

TUN RAZAK
PRINCE OF TITIWANGSA
—♦—
SHARIFF AHMAD



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*The publication of
TUN RAZAK: PRINCE OF TITIWANGSA
is dedicated to those whose contributions and service
were channelled towards the stability of Tun
Abdul Razak Hussein's leadership as head of
UMNO and the government including politicians,
government officials, the police and military security forces
as well as the people who together with Tun Razak fostered
the solidarity of a multiracial population of diverse
origins and religions and joined hands to develop
and stimulate the entire workforce in order
that Malaysia could become a developed country;
prosperous and befitting the brilliance and
firmness of Tun Razak's leadership.*

*I also wish to record my appreciation to
Innovest Berhad for its contribution towards
the publication of TUN RAZAK: PRINCE
OF TITIWANGSA in order to enable the masses, in
particular the younger generation to be acquainted with the
contributions and service of Tun Razak to Malaysia.
Many thanks also to Puan Hawa Binti Abdullah,
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in the publication of this book.*

Foreword

It is true we very seldom meet. There were times, five or six years ago, we came across each other in the street or at certain functions. Nevertheless, the warmth of our friendship has never cooled. We can argue without disguise, banter and joke without embarrassment, in fact there are times when we do not feel awkward exchanging anecdotes about our adolescence.

That was still how I felt when one day, unexpectedly, I was contacted. His voice was still the same, as was his humour. I quickly summed up that surely there was a new book from him. He had twice handed me a manuscript and requested that I "beautified" the language. He was not shy of saying that his language was not quite polished, even though he was a former journalist in several English dailies (before becoming a minister) who was capable all round.

I thought that he had written an article relating his experiences as a politician at the time of Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Abdul Razak. As it turned out, he was not yet prepared to narrate his own experiences, be it as a journalist or a politician. On the contrary, he had been spurred on to tell the story of someone he admired greatly – Tun Abdul Razak.

Indeed that is what he relates in this book. Without much fanfare, Tan Sri Shariff Ahmad goes on to tell about several aspects in the life of the Tun Abdul Razak whom he knew, while at the same time recounting the tumultuous era which together they had passed through.

His writing is no idolisation – it is more amazement, wonder on his part. And in the midst of all this admiration, I find that he actually wished to recount the important characteristics of this incomparable figure. To Tan Sri Shariff Ahmad, Tun Abdu Razak was not just a loyal companion to Tunku Abdul Rahman, he was also the Tunku's think-tank.

Tan Sri Shariff Ahmad traces the early beginnings of a leader from his childhood as a nobleman's son, growing up as a quiet but dynamic student, reaching adulthood as a political leader by the side of Tunku Abdul Rahman and finally in all willingness giving his whole life towards the development of the country and the well-being of the people. All these accomplishments are portrayed by Tan Sri Shariff Ahmad in utmost simplicity and moderation. In it is obviously reflected his wish that his words reach us without difficulty because what is important is the revelation of the true features of a leader which need to be contemplated upon, in order to understand the whims and caprices of life at a time when the nation was preparing for independence, and later, fulfilling that independence.

Having known Tan Sri Shariff Ahmad for more than four decades, I believe this book was not written merely to record ordinary events. For a journalist to move into the world of politics which he involved himself in unwittingly, he witnessed several oddities in this capricious life. As time passed, he felt that the old tempo and spirit that he values and loves was gradually being forgotten.

In his own words: "No longer can we find a warrior who puts up a struggle without hoping for something in return. The past decade still provided a leader who was ready to make sacrifices without expecting a reward. In this decade, that special feature has become a fantasy."

Tan Sri Shariff Ahmad hopes that what he has set forth will tell the meaning of a struggle, of loyalty, sacrifices, aspirations, fidelity, responsibility and love of the nation and its people. All these he has related with simplicity – and at times repeatedly – as well as he is able to. Thus glimpses emerge before us of a

past decade full of challenges. We see reflected before us how politicians struggled. Expounded to us are the minds and hearts of the first team of leaders prior to independence.

Not revealed directly, but hinted at in several events, Tan Sri Shariff Ahmad urges us not to lose the spirit of sacrifice of old. In his eyes, Tun Abdul Razak is a symbol of the Malay people's struggle which is difficult to replace. In all moderation – and at times repeatedly – Tan Sri Shariff Ahmad tries to comment on this decade through the past decades.

Whilst acquainting ourselves with Tun Abdul Razak and his past era, perhaps we will not be disappointed to relive the spirit emanating from the illustrious figure in this narration. The conflicts and anxieties of the past may explain those of this era. Who knows?

A. Samad Said

Preface

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ took over as head of UMNO in 1952. At that time, Tun Razak was still in the civil service. It was Tun Razak who persuaded Tunku who was still in the government service, to take over as head of UMNO. In a calculated move, the British government decided to upgrade Tunku in the judiciary service but Tunku did not take the offer but accepted Tun Razak's offer to replace Datuk Onn who left UMNO to form another party. Datuk Onn wanted to open the membership of UMNO to non-Malays and this proposal left many of the members divided. Thus when Tunku took over the leadership from Datuk Onn, he faced a crisis which was potentially damaging to the unity of the Malays.

Tun Razak, as deputy head of UMNO together with Tunku Abdul Rahman recognised the importance of having the Malays united in one party in order to achieve independence, so they set about mobilising and persuading the Malays to remain in UMNO instead of joining Datuk Onn's new party.

When Tunku and Tun Razak took over the leadership of UMNO, their next agenda after the unity of Malays was the unity of Malayans. Tunku took a different approach. Instead of opening the membership of UMNO to non-Malays, he decided to unify all the three communal parties into an alliance. At that time, the Chinese were under the MCA (Malayan Chinese

Association) and the Indians were under the MIC (Malayan Indian Congress). A series of discussions were held between the Tunku, Sir Tan Cheng Lock (leader of the MCA) and K.L. Devasar (leader of the MIC) whose leadership was later replaced by Tun Sambathan. The discussions were a success and the alliance, which became a front for the Malayans' unity to the British government became a reality.

The British government decided to hold the first election of the Federal Legislative Assembly in 1955. The three parties, working together as an alliance campaigned vigorously to try to win the federal election. Datuk Onn, a member of internal affairs, believed he had an advantage over the alliance since he was a member of the government unlike Tunku who resigned from the legal service after assuming the leadership of UMNO.

The federal election was held on 25 July 1955. The alliance proved to be a perfect unifying front for the three major communities. The alliance won 51 seats out of the 52 seats contested. Datuk Onn's multi-racial party had failed to capture the trust of the people and was badly defeated while the PMIP won one seat in Bruas.

Tunku also changed the slogan of UMNO when he took over UMNO. Instead of "Hidup Melayu", he introduced the slogan "MERDEKA!". As a unifying rallying cry, it was an immediate success to all the people of Malaya. An assembly of the *rakyat* invariably started with the cries of "MERDEKA!".

The partnership of Tunku and Tun Razak continued after the election with Tunku appointed as the Chief Minister and Tun Razak his deputy. By now, the partnership was accepted as the team that would lead Malaya to independence. Tun Razak was regarded as Tunku's alter-ego with Tunku constantly confirming his high regard of Tun Razak in his speeches as his eventual successor.

The election results were important as it empowered Tunku and Tun Razak to show to the British government that the Malayans were united and made it difficult for the British to deny Tunku's leadership. It gave him and Tun Razak a mandate

to engage the British government in a series of talks towards achieving independence for Malaya.

The slogan "Merdeka" served as a rallying point for the Malaysians, especially the Malays. The British team was headed by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Countries, Mr. Leonard Boyed. The negotiations were tough but in the end, the British government agreed to grant independence to Malaya. The discussions were centred on the point that the independence to be granted was based on negotiations and not through war with the British government unlike India.

With the tough negotiations behind him, Tunku returned triumphantly to Malaya and after his plane landed at Malacca airport on 20 February 1956, he made the announcement of Malaya's impending independence. A welcome assembly was organised in Malacca by UMNO in recognition of the historical significance of the state.

The achievement of independence without bloodshed was not without criticism. Some leaders especially those whose political philosophy was socialism wanted to follow the Indonesian revolution to achieve independence. They claimed that independence without the shedding of blood was not a meaningful independence. Tunku and Tun Razak however took a pragmatic approach and wanted independence "with the stroke of a pen and without a drop of blood."

It is often noted that history often repeats itself and it is in the year 2001 that UMNO is in the throes of another crisis that is similar to the crisis of 1952. When the Angkatan Rakyat Sabah Party (AKAR) was dissolved in 2001, UMNO President, Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad decided to accept Chinese members of AKAR as members of UMNO.

With admission of the Chinese into UMNO and not MCA or Gerakan, the slogans "UMNO for Malays" and "Malays for UMNO" are called into question. In view of this, UMNO members must now consider ideologically whether to accept "Malays" or "Malaysians" as members of UMNO.

This crisis of identity and the divisive effect of the expulsion of Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim from the party in 1998 has left

UMNO members divided. The supporters of each leader who have rallied behind their respective leaders have worsened the split. However, the similarities to the 1952 crisis end here as the divisions are more severe, acrimonious and damaging. Supporters of Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim organised demonstrations to protest his arrest and adopted "reformasi" as their slogan. These supporters then formed their own party, Parti Keadilan to fight for his release.

It is disheartening to note a large section of Malays opposing UMNO. This opposition was clearly translated in the 1999 general election with the defeat of many UMNO candidates and the capture of Terengganu by PAS. PAS managed to form the state government in Terengganu with a large majority i.e. 28 seats for PAS and four for UMNO. The party has also managed to penetrate into Pahang capturing six seats, in Selangor four seats and in Perak, three seats. In Kedah, the home state of Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, PAS made significant inroads when the party captured 12 seats leaving UMNO with 16 seats. Whereas Parti Keadilan captured one seat in Kedah. PAS together with Keadilan have prevented the Barisan National government in Kedah its two-third majority in the state government.

In 1952, UMNO made it clear that non-Malays' position cannot be on par with the Malays. UMNO was prepared to grant the status of citizenship to the non-Malays under jus-so-li system but they still maintained that the non-Malays must remember that they are immigrants. UMNO wants the non-Malays to consider the Malays as the owner of Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

They argued that if UMNO members were from the non-Malays, the Malays could not talk about Malay rights. Based on this argument, Tunku and Tun Razak's first duty was to create FELDA, RISDA, FELCRA, KADA, MADA, Jengka Triangle and DARA. All these projects were directed for the Malays.

The 1999 general election was the watershed for young voters who have turned against UMNO as a result of the 1998 crisis. Students from both local and overseas universities are openly

expressing their support for the opposition. If this trend continues, young voters may not support UMNO in the next general election to be held in year 2004. Considering that there were more than 600 000 new voters in the last election, there will be a significant increase in 2004 and UMNO would be hard-pressed to arrest this decline in support.

With the implementation of meritocracy for Malay students entering university by the government, these young voters are being given a negative signal from the government whom they believe are punishing them for supporting the opposition parties.

If entries into universities are solely based on the academic results of students, then there is no need for MARA, an agency created to promote the development of the Malays. Under the new economic policy, higher learning institutions such as UiTM were created to admit academically weaker Malay students who are given a chance to complete their course, in the event of them failing at any point of their three-year course, through a one year retention. Academic ability alone would negate the necessity of having agencies to promote the Malays.

What do we make of this present UMNO crisis? It is of importance to the party if a neutral man is elected as the next leader of UMNO i.e. a member who is not involved in the Mahathir-Anwar "political fight". With the election of a neutral member, it is possible that he can unite the members.

Among the UMNO members today, there are UMNO members who are supporting Datuk Seri Anwar and are against Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi. Whereas Datuk Seri Najib's supporters cannot be counted as Datuk Seri Abdullah's supporters after the latter was elected as Deputy Prime Minister.

The only neutral leader is Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah. He is not involved in the crisis. If he is given the chance to succeed Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, there is a strong possibility that Tengku Razaleigh can unite UMNO.

Tengku Razaleigh was a Vice President of UMNO with high votes before he left the party to head Parti Semangat 46. After

he dissolved the party, he rejoined UMNO. He maintains a quiet life in UMNO and holds no elected position in UMNO but he has managed to retain his parliamentary seat in Kelantan – the only parliamentary seat retained by Barisan Nasional in the last general election.

Tengku Razaleigh works hard for the party for an ordinary member of UMNO in Kelantan and calls himself a “gurkha” for UMNO.

The 1999 general election was a “blow” to UMNO because many of UMNO candidates both at parliament and state level were defeated by PAS. The result of the general election has given Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir a cause for concern. Several of his cabinet members lost their seats, most notably Datuk Paduka Abdul Hamid Othman, a religious personality who lost his Sik seat in Kedah. However, he was appointed as a senator and was subsequently reappointed as a cabinet member.

Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir also made an unconventional choice by appointing a non-UMNO member, Tan Sri Musa Mohamad, as the Minister of Education through the senate. This is the first time in the history of UMNO that a non-party member was elected to the cabinet. The appointment of Tan Sri Musa is tantamount to the fact that the UMNO leadership is free to appoint even a non-Barisan member as a minister. This gives rise to speculation that the UMNO has no suitable candidate in the party to be a member of cabinet.

UMNO is presently facing various political enemies. Besides problems within the party, UMNO has to contend with the “young voters”. In every election, the voters composed of two groups, the “young voters” and those born before independence. Pre-independence voters are imbued with feelings and consideration regarding the struggles undertaken by the leaders of independence whereas voters born after independence deem themselves as independent people and are not likely to associate themselves with the struggles of the former leaders. The majority of these voters have no idea whatsoever of personalities like Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-haj, Tun Abdul Razak, Tun

Hussein Onn, Tun Dr Ismail and those leaders who struggled along with the Tunku.

These voters identify themselves with ideologies, one of which is most attractive is Islamism, an ideology promoted by PAS. Whereas UMNO does not have a "political ideology". As an Islamic country, members of PAS can easily link Islam with PAS, its party.

Nevertheless, it does not mean that UMNO cannot contest the arguments put forward by PAS concerning religion because within UMNO there are also many degree-holders in Islamic Studies. Unfortunately, UMNO's presentation of Islam to the people differ from that of PAS. PAS gives lectures on religion by projecting leaders who dress in long flowing robes wearing turbans, fully garbed like religious scholars.

To the village folks, lecturers in full "religious uniform" *are* religious scholars even though they are not graduates of Al-Azhar or other Middle East universities. With their "religious uniforms", their knowledge obtained from the "cottage religious school" is sufficient for them.

On the other hand, the majority of UMNO's religious scholars pay little heed to this "religious uniform". They lecture on religion wearing sports shirt, coat and necktie because they wish to modernise religious presentation. At times, UMNO scholars appear on TV dressed in military uniform. Most voters are simple village folk who are still conservative in their attitude.

Of course many UMNO leaders' lectures, speeches are printed in the newspapers but with the present situation of the Malays in the villages, they take little notice of speeches printed in the mass media. Malaysian politics necessitates facing the people directly in a whispering campaign. We are required to meet the voters at the grassroot level.

The turmoil within UMNO at the moment not only worries the Malays but has now spread overseas. For example, Malaysian politics has entered the threshold of the American Congress (US House of Representatives). Seven Congress members put up a resolution to be passed by the House so that the former Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Seri Anwar be given a new trial.

There is a likelihood that this resolution will not be passed. What is worrying is that the American Congress has lobby members throughout the country with close connections with voluntary bodies and businessmen. Thus, they could influence businessmen who have trading connections with Malaysia. If these businessmen are influenced by this negative campaign against Malaysia's business interests, there is a possibility that Malaysia's trade with the United States will be affected. However, it is hoped that such a scenario does not come into being so that our economy will remain stable for many years to come.

Shariff Ahmad

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CHAPTER 1

Malaya after World War Two

WORLD War Two ended in 1945. Several countries reduced to ashes, like Japan as a result of the atom bomb, and Germany which lost the war, began to take steps to rebuild their respective countries. These two countries concentrated their attention and energy towards building up industry while setting aside the question of defence. All efforts and expenditure were centred on the development of the economy and society.

It is somewhat strange that as the world headed towards the 21st century, these two countries had become giants in the world economy. Germany promoted its resources as the key to economic development. Moreover, it encouraged the people towards the unification of democratic and communist ideologies. (World War Two had divided Germany into two blocs – West Germany which was aligned towards democracy and East Germany to the communist ideology.) When the communist world collapsed and its ideology disintegrated in 1990, West Germany and East Germany were united once again to become a strong and powerful country in Europe.

The unification of East and West Germany on the democratic plane was unthinkable at the time the two existed after World War Two. This unlikely event was only possible 45 years after Hitler's power crumbled. The unification of the two German

blocs was the result of the far-sighted thinking and effort of modern day leaders.

For countries in Asia and the Far East, World War Two was the breeding ground for nationalism. Some of these countries made pacts with the intruders or colonists to give them independence. Nearly all countries in Asia were then under colonial rule.

In 1946 the Japanese government proclaimed the Philippines a republic under President Jose Laurel. Elections held that year saw several political parties contesting. The Liberal Party won and Manuel Roxas became the president. When he passed away in 1948, his deputy Elpidio Quirino took over as president.

Poverty gave rise to corruption. The caprices of bureaucracy and corrupt practices later led to an uprising in the country. Ramon Magsaysay who had split from Quirino succeeded in quelling the rebellion.

Magsaysay became the Philippine President after a big victory in the 1953 general elections. He was successful in creating a rural and social development scheme. With his demise in 1957, Carlos Garcia took his place. Despite his efforts, corruption became widespread. In the 1961 elections, Diosdado Macapagal was elected President.

In India, British colonists returned to power after World War Two. Nonetheless, the spirit and enthusiasm for independence had begun to spread everywhere. Mahatma Gandhi took the opportunity to fire the spirit of the Indian masses, be they of Hindu or Islamic faith. The Indian leader went in and out of prison. In the end, the British were forced to proclaim Indian independence in 1947. Independence divided the Indian continent into two, India and Pakistan.

Indonesia next achieved her independence from the Dutch. Her leaders too had spent time in and out of prison throughout the rebellion. Much blood flowed on Indonesian soil because the Dutch were intent on crushing the Indonesian patriots. Finally "spear and sword" succeeded in bringing Indonesia to

the threshold of independence not long after World War Two ended.

Malaya was somewhat different. During the Japanese occupation, a group formed the communist political party, another created the movement Wataniah to defend the Malays and the sovereignty of the Malay rulers. Yet another organised a political party that would unite Malaya with Indonesia. A pro-British group was organised under the name of Force 136. Some, on the other hand, appeared to side with the Japanese.

When the position of the British grew stronger in Malaya after the war, political parties inclined towards the Chinese mainland formed the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) and went into the jungle. They launched a guerilla warfare. Meanwhile the pro-British groups, especially those who supported the Malay rulers, strengthened the position of the British Administration. Those who were pro-Japanese went into hiding – some went into the jungle and others lived as ordinary citizens. As for the Malays, efforts were made to hold a congress for the purpose of forming a political party under the leadership of Datuk Onn Jaafar. This party was UMNO (United Malays National Organisation).

The CPM went into the jungle with arms to fight. Many people of Chinese descent were influenced by the idea of revolution and communism. The People's Republic of China upheld communism and the CPM accentuated Mao Tse-tung's struggle in China. The CPM became stronger at a time when the British Administration became more powerful in Malaya.

However, the ideology behind CPM's struggle was very much opposed to the way of life and tradition of the Malays and Islam. Malaya proclaimed war against the CPM. The British believed the CPM wished to conquer Malaya. Should this happen, they would lose Malaya. At the same time, the British government had to honour its agreement with the Malay rulers. After much deliberation, a state of emergency was declared in Malaya in February 1948.

The emergency declaration meant civil war in the country. Besides redevelopment after the war, the Malayan government

spent approximately a million dollars a day to ward off CPM influence and attacks. Members of the CPM burned rubber estates and buses. Innocent people were killed. While war against the CPM went on, the people of this country were encouraged to imbibe the spirit of Malay nationalism. Despite the war, the government's administration as regards politics was summarily introduced to the people. Local councils were formed followed by the formation of state governments under the State Legislative Council and the central government under the Federal Legislative Council.

On 27 July 1955 general elections were held. In all, 52 Federal Legislative Council seats were contested. Of this number, the Alliance Party led by Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj comprising UMNO, MCA and MIC won 51 seats. The Tunku had taken over UMNO after Datuk Onn's withdrawal in 1952.

Polarisation at that time was very deep. The Malays upheld the belief of their right to govern, and the Chinese championed the cause of Mao Tse-tung, who was Chairman of China's Communist Party. The CPM claimed that Mao and Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, could save the Chinese all over the world. It was able to convince the Chinese in Malaya as to the strength of Mao and Chou owing to their success in defeating the Nationalist government under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek who had ruled China since 1927.

Beginning from the day Malaya had its own administration after the 1955 elections, the responsibility for opposing the CPM was borne by the Alliance Government led by Tunku Abdul Rahman, who himself became the Minister of Defence. Later the post was held by Tun Abdul Razak.

Tun Razak was a Senior Administrative Officer, a competent politician and strategist in Tunku Abdul Rahman's government. As Minister of Education before that, he had legislated a National Education Policy better known as the Razak Report, which is an impressive legacy in modern Malaysia. A majority of the population was able to become proficient in the Malay

language while large numbers of young Malays graduated with degrees.

