of a special Menteri Besar/Ketua Menteri Meeting in 1981. Datuk Hormat Rafei was Selangor's Menteri Besar then. *From right to left:* Datuk Wan Mohamed, MB of Perak. Tan Sri Osman Saat, MB of Johor. Datuk Harris Salleh CM of Sabah and Datuk Ali Ahmad MB of Perlis.



Datuk Hormat Rafei served as Menteri Besar Selangor after Datuk Harun Idris in 1976 and held that post till 1982 when Datuk Ahmad Razali took over the job. Datuk Hormat in his quiet and unassuming ways did not encounter major state political problems in his days as Menteri Besar. In 1980 there was a Menteri Besar Meeting in Langkawi at the appealing Mahsuri Island of Kedah and one of the spots visited was the Tasek Puteri Bunting Sulong, a natural lake with an interesting legend. It is said that one can be blessed with offspring if one makes a wish and washes one's face with its crystal clear water. After listening to this tale from Syed Nahar, Kedah Menteri Besar, Hormat jestfully but with full decorum washed his face, then hissed a sigh of contentment. His fellow Menteri Besar applauded and urged him to proceed with the needful. Hormat, now retired lives at Ampang Hilir, Kuala Lumpur. I have not checked out whether he is now endowed with a new family member!



The three were having coffee at the poolside of Seremban's new Hotel Ria Tasek when I took this picture. Whilst most political observers can almost instantaneously recognise the two gentlemen from the right, the personality on the extreme left perhaps needs a closer look before recognition is established. He is Cikgu Abdullah, an Executive Councillor from Melaka. The coffee break was subsequent to a normal information course conducted by the Negeri Sembilan and Melaka Barisan Nasional in 1983. Datuk Mansor Osman (right), Datuk Aziz Tapa (centre) and Cikgu Abdullah (left) are all political servicemen who are aptly recognised as political veterans. Datuk Aziz is well known for his '*pantun*' and '*pepatah*' inputs in speeches, a trait very seldom exhibited nowadays in styles of public oratory. He excels in local history and thrives on goodwill in the body politic of UMNO. There are not very many personalities like him left in UMNO. The few that the party has may soon give way to the 'young turks' who in turn will take time to mellow.



▲ From left: Encik Zain Ali (now Dr. Zain), Encik Thong Yaw Hong (now Tan Sri) and the author at Sulphur Banks, near Kilawea, Hilo, Hawaii, September 1965. (Tan Sri Thong retired in June 1986.)

One day in 1965 an Economic Planning Unit officer by the name of Thong Yaw Hong from the Prime Minister's Department came down to Hilo, Hawaii. He paid a visit to the Hilo Campus of the University of Hawaii where I was teaching Bahasa Melayu then to the United States Peace Corps volunteers. After lunch, together with another teacher, Zain Ali, we took Yaw Hong around the beautiful island. At Kona, where the famous Kona Coffee comes from, we stopped for tea but had coffee instead and presented the robust officer with a jar of Kona Coffee. I wonder if Tan Sri Thong Yaw Hong former Secretary-General of the Treasury remembers this.



▲ From left: Tun Mohd Suffian Lord President, Tun Omar former Speaker of the Senate and Encik Basir of Bank Negara (husband of Datin Paduka Rafidah, Minister of Public Enterprise) posed inside the Royal Box at Istana Negara in June 1983 after a tea reception given by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

◀ Major-General Tower from Britain paid a courtesy call on Lt. General Tunku Osman Tunku Mohd. Jewa at his MINDEF office in Kuala Lumpur in July 1965. Lt. General Tunku Osman, nephew of Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's first Prime Minister was then Chief of the Armed Forces (CAF).



▲ This 1982 picture of Datuk Harun and his charming wife Datin Salmah was shot after the 'Jamuan Teh di Raja' in the precincts of Istana Negara.

For a long time the face of Datuk Harun Idris will be etched in the inner chamber of Malaysian minds. So will the story of his life, the story of how a former Deputy Public Prosecutor in the Selangor State rose to be its Menteri Besar and a dynamic, shrewd one at that. His style was loquacious and expansive, attracting the young to become his followers. He created an image of a Malay champion during and after the tragedy of 13th May, 1969. Many believe, especially after Harun took over the UMNO Youth, that Tun Razak and later Dato' Hussein Onn were a bit uncomfortable with the impact of his popularity. This was never proven of course. In the first place it was never so. Then in 1975 the Hong Kong Shanghai Bank case cast its ugly tentacles around Harun, followed by yet another case, that of Bank Rakyat, entailing the Government to table a white paper in Parliament in 1977. The rest is history.

In 1981 Datuk Harun received his Royal Remission of Sentence from the Pardons Board chaired by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. He is a free man again. He contested against Datuk Musa Hitam in the last UMNO Deputy Presidential party elections in May 1984 and lost, getting only 32 votes. That contest, many believe, sealed his political fate, at least for the time being.

But in politics nothing is sealed, least of all one's political fate. Again, in May 1985 he endeavoured to retain the leadership of his UMNO Division in Kuala Langat. This time he lost to none other than his own deputy, Encik Basri who was returned by a 17-vote majority. Football, his life-long passion always beckons and to this he readily offers his services now.



▲ Datuk Syed Nahar

Sipping a carton drink Datuk Syed Nahar listens intently to a by-election briefing by a party worker during the Ulu Muda (Kedah) by-election preparatory meeting in 1983. Syed Nahar, a successful businessman in his own right before taking the Menteri Besar's job in 1978, was accorded the 'Doyen' status amongst the Menteris Besar and Ketua Menteri after Tan Sri Osman Saat resigned as Menteri Besar of Johor in the 1982 General Elections. He had done well as Kedah Menteri Besar, but on 26th January, 1985 he suddenly chose to step down as Menteri Besar citing 'personal reasons' and 'the wish to see a younger man take over' as his rationale for vacating a position that is vied and coveted by many.



▲ Tan Sri Ong Kee Hui at the Guinness Stout plant in Petaling Jaya in May 1971. He is seen here talking to Mr. E.S. Palmer Guinness Managing Director.

The typical politician is easy to visualise: he is clothed in bush jacket, outgoing and everywhere he speaks he would invariably try to slip in the adage '*kepentingan rakyat*'. But Tan Sri Ong Kee Hui, former Minister for Science and Technology was not everything that this description offers. He is a soft spoken, sort of shy and goes about his ministerial chores without fanfare. He served under Tun Razak, Tun Hussein and Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir. He did not contest the 1982 General Elections and gave way to Datuk Amar Stephen Yong to lead the Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) as president. At 72 Tan Sri Ong is still active in social work in Sarawak and takes a keen interest in the *Tai Chi* movement.



▲ Encik (now Datuk) Ali Esa (who was seconded to do a project in Sabah from the Prime Minister's Department), Encik (now Datuk) Ali Ahmad, Menteri Besar of Perlis and Datuk Sanad Hj. Said (representing the Menteri Besar of Selangor) in a helicopter ride from Kota Kinabalu to a project site.

In 1980 the Menteri Besar/Ketua Menteri meeting was held in Sabah. Datuk Harris Salleh, Sabah Chief Minister, hosted one of the most cordial receptions for the state leaders. The 'MB/CM Club' assisted Tan Sri Osman Saat, Johor Menteri Besar in preparing the agenda and priority matters for the get-together. Tan Sri Osman, as I recall, could not make it for the meeting and sent Datuk Ngah Abdul Rahman, his senior Exco member, in his place.

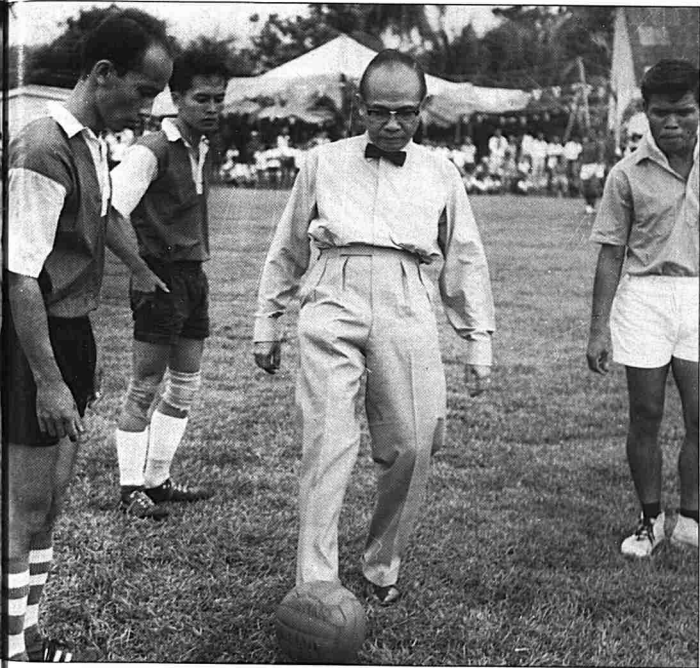
The three-day Sabah episode educated the Peninsula's State leaders in updating their knowledge on Sabah. Visits to the interior, state plantations, Yayasan Sabah and other conceivable places and operations of interest were arranged by Harris Salleh. My group was taken by helicopter to Labuan, the 'Singapore' of Sabah. We visited, among others, an ultra-modern flour mill and a milk processing plant. We were in luck that day. The plant was producing thousands of little cartons of milk for schoolchildren. On each little carton was a photo of Datuk Harris Salleh, smiling with a cute message for the children.

Datuk Stephen Kalong Ningkan, former Chief Minister of Sarawak (1963-1966) did not particularly have a peaceful tenure as chief executive of that state. He founded the *Sarawak National Party* and became its first Secretary-General in 1961. Four years later he took over as President. Prior to his involvement in the SNP, Ningkan worked in Brunei in various capacities for an oil company hospital. The Stephen Kalong Ningkan case of 1966 has become a pillar decision in local constitutional law. In that case Ningkan challenged that his dismissal as Chief Minister was unconstitutional and therefore null and void. He further argued that the appointment of Tawi Sli as his successor as Chief Minister was also bad in law since the circumstances, inclusive of the Federal Government's Declaration of Emergency for the State of Sarawak (that ultimately destroyed his post as Chief Minister) was allegedly *faudem legis*.

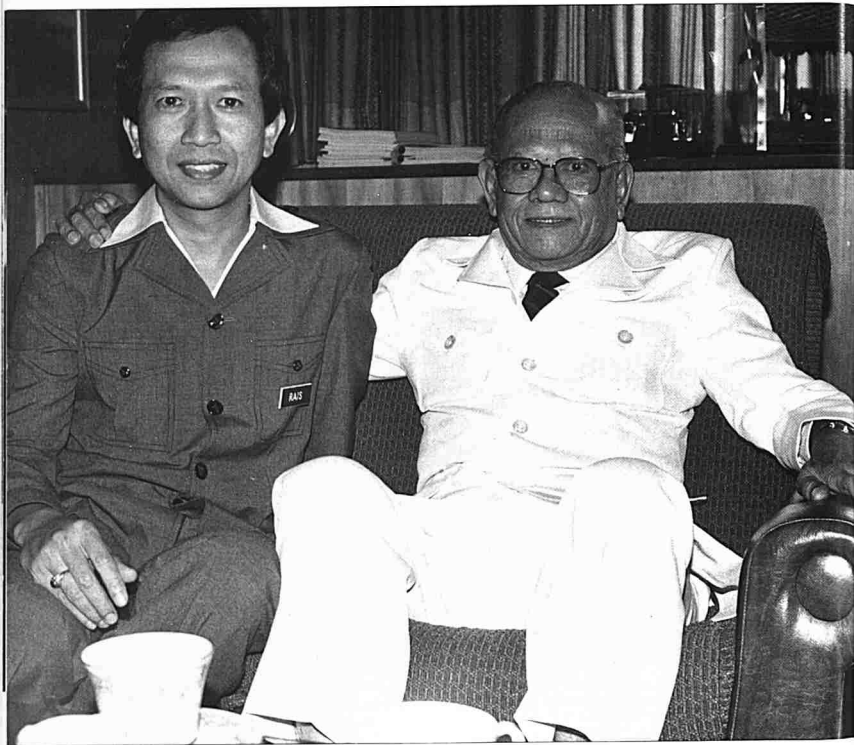
In June 1966 the Governor of Sarawak received a letter signed by 21 members of the Council Negeri (headed by the late Temengong Jugah) to the effect that they no longer had confidence in Ningkan as their Chief Minister. Subsequently the Governor dismissed Ningkan as Chief Minister, an act that was later found in court to be legally improper since the Sarawak Constitution then recognises a situation of no confidence on the Chief Minister only by a vote in the Council Negeri. By merely sending a letter stating no-confidence by 21 members of the Council Negeri was insufficient. (The total members of the Council Negeri then was 42.) Ningkan won the case at first instance but had to give way to Penghulu Tawi Sli after the imposition of Emergency rule on the State of Sarawak. His subsequent appeal on constitutional matters did not succeed.

Datuk Ningkan now 66 is in retirement but still takes a keen interest in his family business through his Syarikat Bunga Tanjung.





▲ Datuk Stephen Kalong Ningkan performs the kick-off for a football meet in Kuching (1965). I bet he couldn't have kicked the ball very far in that attire!



I have read Tan Sri Dr Mohd Said's 'Memoir of Menteri Besar' and his articles on his Kuala Kangsar school days. And I have listened to his speeches prior to 1969 when he was Menteri Besar of Negeri Sembilan. Many, I believe, would agree with me in the summing up that his command of the English language, particularly in the written form, plus his MBBS earned him the unofficial position as the most qualified Menteri Besar of his time. One day in March 1983 he dropped in to say 'hello' at my office at Jalan Gurney, meticulously dressed in a white bush jacket suit. My Leica was at hand and I almost instinctively triggered off the shutter. The other picture is on the opposite page, taken with the help of a mutual friend, Tuan Syed Hamid.

Dr Said was not particularly known for his political prowess as opposed to his incorruptible style and principle. He was never a *Ketua Bahagian* or Divisional Head of UMNO in his days when he occupied the Chief Executive's Chair of Negeri Sembilan. He actually never tried to be a political heavyweight.





◀ When he laughs in a crowd chances are you can hear him yards away. And if you examine his countenance then you would almost certainly see happy tears escaping his eyes. I had wanted for a long time to catch such a moment. I let him and a few friends slip into a light discussion and waited. I think it was Mr Jansz, a family friend, from Seremban who supplied the joke and Datuk Mansor roared away. In rapid fire my Nikon F3 recorded this.

I was appointed as Menteri Besar of Negeri Sembilan in 1978 succeeding Datuk Mansor Osman after months of speculation as to who should make the 'return' from amongst a few of us 'Negeri boys' in the Federal Government then. There was Datuk Mokhtar Hashim, Datuk Abdul Samad Idris and myself. Finally one night at about 10.00 p.m. in early March I received a call from Dato' Hussein Onn, our Prime Minister then, and in his usual unruffled tone told me that I had to go back to serve as Menteri Besar. Despite a letter of appeal which I wrote him immediately, he managed to convince me that one should be prepared to serve for the party and country whenever the occasion demanded. I took the advice and rose to the occasion.



Datuk Rashid Abd. Rahman, then Deputy Menteri Besar of Pahang. I caught him in this pose at the Batu Tiga Grand Prix circuit, Shah Alam, Selangor in 1981. After one of the Menteris

Besar Conferences which Selangor hosted, we were invited to attend the 'trail blazing' of Batu Tiga. Datuk Rashid, a prominent UMNO Youth Leader in the early 70's, very often represented Encik Abdul Rahim Bakar, the Menteri Besar of Pahang, when the function of 'adviser' to the Sultan had to be fulfilled during the proceedings of the Conference of Rulers. In fact, as a result of Rahim's problem in maintaining a favourable 'Istana' stance he had to give in and relinquished his Menteri Besar's post prematurely. Thus in 1980 Datuk Rashid began, at the behest of the Pahang Istana, acting as Menteri Besar of Pahang while Rahim shuttled to and fro seeking guidance from Tun Hussein Onn, the Prime Minister then.

Datuk Rashid was Menteri Besar for a little less than a year when in May 1982 Datuk Najib Tun Razak took over the helm of the Pahang State Government.



◀ Datuk Abdullah Ahmad (left) as Chairman of Syarikat Permodalan Kebangsaan (SPK) presents a \$50,000 cheque to Tunku Abdul Rahman for PERKIM's fund in March 1986 on the occasion of the official opening of the SPK in Kuala Lumpur by P.M. Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad.

Datuk Abdullah Ahmad, now UMNO Division Head of Kok Lanas Kelantan was for 14 years political advisor to the late Tun Abdul Razak. In the 1970's he was perhaps the closest advisor to Tun Razak. In fact many regarded him as a power broker within Tun Razak's officialdom. This earned him both admirers as well as opponents. As far as I can remember, Abdullah played a first class role in maintaining Tun Razak as a grass-root leader. As Political Secretary to the Prime Minister he missed nothing when it came to establishing a political interest for his master. Many believe if Tun Razak were alive today Abdullah would have undergone a totally different set of personal history.

For five years (1976-1981) Datuk Abdullah was detained under the Internal Security Act. Upon his release in 1981 and soon after Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir and Datuk Musa assumed the premiership and deputy premiership respectively, he pursued his own interests in business and scholarship. Now, after shuttling from Cambridge to Kuala Lumpur and from Harvard to London he is holder of a Master of Letters from Cambridge University. He has also turned his thesis on Tunku Abdul Rahman's foreign policy into a book entitled *Tengku Abdul Rahman and Malaysia's Foreign Policy 1963-70* that turned out to be in part rather controversial especially on the role played by Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie in Malaysia's foreign policy.

By being the Head of the Kok Lanas UMNO Division Abdullah is now back in active politics. His close association with the Kelantan Royalty, his rapport with the ruling clan in UMNO and the Barisan Nasional plus his strong showing in business cannot be anything else but propellers for his future achievements, one of it is necessarily political power which Abdullah was so used to.

THE FEDERAL CORRIDOR

*I do not mind being unpopular,
and people curse me now
but I do not want them to urinate
on my grave.*

Tun Hussein Onn



The Cabinet: 23rd January, 1985

Standing from left: Tan Sri Sallehuddin (KSN), Datuk Khalil Yaakub (PM's Dept.), Datuk James Ongkili (PM's Dept. & Justice), Datuk Shahrir Abd. Samad (Federal Territories), Datuk Amar Stephen Yong (Science and Technology), Datuk Mak Hong Kam (Labour), Datuk Rais Yatim (Information), Datuk Seri Adib Adam (Land & Regional Development), Datuk Chin Hong Nyian (Health), Encik Anwar Ibrahim (Agriculture), Datuk Abu Hassan (Welfare Services), Encik Daim Zainuddin (Finance), Encik Kamarulzaman (Cabinet minute Secretary).

Sitting from left: Datuk Seri Sanusi Junid (National & Rural Development), Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz (Public Enterprise), Datuk Paul Leong (Primary Industry), Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (Trade & Industry), Datuk S. Samy Vellu (Works), Datuk Seri Musa Hitam (TPM), Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad (PM), Datuk Neo Yee Pan (Housing & Local Govt.), Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen (Foreign Affairs), Tan Sri Chong Hon Nyan (Transport), Datuk Leo Moggie (Power & Telecoms), Datuk Dr Sulaiman Daud (Youth, Sports & Culture), Datuk Abdullah A. Badawi (Education).



▲ The Prime Minister ceremoniously submits a copy of the Royal address to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Once a term, usually in March, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong delivers his Royal address to both Houses of Parliament. His address contains salient policy matters for the nation. March 1986.

THE FEDERAL HUB OF POWER AND AUTHORITY

Power and authority are shared. They are shared legally and traditionally through the concept of separation of powers endowed by the Federal Constitution. The three distinct and separate power segments are:

- (1) Parliament
- (2) The Executive, and
- (3) The Judiciary.

It has always been the pride of Malaysia to have this composite segments of power and authority. No doubt this ancient legal concept is traceable to the British modality. Malaysia has over the years developed her very own separation of power concept. Our clarity of thinking in this respect is now well-entrenched in the Constitution. The 13 states too are practising this Constitutional norm – by each having a legislature, the Executive (the Executive Council headed by the Menteri Besar) and the Judiciary which is an extension of the Federal Judiciary.

Power is a political commodity developed and created by Parliament and of course through the thinking of the Executive. The creation of Parliamentary competency and its supremacy is politically motivated hence its being is a political precipitation. Taking for granted that Parliament is there and that it will be there to facilitate law making, its members who are politicians from the Government and non-government (oppositions) continue to make use of Parliament as a means to achieve their policy objectives, however 'nationalistic' a policy within each given Bill may appear.

The power and status of Parliament are well laid out. Its supremacy to create laws is no longer an issue nowadays just as it is universally accepted as a mechanism of democracy. Malaysia is not foreclosed as to be alone in accepting and practising this norm.

The present Barisan Nasional (BN) Government is a coalition of the *United Malays National Organisation* (UMNO), the *Malaysian Chinese Association* (MCA), the *Malaysian Indian Congress* (MIC), *Gerakan, Berjaya* from Sabah, *Parti Pesaka Bumiputra* from Sarawak and a few other political parties based in Kelantan (*Berjaya*), Sarawak *United People's Party* (SUPP), *Parti Bansa Dayak* (formed as lately as 1984). Barisan Nasional was formed in 1974, a brainchild of the late Tun Abdul Razak, substituting the *Perikatan* (Alliance) which was Tunku Abdul Rahman's main political vehicle in ruling the country for about seventeen years (1957 – 1974). One might say the extension and use of political power since Merdeka has been exercised by the same party – the Alliance and Barisan.

The change-over from Alliance to Barisan is regarded by many to be a process of graduation while some political observers prefer to regard it as an accommodative ploy on the part of Tun Razak then to emplace and tame *Parti Islam SeMalaysia* – PAS (then under the leadership of Datuk Asri Muda and Datuk Abu Bakar Omar, its President and Deputy President, respectively). Thus PAS shared the benefits of power with its other BN brothers up until 1977 when PAS chose to revert to the *status quo* of the pre-1974 days.

Parliament, the Executive and the Judiciary all possess power. All three disjunctive 'corridors' have their own respective authority over their own separate jurisdiction. Whilst legal academicians may be thrilled

to see that this persists in the Constitution, the practical side of the scenario may be of some particular interest.

The Executive (chiefly represented by the Cabinet at the Federal level and the Executive Council at the State) actually keeps on adding functions and power to the system by making new laws and regulations notwithstanding there are entrenched provisions in the Constitution that do not allow Parliament to amend certain *status quo* without preconditions being fulfilled or satisfied. Be that as it may the Federal Executive is and has been very rational in its conduct of business for the country. Its observance of the Rule of Law and practice of the Rukunegara (Pillars of the Nation) have given Malaysians their share of well being. Of course, security being of utmost concern from the days of the Emergency (1948-1960) until today, the Government has been judiciously applying legal sanctions vide Constitutional provisions.

The Cabinet, led by the Prime Minister, and in his absence by his Deputy, is actually the day-to-day ruler of Government and country. It decides on policies, oversees that policies are carried out correctly and sets rules. The Cabinet is collectively responsible to Parliament and although the Yang di-Pertuan Agong heads the Executive under the Constitution, and 'precedes all other persons' he possesses no actual executive power of Government which must at all times be possessed and applied by the Cabinet. In most matters pertaining to the exercise of executive functions he has to act upon the advice of the Cabinet or a Minister acting in that behalf (normally the Prime Minister).

All is well with the Cabinet and its position as the holder of executive power and authority of

Government. It naturally cannot do or undertake to do all the myriad functions expected of it by the *rakyat*. This is where the civil servants come into focus and exercise their roles and functions as implementors of Government policies and directives. Whilst their appointments and dismissals are governed by laws of the Constitution and the General Orders, they are expected by norm and convention to abide by directives of their respective ministers.

The wording of Article 43 of the Federal Constitution gives the Prime Minister the requisite power to choose the personalities he prefers and form his Cabinet which the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is constitutionally bound to appoint. However, the Prime Minister normally chooses Ministers and Deputy Ministers for appointment by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong from amongst elected members of the Dewan Rakyat. Seldom does he appoint a Minister from the Senate. Nonetheless personalities like Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, Datuk Mohamed Nasir and a few others, became Ministers in their early days of Ministerial functions via Senatorial appointment.

Most legislators welcome, in fact some even covet, ministerial positions in the Cabinet. Being a very competitive field, only a handful make it. Usually the appointment is based on the Prime Minister's inner thinking though there have been cases where a legislator is appointed as a result of strong winds from the lobby hall. Those who have arrived at top party positions, say, the Deputy President, Vice-Presidents, Chief of Wanita or Youth Wing may invariably land a ministerial job. On the other hand, there have been

► Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir chairs his first Cabinet session in June 1981. Members to his right are: Datuk Musa Hitam (Deputy Prime Minister & Minister of Home Affairs), Tan Sri Ong Kee Hui (Science, Technology and the Environment) Datin Paduka Aishah Ghani (Social Welfare), Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (Finance) and Datuk Shariff Ahmad (Land & Regional Development). To the PM's left: Datuk Lee San Choon (Transport) and Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie (Foreign Affairs).



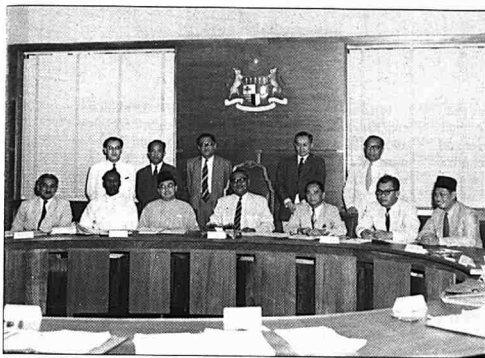
cases where it is not a mere matter of automatic slotting. The individual considered has to be someone of substance and the Prime Minister has to visualise that individual's role in his Cabinet.

At the State level a Menteri Besar or Chief Minister has to select and form his own eight-member Executive Council (in the case of Sabah and Sarawak the Chief Minister forms his own eight-member State Cabinet soon after his party is returned to power). Whilst nowadays there are altogether 24 in the Cabinet (including the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister) there is no actual legal constraint on the Premier to enlarge or lessen that number, whereas in the State a Menteri Besar or Chief Minister is not at liberty to form more than an eight-member Executive Council or State Cabinet (in the case of Sabah and Sarawak). It is normal practice for the Prime Minister to approve a state line-up before the constitutional requirements are fulfilled.

The magic question is always asked: Considering all the possible prerequisites, what is the one major criterion that goes to influence or induce the Prime Minister to select a politician and make him a member of his Cabinet? Many believe that if a particular politician can contribute towards making a collective whole of the Prime Minister's Government with his ability and track record, he may stand a chance.

Brilliance alone may not augur well, neither may raw grassroot popularity. It is a plus if you are a systematic and hard worker. And you may stand a chance too if your lobbyists are in the leadership's good books. On balance you must possess an ability to lead, work and deliver the goods. Don't try to be too clever. Above all the Prime Minister must like you most of the time if not all the time. And, lastly, with a little bit of luck you may be landed with the job.

Once you are a Minister the 'trouble' begins. You are at once facing two worlds. On the one hand you have to run your Ministry as efficiently and productively as possible with all the myriad problems



◀ Tunku Abdul Rahman chairs the First Cabinet Meeting at Federal Legislative Council Chambers, Kuala Lumpur. (10th September, 1957)

of management, service, projects and, above all, human relations. On the other hand, there are gaping issues of development and party politics in your own constituency and party division. Once they elect you some of them think they own you. They ask for favours big and small: from putting in a good word for a party worker's son who is going for a job interview to a downright request for financial assistance. And if you are an MB or an Exco member it is normal to find your '*orang kawasan*' at your doorstep any time of day or night.

All these remain very much an integral part of the inner works of Malaysian politics. The Prime Minister has often voiced his concern over the mishaps of our grassroot politics. Discerning Cabinet members too have voiced restructural opinions at Divisional meetings and Party Seminars. The grand exercise goes on.

There is one major exercise that the political masters have been wanting for the country but somehow due to the hazards of daily chores the so-called exercise has

been shelved on too many occasions. I refer to the restructuring of the civil service vis-a-vis its service for the *rakyat* who are its *de facto* clientele at large.

The stark scenario is this. The people elect their representatives through democratic universal suffrage and the government is formed. But the civil service is not re-charged in spirit or form as to be in consonance with changing values and expectations. Thus a Prime Minister may come and go within, say, seven years. The civil service remains. And it often remains quite oblivious to the aspirations of the people. This is so because the civil servants know that the politicians who can shape economic, social and administrative environs legally cannot affect them. Let alone demote, suspend or sack them if and when situations warrant it. They have constitutional safeguards. Their inner mechanism precludes political sanctions and survives somewhat like a wheel within a wheel.

In a Ministry there are the Minister, his Deputy and in some cases even a Parliamentary Secretary and a

Political Secretary who are normally regarded as the political hub at the Ministry. The Minister is the head of the Ministry and by and large his ideas, wishes and directives are adhered to. Depending on the strength of his personality most things are done. Decisions of the Cabinet are of course imperatives and thus are carried out (despite the existence of cases where some decisions and directives are known to have lapsed or left on the shelves hopefully waiting for the Minister or Cabinet to forget!).

The officer closest to the Minister is the Secretary-General or Ketua Setiausaha, who in reality is the actual power broker of the Ministry. A stern word from him to the other officers means a lot and indeed can change a few things because they know an adverse comment entered into their personnel file may mean a 'G' or an 'F' in the case of the superscales or a Grade 'C', Grade 'B' or Grade 'A' for the lower rungs. A Minister can shout his head off against a civil servant – the most that can happen is for that officer to be transferred to another Ministry or Department without so much as even offer an explanation. However, the Ketua Setiausaha normally is persuaded by the Minister to take a course of action that is nothing more than a mere administrative substitution. The Minister can request for a new Ketua Setiausaha. Timbalan Ketua Setiausaha or any of the major directors or even the lower ones if he is not happy with their performance but that request can be disregarded unless the Minister concerned is someone with political clout. There is nothing in the Ministers Functions Act or other rules and regulations that govern civil service – and – ministerial relationship, albeit ministerial power and authority is found in abundance in most legislations for various aspects of Government and its administration.

With this backdrop we have close to one million civil servants in the country rubbing shoulders with about 320 full-time politicians, 24 of whom are ministers. There has been a marvellous working relationship between the political masters and the civil servants in the past but in my view that congenial relationship is a mere recognition of political power. Legally, they are independent. They do their own disciplinary exercises and carry out their own promotional 'big do' without having to receive judgement, like the politicians, from the *rakyat* whom they are actually serving with their political masters. But the answering is always done by the *wakil rakyat* and where, for instance, a District Officer does not deliver the goods his failure in developing a *mukim* may well be apportioned to the Exco member who hails from that *mukim* rather than to the District Officer who has failed in his duty as the overall officer of development. And upon his transfer he might well be on to a promotion in his new department.

The guiding word is always neutrality. Again the General Orders are not very succinct about being neutral. Politicians come and go but the civil service and their servants remain. This is more British than anything else. Civil servants are by tradition, since Colonial days, expected to be non-committal and neutral in matters of political adherence. They cannot be active members of political parties.

In its purest constitutional notion the civil service is the servicing arm of the Government. It has to carry out policy requirements and act according to directives from the Executive in power in as much as the politicians have to satisfy the electorate by bringing home projects and advancement. The civil servant also has the *rakyat* as clientele. The politician may take the boot, so to speak, if he is a mere political wallflower, but the civil servant is secure and unscathed by the wrath of the people should a project or the

administering and execution of a policy veer and fail. There is no quid pro quo in terms of failure or the civil servant's personal upliftment or down-grading of his tenure. Promotion, dismissal and recruitment are by a process of internal execution, no outside element is involved.

Some 60% of the country's annual budget goes toward servicing the civil service. Malaysia has been cited to be one of the most heavily obligated countries in terms of and vis-a-vis its civil service. Surely, so the argument goes, the service can afford to be less esoteric.

One can now well understand why the kampung folks are seldom involved in having a say on the success or failure of a given Government project in his District or *mukim*. The call for change has often been heard. It is the implementation that is now eagerly awaited.

Outside evaluation of the service is perhaps most needed at this juncture of our nation-building. If broader notions of discipline and productivity are to be achieved, the civil service has to conform to mandatory evaluation which should include the private sector, hand in hand with the people's representatives, that is the elected politicians.

Self-servicing and self-contained appraisals, as they are now practised, have to cease as they cannot stand to reason. Otherwise the joke of likening the Rolls Royce engine with a Morris Minor body will become a reality. One is not sure now whether the Rolls Royce equates the political masters or the civil service. In the last 12 years I have observed too many instances where the Ministry runs the Minister – not the Minister the Ministry!

The Secretary-General (Ketua Setiausaha or KSU for short), is actually the chief executive of a Ministry. He chairs the Ministry's numerous meetings including the Tender Committee and Promotion Committee and is

expected to know everything in the Ministry – which is impossible. He is responsible to the Minister on all counts, directly or indirectly, regarding the Ministry. There are as many KSUs as there are Ministers, with the exception of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister who are serviced by the Ketua Setiausaha Negara (Chief Secretary to the Government). The Secretary-Generals meet periodically, with the KSN presiding, and discuss matters of administration and productivity in the service.

With about 800,000 civil servants in the country, Malaysia stands as one of the biggest spenders on salaries. According to Japanese economic expert, Omaihe, this will loom into bigger problems for the country.

The Cabinet system of Malaysia has a lot in common with that of Britain. Since Merdeka, the system evolved itself and though Article 43 of the Constitution is there for every one to follow and fall back on, its day-to-day functions remain truly Malaysian and operate very much on the guidelines or even directives of the Prime Minister who presides over its weekly meeting.

It is the highest *de facto* executive body in the Government and its policies or directives are to be executed by the Ministries and Departments. National policies are hatched at Cabinet meetings and Ministers may differ in their opinions but once a decision is made every member stands and abides by it. It is collectively responsible to Parliament. Of course there have been situations where the Prime Minister, his deputy or even Ministers air certain new ideas to the public before they actually become government policy. This test-the-market style happens as a matter of course if it is merely administrative or pertains to matters that are within the normal jurisdiction of a given Ministry.



► Dr Mahathir has cajoled Malaysians to be efficient, productive and self-reliant. His government has created specific policies for specific objectives. At the last count there were already at least 12 structural policies, for which each is intended for an accounted target. Ranging from *'Bersih, Cekap, Amanah'* to the National Agricultural Policy, the country is nurtured towards strength in every conceivable way. To see that his policies are understood, accepted and implemented, Dr Mahathir does his share of criss-crossing the country and informing the people.



In the Mahathir Government there are 24 Ministers (including the Prime Minister and his Deputy), each holding a specific portfolio. The Prime Minister normally holds the Defence Portfolio whilst the Deputy Prime Minister is also the Home Minister (during Tun Hussein's tenure the Home Affairs Ministry was held by Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie and before that by Tun Ismail). This is changed in the present cabinet set-up where the Defence Ministry is headed by Datuk Abdullah Badawi. The Home Minister is Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad.

The number of Ministers holding Portfolios in the Cabinet has varied over the years. When Tunku Abdul Rahman formed his first Cabinet in 1957 there were only 12 members. Today it is double that.

Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir celebrated his 62nd birthday last December. Since late 1981 the punch clock system was introduced in all government departments and agencies throughout the country.

One would expect the PM to saunter in for work by 9.00 a.m. or 10.00 a.m. Not Mahathir. By 8.00 a.m. he is already behind his executive desk.

I remember vividly the initial hue and cry when the punch clock system was first introduced after the Mahathir Government literally pushed back the clock in Peninsular Malaysia by half an hour to synchronise with the Sabah and Sarawak time. But the decision was logical and popular.

Almost immediately Singapore too changed its standard time pegged on to the new Malaysian 'clock'. Things began to move at a faster pace. Those who lamented the new work schedule were soon outnumbered and became the odd minority. Thousands of punch clock machines were acquired and set up in government departments throughout the country. Malaysia's popular vocalist, Sudirman even composed and sang the 'punch clock' hit tune to the delight of the younger set. While Sudirman the popular local singer must have benefited from the sale of his records that popularised the punch clock tune, the punch clock proved to have the capacity to galvanize the people's attitude into action and a new consciousness towards duty emerged. Leadership by example took its toll among the lethargic. But it sparked enthusiasm and commitment among the diligent.

Dr Mahathir's 1982 general election primary slogan of '*Bersih, Cekap dan Amanah*' opened many doors and ushered in a landslide victory. Malaysians felt that fresh ideas and new opportunities were afoot. The Mahathir era had begun. In him and in his style of government which commenced right after Dato' Hussein Onn relinquished the premiership in July 1981 due to ill health, the people hoped for a decisive leadership, brisk action and a no-nonsense government. And they got that.



▲ Dr Mahathir (*back to the camera*) confers in what appears to be a private and intimate surrounding with the King, DYMM Tuanku Ahmad Shah former Yang di-Pertuan Agong (now the Sultan of Pahang) at a ceremony in Stadium Merdeka in December 1982. The picture was taken with a 80-210 Nikkon from the stadium grandstand at a distance of about 50 feet.



◀ This photograph says a thousand words, hence only a brief note of recollection needs to be offered.

23rd April, 1984 was a sad day. Tuanku Ahmad Shah, the 7th Yang di-Pertuan Agong officially left the Federal Capital that day to resume his normal duties as Sultan of Pahang, after having performed as paramount ruler of Malaysia for the past five years.

For a brief yet lingering moment Tuanku Ahmad Shah and Dr Mahathir were locked in an embrace, an interpersonal communication witnessed by the hundreds that thronged the Sungai Besi Royal Malaysian Air Force Base, including Datuk Musa Hitam Deputy Prime Minister and his wife Datin Maria who were equally lost for words at the parting scene.

It was nothing like the usual good-bye between King and his Prime Minister. It was more of a touching moment between friends who had shared and charted the nation's history together.

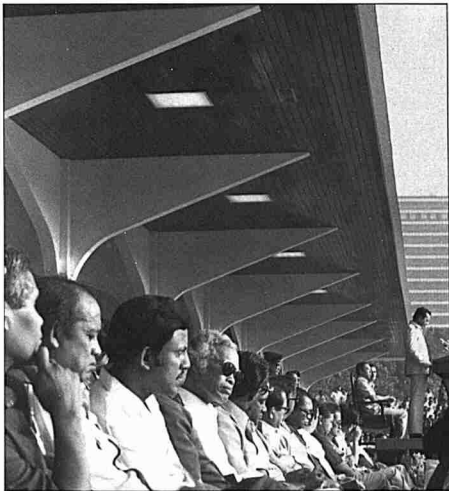
Later the same day Tuanku Iskandar, the Sultan of Johor, who was elected by the Council of Rulers weeks earlier as Yang di-Pertuan Agong, flew in on an F.28 executive jet of the Federal Government to begin his tenure as the eighth Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

In the course of a Prime Minister's array of duties one that stands out to be rather sensitive and delicate is the working relationship between him and the Yang di-Pertuan Agong whose position as the nation's Paramount Ruler must be accorded full accord and decorum. There are polite words and pleasantries to be exchanged with 'Ampun Tuanku'. There are instances to disagree yet appear non-offensive; how to inform and yet consult. All these are intricacies a Malaysian Prime Minister has to assail. Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir has done well in these, as had his predecessors.



◀ The common factor that underscores the success in leadership of Dr Mahathir and Musa Hitam perhaps lies in their friendship. They were close friends long before they emerged as leaders of the party and government. They complement one another in supportive roles. They were candid and practical in arriving at solutions. Both were equipped with strong intellectual prowess which complement each other in decision-making. Datuk Musa once told me that it was perfectly in order to disagree on some points towards establishing a policy. But having put across one's views one should subscribe to the collective decision, and once a collective decision is arrived at it should be defended by each leader of the party and government. The personal, individual view then becomes subservient and should not in the least be regarded as dissent that mars a collective decision.

Photo: Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, his Deputy Datuk Musa and Dr Siti Hasmah were among the thousands that thronged Parliament House on the occasion of the 25th Year Celebration of Parliamentary Democracy in Malaysia on 30th March, 1985. Some half a million people came to see the month-long exhibition at Bangunan Parlimen. Their minds reeled back to the times of Tunku, Tun Razak, Tun Hussein and, of course to the current era of Dr Mahathir. It was a treat of a lifetime for Malaysians in particular and they felt fortunate to be Malaysians, to know that the country has been nurtured well in the best traditions of democracy. Mahathir and Musa for now have associated their services in seeing that that tradition is safeguarded.



▲ The Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad launching the *Kepimpinan Melalui Teladan* Campaign in 1983 at the Stadium TPCA, Kuala Lumpur. Ministers, their Deputies, Parliamentary Secretaries and Federal Civil Servants in the thousands packed the Stadium.

► At a glance the man in the middle appears to be Dr Mahathir but of course the Prime Minister is on the right. Tan Sri Rama Iyer former Secretary-General Ministry of Primary Industry was enjoying his *nasi lemak* after a Kuala Lumpur *gotong royong* clean-up in March 1984 while the Prime Minister, who launched the clean-up campaign eyed him pensively. The Datuk Bandar of Kuala Lumpur, Datuk Dr Elyas Omar, left, shares a joke about his share of the *nasi lemak*.

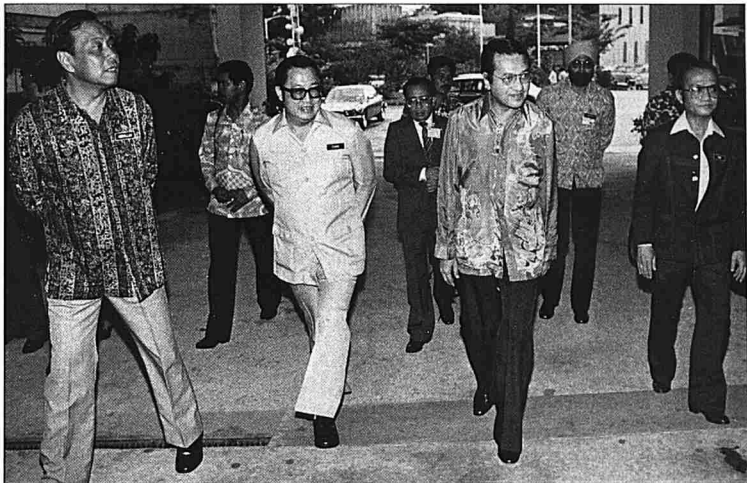
Datuk Elyas, also the Secretary-General (KSU) of the Federal Territory Ministry, is the only civil servant who performs dual executive duties: that of a Secretary-General and that of a City Mayor (Datuk Bandar). Malaysians, Kuala Lumpur residents mainly, know him better perhaps as the latter. Thus while working as a Secretary-General he has to function subservient to the Federal Territory Minister (now held by Datuk Abu Hassan Omar). When he assumes the job as Datuk Bandar he wields considerable executive power and authority. It is quite common to see Elyas rushing in and out of the Prime Minister's office more often than his Minister at times, especially when the Chief Executive of the country demands certain matters to be attended to for Kuala Lumpur.





▲ As the helicopter lifts from the ground Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir approaches the helicopter's latch door and waves to the thousands below who by then would be bracing themselves from the strong wind of the take-off. They nonetheless wave back at their Prime Minister, perhaps with dust and sand in their eyes. Soon the helicopter hovers higher and higher and becomes a dot in the sky. All in a day's work for the Prime Minister. I took this shot in 1984 after Dr. Mahathir's visit to Felda Kratong in Pahang from within one of the TUDM's Nuri helicopters that ever so often transports the Prime Minister on his official rounds.





◀ In May 1985 Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir participated in a direct broadcast BBC interview programme through facilities provided by Radio Television Malaysia. The interview was conducted by the BBC from London with the Prime Minister answering questions from all over the world from within RTM's studio. With his usual candour and direct style Dr Mahathir answered the questions most aptly. There was one question that came through from London as it were and the caller was a Malaysian Chinese who wanted to know the sort of job guarantee that the Malaysian Government would give to those professionals who return to Malaysia after completing their overseas studies. To this Dr Mahathir simply replied that there was no guarantee as such. All Malaysians he said were at liberty to tap all possible resources and opportunities that were available in the country. There were to be no special treatment.

▲ Dr Mahathir walks to the Wisma Radio studio at Angkasapuri in May 1985 to participate in the BBC direct broadcast interview. On hand to receive him are (from left) Datuk Abdullah Mohamed, Director-General RTM, Datuk Chan Siang Sun, Deputy Minister of Information, the Prime Minister and Zain Mahmood, Deputy Director-General RTM. The Deputy Secretary-General, Syed Abdullah (in dark suit) is in the background.

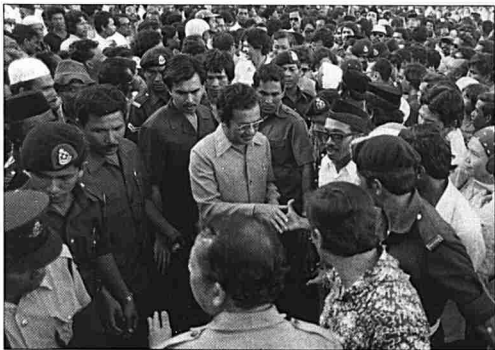
His directness in addressing people and problems have been accepted as positive by some. There are others who think otherwise. At the other end of the scale he is also known to have been described as one of the most outspoken of the third world leaders. Whilst that may now be refuted, in 1981 when he first assumed the premiership he was reported to have said that he did not believe in being nice. Personally Dr Mahathir does exude the quiet gentleman image, with a penchant for hard work and the Japanese way of work discipline hence the birth of his 'Look East Policy'.

Dr Mahathir has never been far from controversy. From the time he published his '*Malay Dilemma*' in the early seventies right up to the time of going to press many controversies have enmeshed his political career. These controversies either emanate from his own speeches, like the way he appraised the 1983 Constitutional Amendments or they originate from other quarters. Almost a decade ago, soon after his appointment as Deputy Prime Minister he suggested that the Vietnamese boat people be scared away from landing at one of our islands including Pulau Bidong by shooting at their boats. This created a ripple throughout the world and caused the United Nations High Commission On Refugees (UNHCR) to be most concerned. Subsequently Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Onn had to issue a pacifying statement to soften the implied impact made by his deputy's remarks.

Dr Mahathir's speeches, especially those that he writes himself, are normally hard-hitting and devoid of word-mincing. His references to the dim future of the Commonwealth for instance caused a direct stir in the 1985 Bahamas Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM). Whatever evaluation one cares to offer for this particular speech treatment, I maintain that the Prime Minister had done well there. He wrote that speech himself.

The appointments of Daim Zainuddin and Anwar Ibrahim as Finance Minister and Education Minister respectively has undoubtedly created political fissures in UMNO. By so doing the Premier has ushered in a new style and value system of creating second-liners or





◀ Dr Mahathir addressing a crowd of some 50,000 at Melaka's Padang Pahlawan on 20th December, 1983. This was his last big Constitutional rally where he wiped clean all doubts about the wisdom in the Constitutional Amendment move. It was here amidst the teeming thousands of Malaysians when he said *inter alia* that the country would be forging ahead on all fronts, without having to look back at feudalism; that the voice of the people stood supreme, what more if made through the mechanism of a parliamentary democracy.

Standing beside him that day, oblivious to the heat and the comfort of the chair, I saw Dr Mahathir perform his best. The UMNO Youth roared in support '*Hidup Mahathir*' to be followed by thunderous applause by the thousands who were not Malays, Chinese or Indians, just Malaysians. They minded not the sun and the heat. They just wanted to be with their leader. To be part of all this is a satisfaction difficult to describe. I just felt good. At home that night I enlarged this picture and printed two copies. One is now in my office. The other I presented to Dr Mahathir for his birthday in December 1984.

second echelon leaders, if at all it could be called thus. Tradition has it that only tested and long-serving leaders have been appointed to those 'gateway' posts. From the Tunku right up to the times of Tun Hussein Onn this tradition has never been broken. And UMNO members have always wanted it to be so. They now see this tradition broken. They also know that it is not for a conventionally good cause.



▲ In November 1983 Dr. Mahathir officiated the opening of PEMADAM's Annual General Meeting in Ipoh, Perak. On hand to receive the Prime Minister who has been PEMADAM's National Patron for about 9 years now was Datuk Seri Ramli Ngah Talib (still *Enik* then and freshly appointed as successor to Datuk Seri Wan Mohamad as Perak Menteri Besar), Tuan Haji Idris Ibrahim, former Setapak MP and PEMADAM's Deputy President, Dr. Tan Tiong Hong (Vice-President) and Datuk Mak Hon Kam (Labour Manpower Minister) extreme right. Since assuming the helm of Perak State, Ramli has built stability within the State's UMNO rank and file. He succeeded Datuk Musa Hitam as Perak UMNO Chief a few weeks before the Party's elections in May 1984. Being a lawyer, 'Perakeans' often hail Ramli as the most qualified Menteri Besar thus far. Politically, Perak is the favourite political arena as the state offers 21 Divisions (Bahagian) which if carefully cultivated could lead to enhanced party politics.

Photo: Datuk Seri Ramli Ngah Talib (behind Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir), the Prime Minister (PEMADAM's Patron), Hj. Idris Ibrahim (PEMADAM's Deputy President) and Dr. Tan Tiong Hong (Deputy Finance Minister/PEMADAM Vice-President) witnessing PEMADAM Guard of Honour mounted by the association's after-care personnel in Ipoh, Perak (November 1983).

► It is not often that a Prime Minister gets an opportunity like this and when he does, every panel and control must be identified. And he lost no time in getting to know the fighter planes instrumentation system when he launched the RMAF's Pulatibang III (Pusat Latihan Penerbangan Ketiga) at Kuantan, Pahang.

The Premier has varied interests in the world around him. While medicine is his speciality, he is equally at home in the business world in management and even micro chips! As if that is not enough, the Prime Minister even astounds JKR engineers by prescribing the proper toilet design for Muslims. One day in March 1984 he beckoned his Cabinet members to witness a brand new toilet facility in the Prime Minister's Complex and explained all the technical details. In November 1984 the Wall Street Journal ran a story about Dr. Mahathir's invention of a new toilet for Muslims.



KAPT. U. ABD MANAF

MEMBUKA KANOPY KETIKA RECEMASAN
 ADAPUN KANOPY TIDAK BOLEH DIBUKA
 1. TEKAN BUKANG MERAH DAN BUKA KANOPY
 2. TAREK BANGKAL KUNING HINGGA KARE TERBUK
 3. TAREK BATERENTAN DUNYU MANDUKAN DUNYU MANDUK
 EMERGENCY CANOPY SEPERANCE
 CANOPY SE MANDUK DUNYU
 TO OPEN CANOPY
 MANDUK DUNYU MANDUK
 MANDUK DUNYU MANDUK



▲: consider this to be 'Dr M's' most hilarious photograph: as if the bout of strength with the monkey is for real. As a matter of fact the premier was officiating the Universiti Teknologi Malaysia's Electricity Museum in October 1983. What appears to be the monkey's right hand was actually the starter of an electric mechanism which Dr Mahathir had to push down to the left. Without the given explanation or caption it certainly conjures a funny episode as if the beast seems to say: "Ooh, not too hard, Doc."



◀ When the Prime Minister makes an entrance, the crowd stand as a mark of respect for the occupant of that highest seat of power in the country. In this 1983 photograph Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir as President of UMNO entered the Hilton Nirwana Ballroom where UMNO had held all its previous general assemblies. The 1100 delegates from 115 Divisions from all over Peninsular Malaysia rose and ushered in the President resplendent in his *Baju Melayu* attire with matching colours. Looking on is Senator Haji Hussein Ahmad, UMNO Information Chief.



◀ Wherever the Prime Minister goes the press corps would swarm around him, more often than not quite unmindful of protocol and propriety. But Dr. Mahathir always gives in to their ways. Only in 1984 a little change took place. Beginning July that year he directed that major Cabinet announcements should be made by the Information Minister as spokesman for the Cabinet. Previously the Prime Minister used to be surrounded by scribbling pressmen and flashing photographers after every Cabinet Meeting. The change continues. Now at official functions the press photographers no longer swarm the VIP stand. They are now allocated a designated spot from where they can click away with their long lenses and powerful strobes. But once in a while, especially when there is a hot topic to be scooped the newsmen still have their way just like in the above photograph.

Photo: Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir explains a point to the press after opening an Information Course by the UMNO Information Bureau at the old UMNO Headquarters, Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman in February 1982.



▲ The 'Iron Lady' of Britain and the 'Iron Man' of Malaysia. No one accorded that title to Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir even though his decisiveness and no-nonsense style have earned him a positive reputation in many fields. Mrs. Thatcher chats with Dr Mahathir while Datin Seri Dr Siti Hasmah looks on before a state banquet at the Seri Perdana in March 1985.



◀ Dr. Mahathir tries his hand at harvesting the 'sawit' bunch in Kampung Parit Seraya Johor in March 1984 after launching RISDA's model kampung, one of the Land and Regional Development Ministry's priority projects in restructuring society.