Tun Razak was knowledgeable in guerilla warfare. He had been one of the highest ranking officers in the Wataniah and Force 136. He developed ways to separate the Malaysians who were loyal to king and country.

Tun Razak devised a strategy to win the hearts and minds of the people through the psychological warfare. He planned the Rural Development Policy. His aim was to eradicate poverty among the population. Roads were built everywhere. Schools were set up even as far up as Mount Tahan (the highest mountain in Peninsular Malaysia). Piped water replaced wells and electricity supply substituted oil and gas lamps. Jungles were turned into rubber estates or oil palm plantations. The people were trained to augment their family income with these two means of livelihood.

Throughout the twelve years (1948–1962) of Emergency, the government established a "strategy to bring the people to the government and to win the hearts of the population" via the psychological warfare. Various measures were taken to achieve this. Certain specified areas were designated as New Villages and placed under curfew. Settlers went out to work bringing only enough food for the day, leaving for their work place at 6 o'clock in the morning and returning at 6 in the evening. They were strictly examined on leaving the New Village in the morning.

The whole village was fenced with barbed wire. In each New Village, Home Guards (HG) and Special Constabulary (SC) groups were set up. The former were not armed and their duty was to hold talks on the difference between communism and democracy. SC personnel were armed. They helped the police and were trained like the police. Youths from all over the country answered the government's call to join the SC.

The defence agreement with the British Government helped Malaya overcome the lack of defence. The presence of British troops made the people of Malaya more aware of help from

the British. If the British were willing to die fighting the communists in Malaya, surely the sons of Malaya could do no less for their king and country. Such spirited enthusiasm as well as support from the British gradually weakened the CPM.

At that time, the British Government still had close relations with the People's Republic of China. Even though the CPM was inclined towards the People's Republic of China, the country tried to preserve its friendship with Britain to some degree. Thus, the CPM had to go to war on its own steam.

At the height of the Emergency, the government took various steps to guard the people against communist influence. In the remote areas, New Villages were opened up. These were fenced in by barbed wire and closely guarded by the police or the SC. At times, these villages were placed under curfew. This was done only if it was found that the settlers had made contact with CPM members.

Every New Village was strictly guarded. Those going in and out were examined closely. Female SC or police personnel examined the women workers while the menfolk were examined by male members of the SC or police. In the early days of the Emergency, the British brought in British Gurkha troops who together with other soldiers, police and the SC kept in check CPM terrorism. Daily there was sure to be some news about the terrorists attacking estates and isolated villages.

Foodstuffs were strictly controlled. The movement or outflow of foodstuffs was watched closely by the police and the military. Food taken from one district to another or from town to town could only be done at specific times and escorted by convoys of soldiers or police. Foodstuffs in the New Villages were also under constant guard. This strict surveillance was able to prevent the foodstuffs from falling into the hands of the CPM. So effective was it that some CPM followers died of starvation in the jungle.

When Malaya had formed its own government, Tun Razak, who was responsible for defence and psychological warfare, travelled all over the country. He climbed hilly terrain, rowed along the rivers and the sea to visit the villages. What he did



Tun Razak inspecting a guard of honour by the army of the People's Republic of China on the start of his six-day official visit on 28 May 1974. Even though China had given aid to communist subversives in Malaysia and neighbouring countries, Tun Razak went on to secure China's agreement to forge diplomatic ties with Malaysia which dealt a serious blow to CPM which had failed to recognise Malaysia.

convinced the people that the government had their welfare at heart.

Other than Rashid Mydin, there were several other Malay leaders in the CPM, prominent among them were Musa Ahmad and the female leader, Shamsiah Fakeh. Both of them returned to the fold in the 90's. CPM used "dark" tactics in the town areas and in the jungle, resorting to armed conflict. In the early days of the Emergency, the Malay CPM leaders managed to influence young Malays in the villages to join the CPM as members and supporters. They hid behind the slogan that the British had to be driven out of Malaya. However, the CPM influence was not all encompassing among the Malay youths because the CPM did not believe in Islam. To the communists, Islam was no more than "ash" and "dust". Those who were at first influenced were not able to carry on with the CPM struggle on account of their religious belief. They were not willing to kill their own race. At times they could not reconcile themselves to being loyal to CPM and being directed to kill their own kind.

The Islamic religious upbringing among the Malay members of the CPM made them unable to accept the communist ideology. The total number of Malay youths in the CPM steadily dwindled. Many responded to the offer of amnesty after the summit conference between Tunku Abdul Rahman and Chin Peng in Baling in 1955. At the conference, the Tunku firmly told Chin Peng to lay down arms and fight according to the principles of democracy. Chin Peng stubbornly insisted on using arms supposedly in order to free Malaya from the British. Thus, they parted company.

The communists do not believe in God, whereas Islam upholds the divinity of God. The people who embraced the communist ideology regarded religion merely as "ash". The Islamic religion is at cross-purposes with the communist ideology. Tun Razak as Prime Minister knew and fully realised the differences between the two. As a result the national ideology, *Rukunegara* was enacted.

Rukunegara became the philosophy of life for the people of Malaysia. It is made up of five principles, the first of which is

belief in God. Every person who believes in God will surely not believe in the communist ideology as the communists deny the existence of God. With the existence of *Rukunegara*, automatically the Malaysian people loyal to the King and country and who uphold religion are anti-communist.

All religions, be it Christianity, Islam or others, believe in God's existence but not the communists. Although Tun Razak's views were far-sighted, time did not permit him to implement them fully for the people owing to his early demise. He has left us, but the "legacy" he left behind will enrich generations to come.

The 1955 Federal Legislative Assembly elections created a big impression on the people. The motto "*MERDEKA*" (independence) was close to their hearts. The election results gave a landslide victory to the Alliance Party, proof that the people supported the government. The Malays placed their belief in the government. Some people of Chinese descent still supported the CPM. Among the Malays, only a small number backed the CPM led by Rashid Mydin, Musa Ahmad and Shamsiah Fakeh. The government took various steps to try bring the CPM into the fold by offering amnesty. After the federal elections, the Tunku immediately left for London to pursue independence for the country. He returned with the date for independence, 31 August 1957.

Now that there was self-government, the people pledged their loyalty to the administration. Tun Razak was given the defence portfolio, responsible for planning strategies to convince the people that the CPM struggle was anti-government. Besides defence, Tun Razak was also responsible for the management and implementation of the rural development programme. The slogan for eradicating poverty was to create towns out of the rural regions.

The FELDA plan was then introduced. Jungles were cleared, replaced by rubber estates and oil palm plantations. Industrial sectors were also set up in FELDA areas through the opening of shops and factories based on agriculture. The objective was

to bring industry and business from the town to the rural areas. Thus, the traditional village settlers would be able to find jobs in the vicinity of their own homes.

With the clearing of the jungles, the Titiwangsa Range became rubber and oil palm estates. The CPM supporters grew fewer and fewer by the day and their struggle gradually weakened.

The formulation of the New Economic Policy increased the admission of Malay children into schools especially at secondary and tertiary levels. The main aim of the New Economic Policy was to restructure society and eradicate poverty. In restructuring society from the point of view of education, the number of institutions of education increased. There were more universities. To satisfy demands of the Bumiputera Economic Congress, after the establishment of MARA (*Majlis Amanah Rakyat*) a number of secondary and college level learning institutes were set up such as the MARA Junior College and MARA Technology Institute, all of which were to train bumiputera children in technical education.

The aim of the MARA Technology Institute was to produce many Malays qualified in the industrial field, using MARA qualifications as the key to getting jobs in that line. Although the institute promoted overseas twinning courses to gain degree qualifications, it was not its intention to hold courses to raise its status to that of a university. Admission into the MARA Technology Institute was flexible. Borderline cases were admitted but into courses which would be lengthened or intensified.

At university level, up to 1995, seven universities had been set up. The Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia was established to elevate the national language and as a symbol of the sovereignty of the Malay language. This university accommodated students from the national language stream schools during the transitory stage to integrate the national and the English schools.

Besides the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, the College of Agriculture had its status raised to university, that is, the Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, (later named Universiti Putra

Malaysia). Meanwhile, the Technical College became Universiti Teknologi Malaysia. Other universities established include Universiti Malaya, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Universiti Utara Malaysia and Universiti Islam Antarabangsa.

Besides all these, the chances of young Malays going overseas through specific agencies were increased. Facilities were made available resulting in more graduates with degree qualifications. Those who went abroad to do their Master overflowed the academic market. Added to these was a marked increase in doctorates. Those who joined the industrial field were no longer general degree holders. If only Tun Razak were still around, he would be the happiest person to see his ideas turning into reality. Perhaps the Malays are not quite able to savour the new cake in the industrial sector but the young Malays have succeeded in competing with the Malaysians of other descent in the academic field.

More and more Malay youths were being sent abroad to study. Before independence, they used to go to the United Kingdom. However, after the implementation of the New Economic Policy, they were also sent to the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. As a result, there was a marked increase in the total number of students who returned with degrees, including doctorates. Similarly there was a rise in the number of students continuing their studies at Islamic universities overseas like in Al-Azhar University, Mecca, Jordan and universities in other Islamic countries.

In the past, religious officers who conducted prayers, marriage services and so forth, were made up of elderly people. Today these posts are held by younger people. Not only are they brisk and able to influence the public service, but their knowledge is also on a par with other public service officers with non-Islamic university qualifications. Many male government officers today wear white skull caps to work while the women don scarves, giving them a neat and tidy appearance.

That the Malay language has become the national language is another of the country's successes. The young generation

entering school under the Razak Education Policy is proficient in the national language. The language is compulsory in all schools. All pupils no matter what their descent now have a good command of the national language. The people's ambition to make the Malay language the lingua franca of this multiracial society has already been achieved.

The 13 May 1969 incident is a historical event, a black one that cannot be forgotten. A number of buildings in Kuala Lumpur were set on fire. There were places where corpses were buried en masse in one grave. Malaysia's bright and clean history had suddenly become blurred. The event shocked the world, and was even more frightening because prior to this, Malaysia had trodden the straight and narrow path since its independence.

This black incident smeared the reputation of the country's leaders. Earlier on, each of these leaders, especially Tunku Abdul Rahman, had hailed himself as a joyful leader.

It was true that in the early days of independence, the government led by Tunku Abdul Rahman was stable and Malaysian politics was healthy and progressive. The government was able to concentrate fully on the country's development.

However the 13 May incident which shocked the world was quick to tarnish Malaysia's reputation. Communist elements had sparked off this tragedy. Prior to the incident, a funeral procession had taken place in the federal capital. Throughout the six-week long elections campaign, the communists had made their move all over the country. Members of the Labour Party, in their unbridled speeches, inserted provocative words that courted the anger of the police. The communists aimed at causing uproars or clashes so that the government would call off the elections. The opposition parties, especially the Labour Party, flitted all over the place urging voters to boycott the 1969 elections.

On 24 April 1969, about a fortnight before polling day, an UMNO worker in Jelutong, Penang, was killed. At 8.30 that night, Encik Kassim saw a group of youths gathering. He thought

an accident had taken place. He approached them, and was suddenly assaulted. It resulted in his death.

On 6 May 1969, six days before polling day, an incident occurred in Kepong, Selangor. That night a group of youths were in Kepong, which is outside the federal capital. Three policemen on duty approached them and found them painting the road signs in red.

On 9 May 1969, a funeral procession began from Jalan Sultan. It should have started at 9.30 am. Instead it began at 9.55 am. Thousands had assembled at the funeral parlour. Those present had already exceeded a thousand, the total number of people permitted by the law. As the procession moved, the people broke another rule by entering Jalan Petaling, rather than taking the road leading to the Merdeka roundabout. Posters were scattered about. They all bore slogans that insulted the police, and among them were posters that proclaimed "Tunku Abdul Rahman's regime is cruel" and "Mao's thoughts can be practised here". Posters bearing Mao's face were pasted and carried high all over the place. The procession quickly changed from a funeral procession to that of a political demonstration.

The aim of turning the procession into a political demonstration was clear. With the members and committee of the Labour Party taking over the burial ceremony from the deceased's family, it was obvious that the purpose was not to pay final respects to the deceased; instead, it was a demonstration to upset the elections on the following day. The crowd moved slowly, stopped frequently and shouted out slogans that showed its hatred towards the police.

The procession arrived in Kepong, the burial area at 5 pm. The crowd was shouting the slogan "Mao's thoughts". It was clearly not an ordinary funeral procession. The police were apparently very tolerant. If they had not been truly professional, clashes would certainly have broken out. The police were the group's target. They cursed and insulted the police.

Although the police were ready to face any eventuality their patience and tolerance deserved the utmost praise. They were able to control such an unruly procession. This was the biggest procession in Malaysia and the news soon spread throughout the country. The Malays were getting really annoyed.

Nevertheless, the elections went on as planned. The Alliance Party won by a small margin, it managed to dominate all states and it won the most seats in the House of Representatives.

The desire to give sovereignty to the national language was a national effort. To this end, the National Language Week was held followed by the National Language Month. The campaign was carried out throughout the country. It cannot be denied that Malay teachers concentrated their full attention and efforts on the national language. Tuan Syed Nasir Ismail (later Tun), the Director of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, played a prominent part in this campaign.

Malay enthusiasm was fired to accord sovereignty to the Malay language as the national language. So taken up were the Malays that they forgot about the need for English as the language of science and technology. Tunku Abdul Rahman in his speech had stressed the importance of the English language in this field. But that call was buried in the pursuit of the national language. As a compromise, efforts to use English as the language of science and technology were put off for the time being.

It was some years later before they realised the importance of the English language in seeking knowledge in the field of science and technology was realised. The national language campaign was one gigantic movement. The proponents of our language had regarded the English language as that of the colonists. Evidently they were not able to separate the colonists from their language.

The communists arranged several strategies to provoke the authorities, especially the police. They held youth assemblies in several places to ruffle the feathers of the police especially prior to the 1969 elections. These youth gangs painted the road

signs in red. They assembled late at night disturbing the peace and continued to abuse and insult the police. They deliberately enraged the authorities.

The following are extracts of the sequence of events before and after the 13 May tragedy from Tunku Abdul Rahman's book entitled *Before and After May 13*.

24 April 1969. Some days before polling day in Jelutong, Penang at 8.30 pm, an UMNO member was killed. The victim, Kassim bin Omar, was on his way home when he noticed a group of youths gathering by the roadside as if an accident had taken place. Kassim stopped his motorcycle and approached the group. Suddenly he was attacked. He died and his body was painted red. This incident could naturally spark a riot. The authorities asked his family and the Malays in Penang not to create a commotion over the death in the hope that it would prevent the communists from taking advantage of the incident.

Ten days later on 4 May 1969, six days before polling day, there was another incident, this time in Selangor. At midnight, a group of youths assembled in Kepong, outside Kuala Lumpur. Three policemen were on duty there. The youths were painting the road signs. When questioned by the police, the youths threw pieces of iron, wood and sharp objects at them. The police chased after them. A small fight ensued. The police were no match for the youths. They fired shots to defend themselves. A youth was shot. He was Lim Soon Seng, aged 24. He was taken to hospital where he later died. His family did not bring the body back to Kepong, instead it was taken to a busy lane in Chinatown, Kuala Lumpur.

On 7 May 1969, the deceased's family asked for permission to hold a procession on the 10 May 1969 which was polling day. The police refused permission as they felt the deceased was not a prominent figure. The father and some members of the Labour Party appealed that final respects be paid to the deceased through a procession. In the end, permission was granted on condition it was held on 9 May 1969. The people

should also follow the roads determined beforehand. It was to be regarded as an ordinary funeral procession.

On that specified day the procession was clearly no longer a funeral procession. The communists had turned it into a big demonstration which went on the whole day and which did not follow the routes already determined. The eight-mile long procession attracted the attention of the people by the roadside which was already scattered with posters that abused and insulted the police and the government.

On 8 May 1969, three representatives of the deceased, which did not include the father, came to the police station. They wanted to get permission to use certain roads for the procession. They chose the busy roads. They also asked the police not to wear uniforms, claiming this might arouse sensitive feelings because the deceased had been shot by the police. They protested against the presence of FRU personnel along the route. Those who came to the police station were Yap Kau, a Miss Tan and Syed Hamid who claimed to be members of the organising committee for the procession. Yap Kau was a committee member of the Kepong branch of the Labour Party. The police themselves wanted the procession to begin from Jalan Sultan, proceeding via Jalan Petaling, Jalan Kuching, Jalan Maxwell and Jalan Ipoh, then on to Kepong. The deceased's representatives wanted the procession to begin from Jalan Sultan, moving to Jalan Kinabalu, Jalan Raja, Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, Jalan Ipoh and on to Kepong. The police remained firm but the representatives said "whether permitted or not, they would take whatever route they liked."

On 12 May 1969, Dr Tan Chee Khoon of the Gerakan Party wanted to hold a victory procession only in his constituency, Batu, and Jalan Ipoh. He was a member of the opposition who had always been regarded as a gentleman in Parliament. He wanted the procession to begin from 4.30 pm and end at 7 pm with approximately 500 participants. The police informed Dr Tan that 4.30 pm would be the rush-hour, with people returning home from work and inevitably there would be traffic jams. So

they suggested that the procession begin at 5.30 pm and end an hour later, to which Dr Tan agreed.

However, his followers did not keep to the designated route. They acted like gangsters on the road. Some stood in the middle of the road in front of the Menteri Besar's residence in Jalan Raja Muda exposing themselves indecently. They also shouted out, "Menteri Besar go back to the village" and "the position of Menteri Besar must be given to non-Malays". Then the procession diverted towards Kampung Baru. This raised the ire of the Malays in Kampung Baru.

Kampung Baru is a large village in the midst of Kuala Lumpur with no less than 30 000 people who have lived there for several years in peace and harmony. The action of the crowd in jeering at the police and exposing themselves in itself showed that the Gerakan Party leaders could not control the procession. The leaders later issued a press statement on 13 May seeking pardon for what had taken place during the procession.

News of the procession in Kuala Lumpur had spread, especially in Selangor. UMNO members were of the opinion that "if the opposition party which had lost the elections could hold a procession, why not UMNO which had won considerably?"

13 May 1969, a meeting was held at the residence of Ahmad Razali (now Datuk, he was political secretary to the Menteri Besar) in Jalan Raja Muda, Kuala Lumpur. The discussion centred on the behaviour of the opposition party in the funeral procession and the procession around Kampung Baru (Ahmad Razali's constituency). The following day there was a request for a procession. The meeting was reported to Datuk Nik Hassan (Private Secretary to Tunku Abdul Rahman). Its aim was to appeal to the Tunku's good offices. On that day, the Tunku was in Kedah and was scheduled to return in the afternoon of 13 May 1969. Late that afternoon, Datuk Nik Hassan announced that he had made known to the Tunku, the UMNO members' request for a procession.

Preparations were made in Ahmad Razali's house. By 5 pm, a crowd had arrived at the official residence of Datuk Harun

Idris to participate in the procession. The residence of the Selangor Menteri Besar was not very far from that of the political secretary.

Thousands assembled at Datuk Harun's house to show the public that UMNO was still in control of the government and the Legislative State Assembly. Kampung Baru is in the midst of Kuala Lumpur. Whilst preparations were in progress around 6 pm, news came from Setapak that UMNO members there had been attacked.

The news enraged those assembled at Datuk Harun's residence. The situation went out of control thus causing a fight to break out in Kampung Baru.

14 May 1969, suddenly Kuala Lumpur became deserted. Buildings were blackened, while some were still on fire. The fire brigades had been unable to put out the fires the night of 13 May. The whole of Kuala Lumpur city was desolate and quiet. People stayed in their homes. Only police and military vehicles were to be seen in the city.

The mosques and assembly halls in Kuala Lumpur were filled with those stranded as a result of being besieged after coming to take part in the Kampung Baru procession. The mosques in Kampung Baru and Dato' Keramat were full of people. There was a problem of food shortage. Shops and the markets were closed. So were Chinese shops. Datuk Harun had to use his influence to ask *towkays* he knew to open their shops to get foodstuffs. He directed his men to certain shops for the foodstuffs. The District Offices of Kuala Selangor and Sabak Bernam were also contacted for the same purpose. Rice, corn, vegetables were among the foodstuffs sent to Kuala Lumpur.

Efforts were also made to send the stranded back to their respective villages. Tan Sri Mansor Mohd Nor, a police officer in Kuala Lumpur, did his utmost to obtain buses for this purpose. Ahmad Razali and the writer were summoned to Sri Taman where Tun Razak directed them to get vehicles to send the stranded home to their villages.

The Malays could not stand reading the news and listening to stories regarding the processions sponsored by the opposition parties in Kuala Lumpur. UMNO supporters were especially annoyed. Contestants in the elections included Alliance candidates but only the Malays were being insulted. But what incensed them was that some of the opposition members had exposed themselves in front of Datuk Harun's house. The anger of the Malays had reached boiling point.

Various measures had been employed by the opposition who deliberately wanted to annoy the Malays for example calling them "belacan" or shrimp paste, telling them to return to their villages and declaring them dead. Undoubtedly the Malays love shrimp paste otherwise they would not be Malays. However, what riled them was the way they were jeered at using the word "belacan". They were being shouted at out loud.