◀ During the constitutional crisis of the last quarter of 1983, emotions and political awareness ran high. Every Barisan Nasional component party ascertained its role, asserted its rights and reinforced individual expression. The parliament-approved Constitutional Amendment Bill 1983, indeed amended the people's stand whilst it also sharpened the Istana's overall spearheads. Dr Mahathir took it to the people and they responded. The Cabinet, the Party and the States operated in full swing towards 'aye' for the amendment. Of course there were opposition voices but they were drowned. Billboards, pamphlets and banners depicted many maxims and strong words of courage for Dr Mahathir. In Melaka I shot these two ready 'Constitution' models who sandwiched themselves with 'Daulat Rakyat'. Democracy in Malaysia is very much alive. It is never bland. Always spicy with its share of political 'cencaluk', 'budu' and 'tempoyak'. If you have read this book this far I reckon you would have no difficulty in understanding those three food-based terms.



▲ From left: Datin Seri Dr Siti Hasmah, Tengku Puteri Zainah, wife of Datuk Mohd Najib Tun Razak and Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir in Felda Kratong, Pahang, April 1984 on the occasion of the launching of Felda's *'Tabung Sosio Ekonomi Peneroka'* (Settlers Socio-Economic Fund). The Prime Minister happily receives a big basket of local fruits and vegetables. Some 20,000 Felda settlers from Johor, Melaka and Negeri Sembilan thronged the Kratong quadrangle that proud day in April 1984. The Prime Minister flew to Kratong that day in a helicopter and amidst clouds of red earth dust the settlers gave him a thunderous welcome with spontaneous shouts of *'Hidup Mahathir'*. The Pahang UMNO rank and file facilitated the necessary political big do. The ensuing constitutional crisis was beginning to wear thin, and light was soon to be seen at the end of the tunnel.



◀ Every Hari Raya Puasa thousands throng the official residence of the Prime Minister. Irrespective of race, Malaysians from all walks of life join in the festivities and wish him and his family 'Selamat Hari Raya'.

Of course there are those assortment of 'ketupat', 'rendang', 'sate' and a whole array of Malay cakes and delicacies.

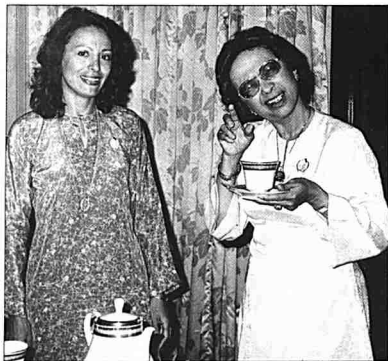
The Prime Minister and Datin Seri Dr Siti Hasmah would stand for hours on end at the entrance, shake every hand and smile graciously at every one. It is no ordinary chore and is certainly very demanding physically, but in the spirit of Hari Raya and the joy of sharing the good life with other Malaysians Dr Mahathir and Dr Siti Hasmah, like their predecessors, Tun Hussein and Toh Puan Suballa, Tun Razak and Toh Puan Rahah, Tunku Abdul Rahman and Sharifah Rodziah keep vigil through the day and entertain the seemingly endless stream of people.



◀ Dr Mahathir and Dr Siti Hasmah always have time for their non-Malay friends during Chinese New Year, Deepavali or Christmas when they visit them either at their homes or at some other appointed venue. In 1984 when the Parti Gerakan held a Chinese New Year gathering at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur, Dr Mahathir and Dr Siti Hasmah came along and the Gerakan President Dr. Ijm Kheng Yaik and the party's strong man Dr Goh Cheng Teik (smiling behind the PM) were jubilant and expansive in their reception.



▲ Both of them raised a substantial sum that night of 18th September, 1980 at a fund-raising dinner in Seremban, Negeri Sembilan. Datin Seri Dr Siti Hasmah accompanied by Datin Masnah crooned away in a duet of 'Abang Sayang'. In subsequent years Dr Siti Hasmah increased her efforts in raising funds for various charitable organisations through BAKTI (*Badan Kebajikan Tenaga Isteri-Isteri*).



► Dr Siti Hasmah in jest mimics the photographer as if to say 'click' while Datin Masnah looks on with a smile. This photograph was chosen to be the cover photo for BAKTI's own magazine in 1983. Many might assume that this is a product of Nikon or one of those reputable SLRs. As a matter of fact it was taken by Datin Masnah with a Konica Autofocus. I gave it the usual darkroom contrasting treatment with a No. 3 enlarging paper.



▲ The Prime Minister and his first lady isolated by the lens from some 30 feet away from the rest of the notable crowd at Istana Negara in one of the many '*majlis Di Raja*' in 1983. It is not usual for guests of the Istana to sling around a Nikon or a Leica over their official uniform. It could appear out of place, or to put it mildly, '*tak manis*'. So much for sweetness. I thought 'no venture no gain' so in the course of these years since 1974 I have been the odd one who habitually attends Istana functions with a camera in hand. Of late Datuk Dr Sulaiman Daud, Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports has also developed this '*tak manis*' habit.



▲ President Suharto of Indonesia, I believe, tops the frequency bill in visiting Malaysia. Likewise Malaysian top leaders reciprocate. In perspective, the exchange of visits and invitations with ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) has been a normal feature of activities.

Photo: President Suharto and Ibu Tien shake hands with little Malini while Prime Minister Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir and Deputy Prime Minister, Dato' Musa look on with Datin Seri Dr Siti Hasmah and Datin Maria at Subang International Airport (1983).



► Between him and Dr Mahathir many charitable organisations have benefited. Datuk Musa, like his boss Dr Mahathir, has raised substantial funds for the good cause of society through his fine singing voice. The above shot was taken with a 210 mm Nikon zoom in October 1983 at the Hilton's Nirwana Ballroom. I think it does justice to his rendering of *Pretend You're happy When You're Blue ...*

By now his face has become one of the most recognised in Asia. If he were to walk the streets of Jakarta he would be recognised; in Singapore it would be equally so. In his own Malaysia, he would not be able to walk a hundred yards without being pursued by 'fans'. Leaders of his stature might also fear for their safety, thus what is normal life is alas 'gone' for him. But in politics one has to go on and serve. Leaders do lead dual lives, their painful moments are known to few. Their joys are to see their policies mature into reality, translated into better quality of life for all, peace and harmony for the *rakyat*. They get poison letters and at times what they say is distorted by the media but if amidst all these are a few thank you's their world is made.

Datuk Musa bespeaks poise and confidence. Very amiable, yet a highly-polished political practitioner. He may appear in a hurry at times but never really in a rush. Behind that disarming smile lies a shrewd thinker. His speeches are always succinct, laced with clarity of mind. Those who know him since schooldays offer tales of school debates and oratorical contests which he excelled in. As is the case with most successful politicians, his sense of timing in matters involving major decisions or political ploys is difficult to beat. He and Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir share this uncanny trait. Both also share a common past of having been expelled from UMNO in 1971 on a matter of political differences with the leadership then, and which is now history, no longer bearing any aberration in any quarters.

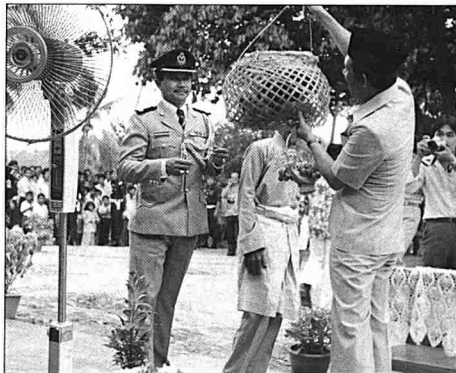
Datuk Musa and Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir in their early months of premiership and deputy premiership after July 1981 were fondly referred to as 'the 2Ms': Mahathir - Musa (by the Press of course). Things began to tick and click. '*Bersih, Cekap, Amanah*' (BCA) became a household slogan. Soon some other policies began to emerge: From 'Look East' to 'Leadership By Example'.

Non-slogan policies also found their way into the media, cleanliness campaigns began and the National Agriculture Policy, moribund for almost a decade, was reborn. Malaysians began to realise that their world was revolving past them and the urge to participate came on strong. They liked it.





◀ Datuk Hj. Suhaimi Kamaruddin former UMNO Youth Head chats with Datuk Musa Hitam during tea break in the 1982 UMNO Youth Assembly at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur.



◀ The man in songkok could easily have said: *Berapa harga ayam dalam bakul ini?* Upon perusal that could not be so as the smart ADC Encik Wan is directly in front of Datuk Musa, ready to take away the chicken presented to the Deputy Prime Minister as a token of appreciation for his keen interest and participation in the Buku Hijau revival project which he launched in Lenggeng, Negeri Sembilan in 1983. Malaysians will recall that during the premiership of Tun Razak the Buku Hijau or Green Book project engulfed the whole country. Housewives even started planting tomatoes and chilli in flower pots.



▲ From left: Dato' Undang Jelebu, the late Dato' Undang Johol, Datuk Musa Hitam, Tuanku Yang Di-Pertuan Besar Negeri Sembilan dan Tuanku Ampuan, Datin Maria, Dato' Undang Rembau and Tunku Besar Tampin at Istana Lama Seri Menanti.

Negeri Sembilan awarded the SPNS (Seri Paduka Negeri Sembilan) to Datuk Musa Hitam in April 1983. To commemorate that happy occasion DYMM Tuanku Jaafar, Yang di-Pertuan Besar Negeri Sembilan with the four Undangs and Tengku Besar Tampin posed for this photograph. I used a 35-135 mm Tamron lens on Nikon F3 with Kodak Tri-X and developed in Microdol-X for moderate grain. Nothing exceptional about this picture except for the fact that it was not taken by a studio photographer!

Datuk Musa has been awarded the Bintang Kebesaran by nearly every state. It is an expression of high esteem and respect for the leader and the State Government, to feel proud having national leaders on their list of 'Bintang' recipients. It is now an entrenched system, a tradition of State accepted by the country as a whole. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong bestows over 2,000 honours every year to deserving Malaysians from all walks of life - from the soldier up to the General, from the *Ketua Kampung* (Village headman) up to the Ministers. Their good work and service are recognised.



▲ The Datuk Musa many Malaysians have come to know more intimately reflects a vibrant, smiling personality; witty and quick to react to situations. This photograph, taken during his March 1985 special trip to the Southern Thailand Kampuchean Refugees Camp, effectively captures 'the inner man' in Musa. They say it very often: a smiling face entices more support. To a top-notch politician like him the smiling disposition is an outright asset. Indeed most of the world's top leaders possess this characteristic and it has never been anything but an endowment.



▲ The No. 2 pair in a helicopter ride from Lenggang to Kuala Lumpur in April 1983. Ministers are busy people. It was usual for Datuk Musa Hitam to be in two or three places in one day. An American Social Scientist who visited Kuala Lumpur in 1980 told me that Ministers or even Deputy Ministers in Malaysia are so preoccupied with ceremonial politics that they, like a circuit, tend to be overloaded by too many appliances.

For Datuk Musa the helicopter has become an accepted mode of travel within the country.

◀ An after-dinner pose by the No. 2 couple in the precinct of T. A. Rahman Hall, Jalan Ampang, Kuala Lumpur.



▲ This photograph tells of happy times for Datuk Musa, flanked by Anwar Ibrahim, Pemuda UMNO's Head (left) and Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz, Head of Pergerakan Wanita UMNO in the last General Assembly of Pemuda and Wanita in September 1985.

The notable message that Datuk Musa delivered at this joint gathering was that UMNO should reflect and nurture the value of the kampung struggle and should never be swallowed by materialism.

It has been the tradition for UMNO to have the Deputy President of the party declare open the Pemuda and the Wanita Annual General Assembly.



▲ Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (right) studies Datuk Sanusi Junid who cracks a little joke while waiting for the commencement of the official opening of Parliament by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in March 1985. Lim Kit Siang, leader of the Opposition rubs his nose and looks on.

Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, former Finance Minister and now holding the Trade and Industry portfolio at an Istana Negara function in 1982. He is one of the country's energetic leaders with wide finance and business experience. Those conversant with Malaysian politics, particularly UMNO's, know that the ups and downs of role-play in the power game could tear apart normal personalities. But not Tengku Razaleigh or "Tengku Li" as he is referred to by friends.

I now accept those wise words: *In politics anything can happen. One day a nightmare, the next bliss.* Tengku Razaleigh still commands a sizeable following in UMNO today though he is not as formidable as he was when Tun Hussein Onn was Prime Minister.

Tengku Razaleigh is definitely one of the more stoical politicians in the country. Many perhaps would not be in the position to withstand the rapid-fire 'slings and arrows' of politics 'outrageous fortune' for the past decade. He has withstood all that and perhaps many more to come. He has lost twice to Datuk Musa Hitam in the Deputy Presidency race of UMNO in 1981 and 1984. Although he has a steady number of followers, he has not met success as easily as Datuk Musa in those two party elections.



If there was one man who could be counted as Razaleigh's chief moulder, it was the late Tun Razak. The late Prime Minister and UMNO President gave Razaleigh many breaks in the late sixties and well into the early seventies. For years he was given the confidence to lead Kelantan UMNO and Barisan Nasional. Only in 1984 was he relieved when Datuk Mohamed Yaacob, the present Menteri Besar of Kelantan took control of that State's UMNO chairmanship from Tengku Razaleigh after the top leadership made sweeping changes in the states. Tengku Razaleigh was Bank Bumiputra's chief executive in the late sixties and later played major roles in the creation of Perbadanan Nasional (PERNAS) and the National Petroleum Act. While serving as Minister of Finance (1974-1984) he too brought many changes and innovative economic restructures.

Razaleigh has the clarity of mind. To lead effectively, that is important. Colleagues always pull his leg at the fact that he is still single, a *status quo* that is not necessarily a disadvantage in this country when one considers the incessant call of duty as a politician.

When Tengku Li lost again to Musa in 1984 in the UMNO Deputy Presidency tussle he was also out of the party's Supreme Council. It would seem just now that the whole affair of having lost is not that devastating after all. He is still a senior Cabinet member. In 1987 another season of marathon UMNO elections will take place. Positions from the *cawangan* right up to the Majlis Tertinggi and the Presidency will fall vacant again by virtue of the party's Constitution. If the 1984 elections are anything to go by, Tengku Razaleigh may ride once again. This time around he is likely to ride differently and towards a different destination.



▲ Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (Finance) standing in line with Datuk Paul Leong (Primary Industry) on the executive stand as they were about to witness the 1983 Merdeka parade, an annual affair that beckons all for a national celebration. Somehow both leaders don't look too happy about something. They seem to be preoccupied with their own thoughts. At any rate with their 'Look East' blue jackets and white collar they certainly could pass as 'supervisors' in a plant or factory. In their own fields, supervision and human management are daily chores. Only the grease and grinding machines are missing.



▲ Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, centre, smiles broadly during a Dewan Rakyat reception in 1986. To his right is Mustapha Mohamad, Deputy Minister for Works and to Tengku Li's left is Datuk Tajol Rosli Deputy Minister for National and Rural Development.



▲ Their Majesties DYMM Tuanku Yang di-Pertuan Agong and DYMM Tuanku Permaisuri Agong being traditionally attended to the 'Riau' guesthouse by Indonesia's Minister of Tourism. With the smile I reckon Her Majesty Tuanku Raja Permaisuri Agong must be reminiscing her own bygone wedding day.

First, the couple were made to sit like newlyweds. Then the host approached them with traditional '*bunga rampai*' and '*air mawar*'. Daintily he sprinkled the groom's open palm. Soon the whole room was strewn with saffron rice and the sweet aroma of *bunga rampai* pervaded even more. There was laughter followed by laughter of approval. This was exactly the scene at one of the '*Rumah Tamu*' (guest house) that the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Raja Permaisuri Agong visited on the fringes of Jakarta in late December 1985. The guest house reflects everything that was Riau of old, the birthplace of the Johor Empire. The house is resplendent with traditional Riau artifacts and as one enters one cannot but admire the compelling architecture intertwined and laced with beautiful carvings. The 'Riau' household received Their Majesties with Istana decorum complete with '*panturi*' and '*seloka*'.

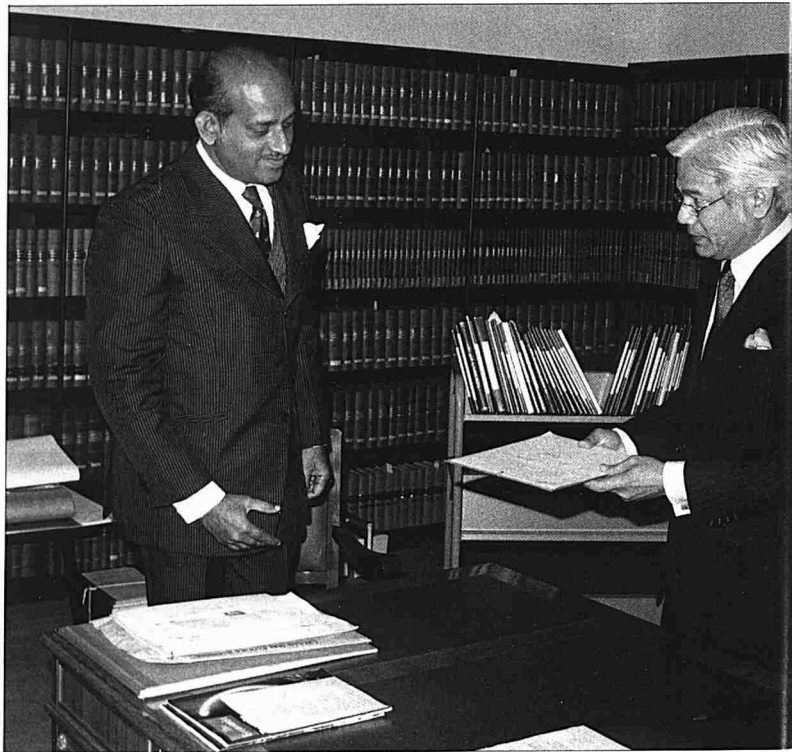
The Yang di-Pertuan Agong is always friendly and chatty. He likes to be informal and enjoys golf, almost to a fault. It is the one game, I believe, he plays most days of the week. Even his State visits overseas are punctuated by rounds of golfing. A monarch of many talents, he is as at home with wind-surfing as well as the rigorous game of polo. Many may even have the pleasure and honour of listening to his very own rendition of *keroncong*, ballads and popular tunes. During his four-day official visit to Indonesia in December 1985 which involved me as Minister-In-Attendance, I was swept into appreciating all this and much more.

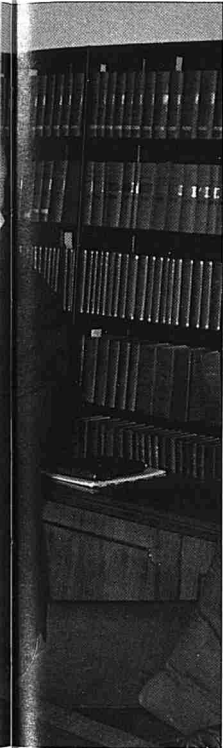
The Yang di-Pertuan Agong is the Paramount Ruler of Malaysia. Under the Constitution the Rulers of the Malay States rotate once in five years to be elected by the Council of Rulers to the highest position in the land. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong takes precedence over all others in the country and is a component of the Federal Legislature, a basic composite that perhaps for reasons of political fervour has often been misinterpreted to mean that the legislators could do what they like in terms of enacting laws.

In a way this could be so but in other aspects, especially in touching upon powers, rights, privileges and sovereignty of the Rulers, no laws are to be passed without the expressed consent of the Council of Rulers. Parliament cannot override this. Thus their tenure of sovereignty is safe-guarded constitutionally.

The Yang di-Pertuan Agong is also the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. By virtue of that constitutional provision alone he is seen to be a genuinely powerful figure despite the fact that in carrying out his official functions and duties under the Constitution he complies with the advice given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Cabinet. In general what the King wants the King gets.

The Prime Minister counsels the Yang di-Pertuan Agong normally once a week over matters that touch upon Cabinet decisions. During this session between King and Prime Minister government policies and decisions are expected to be discussed depending on the interest of the monarch in the affairs of state. As a matter of practice the Prime Minister seeks audience with the King on Tuesdays or early Wednesday morning, prior to the Wednesday sessions of the Cabinet. Whilst this tradition was faithfully observed during the tenures of previous Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the present Paramount Ruler, Tuanku Iskandar largely goes about his royal chores without too strictly observing this practice.





There could hardly be many mortals who within the space of two years rose to be the highest judicial officer in the land – the Lord President, and within the same period fate propelled him to be Sultan. All this happened to Raja Azlan Shah, 58, the present Sultan of the tin-rich state of Perak.

Prior to 3rd February, 1984 when he ascended the Perak throne succeeding the late Sultan Idris Iskandar Shah, Raja Azlan Shah enjoyed the unproclaimed reputation as an eminent jurist. When I was reading law at the University of Singapore in 1968, almost without exception the law students of Singapore and Malaysia found then, as they do even now that his judgements in the Malayan Law Journal to be nothing less than profound reading. To law students in the late 60's Raja Azlan, a High Court Judge then, was already one of their favourite judges. His lucid judgements, laced with powerful language, had a style of their own. Indeed this finding is shared by legal practitioners at both ends of the Causeway. When he ascended the Perak throne on 3rd February, 1984 the legal circle lost a distinctive jurist from its midst. Tuanku Raja Azlan, who is also the country's Deputy Yang di-Pertuan Agong, leaves behind an impressive scholarship and an unblemished record of service. When his turn comes next as the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, as many believe it to be a matter of course, one can be sure of an exacting standard and decorum, the two traits of which even during his days in the corridors of justice were so evident. For some, aristocracy and the dignity that goes with it, have to be inculcated almost formally. But for Raja Azlan Shah, it has come naturally.

◀ The Chief Justice, Raja Azlan Shah (*right*) hands to V.C. George his papers after the latter's appointment as a High Court Judge in January 1981.



▲ Tuanku Jaafar, in his capacity as Deputy Yang di-Pertuan Agong, congratulates Usman Awang, better known as 'Tongkat Warrant' on the occasion of the latter's literary achievement in the *Anugerah Sastera*, an annual literary award organised by the government in recognition of and pursuant to literary excellence in Bahasa Malaysia for each year. The Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam, Chairman of the award committee looks on. (1983)

DYMM Tuanku Jaafar ibni Tuanku Abdul Rahman the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan played a major role in bringing the late 1983 Constitutional crisis to an end. The Sultans then collectively maintained their stand in not assenting to the amendment to the Constitution, specifically in respect of Article 66(5) and without having to go into details, the Sultans maintained that the amendments were not necessary, and would in fact undermine their basic sovereignty to which contention, of course the Government took great pains in explaining its viewpoint and ultimately succeeded in convincing the Rulers. Essentially, the amendments were aimed at strengthening and entrenching the concept of Constitutional Monarchy. After lengthy discussions and protracted incidents the matter was amicably closed when Tuanku Jaafar, acting in his capacity as Deputy Yang di-Pertuan Agong signed the Bill into law in December 1983 after Parliament reconsidered and passed it with slight accommodative reamendment.

Datuk Seri Sanusi Junid was appointed UMNO Secretary-General by UMNO President and its Supreme Council not long after the May 1984 party elections. Hard-hitting and hard-working are his two attributes which the Prime Minister must have recognised. A glib speaker, Sanusi enjoys favourable grassroot support. The MAYC (Malaysian Youth Council) and Shamelin are two grassroot institutions directly associated with his leadership. Datuk Sanusi is also one of the founding leaders of ABIM (*Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia*). Sanusi has this knack and ability to crack jokes out of political situations. His rendition of the 'warso' satire in the UMNO General Assembly of 1984 reflected this adequately.

I often see Sanusi dash from his Bank Rakyat ministerial office to the Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman's old UMNO Headquarters at odd hours of the day to oversee his massive responsibilities for UMNO. Previous Setiausaha Agung of UMNO have been full-time at the job. But for Sanusi, this arrangement seems perfect. Friends believe that he performs best during crisis.



▲ Datuk Seri Sanusi congratulating a participant of the patriotic song writing competition at the City Hall Auditorium, Kuala Lumpur, 24th August, 1984.



▲ Datuk Seri Sanusi presenting a gift, a token of UMNO's appreciation, to former UMNO Secretary-General, Datuk Haji Mustapha Jabar at the party's old HQ in Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur in February 1985. In the background, UMNO Supreme Councillor Dt Hj Khalid and UMNO Executive Secretary Kip Bahadur.

► A hilarious moment between Datuk Neo Yee Pan, former MCA President and former Minister of Housing and Local Government and Dato' Shahrir Abdul Samad, Federal Territory Minister at an Aidilfitri get-together at the home of Tun Hussein Onn in 1984. About the only common thing they share is the fact that both of them hail from Johor, another 'breeding state' for national leaders. Kedah is to Tunku Abdul Rahman and Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir as Johor is to Tun Hussein Onn and Datuk Musa Hitam. As for Dato' Shahrir he is on record, at 36, the youngest member of Cabinet.





◀ From left: Datuk Neo Yee Pan (then President of the MCA), Tan Koon Swan, Neo's archrival within the MCA, Datuk Musa Hitam Deputy Prime Minister and Datuk Seri Adib Adam, Information Minister at the Istana Negara, Kuala Lumpur in June 1984 after attending the formal gathering in the Balai Rong Seri to mark the Annual Birthday Celebrations of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

Much water has passed under the bridge since June 1984 especially for these four men. Neo (extreme left) lost to Koon Swan in the MCA Presidency bid in November 1985 and his political world began to crumble when about two months earlier he was asked to leave the Cabinet thereby denying him a very instrumental platform on which to pursue his career. Many saw this to be a direct way of making the Neo group in the MCA at par with Koon Swan and his sizeable followers. True to expectations Neo was trounced in defeat. Koon Swan emerged with all the trappings of a new president of a party that the Chinese still support in the millions. But he inherited many problems as well, some political and some economic. Just now it's the economic ones that are giving him more and more 'pangs'. The Pan Electric fiasco has created a furore at both ends of the Causeway. The Singapore authorities prosecuted him for violations of Securities laws.

Tan Koon Swan is now serving a two-year jail sentence in Changi Prison, Singapore. A sad end for a man who had risen fast to the top. As for Datuk Musa, he left the Government in November 1985. Datuk Seri Adib (extreme right) was left out of Dr Mahathir's new Cabinet in August 1986 after the General Elections.

Datuk Dr Ling Leong Sik gesturing in earnest during one of his routine meet-the-people sessions, in July 1984. Dr Ling's political fortune took many turns since 1984 when he was Deputy Information Minister. He was outside the Government for a while when Datuk Neo Yee Pan as President of the MCA had him leave the party's mainstream together with Tan Koon Swan, Datuk Lim Kim Sai, Datuk Chan Siang Sun and a host of others who were opposed to the leadership of Dr Neo. Then in November 1985 Tan Koon Swan was elected President of MCA and, as expected, Ling won the Deputy Presidency. In a matter of months Ling found himself succeeding Tan Sri Chong Hon Nyan as Transport Minister while Dr Lim Kim Sai took the Labour portfolio and Datuk Chan Siang Sun succeeded Dr Neo at the helm of the Housing and Local Government ministry.

Dr Neo relinquished that post in September 1985 when the MCA phantom-membership issue persisted longer than was generally expected. The decision of the MCA General Assembly in November 1985 was overwhelmingly in favour of Tan Koon Swan and Dr Ling. Dr Neo and his faction suffered a trouncing defeat.

Datuk Dr Ling is now the Acting President of the MCA having taken over recently after the resignation of Tan Koon Swan as a result of the latter's conviction in Singapore consequent to the Pan El case.





▲ No one is unhappy in this shot. Certainly the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune of politics are not registered. Apart from Datuk Abu Hassan, then Minister of Social Welfare (in the background to the right of Datuk Khalil Yaakub), those standing up front all share something to smile and laugh about. This is a typical scene everytime Parliament ushers in a new term that traditionally incorporates the King's speech and the usual inspection of the guard-of-honour in the compound of Parliament building.

All three smile broadly as I whipped a joke at Lim Kit Siang, Chief of the Opposition. Anwar Ibrahim, then Agriculture Minister (centre) and Datuk Seri Adib Adam, then Minister of Land and



Regional Development (right) were at hand in Parliament on 10th March, 1986 when the first session of the year was ushered in with the Yang di-Pertuan Agong providing the requisite speech from the throne. Both Kit Siang and Adib hail from Melaka where a few political issues have in recent years developed, much to the glee of Kit Siang who is known to have made many political onslaughts on the State Government even during Adib's tenure there as Chief Minister (1978-1982). The *Bukit China issue* was one of the favourite political lashings that Kit Siang engaged himself in. While his dream to have an increasing political domain either at State or Federal level never seems to diminish over the years (since 1972) overall acceptance of the DAP by the masses was never a reality. However big towns in the country do seem to lean over to the DAP in particular preference. Ipoh, Seremban and Kuala Lumpur are but three Parliamentary seats that have come to be traditionally DAP favourites and where they have established deep-rooted political inroads over the years. (The protruding SLR lens belongs to Datuk Dr Sulaiman Daud, then Culture, Youth and Sports Minister who was unfortunately not within my frame when the shutter went off).



Datuk Stephen Yong (centre), leader of the *Sarawak United Peoples Party* (SUPP) joined Dr Mahathir's Cabinet in 1982 when Tan Sri Ong Kee Hui, former SUPP President stepped down from his post in the Science, Technology and the Environment Ministry the same year. Yong, one of the five lawyers in the Mahathir Cabinet takes a deep interest in matters pertaining to the environment which incidentally is an integral aspect of his Ministry. The development of the Science Centre in Kuala Lumpur and the National Science Policy are but two of his hot pursuits in a Ministry that is fast becoming more and more important.

Just like Tan Sri Ong, his predecessor, who was the oldest member in Tun Hussein Onn's Cabinet so is Datuk Yong (at 64) in Dr Mahathir's. His mental prowess at times pales the younger members of the Cabinet. Who knows in Datuk Yong we have another *tahan lama* (long enduring) leader that can push time and tide yet remain energetic and vigorous to do what he has to do as a politician and administrator.

His full name is Abdul Daim bin Zainuddin but to all of us he is simply Daim Zainuddin, the Finance Minister who succeeded Tengku Razaleigh to that esteemed office in July 1984. He became Member of Parliament of Kuala Kedah in Kedah only in April 1982.

A lawyer by profession, Daim made his fortune in property development, trading and banking. He holds large chunks of equity stakes in the banking sector and though friends pull his leg sometimes over his fortunes, Daim never really gets affected by money. Dr Mahathir must have been overwhelmingly impressed by his business acumen to give him the Finance portfolio. Admittedly Daim came into the finance scene in a manner and style that surprised many, even from seasoned political quarters. And he came in during a time that was not particularly buoyant. There were too many economic imponderables: the share market was quivering, the commodities plunged in price, the Ringgit slowly but surely dwindled to an all-time low compared to the yen, the US dollar and even the Singapore dollar. The country's balance of payment did not do too well either; foreign debt servicing became more onerous, consonant with diminishing export earnings. As Finance Minister Daim may be having a top-of-the-line job but not many envy him just now. He is known to be one of the closest aides to the Prime Minister and many an inner policy are shared between the two prior to their hatching. In October 1984 Daim, in an interview published by a local press, admitted that he entertained no political ambition. His philosophy seemed to be pivotal on serving the nation. That's honourable enough and no one has misgivings about that pronouncement. All politicians do make a start somewhere. And to start at the purse string of the nation is to say the least, a galore. But that's a job that one has to make it or break it.





Datuk Patinggi Taib Mahmud, Sarawak Chief Minister (left) conveys something in earnest to Datuk Abang Abu Bakar, Deputy Defence Minister while Datuk Chan Siang Sun, Housing/Local Government Minister looks directly into the lens. All three were attending Parliament's inaugural session in March 1986 ushered in by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong's speech. For Datuk Chan this was his first Ministerial attendance in Parliament as full Minister. Prior to February 1986 when he was appointed Minister Datuk Chan was Deputy Minister of Information. He is on record the longest serving Member of Parliament, a fact which he unabashedly admits every time friends ask him about his political background.

Datuk James P Ongkili always strikes one more as a scholar than a politician. For almost a decade he was the number two man in Sabah as Timbalan Ketua Menteri until 1983 when Datuk Pengiran Osman Rauf left the Federal Cabinet and Datuk James left the State's No. 2 post and joined Dr Mahathir's Cabinet as Minister in the Prime Minister's Department. Since July 1984 he has been Minister of Justice. One cannot be blamed if the scholar image is evident for he holds a Doctorate in History from the University of Malaya. That says a lot of things to a lot of people. Talk about racial integration and interstate cooperation in the context on nation building and Datuk Dr James Ongkili becomes suddenly responsive. Perhaps that's the best time to ask him about the title and contents of his Doctoral thesis. His book on nation-building in the Malaysian context was published in 1985 and as I recall every Cabinet member was presented a copy each, complete with his autograph, of course.

James did not contest the last General Elections.



▲ Datuk James Ongkili (right) former Minister in the Prime Minister's Department inspecting a metal display at one of the Government's Public Corporations in Kuala Lumpur (1985).



Datuk Khalil Yaacob took up his Cabinet appointment in July 1984 after a major Cabinet reshuffle. Khalil has had fairly wide experience in Government as well as politics. He was in the Foreign Service and served in various capacities abroad. When Hj Abdul Rahim Bakar was the Menteri Besar of Pahang, Khalil served as a State Assemblyman. For some years he also managed the affairs of Perbadanan Jengka, a regional development authority in Pahang, a pet project of the late Tun Razak. He came tops in the UMNO Supreme Council election of 1984 which he entered via the springboard of Deputy Minister of Education. His suave and calm style, I am told, earned him fair dividends from UMNO Divisions that he called on.





Datuk Shahrir Abdul Samad, then Federal Territory Minister having a chat with Datuk Azizan Zainal Abidin, Secretary-General of the Trade and Industry Ministry (centre) and Tan Sri Amin, Acting Inspector-General of Police. Prior to his appointment as Secretary-General of the Trade Ministry Datuk Azizan was the Prime Minister's Chief Personal Secretary. He served two Prime Ministers—Tun Hussein Onn and Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir before he took on the Trade Ministry job. An officer of few words, Datuk Azizan produces the goods. The two Prime Ministers must have noticed and appreciated that.

The Acting Inspector-General of Police, Tan Sri Amin is soft spoken but iron-willed when it comes to doing the top policeman's job. His rise in the Force for the last 25 years has been steady and every promotion spelled esteemed service. He performed the role of Inspector-General of Police until Tan Sri Haniff returned from his law studies in England. Tan Sri Amin is a specialist in anti-terrorist warfare and played a major role in combating communist activities during and even after the Emergency (1948-1964). He retired in December 1985.

▼ Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (then Minister in the PM's Department) at a Majlis Belia Malaysia function in 1984. To his right is Deputy Culture, Youth and Sports Minister Datin Paduka Rosemary Chong. Extreme left is MBM's Secretary-General Encik Hassan Malek. Encik Mohd Tajol Rosli is seen facing Datuk Abdullah with a white band *songkok* (denoting a period of mourning for him as a loyal subject to the late Sultan of Perak Sultan Idris Iskandar Shah who died suddenly in February 1984). The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports' (KKBS for short) Director of Youth, Encik Suflian is at extreme right.





In 1974 Abdullah was in the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports as its Director of Youth while Datuk Ali Haji Ahmad and I were the Minister and Parliamentary Secretary respectively. Time does seem to fly considering that merely eight years ago he was the Deputy Secretary-General of that Ministry and within that period became Minister of Education.

UMNO's politics has been in Abdullah's family. His late father, Datuk Hj Ahmad Badawi was UMNO's vice-president in the early sixties. And now that he himself is occupying a similar position he can expect to go higher up in UMNO and the Government.

Of course, the other portfolio that attracts similar attention is Finance, currently held by Daim Zainuddin, another newcomer into the Mahathir government (1984), replacing Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah who now holds the Trade and Industry portfolio after having served for about a decade in the Treasury.

In Abdullah and Anwar Ibrahim, Penang has two strong representatives in the Cabinet and in UMNO's top echelon. Both are *de facto* Vice-Presidents of the Party. In May 1986 Abdullah and Anwar switched jobs when Dr Mahathir reshuffled his Cabinet. The Defence portfolio went to Abdullah while Anwar, from Agriculture, took over Education.

In UMNO politics it has been a well accepted pattern for the Education Minister to succeed on to being the Deputy Prime Minister. Indeed this has been true in the case of the late Tun Razak, Dr Mahathir and Datuk Musa. Others like Datuk Muhammad Yaakub (the present Menteri Besar of Kelantan), Tan Sri Khir Johari and Tun Abdul Rahman Yaakub—all three being former Education Ministers—did not enjoy similar prospects. Many think that with Anwar's sudden '*naik pangkat*' (promotion) to Abdullah's former position the way is being made clear for the ex-ABIM Chief to be in the saddle of top power. Time will tell.





Anwar Ibrahim, then Agriculture Minister, was the Minister in attendance when PLO's Yasser Arafat visited Malaysia for three days in March 1984. A sizeable rally at Stadium Negara, fashioned a *rakyat* gathering, was a success with the participation of Youth Leaders and party elders. Datuk Sanusi Junid UMNO's Secretary-General, gave the gathering a rousing start. Anwar has for some time now gained national limelight after Dr Mahathir brought him into UMNO's central politics in 1982. He left ABIM (Islamic Youth Movement Malaysia) as its president and took the Permatang Pauh Parliamentary seat. His rise has been described as meteoric.

As Pergerakan Pemuda UMNO's chief, defeating Datuk Hj Suhaimi Kamaruddin in 1983 to that post, he has shown rapid-fire oratory and student-union type of leadership. His identity as a radical youth leader of the early 70's still sticks to him in many ways but many feel that he has now somewhat changed and mellowed. His entry via Dr Mahathir's door into the upper rung of national and UMNO politics in 1982 surprised many old guards. Anwar did not have to undergo the usual apprenticeship in politics and government. His rise from Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's Department in 1982 to full Minister (Culture, Youth and Sports) in a matter of a year spelt the exit of Suhaimi at the UMNO Youth Leadership level and in July 1984 Anwar saw himself taking over the Agriculture portfolio from Datuk Manan Osman in a reshuffle that marked the end of many political careers.

Anwar, now 37, has succeeded with his own brand of UMNO Youth politics, not necessarily without the blessing of the President. Two things have been visibly brought into the integral fold of the UMNO Youth under Anwar: the physical and spiritual inculcation of Islamic values at all levels and the utilisation of grassroot dialogue. His connection with international Islamic institutions and leaders still persists and this has broadened his scope and style in leading UMNO Youth. A decade from now, if not earlier, Anwar can expect to be at the top. At the time of going to press Anwar has been made Education Minister, replacing Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi who takes on the Defence portfolio where there are characteristically no facilities for grassroot politics.

His rise within a short span of four years to being Education Minister has been described as meteoric, a development that spins along the wishes of the Prime Minister. A rather extraordinary event in the history of UMNO. However, the Mahathir leadership has galvanised many non-traditional methods.



▲ One can only guess what transpired between the King and his Minister. I recorded this intimate moment at the opening ceremony of the Lembaga dan Urusan Tabung Haji (LUTH) Building at Jalan Tun Razak (the former Jalan Pekeliling) Kuala Lumpur in the later part of 1985. The suave Datuk Khalil Yaakub, Minister in the Prime Minister's Department never got around to letting us know the subject of the *tete-a-tete*. Perhaps it was meant to be confidential.

T

hey appear to be happy newly-weds. With the lady smiling demurely the husband gives a broad smile. As I recall, a State Dinner was about to begin in the Banquet Hall at Parliament Home. While awaiting the arrival of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong we sat and chatted. This Minox GT shot of Datuk Seri Adib and Datin Zainiah spells happiness. He served as UMNO Executive Secretary prior to returning to his home state, Melaka in 1978 when he was appointed Chief Minister. Just months away from the 1982 General Elections we often exchanged views about going to serve in the Federal Government. As it turned out it was no easy matter for the Prime Minister to simply say 'yes'. One Sunday in April, 1982 I was called by Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir to his office to discuss the Negeri Sembilan line-up. I was about to return to Seremban when Adib came and said he was not yet sure whether he was to come to the Federal level or stay on in Melaka as Chief Minister. Suddenly it was 1.00 p.m. – the Prime Minister, who was with Datuk Musa, invited us to lunch at Sate Ria in Jalan Bukit Bintang. Encik Ghaffar Baba joined us. It was a happy occasion. The other customers of Sate Ria were hushed when we entered. I could not help but notice that they were staring at us, especially at Dr Mahathir and Datuk Musa. It was something completely unexpected for them.

I learned later that Adib had a session with his political makers that afternoon and got what he wanted. About a month later, that is after the April General Elections, he was appointed Information Minister. I was given the Land and Regional Development portfolio.





▲ Puan Rafidah Aziz (now Datin Paduka) flanked by Enik (now Datuk) Ali Shariff, Deputy Minister of Transport and Tan Sri S.O.K. Ubaidullah, Deputy President of the Senate. Extreme left is Dato' Haji Othman Abdullah, Deputy Minister of Information, at Subang International Airport. They posed for me and my Olympus Om-1 minutes before the official visit of President Suharto of Indonesia in October 1977. Apart from Rafidah, the rest have left active politics. Othman now lives in Gombak and teaches Islamic Studies at his own 'surau'; Ali, an UMNO Veteran, retreated to Kuantan to conduct his own business while his wife Latiffah is now busy at her job as member of Dewan Undangan Negeri Pahang. Ubaidullah, always smiling is an elder MIC national leader.



Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz, Minister for Public Enterprises in a special pose taken on a Wednesday in May 1984 just before the Cabinet started its session. As I was taking this photograph I knew then that a copy of it would find its way into this book. Rafidah started her career as a lecturer in the Economic Faculty, University of Malaya in the early seventies. In 1974 she, on the recommendation of Wanita UMNO Malaysia was appointed Senator and simultaneously got her first political job as Parliamentary Secretary in the Public Enterprises Ministry. In 1978 she contested and won handsomely the Selayang Parliamentary seat. She became full Minister in 1980 in her present portfolio.

Rafidah succeeded Datin Paduka Aishah Ghani as Head of Pergerakan Wanita UMNO in 1984 without a contest. In fact the relationship between the two Wanita leaders did not at all warrant any form of rivalry. They were more like sisters and the grooming process for Rafidah was very evident right from the start when she was appointed to the Wanita Supreme Council in 1974. In 1980 she was returned as Deputy Head of the Wanita wing. Somehow her rise within the party ranks have been on-line all the time and one might say she rides with the tide very well. In 1984 Datuk Musa Hitam in an UMNO gathering in Batu Pahat, Johor declared Rafidah with six others as a member of the 'Magnificent Seven' (*Tujuh Wira*) in connection with the then Constitutional Crisis.

Rafidah of late has adopted a very direct and robust style in putting forward her views and findings. Rather aggressive at times and a real go-getter.



▲ From left: Toh Puan Saadiah, Datin Paduka Aishah Ghani, Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz and Toh Puan Dr Hajjah Aishah Ong pose after a tea reception at the Istana Negara in October 1983. In the background is Dato' Seri Adib Adam (Information Minister then).



◀ Time for tea and *tete-a-tete* for these Wanita UMNO notables after the morning session of the UMNO General Assembly in 1983. Lawyer Marina Yusoff, (*extreme right*) was just about to sit when my Leica M-4 froze her in that posture. Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz, *extreme left*, was then the Deputy Wanita Chief. She never ruffled the leadership process in Wanita UMNO and supported Datin Paduka Aishah (*second from right*) right through the end of the latter's tenure as Head of Wanita UMNO in May 1984. Throughout Wanita UMNO's history, that movement has been comparatively free from crisis and every President of UMNO received unequivocal support from the Wanita. The lady being flanked by Rafidah and Aishah is Puan Sri Khatijah, wife of Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie.

Datuk Dr Sulaiman Daud, then Culture, Youth and Sports Minister, seen here in the courtyard of the Melaka Chief Minister's official residence. A few other notables are in the background: Do try to locate Datuk Hj Dusuki, Datuk Zainal Abidin Zin, Datin Esther Leong and behind her Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, then the Education Minister (now Minister of Defence). This was after the Merdeka celebrations lunch, 31st August, 1985, a date which Datuk Seri Abdul Rahim, Chief Minister of Melaka perhaps would always remember as that was the first time the Merdeka Celebrations were held outside of Kuala Lumpur.



Dr Sulaiman Daud, 52 enjoys a sedate political career. He is Sarawak's most non-controversial politician and has had a varied career both at state as well as Federal levels.

He was Education Minister prior to the July 1984 Cabinet reshuffle and before that held various posts as Deputy Minister in ministries such as Health, Land and Regional Development and the Federal Territory. With this background it would not be idle thinking altogether if Sulaiman would return to Sarawak to serve at state level, perhaps not necessarily at a level lower than his present political stature.

Datuk and Datin Chin Hon Nyian after the Merdeka Parade on 31st August, 1983 in the Federal Capital. Chin, a successful conveyancing lawyer prior to taking up active MCA politics in the late seventies, is a quiet achiever.

As Minister for Health he goes about his ministerial duties quietly and without fanfare. He has just finalised the new set-up for the nationally-famous Lady Templer's Hospital at Cheras, involving the participation of the private sector.

I am reminded of Tan Sri Lee Siok Yew, former Health Minister, who was also mild-mannered but conscientious. In January 1986 Chin relinquished his Cabinet post to make way for fresh MCA Ministerial material from the Tan Koon Swan group that won overwhelmingly in November 1985 and replaced Dr Neo's men.



Datuk Mokhtar Hashim, Dato' Leo Moggie, Dato' Mohd Nasir and Tan Sri Chong Hon Nyan at Istana Negara 1982. I think this could have been the last official ceremony that Datuk Mokhtar Hashim attended at the Istana in his capacity as Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports. This Minox picture in April 1982 was taken on the day all Cabinet Ministers were present at the Istana for the oath-taking ceremony. All were cheerful as the 1982 General Elections were over and Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir had just announced his new members of Cabinet. Leo got Power, Post and Telecoms; Mohamed Nasir was given Religious Affairs in the Prime Minister's Department and Hon Nyan, Health. I took over Shariff Ahmad's former portfolio, Land and Regional Development.





▲ Obviously it was not a joke for ladies judging from the expression of Datin Paduka Aishah Ghani. From right Tan Sri Hamid, Tan Sri Wan Sulaiman and Tan Sri Azmi (all Federal Court Judges then). Tengku Ahmad Rithaudeen in the background, joined in the laughter too. *Istana Negara 1983.*

I can't remember what exactly was being said but it was something to do with someone in the VIP row who was caught wearing socks of different colours. Moments later the '*nobat diRaja*' was played and there was silence but the VIP concerned continued to tug at his trousers, trying to conceal the glaring difference of his socks' colours.



◀ Datuk Syed Kechik, big league entrepreneur (extreme right) chats with Mazlan Idris, Chairman of DARA at a dinner function at the Hilton in Kuala Lumpur in May 1984.

There is nothing small (*kecik*) about Datuk Syed Kechik—physically or economically. Many business publications in the country and in fact in the region have lavished praise on his business acumen and achievements, which have actually merged into an assortment of business interests ranging from tourism, hotel and real property to the media (The Syed Kechik Holdings own 10% of the STMB—Sistem Television Malaysia Berhad—which operates the TV 3 network).

He has established the Yayasan Syed Kechik, a foundation that pursues scholarships as well as sound investments and is nestled on a hilltop overlooking Bangsar Park. For many years Datuk Syed Kechik made his home in Sabah and his association with Tun Mustapha, former Chief Minister of Sabah, was multi-faceted. Law and business soon engulfed his life and propelled him to the present position as a Bumiputera tycoon.

Not everything has been roses for this 'Big Syed'. He has had his share of the bad and tough times before reaching the position he now occupies. I have not been to his hilltop nest. They say it commands a breathtaking view of Bangsar and beyond, not to mention the opulence it contains.



▲ From left: Haji Awang Jabbar (Parliamentary Secretary PM's Department), Tengku Ahmad Rithaudeen (Trade and Industry Minister then), Datuk Mustapha Jabar (UMNO Secretary-General) and Encik Daim Zainuddin (M.P. for Kuala Kedah). Picture taken during a coffee break of the 1983 UMNO General Assembly. (Encik Daim did not hold any Cabinet post then).

Tengku Ahmad Rithaudeen on a second tour of duty as Malaysia's Foreign Minister. Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir reshuffled his Cabinet on July 14, 1984. For slightly more than two years after April 1982, Tengku Rithaudeen served as Malaysia's Trade and Industry Minister. Tengku Din, as he is popularly known, is the only other person with a Tengku prefix before his name in the Cabinet. The other is of course Tengku Razaleigh. Tengku Din is an Istana man but his politics has always remained thoroughbred rakyat.



▲ This 1983 photograph, taken during an UMNO General Assembly coffee break, caught three personalities in a happy mood: (from left) Tengku Rithauddeen (Trade and Industry), Puan Rahmah Osman (Information Deputy Minister) and Encik Daim Zainuddin who was then not holding any office in Government. In July 1984 the political fate of the three happy people changed: Tengku Rithauddeen returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Puan (now Hajjah) Rahmah was transferred to Transport and Encik Daim got the biggest uplift – on to the Finance Ministry as Mr Money. For days the print media highlighted and heralded the new Finance Minister. With the Prime Minister's full backing, Daim was ushered in for a secure tenure, considering his considerable expertise and knack for striking major commercial deals previously. See the above picture again – who says he hasn't got the winner's laugh?



Even for Malaysians it is difficult to make out the significance of uniform patterns and styles of the judges, top civil servants and the political masters. The Tan Sris and Tuns, being at the top echelon sport a different sash and epaulette or the matching songkok's middle bands. Some personalities have in fact amassed so many medals and merit decorations that if all were to be worn at any one Istana ceremony the left breast of the uniform would certainly glisten with metals of silver and gold, not to mention the considerable weight of all these trappings. All these have come to pass of course and now those distinguished recipients of honour and awards come to grace auspicious Istana Ceremonies in smart indeed impeccable uniforms. Politicians, top civil servants, the armed forces as well as businessmen through the *Balai Rong Seri* every year in every Istana in all the 13 states to mark the respective birthdays of Rulers and Governors. No one has as yet made a research on the number of awards and honour recipients in the country for each given year. At random I would say it ranges from 4,000 to 5,000.

◀ On 1st June, 1983 the Yang di-Pertuan Agong conferred, on the occasion of his birthday celebration, several titles of Tan Sris and Tuns to a handful of deserving Malaysians.

From left: Tan Sri Saw Huat Lye (former MAS General Manager), Tan Sri Abdul Samad Idris (former Culture, Youth and Sports Minister), Tan Sri (now Tun) Mohd Salleh Abbas, the Lord President, Tan Sri Sharif Ahmad, former Land and Regional Development Minister, Tan Sri Dato' Teh Hong Piew, Chairman of Public Bank and Justice Tan Sri Hashim Yeop Sani.

Tun Salleh Abbas succeeded Tuanku Raja Azlan Shah as the Lord President. His legal career, like that of Tun Suffian's has been one of dedication and scholarship. During his years as Solicitor-General he handled many celebrated criminal cases. For slightly more than two years (1975-1977) while serving as Deputy Minister for Law, I came to know him at close range. I was impressed by his agility and craft at prosecuting. He was assisted then by the present Attorney-General, Tan Sri Abu Talib, and between them they made a formidable 'duo in prosecution'. I don't remember them having lost any major case. Tan Sri Salleh is one of those rare personalities on the Bench who pursues the Arabic Language as seriously as he does his judiciary job.



▲ When Tun Hussein Onn was President of UMNO he convened many a Supreme Council (*Majlis Tertinggi*) Meeting at his Sri Taman Residence which also happened to be the official residence of the late Tun Razak. Above photograph was shot at one of those meetings in 1979. From left - Tan Sri Osman Saat, Datin Paduka Zaleha Ismail, Datuk (now Tan Sri) Shariff Ahmad, Dato' Mohamad Rahmat, Datuk Wan Mokhtar, Datuk Syed Nahar and the late Tan Sri Syed Nasir Ismail.



▲ **Merdeka Celebration 1982.** Tun Sri Ghazali Shafie as Chairman of the Organising Committee stands at ease together with Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, and the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Beginning in 1983 Datuk Sanusi Junid, Minister of National and Rural Development, took over the chairmanship.

One interesting incident occurred that rainy morning of 31st August, 1982. As the Armed Forces' turn arrived they marched smartly in full attire, with guns and bayonets at the ready. As soon as they reached the Royal Dais on which all the Cabinet Ministers, Deputies and other top brass were standing, a shrill order outcry *tembak* was given. The soldiers smartly swung around and "fired" towards us all on the dais but at an angle into the air. For a moment we froze. Only weeks earlier President Sadat of Egypt was killed by a volley of bullets. I could also hear the murmurs from the VIP stand below. In 1983 and 1984 such a practice was discontinued.



▲ 31st August, 1983. The last parading contingent had just passed the grandstand and the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Supreme Commander, was ushered to his waiting Rolls Royce by the Prime Minister. It was time for the grandstand VIPs to bid farewell and say "thank you" to the Merdeka Organising Committee Chairman, Dato' Sanusi Junid, who took on the job from Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie. On the dais, beside the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, stand all the Cabinet members, Deputy Ministers, the Chief Secretary to the Government, the Chief of Armed Forces (CAF) and the Inspector-General of Police (IGP). Two to two-and-half hours would be the normal time required to view and honour the whole Merdeka parade.