The Malays were consumed with anger. The abuses and insults thrown by the opposition made their blood boil. The Malays are a patient people but if they are pressured, they lose their cool. The Malays associated the procession with vengeful sentiments. They were already hurt by always being dubbed as mere peasants. Taunts of "the peasant Malays" and "the Chinese towkays" actually had become an issue during the days of confrontation led by Sukarno in the past.

During confrontation, the Indonesian ambassador Bapak Djatikusumo, had energised the anti-Malaysian campaign with the words "the Malay peasants" and "the Chinese towkays". He told the Malays that Malaysia was rich but the race buildings in the capital were owned by the Chinese. Where had the Malays gone and whither their wealth?

CHAPTER 2

Biodata of Tun Razak

THE sudden demise of Tun Abdul Razak Hussein, Malaysia's second Prime Minister on 14 January 1976 was a great loss not only to his family and country but also to ASEAN and the world. He was a highly acclaimed leader who left a legacy that will not vanish from the way of life in this country. He had placed Malaysia on a highly respected plane in the world's economic and political arenas. It is through Tun Razak that Malaysia has become well-received outside the country.

Tun Razak had made sacrifices for Malaysia up until his last breath at a clinic in London. He had thought of nothing else except the happiness and future of the people of Malaysia. Indeed his demise saddened the nation. Malaysians were deeply moved by the overwhelming messages of condolence that came from all parts of the world. In fact many heads of countries or their representatives came to Kuala Lumpur and, together with thousands of this country's citizens, accompanied the remains of the much-loved Father of Development on its way to be laid to rest at the Warriors' Tomb at the National Mosque.

The late Tun Razak left a legacy, the outcome of his untiring efforts and his wisdom, which was deeply impressed in the people's hearts. His achievements are hard to equal. Not many people in this world can claim to be a leader who is loved and

able to free a multiracial country like Malaysia from its colonial past to become one that is progressive, stable, prosperous and united. Malaysia is respected on account of its liberal political views and its aspirations to encourage regional peace and co-operation as well as its untiring efforts at promoting the unification of Islam and raising the standard of its economy.

To the people of Malaysia, Tun Razak bequeathed a political, economic and social philosophy which has become the nation's guiding principle.

The late Tun Razak left his mark in the country's legislative field with the Constitution of Malaya in 1957 and the Constitution of Malaysia in 1963. Besides this, he also contributed significantly in the fields of education, defence, rural development, finance and foreign affairs.

In the field of education, Tun Razak as the Minister of Education pioneered the Malayan National Education Policy which helped to promote unity among the people of Malaysia of various races and religions. This was implemented through a uniform national education system. Progress in education became extensive with the setting up of several universities including Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia which employed the Malay language as its medium of instruction. Thousands of modern primary and secondary schools spread in the towns in every part of the country to accommodate the ever-increasing numbers of pupils.

Tun Razak had focused on rural development since 1950 which brought about many economic and social changes to the rural population that had been neglected during colonial rule. Roads were built in the rural areas, as well as bridges across big and small rivers. There were mosques and assembly halls as well as electricity and water supplies even to the remotest villages.

New lands were opened up for the landless. Poor peasants were taken care of by government agencies such as FELDA, FELCRA and RISDA. Thousands of acres of land were opened up and turned into agricultural farms which brought income

to thousands of new pioneers. All efforts were directed at giving the poor in the rural areas a new lease of life.

The land schemes carried out at the Jengka Triangle, Pahang Tenggara, Johor Tenggara, Terengganu Tengah (Ketengah) and in Kelantan (Kesedar) are the result of Tun Razak's aspirations.

During his leadership, for the first time a philosophy based on moral and spiritual qualities came into being comprising five principles of good behaviour. Malaysia's multiracial population was guided to become a united nation. The New Economic Policy was the outcome of his untiring efforts to close the economic gap between the various communities, to re-structure society and, correct the imbalance, thereby eradicating poverty irrespective of race.

In foreign affairs, Tun Razak tried to cultivate relations with all nations prepared to be friendly with Malaysia no matter what their social or political ideology. During his days as Prime Minister, Malaysia was accepted by the third world countries because of its policy of neutrality. One of Tun Razak's greatest aspirations was to build a world where violence and disputes could be put aside and peace as well as harmony achieved. He became a pioneer of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and until the end of his life, left no stone unturned to make the ASEAN region a peaceful, free and neutral territory.

Domestically, Tun Razak succeeded in bringing peace and political stability. When he was asked to take over administration of the country as Director of National Operations Council (NOC) which gave him almost absolute power to restore law and order after the racial riots of 13 May 1969, it was not a position he relished. Nevertheless, he did not abuse the power entrusted to him.

During the 21 months he dealt with the desperate situation, Tun Razak did his utmost to find ways and means to unite the multiracial population and to avoid a recurrence of such an incident. This period gave rise to the concept of the National Front where the governing Alliance Party offered to form a

coalition government with opposition parties at the state and federal levels. When Parliament convened once again, Tun Razak most willingly gave up the absolute power entrusted to him, to lead the country towards parliamentary democracy.

For the first time, Malaysia had its own philosophy of life, the *Rukunegara* with its five principles: belief in God, loyalty to king and country, nobility of the constitution, sovereignty of the law, modesty and morality. These principles acted as guidelines in the actions of the people.

Under the wise leadership of Tun Razak, the country recovered and the people became more convinced. He directed his energy towards building the foundation for the country's development which despite requiring a lot of money and effort would help the nation towards era of greater progress and prosperity. Unfortunately he did not live to see for himself the accomplishment of his far-sighted programme.

Tun Razak was a village boy born on 11 March 1922 in Pulau Keladi near Pekan, Pahang. He descended from a noble Pahang family. He lived with his grandfather in Kampung Jambu, Langgar, about six miles from the royal town of Pekan. As a child, he mixed comfortably with the other village children. In fact, he had to walk miles to school with them.

Tun Razak studied at the Langgar Malay School, Pekan in the morning and learned the Quran and religion in the afternoon. He was a quiet but studious boy. He took a shorter time to get through his secondary education at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar. He won double promotions thrice as well as many prizes every year. He was also active in sports and excelled in hockey as well as football.

He was one of a small number of Malay Administrative Officers who gained entry into Raffles College, Singapore. His studies were interrupted with the outbreak of World War Two. During the Japanese occupation, he became a Junior Administrative Officer in Pahang. He witnessed much suffering and hardship among the people. Secretly he joined an opposition movement to help prepare for the return of the British army.



Tun Razak in a conference with the state rulers. Among the rulers present were the Sultans of Perak, Kelantan, Selangor, Pahang, Kedah and Negeri Sembilan.

After the war ended, he studied law in England, passing in merely eighteen months in April 1949. He was called to the bar in England in May 1950.

Tun Razak returned to Pahang to hold the post of State Secretary. Not long after that he became active in politics when the Malays opposed the Malayan Union. The British government wished to seize the rights of the Malay rulers and Malays through this scheme. Tun Razak joined UMNO when it was newly formed under the leadership of Datuk Onn Jaafar. He helped to strengthen the party to become a formidable national organisation when Tunku Abdul Rahman headed it.

Tun Razak's involvement in politics and the government was truly brilliant. He became UMNO's Youth leader at age 28, its Deputy President at 29 and State Secretary of Pahang at 30 years of age. Three years later at 33, he became the Menteri Besar of Pahang. A year later he became the Minister of Education. At age 35, he became the Deputy Prime Minister and finally the Prime Minister at the age of 48.

While he was Deputy Prime Minister to Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's first Prime Minister, he gained much experience which was beneficial to him when he became Prime Minister on 22 September 1970. He brought new faces into his Cabinet, initiating several major changes in politics, economy and foreign affairs.

The quality of his leadership and wisdom is reflected in various aspects of life. The country is respected by not only the people of Malaysia of various races and religions but also the people and leaders of neighbouring countries and the world at large.

CHAPTER 3

Tun Razak – A Loving Father

TUN RAZAK was a statesman, a political leader, a nobleman of the state of Pahang, an elite Malay, a diplomat and a man with the heart and soul of a Malay. Despite the prominence and recognition he received, to him what was most important was his role as a husband and father to his five children, all sons. As a statesman, Tun Razak was held in high esteem by the people and was always covered by the print and electronic media both within and outside the country. As a husband and father, Tun Razak was often embraced and hugged by his children. Every day on returning home from the office his young children would greet and accompany him into the house.

Tun Razak never forgot to kiss his children who would rush to welcome him home. They were still very young. The youngest, Mohamed Nazir, would wait for him at the door. No matter how tired he was, Tun Razak would cheerfully hug, dandle and kiss him.

Tun Razak's life can be likened to a candle. He burnt himself out to bring light to the people. Although he was ill, his illness was not known to anyone but his doctor. He was busy rushing to translate his inspirations into projects. Among various projects, Tun Razak contrived the north-south and the Kuala Lumpur-Karak highways. He initiated the building of these highways but did not live to see and use them.



*Tun Razak
and his family
visiting a
FELDA settler
model house
situated in the
Sri Taman
garden on his
47th birthday.*

Tun Razak was rich in knowledge, experience, position, titles and friends but poor from the point of view of property. He spent most of his life bringing light into the lives of his people. He raced against time to turn his knowledge and thoughts into projects for the people. When he left us, he only possessed an attap house in Pekan, his constituency. This was the property Tun Razak left to his children.

In spite of everything, he did not neglect his children's education. All five sons received their education to the highest level abroad. When he passed away, his eldest son, Mohd Najib was aged 23 while the youngest, Mohamed Nazir, was only ten. As the youngest child, he was much adored. To lose his father, who doted on him, at such a tender age, must have been difficult.

Tun Razak's children were very fortunate. Although he did not leave them any property, his wife was a millionaire's daughter. Tun Rahah is the youngest daughter of Tan Sri Mohd Noah, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the first to be selected by the people in 1959. A prominent millionaire, among his many "gifts" is the Genting Highlands Resort. It was he who led the opening of Genting Highlands.

Tun Razak and Tun Rahah were married in September 1952. At the time, he was the Pahang State Secretary. As her husband was always busy, she had to be both father and mother to their children. A few of their children were university undergraduates at the time of his death. Tun Rahah did not experience the hardship most single mothers faced, and she gave her full attention to her children.

Determined and stout-hearted in facing life's challenges, Tun Rahah succeeded in educating her children. All her children continued their studies up to university level and now she leads a peaceful life.

Tun Rahah must have been very happy to see her children setting up their own homes. Tun Razak was not able to dandle his grandchildren but Tun Rahah delights in the family bounty and pleasures. As a grandmother, surely there is no greater

TUN RAZAK – A LOVING FATHER



Tun Rahah's understated demenour belies her courage and determination in facing life without Tun Razak. She has, in spite of his absence succeeded in providing the best in education for her children.

pleasure than her grandchildren. The sadness and loneliness at the loss of her husband is now cured by the happiness she derives from her children and grandchildren.

She had five children with Tun Razak, the eldest of whom holds office in politics. Najib is a former Menteri Besar of Pahang and at present a cabinet minister. He has also held positions in several ministries. He is a former UMNO Youth leader and now he is one of UMNO's Vice-Presidents. Should Najib continue to tread wisely, his future in politics will be very bright even though political developments in actual fact are difficult to foresee. In the political arena no one can afford to sit back and relax.

A politician is on the move 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 30 days a month and twelve months a year. If he goes out of step, he will be set aside by the people. Najib's position in politics, if unchanged, is bright and so is his future as a national leader. We offer our prayers that his movement in politics will always follow a healthy track which will enable him to occupy the seat once held by his father.

All five of Tun Rahah's children have degrees from universities in the United Kingdom. Other than Najib, Tun Razak's children are not quite politically inclined. Instead they are active in trade and industry.

Tun Razak's demise left the heavy responsibility to Tun Rahah of looking after the children. However, as it turned out, Najib became a courageous helper to his mother. Not only is he a politician and national leader, he is a strong supporter of his mother, always by her side and that of his siblings.

Najib completed his studies in 1974, two years before Tun Razak passed away. He had his primary and secondary education in Kuala Lumpur, after which he continued his education in England, graduating with a BA Honours degree from the University of Nottingham. Returning home, he joined Petronas as an executive officer. He left the post to contest in the parliamentary elections, replacing his father in Pekan constituency. He had once held the post of Deputy Minister of Energy, Post

and Telecommunications before his transfer to the Ministry of Education as Deputy Minister and following that the Ministry of Finance in a similar post.

In 1982, Najib contested in the state elections. He won and at age 29 was elected Menteri Besar of Pahang. He held the post for one term. In the 1986 elections, he contested in the Parliamentary seat of Pekan. Returning to the federal government, he was elected Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports. In 1990, he was transferred to the Ministry of Defence. In 1995, Najib moved to the Ministry of Education only to return later to the Ministry of Defence in December 1999.

Najib has wide experience in UMNO. In 1976, he was chosen as Deputy Head of the Pekan Youth Division of UMNO. Four years later, he was elected as Deputy Head of the Pekan Division of UMNO before assuming the post of Head of the Division in 1982.

In that same year, he was also Vice-Chairman for Public Relations of Pahang UMNO, rising to Chairman in 1983.

At the central government level, Najib was selected as an UMNO Youth Exco member in 1978. In 1981, he was chosen as a member of UMNO's Supreme Council. He was the UMNO Youth deputy leader in 1986, two years later Youth leader and in 1993, the Vice-President of UMNO.

Najib has received many awards from various governments and voluntary bodies. In Pahang, he inherited the title Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar. This title has great influence in the Pahang royal circles and was inherited from Tun Razak. It was first awarded to Tun Razak's father, Datuk Hussein. Najib was also awarded Pahang state honours including the highest awarded to a commoner, the Darjah Kebesaran Seri Sultan Ahmad Shah (SSAP) which carries the title "Datuk Seri".

Other awards he received include the Grand Order of Youth, Republic of Korea from the Korean government, the Sports Science award from the US Academy of Sports, Knight Grand Cross "First Class" of the Most Noble Order of the Crown of

Thailand, from Indonesia the Bintang Yudha Dharma Utama, and from Singapore the Distinguished Service Order (Military).

Najib was born on 23 July 1953 in Kuala Lipis, Pahang. He married Datin Seri Rosmah Mansor and now has five children, Mohd Nizar, Puteri Norliza, Mohd Nasifuddin, Noryana Najwa and Norashman Razak.

His political position is significant. His status and personality are on a par with Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Tun Razak and Tun Hussein Onn. Tunku Abdul Rahman was the son of a Kedah ruler, Tun Razak was descended from a family close to the Pahang palace while Tun Hussein came from a family close to the Johor palace. Political relationship with the ruler is important in Malaysia. The throne, as it exists in the Constitution, holds certain powers.

The Conference of Rulers is the one institution by which the Malay rulers play their role in Malaysia. It is an institution which can balance the country's politics. If politics is not in accord with the rulers, the people in the country will be dis-united. The Malays cannot be separated from their rulers. People in this country have seen how important it is for Malaysia to be headed by the rulers. Most important of all is the throne's ability to unite people of various races and religions. At the same time, it is easier to perpetuate the position of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong than that of a president.

The position of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is at the central level while the rulers are at the state level. The rulers are not elected unlike the governors at the state level.

Evidently countries with monarchs are politically stable. In Thailand, the King is needed to settle political crises. It is the same in the United Kingdom. Formerly the socialists tried to topple the throne, but they did not succeed. When the Labour Party led by Tony Blair won, the issue of toppling the throne did not arise. Countries in Europe, especially the Scandinavian countries, which have monarchs, remain stable. Malaysia's throne perpetuates the people's tranquillity. If an institution

like the monarchy can bring peace to the people by giving them protection, why should we ignore it?

There are two types of administration, parliamentary administration by way of a monarch and by way of a President. It cannot be denied that the presidential system is more expensive. Elections have to be held from time to time. The position of a president is well-guarded. A president needs a strong security team to protect him. All these require money.

For example, when the President of the United States, Lyndon Baines Johnson, visited Malaysia, he needed many security teams who saw to the security of his bedroom. They examined his bed to make sure it was suitable for him and whether it suited his build. Hence, much money is needed.

Malaysia's system of administration is very apt. The country does not need much money to safeguard the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the rulers do not need such rigid security personnel. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the rulers do not involve themselves in politics. Their position is respected by the people. Citizens of Malaysia, whether party members or not, give their loyalty and respect to the throne. Only the rulers' salaries have to be paid, which are lower than those of some executives in the world's commercial organisations.

Ahmad Johari is Tun Razak and Tun Rahah's second son. He was born on 29 December 1954 in Kuala Lipis, Pahang. He was educated at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar from 1967 to 1969, after which he left for London and continued his studies at the University of Kent for his Bachelor of Law degree, following which he took his barrister-at-law at Lincoln's Inn, United Kingdom in 1975–1976.

On his return, Johari joined the legal sector and became a partner in a leading law firm in Kuala Lumpur. Able and competent in the legal field, he works hard to widen his knowledge in law.

Besides his work in the legal field, Johari is also involved in the corporate sector, serving on the board of directors of several big companies. His experience in law, commerce and industry

is wide. It is obvious his future is bright. If his father did not have the opportunity to leave some property to his children, perhaps it would not be the case of Johari. He will become rich.

Johari has a wife and four children (at the time this book was written). His wife is Noral Zeila binti Junid, and his children, Nazreen Zera Johari, Nazrul Zhasfiran Johari, Nazran Zhafri Johari and Nazzura Zeha Johari. His eldest was born in 1988 while his youngest in 1995.

Najib and Johari are Tun Razak's older children. They helped their mother raise and educate their three other younger siblings.

Mohamed Nizam was born in October 1958 in Kuala Lumpur. He has a BA (Oxon) degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics. When he returned home, he went straight into the business sector working in commercial finance, banking, insurance and development. He is involved in the business and finance sector.

Mohamed Nizam married Khatijah binti Tun Rahman, daughter of a former Federal Minister, Chief Minister of Sarawak as well as Sarawak's Yang di-Pertua. He has a keen interest in sports and welfare institutions and he enjoys golf.

Mohamed Nazim was born on 25 March 1962 in Kuala Lumpur. He studied at Oundle School, Peterborough in the United Kingdom. Later he moved to The Architectural Association, School of Architecture, Bedford Square, London. Nazim continued his studies at the Royal Institute of British Architects.

Returning home, he involved himself in business, commerce and finance, also consultancy and advertisement. He arranged plans for big building projects like that of the Putra World Trade Centre.

Mohamed Nazir was born on 19 November 1966 in Kuala Lumpur. He married Azlina binti Tan Sri Abdul Aziz. He studied at St John's Institution, Kuala Lumpur in 1972-1976. Then he moved to Alice Smith School in 1977-1979, after which he joined Oundle School in England in 1980-1985. He then went

to Bristol University, England. After getting his degree in 1988-1989, he continued his studies at the Cambridge University in economic philosophy and political development.

While studying at Oundle School, he was prefect and head of the rugby and cadet teams. At Bristol University, he was active in football and rugby, was President of the Malaysia and Singapore Students' Association and member of the Marshall Economics Society. At Cambridge, he was a member of the Cambridge Union and again active in the Malaysia and Singapore Students' Association and the Marshall Economics Society.

He returned home to join the banking sector and is now the Chief Executive and Managing Director of a merchant bank.

CHAPTER 4

Tun Razak – A Loyal Deputy

TUN RAZAK was born in a village in Pekan, Pahang – Kampung Langgar. He was born into an elite family in Pahang, his father being one of Pahang's Orang Besar Diraja. After the death of his father, Datuk Hussein, Tun Razak inherited his father's title – Orang Kaya Berempat Pahang. His family is close to Pahang royalty. Kampung Langgar is only about five miles from Pekan, the royal town.

Although he was born into an elite Pahang clan, Tun Razak was brought up by his grandfather in the village. In the village surroundings, he understood well the sufferings and needs of the village community. He was educated at a village school in Pekan following which he studied at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar before going on to Raffles College, Singapore and to university in London. Whilst studying, he got to know Tunku Abdul Rahman. The Tunku was already in London when Tun Razak arrived to further his studies. A good student, Tun Razak gained brilliant results in London.

When he returned to Malaya, he held a high position in Pahang as the State Secretary. In 1939, he was posted to the Malay Administrative Service and in 1949 to the Malay Civil Service. He was appointed unofficially to the Federal Legislative Council as a member in 1951 and in 1955 he became the acting

Menteri Besar of Pahang. Tun Razak left his government post to contest in the first general elections in 1955.

The third Prime Minister, Tun Hussein Onn, was Tun Razak's brother-in-law. His wife, Tun Suhaila is also a daughter of Tan Sri Mohd Noah.

The late Tun Razak's name remains in the political arena because of his eldest son, Najib. The same can be said of the late Tun Hussein whose involvement in politics is continued by his son, Hishammuddin who is active in UMNO and holds the post of minister. Only the children of Tunku Abdul Rahman are not active in politics.

The following is a résumé of Tun Razak's illustrious education and government service:

Primary school	: 1928	Malay School, Pekan, Pahang
Secondary school	: 1934	Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak
College	: 1940	Raffles College, Singapore
University	: 1947	Lincoln's Inn, England
	: 1949	Devonshire Course at Cambridge
	: 1950	Called to the English Bar
Government service	: 1951	Appointed as an unofficial Member of the Federal Legislative Council
	: 1952	Appointed as State Secretary of Pahang
	: 1955	Appointed as acting Menteri Besar of Pahang

Returning from England, Tun Razak came face to face with the crisis within UMNO. He became a member in 1950. The crisis came about when the late Datuk Onn Jaafar wished to open UMNO's door to all races. Datuk Onn's proposal and views conflicted with that of UMNO and as a result he left UMNO. It was Tun Razak who persuaded Tunku Abdul Rahman to lead UMNO. They had become close friends in London. Tun Razak became the Youth leader in 1950 and when the

Tunku became UMNO President in 1951, Tun Razak became his deputy.