Enthusiasm flows freely and laughter comes on loud and clear. That cheerful morning in May 1983 in Ulu Muda Kedah, thousands of UMNO supporters and their Barisan Nasional brothers walked the mile to lend support for Osman Abdul, the new Barisan Nasional candidate for the Parliamentary Constituency of Ulu Muda replacing Encik Hashim Endut who was disqualified as Member of Parliament consequent to a court decision in a rice permit case. National leaders from all component parties of Barisan Nasional were represented that day. Veterans and all. Menteri Besar Datuk Syed Nahar, as Kedah UMNO Chief, led the big walk to the Returning Officer's office. The front-liners that morning included Sulaiman Palestin, Datuk Mustapha Jabar (UMNO Secretary-General), Datuk Sanusi Junid (Kedah's UMNO Information Chairman), UMNO veteran Haji Sulaiman Palestin and, of course Encik Osman Abdul, the candidate.

It is always exciting to walk up to the Returning Officer's office on an election day. Spirits are always high and nothing seems to be a problem with the thousands of well-wishers and party workers. But once the candidate's nomination papers are in order and the ceramah dates are fixed it's sweat and talk all the way. Transport, posters, food, stationery and bills for this and that have to be taken care of. The party has to assist the candidate in more ways than one. In the first decade of Merdeka, we are told, very little finance was required. It would seem *semangat* was the order of the day. Party workers even had to carry on bicycles 12-volt batteries to feed amplifiers for miles on end without mention of payment.

Not now. Not anymore. For a poster to be up, for little errands to be done, payments are sometimes asked for in advance. Party leaders have pleaded with the grassroots even cajoled them not to pursue this pay-will-campaign attitude. Whilst a measure of success is noted, by and large the *Kopi O* and *nasi lemak* or *Kopi O* and *kwei teow* subsistence is rather persistent.

These three are leaders in their own rights—banking, law and computer business. Ramachandran Naidu of Hong Kong Bank, Leow Shin Fong representing his own law firm and Goh Eng Seng, Managing Director in a flourishing computer business at cocktails in Kuala Lumpur in 1982. There are many others like them, each possessing and dispensing power in their respective fields, although their decisions and courses of action may not affect events as do those of government leaders. The public and private sectors under the policy of Malaysia Incorporated and Privatisation go hand in hand towards a shared future in this country.



While the husbands run their respective Ministries their wives make sure that they are gainfully occupied. These ladies are active members of BAKTI, an association of wives of Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries founded by Toh Puan Suhaila, wife of Tun Hussein Onn, and Datin Seri Dr Siti Hasmah about seven years ago. Since then this notable association has been involved in almost every conceivable work of charity. Whenever a hole-in-the-heart case is brought to their attention or an anti-dadah scheme is planned, BAKTI provides assistance.

▼ From left: Toh Puan Nora Manan, Datin Elizabeth Moggie, Datin Lee San Choon, Datin Ina Ling and Puan Sri Chong Hon Nyan at a tea-break after a routine BAKTI meeting at Sri Perdana, the Prime Minister's residence.





▲ I think Cabinet Ministers are photographed so often by the press photographers that they tend to develop a second nature of composure, to a good measure I must admit, every time the cameras click and strobes flash in their faces. But they seldom get copies of those pictures. If they are in the popular list of the press they might see their pictures more often, otherwise they may expect to see against news releases their portraits of old—the ones shot say 5 to 10 years earlier. One veteran newspaper man, in good humour, told me during one of those press luncheons that the relationship between the press and the politician is likened to that of the sailor and the sea. The sailor cannot afford to be angry with the sea even though it gets rough once in a while because it is obvious—the sailor needs the sea to sail on. Fellow politicians may not take this too kindly.

Photo: (from left) Datuk Manan Osman (Agriculture), Datin Masnah Rais, Datuk Dr Sulaiman Daud, Datin Naemah, Datin Esther and Datuk Paul Leong.



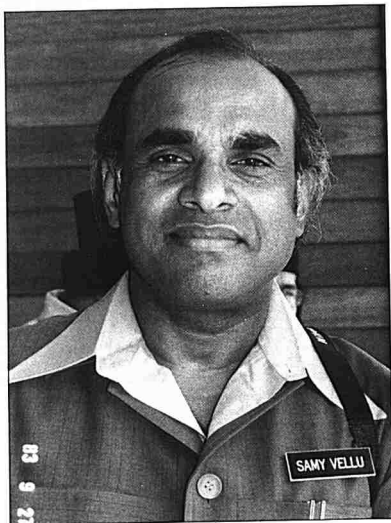
▲ Datuk Khalil Yaakub, *extreme left* (Deputy Education Minister then), Deputy Menteri Besar of Pahang, Datuk Rashid, Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir receiving the \$10 million cheque on behalf of the Fund authority from the author who was the then Minister of Land, Tan Sri Raja Alias and his wife (*partly hidden*) and Parliamentary Secretary, Encik Zainal Abidin Zin (*extreme right*).

FELDA (Federal Land Development Authority), established as the country's biggest oil palm and rubber estate developer for the *rakyat* since Tun Abdul Razak's time in the late 1950's, has come of age and benefited about 500,000 people directly. Many have contributed toward Felda's success. Most notable among these are the top technocrats in the three-leaf symbol agency. Tan Sri Taib Andak and Tan Sri Raja Mohd Alias are generally considered to be the kingpins of Felda's success story. From the 1960 Felda Lembah Bilut in Pahang to the 1985 Felda Palong in Negeri Sembilan these two land development personalities have become synonymous with Felda's development. Both of them are still with Felda.

In March 1984 the Prime Minister launched Tabung Sosio-Ekonomi Peneroka Felda in Kratong, Pahang. The Socio-Economic Fund went off with a positive start and \$10 million was pooled out of nine Felda corporate holdings – all for the benefit of the settlers. Some 30,000 people were in attendance at the launching ceremony.

Datuk Samy Vellu, in 1983 and a good portion of 1984, was slapped by more sensational events than what is considered the normal share for a political leader. Defamation suits, contractual allegations, blatant challenges by an opposition member in Parliament, allegation of misuse of government stationery – all these and many more had to be faced. But he came out of it all unscathed. He still enjoys the confidence of the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) Party and after the late Tan Sri Manickavasagam left him the leadership legacy he seemed poised to continue in victory. He has style, this well-dressed man; and many believe it does not emanate from his Saville Row suits alone.

The chair-throwing and fist-clenching episodes of past MIC meetings have faded away. In place there has emerged a new sense of identity, a fresh zeal for economic well being. Samy's shoes get more shiny by the day. I don't rule out the possibility that soon many of those he leads may see their images more on Samy's shiny shoe tops than in the mirror.





▲ Taken in 1981 in Port Dickson, Negeri Sembilan. Datuk Samy Vellu talking to the late *Star* Seremban Bureau Chief, M T Lingam, in April 1981 after the controversial cancellation order of the Negeri Sembilan JKR Sports Club Dinner by the ACA (then known as BSN). I too took up issue on the same matter.

Datuk Abu Hassan Omar, then Minister for Social Welfare chats with Tan Sri Muhamad Shubaili, Saudi Arabia's Ambassador during a Hari Raya 'open house' at Ampang Jaya, Selangor in 1983. 'Abu' as we call him among friends is another former civil servant who finds politics palatable as a career. A soft spoken and methodical politician. Abu was in the higher echelon of the civil service prior to 1978 when he contested and won the Kuala Selangor Parliamentary seat. He was appointed full Minister in July 1984 replacing Aishah Ghani who held the Welfare portfolio for about a decade. This transition is quite unique in that this is the first time, within ten years, a male minister takes on the job. It has been a *wanita* slot for the past decade or so. But Abu seems to perform well in it and has brought about many positive changes.





Malaysia receives foreign leaders and dignitaries by the dozen every year and the country accords them their rightful status. Everytime this happens, Ministers, top civil servants and diplomats are introduced to the foreign leaders. Photo above shows (from left) Datuk Paul Leong, Datin Naemah Sulaiman (wife of Datuk Dr Sulaiman Daud), Datuk Seri Sanusi Junid (Minister for National and Rural Development) and his wife Datin Seri Nila Inangda, Datin Masnah Rais and Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (then Minister of Finance). They posed for me minutes before President Zia of Pakistan arrived for a state visit in 1983. The tin roof over their heads had presented discomfort of sorts when the wind blew and the sun shone. I sympathised with the ladies. Their base cream had started to melt. Datuk Samy Vellu was always chided as to when the makeshift scaffold would be replaced by a more presentable and not so hot structure at Parliament Square. Thanks to Samy the structure is now in permanent form and certainly more presentable at that.

Datuk Mak Hon Kam (left) and Datuk Dr Tan Tiong Hong greeting the Prime Minister minutes before he left for an overseas trip in May 1983. Ministers and assistants normally send the Prime Minister or the Deputy Prime Minister off at Subang or Sungai Besi (if he travels by the F.28). Further back in the picture is Datuk Paul Leong.



Both Datuk Mak and Dr Tan are bright stars of MCA. At the time of going to print Datuk Mak was the Vice-President of MCA while Dr Tan held a Central Committee seat. Both had given unequivocal support to MCA President, Datuk Neo Yee Pan during the 1984/1985 Yee Pan - Koon Swan factioning, largely over the issue of alleged phantom membership in the party. Dr Tan was a Gerakan cadre before joining the MCA in 1976 at the persuasion of Datuk Lee San Choon, the then MCA President. He has had considerable party and Government exposure since then and held a number of portfolios, *inter alia*, education and finance. Datuk Mak, an architect, has risen steadily since 1974 and now holds the Health Portfolio in Dr Mahathir's Cabinet.

In November 1985, Mak, contrary to expectation, accepted the post as MCA Treasurer after the resounding victory of Tan Koon Swan as MCA President, (defeating Dr Neo Yee Pan). Mak did not contest in the last General Elections.



The Inspector-General of Police, Tan Sri Haniff Omar receiving a memento from the then Yang di-Pertuan Agong (the present Tuanku Sultan Kedah). Haniff distinguished himself as the first Inspector-General of Police to have opted for a mid-service study stint to read law at Buckingham University, England. That, as it turns out, is quite a record in itself, for there are not many IGP's in the world who are given the advantage of pursuing a law degree while keeping their jobs. The Force will be proud to have an in-house legal mind among the higher-ups of their law enforcement system.



▲ *From left:* Tan Sri Sulaiman Ninam Shah (Deputy Speaker of the Senate) and Datuk Omar Wan Mokhtar Ahmad (Menteri Besar Terengganu) posed for an after-dinner group photograph in June 1982 in the precincts of Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Jalan Ampang, Kuala Lumpur. At extreme right is Datuk Yusof Malim Kuning, an Executive Councillor of Johor State Government. Every year in May or June at the latest, the much-awaited UMNO General Assembly is held in Kuala Lumpur. After the first day's session of the Assembly, UMNO's National President hosts a dinner for the entire 1,200 plus delegates and special guests.



▲ Tan Sri Mohamed Zahir appreciating a gift from Bapak Soetanto the Indonesian Ambassador in the precincts of Parliament House in Kuala Lumpur (1986). Zahir, a lover of animals and birds, welcomes Indonesia's gifts of two agile 'rusa' to complement the 'mini zoo' created by the speaker in the legislature's compound.

For the first time Malaysia is privileged to have a Dewan Rakyat Speaker who is a full-fledged High Court Judge. Tan Sri Datuk Mohamad Zahir bin Haji Ismail, a graduate of Lincoln's Inn London in 1955, has two more unique job experiences: as Senator (1959-1964) and as Member of Dewan Rakyat (1964-1969). For almost seven years he served as Judge attached to the High Court of Kota Bharu, Kelantan. That is certainly a solid track record for the man who presides and supervises the democratic process in the country's most powerful legislature.

Tan Sri Zahir succeeded the late Tan Sri Syed Nasir Ismail as Speaker of the Dewan Rakyat in 1982 when the latter died suddenly of a heart attack some time in June that year.



The Attorney-General, appointed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong under Article 145 of the Constitution, is easily the most powerful public officer in the country. His power as Public Prosecutor prevails nationwide and his authority in administering law and order stands supreme, in that his decision whether or not to prosecute in a criminal case rests entirely upon him. One needs only to peruse the Criminal Procedure Code or the Anti-Corruption Agency Act and the multiplicity of laws of the land to be reminded of this.

The Attorney-General's portfolio, now held by Tan Sri Abu Talib, makes him the highest law enforcement officer in the country. The job used to be held by other

distinguished personalities, like Tan Sri Abdul Kadir Yusof and Tan Sri Hamzah Abu Samah, who were both members of the Cabinet and styled respectively as Minister for Law and Attorney-General. Since 1978, the Law portfolio was scrapped and the Attorney-General ceased to be a political appointment. However, in July 1984, the Government created in its place a new Ministry of Justice, under Datuk James Ongkili. Thus the Attorney-General continues to function separately and distinctly from the Minister's political jurisdiction, as opposed to the former situation when the Minister for Law was also the Attorney-General.

Many quarters tend to forget that the Attorney-

◀ Tan Sri Abu Talib Osman the Attorney-General listens and smiles while Datuk Hj. Suhaimi Kamaruddin former UMNO Youth Head and Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's Department explains an issue while awaiting the commencement of a Parliamentary ceremony in 1982.



General is also the most authoritative legal adviser to the Government, a function highly complicated and tedious when one views the myriad legal guidelines and safeguards that the Government requires in its day-to-day administration.

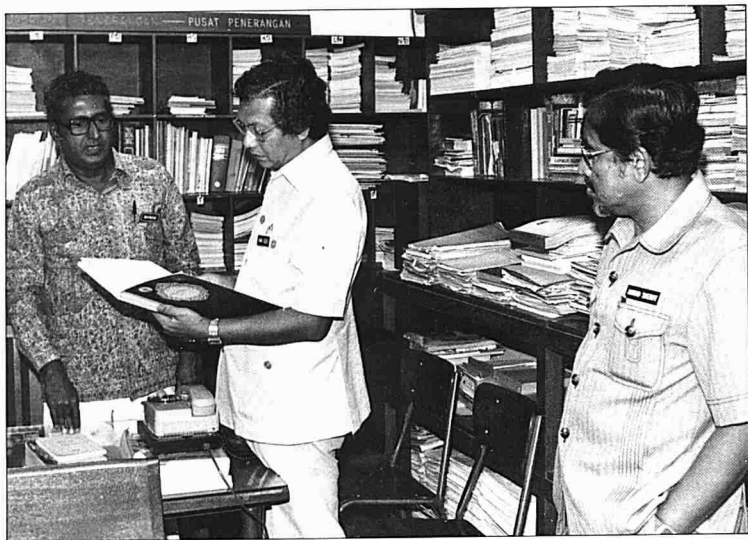
Having had the opportunity of serving in the Ministry of Law in 1976, I am convinced that the Attorney-General Chambers need all the administrative and development assistance that the Executive can give for it to effectively serve the nation. It is one of the most hard-pressed departments in terms of meeting deadlines for Parliamentary bills and legal documentations.

The Chief Secretary of the Government or Ketua Setiausaha Negara, is the Supreme of all civil servants in the country and also performs the duty as Secretary to the Cabinet. On average it takes 20 years or so to reach this position from within the MCS (Malaysian Civil Service) hierarchy. But then seniority alone does not count. The Prime Minister has to be impressed with the performance, integrity and leadership qualities of a would-be KSN before one is even considered. It has been a service tradition of sorts that the KSN should have served as Director-General of the Public Service Department or as the Director-General of the Economic Planning Unit or as the Secretary-General of the Treasury before taking on the job. The KSN, the Director-General of the Public Services Department and the Secretary-General of the Treasury, amongst others, are popularly known as the "three wise men" of the service and the future of some 860,000 civil servants are in their hands.

The Civil Service, like so many large establishments, has its own politics and internal scuffles. For one thing, promotion, training and other matters connected with the service have remained internal matters. Coveted places are few but the aspirants are many. The competition can be fierce at times. In my observation the so-called internal matters do not remain purely internal at times. Those close to the seat of power have proved to benefit from exercises that are normally regarded as internal.

Of course, Ministers or even the Prime Minister or his Deputy have nothing to do with promotional exercises among civil servants.

A Minister certainly has the privilege of selecting his own Secretary-General and the top performers in his Ministry. Ministers and Menteri Besar fill up evaluation forms, but to what extent these opinions are taken into consideration by the Civil Service promotion boards is not known. They may choose to ignore the comments. On the other hand a finding by any of the three wise men, especially so by the KSN, may decide the fate of a KSU, Director-General or a top flight officer on the brink of a promotional or disciplinary exercise.



▲ Datuk Wan Sidek (centre), Secretary-General of the Information Ministry browses through a project paper of the Penang Information Department in February 1984. Encik Maniam (left) senior information officer explains a point while Haji Ahmad Shariff, Head of the Department's field services looks on. Wan Sidek, 50, has had a wide range of administrative experiences both at State as well as Federal levels. Through the ASEAN Committee on Culture and Information (COCI) which he heads as chairman many cultural and media projects have seen fruition.

Many civil servants who have served at State level as State Secretary (Setiausaha Kerajaan Negeri) usually end up being notable administrators in the Federal Government. And like Datuk Wan Sidek, to have served both as State Secretary (of Pahang) and as Secretary-General of a Ministry is definitely a coveted thing for any civil servant. The Setiausaha Kerajaan is the highest administrative level that a civil servant in the State can achieve. The position is provided for in all the State Constitutions and as such provides some apparent glamour and power. The Ketua Setiausaha (KSU) on the other hand is purely an administrative device to denote the position as chief of the Ministry's administration. Whilst the Setiausaha Kerajaan (SUK) is directly responsible to the Menteri Besar and the State Executive Council on general matters of administration he also enjoys a direct link with the Sultan who constitutionally appoints him as State Secretary. Naturally there have been cases where the SUK is under direct *Titah* (command) of the Sultan to execute certain matters of particular interest to His Royal Highness. On the other hand again the KSU is purely an administrative entity without the trappings of office that the SUK gets. Nonetheless in terms of the civil service grading, the SUK of a State can never hope to attain say a 'Staff A' Superscale in the State that he serves. To achieve that he has to reach a higher level in the service of the Federation. Usually a former SUK who is transferred to the Federal service takes on a less glamorous appointment. In fact a few among these gentlemen find themselves in stagnant positions, perhaps with a little yearning to relive their nostalgia of State service which they once pinnacled.



As Director-General of Information, Datuk Mohd Kaus Salleh (right) is the most sought-after civil servant in the country when the General Elections are afoot. He has to keep tabs over the goings-on of some 210 Districts, 177 Parliamentary Constituencies and well over 300 State Constituencies, collate, digest and channel reports for various Government agencies. He attends numerous psy-war and security meetings and above all keeps the Minister of Information well-informed. His Department evaluates feedback from the four corners of the nation.



◀ Tan Sri Zainal Abidin, Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministry (Wisma Putra) seen here in a pensive talk with Mr. Takakazu the Japanese Ambassador at a reception in Kuala Lumpur in October 1986. (Photo: Bernama)

Tan Sri Zainal easily the most senior career diplomat in the country has reached the top of his diplomatic career. Having served in all the major diplomatic points all over the world for almost three decades he now services the Foreign Ministry in an unruffled and almost suave manner. His fatherly disposition interlinks a rare dedication and tenacity. Having been groomed by a tradition of diplomatic faith, high as he is in his career, he never fails to jot down notes at discussions and bilateral meetings. His pad and pen are always at the ready. I always have a high regard for an officer who takes the trouble to jot down points of discussions for future reference. One cannot commit everything to memory however "photographic" the memory process one has.

The Foreign Ministry is a far flung bureaucracy servicing missions in 55 countries and with an overall staff population of about 1,300. Diplomacy nowadays is an expensive affair. Some M\$120 million is required yearly to render the myriad services for Malaysia through Wisma Putra. Of late diplomacy has been made to be in tandem with trade and economic functions. Malaysian Heads of Missions have been categorically directed to step up their trade and economic contacts overseas. They are to shed the traditional aura of the mere diplomat and become go-getters for their country's economic and trade needs.

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THE STATE CORRIDOR

*Power is what men seek
And any group that gets it
will abuse it.*

Lincoln Stephens



A commemorative photograph of the members of the Majlis Raja-Raja (Rulers Council taken in October 1981 at the Istana Alam Shah, Kelang, Selangor to mark the 122nd Conference of the Rulers.)

Sitting, from left: DYMM Sultan of Terengganu, TYT Governor of Sabah, DYMM The Regent of Pahang, DYMM Sultan of Kelantan, the late DYMM Sultan of Perak, DYMM Sultan of Kedah, DYMM Yang di-Pertuan Agong, DYMM Sultan of Terengganu, DYMM Raja of Perlis, DYMM Sultan of Selangor, DYMM The Yang DiPertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan (also the then Deputy Yang di-Pertuan Agong), DYMM Sultan of Johor, TYT Governor of Melaka, TYT Governor of Penang and YAB the Prime Minister.

Standing, from left: Datuk Patinggi Abdul Taib Mahmud, Chief Minister of Sarawak, Datuk Harris Salleh, Chief Minister of Sabah, Datuk Abdul Rashid, Acting MB of Pahang, Datuk Mohamed Yaacob, MB of Kelantan, Datuk Wan Mohamed, MB of Perak, Datuk Seri Syed Nahar Shahbuddin, MB of Kedah, Datuk Ahmad Zainalabidin, Keeper of the Rulers Seal, Datuk Wan Mokhtar Ahmad, MB of Terengganu, Datuk Ali Ahmad, MB of Perlis, Datuk Hormat Rafei MB of Selangor, Datuk Rais Yatim, MB of Negeri Sembilan, Tan Sri Osman Saat, MB of Johor, Datuk Seri Adib Adam, Chief Minister of Melaka and Datuk Teh Eu Lim, Acting Chief Minister of Penang.



▲ The Durian Feast that pools together heads of thirteen state governments in the country. In a get-together among Menteri Besar and Ketua Menteri in Pahang in October 1985, the host state thought of a very Malaysian style of marking their meeting – by offering the best durian treat available.

In the background are Datuk Mohamed Yaacob, MB of Kelantan and Datuk Seri Ngah Talib, MB of Perak; in the middle row: (from left) Datuk Pairin Kitingan, CM of Sabah, Datuk Mohd Najib Tun Razak, MB of Pahang and Datuk Isa Abdul Samad, MB of N. Sembilan; Datuk Mokhtar Ahmad, MB of Terengganu and Datuk Ahmad Razali, MB of Selangor, are respectively backing the camera. (Photo: Bernama)

THE STATE CORRIDOR

All the 11 Malaysian States are headed by the Menteri Besar or Ketua Menteri. Both these terms mean the same, that is Chief Minister. The nomenclatures *Menteri Besar* and *Ketua Menteri* are local terms to denote heads of government for states that have Sultans and those that have Governors (Penang, Melaka, Sabah dan Sarawak) as Heads of State. Although the Sultans are regarded as titular they do exercise certain powers and in specific reference may even refuse to bless or accept the appointment of a Menteri Besar (MB) for his State. In Malaysia our memory of this sort of situation is much refreshed by the Rahim Bakar era in Pahang. The period 1978-1982 saw sharp edges of conflict between the Istana and the Chief Executive of the State. Tan Sri Osman Saat also experienced a difficulty of sorts towards the end of his tenureship as Menteri Besar in late 1981 and the first quarter of 1982, just before the General Elections that year. Perak too had its own share of Istana-MB conflict, not to mention Negeri Sembilan prior to 1978. The Menteri Besar of other "Sultanate" States had their share as well, only those events were not highlighted as dramatic as those that the media picked up.

The Chief Minister is considered the most influential, if not most powerful politician in the State. He heads the political liaison committee of his State, and arising out of natural sequence all state-level politics necessarily come to him for deliberation and determination. In the event of a General Election being held or even a by-election for that matter, the Chief Minister takes on the responsibility as Director. Upon him is placed the task of ensuring victory for the party in his state. It is also his duty to see that the stability

of State politics are in line with the Federal leadership's aspirations and guidelines. Falling out of step for the MB vis-a-vis Federal politics is indeed tragic and to be avoided at all cost. This possibility is seen to be a wary thing and thus far-sighted state leaders would normally go all out to please the big guns of the Federal Government or at least those who are considered close to the Prime Minister, who has the final say in determining the country's political line-up.

The office of the Menteri Besar is also a subject of particular interest to the Sultan or Governor with whom the Menteri Besar or Ketua Menteri has to establish close rapport, if not pure traditional allegiance, in the exercise of his duties as head of the State Government. To the Sultan, everyone in his State is his subject or *rakyat*, including the Menteri Besar. And to the Sultan who also regards himself as Ruler, matters could be just a little bit more complicated because many substantial undertakings have to be executed for 'King and State', which notion may not fall on all fours with the basics of Constitutional Monarchy.

Although the subject of King and Parliamentary Democracy is now considered resolved, at least after the so-called Constitutional Crisis of late 1983, in the Malay States the respective State Constitutions hold sway to benefit the Sultans in sharing some of their traditional powers.

As practice has borne testimony in a number of incidence, the sovereignty of the Sultans is well-entrenched. One can say under the circumstances that they are here to stay. Both in the Federal as well as in the States' Constitutions nothing can be amended if the subject matter pertains to their sovereignty, without

the approval of the Conference of Rulers, a recognised constitutional entity that is not without its measure of power and authority. The actual powers of the Rulers are all noted and by and large what they want, they get. A Menteri Besar is therefore a man in the spot. He must learn to say 'yes' when the final result could be 'no' or to say 'no' in a way that is not offensive. He must learn to consult and yet inform.

Although all the States' Constitutions, and the Federal Constitution as well, do say that Executive authority lies with the Ruler or Yang di-Pertuan Agong, as the case may be, actual power is with the Chief Minister. The Executive Council or Exco, is at most times a mere facility utilised by the Menteri Besar to effect the policies of State. If the Menteri Besar or Ketua Menteri is not agreeable on any matter on the agenda, there is nothing the Executive Committee members can possibly do. This is so on most matters pertaining to land alienation, land conversion, financial allocations and other matters that affect the livelihood of the State. In any case, when a matter hinges upon Federal authority the Exco normally gives approval as a matter of course. It is not an established practice for the Executive Committee or the State Cabinet in the case of Sabah and Sarawak to vote on an issue before a decision is taken and recorded. Although this is allowed legally most business is done by consensus.

The Executive Committee or State Cabinet, like the Federal Cabinet, is the day-to-day collective administrator, headed by the Menteri Besar or Chief Minister. But there are numerous duties and functions that the Menteri Besar or Chief Minister executes by himself without having to have a 'yes' from his Exco. An instance of this is when a piece of land, say a

Malay Reserve, needs the Menteri Besar's approval before it can be charged to approved institutions like MARA, Bank Bumiputra and others. And in some States certain logging applications merely require the Menteri Besar's signature for approval.

Although security is a Federal matter the Menteri Besar or Chief Minister is the Director of Operations. He chairs a monthly meeting and directs the requisite actions to be taken. In this respect the Chief Minister is of course extending his duty on behalf of the Federal authority for his State.

As expected, the Menteri Besar relies heavily on the services of civil servants in the State. In fact the reliance is total, just as is the case at Federal level. The State Secretary or Setiausaha Kerajaan (SUK) being the chief civil servant in the State while advising the Menteri Besar on matters of service and administration does wield considerable power and authority over the whole gamut of State work. As a matter of interest most States have what is called the Jabatan Setiausaha Kerajaan (Department of the State Secretary) with the Chief Minister's office being an arm or extension of it. Ideally of course it is the Chief Minister who should have his Department with the attendant State Secretary's bureau being part of it. It does not end there.

At times protocol in one particular State varies from another. A few States in Peninsular Malaysia even have the SUK precede the elected Executive Councillors in terms of protocol, a practice quite irregular of course when one considers the status and political clout of legislators in a democratic form of government. This state of affairs could be justified during the old days when the Exco members were not elected personalities

of the legislative process but merely appointees of the High Commissioners via the executive role of the British Resident then. The office of State Secretary in fact can claim a longer history of existence than that of the Menteri Besar which came into existence only after 1957 (with the exception of a few States, Johor being one). It can be recalled that the British Resident played the executive role prior to Merdeka. Thus one is not wrong in concluding that the constitutionally-provided *status quo* of the SUK or the State Financial Officer (SFINO) or the Legal Advisor (LA) gives them the extra edge over the rest of the Executive Councillors who hold no executive office or authority individually despite the fact that they may be given what appears to be portfolios by the Menteri Besar or Ketua Menteri in the State Government. This is merely an administrative arrangement, instituted in 1978 as a result of Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Onn's directive in wanting to have 'action-oriented' State and Federal Governments then.

During sessions of the State Legislature (*Dewan Undangan Negeri*), the State Secretary, the Legal Advisor and the State Financial Officer are in attendance, assisting the Chief Minister in administrative matters that are required in the course of his various legislative duties. The three 'top notchers', generally recognised as administrative Exco members, also attend Exco meetings that are convened normally on Wednesdays, just as it is in the Federal set-up. They take part in all deliberations unless directed by the Chairman, who is the Menteri Besar, to abstain from attending any of the Exco's proceedings. They attend the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly but they do not vote in any proceedings of the Executive Council (otherwise known as the Ruler in Council).

Thus the position of the three State Officers are quite integral within the State's administration; further more, their positions are provided for in all the States' Constitutions. One may look at it as a legacy of the colonial masters. The SS, the SFINO and the LA may be British leftovers but they are not necessarily superfluous in terms of the States' administrative needs. However, some rethinking may be useful in re-determining their perimeters of duty, if not a direct re-justification of their *status quo* in terms of the needs of present day government.

I do not know for sure who started the tradition of calling the three top notchers, *Yang Berhormat* (Y.B.). I am quite sure it was not the British.

It is normal practice that before a SUK or LA or SFINO begins to serve in the State his name and biodata are submitted to the Chief Minister by the relevant service Commission and if the chief executive is satisfied then he advises the Ruler to so accept the service of the officer. In the event that the Ruler does not agree on the advice and recommendation the whole proposal goes back once again to the Commission concerned, be it State-level or the Federal (usually the *Jabatan Perkhidmatan Awam*). This procedure is provided in most of the States' Constitutions notwithstanding the omission of each Department's designation and role. In instances where there is a pending transfer of any of the top notchers referred to earlier the Menteri Besar would normally be consulted first before any action is taken. At times it is the Menteri Besar himself who prefers a certain individual to serve as SUK or any of the top vacant post consequential to transfers; or it could be the Sultan himself who makes the preference. Whatever the origin that attributes the cause of the transfer effort must be made to accommodate it. This undertaking is carried out by the Service Department concerned.

Should the Ruler disagree on the candidature to the SUK position there is nothing really the Chief Minister can do except be humble and appeal to the better judgement of the Ruler who incidentally is also an integral legal part of the Legislature. In this context attention was directed to and arrested by the recent development in the State of Selangor where the serving State Secretary, Encik Sulaiman Hashim was sort of requested to leave the State service, supposedly due to some internal undertaking related to the Sultan's birthday preparations upon which some displeasure on the part of His Royal Highness was occasioned to arise. As events took place the way they did, there was apparently very little that the MB could do to reverse the chain of events or *titah* of the Sultan. So Encik Sulaiman left amidst rife speculations and in a matter of weeks a new man, another Encik Sulaiman at that took over as SUK. The Sultan's prerequisite that a Selangor son should fill the vacancy rang loud and clear. But what many forget or tend to overlook is the Constitutional bearing that the Sultan has over the Menteri Besar, the SUK and the other two top notchers. All four positions require Royal endorsement before their appointments to the respective posts become valid and good. It has been argued elsewhere that the Sultan may in law even refuse to agree to the appointment of a particular individual as Menteri Besar if he so deems it. Of course in that event it could be a danger to parliamentary democracy the very pillar of universal suffrage. Thus prior to a General Election the Prime Minister is kept busy sorting out Menteri Besar and Chief Minister candidatures. Under the circumstances what appears to be purely political, other mechanisms are obviously at work between the highest political master in the land and the Istana.

For as long as the Constitutions of the States relating to the appointments of those officers of State already referred to are not altered or amended one can expect to encounter other episodes of unmeshed relationships between the Istana and the body politics. But the act of amending the Constitution of a State is a serious business. Malaysians are only too aware of this, considering what they went through in the last quarter of 1983 that saw the debut of the Constitutional Crisis.

In sum, the State leaders' duties and functions are not easy. He has to maintain a cordial relationship with the grassroot; keep abreast with the Istana's current thinking; maintain a healthy relationship with the Federal leaders; put into motion a sound State administration with the help of the civil servants. He has to be prepared for the unexpected for there is no telling when or where the next vote of no confidence might come from the thousands of party branches in the State; logging, land and even scholarship applications come in great volumes and invariably not all will get a 'yes'.

It is when you are there that people somehow appear to be nice and smiling. They are like that in the hope of getting something out of you. But when they don't get what they ask for, most if not all the niceness goes and the smiling is transformed into grimacing. On balance, and in retrospect, only a handful take you for what you are. For those few, when they smile it is for real.



▲ Datuk Mohd. Ajib Ahmad, then Menteri Besar of Johor (left) seen here listening to Datuk Mustapha Jabbar, former Secretary-General is one of the young newcomers among the Menteris Besar presently enjoying the confidence to administer and head a State Government. His rise from the post of Political Secretary (to the then Deputy Prime Minister, Datuk Musa Hitam) to the post of Johor Menteri Besar is by any standard a big leap. Whilst being a political secretary Ajib had at the same time to be a planner and strategist for his former boss, Datuk Musa Hitam. He has put to good use those experiences garnered over the years for his own end results. After three years at the State's helm Ajib has managed to produce what many term as his own brand of government and political maturity. His critics persist in saying that he constantly dwells in the long shadows of Datuk Musa. There is basically nothing wrong in the conclusion, in fact it could be interpreted to be an honour. At first many thought that it might not be that easy to take over the Menteri Besarship from a 'doyen' like Tan Sri Osman Saat without its attendant political 'skirmish'. It appears that the critics' expectations are proven wrong. Ajib is now Minister in the PM's Department.

► This 1980 Minox picture of the Menteri Besar and Chief Ministers recorded the advent of the so called unregistered club of the Menteris Besar and Chief Ministers of the States. Tan Sri Osman Saat was then the doyen and I acted more as Secretary or liaison man for the group. The Menteris Besar and Chief Ministers then often had meetings on rotation in each state to discuss matters of state that required Federal attention. Usually the topics centered upon financial deficiencies. Two major breakthroughs which were successfully pursued were the establishment of the Biasiswa Raja-Raja on a new format, legally and financially. By 1982 the Scholarship funds stood at \$1.5 million with its new entity governed by an Act of Parliament. The second happy note was the passing of a new salary, pension and benefit scheme for the State Administration. What most felt was that the States began to weave each respective interest into a whole collective entity. There were soon football matches which involved pot bellied Menteris Besar and Ketua Menteri versus agile state officers. After a while we stopped counting the goals that went through our goal posts and began to regard the friendly matches as sheer pastime.

Personalities like Datuk Seri Adib (former Minister of Land and Territorial Development) and others who have tasted the full rigours and appreciated the thrills of state office, tend to agree that there is a lot to be learnt at state-level politics and administration. More 'grass rooters' knock at your door when you are Menteri Besar or Chief Minister and they are mostly for land alienation, *balak* concessions or land conversions. They also knock hard on points of politics.

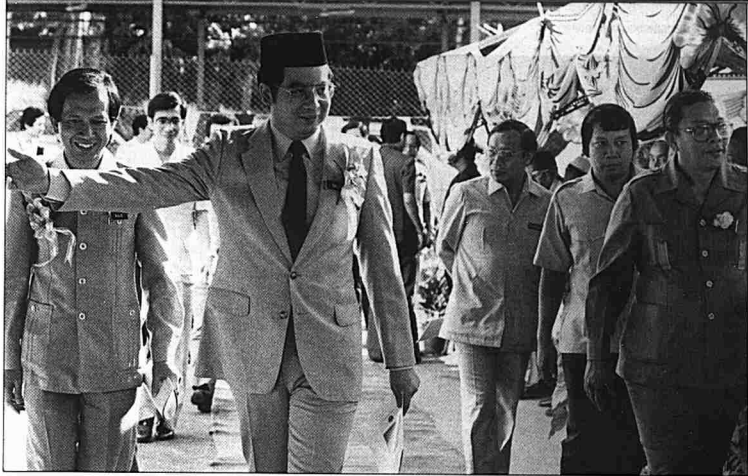




Datuk Ali Haji Ahmad administered Perlis, Malaysia's smallest state (only 795 sq. kilometers). Though his state is the smallest in terms of area and other statistical data the Menteri Besar

is at par with the other Menteris Besar and Chief Ministers of the Malaysian States. When I took this studious pose of him in Shah Alam, Selangor in 1981 Datuk Ali had just taken over the Menteri Besarship from ailing Datuk Jaafar Hassan the previous Menteri Besar of Perlis who had to step down and hand over the chief executive's job to Datuk Ali on account of his failing health.

A soft spoken leader of that two-UMNO Division State, Ali at times can be quite vociferous and hard hitting. A case in point was in October 1983 when I accompanied him on a meet-the-Felda-settlers programme in Chuping, Perlis. With squinted eyes behind those thick glasses he exhorted the settlers for a higher productivity, with clenched fist and raised voice he delivered his piece for almost 40 minutes, a feat for a man with a heart condition. Next day back in Kuala Lumpur I learnt that he was admitted to the Kangar Hospital suffering from chest pains. Duty knows no bounds, I thought. Datuk Ali has been a loyal and faithful leader of UMNO for Perlis, true to the tradition of his predecessors in that state.



▲ Datuk Najib at the official opening ceremony of Bangunan RISDA Pahang in Kuantan in March 1984. On his left accompanying him are Datuk Nasruddin Secretary-General of the Ministry of Land and Regional Development and RISDA's chairman Datuk Hisan Ibrahim.

Datuk Mohd Najib Tun Razak, was a Deputy Minister in the Federal Government prior to his appointment as Menteri Besar in 1982. By his own record, he has propelled Pahang State towards less politicking and more development. Soft-spoken Tun Razak is reflected in his son's physical attributes. I reckon it is not easy for Najib to be outside the shadow of the late '*Bapa Pembangunan*'. Tun Razak has certainly cast a long shadow, not only in the path of Najib, his eldest son, but also in the path of many others who still nostalgically refer to some of the former Prime Minister's legacies of administrative and political skills. Najib's debut in Pergerakan Pemuda UMNO as its Deputy Head means to many a sober balance to a movement that is too well known for its dynamism and exuberance for change.



Tan Sri Osman Saat, former Menteri Besar of Johor (1967-1982), will always be a figure to remember. He headed the Pagoh UMNO Division for more than 14 years. In April 1985 his protegee, Hj Muhyidin Yassin, who was then Pagoh UMNO Youth leader, defeated him severely to become one of the youngest UMNO Division heads in Datuk Musa Hitam's home state of Johor.

Tan Sri Osman is generally considered the most influential and colourful politician in Johor. His contribution to the State needless to say are substantial and even today the veterans would invariably import his name when it comes to developments in the state. But after 15 years he was toppled by his own protegee - in his own bastion. Many a leader would have lamented endlessly over such a misfortune. Or rather the unexpected turnover of events. Not Osman Saat. When the result of his trouncing was announced, he took it calmly, almost serenely as it were and then went about to reorganise his private life.

Tan Sri Osman 59, born and educated in Muar, Johor joined UMNO politics at the Party's birth in 1946. In 1952 he already had a political footing in Muar when he was elected to the Muar UMNO Division Committee. Three years later he won the Johor Bahru Barat State seat. In 1967 he became the

Menteri Besar when Datuk Hassan Yunus, the Menteri Besar, stepped down for health reasons. The Osman Saat era then began. He won, unopposed, on no less than three occasions in the general election and his hold in Johor became more and more entrenched. His political tenacity only began to wane since 1981 when he failed to get elected to the UMNO Supreme Council.

A rapid succession of events saw him being unseated as Chairman of the State Liaison Committee by Datuk Musa Hitam and in April 1982, after 15 years as Menteri Besar, he announced his retirement as Menteri Besar of Johor.

Of course, he was not anticipating to be completely out of politics, at least not within his own UMNO Division. But as it turned out on 26th April, 1985 he was trounced by his own protegee. It happened so fast that before long Haji Muhyidin, then Deputy Trade and Industry Minister was well on his way to building his own 'Pagoh Division'. Tan Sri Osman didn't even have the time and opportunity to officially open the \$15 million UMNO Pagoh headquarters situated in the fair view of Muar town - a fact, perhaps, that will always be a lamentable thing in his own colourful days in Johor politics.



Here is the former Chief of the 'Land Below the Wind' having a serious discourse with Datuk Musa Hitam former Deputy Prime Minister. Berjaya, the party that swept into power replacing USNO in 1976, has brought in the requisite change that the people of Sabah had been waiting for. Datuk Harris Salleh, often referred to as a 'Speedy Gonzales' among the Chief Ministers, is in fact, an impatient go-getter when it comes to seeing and having things done for the State. From rattan to heavy industry, from Yayasan Sabah to administrative changes he has always acted speedily. By ceding Labuan to the Federal Government he knew that the advantages of Federal's physical presence in the gateway to the state would bring an upswing in many things—politics included. During a four-day state visit by Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir in February 1985, the Federal Leadership gave Harris unequivocal support.

This was expected to go a long way in assisting Harris and his State Government in their impressed objectives of delivering the goods for the people of Sabah. In March 1985, I quipped to his Deputy Tan Sri Suffian Koroh: "Since Sabah is forever the 'Land Below the Wind'—you don't ever have to worry about getting a storm". His usual casual laughter ensued. From the Chief Minister's office in the upper rung of the Yayasan Sabah building everything below looked peaceful and placid. But the State election was around the corner and political fates are unpredictable. Contrary to nation-wide expectations, Harris' Party Berjaya was swiftly swept out of power on the night of 22nd April, 1985 when Party Bersatu Sabah (PBS) headed by Datuk Pairin, romped home with a 25-seat victory, leaving Berjaya with merely six seats. USNO (United Sabah National Organisation) fared much better than expected when it garnered 16 victories and Tun Mustapha, its President, was jubilant again after nine years in political limbo. But this was to be a mere interim political dividen for all who considered that they had done well.

In 1986 hardly a year after being in power PBS went back to the *rakyat* for a new mandate and Sabah had one more round of fresh elections. In a manner that is nothing less than decisive, PBS once and for all established its supremacy by romping home with a landslide victory. Out of the 48 state seats contested only 12 went to USNO and one to Berjaya.

For the moment those critical of the PBS are silenced.



The Chief Minister of Pulau Pinang Tan Sri Wong Pow Nee (left) having an audience with DYMM Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong at the Istana Negara, Kuala Lumpur on 24th July, 1967.



▲ Datuk Musa Hitam (*extreme left*), as UMNO Deputy President, came to Jelebu, Negeri Sembilan in April 1983 to officially open the UMNO Bahagian Jelebu's Headquarters in Kuala Klawang. Datuk Isa, all of the Jelebu 'big guns' and I had a field day. Extreme right is Encik Kadir Kassim, ADUN Pertang and Deputy Head of the Jelebu Division.

Datuk Mohd Isa Abdul Samad (second from left) from Port Dickson, at 36, is now the Menteri Besar of Negeri Sembilan, succeeding me in that seat in April 1982 amidst breezy speculations and some idle thinking. If there is one individual who had it made up to the position of Menteri Besar in circumstances of luck and good fortune, it is Datuk Isa. With my direct assistance, he made it to that seat in less than four years (within which period he served as one of my Exco members in the 1978-1982 State Government that I led). Many envied him. And many still do.



▲ Datuk Seri Rahim (*extreme left*) with his state Exco members at the Melaka Rest House (1984). The writer (*extreme right*) joined in the group photo after lunch with the group one day in January 1984.



Among the younger set of state leaders, Datuk Seri Abdul Rahim Datuk Thamby Chik stands out. He has put to good use his experiences in the Federal Government prior to 1982 when he was the Home Affairs Deputy Minister. The one local issue which put him in the national limelight was the 'Bukit China' controversy involving multiple social and political facets. The State of Melaka decided to develop the somewhat historic hill which is mostly overgrown with lallang and studded with old graves, largely of Melaka Chinese. Perched at the hill top is also an old Malay grave, locally believed to contain the remains of a local sage. With that scenario, politics soon played a major role, especially amongst the DAP (Democratic Action Party) through its chief, Lim Kit Siang.

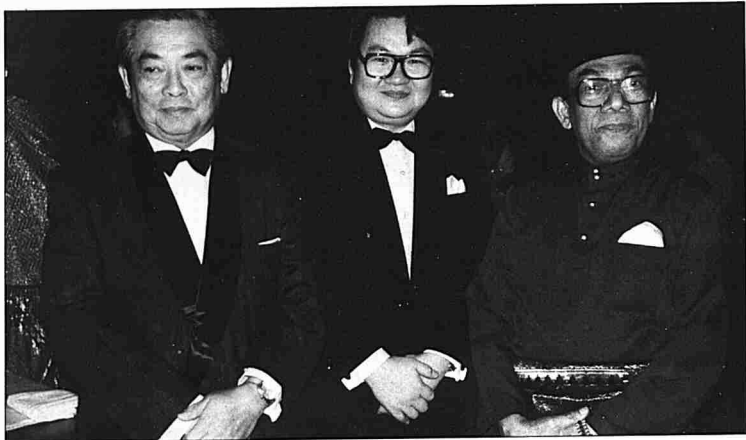
Rahim emerged unscathed from this 'skirmish' and managed to appease the Bukit China's Statutory Trustees with an offer they couldn't refuse.

► Datuk Mohamad Yaacob enjoying the full thrust of victory in the 1978 General Election for the Kelantan State seat of Tanah Merah.



Datuk Mohamad Yaacob, Menteri Besar of Kelantan, has completed one full round of Ministerial duty. From the late sixties to that of full Cabinet Minister in the early seventies. He exudes total loyalty to the Party and top leadership. In 1977 he gave up his Public Enterprise Cabinet post to comply with the leadership's wish that he take up the top job in Kelantan as Menteri Besar. Datuk Mohamed Nasir, who then had just routed PAS' major onslaughts, took up a Ministerial appointment in the Prime Minister's Department. During his Federal Cabinet days 'Datuk Mat', as he is often addressed by friends, served in a good number of Ministries, including Home Affairs and Education. The strength of this veteran leader is his sincerity and outright preparedness in facing his duties, the ups and downs of grassroots politics notwithstanding. He is not known for 'politicking' to garner support.

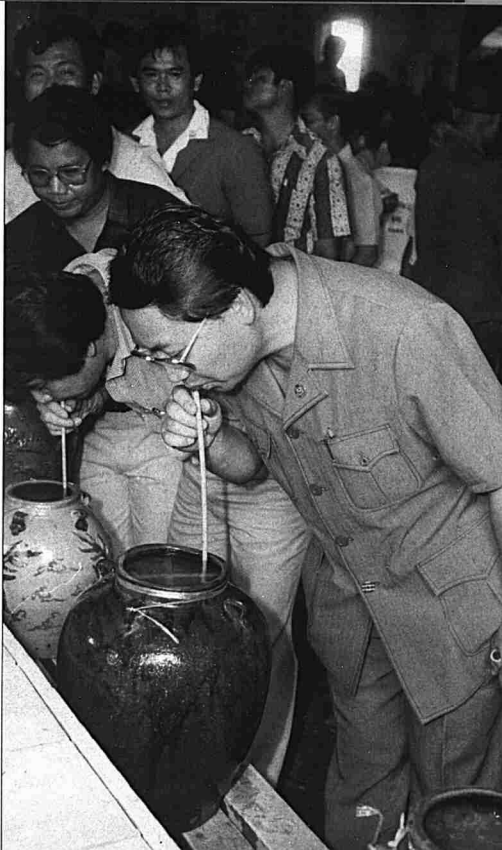
I was with Datuk Mat in Kelantan, performing routine duties in land and regional development matters. When he addresses a good crowd of locals, the normally quiet MB suddenly becomes an enigmatic orator (of course in Kelantan dialect) and would hold the floor for a good part of an hour. I would say he has a way with the people of Kelantan and they accord him respect.



▲ From left Dr Lim Chong Eu, Dato' Lee San Choon, former MCA president and Minister of Transport and the late Tan Sri Syed Nasir Ismail. Speaker Dewan Rakyat. Istana Negara June 1981.

Dr Lim Chong Eu, another long serving Chief Minister of a Malaysian State, was at one time a Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) heavyweight (when Tun Tan Siew Sin led the party). He co-founded and led the Gerakan, became its president and took Pulau Pinang. He has applied his brand of politics and administration over the Island State and year after year since 1974 has romped home successfully. He had developed special relationships with the late Tun Razak and every Prime Minister after that. He got his Penang Bridge at \$800 million. He won't grimace with pain as a result of that kind of financial wear and tear because Penang will take a drive once again around the park and get every dollar's worth from that Federal Government expenditure. Many seasoned political observers up north will admit that Dr Chong Eu is one of the very few veteran party leaders who has got finesse and is equipped with local 'anaesthetics.' His critics only feel that the job had been administered well after they have left the doctor's clinic.

Datuk Pairin Kitingan, Chief Minister of Sabah sips 'tapai' with a colleague in the heat of an election campaign in April 1986 in his home-base Tambunan. Tambunan, some time in January 1985 was threatened to be reduced in stature in terms of its local government standing from the Berjaya leadership after residents of Tambunan chose to return Datuk Pairin in its by-election. It never took place of course because the PBS romped home with a clean sweep and Berjaya was returned only with 6 seats. In May 1986 Berjaya lost all seats except one.





▲ (From left) Encik Mufti (Political Secretary to the Menteri Besar of Selangor), Puan Marina Yusof and Datuk Ahmad Razali, former Menteri Besar of Selangor during a coffee break in the 1983 UMNO General Assembly. The gentleman flanked by Marina and Datuk Ahmad Razali is former Selayang UMNO Head, Datuk Zakaria Yahya, a former Selangor State Assembly member and presently a Senator.

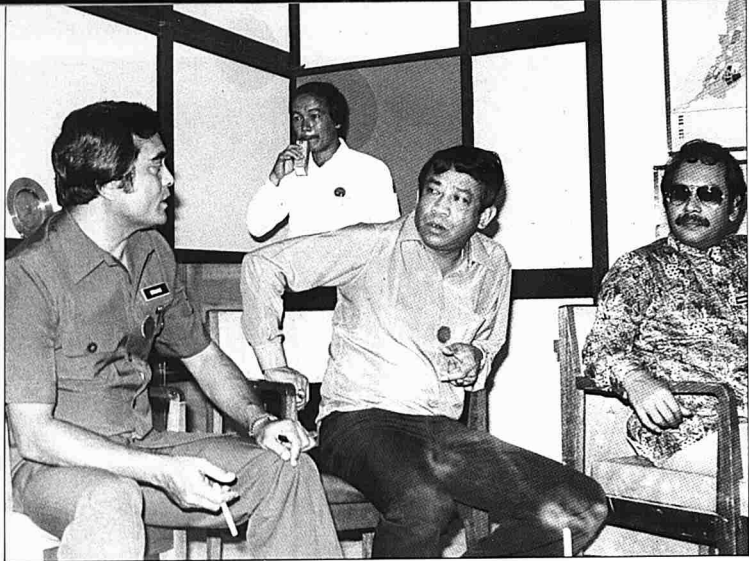
Selangor, one of the most developed states in Malaysia, enjoys extensive communication and other infrastructural facilities, thus making it attractive to investors. The former Menteri Besar Datuk Ahmad Razali, brother-in-law of the Prime Minister, is one of the more outspoken state leaders in pursuing state interests as well as UMNO politics. He rose from the rank and file of Selangor State politics right from the days of Datuk Harun Idris whom he had the opportunity of serving, first as Political Secretary and later as an Executive Councillor in the State Government.

In March 1985 an unprecedented affair developed in the Selangor State civil service when at the behest of the Sultan the then serving State Secretary Encik Sulaiman Majid was asked to leave the service of the State. The ground cited was related to the lack of efficiency and sensitivity in certain mundane job performances. Evidently Datuk Ahmad Razali, as Menteri Besar, had little to say about the affair. The Sultan's decision took priority and settled all scores that would normally be the natural jurisdiction of a State's chief executive.

Datuk Razali did not contest the last general elections of August 1986 but instead enlisted his political secretary as State Assemblyman.



Hj Ahmad Tambakau, who was then Deputy Minister for Federal Territory performing a typical ribbon-cutting ceremony at one of Kuala Lumpur's functions in 1985. Ahmad, at 29 was one of the youngest Deputy Ministers in the Mahathir government.



Datuk Osman Arof (left) may have the profile of a robust, energetic local singer – Latiff Ibrahim. But in Kedah politics he is presently the number one man – the Menteri Besar. He succeeded Datuk Syed Nahar Shahbuddin who opted out of the State's Chief Executive's job in 1985.