Tun Razak's philosophy as a deputy became history in UMNO. He was UMNO Deputy President for twenty years since 1950 and for almost fifteen years, was Deputy Prime Minister since 1957. He left these two posts when the Tunku retired from politics in 1971. Both posts were second in rank to Tunku Abdul Rahman. Despite the long period of time, there was no sign whatsoever that he had tired of his responsibilities. He continued in the usual way and just as fervently.

Tun Razak's personality has become an example to the members of UMNO after him. Leaders in the party come and go, but the party lives on to protect the position of the country and the people.

UMNO leaders during the time of Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak were unique politicians. No one was superior to another. They possessed balanced political endurance, leadership fortitude, and tolerance in their thinking. Whilst testing themselves, they valued other people's abilities. They discussed among themselves in strict confidence who should hold the positions in UMNO. The post of UMNO leader is usually given to one who is qualified and willing to concentrate his energy and soul to the office. Thus, when the time comes for the UMNO General Assembly usually posts like that of the President or Deputy President are not contested. These posts already have been determined and the UMNO General Assembly merely confirms the uncontested posts. This process is done by members of UMNO close to the leader. Those regarded as the inner circle are a team of UMNO members charged with the task of finding out the views and opinions of the ordinary members and the public.

Often Tun Razak became the focus of the UMNO members' attention. He was an example of a person loyal to the chief and patient as a deputy. His philosophy was simple. UMNO must not be ruffled. It was like an umbrella to shield the Malays, like a spring on the mountain top – clear and fresh. The water flowed

following the valley, through even the dirty areas. Thus, the clear water becomes dirty. So it is with UMNO. The party is clear but becomes dirty when the UMNO members dirty it.

When Tun Razak was no longer in UMNO the leadership tradition too changed. He was called to Allah his Maker in 1976. At his death, the "face to face" tradition of determining responsibilities in UMNO which he had arranged with the late Tunku, ended.

When Tun Hussein became UMNO President, division in the party became visible. Tun Hussein's position was once challenged in the UMNO General Assembly. One group put up Sulaiman Palestin as a candidate. In the contest itself these groups were not obvious as Sulaiman Palestin moved on his own silently.

At the UMNO General Assembly that year, Tun Hussein won by a big majority while Sulaiman Palestin took his defeat graciously. It was the first time that the UMNO tradition had been broken.

The tradition in the selection of the UMNO leadership changed profoundly in August 1993 when a group within UMNO toppled Tun Ghafar Baba. The selection process initiated by Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak had been erased altogether. The candidate contesting against Tun Ghafar travelled to the north, south, east and west to gain support. This group had arranged its strategy. In every Divisional General Assembly when the agenda calls for a candidate to be nominated for Deputy President, someone would stand up to name Tun Ghafar's challenger and immediately someone else would propose the nomination closed. Money politics began in earnest that year. Thus it came to pass that divisions throughout the country did not name Tun Ghafar as a candidate for Deputy President. Such was the strength of the nomination in the party that Tun Ghafar was left with no choice but to withdraw from becoming the candidate.

Since the movement to topple Tun Ghafar, money politics has crept into UMNO. Tun Ghafar's fall was not acceptable as he had given his life to UMNO.

Tun Ghafar retired from the Cabinet. When Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir faced a crisis within UMNO after Tan Sri Musa Hitam left the Cabinet, he invited Tun Ghafar to become Deputy Prime Minister and following that, UMNO Deputy President.

Tun Ghafar offered to settle the crisis faced by the parties within the National Front. His sacrifice for the party and the government cannot be ignored. Unfortunately, with the existence of groups within UMNO, Tun Ghafar's fate took an unexpected turn. No UMNO leader came forward to support him.

Money politics began from the top strata. It became a struggle in UMNO. It was most difficult to extinguish this art of money politics because the UMNO leadership had brought it into being. With the fall of Tun Ghafar, money politics came to the fore within UMNO from branch and division levels seeping into the UMNO Supreme Council.

It is this political art that became the generation gap between the former UMNO members and the members today and the future. It easily seeps into the hearts of young UMNO members because they do not know and thus do not appreciate the good deeds of those who had come before them. The UMNO groups of old frequently held "UMNO courses" or work camps in every branch and division. But today UMNO members who hold conventions concentrate more on business and economy in their discussions. No more is heard of courses on UMNO's struggle or that of the members of the past generation. Because politics has taken on this appearance, UMNO members are forced to struggle with this era of money politics. So only those with money can become UMNO leaders.

Those who have the means could send UMNO members abroad for a holiday or on pilgrimage to Mecca if they preferred. In this manner, the money channelled out would not be obvious although the objective was still to gain influence among the UMNO members.

UMNO members seem to have accepted this generation gap situation as a way of life in the party. It cannot be controlled

because the majority of today's members were born after independence. They have never gone through the bitter experience of fighting for the country's independence. They do not know how difficult it was for the past leaders to walk to the villages and row boats along the rivers to reach the people to gain support for independence. Before independence, the aim or focus of every member was only one - independence. Every UMNO member echoed the cry "Merdeka" while at the same time encouraged the spirit of tolerance among the people of various races and religions. Efforts were made so that this spirit seeped into the hearts of the people. To the Malays it was stressed that they needed non-Malays, while to the non-Malays, it was emphasised that they could not live in this country if they could not get along with the Malays.

The generation gap within UMNO became more acute as the country moved further and further away from independence. The further in time it was, the political spirit within the members grew weaker and weaker. Gradually UMNO will become a "welfare body" or "business organisation".

The political shouts emerge only in the general elections or by-elections. This cannot be ignored after seeing how Tun Ghafar was toppled. If the UMNO members had appreciated the struggles of those who had come before them, then Tun Ghafar's departure from UMNO would not have been so painful. The incident in which Tun Ghafar was toppled from the UMNO leadership is not easily forgotten especially by UMNO members born before independence.

Tun Razak was an outstanding figure. Patient and diligent in his struggle, he was an example to the younger generation of UMNO members. His authoritative quality was a pillar of strength in UMNO when he became Prime Minister. When he was deputy, no one could replace him as one with high calibre and yet was loyal to the leadership.

Although deputy to the Tunku, his burden was much heavier. The leadership in UMNO then was special. Tunku Abdul Rahman always regarded his deputy as his alter ego. No matter

where he was, the Tunku was never reluctant to say that Tun Razak would take his place when he relinquished his post as UMNO President and as Prime Minister. Tun Razak's sincerity as deputy to Tunku Abdul Rahman certainly could never be bought at any stage in UMNO's struggle.

Tun Razak was a young leader but he behaved like one who was much older. Whenever he left his home, he never forgot to bring his walking-stick along. When visiting the villages, he was always in bush jacket or Malay attire. Even if he wore a bush jacket, he would not forget his *songkok*, especially when visiting the villages. Such apparel certainly won the hearts of the villagers. Tun Razak never put on a suit and tie on visits to the villages. This was his charm. He knew what clothes would be agreeable to the villagers' feelings and sentiments.

As Deputy Prime Minister, he bore many heavy responsibilities. Besides those of a cabinet minister, he also undertook tasks in welfare activities and sports. The hockey stadium built in Jalan Duta was named after him.

The administration of Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak was of a conservative nature. Representatives of the people at the state level and Parliament were made up of those diligent in politics. The majority who contested at state and parliamentary levels were school teachers from the Sultan Idris Teachers' Training College (now raised to university status), village headmen and officers. Not many among them had doctorates. With such backgrounds and positions, they focused their attention more on politics than business. Of late many of the people's representatives are made up of those who have the title doctor.

Most of these people with high qualifications have two faces – the political and the business. These representatives of the people show their faces in their constituencies only during elections. After that, they migrate to Kuala Lumpur to expand their businesses.

This is what is regarded as the generation gap. Obviously politics today is different from politics in the past. Most of those



This is the image of simplicity that Tun Razak has always portrayed to the people. He is hardly seen on his visits without a songkok, a walking stick and his favourite attire, a bush jacket. This picture was captured during his election campaign visit to Pekan, Pahang in 1969.

who are in Parliament and the State Legislative Council today were born after independence. Some among them do not know the struggles leading up to independence. They were born during independence whereas those fighters before them were born in the colonial era. The politicians of the past had to walk or cycle and use boats while campaigning to win the people's support. Today all amenities or basic infrastructure are available. Only within a few years of independence, attention was given to the building of roads and bridges, as well as the supply of electricity, telecommunications and other social facilities.

In their time, the past leaders (today termed the veterans) went through a difficult process to become the people's representatives at either state or parliamentary levels. They were required to undergo selection at the UMNO branch and division levels. Following that only they would be considered for selection at the central level. This process made them realistic and trustworthy in doing their respective jobs as well as made them truly attentive to their tasks. If they did not take care of their constituencies, letters of complaint would come incessantly from the public to the leader.

The same could be said of the appointment of UMNO branch and division heads. It was an open selection. Members were free to make their decisions. The question of the prospective leader travelling all over the place did not arise. Offers to sign credit cards in hotels, to buy cars or to go on pilgrimage did not arise. The veteran UMNO members did not understand the meaning of money politics. The words "money politics" did not exist in the veteran's dictionary.

This culture of money politics emerged among some UMNO members only when they tried to topple Tun Ghafar in the 1993 UMNO elections.

Before that money politics did not feature in UMNO's culture. It is this too which caused the generation gap among UMNO's veteran members and those born after independence.

The following is a chronology of the posts held by Tun Razak:

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 1958 | Appointed the second Prime Minister (the late Tunku Abdul Rahman retired temporarily to campaign in the federal elections). |
| 1959 | Appointed Minister of Rural Development while at the same time holding the posts of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. |
| 1960 | Appointed Deputy of Inter-governmental Committee on Formation of Malaysia. |
| 1967-1969 | In charge of national security. |
| 16 May 1969 | After the general elections and the 13 May 1969 incident, appointed Director of the National Operations Council (NOC) under emergency regulations for a period of 21 months until this was repealed and Parliament resumed in February 1971. |
| 16 May 1969 | Whilst Director of the NOC, he also held the post of Minister of Finance under the Emergency Cabinet. |
| 1970
(22 September) | Tunku Abdul Rahman retires. Besides all existing posts, Tun Razak held the posts of Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Defence. |

The Ministry of Rural Development brought Tun Razak to the poor community. He travelled to the remotest villages to meet the people and planned projects suitable to the development of these places. He travelled by jeep, bicycle, boat and raft, and he walked. He was able to see clearly for himself the conditions in each village. He knew what the people really needed. In every district he usually held meetings with the district officer. The operations room in every district showed the plan and development of the projects carried out.

The main focus was on roads, electricity and water supplies and the telephone. The villagers were encouraged to organise

a "Farmer's Market" so that the people could buy and sell things every week.

As Minister of Rural Development, Tun Razak created guidelines in the form of what become known as the Red Book. All sorts of projects are recorded in it according to their levels, thus there was the Red Book at central, state and district levels. The District Officers were directed to hold meetings regarding the contents of the Red Book.

The Red Book was an important guide. In line with this book, in every District Office an operations room was set up where plans were prepared to show the projects that were being undertaken, would be undertaken and already completed. The Rural Development Ministry's main focus was to identify the land areas that should be opened up under the FELDA scheme. According to the rural development programme, FELCRA, FELDA and RISDA were agencies pioneer the agricultural work.

FELDA opened up forest areas FELCRA concentrated on abandoned land areas and village land under rehabilitation whereas RISDA focused on the rubber smallholders' programme.

Besides opening up FELDA territories, Tun Razak also endeavoured to open up the Federation Development Scheme, which focused attention on agricultural industries. The largest of these federal development territories are the Jengka Development Scheme, the DARA Development Scheme, the Johor Tenggara Scheme, the Ketengah Development Scheme in Terengganu, and the Kesedar Federal Development Scheme in Kelantan. The opening up of these territories included industrial areas for each and every development area.

The aim was to open up towns as well as heavy industrial areas in the rural territories. Tun Razak's slogan at the time was for the rural areas to "become towns". Development of industry in rural areas would prevent the young from migrating to the towns and city.

Furthermore, new towns in the rural areas would hinder the heavy industries from concentrating in territories already

developed like Kuala Lumpur, Shah Alam, Johor Bahru and Penang.

Thus this structure would be able to prevent the city and towns from being filled with loafers and idlers, traffic jams, squatter homes and "instant" dwellings. Most important of all development of the territories would prevent the villagers from migrating to the towns.

In this way, development and prosperity would flow to the traditional village areas, bringing them back to life. Their population would continue to live in the traditional villages and the town environment would be brought to the newly opened territories like DARA (*Lembaga Kemajuan Pahang Tenggara*) in south-east Pahang.

This area covers the whole of the Pekan district to the east, Temerloh in the west and Rompin in the south. These large districts contain traditional villages. When the Pahang Tenggara Territory came into being, these traditional villages would develop, thus bringing changes.

If the villagers migrated to the towns, the traditional villages would gradually disappear and the area turn into jungle once more. Usually the villagers would return to their villages when they have retired from their jobs in the city.

Tun Razak said this of the DARA territorial development:

"This southeast Pahang territory is newly opened up with the sweat of our brow, in the same way as our forefathers had opened up new villages with their blood, sweat and tears. So, we should in every way accept the difficulties and hardships. These we have to face if we want to progress and prosper.

"The aim of the government in opening up such large territories like this one and creating new towns is to give opportunities to you, to enable our people who do not have the chance to work to get good jobs and homes as well as a future that is guaranteed. This is our objective."

Besides developing agriculture and industry, development centres and new towns were also planned so that the people

would not only be able to live in the towns and enjoy the modern facilities, but they would also get jobs in the industrial sector and the farms.

Tun Razak focused his whole life on rural development to create townships and bring the town environment to the villages so that the villagers could experience it. In this way too it would be possible to deter the villagers' migration to urban areas like Kuala Lumpur, Penang and Johor.

Tun Razak's visits to the villages were always closely followed by groups of local and foreign journalists. He was always cordial to the journalists and officers even late at night after dinner. They often managed to talk to him about his ideas and vision for the future.

During one of his visits to Pahang, he was known to have slept on a raft house. He left Temerloh in the evening on the raft towards Pekan. This house on a raft belonged to the late Sultan Abu Bakar. After a short supper, he was chatting amiably with journalists and government officers. It is during these informal chats that they were able to fathom what lay deep in his heart.

He would often turn his focus to the future. His lofty aim was to replace the jungles from Kuala Pahang to the Titiwangsa Range towards Mount Tahan, with rubber estates, oil palm and cocoa plantations. In this way these estates and plantations would become interspersed with the new towns for the benefit of the rural folk.

Tun Razak was one of the distinguished personalities who fought for independence. The task of promoting unity amongst the people in order to claim independence was not easy. The leaders had to travel the length and breadth of the country to meet the people. They cycled, walked and travelled by boat. Before independence, there were no roads in the rural areas. To go to the East Coast from Kuala Lumpur they had to go by ferry across rivers.

It took them no fewer than thirteen ferries to get to the east coast. Always in Tun Razak's thoughts were the pain and



*Tun
Dr Ismail, Tun
Razak and
Tunku Abdul
Rahman are
pictured together
at the UMNO
general assembly
in 1959.
Together, they
shaped the path
of an
independent
Malaysia.*

sufferings of the people and these made it easy for him to think of projects which would bring prosperity to his people. As Minister of Rural Development, Tun Razak did his utmost so that with independence of the country, the needs of the people would be realised. Such an effort was obviously in a long-term project.

Tun Razak concentrated his efforts on the task of giving a good standard of living to the rural folk so that they could enjoy the amenities which before were available to only the town people. It was his ambition.

The Red Book Plan or the Rural Development Scheme created an impression in the neighbouring countries. Some universities made a study of it. The Cobbold Commission, in carrying out a survey on the opinions of the people of Sabah and Sarawak, found out that the Rural Development Project was the main reason why these people wanted to join Malaysia, other than the strong image of both Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak as anti-communist leaders of high calibre. Obviously the rural folk in Sabah and Sarawak craved for such development and their support of Malaysia's Rural Development Scheme was a hot topic among them. This was conveyed to the Cobbold Commission.

The Commission found the views of the rural people in Sabah and Sarawak to be independent and free from any influence.

Tun Razak gave very serious thought to the unity and solidarity of the Malays and Malay politics. The Malays regarded him as the pillar of their community. He worked hard to coordinate UMNO's struggle with that of the Malay parties outside UMNO.

Based on this wish, discussions were held with the leaders of PAS (Pan-Malayan Islamic Party). At first, these discussions were held unofficially but gradually they became more serious until finally the PAS leaders chiefly Datuk Asri Muda were able to accept UMNO's struggle. It was during Tun Razak's adminis-

tration that UMNO and PAS became united. Thus the Alliance (of UMNO, MCA and MIC) became the National Front, and Datuk Asri Muda was appointed Minister in the Federal Cabinet. Consequently members of PAS who loved to accuse UMNO members being infidels stopped disputing.

CHAPTER 5

Education Then and Now

THE British education system in this country is totally different from that under the National Education Policy after independence. The British education system can be likened to a pyramid where the total number entering the lower standard or beginners' classes was large but those who passed Standard Nine (the Overseas School Certificate of Education) were very few.

In this system, examinations were held every year to promote pupils to the next level. Through this process, many pupils dropped out yearly. Therefore the number who made it to Standard Nine and who passed that level was very small. Many dropped out at the Junior Cambridge level which was Standard Nine and below.

In Pahang, for example, before World War Two and several years after the war, only one school prepared pupils for the Standard Nine examination, the Clifford School, Kuala Lipis. The other schools in Raub, Bentong, Temerloh and Kuantan only had up to Standard Eight.

Under this system, pupils who passed Standard Five in the Malay schools were admitted to a special class called the Special Malay Class (SMC) and those who passed the examination at the end of the year were promoted to Special Malay Class II.

From Special Malay Class II, some got promoted to Standard Four or Standard Five depending on the year's examination results. These pupils would sit for the Overseas Senior Cambridge examination in seven or eight years if they passed their examinations every year.

Pupils not from the Malay schools but who went directly to the English schools entered Primary I and Primary II classes and after that were promoted to Standard One until they reached Standard Nine. This meant that pupils initially from the Malay schools attended English school only seven or eight years whereas those directly admitted to the English schools would take as long as eleven years.

Malay children had to enter Malay school first to learn their mother tongue and also the Quran. Thus these pupils were weak in English compared to those who went directly to English school, many of whom were non-Malay. Although those from Malay School could cope as well as get high marks in the Senior Cambridge examination in the other subjects, it was the English language which became the deciding factor for admission into preparatory classes to the university or what is normally called Form Six.

According to this British system, those who failed the yearly examination would be given a chance to repeat the year. However, pupils from the village did not have the opportunity to repeat as they had to return home owing to financial constraints. Many became drop-outs under this system. Failing the yearly examination in Standard One or Two and not repeating the year, meant an increasing number of illiterates in the villages, the majority of whom were Malay children.

After independence under Tun Razak's leadership, the government made available special allocations for adult classes to enable those who had dropped out to learn to read and write. These adult classes greatly reduced the number of illiterates in this country. As a result many student from adult class were able to attain the level of those who left the formal education system.

The adult classes succeeded in reducing the total number of illiterates among the older generation. Should we spend a little time reflecting on the difference between the British education system and the National Education Policy, we would realise how deficient life was under the colonial government.

The National Education Policy provided for automatic promotion from Standard One up to the level of the Lower Certificate of Education where for the first time an examination determined if a pupil would be promoted to the next level or would have to drop out of school.

In this way pupils were assured of an education for nine years. Even if they became farmers or rubber tappers, they would still be able to read the newspapers and agricultural articles which would help them to improve in their jobs. In other words, they could become modern farmers.

The National Education Policy has a long-term effects. Besides helping the growth and development of the national language as the mother tongue of the young generation, it in actual fact also prevents illiteracy among the young by creating the policy of automatic promotion at least for nine years. It encourages the rich to build schools, higher institutions of learning and private universities in Malaysia. Universities offering twinning programmes with those in the United Kingdom, United States and Australia have risen in Malaysia as a result of the National Education Policy.

The setting up of universities and private institutions in Malaysia shows the country can become the education base for countries in this region. The important thing is to ensure the quality of these institutions so that the question of credibility does not arise. If these private institutes and universities are able to maintain a high standard as those in the United Kingdom, then education in Malaysia can help to raise the country's economy by bringing in students from abroad which in itself will add to the flow of foreign currency into Malaysia.

The young generation today regard the sad fate of the students during colonial days as a myth. Nowadays there are

hardly any students who study at home sitting cross-legged on the floor using oil lamps. They now study under electric lights. These days poor students are aided in many ways. They are given free books, donations, while residential schools are built in the remote areas in the country. If during the colonial era only the children of the rich got a chance to continue studying in universities, today it is a normal thing for the children of rubber tappers, fishermen or farmers to set foot in a university within the country or abroad.