Datuk Osman is also Deputy to Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir in Kubang Pasu's UMNO Division and has been one of the Prime Minister's strong men in Kedah politics. Datuk Osman, now in his mid-forties, is known for his practical approach to solving grassroot problems. To his left Executive Councillor, Datuk Zainol Johari and UMNO executive secretary, Kip Bahadur at a political discussion in the constituency of Ulu Muda, Kedah in October 1983.

THE SECOND ECHELON

*We are not in politics
because we want to grab seats or
because of position...
to become PM or Minister
but because we want to achieve our aspirations.
It is not important who holds the position
but whether or not our aspirations
can be attained.*

Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamed
(Barisan Nasional Political Workshop
in Morib: 1st February, 1986)

THE UP AND COMING SECOND ECHELON LEADERS

There is no set pattern via which a young and aspiring political leader may succeed in his political path. The Prime Minister does not school anyone in any formal way. Perhaps the correct term is 'groom'. The top leader may from time to time groom someone who in his opinion is suitable enough to assume specific jobs or portfolios. The process is not so clear though. Too much in my view is hidden in the subtleties of power and the whole business of exercising it. Some leaders are readily seen to favour some personality in the group of select few and again subtly allocate to that certain personality various responsibilities that may put more feather in his cap while other top leaders choose to be oblivious to the whole affair of creating a formidable line of second echelon. Whatever the notion, whether one likes it or not the second echelon is created either directly or indirectly through the political system. There are no superscales 'G', 'F', 'E' and all the upper rungs up to superscale 'A' and 'Staff A' in the political arena. These are the enviable lots of the civil servants. If you are a Deputy Minister you get all the basics and perks of a Deputy. All the Ministers get the same pay and the same allowances, no one gets more and no one gets less. But in the civil service you may be a KSU but there are other KSUs who are better paid and who enjoy bigger allowances. These are two different worlds and to compare them for purposes of justification is simply untenable.

It is to be repeated: the Prime Minister does not formalise grooming of second liners in politics and government. The Parliamentary Secretary, the Deputy Minister or the Political Secretary gets no formal training to become this or that. One just does one's

own work and that's that. You have to perform by the day. Each day brings a set of different things with different sets of values. You have to have a strong sense of dedication. The aura of politics sometimes leads to strange ends. Many have faltered along the way and thus end their political career before the enviable position of becoming a full Cabinet Minister is realised. A Political Secretary would vie to be a Parliamentary Secretary first. But then in order to become that he normally has to be a full-fledged MP or a Senator in the first instance. A Deputy Minister would aspire to be a full Cabinet Minister. First of all there has to be a vacancy within the slots of 24 portfolios in the government. Secondly one would require to be noticed and through one's own performance be seen and appreciated to be doing one's own work well.

Be that as it may, it is not that simple and straight forward. A member of the Administration, say, a Deputy Minister, may be doing just fine in his own portfolio but without the requisite notice, inclusive of sufficient coverage by the media, he can still be an unknown quantity. The Minister under whom the Parliamentary Secretary serves is not required by law or subsidiary legislation to submit performance reports of his Deputy, Parliamentary Secretary or even his Political Secretary. Thus the fortune or indeed misfortune of the second echelon boys depends almost entirely on the consideration of the Prime Minister. Those who are fortunate enough to be elected in their respective parties to certain positions, say, as a member of the Central Executive Committee (like the UMNO's Majlis Tertinggi or the MCA's Central Committee) or as one of the vice presidents may under

the circumstances see themselves as potential power wielders and can definitely hope to be appointed Minister or, in the case of UMNO, even occupy the Deputy Prime Minister's job.

Comparatively the civil servants have a set pattern via which they climb the ladder of success or, if you like, the hierarchy of power within their own system entrenched in their schemes of service. Right from the bottom up to the high office of Director-General or Secretary-General their personal files are being scrutinised by their superiors. Basically the schemes of service prevailing are as British as can be. The so called 'changes' that took place over the three decades since the British left us are not in the substratum of things but more in the frills and trappings. The question of accountability to the political masters is very vague and thus the civil service is very much a creature of the administration. They are accountable really unto themselves, quite oblivious to the wish and will of the people.

Security of tenure is something the political masters lack. This was even more so some ten years ago when a Parliamentarian had to complete an unbroken service of at least nine years before being entitled to pension. Now it is not too bad. After a six year stint he can expect to retire with full pension benefits. Opposition members have often criticised this state of affairs and at times have even cajoled the civil servants into accepting the thesis that they have been less fortunate. In retrospect, what the opposition prefers not to highlight is the fact that they themselves savour the full benefits of their own political tenure, inclusive of derivative pension rights.

The politician's Constitutional period of a maximum of five years has to be adhered to and at the end of every three or four years the Prime Minister of the day submits to be ensconced in heavy drama and weighty thoughts. He has to perform the necessary political decision. When is the most suitable time to hold the general elections? Of course he has his own political committee to help him out. Nonetheless the final decision is his. That is the prerogative that a democratic government offers the ruling party. Looking back to the past, in particular to the 1957-1982 period, no government continued to stay in power close to the 5-year period allowed under the law. As a general practice previous governments submit their fate to the people well within 4 years. The present Mahathir Government has chalked up slightly more than four years of being in power.

The second echelon leaders face a tough environment. The media is not altogether or all the time in their favour. They too have their own favourites. The shy and timid ultimately suffer the possibility of being branded mediocre. A politician that is worth his salt must certainly know how to handle at least the print media if not the electronic one. And if luck has it that he has, by and large, poor press liaison then he should not expect too much and his own promotion may even become wishful thinking. He may not even be in the next batch of executive councillors or Parliamentarians. If they fall within this category after, say, only one term, cases have shown that traumatic effects on the person concerned resulted in painful residues.

And then of course there is the other extreme where personalities are suddenly made full ministers without having to undergo any form of apprenticeship. Tengku Razaleigh, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie (now retired) Daim Zainuddin, Datuk Samy Vellu and a good number of others fall into this category. There are also others who are put on to be Deputy Minister without having to serve first as a Parliamentary Secretary. There is no hard and fast rule here. It is all up to the Prime Minister to decide as he deems fit. One point has to be borne in mind and that is: the Prime Minister has to have his own men in government, the men that in his judgement can deliver the goods and propagate his policies as effectively as possible. Therefore the choice of leaders to serve where and when is his as a matter of right. Though many have questioned this setting, the answer remains obvious. It will continue to be so for as long as democracy prevails as guaranteed by the Constitution. But in the meantime those who view the suggestion that before occupying high public office a politician should undergo a scheme of apprenticeship should not, in fairness, be simply discarded. It stands to good reason to follow this path for the majority even though for the select few 'a direct passage' should still be the order of the day.

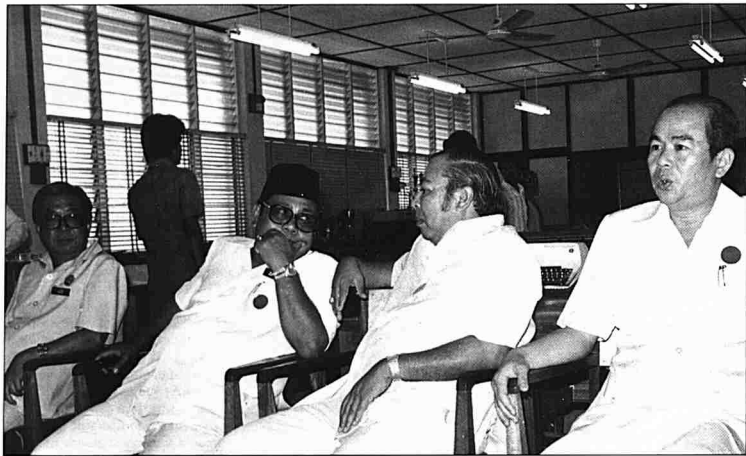
Many believe that political apprenticeship augurs well with the desire to have a sound political tradition. A leader who has tasted the trying years as a Parliamentary Secretary can be expected to be a better Deputy Minister. The experience of a Deputy can certainly be put to good use when he becomes a full Minister. Apprenticeship in the Civil Service has been proven to be integrally essential in order to develop a tradition of service and the hierarchy it needs. This is one area that perhaps the political masters should begin to appreciate, if tradition of government and a strong base is in need, that is.





◀ Five second echelon leaders pose for the album. (Istana Negara 1983)

From left: Datin Paduka Rosemary Chong (Deputy Minister for Education), Encik Kassim Ahmad (Information), Senator Abdul Razak Abu Samah (Senator), Encik Megat Junid Megat Ayub (Deputy Minister for Primary Industry and formerly Political Secretary to the Prime Minister) and Datuk Oo Gin Sun (Deputy Minister for Trade and Industry). Encik Kassim Ahmad from Machang, Kelantan also served as political secretary to Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen for almost five years prior to taking up a Deputy Ministerial job with Home Affairs.



It was one sweaty day in October 1983 when the Parliamentary Constituency of Ulu Muda Kedah fell vacant as a result of the resignation of MP Tan Sri (now Tun) Syed Ahmad Shahabuddin, who was then Malaysian High Commissioner to Singapore and about to be appointed the next Governor of Melaka. The by-election saw the beginning of a political career for a young man called Osman Abdul, contesting on a Barisan Nasional ticket. Ministers, Deputies, and party workers thronged the local secondary school to give support to Osman. Among those who were with me that day were Datuk Lee Boon Peng (extreme left), Datuk Zakaria Abdul Rahman, Deputy Minister of Labour; Datuk Syed Nahar, Kedah Menteri Besar and Datuk Lee Kim Sai, MCA Youth Leader. It has always been a political tradition for leaders of the Barisan Nasional to assemble at the nomination venue every time Barisan Nasional fields a candidate in a by-election.

Hajjah Rahmah Osman presenting a Hari Raya gift to a young patient at the Kuala Lumpur General Hospital in July 1984. Rahmah has a long association with the Malaysian youth movement starting in the early 70s. Her participation

in the activities of Wanita have been more or less simultaneous with that of the youth movement, particularly *Majlis Belia Malaysia* (MBM). Prior to her present position as Transport Deputy Minister she deputised for Datuk Seri Adib Adam in the Information Ministry. A tenacious campaigner, Rahmah was handsomely returned in the last Wanita UMNO election. She beat Napsiah Omar (Deputy Housing and Local Government Minister) to become Rafidah Aziz's second in command in the Pergerakan Wanita UMNO.

Many would recall that Rahmah started to sport her new 'mini telekung' attire only after her 1983 pilgrimage to Mecca. Prior to that she was the girl we all knew so well, carefree and always sporting a well-groomed hair style. Now she is perfectly happy with her sombre attire while pursuing her career. In the 1982 General Election, Rahmah topped all the other MPs in the country by gaining the biggest majority in her Selayang Constituency in Selangor. By settling in Ampang Jaya which is in the Selayang Constituency, I am honoured to have her as my MP.





Datuk Hj Suhaimi Kamaruddin, former UMNO Youth Chief, extreme right, shaking hands with Datuk Seri Kamaruddin Mat Isa, UMNO Supreme Councillor, whilst Datuk Najib Tun Razak, centre, looks on. This photograph, shot during the 1982 Pemuda UMNO's General Assembly, depicts Suhaimi in happier times when he was still leading the youth wing of UMNO, almost without significant opposition. In the last Cabinet reshuffle of July 1984, Suhaimi gave up his Deputy Ministerial job in the Energy, Telecoms and Post Ministry and returned to private legal practice and private life.

Datuk Suhaimi has a long involvement in UMNO Youth and the 4B Youth movements, the latter of which he still leads. He took over the UMNO Youth leadership from his uncle, Datuk Harun Idris, in 1978 while the charismatic former Selangor Menteri Besar was serving a jail sentence consequent to the Hong Kong Shanghai Bank and Bank Rakyat cases, the two very prominent, if not the most prominent, corruption cases involving national leaders of UMNO to date.

Many thought that Suhaimi's act of ousting his very own uncle, as it were, was improper. But then again many also believe that whether one is proper or improper in politics is really a matter of who wins. The ethics, though discussed, do not emerge the overrider.

In 1982, Anwar Ibrahim, fresh from the corridors of ABIM and still learning the art as a Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's Department, wrested from Suhaimi the UMNO Youth crown by a 36-vote majority. Datuk Harun who happened to be free once again from the shackles of imprisonment – he was out of prison pursuant to a decision of the Pardons Board to give him remission – was widely known to have openly supported Anwar in the tussle. In 1984, the battle between the two youth leaders raged on to another victory for Anwar. For the moment that seals Suhaimi's political fate in his endeavour to lead the UMNO Youth. Since then Anwar has tamed the crowd. He now calls the shots.



Datuk Dr Neo Yee Pan (left) congratulates Encik (now Datuk) Megat Junid in an Istana Negara function in 1984. The former MCA Acting President was indeed congratulating the former Prime Minister's Political Secretary on

the occasion of his *naik pangkat* (promotion) as Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Primary Industry; a day after Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir announced his new Cabinet line-up in July 1984. Megat first served Dr Mahathir as his special assistant in the Ministry of Education way back in 1975 when the latter was then serving as Education Minister.

Within a decade Megat climbed the ladder of success through what I observe as a debut of perseverance. When Dr Mahathir himself *naik pangkat* as Deputy Prime Minister in 1976 Megat became his Political Secretary. He held this post until July 1984 when he was appointed Deputy Minister. Earlier on in 1982 Megat was returned as MP of Hilir Perak. Many put forward the view that Megat's proximity to the Premier no doubt works in his favour. Objectively speaking this does not prevail as an overrider as the former Political Secretary has indeed proved his mettle. He has passed the test of going through the mill.

It is not to be denied that Megat is close to the Prime Minister. In fact it would be a strange tale if the two are not so, at least if one considers the long affair they have shared in their endeavour to serve the nation.

Megat belongs now to the second echelon of leaders in the government and party. His close rapport with the Kedah political masters indeed has speeded his career to new heights. He now has a foothold in his own home state - Perak as an MP while serving as Deputy Minister. In many respects he is now in a position of envy, capable of delivering the goods and more than that, capable of contributing toward a better body-politic in the country.



The Chief Secretary to the Government, Tan Sri Sallehuddin bin Mohamed is seen here chatting with Datuk Haji Zakaria Abdul Rahman, Deputy Minister of Labour and Manpower and Datuk Chan Siang Sun, Deputy Information Minister (as he was then) during one of the many official functions at the Istana Negara in 1984. As Chief Secretary to the Government (Ketua Setiausaha Negara) it is a matter of automatic recognition for the number one civil servant to be accorded almost Ministerial ranking. He supercedes all the civil servants in the country (which number more than 800,000 in all) and invariably gets things done for and on behalf of the Government.



▲ Tan Sri Sallehuddin Mohamed, the Chief Secretary to the Government (KSN) chats with Datuk Seri Raden Soenarno, Head of the Economic Planning Unit, during a reception in a Kuala Lumpur hotel in June 1985.

The KSN sits in at all sessions of Cabinet meetings and supervises the entire gamut of Government administration. He is directly responsible to the Prime Minister and, technically speaking, being Secretary to the Government, he actually takes down minutes of Cabinet sessions.

Prime Ministers and Cabinet Ministers may come and go—depending on the political turnover once in five years—but the KSN and his hundreds of thousands of civil servants remain in office. They remain to serve whoever comes to power and takes the helm of Government. Thus, ideally, the civil servants who implement Government policies from State to Federal levels are expected to be neutral in their political affiliations. In fact, they are not allowed under the General Orders to partake or become active in politics, let alone hold responsible office in various political parties.

Whilst political affiliations by civil servants are prohibited, no one really questions their political stand which they are free to exercise and pursue at the ballot box. And, happily or unhappily, a good number of civil servants, (especially from among teachers) do make themselves known for being active in political activities both for the Government as well as for the Opposition.

However their number is decreasing.

Months before an incumbent KSN is to retire, the Prime Minister would already have done his own assessment on the officer who would be taking on the Chief Secretary's job. The Prime Minister does have the privilege, in real terms, of choosing a KSN from amongst the top echelon civil servants.

Tan Sri Sallehuddin is in his second year as KSN. He has a good number of years yet before calling it a day. With administrative experience in the Economic Planning Unit, the Treasury and a host of other departments and Government agencies, his performance as the top civil servant will undoubtedly measure up to expectations. Perhaps even more along the way he has the gargantuan task of establishing the best brains in the service whilst endeavouring to establish an efficient, incorruptible and disciplined Malaysian Civil Service.

The KSN has to be an amiable personality yet be able to command the respect of the Secretary-Generals. He has to steer clear of politics yet be able to discern political priorities and sensitivities; he has to read correctly the inner thinking of the Prime Minister. In fact a KSN who understands little of what the Prime Minister wants will not last.

Tan Sri Rozhan Kuntom, 53, succeeded Tan Sri Osman Kassim as Head of the Public Service Department (PSD). His official designation is Ketua Pengarah Jabatan Perkhidmatan Awam (KPPA) a highly coveted seat of power within the hierarchy of the Malaysian Civil Service. In terms of seniority, the KPPA is the next in line for the KSN job although this is not necessarily so in practice. Anyone who is currently serving as Secretary-General of the Treasury, or Head of the EPU may be whisked away to serve as KSN whenever the seat falls vacant. The KSN, the KPPA and the Secretary-General of the Treasury are generally (though in lighter vein) referred to as the three wise men of the service, competent to decide the fortunes and futures of civil servants in the country.

Tan Sri Rozhan has had a rich and varied experience in the service. His last posting was as Secretary-General of the Ministry of Home Affairs which was occupied by Osman Kassim, prior to his promotion as KPPA.





Encik (now Datuk) Abdul Kadir Sheikh Fadzil introducing his chubby junior to Datin Seri Dr Siti Hasmah, the PM's gracious wife at an Aidilfitri open-house ceremony in 1984 at Seri Perdana.

Abdul Kadir is a tenacious politician and has a definite charm with the grassroots. In the 1984 UMNO Supreme Council (Majlis Tertinggi) Elections, he used it to the full and the 115 *Bahagian* (Divisions) that he visited returned him second in a line up of 20 contested seats.

Meantime, he has scored well in his present post as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. Before joining the Government, Abdul Kadir was a Solicitor, practising with Dato' Hishamuddin Yahya, former MP for Maran and Chairman of RISDA.



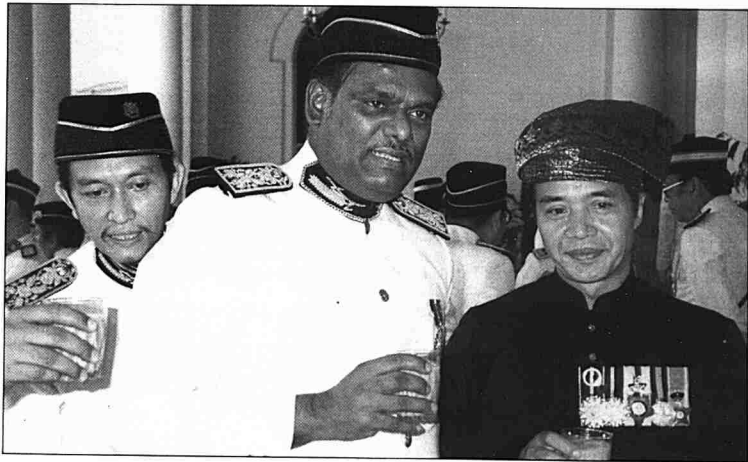
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PHOTO BY RAISYATI

▲ From left: Datuk Mokhtar Hashim, Datuk Lee San Choon (MP for Seremban), the author and Datuk Mohd Isa Abdul Samad at Sri Menanti on 4th April, 1982. This could possibly be the last official function in Negeri that Datuk Mokhtar attended before his arrest and prolonged trial that took the better half of 1982.

The late Datuk Taha Talib, Speaker of the Negeri Sembilan Legislative Assembly, died of gunshot wounds only two weeks earlier – on 14th April, 1982 in the precincts of his Sri Asahan home in Gemencheh, Negeri Sembilan.

On 29th April, 1982 all of Negeri Sembilan's legislators were invited to attend the 'Angkat Sumpah' ceremony at Sri Menanti. Datuk Mokhtar Hashim, Datuk Lee San Choon and I were among those who came to wish the new State Government headed by Datuk Mohd Isa Abd. Samad, a former Executive Councillor who served under my stewardship for the period 1978-1982. A former teacher, Datuk Isa entered politics in 1978 when he was chosen to take the place of his father who was suddenly taken ill only days before nomination day. I recall how luck was in his favour right from that year when he became the Yang Berhormat for Linggi. But luck alone does not, as it were, decide all facets of politics and government in that state. His hard work was to prevail.



The trio having iced coffee at the foyer of Istana Negara. 1983 – Datuk Haji Suhaimi, (Energy Post and Telecoms Deputy Minister), Datuk K. Pathmanaban (Deputy Minister for Health) and Encik Mustapha Mohamad (Parliamentary Secretary for Culture, Youth and Sports).

Usually the Istana function starts early. By 8.00 am the stream of Mercedes and BMWs pour out their VIP passengers at the Balai Tamu. Though we seldom admit it, we normally saunter in without proper breakfast as some have to leave home around 7.00 am to avoid the traffic jam. Thus the coffee break (more of a brunch actually) is eagerly awaited. And for the heavy smokers they have to suffer the 'pangs and arrows' of two to three hours of abstinence. Datuk Pathmanaban and Encik Mustapha may not belong to that category of smokers but many do rush to them for a puff the moment they are outside the Balai Rong Seri.

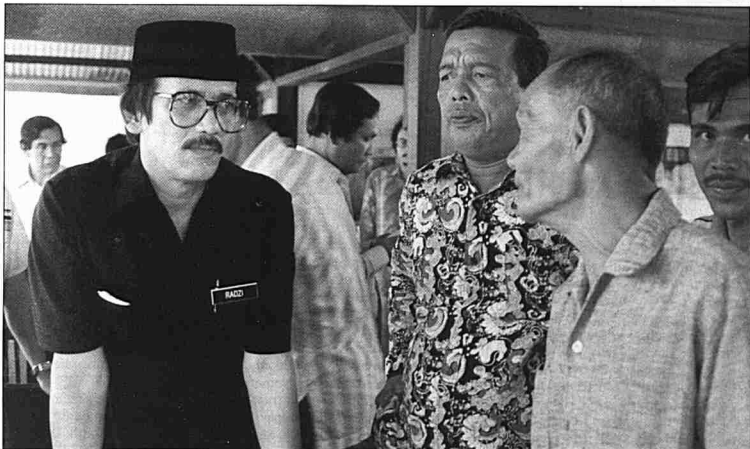
▼ Datuk Zainal Abidin Zin on tour of the Pahang Tenggara Regional Development Authority (DARA) tea project in 1982. On his right is Tan Sri Ibrahim Ali, DARA's Chairman then. Encik Mohd Amin on to the right of Tan Sri Ibrahim is DARA's Deputy Chairman. Looking over Datuk Zainal's shoulders in dark glasses is Dato' Ibrahim Deputy Secretary-General of the Land Ministry.

A good number of Ministers and Deputy Ministers who are now serving in Kuala Lumpur have had State experience, either serving as Exco Members or even as Menteris Besar or Chief Ministers. Datuk Zainal Abidin Zin was an Executive Councillor in the Perak State Government while Dato' Wan Mohamad was Menteri Besar. Zainal served as Parliamentary Secretary in the Land and Regional Development Ministry for slightly more than two years before he was promoted to Works Deputy Minister in July 1984. The leadership's philosophy in rotating the younger set of leaders is to expose the 'young men' as much as possible to grassroot politics and state administration before assuming Federal posting.



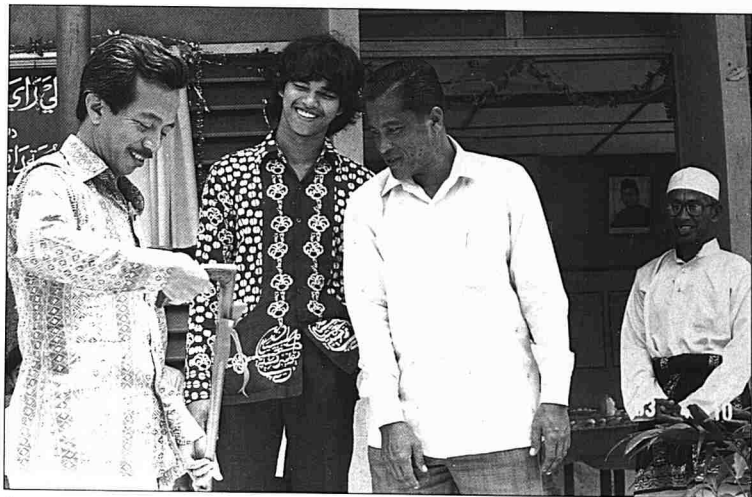
▼ Encik Radzi, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of National and Rural Development (now Deputy Home Minister) in an involved discussion with small holders at one of RISDA's replanting schemes in Perlis, July, 1982.

Encik Radzi Sheikh Ahmad, (left) is one of the 1982 crop of young men the leadership pooled to equip the new Government. Radzi, a lawyer is from Perlis and is almost certain to handle Perlis politics in the footsteps of his late father, Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad. Perhaps it is not always easy to plot one's own political career when earlier on one's father had served the state as its chief executive for more than a decade as was the case with the late Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad. The rakyat of Perlis will always remember Radzi's father for his selfless service and persistent style in getting what was good for Perlis. Now they have ushered in Radzi, his son, into the same political abode. Perhaps, many, many years from now they too might remember Radzi, perhaps for totally different reasons.





Sharifah Dora, former Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's Department comes from a family of politicians. Her late father, Syed Mohamed was Speaker in the Johor Legislative Assembly in the early 70s. With Sharifah Dora there were three Deputy Ministers from the Pergerakan Wanita UMNO. The other two are Napsiah Omar and Rahmah Osman. (see page 251). One of these ladies is certain to reach ministerial level in good time provided the hierarchy within the party changes after party elections in the event the Prime Minister decides to increase the 'women content' in his Cabinet which hitherto has remained with only one representative. At any one 'season' there has been only one woman Cabinet Minister in the Government. The MIC and the other parties do not have similar representations for the simple reason that there is not enough slottings of jobs to be filled. Seen in the background is Datuk Dr Tan Tiong Hong, Deputy Minister in the PM's Department. (1984)



▲ Dr Yusof Noor (left) in a PRODA award ceremony in Kampung Majau Ulu Jempol, Negeri Sembilan in 1983. (PRODA stands for Project Desa Angkat, a pet programme of the Universiti Kebangsaan in assisting kampung folk with socio-economic projects). Looking on: the Ketua Kampung of Kampung Majau and his helpers.

Dr Yusof Noor shot into the political limelight on 14th July, 1984 when Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir announced his new Cabinet, subsequent to the UMNO General Assembly held two months earlier. He was made Senator simultaneously.