When the country's government was ruled by a son of the soil himself, it was found the number of illiterates among Malay families was almost half of Malaya's entire population of that time. Those who dropped out from schools did not lose their zest for life. They wanted to settle down. If the parents in one family were illiterate, the matter of giving encouragement to their children to seek knowledge remains solely that they learned how to read and write. They needed their children to contribute to the family's livelihood. Some pupils had to sell fried bananas and *nasi lemak* before going to school.

With the existence of so many illiterates, the government felt responsible for giving opportunities to those who were illiterate and those who did not go to school at all during colonial rule, to "go to school" although they were over-aged and already married. By doing this, these people would be able to experience school life which they never had the pleasure of knowing during the colonial era.

After independence a department for adult classes was set up in a ministry under Tun Razak. Adult classes were opened in the villages. There were no strict conditions. In some of these villages mothers carrying little children attended the classes. Mothers and fathers with their little children sat together in the same class.

Even grandmothers came to the adult classes in some villages, bringing along betel leaf containers and cigarettes wrapped in the dried shoots of the *nipah* palm. Some would return home in the midst of learning because they had forgotten something that needed to be attended to.



Tun Razak and Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie were an inspiration for the Malays. This picture was taken in 1963 before Tun Razak and his entourage left for London to discuss the formation of Malaysia.

The National Education Policy was indeed the needed pill in the effort to wipe out illiteracy in our country. The difference between the colonial education system and the National Education Policy was vast. The former system merely aimed at in giving a small number of youths the chance to study up to a higher level. This way, the British government in Malaya need not create many jobs for the young. However, under the National Education Policy, the opportunity to study was open to all youths – whether male or female, from a rich or poor family, living in or outside town.

This policy also tackled the task of exterminating illiteracy. Automatic promotion from Standard One up to the Lower Certificate of Education (LCE) meant a pupil received an education for nine years – six years in the primary and three years in lower secondary school. The first examination to determine the continuation of a student's education is at the LCE level (Form Three).

The assurance of attending school for nine years at least is able to prevent the number of illiterates from rising.

Having gained some knowledge, even though they become farmers or fishermen they are at least educated and able to follow whatever progress is made in their fields and thus are able to raise their productivity.

CHAPTER 6

Tun Razak – The First Minister of Education

BEFORE World War Two, the United Kingdom had vast colonies, spread throughout Asia, the Middle East up to Africa. These British colonies were all rich in natural resources such as tin, gold, petroleum and metal. They also had forest products. Actually Malaya was no less rich in these resources which contributed to the riches of the British Empire. Malaya produced tin, gold, iron ore, timber and other forest products. Some minerals had to be dug, the forests and jungles had to be cleared and rubber trees had to be tapped.

All these were transported to England or countries allied to England to be processed and turned into the necessary product. There were many factories that processed these products into ready-made articles for export after which they were brought into Malaya. There was no question of specialised training of experts in these fields. Even if there were any training given to the people of this country it was limited to the level of the technician or college, not to university level. All the heads of administration in the technical field were white.

One thing that cannot be repudiated is the training of administrative officers. The British government arranged the structure of Malaya's administration following the system in

England. Many Malays were trained as administrative officers in the Malayan Civil Service (MCS) beginning from a lower rank and promoted step by step. Some were sent to the United Kingdom for administrative courses.

After Malaya achieved independence in 1957, the presence of these administrative officers in the lower ranks enabled changes to be made smoothly. It was known as the Malayisation Policy (replacing the white officers with the locals).

Until some years after independence, the administration remained efficient and organised. It is a fact that this country, one among only a few other former colonial territories, has an administrative system that has continued to run smoothly.

In some African countries which were colonised such as Congo (not a former British colony), the system has disintegrated.

After World War Two, many Malays went to the United Kingdom to take up special courses in administration or further their studies in the universities. Among those most prominent from Pahang were Tun Razak and Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie.

It was in England that Tun Razak first became a close friend of Tunku Abdul Rahman. To him, England was a new land while Tunku Abdul Rahman had already regarded it as a place to have fun. The Tunku was in England with Tun Razak when he returned for the second time to complete his law studies. He was old enough to be Tun Razak's father but their friendship gradually grew stronger, possibly because both had come from high-ranking families with palace connections. Their friendship was very close, for when Tunku Abdul Rahman became Malaya's first Prime Minister, Tun Razak was his deputy. The Tunku would fondly refer to Tun Razak as his alter ego.

In England after the war the Malays set up an organisation where they could gather and hold discussions. Without such a body, they would have felt isolated because only a small number of Malays were in England then. By meeting once in a while they would come to miss home less.

Tun Razak had his own aspirations. He became interested in the students who often discussed the matter of independence

of the Indian continent (now India, Pakistan and Bangladesh). His experience during the Japanese occupation of Malaya had made him realise the bitterness of the people's sufferings. In England, he was able to see the difference in the lives of the people of an independent country.

The Indian students and their leaders at home struggled zealously to free their homeland. It was so with Tunku Abdul Rahman. His struggle as a district officer in Kedah during the Japanese occupation in defence of the suffering population was not just news to the people of Kedah. The Death Railway labourers and refugees going to Alor Setar spread the news about his struggle to save the community in Kedah especially during the administration of the *Bintang Tiga*.

Not all members of *Bintang Tiga* supported the Force 136 team. Made up of Chinese who believed in communism, they wished to conquer this country and create a communist administration. At that time the Malays were waiting for the Japanese to surrender and the British to return to Malaya. But before the British landed once more in Malaya, within fourteen days, the *Bintang Tiga* tried to conquer the states in Malaya and wrest the administration from them. Because the spirit of Islam does not agree with communist ideology, the Malays could not accept the *Bintang Tiga*. In some places like Raub, Bentong and Temerloh in Pahang, many Malays died in of clashes with the guerillas. When the British Military Administration (BMA) took over Malaya once again, the *Bintang Tiga* members ran into the jungle and later became the nucleus of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM).

Having similar experiences and aspirations, Tun Razak and Tunku Abdul Rahman co-ordinated their thoughts into a political caucus to discuss the manner in which independence could be obtained for Malaya.

Tun Razak played an important role in the students' caucus in the United Kingdom (Society of Malay Students, Great Britain). Through this caucus the Malay students to assemble, and hold meetings and discussions.

These Malay students, in particular Tun Razak and Tunku Abdul Rahman, learnt from the experiences of the Indian independence fighters, and brought back to the homeland this knowledge. In Malaya, it was difficult for them to assemble. Tun Razak was in Pahang, Tun Dr Ismail in Johor while Tunku Abdul Rahman was in Kuala Lumpur.

In the United Kingdom, France, United States and other democratic countries in the West, political discussions or any other discussions take place freely under the concept of freedom of speech. These countries have long histories of civilisation and their people know their human rights. The people are sensitive to issues affecting themselves and their lives. They use these rights to set up organisations, associations and specific bodies. For example, the labourers have their unions, the farmers and the fishermen their associations.

They have the right to speak freely and use these bodies and organisations to lobby or to press their claims. They are also free to criticise the government as they are funded by their own members and do not depend on aid or the support of the administration.

For example in England, it is common for those who are dissatisfied to express their thoughts and misgivings at places like the Speakers' Corner at Hyde Park. In the United States, groups carrying posters would parade in front of the White House to give vent to their feelings or protests.

The United Kingdom, France and United States are countries where leaders of foreign nations who have failed or have been deposed seek refuge in order to plan the next step in their struggle. Ayatollah Khomeini, for instance, was an ousted leader in Paris who planned his strategy to topple the Shah of Iran. He appointed his political cadres in Teheran while the country was ruled by the Shah of Iran.

What Ayatollah Khomeini did drew much attention worldwide. He returned from Paris on a special flight, arriving at the airport in Iran to be welcomed by the people. By that

time, the Shah of Iran had already left the country to seek political asylum in a neighbouring country.

Benigno Aquino of the Philippines also planned his strategy from outside the country but as soon as he arrived at the airport, he was shot dead. His wife, Corazon Aquino, continued his struggle and in a chaotic general elections, she won and became President. However, she withdrew after one term.

In Pakistan, the daughter of a former president and prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, plotted her strategy in England. She returned to her homeland after her father had been sentenced to death. She won in the general elections but before the end of her term, the President dissolved Parliament. Benazir Bhutto's party was later defeated in the elections held.

The Malays who studied in the United Kingdom after World War Two, in particular Tun Razak, made plans to free Malaya from British rule. They did this according to the process and tenets of democracy. When they returned to Malaya in the 1950's, immediately they joined the UMNO movement which had been established in a congress of Malay leaders in 1946. The return of Tun Razak, Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Dr Ismail coincided with the beginnings of a breakup within UMNO under the leadership of Datuk Onn Jaafar.

Datuk Onn's proposal to open UMNO's door to the non-Malays resulted in disagreement within the organisation. Some were in favour while others opposed. Tun Razak widened his political caucus at the state level to include Ghafar Baba (Melaka), Mohd Khir Johari (Kedah), Ghazali Jawi, Bahaman Shamsuddin (Perak), Tengku Indri Petra (Kelantan), Sheikh Ahmad (Perlis), Datuk Ibrahim Fikri (Terengganu), Ahmad Badawi, Ibrahim Abdul Rahman and Aziz Ibrahim (Penang). They in turn had their respective supporters.

As the crisis in UMNO reached its peak, Datuk Onn whose proposal did not get much support announced his intention to give up his post as UMNO President. Tun Razak saw an opportunity and decided to seize it. He and his supporters

agreed that the Tunku should take over UMNO. A delegation headed by Tun Razak met the Tunku to persuade him to take over the party. Tunku Abdul Rahman who had by then been earmarked by the British government to become judge, agreed on Tun Razak's insistence.

At an extraordinary general meeting in 1951, Tunku was officially appointed UMNO President replacing Datuk Onn. Later through the efforts of Datuk Onn, Parti Negara was established with members from various races. Meanwhile, Tunku Abdul Raman continued UMNO's struggle to unite the Malays.

Those who supported Datuk Onn left UMNO and joined Parti Negara. At the time the British government had appointed Datuk Onn as Member of Internal Affairs (a cabinet member of the High Commissioner General Templar). Because he was a Malay leader acknowledged by the British, high-ranking government officials including several Menteri Besar had to support the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak secretly.

The UMNO crisis then was more alarming than that of 1987 which was the result of the misunderstanding between Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad and Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah. The latter's supporters left UMNO in great numbers and established Parti Semangat 46. The application to name the party UMNO 46 had been rejected by the government led by Dr Mahathir. In the UMNO General Assembly of 1987, Dr Mahathir defeated Tengku Razaleigh by 42 votes, whereas Ghaffar Baba defeated Datuk Musa Hitam by a few votes only.

After Tunku Abdul Rahman had taken over UMNO, Tun Razak left his government post to concentrate on organising UMNO. The Tunku was flanked by Tun Razak and Tun Dr Ismail.

They outlined a political manifesto urging the British government to give independence to Malaya. UMNO's slogan then was "Merdeka" (independence).

Within a short period of time, UMNO became a strong party. It pressed for elections to be held in Malaya. As expected, the British were not to agreeable. As UMNO's position had become stronger under Tunku Abdul Rahman's leadership the Kuala Lumpur Municipal Council elections were held in 1952. UMNO won all the seats contested, thus boosting the party's spirit. The slogan "Merdeka" could be heard all over of Malaya.

UMNO pressured the British into agreeing that some members of the Federal Legislative Council be chosen by the people. Other members, including the Menteri Besar, were appointed by the British High Commissioner in Malaya. At the time Malaya was under the administration of the Federal Legislative Council with the British High Commissioner as its head.

While the spirit of the Malays had been roused for independence, the communists in Malaya's jungles were working hard to establish a communist government. Since 1948, an emergency had been declared in Malaya as a result of the communist guerrilla war. The British High Commissioner then was Sir Gerald Templer who replaced Sir Henry Gurney who had been killed by the communists during his journey from Kuala Kubu Baru to Raub. At the end of his term in Malaya, Sir Gerald Templer was replaced by a diplomat, Sir Donald MacGillivray. His views tended towards a public or civil administration compared to the system carried out by Sir Gerald Templer who ruled Malaya à la military.

During discussions with the British government, Tunku Abdul Rahman was always accompanied by Tun Razak and Tun Dr Ismail. With the unanimous support of the Malays behind the Tunku, the British agreed that a portion of the Federal Legislative Council be chosen by the people, that is, a total of 52 out of 100 Federal Legislative Council members. Tun Razak left his post as acting Menteri Besar of Pahang to campaign along with the other leaders. In July 1955, the Federal Legislative Council elections took place, which saw 52 seats being contested.

When the votes were counted, the Alliance Party won 51 of the 52 seats. PAS won one seat in Gunung Semanggol. Datuk Sulaiman Abdul Rahman contested against Datuk Onn in Johor, defeating him by a big majority. Of the 51 representatives of the Alliance Party who won, Datuk Sulaiman turned out to be the hero for defeating Datuk Onn Jaafar. At the time of the elections, UMNO had already affiliated with MCA under the leadership of Tun Tan Cheng Lock and MIC under Tun Sambanthan. They contested under the Alliance Party UMNO-MCA-MIC using the symbol of a sailing boat (the story goes that the symbol represented Noah's ark).

The extraordinary victory of the Alliance Party surprised the British. With this victory Tunku Abdul Rahman formed a cabinet responsible for the problems within the country, while the Chief Secretary was responsible for foreign affairs.

Tun Razak was appointed Minister of Education by Tunku Abdul Rahman in this Cabinet. His task was to form a committee to legislate a national education policy.

The main focus of the National Education Policy was to mould the young generation with a uniform education and implement one language for the various races in Malaya. The school system which had been divided into four streams would become one stream. Nevertheless the Chinese and Tamil medium primary schools would continue so that Chinese and Tamil children would be able to learn their respective mother tongues. This was a difficult task for Tun Razak. He requested educational organisations to give their views regarding the national education policy. The response was overwhelming. It could be said the views and opinions of all organisations concerned about education were taken into account.

Tun Razak who headed the Education Committee was able to prepare a report called the Razak Report. The policy took effect in 1956.

In 1956, a year before independence, a document on the National Education Policy known as the Razak Report was

proclaimed by the government of the Federation of Malaya. Some years later, a committee was formed and chaired by the Minister of Education then, Encik Abdul Rahman Talib. The objective was to further tidy up the education policy as found in the Razak Report.

With the implementation of the National Education Policy, began a new chapter in the education of children which followed a pattern to bring together all races to form a society that was characteristically Malaysian.

The National Education Policy gave emphasis to the learning of the national language by all pupils from the four types of schools in the country, the national school, the Chinese, Tamil and English-type schools. It also assured parents of their choice of school at the primary level. At secondary level the schools were integrated into two types, the national school and the English medium school.

When this process of integration was functioning smoothly, in 1971, the two streams were joined to make the Malay language the main medium of instruction. It is through this process that today all primary and secondary students are well-versed in the national language without setting aside English as the second language.

A few years after independence, the young generation of all races had a good command of the national language.

After independence, the people of Malaysia today have the National Education Policy as the basis of education, the national language as the medium of instruction in all institutions of learning and the *Rukunegara*, which came into being in 1971 as the philosophy of life. As this integration process goes on, we will be able to create a society which is truly Malaysian.

The National Education Policy can be likened to a lake. The waters of the lake come from four different streams. There is a pipe to drain the water out. If the water entering the lake is of different colours, the water draining out will be of one colour to be supplied to meet the needs of the people.



Tun Razak was appointed the Chancellor of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia on 23 June 1973 to honour his role in supporting the establishment of this university.

Since 1957, millions of students have gone through the education process under the National Education Policy. It would not be extreme to say that in every house throughout Malaysia there are many this day who are fluent in speaking, writing and reading in the Malay language. They are truly the children of Malaysia. This is Tun Razak's contribution.

CHAPTER 7

Distribution of the Nation's Wealth

IN 1971, an amendment to the Constitution regarding sensitive issues was passed by Parliament. The *Rukunegara* had been proclaimed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. At the same time, the Economic Planning Unit had also formulated the New Economic Policy which was hoped would correct the economic imbalance and unequal distribution.

The New Economic Policy was aimed at strengthening the process of national development and an equal distribution of revenue in order to achieve the objective of national unity.

This policy was formulated after the bloody incident of 13 May 1969 which had resulted from the economic differences among the communities. Efforts were made to eradicate poverty and correct the socio-economic imbalance among the ethnic groups and among the territories. The government gave its assurance that the implementation of this policy would not destroy the basic rights of any group or community.

The New Economic Policy had a formula to balance the economic position of the people. It was a long-term project. This policy would not upset the distribution of wealth already in the hands of the population. What was being controlled was the distribution of the country's wealth in the future. It had

two-pronged a strategy, firstly, to eradicate poverty and secondly to restructure society.

Eradicating Poverty

The government strove to raise the people's income and provide more opportunities of employment for the people of various races.

Efforts were made to increase the participation of those less fortunate in the development process especially through these means:

- (a) opening up land on a large scale;
- (b) in situ development through the IADP, unification project, as well as the Input and Agriculture Programme;
- (c) introduction of the concept of the New Directive (1984) through the unification programme of:
 - (i) grouping isolated villages;
 - (ii) encouraging the industrial growth of village products;
 - (iii) carrying out agricultural activities commercially.

The government also provided public amenities and basic necessities such as education to improve the people standard of living.

Restructuring Society

Efforts to restructure society included:

- (a) modernising the urban area to raise the standard of living and productivity;
- (b) stabilising the imbalance within the structure of employment via economic growth;
- (c) increasing at a quicker pace the people's rights of possessing share capital;

- (d) ensuring that the bumiputera succeeded as a business and industrial community;
- (e) developing backward areas to bring prosperity to the country.

Creating a bumiputera business and industrial community was important because it contributed fully towards raising revenue as well as restructuring employment patterns and property ownership of companies of various economic activities. Efforts towards the achievement of this strategy showed the public sector had played a main role.

As a result of the proprietary rights and participation of the bumiputera in non-company sectors, especially in trade and minor services, they have progressed by way of individual business or partnership.

Truly, the New Economic Policy was a unique socio-economic engineering programme. Such a policy was necessary to a country like Malaysia. The country's solidarity, and political and economic stability would not have been achieved if the economic imbalance among the communities and territories was not overcome by means of a positive discrimination process towards eradicating poverty and restructuring society.

Amendments to the constitution regarding sensitive issues, the formulation of *Rukunegara* and the New Economic Policy were planned such that their implementation was simultaneous with the appointment of Tun Abdul Razak as the second Prime Minister. Although they were planned while Tunku Abdul Rahman was still the Prime Minister, it was arranged that Tun Razak would accomplish them as Prime Minister.

When the New Economic Policy had already been launched, Tun Razak directed all state governments and government agencies to make sure that the policy was understood and executed in all administrative fields. According to its concept, all industries and business as well as trade in future had to follow a formula outlined by the National Operations Council.

All parties accepted the New Economic Policy. Its objective was to raise the bumiputera's economic position in their own country. The non-Malay society realised that if the bumiputera's economic position was not taken care of, the position of the rich (non-Malays) in Malaysia would not be safe. The situation was similarly in Singapore where the Malays were the minority. In Malaysia, the majority were Malays while the non-Malays were the minority.

The Malays were at the lowest level of the economic field in their own country. Unlike the situation in Singapore, the non-Malays were in a high economic position. This was befitting because the majority were non-Malays. The Malays in Singapore on the other hand were the minority group who were not able to do anything because of their position. However, in Malaysia their position was different.

The opening up of land, construction of low-cost houses and small industries were the chief targets of the New Economic Policy. In situ programmes were encouraged in the villages. Government agencies like FELDA, RISDA and FELCRA were strengthened further including development of territorial schemes like DARA, Jengka, Kesedar and Ketengah as well as many other specific programmes. A good number among the Malays were smallholders. What was worrying was the total land acreage owned by the Malays was small. Each smallholder owned only three to six acres, whereas the non-Malay smallholders who made up a small number owned between nine or ten acres each. According to definition those who possessed land ten acres and below were termed as smallholders. Thus FELDA fixed that ten acres would be given to its participant.

A territorial Development Scheme was planned in every state. Although this programme focused on developing the newly opened land, it also set up industrial areas. These areas were equipped with shops, industrial blocks, etc., which were well-equipped so that they became new town areas.

Tun Razak emphasised territorial development and clearing of forest areas to bring the development scheme to the rural

areas. The opening of these territories was the beginning of economic growth in the rural areas. This programme was planned in such a way that it would give a comfortable life to participants in the area. The traditional village areas got a taste of development from the new territories opened. In other words, this has brought the town to the village areas. It gave amenities and comfort such as roads, electricity and piped water supplies and other basic facilities just like those found in the towns.

Incidentally, these new areas on their own provided the site for factories and big industries. For example, DESARU (Johor Tenggara) has hotels and tourist attractions. This area is in close proximity to Johor Bahru and draws tourists from Singapore.

The village youths craved for social comfort. They were attracted to the bright lights in the towns. Programmes like this were very successful in Indonesia where replacement programmes for the people were implemented, called transmigration programmes. Clearing the forest to create towns is the key towards preventing the youths from migrating to the towns. This in itself would enable the traditional villages to progress.

The influx of youths into towns like Kuala Lumpur, Johor Bahru and Penang was merely a temporary feature. When they reached retirement age, they would return to the villages. By then, their houses and villages would have been overgrown with thickets and bushes. However, should they get jobs in the villages and nearby territorial development areas, besides being able to enjoy the town atmosphere close by their villages, they could continue to look after their homes and surroundings. So when the time came for retirement, it would not be necessary for them to repair their houses or clear up the overgrowth.

The New Economic Policy is distinct and clear. In the policy there was a condition which guaranteed that the bumiputera received their right to the country's wealth. The opening of new resources in the economic field was not limited to industry and trade only but also covered farming, fisheries and land as

well as all new fields which were explored. In each of these sectors, the promoter had to allocate 30 per cent of the total project to the bumiputera.

The National Development Policy implemented after the New Economic Policy does not determine the allocation for economic distribution to the bumiputera. Granting riches to them is determined from time to time by the government. At times it is not generally known that a person has received help from the government. The grant given is up to the government. However, because it is not made known, neither is it transparent, it sometimes gives rise to suspicion among the general public. Misunderstandings arise when many want to participate in the telecommunications, aircraft, HICOM and TNB projects.

● In the developed countries, every project that is privatised is passed by Parliament and followed by widespread publicity. In this way, those who are able bid for the tender. A good example is the privatisation of a part of the Electricity Board in the United Kingdom. The government's first step was to give a portion of its shares to subscribers.

After it had been published in the newspapers, they put in their tenders to the authorities and finally those qualified would be given the opportunity. Such a practice avoids accusations of impartiality. Thus, privatisation is carried out openly and is known by the public.

The National Development Policy emphasises the trade and industrial sectors in the hope that Malaysia would become an industrial nation by 2020. Other fields can be said to be put aside. There is very little focus on agriculture. Insufficient attention given to the agricultural sector and the production of foodstuff makes it necessary for the country to import foodstuff costing a total of RM10 billion annually.

In 1998, with the fall in the value of the Malaysia ringgit, the prices of imported foodstuff rose. The people lamented as necessary foodstuff like rice, fish, onions, chillies, eggs, vegetables, cooking oil, sugar and salt rose in price. The effects of this price rise roused the authorities into giving attention once again to the agricultural sector.

Prior to this under the rural scheme, the government granted aid to all commercial, agricultural and social fields as well as jobs. Government gave subsidies to specific fields such as the breeding of fresh water fish, distribution of milk, eggs, chicks, cows and other foodstuff. Under the New Economic Policy, Tun Razak launched the Green Book programme to produce foodstuffs that had been neglected, and which necessitated the country to import them.

A month before festivals like Hari Raya and the Chinese New Year, necessities like meat and chicks were given to the village folk. Some received 50 and others 100 chicks or more. This chicken industry was carried out as a smallholder enterprise and was not dependent on a chicken farm which would rear thousands of chicken. The chicks were fed with leftovers from the kitchen (corn, sweet potatoes, tapioca) and did not require food bought from the shops. Once they matured, these chickens were sold at the markets or shops.

In this way too, the supply of chicken was sufficient for festival days and there was even a surplus in the whole country prompting the government to launch a campaign to eat chicken in order to boost sales. The question of insufficiency did not arise any more. The supply of chicken no longer depended on the chicken farms only.

Where vegetables were concerned, cold rooms were built all over the country to ensure that the vegetables sold by the villagers were always fresh. Cold rooms were also built to enable the small-time farmers in the rural areas to store the milk from their cows to ensure it was always fresh.

According to the New Economic Policy, subsidy was given to those who produced foodstuff like fish, meat, eggs and vegetables. The paddy farmers were given a subsidy for manure, the fishermen were given small motor boats, and the village farmers received subsidy for building fish ponds. Subsidy was also given for them to rear calves while the rubber tappers were subsidised for replanting rubber trees. The ministries had subsidy allocations to be given to villages. Some villagers who got calves to rear considered them a second source of income.



Tun Razak being briefed at the headquarters of the Urban Development Authority (UDA) by its chairman, Datuk Yaacob Hitam. Present during the meeting are some of his cabinet members. Seated from left: Datuk Yaacob, Tun Dr Ismail, Tun Razak, Tun Tan Siew Sin, Tuan Haji Ali Ahmad, Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen and Raja Tan Sri Mohar.

Thus, Malaysia reduced her import of foodstuffs from abroad. Even if the country were to face a war there would be enough food for the people. A good example is the 13 May tragedy. Foodstuffs were taken from Kuala Selangor to Kuala Lumpur for those stranded in the affected area. Today the people depend on food from outside the country.

The term bumiputera is not limited to just the Malays; it embraces the other indigenous peoples as well. In Sabah and Sarawak, there are more than 20 tribes of indigenous people and they have a right to receive a quota of the allocations under the New Economic Policy.

There is a great difference between the New Economic Policy and the National Development Policy. Under the latter, there is no quota as allocated under the New Economic Policy, and the bumiputera who showed promise would surely get the attention of the government.

Consequently, at times a person was granted project after project by the government. This was possibly the reason why the rich became richer and the poor, poorer.

The New Economic Policy could be likened to a race. The weak were placed at a line 30 yards ahead of the strong. It was hoped that both the weak and the strong would have the same chance to reach the finishing line. Under the National Development Policy, all racers were placed at the same line. They raced all together. As their strengths differed, naturally the weak would be left behind and they would not arrive together with the others at the finishing line.

The concept was similar in the various sectors. Under the New Economic Policy, in every sector, 30 per cent was allocated to the indigenous people. The housing sector already had a fixed allocation so that every developer built low-cost houses, of which about 30 per cent of them would be bought by those with low income, chiefly the indigenous people. The problem was that the poor was uncomfortable living with other groups because their standards of living differed.

This housing scheme would be better received by the poor if altered slightly. The government provided a suitable area with

sufficient infrastructure. Every developer had to allocate 30 per cent to the poor, with a reserved specific area or quota to build low-cost houses.

In this way, the poor would be able to stay together on a level with the others. Also the developers would be able to carry out their responsibility according to the requirement of the New Economic Policy while at the same time provide comfortable houses to those who could afford them.

Those who were better off could also live together with the poor as their neighbours. The situation today is different. The developers build luxury homes low-cost houses in the same area. Even though they are fulfilling their responsibility under the New Economic Policy, the mixed populations do not live comfortably because their standards of living and ways of life are different.

When the New Economic Policy first came into force, there were many groups who suggested various congresses to prepare and put forward their plans to be implemented by the government. With the co-operation of the government, the people as well as several concerned parties, the New Economic Policy worked smoothly.

The New Economic Policy originated during the administration of Tunku Abdul Rahman and its implementation was speeded up under Tun Razak. Unfortunately, Tun Razak passed away before the policy could show widespread results.

When Tun Hussein led the government after Tun Razak, he implemented the same policy. What was not orderly, was improved on, and what was wanting, was added.

According to Tun Razak's plans, the first stage of the New Economic Policy would take 30 years. But before it came to an end, Tun Razak had already passed on.

The formation of *Majlis Amanah Rakyat* (MARA) established after the Bumiputera Congress during Tun Razak's administration was expanded further under Tun Hussein's rule. Besides encouraging the bumiputera in the field of economy, it formed of the Mara Technology Institute (ITM) by opening

branches throughout Malaysia, most of which were outside Kuala Lumpur. ITM's main task was to train youths in the industrial and commercial sectors up to the diploma level. Gradually ITM offered courses up to the degree level. This was carried out without neglecting its main task of training youths at the diploma level in the technical fields, wiring, accounts, business and other sectors.

The running of ITM was similar to that of the London School of Economics. Although known as a school, the London School of Economics produces students of lower qualifications up to the level of doctorates. It is a prominent educational institute in the United Kingdom and the world. Its name belies its achievements.

While Tun Hussein was Prime Minister, he made improvements to the New Economic Policy. His stand was clear as evident in his speech at the Bumiputera Economic Congress at the Universiti Teknologi Malaysia on 1 June 1980:

"I have had the opportunity to sit in on the discussions at several workshops. Truly, I feel very proud of the interest, earnestness and the frank attitude of the participants in the discussions.

"From the views and opinions voiced at this congress, I am able to understand the anxiety and doubts of the bumiputeras regarding their ability and the government's competence in achieving the objective of the New Economic Policy. Even though this anxiety is just a feeling, it is necessary to give it attention because it has credible grounds.

"The success of the bumiputeras in the past ten years is lower than the objective fixed while the non-bumiputeras have achieved much success. The difficulties and problems faced by the bumiputeras in achieving success up to now, have created doubts as to the achievement of the overall target because they could face bigger problems and difficulties in the 10 years to come.

Inappropriate claims from the non-bumiputeras, besides the great success they have achieved, have added

to the bumiputeras' worry. All these have made them feel that their future is threatened. The anxiety felt by the bumiputeras is further enhanced by the uncertainty over the capability of the government in achieving its objectives in assuring that the objectives of the New Economic Policy are achieved.

"The New Economic Policy which began in 1971 was based on the conviction that it was necessary to make Malaysia a country that is prosperous, just and united with a strong foundation. Special attention is given to the problems of poverty and the economic gap between various communities in our country. One important objective in the restructuring of society is to create a bumiputera commerce and industrial society. This aim is clear and it is the responsibility of all parties to ensure it is achieved by 1990."

A Mandate

"The objective of bumiputera participation in commerce and industry, like other objectives of the New Economic Policy, is not merely the government's promise which must by all means be executed and fulfilled, but is also a mandate.

"Besides the role of the government, the bumiputera community itself has an important role and responsibility. Without their active and earnest involvement, this objective cannot possibly be achieved.

"The same goes for the non-bumiputeras. They ought to understand and realise the significance of the participation of bumiputeras and the anxieties felt by the bumiputeras. They must give their full co-operation, honestly and earnestly, to ensure the achievement of the objectives in the interest of the future of the people and the nation.

In an effort to create a commercial and industrial community, the bumiputeras themselves should use fully all opportunities open and made available to them by the government.

"Bumiputeras who have involved themselves in the field of economy ought to concentrate their thoughts, energies and efforts as well as their resources and capabilities to ensure progress in their endeavours. At the same time, they should help one another in order to thrive as a community and thereafter they would be able to guide and help other bumiputeras who wish to or have recently become involved in business. They should also erase the attitude of depending on the government, on the contrary they ought to believe in themselves and stand on their own feet.

"It is also important to bear in mind that in the process of creating a commercial and industrial community, there is a need for business ethics, in keeping with the values held high by our community. Greed and hope of success without effort do not have a place in the business world we have in mind. They should be replaced by positive qualities.

"Business ethics befitting our values in life can inspire many more bumiputeras to participate in business. The process of creating a commercial and industrial bumiputera community that is sound, will not achieve genuine success if the business ethics that can guide them, as I mentioned just now, are not present in them. I hope business organisations and associations, commercial enterprises or industries will strive to create these ethics."

Role of the Non-Bumiputera

"In the effort to create a bumiputera business and industrial community, the role of the non-bumiputera too is no less important.

"The government has time and again emphasised that the New Economic Policy is for the benefit of the whole population irrespective of race. As I will soon explain, the successes achieved within these ten years have proved that the non-bumiputera have enjoyed great benefits. They should realise this truth and it is the responsibility of their leaders to give a true picture of the benefits they have already enjoyed and will continue to enjoy in the future.

"The non-bumiputera community also ought to understand and realise the bumiputera's anxiety over their economic future. I have already explained the reasons for their anxiety. The demand that bumiputera participation be increased from 30 per cent to 51 per cent as has been put forward in this congress is stimulated by this feeling of anxiety. It is not motivated by greed or avarice.

"I wish to remind any group trying to dampen the spirit and benefits of the New Economic Policy to stop this deed as it can endanger the future prospects of our country. The government will not allow the New Economic Policy to become a political ploy which could arouse feelings of hatred among the various communities. If this matter is not heeded, it would give rise to disturbance and disorder. The people should be worried of any deliberately attempt by irresponsible groups to raise this issue. They are probably envious of our success, and of the peace and prosperity already enjoyed by the people.

"We must give priority to the nation's future as well as place more importance on peace, prosperity and the well-being of the people. The New Economic Policy has been designed and legislated in such a way as to achieve solidarity of the country. Everyone must make a success of himself. Should disorder and undesirable circumstances take place, who will lose and suffer the consequences?"

Achievements Thus Far

"Let me go into the objectives achieved thus far in the New Economic Policy. In eradicating poverty, the progress, overall, is encouraging. The rate of poverty has decreased from 49.3 per cent in 1970 to 35 per cent at the end of 1979.

"In the employment sector, the average annual increase in employment between 1970 and 1980 is 4.2 per cent for the whole of Malaysia. Unemployment in all communities has decreased.

"Progress in the distribution of employment from the aspect of restructuring society is satisfactory. However, the number of bumiputeras in high-income jobs is still low, so is the number in the professional fields. In 1979 for example, the bumiputera community formed only 11 per cent of the total number of architects, 7.6 per cent of accountants, 11.6 per cent of engineers and 8.6 per cent of doctors.

"In property ownership, individual bumiputeras and bumiputera trust agencies owned only 11 per cent of the whole equity in limited companies in 1980. Non-bumiputera ownership in this sector is far higher.

"Even though the New Economic Policy has shown results, bumiputera success in economic participation is not yet satisfactory. The government realises the anxieties of the bumiputera community. The government will do everything within its power to ensure the achievement of the objectives already determined. All citizens, irrespective of race, must be aware of this responsibility, all the more so if they are concerned about the nation's future."

Realisation and Inspiration

"We cannot deny the success already achieved thus far in specific fields. One aspect of success we can be proud of is the increasing awareness and inspiration of the bumiputera community to participate in various economic activities. This is a good sign.

"In the ten years that the New Economic Policy has been implemented, we have gone through all sorts of experiences which will be our guide in evaluating once again all strategies in implementing the New Economic Policy to ensure its success.

"The government has always given serious attention to the implementation of the New Economic Policy. With regard to the co-ordination of investments, as has been brought up in the congress, the government has established a committee chaired by the Minister of Finance to increase bumiputera investment further.

"The government is aware that the success of bumiputera participation in economic activities necessitates action which is more effective from the government. The Fourth Malaysia Plan will alter and modify the existing programmes as well as create new ones to ascertain the achievement of the objectives of the New Economic Policy. The government machinery will be stirred into greater motion to achieve the desired results.

"The great challenges which we will face in the 80's, will spur the government to increase its efforts in ensuring the success of the New Economic Policy. Every government agency and department will orientate itself and organise strategies so that it can carry out its responsibilities more effectively.

"Outmoded procedures or old traditions no longer suitable to the needs and the times, will be modified to ensure smoothness of the implementation of the policy. Every Chief Executive or Head of Department is directly a responsible for handling these new and great challenges.

"The Economic Congress which has gone on for three days has discussed various issues faced by the bumiputera community. The conclusions and resolutions proposed are aimed at multiplying efforts towards achieving the objectives of the New Economic Policy, in particular relating to society's role and bumiputera participation in the commercial and industrial sector. The conclusions and resolutions will assist the government in its efforts to ensure the success of the New Economic Policy. I offer my deepest appreciation to the congress for all contributions of ideas, criticisms and constructive views for the nation's sake.

"With a single aim and genuine understanding between the government and its agencies, persistent efforts and the spirit of the bumiputera, as well as the co-operation of the non-bumiputera, I am convinced that come 1990, the objectives decided upon will be met."

The Bumiputera Economic Congress which ended after three days was significant. At the time it was held, only ten years were left to achieve the specified objectives of the New Economic Policy by 1990. During that time, the government was also preparing the Fourth Malaysia Plan. This made the congress even more significant. The outcome of the congress would be able to assist the government in planning the strategy for the Fourth Malaysia Plan as well as in intensifying the efforts to ensure the achievement of the objectives of the New Economic Policy.

CHAPTER 8

Parliament is Suspended

ON 14 May 1969, Tun Razak proclaimed an Emergency. Parliament was suspended on 16 May and on the same day the National Operations Council (NOC) was established. Tun Razak was appointed its Director. The council was composed of appointed members, made up of experts in specific fields. Tunku Abdul Rahman as Prime Minister took over the task of unifying the people and bringing the various communities closer. Tunku's slogan was "compromise". He said, "The Chinese need the Malays, likewise the Malays need the non-Malays." Tun Razak and members of the NOC ruled the country under emergency regulations and analysed the 13 May 1969 riots. The NOC was also looking for a way to prevent the riots from happening again.

The main task of the NOC was to find the means to restore the country's administration under Parliament. At the same time, the restoration of Parliament could not allow the communities' misunderstanding to continue. The powers given to Tun Razak were extraordinary. Usually in other countries, like in Africa, when a person got absolute power, it did not occur to him to surrender this power back to the people. It was not like that in Malaysia.

Malaysian leaders worked hard to find ways to surrender the powers back to the people. This was because of the origin



Tun Razak at a "Meet the People" session at Jalan Chow Kit two months after the 13 May 1969 racial clash.

of the leaders' struggle. They knew that the power was given by the people who determined the leadership. The National Operations Council's tasks were to look for the causes of the community riots and take definite steps to prevent a recurrence of the riots. It also revised laws, including the Constitution and ascertained the weaknesses in the law.

Whilst the government was trying to restore the situation and bring the administration closer to the people, various issues cropped up which could have further deteriorated the situation. Enemies outside the country made use of the newspapers. All sorts of articles were written abroad which focused on racial issues. Some foreign journalists claimed that the non-Malays were being pressured because presumably the Malaysian Government was a Malay government. In Malaysia itself, the scenario was different. The Malaysians brought forth the issue of unequal distribution of the country's wealth and that the Malays were suffering. All businesses were monopolised by the Chinese.

Western journalists, especially those in America, the United Kingdom, France and Germany have always been trained to mind other people's business. To them, anything new is interesting news. Their intention is good. They believe it is the right of the people to know what is happening around them.

In England, for example, the lives of Prince Charles and Princess Diana were widely publicised. When the two were facing marital problems, the newspapers often tailed them. It was as if their personal lives were being exposed by the journalists in the newspapers. Every day news about them was published on the excuse that they were public property and the people had a right to know everything.

One subject that the foreign journalists liked to pick on at the time was the position of the Malay rulers. In their articles, they always compared the Malay rulers to the maharaja of India, linking the Malay rulers' position with the wealth of the Indian maharaja although the latter's position in India was different. He was rich while the Malay rulers depend on a salary from the government.

They are not rich like the maharaja. The intention of the foreign journalists in comparing the Malay rulers to the maharaja was merely to create misunderstanding among the races in Malaysia. They were always writing articles which emphasised that Malaysia was ruled by the Malays and claimed that Malaysians of other races like the Chinese and Tamils had no place in the country. These foreign journalists contributed to the outbreak of the racial riots in 1969. As we all know, the racial disturbance was sparked by the communists.

When the issue arose in the foreign news about the mutual accusations between the Malays and the Chinese, another issue cropped up. Foreign newspapers blamed our government which was believed to suppress the non-Malays. All the leaders were Malays, and all the state rulers were also Malays. Thus, the non-Malays had no "umbrella" to shield them and look after their well-being in Malaysia.

This sort of thing had already become a game in the foreign press. They printed articles which suited their fancy. What they intended to write was already written in their hearts.

The foreign journalists did not want to reveal the true position of the government in this country. The Cabinet was made up of all races. They forgot that Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tun Sambanthan were non-Malays who had been in the Cabinet since independence. Tun Sambanthan and Tun Tan Siew Sin were not chauvinistic but true Malaysians, having lived in the country for decades. Tun Tan Siew Sin himself was not fluent in the Chinese language. This is the Chinese needed in Malaysia - of Chinese origin but with hearts and minds of Malaysians.

The way to fight this slander was to write an article and send it to the headquarters of the newspaper concerned. We cannot remain quiet. The foreign journalists in Malaysia have to be tamed. We must get to know them, follow their wishes and debate with them. If they want to drink, we treat them. Journalists whether local or foreign, love to make merry and are fond of drinking.

This way, they will begin to tone down. All the more so if the local journalists help by debating with the foreign journalists. By getting to know them, we arrive at some understanding. With this realisation, they will begin to write the truth. The foreign journalists are different from the local ones in that they write news and articles dictated by their emotions.

They are always ruled by their heart rather than their heads. They are only interested in sensational news or news that require a follow-up as well as denials. Thus they get to send news to the headquarters every day. When they get scoops, they store them in the freezer, to be released only when they are unable to report anything new. This is the journalists' game. Even if there are new developments in an issue, they do not update the news.

Foreign journalists must not be made enemies of. They consider themselves more knowledgeable than anyone else. They do not have any loyalty to any country. This is because they travel from one country to another. The period of their assignment in any one country is not long, so they do not have to face a country's leaders for long. It is indeed difficult to get foreign journalists who have the same thoughts as the people of the country they are assigned to. After all, they love to mind other people's business.

The newspapers that publish the news, do so because they merely need news from abroad. They are not concerned about the background of the news. This is the reason for the frequent unhealthy reactions. When these happen, they use the excuse of the freedom of the press. In the Western countries, whatever is witnessed by the journalists can become news. In the Western or developed countries too, those who do not agree with the news or are convinced the news is slanderous to them may take legal action or make denials. However, usually those involved do not bother about such news. They consider such news as life's foibles.