In Malaysia, Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries are appointed from among Members of Parliament—either from the Dewan Rakyat or the Senate. This tradition has never been broken since Merdeka. For Yusof Noor, this rather sudden appointment as Deputy Minister must have come as a very pleasant surprise. Put in charge of religious matters in the Prime Minister's Department, Yusof has since his July 1984 appointment made many positive moves in that field. Who knows he might be considered for a State appointment subsequent to the present one?



▲ Haji Rahim Bakar (second from left), former Menteri Besar of Pahang, enjoying a joke with fellow MBs during coffee break at a conference in Ipoh, Perak in July 1981. It is a tradition for the MBs and CMs to confer among themselves a day or two before the actual Rulers' Conference and be ready on matters that need counsel. In the actual meeting of the Rulers the MB sits to the left of his Ruler and the CM likewise of his Governor.

Haji Abdul Rahim Bakar took on the onerous task of Menteri Besar of Pahang at the age of 35 in 1978, easily one of the youngest MBs then to head a State Government. Tan Sri Hamzah Abu Samah, former Minister for Law and Attorney-General, who was also Pahang's UMNO Chief Liaison Committee with the support of a handful of that State's political masters, had Tun Hussein Onn's blessing for such an appointment. Thus Rahim Bakar was shot into political stardom from the mundane base of the Pahang State Economic Development Corporation (SEDC) which he then headed as General Manager. His managerial skills were considered an asset and he proved to be one of those angry young men who could bring about positive changes for Pahang, the largest state in the Peninsula.

There was no difficulty in taking the MBship from Datuk Mohd. Jusoh who was their Pahang MB for the veteran leader was in any case stepping down due to age and for personal reasons. But there was difficulty; in fact looming problems for Rahim from the Istana which took a rather dim view of his ascension as the new Menteri Besar. Worse, a handful of Pahang leaders were also not too excited about the sort of change that took place. They had other plans. Tun Hussein and Tan Sri Hamzah, among others, stood stoical and backed Rahim. This political development gave rise to many events. Some were reported in the

local press but many were in the form of internal 'skirmishes of words'. Every time there was a Rulers Conference – normally there are about three annually – somehow Rahim was substituted by his Deputy, Datuk Abdul Rashid. It was evident that the Menteri Besar did not enjoy the full trappings and duties of office.

Political gossip columns were rife with speculations and idle thinking. Finally, by July 1981, when Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir became premier, events overtook Rahim somewhat and he was resigned to the fact that he had to give way. Thence Rahim, after consultation with the PM took three months' study leave and left for California. His Deputy, Datuk Abdul Rashid, was allocated the task of Acting Menteri Besar right up to the General Elections in April 1982 when Rahim, still popular among the grassroot was given the Parliamentary seat of Kuantan, replacing another veteran politician, Datuk Ali Shariff. After that, events moved in rapid succession: Tan Sri Hamzah Abu Samah relinquished his leadership of the Pahang UMNO and UMNO President Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir took over the State's political supremacy. Rahim was given a Deputy Minister's post only in July 1984, after having served in the mean time as MARA chairman. The plight of Haji Rahim remains as one of UMNO's most poignant political tales to this day. Having considered all factors he does not necessarily stand to lose for future considerations.



▲ One of the best occasions to have a photograph taken of political notables is when there is an official function at the Istana. Clad in various uniforms and with ready smiles they willingly pose. These are not candid, needless to say, but in years to come a posed picture like this can take its place alongside retirement. It punctuates the memory and the who-is-who writer will have an easier time and task. From left, Encik Mohd Kassim, Deputy Home Affairs Minister (then), Encik Radzi Sheikh Ahmad, Parliamentary Secretary of Rural and National Development (then), Dato' Pathmanaban, Deputy Health Minister, Encik Mustapha Mohamed, Parliamentary Secretary Culture Youth and Sports Ministry, Luhat Wan, Parliamentary Secretary (Social Welfare) and Dato' Leo Moggie, Post and Telecoms Minister (1983).



▲ Puan Napsiah (extreme left) giving away prizes in the form of mini fire extinguishers to participants of the 1984 Fire Hazard Prevention Campaign at the Changkat Pavilion, Kuala Lumpur.

Note: Although she failed in her bid for an UMNO Majlis Tertinggi seat in April 1987, Napsiah (along with a select few of the "President's men") was appointed Minister for Public Enterprise, replacing Rafidah Aziz who was made to fill the slot as Trade and Industry Minister.

Puan Napsiah Omar, another academician-turned-politician, is a 1982 recruit. Currently serving as Deputy Minister for Housing and Local Government, Napsiah is largely regarded as a positive 'new blood' for the wanita UMNO and poised for better things to come. Together with Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz, she shares similar academic experiences, as a former University lecturer. Despite her recent debut in politics her leadership traits have been noticed and even the old guard among Wanita UMNO have come to accept her presence in the movement as an agent of change, at least in terms of giving the Wanita a broader base in national politics.

The position of Parliamentary Secretary is the third in the hierarchy of Government leadership under the Malaysian Constitution. The provision of Article 43B(2) of the Constitution states:

Parliamentary Secretaries shall assist Ministers and Deputy Ministers in the discharge of their duties and functions, and for such purposes shall have all the powers of Ministers and Deputy Ministers.

A Parliamentary Secretary assists the Minister and/or the Deputy Minister in specific or general functions pertaining to the Ministry. However, the 'Setiausaha Parlimen', as he is more popularly referred to in Malaysia, is expected to do much of the day-to-day chores in Parliament when it is in session. In practice he answers the numerous mundane parliamentary questions that originate from back-benchers and he, of course, gets clear guidance from the Minister before he answers. At times a particular question has to be answered according to a specific policy or 'slant' of Government. Thus the Parliamentary Secretary learns the art of Parliamentary procedure and duties early in the stage prior to his elevation, if he performs well that is, to a Deputy Minister.

Nonetheless, the job notwithstanding its Constitutional entrenchment has been much misunderstood and there are very few governing codes of service, if any, that have been formulated. It is generally accepted that the Parliamentary Secretaryship is the training level for future leaders.



▲ Two Parliamentary Secretaries in the picture above are Mustapha Mohamad and Awang Abdul Jabbar in charge of the PM's Department and Culture Youth and Sports, respectively. Looking on at extreme left is Dato' Abdullah, Kedah Exco member and a nominated UMNO Supreme Councillor.

(In May 1987 Mustapha was appointed Welfare Minister, a position formally held by Dato' Sharir Abd. Samad who was dropped from the Cabinet line-up after the UMNO Elections of April 24, 1987.)



▲ Dr Zakaria Hj Hamzah, Political Secretary to Enik Daim Zainuddin the Finance Minister, signing his oath document before the Prime Minister witnessed by the Chief Secretary of the Government in November 1984.

There are as many political secretaries (POLSEC) as there are Ministers. In fact the Prime Minister has two POLSEC who take care of all the political homework that needs to be carried out on behalf of the political master. So is the case with the Deputy PM who has two POLSEC directly under him. It has been the practice for these two top leaders to have more than one full-time POLSEC with specific political functions within the roof of each Ministry. For example the Prime Minister has a Political Secretary who takes care of matters that are deemed political in nature pertaining to the Home Affairs Ministry and one for the PM Department proper. Political Secretaries are *de facto* the backroom boys for the Minister who feed the Ministers with a myriad of information largely having to do with political development. The POLSEC also undertakes matters that crop up in the *kawasan* (constituency) of his boss. They are appointed pursuant to Article 43C of the Federal Constitution upon selection by the Minister concerned. He takes the oath of secrecy before the Prime Minister who appoints him and normally in the presence of the Ketua Setiausaha Negara (KSN) who witnesses the formal oath-taking. The Parliamentary Secretary also takes the oath of Office before the Prime Minister and appointed pursuant to Article 43B of the Constitution.



▲ From left: Haji Muhyiddin Yassin, then Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry accompanying Tengku Razaleigh to the launching of the 'Buy Malaysian Goods' campaign in Kuala Lumpur in mid-1985. To the right is Tunku Mohamad, chairman of a host of multinationals and domestic companies.

Haji Muhyiddin Yassin, Menteri Besar of Johor is one of the country's up-and-coming second echelon leaders who has a calm and composed disposition. Prior to the 1984 UMNO General Assembly, Muhyiddin beat Tan Sri Osman Saat in the Pagoh Divisional meeting, thus severing Tan Sri Osman's leadership from the Division which he had led for more than 15 years.

It also marked the end of a political career of a Johor son who had served as Menteri Besar for one and a half decades. Muhyiddin is presently Johor's Menteri Besar and UMNO Youth Leader.

TRANSITIONS

*We can fabricate fame,
We can at will make a man or a woman well-known
But we cannot make him or her great.*

Daniel J. Boorstin

► Datuk Musa and Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir in happier times. Both strode into the Banquet Hall of Parliament House in April 1985 in conjunction with the celebration of the 25th Year of Parliament. At the end of February 1986 the 2M. – a term of endearment concocted by the press – became dismembered and went their separate ways. One would have thought that a tie of friendship that spanned well over two decades would have endured the trials and tribulations that politics engendered. I may be chided for saying this but it is true: When it comes to a crunch politics can appear to ignore many things one of which is friendship. Politics is also known to have brought about disunity between uncle and nephew, between brother and sister or even between father and son. All these are the gloomy parts. The optimistic part is that whatever the political stand or the principle pursued, the onerous task of building the nation must go on. So long as democracy is alive and well Malaysians can expect to gloat and strive to achieve.



On 26th February, 1986 he dropped the 'bombshell' when members of the UMNO Supreme Council received copies of his resignation letter addressed to Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir as President of UMNO. The whole country was stunned. Party members scurried and exploded with high emotions. For a while there was a state of stunning humdrum.

Datuk Musa Hitam's sudden decision to resign both as Deputy Prime Minister and Deputy President of UMNO in the manner that prevailed is unprecedented. Suddenly what was thought to be rumours for months on end became reality. The incident blistered views and opinions. To many, particularly those close to Musa, the news of his resignation was emotive. Almost without exclusion many things have to be rewritten, this book included. The media, in particular the newspapers, had a heyday in putting into print what they thought they heard as long ago as 1984 and as recently as 1985. Evidently there was no need for a scoop for the whole affair was opined everywhere. Even foreign news agencies got the pieces one or two days before the bold print splashed in Kuala Lumpur.

Many cited 'irreconcilable differences' to be the spinal reason for Musa's resignation. Musa's letter for one thing is certainly no longer a secret document by any measure judging from the heap that photostat machines produced. He chose to leave government and party leadership on account of what he essentially believed to be the Prime Minister's lack of confidence in him over a series of incidents that he cited to be material. Whilst this was what he essentially believed to be the cause, there was no concrete evidence to

show that Dr Mahathir allocated this disposition. I still believe the '2Ms' had their share of rapport and conviviality. One would have thought that a friendship that spanned almost two decades certainly required at least a set of rapturous elements to render it dismembered and disintegrated. No incident thus far in the country's politics and administration has been seen to be more steeped in a negative light than this.

The UMNO Supreme Council, the highest decision-making body in the party deliberated for more than 5 hours on the Musa issue two days later, i.e. on 28th February, 1986. It was a business of tedium. Gone were the usual jokes and bantering of lighter vein. As aptly described by the local press, the President looked drawn and uninspired. At the end of the session the Council reaffirmed its undivided support and loyalty to Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir as UMNO President and resolved to stand by him through what was to be a very trying period in his enigmatic career. Political demeanours were afoot for the first time that cast long shadows over incidents that may be dimly viewed through perspectives of nation building. The Council sensed then that there were other reasons perhaps that brought about the resignation. The effort to surface 'incompatibility' or 'irreconcilable differences' as the underlying cause and reason for the resignation did not fully succeed.

All the same the Council did not express lesser feelings for Musa. In fact it resolved that a delegation of four Menteris Besar was to meet Musa in Jeddah or London, depending on where he was at the time. As events would have it, Musa left Kuala Lumpur in the evening of

27th March on a mission of Umrah in Mecca. The four MBs: Datuk Wan Mokhtar Ahmad (Terengganu), Datuk Najib Tun Razak (Pahang), Datuk Ajib Ahmad (Johor) and Datuk Seri Ramli Ngah Talib (Perak) left on separate schedules for London days later upon learning of Musa's whereabouts. It has the makings of a typical movie thriller.

Meanwhile the people, especially the over one million UMNO members in the country awaited eagerly the progress and outcome of the mission of the four Menteri Besar whose expenses, incidentally, in connection with the London trip were paid by a *derma kilat* (spontaneous public donations) that reached about \$60,000 within days of the news of Musa's resignation. At Subang International Airport a large crowd of UMNO members, mostly from Johor, gathered with written slogans and verbal renditions which were not altogether expressing happiness. These people came to send off the MBs of Johor and Pahang who were about to be London-bound in the drizzling afternoon of 7th March to join their colleagues, the MBs of Terengganu and Perak who had left earlier on.

And so it came to pass. On 14th March, news reached home Datuk Musa had agreed to make a comeback but only as deputy President of UMNO and not as Deputy Prime Minister. There was even a charming picture of Datuk Musa and Datuk Wan Mokhtar, the Terengganu MB smiling in the Malay papers. This was only two days away from 16th March, the date that the letter of resignation was to take effect. Thus the fervent wish of party members to have Musa return to *status quo* did not materialise. On arrival at Subang at dusk on 14th March, the four MBs headed north to Perak to brief the Prime Minister who was then performing a State Visit in that state.

Weary is the head that wears the crown. Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir must have many imponderables in the

course of his premiership. Perhaps none that equals this particular problem that involved the resignation of his own Deputy in the party and Government. This is one record that perhaps no Prime Minister is proud of inheriting.

The issues besetting Dr Mahathir just now are certainly more than expected. None of his predecessors suffered these 'slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' either in terms of number or in magnitude. There is the BMF issue, followed by the Memali Incident in his home state of Kedah; the economic recession which forced the Government to revise its growth rate from 6% to 3%; the Sabah political unrest; the uncertainty of the Fifth Malaysia Plan (1986-1990) in terms of propelling it for better growth and productivity. And now, as if all those were not enough, Datuk Musa threw in the towel when the nation was at its weakest political point.

Where has all the glory of the 1982 victory gone to? Is it a reality that Mahathir actually has no longer confidence in him as his deputy? Or is it a mere case of misinterpreting a chiding which is totally quite different from one's way of expressing a lack of confidence? No one knows for sure and neither Musa nor Mahathir will ever come out with a version that could be believed by all.

For the first time then the post of Deputy Prime Minister has to be examined rather carefully. Malaysia has had no particular experience of this nature in the past. Whoever got elected to be the Deputy President of UMNO since Merdeka got to be the Deputy Prime Minister. Though there is no provision for this in the Federal Constitution this direct slotting has become a part of a very strong and practical legacy instrumental in forming the government of the day. As UMNO Deputy President Musa will only function as a party leader whose words and actions may not stand in good stead as he carries no weight of government. The areas of

conflict between the two can be expected to widen. What Musa may think aloud as being practical may not be so to Mahathir. Or Musa, if he continues to be elected as Deputy President of UMNO after the party's elections in 1987, might simply act as the party's watchdog and find findings vis-a-vis government policies and administration. Over this scenario there are bound to be conflicts. The possibility of political confrontations is more conducive with this 'Deputy President-yes and Deputy PM-no' situation. Then there is the real danger of exposing the party to be more divisive. Parochial politics will be thriving given this situation to gain momentum. What UMNO has built all these years since Merdeka may come to nought in terms of making its two top leaders stay together and steer the party and government together. The premier pairs of the past were not totally devoid of 'lovers' quarrels' but these did not reach break-up peaks. The Tunku with Tun Razak must have had their share of little differences; Tun Razak with Tun Ismail got on well despite the 1972 episode of both running for the top post in UMNO. Knowing the iron-willed Tun Ismail it was a marvel how Tun Razak managed to coalesce principles with feelings without any spilled beans along the way. And when Tun Hussein Onn (Dato' then) took over as Prime Minister on the demise of Tun Razak of leukaemia in London in January 1976 he chose Dr Mahathir who is widely known for his candour and direct approach.

There were a few things perhaps which Mahathir could not tag on all the way with Tun Hussein but all in all they got along and neither chose to show to the world their lamentations or tantrums. Each other's 'boys' were kept within their own perimeters. The boys did not trespass by reporting innuendoes and bizarre tales of plots and sub-plots. The top two knew and should always know each other's 'boys' story-

telling ought to be applied with a pinch of salt every time they bring home tales of intrigue that may blur the image of the other. The story of the Number One and the Number Two is universal enough so as to imbue the resultant lesson of mutual need and respect. Now the Musa-Mahathir dislocation whether one accepts it or not has become topical and has reached national proportions. Rumours and guesswork take precedence and soon it will be a tale that is free for all. This should be avoided.

Political traditions once accepted become part and parcel of a good establishment because they contribute toward a hierarchy upon which good breeding can take place. Those traditions within UMNO are really catalysts in the making of a strong government. Whether or not the government can be truly strong now that Datuk Musa chooses to stay outside the corridors of executive power is left to be seen. But the doubts are there.

That the Deputy President of UMNO has always been the Deputy Prime Minister since 1957 is the one tradition that has escaped serious debate. With Datuk Musa's refusal now to serve in that capacity and office, this tradition is for the first time broken. A major political tradition or convention once broken will entail possible disintegration of other values and conventions in the system. When there are too many breaking points the derivative power of the government becomes unwieldy as the aura of office slips away. Too much time will have to be spent on trying to defend the remaining system. Politicking then becomes the order of the day, leaving little time for the leadership to think and embark upon matters of state.

Legally the Prime Minister does not share his executive power with any other Minister, including the Deputy Prime Minister who is appointed upon the former's 'picking and choosing'. Whilst there are

provisions in respect of Ministers and their Deputies, Parliamentary and Political Secretaries, there is no provision for the office of Deputy Prime Minister. It is, as correctly exhorted by certain quarters, a post created at the instance of the Prime Minister. Thus the DPM executes business for the Government on behalf of the Prime Minister. And protocol-wise tradition has it again that the DPM takes precedence after the PM. During the absence of the PM in the country or in the event that the Number One needs to be deputised due to illness or temporary incapacity then in such cases, by tradition, the DPM acts as PM. But this function really could be executed by any senior Minister by instrument of delegation of power. It is a simple process that could now be reexamined upon the premise of trust. Whoever is in the Cabinet may legally take on this duty provided that the Prime Minister trusts him. It would appear from Musa's explanation that his resignation revolves around the question of trust. Circumstances that prevailed left him the impression that the Prime Minister no longer trusted him. If that be so then Musa is justified in making his exit. His leaving the number two job in the Government has left a lasting mark; that he is not power crazy after all. In retrospect, he certainly had the presence of mind then of appreciating the fact that the Prime Minister could never come around to firing him. He could have just stayed on come what may. At worst he could only be termed as a strange bedfellow to Mahathir and at the end of the day the number one job would still be his. But this he did not do. Instead he left the scene.

The tale of this break-up is now an UMNO legend. Musa left with bruised feelings. Mahathir remains a wounded leader. A friendship that spans two and a half decades is suddenly crippled. Meanwhile Musa's act of exit earns him sympathy and appreciation.

Mahathir stands alone to fend off the salvos.

What now? They have gone their separate ways. The break-up does not seem to develop any new promise of a patch-up. Each must be nursing his own wounds in silence. To the world they prefer to appear alright though UMNO members know that they will never be the same again.

In a party like UMNO with some 1.2 million members a rift at the top means a cleavage is created. The rift in turn is felt and translated right through the grapevine. UMNO has the credit throughout the years of treating their leaders well. With respect and deference in good measure a leader can expect to perform quite freely without too much constraints. But what the Malays call '*budi bahasa*' is attendant in all his dealings of leadership. Without *budi bahasa* the beauty of the Malay leadership is devoid of its respectability. Of late the absence of this essence is significantly noted. Perhaps he was expecting a little dose of *budi bahasa* from Dr. Mahathir. Many feel that he did not get it on time.

The rift between Dr. Mahathir and Datuk Musa is a direct indication that the value system of UMNO through *budi bahasa* has suffered a breakdown. As a result their supporters find themselves thrown asunder, perplexed and even disillusioned. Factions emerge with almost outrageous zeal to overcome one another. Those who were loyal to both leaders during the pre-breakup days suddenly find themselves up against many odds. Some simply fail to adjust. The rift in the meantime widens. It is stifling. This is not good for UMNO. It is not good for the country. We have lost our sense of '*muafakat*' despite clarion calls for '*muzakarah*' between UMNO and PAS. In retrospect, it is UMNO that needs *muzakarah* more than anyone else.



▲ This 1974 billboard must have been seen by the hundreds of thousands of UMNO members each time they climbed the staircase of the old UMNO Headquarters at Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur. One evening in June 1976 I stood at the landing of the third floor and tried to discern who among those who saw this giant poster stopped to notice. None, I must admit. They all walked up the staircase and took no notice of the picture. I took a quick snap with my Nikon and walked down lamenting to myself, 'How could they not stop to notice?' And how true: they looked but didn't see. I thought they must have seen the billboard so often that it no longer needed to be admired everytime they passed it. Recently I visited the same place. It was gone. It must be in a corner of some store somewhere. Just like the deeds of those three. Now that you don't see them it does not mean that they are forgotten.



▲ Encik Ghafar Baba takes the oath of office as Deputy Prime Minister on 10th May, 1986 before the Yang di-Pertuan Agong at the Istana Negara in the presence of the Prime Ministers' several Cabinet Ministers, the Lord President and Istana officials.

If patience is indeed a virtue then Encik Ghafar Baba, Malaysia's new Deputy Prime Minister certainly has it in abundance. He got the job after 30 years struggling with and for the party. Dr. Mahathir got the Deputy Premiership some ten years ago, a direct choice made by Datuk Hussein Onn, an act that many construed to be side-stepping the more senior Ghafar who was also at the same time UMNO's senior Vice-President. Though he left the Government in 1976 Ghafar remained very much an UMNO strong man. Ghafar fills the Deputy Prime Minister's post by virtue of Datuk Musa Hitam's resignation in November 1986. Mahathir could have picked Vice-President Abdullah Ahmad Badawi to fill the vacancy instead of Ghafar. But this did not happen as Ghafar is the most senior Vice-President in UMNO among the three Vice-Presidents. The other Vice-President, Datuk Wan Mokhtar, the Menteri Besar of Terengganu, though senior enough in the party is not qualified as he is not a Member of Parliament.

Many UMNO leaders offer an interesting explanation to Mahathir's choice of Ghafar as his deputy. They believe that the choice was so made as a temporary measure. The reading is that Ghafar is to hold on as

Deputy Prime Minister until a more suitable Deputy Prime Minister candidate comes along. For this to happen it is deemed necessary for Ghafar to win the UMNO Deputy Presidency in April 1987 and the 'suitable Deputy Prime Minister candidate' in turn must win one of the three Vice-President posts. Thus contextually, Education Minister Anwar Ibrahim, the fast rising Mahathir protege has been put to good breeding and given extensive exposures so that the former's rebel image could be honed, ready for 'take off'. After that so the explanation goes, the clinching process takes care of itself. Mahathir then could be in the position to decide whether to call it a day. Time will tell whether this scenario would prevail. For one thing, Musa Hitam and Tengku Razaleigh may continue to garner support and impose a political sanction against such a design. Indeed if they join forces the political fate of the Mahathir-Ghafar-Anwar triumvirate could crumble half-way. I think Mahathir and Ghafar could afford to risk this as there are no more fresh horizons to conquer. As for Anwar it could be 'easy come, easy go' as he was brought in and nurtured. He never had to really fight for his position. His wars were fought by the gods.



What in the world is this lady doing among a bevy of press photographers? Certainly, for one thing she is not dressed as a photographer. But then how does a photographer really dress? Safari or lounge suit? In this instance a *baju kurung*, though a dress for that special occasion, has become a photographer's attire. Never mind the auto-focus camera she is holding. It is still a camera anyway and at times takes better pictures than its SLR sisters.

Datin Naemah is the rose among the thorns here. It was 10th March, 1986 the date that ushered in the first term of Parliament for 1986 when all the MPs, Diplomats, Judges and other top brass attended the opening session by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Before we congregated in the Chamber of the Dewan Rakyat to attend the opening session the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, faithful to the tradition so far established, inspected a guard of honour. Moments before this spectacle took place the photographers clicked away at the VIPs that rolled in to take their places. I think Datin Naemah was about to take a picture of her husband, Dr Sulaiman Daud (another photobug in the Cabinet) when I shot this scene.

EPILOGUE

By April 24, 1987 the fates of many were determined. In fact for some their fates were sealed, at least that it appeared to be. Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah lost to Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir by a mere 43-vote majority, the slimmest victory ever attained by an UMNO President. Encik Ghafar Baba beat Datuk Musa Hitam for the Deputy Presidency, also by a paper-thin majority. Datuk Wan Mokhtar Ahmad, Datuk Abdullah Badawi and Encik Anwar Ibrahim were returned as Vice-Presidents of the party. Many new faces emerged in the new line-up as Supreme Council members.

Hardly a week after the April 24th "battle royale" some prominent members of the print media started to ridicule the losers. The most common call was to rid the government and Dr. Mahathir's leadership of "ungrateful" elements. Many isolated personalities in the country were made to call for the resignations of all those who opposed the leadership. Catchy caricatures were inserted with wild remarks calling for "a clean slate". Little was attached to the significance of the democratic process. By the first week of May 1987, Tengku Razaleigh and I were already ex-Cabinet Ministers by virtue of the fact that we had tendered in our resignations by the end of April itself. Contrary to public expectation, Datuk Abdullah Badawi, Datuk Ajib Ahmad, Datuk Shahrir Abd. Samad, Datuk Kadir Sheikh Fadir, Datuk Zainal Abidin Zin, Datuk Paduka Hajjah Rahmah Osman and a few others who made it to the Majlis Tertinggi were dropped from their respective Government positions. They were replaced by those who have pledged support for the leadership although some lost in the party elections. At this point in time, UMNO members were perplexed given the scenario where an attainment or non-attainment of positions in the party means little or nothing at all. In the 1984 UMNO Elections, a quotable quote was offered: "The winner does not take all. The loser does not lose all." This time around it would seem

that that maxim is conveniently left behind in the cupboards of skeletons.

Now the process of "cleaning the slate" is on-going. It is leaving very telling marks. One would have thought that an expanding effort to unite after the battle ought to be the order of the day. All past leaders of the party did this for the sake of the country. This was not done. On the contrary UMNO in particular is made to whimper by a grand show of "unitised" leadership. At this rate the crack will turn into a fissure. The party will continue to be divided. It will never be the same again.

RAIS YATIM
20th July 1987.