Foreign journalists may be considered a pain by some leaders, but they are of some use. Indeed, they have become more useful in the multimedia era. They cover news from all countries and dutifully broadcast it to the whole world.

Everything that happens in a country is known by other countries. Some countries do not have contact with certain other countries, so their leaders use the international media such as satellite TV to follow the developments in these countries. International journalists have a credibility of their own. They are responsible for writing news which is accurate, of high quality and credible. Of course, they are some among them who focus their attention on sensational news. The best way to get a more positive report from the foreign media is by befriending them. Give them news which is correct and precise. If need be, entertain them at social events. Often, if a journalist has a calm and open mind regarding a country, his thoughts will be pleasant, calm and clear. This will enable him to write accurate news reports which are not marred by sensation.

On the other hand, if his mind is disturbed, he tends to write nonsense which contain phrases like "it is believed", "reliable sources", "it was understood" and "sources close to ...". This is a clear indication that his sources are not accurate, and he is making assumptions. To him that is called objective reporting.

Journalists with the large news establishments have special tasks and they specialise in certain fields. Those assigned to cover political news would probably be more skilled than the politicians themselves. Their duty is to report the news as quickly as possible. Many still remember the incident in December 1996 of the rebellion in Lima, Peru; The Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) held captive 400 diplomats, businessmen and civilians at the official residence of the Japanese Ambassador during an event to mark the birthday of the Japanese Emperor. Distant countries like Malaysia, whose own ambassador was a hostage, had to depend on electronic media such as the Cable News Network (CNN) to learn the fate of their citizens.

Despite the actual distance, Malaysians who followed the CNN news felt as if they were near the residence of the Japanese

Ambassador. The news coverage was wide and in-depth. CNN journalists were at the place of the incident. They were confident that it was they who were able to broadcast such news to the whole world. We do not deny the capability of their journalists. The electronic coverage of the news enabled the people in Malaysia to remain calm and at ease as they followed the fate of the Malaysian ambassador.

This event shocked the whole world. Print and electronic media broadcasted the news to the whole world. This incident was also telecast live world-wide. Television stations like CNN reported in such great detail that the incident seemed to have taken place in the viewers countries. This is the power of journalists and the media.

Newspapers in the Western countries, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and Canada, have strong influence over their people. Journalist with the newspapers and the electronic media in these countries are experts in their chosen fields. The majority often practise objective reporting and some have doctorates in reporting certain news. They are trained professionals in their field of reporting.

Usually their reporting begins as a small, insignificant piece of news but later this evolves to become news of much significance. After the news has been expanded surely it becomes an issue to the government departments and society.

An example of this is the court case of a woman named Paula Jones who accused President Bill Clinton of outraging her modesty and putting her safety at risk. The press dug into this case and it was magnified by both the print and electronic media. Besides showing that an ordinary citizen can drag a leader to court, this case also shows the power of the print and electronic media in the Western countries. Moreover, it shows the differing powers of the government bodies – among Administrative, Legislative and Judiciary, each with its own responsibility and independent of one another.

While the people's thoughts were confused by the reports of the foreign journalists on the supposed Malay government and the position of the Malay rulers, what followed was a subtle movement among the people. This time it came from those who called themselves intellectuals who were also UMNO members. What became an issue was an anonymous letter written by Dr Mahathir Mohamed.

The letter discredited Tunku Abdul Rahman and copies were distributed to students, government officers and the public. Tun Dr Ismail acted quickly to prohibit its distribution, publication and possession. The group that called themselves the ultras used the contents of the letter to criticise the Tunku and his government. Tun Razak called an extraordinary meeting of the UMNO Supreme Council at Sri Taman to discuss the matter.

The UMNO Supreme Council convened on 12 July 1969, chaired by Tun Razak. The Tunku was not present at the meeting. A group that called itself the Afro Asian Group took the opportunity to confuse the situation further. This group had been influenced by Sukarno's politics and had hopes that Malaysia too would become a republic.

Many were puzzled by Dr Mahathir's letter because he was UMNO's "strong man" and a member of the Supreme Council. Perhaps he had felt disappointed over losing the Kota Setar Selatan constituency in the elections. After sending out the anonymous letter, Dr Mahathir wrote the book *The Malay Dilemma* that depicted the people's suffering in the villages during the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman.

At the UMNO Supreme Council meeting, the members unanimously came to the decision to expel Dr Mahathir from UMNO. He had violated party discipline.

Meanwhile, the administration of the National Operations Council was already in place and the government machinery followed the council's directive. Every government agency focused on efforts towards the country's recovery to return and the parliamentary administration. Tun Razak, together with

several other ministers in particular Tun Dr Ismail, concentrated on setting in motion the country's administration and analysing the causes of the 1969 racial riots, besides looking for a solution to the problem in the hope that the tragedy would not recur. The important thing was to seek the effective cure to correct the imbalance in economic distribution among the multiracial people.

Tunku Abdul Rahman travelled all over Malaysia with the slogan "Goodwill". With the help of the other leaders and the people, the Tunku made efforts to convince Malaysians to instill the spirit of give and take among the Malays and non-Malays. All communities needed to depend on one another. The significance of his understanding was not obvious to the younger generation who had undergone the national school system since independence. Under this system, all pupils, regardless of their race, are the same – focusing their loyalty to Malaysia and being aware of Malaysia's mix of races and religions.

Within just a few months, the National Operations Council restored the country to its former state. Kuala Lumpur recovered. The night-clubs were once again filled with people. Cars parked along the road at night as they used to in places frequented by people such as the Lake Gardens and Jalan Duta.

As the situation quickly recovered, people, especially the politicians, were hopeful that Parliament would function once more and the people's elected government would return.

The country was recovering gradually. However, the foreign press continued to distort news of Malaysia. During this time, another issue cropped up. It was brought about by a group who were against Tunku Abdul Rahman leading the government. The group called themselves intellectuals and they regarded Tun Razak as the Prime Minister. They moved about with subtlety.

They were not aware of the ties of friendship among the leaders in particular the cabinet ministers. The minister stood united behind Tunku Abdul Rahman. At an assembly held between UMNO leaders and the cabinet ministers, Tun Dr Ismail spoke at length.



*Tun Razak and
the members of
the National
Operations
Council
invoking a
blessing before
the last meeting
of the council on
17 February
1971.*

Among other things, he said, "At this time, let no side take advantage. The leaders of UMNO and the government are always behind the Tunku. An issue may arise where our opinions may differ, but when the issue has been agreed upon, we adhere to it and together share its burden.

"With this current situation, I offer to return the Cabinet even though I have retired. Our stand is unanimous and we carry our responsibilities collectively."

(Tun Dr Ismail was a member of the first Cabinet formed. He retired soon after for health reasons.)

Tun Razak who had been deputy to Tunku Abdul Rahman since 1951 as UMNO's Deputy President and the Deputy Prime Minister did not heed the movement of the intellectuals. He was a loyal deputy. Although he possessed great powers as the NOC Director, he would meet daily with Tunku Abdul Rahman or at the very least contact him by telephone. Tun Razak was known to have said, "After the Tunku's retirement, I felt lonely, not being able to talk to him on the phone every day."

This is the difference between Malaysia's leaders and those in some foreign countries who deliberately engineer an emergency in order to bring about a dictatorial government. In Malaysia, all the leaders concentrate their energy and capability to calm the emergency and worked towards a parliamentary democratic government.

With this focus, Parliament reconvened after a lapse of only 21 months.

CHAPTER 9

Establishment of the National Operations Council

13 MAY 1969 was a black day in Malaysia's history. On that day the racial riots took place. Kuala Lumpur became deserted. Buildings painted white became black licked by fire. That night, Kuala Lumpur was enveloped in flames. Many buildings and shops were burned down.

On 14 May 1969, mosques and *surau* all over Kuala Lumpur were filled with "refugees". They had come to Kuala Lumpur to participate in the UMNO election victory procession. When the riots broke out, they were unable to return home. Several UMNO youths were called to Sri Taman, residence of the Deputy Prime Minister. Tun Razak directed them to help the "refugees" return to their respective villages. If they returned late, their wives and children would surely be worried he said.

For those who did not manage to return home, Tun Razak directed that they be given food. Rice and vegetables had to be brought from Kuala Selangor. The shops in Kuala Lumpur were all closed. At the time, the Malays distrusted the Chinese, likewise the Chinese were suspicious of the Malays. The Chinese managed most of the shops in Kuala Lumpur. Even if they had the goods, they were not prepared to sell them to the Malays. The arrival of lorries bringing rice and other foodstuff from

Kuala Selangor solved the problem of food supply. Kuala Selangor was then the "rice bowl".

When news of the riots in Kuala Lumpur became known, the situation spread throughout the country. The Malays cried for bloodshed to be paid by blood. The riots in Kuala Lumpur were no longer isolated but had spread throughout the peninsula.

While the ugly situation and the people's fear was spreading throughout the country, Tunku Abdul Rahman was busy making plans and preparations to curb this crisis. The Tunku formed a cabinet along emergency lines.

Tun Dr Ismail, who had retired, offered to return and serve in the Cabinet. The Tunku welcomed his offer though he was not well. Tun Dr Ismail was a firm, efficient, brave and just man. His qualities as a leader had won the respect of the people of all races. Although he always wore a serious look, whatever decision he made was fair. Everyone, be it friend or foe, respected Tun Dr Ismail's qualities and attitude.

Tunku Abdul Rahman directed Tun Razak to arrange for the delivery of foodstuff to affected areas and those placed under curfew bound. The Attorney-General's office was busy preparing for the proclamation of a state of emergency throughout the country and that all areas in Malaysia be regarded as security bound.

On 16 May 1969, Tun Abdul Razak was officially appointed Director of the National Operations Council. The appointment gave him absolute power to administer the country under the emergency regulations.

Tunku Abdul Rahman often praised Tun Razak whenever possible in his speeches. Wherever he spoke, especially to party members, he would say, "I have known Tun Razak for decades as a friend and companion, and in my experience as Prime Minister, I have always found the Tun a nationalist and patriot who often focused time and energy on bearing his responsibilities fairly. My relationship with Tun Razak is unique. Our partnership all this while cannot be several because it has been woven with understanding and respect for each other. Ours is

a close relationship that is mutually dependent. Tun Razak and I have always seen eye to eye, and whenever necessary, be it day, or night I ask for his opinion. If I am given the name 'Father of Malaysia', then Tun Razak is one of the engineers of the country's independence." (Extract taken from Tunku's book, *13 May ... Before & After*.)

With the formation of the National Operations Council, Tun Razak focused totally on the emergency, sought its causes as well as outlined guide-lines for the future.

Tun Razak's greatest task was to assure the people so that they were no longer in fear as a result of the actions of the extremists group and the terrorists.

This declaration of emergency as a result of the racial riots was the second time that Tun Razak had faced an emergency in Malaysia. The first occasion was when the country faced the communist threat while he held the post of Minister of Defence. The two emergencies were different in nature. In the first emergency (1948-1962), the country faced enemies professing the communist ideology, whereas in the second case, the country was facing racial riots. It can be said that it was easy to determine the enemy in the first emergency because the communists fought from the jungle whereas in the second one, the enemy was to be found among the common people. The communist ideology was the enemy of people of Islamic faith or the Malays because Islam does not acknowledge people without a religion. However, feelings of racism was deep in the heart of every person in this country. The Malays were distrustful of the non-Malays, while the non-Malays were suspicious of the Malays. The Malays were patient but when pressured, they would rise and fight to the end.

The disturbance in Kuala Lumpur began with the Chinese attacking the Malays in Setapak, and the Malays were of the opinion that it was time to take revenge against the Chinese. The Chinese were supported by the pro-communist opposition parties, whereas the Malays resisted the aggression by their zest and spirit. The Malays thought the Chinese had overstepped their boundary when they wished to seize the country's

economy. The Chinese claimed that the economic distribution was not balanced. The spirit of the Malays had been fired during the fight for independence, where they had called for nationalisation. They had thought it would give them an equal economic standing but it was not that easy. It would require a lot of the country's revenue.

The property of others could not be taken gratis. Evaluation had to be made and compensation given to the owner. Some rubber estates were known to have been taken, divided and given to smallholders.

The NOC headed by Tun Razak bore this heavy burden. It analysed and obtained views from the public as to what they thought led to the racial riots. As the council took over administration, Parliament was suspended.

Tun Razak appointed a number of senior ministers like Tun Dr Ismail into his inner circle. Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, the Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs, had retired and was appointed senator. He became Tun Razak's strong supporter to bear the great burden. Tan Sri Ghazali and Tun Razak were close friends. Both were the sons of Pahang and had pioneered the Wataniah military movement during the Japanese occupation. They got along famously. Tan Sri Ghazali was a workaholic. After becoming a senator, he was appointed Minister Without Portfolio. His main task was to assist Tun Razak. Tan Sri Ghazali was well-known as a government official and politician. He was involved in politics behind the scene while serving the government. He was also well-known for his wisdom and striking personality.

Through the efforts of the NOC, the situation in the whole country quickly came under control. Outbreaks of serious rioting were no longer heard. The people felt reassured about their safety.

Tun Razak directed UMNO Youth during the suspension of Parliament to meet the ordinary people to narrow the gap between the people and the party and government. Thus UMNO Youth planned a project called the "Talasco Company". This name had its origin in the *Gerakan Pemuda Tahan Lasak*

(Durable Youth Movement). Kamarul Ariffin, Azman Hashim, Hamzah Alang and the writer were given the task of outlining and forming Talasco. Every state contributed to finance Talasco.

This racial riot was a small one, if taken in the context of the whole world. In other countries, especially in the African continent, before sweat from the "spirit of independence" had even dried, racial riots would have broken out. In these countries, the riots took the form of civil wars.

The parties involved used firearms. In Malaysia explosions from weapons was unheard of during the racial riots. What was evident was the smoke from burning buildings in Kuala Lumpur. In the states outside Kuala Lumpur, this did not occur. The riots were confined mainly within Kuala Lumpur. With the army on alert, the riots were quelled in a matter of months.

We only needed our own security team to control the riots. In some countries, the effects and consequences of riots can be seen for years. Many of these countries need a third country to act as mediator. In Malaysia, the spirit of solidarity had begun to seep into the hearts of the multiracial people. Tunku Abdul Rahman, from the time he headed UMNO and the government, had always instilled the spirit, of give and take among the various races. Without this spirit, racial riots would again spread throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Today this spirit of compromise has become a way of life. It is not only uttered as a slogan in speeches, but carried out in the distribution of the country's wealth among the various races. Dr Mahathir often stresses on this spirit in the hope that it will remain embedded in the society. Although it is a simple slogan, its impression and implications are significant to the peoples.

Among the small countries where racial riots have broken out, some of the neighbouring countries have become concerned and tried to settle it. Unfortunately, they are mostly not rich nor strong. Those struggling with the riots apparently deliberately deepen their disagreement until the big and rich countries intervene. The rich countries give a "formula" for

the settlement of the disagreement as well as a "gift", which is financial aid. The most obvious example is the quarrel between the PLO and Israel. Many neighbouring countries had given their views to the PLO but none succeeded. However, when the White House intervened, a peace agreement was signed in the United States. It was a similar situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Many other countries tried to give their views and aids but these were not accepted. When America intervened with its gift to develop the country once again, a peace agreement was signed between the disputing factions. The United States sent massive military forces to Bosnia besides a letter from the White House for the purpose of obtaining rehabilitation funds.

Many countries gave aid to Bosnia on the urging of the United States. They did not have much choice. America was like a protector to the whole world. The voice of the White House to the world was more effective than the voice of the United Nations. Should this situation continue, a time would come when the United States of America would become "foster father" to nations facing disputes and rebellions.

The American system of administration is convincing to the public. Its government truly upholds democracy and the power of the people. Its administration is divided into three, the Legislative headed by the Congress; the Administrative which is known as the White House and the Judiciary. The voice of the people is taken into account at all times. Members of the Congress are free to voice their opinions. The people vote freely. It is common knowledge that within one party there are differences of opinion when voting for a proposal or law in Congress. The people have voluntary bodies or organisations. They are free to oppose any issue announced to the public. The American press is free to publish news from all strata of society. Members of Congress (House of Representatives and the Senate) are free to bring drafts of the law for debate and to be sanctioned by Congress, in the interest of the people.

The government's policies are transparent. Every citizen is free to give his or her views. The government is interested in

the people's ideas. A person in the United States might feel that the newspapers there are always minding other people's business. But such news is important because it enables the people to know what is happening.

Voluntary bodies in America are strong and free. They do not depend on the administration to function. Thus, their movements can be seen by the people. No group can set aside or conceal any issue. In such a system it can be seen that the people are well and truly in power and not merely exercising their rights in the elections.

It is this system that convinces disputing nations and people that America's intervention would bring justice and full democracy.

The conviction of a people or a country in a particular country depends on the country system. If a country is democratic, its people are able to make the government take into account their ideas. Democracy has many meanings and forms. If a country merely has to hold general elections for the people to be called a democracy, then it is not really and truly a democracy. Countries that profess to communism too have elections and they call themselves a democracy too. The crux of it is the manner in which the elections are carried out. Democracy, when it is truly is a democracy, is when the people come out to vote voluntarily and freely. There is no fear, no pressure and no force.

This is what is practised in the United States. This open system attracts disputing countries to implore America to come to their aid. America's democracy and intervention, as well as aid attract disputing nations to accept the views of the United States government. This can be seen wherever racial disputes occur, American intervention will resolve the situation. This cannot be denied.

We in Malaysia did not need any country to help settle the racial riots of 13 May. Our leaders then, in their own authoritative way, convinced the people to place their faith in the

government. Thus it is hoped the impressions left by these leaders can be made examples of by the future generations. Leaders come and go but the country will remain. If leaders change their outlook, then surely this will in turn affect the nation.

CHAPTER 10

Tun Razak the Prime Minister

MALAYSIA'S Constitution is the product of the agreement achieved among the races before independence. It can be regarded as a community pact that is final. The Constitution contains clauses that protect the rights and interests of all races in Malaysia – the Chinese, Indian and Malays. Various discussions and meetings were held before independence among the community leaders to legislate the clauses in the Constitution. Clauses regarding the special rights of the Malays had been considered and non-Malays received citizenship rights as well as other assurances. If the basic rights of any race were questioned, it would certainly give rise to anxiety and suspicion.

Malaysia is a unique country. The Malays form the majority. Political power is in the hands of the Malays but the country's wealth is in the hands of the non-Malays. The Malays were willing to share power with those non-Malays by giving opportunities to the non-Malays to become citizens.

Thus being the situation, it would be fair if the economic power too was shared by all communities. The government could enact laws to enable the Malays to struggle for the country's wealth together. Whether they succeeded or not was up to them. The wealth obtained by the non-Malays earlier on should rightly not be brought up again, what was necessary was

to balance the wealth and economic share in the future with regard to the opportunities open to all.

Equal distribution of the country's economy and wealth among the communities was the understanding achieved before independence and this is the concept accepted in order to build the nation. The Malays were not happy with the way the country's wealth was given to the other communities. They felt that they lacked political power as they were sharing it with the non-Malays, yet they did not get their share in the growing economic opportunities, so the Malays regarded themselves as being left behind.

In the 1969 general elections, candidates who were extremists and their supporters exaggerated the issue and questioned some of the contents of the Constitution. This group raised the sensitive matters without bringing forth for debate issues that led to equality in the constitution. They demanded that the clauses they had highlighted be expunged. For example they raised the matter of the position of menteri besar. They demanded that anyone should be allowed to hold the post. This was the issue that was raised when they asked the Selangor Menteri Besar to "return to the village". They shouted it out loud when they assembled in front of his official residence in Jalan Raja Muda.

Following the 13 May 1969 racial riots, Parliament was suspended until from 14 May 1969 until 20 January 1971. The National Operations Council was established with Tun Razak as its Director. He held executive and legislative powers in order to implement anything he had to get the Prime Minister's consent. The ministries continued to function but they reported to the Prime Minister and Director of NOC, not to Parliament.

The objective of establishing an emergency government was to make preparations to return to a parliamentary democratic administration. The restoration of Parliament was done with the proclamation of Tun Razak as the Prime Minister after Tunku Abdul Rahman had retired from the government.

Parliament resumed on 23 February 1971. It began with the House of Representatives meeting to amend the Constitution.

During the emergency rule, a consultative committee had been established. Its duty was to study in detail matters which had caused the racial riots. The committee proposed that sensitive matters in the constitution such as the national language, the special rights of the Malays, the position of the Malay rulers and religion be amended so that they would not be brought up in public again. The committee also proposed that the *Rukunegara* be legislated. These matters which involved the law had to be included in the constitution which should be amended to avoid extremists from using them in public.

When Tun Razak was Deputy Prime Minister, the responsibilities he bore were heavier than the Prime Minister's. Much of the country's proposals and policies, after they had been announced by Tunku Abdul Rahman was borne and implemented by Tun Razak. For example, the Tunku announced in Singapore the concept of the formation of Malaysia, after which the implementation was borne by Tun Razak. Tun Razak led the discussion with leaders in Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore as well as Brunei. Tun Razak's loyalty to Tunku Abdul Rahman was never doubted, neither was the Tunku's trust and belief in Tun Razak. Tunku Abdul Rahman openly announced that Tun Razak would take over his post should anything happen to him. The two leaders had travelled the Malay Peninsula but it is difficult to say who had travelled further between the two of them. Both had journeyed through villages in the nooks and crannies of the peninsula. The difference was negligible.

Tunku Abdul Rahman had travelled around the peninsula before independence to get the support of the people to reject British rule, whereas Tun Razak did his travelling after independence to organise development for the population. With his walking-stick Tun Razak visited small and big villages to see for himself what sort of help the people needed. When independence was declared, travelling from Kuala Lumpur to Kota Bharu involved taking several ferries across rivers but after independence, these ferries were replaced by bridges. A journey of several days had been reduced to only one day.



Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Razak in the presence of the Seri Paduka Yang di-Pertuan Agong on 22 September 1970, the day the Tunku resigned voluntarily as the Prime Minister of Malaysia. Tun Razak took his oath of office the following day (23 September 1970).

On 22 September 1970, Tun Razak became the Prime Minister after Tunku Abdul Rahman retired. He had been Prime Minister in February 1959 when the Tunku left his post to campaign for the general elections that year. Tunku Abdul Rahman did not influence Tun Razak in his responsibilities. Nonetheless, Tun Razak was in constant contact with the Tunku over a number of important matters.

With such a close understanding between Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak, UMNO members and the components of the Alliance also enjoyed good relations. UMNO members gave their unanimous support to the leader, as did the UMNO divisions. The question of seizing power in UMNO was not heard of. The term money politics was unknown UMNO under the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Hussein Onn and Tun Razak. With the unity and understanding among UMNO members and the Alliance, Tunku Abdul Rahman often said that he was the happiest prime ministers. The Cabinet as one gave its loyalty to the Prime Minister.

CHAPTER 11

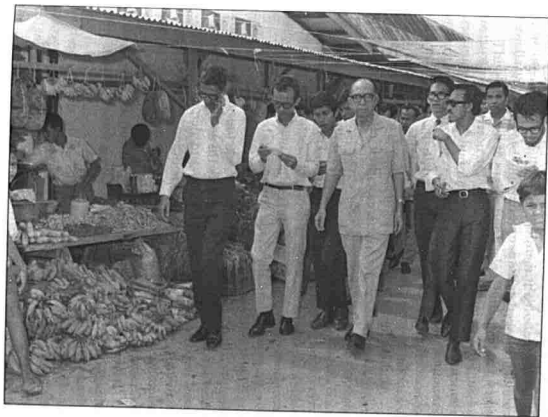
Principles of Life

TUN RAZAK and his companions identified the sensitive matters which easily offended the feelings of the people throughout discussions in the National Operations Council. All these were considered and amended in the Constitution during the meeting of the House of Representatives from 23 February to 3 March 1971. It was the first time the House of Representatives had met after it had been suspended for almost two years.

Other than the amendments to the Constitution regarding sensitive matters, the NOC also discovered two important matters that the population needed to practise in order to end racial riots.

Malaysia is a country where the society is made up of various races. It was a mix of social values, cultures and economy. This is further complicated by circumstances where those who dominated the economy came from certain races living in certain areas. The factor which further split the population was the generation gap which was noticeable.

Many people still remember the uncertainties at the time when the country achieved independence owing to the nature and characteristics of the society. Nevertheless, the people's determination to form a united population roused them to



Tun Razak visiting the areas of Chow Kit and Kampung Baru with reporters two months after the 13 May racial clashes. In his speech aired on radio and television on 13 June 1969, Tun Razak reminded the people that, "The people of Malaysia - Malays, Chinese, Indians and others - must be prepared to live as brothers if our multi-racial society is to survive and prosper."

strive towards success. The people were convinced their differences could become a source of strength for the nation.

The population has for generations lived in peace and harmony, together enjoying the country's prosperity. Together they have worked hard to achieve independence and together they have opposed the forces which had threatened the country's stability and independence. With care, yet with confidence, together the people have built a society that allowed every person to find a place and means of livelihood.

Still, the people's efforts were obstructed by destructive elements. These elements were to be found in all communities. From time to time the racial sentiments and suspicions that lay concealed within their hearts were made use of together with all sorts of excuses, resulting in racial problems.

All these factors showed how necessary it was for the people to find ways and means to increase their efforts to build the nation.

The task of building a strong nation is the responsibility of everyone. It requires the implementation of policies and plans which are dynamic, neat and orderly. Activities in politics, economy, education, society and culture must be synchronised for the sake of the unity of the nation.

This is the most important task facing the people. How they handle this challenge will determine whether Malaysia would be able to continue to exist and succeed as a nation. The people now need to review their direction and determination as a nation. They need to renew their resolution to achieve certain objectives – aims from which will evolve the interests and identity of a single nation.

It is evident that the road ahead is not smooth. Nevertheless, this should not deter the people. Life is full of uncertainties. Everything depends on the people.

If the people can face the challenges of this era and use them as opportunities to progress, surely they will emerge as a nation that is stronger and more united, joined by their shared history, success and sufferings. The people will be more

convinced of their ability to face the future and be prepared to move progressively towards achieving a higher level of success.

In striving to achieve this aim the people will be guided by principles formed by their shared history, symbolising thoughts and feelings, and which have been recorded in the Constitution. The objectives and principles which can be accepted by and used for all these will become the ties that unite the people. These principles are integrated in the *Rukunegara*.

This principle of integration represents the basis of the *Rukunegara* and the New Economic Policy. The *Rukunegara* was legislated and announced to the public to be put into practice. It does not bear the characteristic of a law. In India, matters like that are included in the Constitution whereas in Indonesia, the *Pancasila* is made a way of life. Similarly, the *Rukunegara* can be likened to the principles of life.

Although it is not included in the Constitution and does not represent the law, the *Rukunegara* was declared by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong on 31 August 1970 and accepted by all strata of the society the governing party and the opposition.

The main objective of the *Rukunegara* was to be a part of the people's lives and to be practised by all levels of the society. Thus it was hoped that it would unite the multiracial people of various religions. When people of all races in Malaysia are moving in the same direction and they have the same principles in life, they will be able to avoid matters which are racial in nature. For instance the National Education Policy which has its main objective of making the Malay language the lingua franca of the multiracial population. The success of the National Language Policy in itself will put an end to the issue of skin and origin.

The objective of the National Language Policy relating to the national language has become a reality. Take for example, the voices on radio or television. On television, we see faces which can influence us. However, over the radio we cannot see the face of the newscaster or announcer. We merely hear the voice. By sheer fluency in the language, the announcer or

newscaster cannot be determined as a Malay or non-Malay. The language used by the Malay and the non-Malay is the same. All are fluent in the Malay Language. In fact, their intonation is alike.

It is hoped that the *Rukunegara* will meet with similar success. It is hoped that every citizen will practise the *Rukunegara* and regard it as part and parcel of his or her being.

When it was first launched, response from the public was most enthusiastic. All schools would recite the *Rukunegara* during assembly. Unfortunately as time passed, the enthusiasm for the *Rukunegara* has dwindled. These days it is proclaimed only once a year on National Day.

Malaysians easily forget their national values. They seem to be drowning in the waves of development and progress. They forget the spiritual upbringing which can become the backbone to the people's lives at crucial times.

There are two parts in the *Rukunegara*, declaration of aspirations and of principles. The declaration of aspirations are as follows:

- That our country Malaysia uphold these aspirations:
 - To achieve closer unity among all communities;
 - To maintain a democratic way of life;
 - To create a just society where the country's prosperity can be enjoyed by all fairly and equally;
 - To ensure a liberal attitude towards cultural tradition that is rich and varied;
 - To build a progressive society that will use science and modern technology.

This is followed by a declaration of principles:

We, the people of Malaysia, pledge to focus our whole energy and efforts to achieving the above aspirations based on the following principles:

- **Belief in God**

The Malaysian Constitution establishes that Islam is the official religion of this country but other religions are free to be practised by Malaysians of other races. This by itself shows that religion is important and in keeping with its aim to educate its followers to do good and be considerate to one another as well as to leave behind matters which are negative.

If all Malaysians uphold their religion and are loyal towards the teachings of Islam, Christianity, Buddhism or Hinduism, then they would automatically reject the communist ideology. Indeed it is known that the communists do not believe there is religion and communism is the religion of the communists.

- **Loyalty to king and country**

Malaysia practises government by a king where the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is sovereign head of the country. His Majesty is the symbol of the people's unity and the seal of administration at the federal level. Similarly the throne in the states portrays the seal of administration at the state level.

His Majesty although appointed once in five years in rotation among the nine states, is not involved in the turbulence of politics and assumes a neutral position. His Majesty is a symbol and assurance of the country's political stability.

- **The sanctity of the Constitution**

Every country has privilege for its people as citizens. The Constitution grants certain rights to the people. Every citizen upholds the Constitution and the flag. It is the duty of every citizen to respect the constitutional philosophy, its background and objectives. The Constitution gives assurance to the living of its loyal citizens. A citizen's

responsibility is to uphold and protect the Constitution, and to be willing to offer his life in order to defend it. The Constitution gives assurance and protection to its people in certain matters like the position of His Majesty at the federal level and the rulers at the state level.

The same goes for matters like freedom of religion besides Islam the official religion, rights, citizenship status, and national language with assurance to other mother tongues. The special rights of the Malays are linked to the citizenship rights of other races.

- The rule of law

Every organisation, be it a voluntary body, a public agency or between a husband and wife has laws that protect it. So too a country. Laws can be likened to a railway track. The movements and activities of an organisation portray a coach and its machinery. If the machine slips from the track, automatically the things in the coach will break into pieces.

The administration of a country is based on the implementation of its laws. First of all is the Parliament (Legislative), secondly the Administration (Executive) and thirdly the Judiciary. These three bodies are independent of one another. Each one functions on its own. They do not influence one another.

The legislative has the task of making laws. Its members are made up of politicians whereas the Executive has the task of administering the country according to the wishes of the politicians in the House of Representatives or Parliament.

The Judiciary has the important task of interpreting the laws passed by the House of Representatives and implemented by the executive.

The administration is composed of professionals experienced in specific fields.

All citizens from all levels whether rich or poor, disabled or active are equal in the eyes of the law. The Judiciary is the last place where the people place their hopes. Judges have the task of interpreting the law. When a decision is made, it is hoped that both parties (the accuser and the accused) are satisfied with the justice meted out to them.

- Good Behaviour and Morality

Good behaviour and morality in a person give him the right to manage his own affairs. Morality hates arrogance and acts which could hurt the feeling of others. The qualities of good behaviour and morality are closely linked to the customs and traditions of the people. If the people are brought up by tradition and hold tightly to their customs, then they possess good behaviour and morality of a high order.

That is why in every state in Malaya is an established organisation to oversee the customs of the Malays. Customs must not, at all costs, die.

The *Rukunegara* is the "pulse" of the Malaysian people. As long as it is practised, the people will be able to enjoy a life of peace and harmony. It must necessarily be absorbed into the very core or soul of the population so that its practice will motivate their spirit through one principle, living harmoniously with one another. The *Rukunegara* is a principle in which the same feelings and spirit pulsate among the people of various races and religions.

The young generation should view this seriously and absorb the *Rukunegara* deep into their hearts to ensure that the unity and stability of Malaysia are always maintained.

CHAPTER 12

Neighbours and Friends

TUN RAZAK valued ties with neighbours. He maintained personal contact with the leaders of the ASEAN countries (Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines). His personal relationship with neighbouring leaders lasted from the time he was Deputy Prime Minister until he became prime Minister.

One day (in the 70's), whilst we were having coffee with Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, he said, "Shariff, would you like to take a breather in Palembang?"

"When, Tun?" I asked.

"Tomorrow," he said. "Get ready."

Tan Sri Ghazali interrupted, "I'm not invited."

I commented, "You are always travelling to and from Indonesia."

The next day, we left for Palembang. Encik Abdullah Majid (Press Secretary) and a number of Tun Razak's personel officers were in the executive jet that took us to Palembang. As the plane circled the airport in Palembang before landing, a huge crowd could be seen in all sorts of colourful clothes. As soon as the plane landed, President Suharto welcomed Tun Razak. They appeared to be very close. We were welcomed with cultural dances and Tun Razak was received according to the traditional customs of the district.

The Malaysian Ambassador in Jakarta, Tan Sri Khalil Yaacob, was also present at the welcoming ceremony, though no official ceremony had been prepared. After the welcome at the airport, the delegation adjourned to a tea party. That night a dinner was held. The next morning, Tun Razak and Suharto had breakfast together. The following day, Tun Razak returned to Malaysia. If any discussion had been held, the issues were brought up only during the dinner.

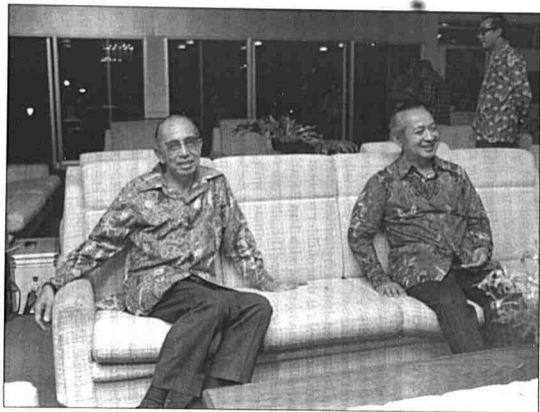
During that short visit, obviously Tun Razak emphasised the meetings between companions in the same struggle with the neighbouring countries. Such meetings were very important. Various matters causing discontent were put to rest.

Media coverage focused on social events only and no issues were raised in the newspapers. Tun Razak did not use the press to deliver his views to any party, be it to the local or foreign leaders. He met them directly as a friend. That was what he did with the leaders of Thailand, especially Tun Tanat Khoman.

Political analysts of that period viewed Malaysia's relationship with Indonesia as that of elder relation while Thailand, that of twins. It was the same with Tun Razak's ties with Brunei. The relationship was close. The analysts regarded Brunei as the youngest brother and contact with Singapore was like a companion in a team. Because of the long-standing Philippine claim over Sabah, the relationship with Filipino leaders was not so close.

Relations between Malaysia and Indonesia never lost their lustre. Although President Sukarno had launched the "Crush Malaysia" campaign, Malaysia's leaders did not regard it as enmity between the people of Malaysia and Indonesia. The Confrontation was merely Sukarno's idea. The people in Malaysia, in particular UMNO activists, had been directed through UMNO Youth, not to offend the feelings of the Indonesian people.

Through certain channels, Malaysia's leaders always had confidential contact with Indonesian leaders, especially with the army under General Suharto.



This picture reflects Tun Razak's approach to diplomatic relations which emphasised personal relationship with neighbouring leaders, of which is most evident in his personal rapport with President Suharto.

The first of Suharto's secret delegation as the beginning of restitution of relations between the two countries had visited Alor Setar to meet Tunku Abdul Rahman. Tun Razak and Tan Sri Ghazali played an important role to revive ties between the two countries which had broken off as a result of President Sukarno's confrontation. The Indonesian delegation was headed by General Ali Murtopo. Through the shrewdness of Tun Razak and Tan Sri Ghazali, the meeting was able to be carried out. Tunku Abdul Rahman, who was in Alor Setar, received members of the delegation most cordially. Many Indonesians who were anti-Sukarno lived in Malaysia during the Confrontation. In the three years of the Confrontation, Malaysia leaders often stressed that blood was thicker than water, and that the problem would not cause ties between the two countries to be severed totally.

Although the Border Committee between Malaysia and Thailand as well as Malaysia and Indonesia had military bearing, their tasks covered economic, political and social matters. The spirit of comradeship between Tun Razak and the leaders in Thailand and Indonesia encouraged them to meet from time to time – either officially or otherwise. Thus with this spirit, various complex matters were settled.

With the cold war between the big Western powers led by the United States and the Eastern Block dominated by the Soviet Union going on at the time, the discussions of the Border Committee, especially with Thailand, was important. North Korea and North Vietnam were inclined towards the Soviet Union whereas South Korea and South Vietnam were inclined towards the Soviet Union whereas South Korea and South Vietnam were inclined towards the United States. The situations in Korea and Vietnam, at the very least until the fall of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991, were of great concern to the southern countries like Thailand and Malaysia which practised the foreign policy of neutrality.

The Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) received inspiration and strength in its struggle at the Malaysia-Thailand border from the unrest in Korea and Vietnam. Politically, the Border

Committee between Malaysia and Thailand benefited Thailand which hoped for Malaysia's military support if it was in danger from the communist activities.

The Malaysia government would direct its military forces to the north up to the border, with the possibility of entering Thailand if necessary, to support Thailand's military forces. With a joint border between Malaysia and Indonesia, the Indonesian forces too could move to Malaysia so that together they could help Thailand if it was attacked by enemy countries.

As the population at the Thailand-Malaysia border, like those at the Sungai Golok Valley who were made up of Thais of Buddhist and Islamic faiths, the spirit of goodwill had to be practised.

Once when General Krienshak became Thailand's Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, the King of Thailand issued a command that the southern region of Thailand be developed. General Krienshak related the King's command to Malaysia's Minister of Agriculture and that he had directed the officers in his ministry to attend to the King's wishes. A Joint Committee was established and a number of meetings between Malaysia and Thailand at ministerial level and also at the officers' level were held which resulted in the Joint Agricultural Pact between Malaysia and Thailand for the development of agriculture in both countries.

In a number of discussions between General Krienshak and the Malaysian Minister of Agriculture, several guide-lines or views of both leaders were put forward. The two leaders wished to develop the Sungai Golok Valley. Under this concept, the land approximately six miles from the banks of Sungai Golok in Thailand and six miles from the banks of Sungai Golok in Malaysia became a Federal Development Territory to be administered by both countries. General Krienshak said that whatever wealth and produce gained and developed in the territory would be shared by the people of Malaysia and Thailand. In accordance with this concept, a dam was built. "Let us drink water from the same well," said the General.

In 1965, Tun Razak chose Bangkok as the place for discussions to restore diplomatic ties between Malaysia and Indonesia. Tun Razak led the Malaysian delegation, Tun Adam Malek headed the Indonesian delegation, while Tun Tanat Khoman (Thailand's Minister of Foreign Affairs) became the mediator for the discussion. After the meeting in Bangkok, the Malaysian delegation left for Jakarta to sign the treaty resuming diplomatic relations which had been cut off as a result of Sukarno's Confrontation during the formation of Malaysia in 1963.

When the season for harvesting rice in KADA, Kedah, arrived, it was usual practise for the Thais to migrate to Kedah to earn extra income by helping the KADA farmers. If the farmers were not helped by the people from Thailand, a lot of the paddy plants would have had to be destroyed because they were not harvested.

The KADA territory is very widespread. When the paddy fields, which are planted twice yearly, ripen at one go, it is necessary to have them harvested quickly. Research has shown that if the paddy is not harvested within a certain period, the loss is approximately 15 per cent each season.

Judging from the total acreage of paddy fields in Malaysia, we can produce enough rice for this country. However, with the excessive production of rice in Thailand, Malaysia does not intend to produce sufficient rice for the country but as much as 85 to 90 per cent only. This deficiency is deliberate in order to help Thailand which has for a long time been producing surplus rice.

It is realised that not all Malaysians are inclined to work in the paddy fields. In some places, the fields have not been looked after. This was ascertained when an effort was made to open up an area for planting paddy twice yearly in Endau/Rompin. Positive responses came only from the people of Kedah.

As an agricultural country, a joint committee on agriculture with Indonesia was also formed. The treaty was signed by the Indonesian Minister of Agriculture and his Malaysian counterpart.

Even though this took place under the leadership of Tun Hussein, in actual fact it was a continuation of the spirit already established by Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak.

When the emergency situation in Sarawak was at its peak following communist activities at the border of Sarawak and Indonesia, the radio broadcasting station between Kuching and Pontianak was modified so that both station could give the same service. Radio Sarawak in Kuching exchanged programmes with Radio Indonesia in Pontianak.

This was done to strengthen the relations between the two countries besides giving precise information regarding communist activities at the Malaysia-Indonesia border.

Tun Razak placed great importance on his relationship with his friends. He was interested in the well-being of friends in politics. He was always attentive to politicians who had retired, for example former ministers. Some were appointed as chairmen of statutory bodies, others of business organisations in which the government owned shares. Moreover, if there were former minister who had gone into the business sector, Tun Razak would always extend a helping hand so that they were able to earn a livelihood after retiring. Tun Razak valued his companions' contributions. To him, whoever was involved in politics had given meritorious service to the country. This service was to be reciprocated with help if they were in difficulty.

Tun Razak needed friends to shoulder the burdens of the country. The person who was very close to him after Tunku Abdul Rahman retired was Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie. Both men were from Pahang, and had been friends since their days in Raffles College, Singapore. The difference in their age was only eleven days.

Tun Razak was the person who most persistently urged Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, who had retired from the office of Chief Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, to enter politics. After retiring, Tan Sri Ghazali became a senator and was appointed Minister Without Portfolio (a minister without a ministry or particular department under his charge and responsibility). Nevertheless,

Tan Sri Ghazali was not inactive. He was often called up by Tun Razak. His office was also in the same building as Tun Razak's office.

Their responsibilities were not carried out merely in the office. The two of them always had breakfast together as well as lunch and dinner. Whilst having their meal, they would discuss matters pertaining to the country. It was generally known that Tan Sri Ghazali and Tun Razak were inseparable.

When the Japanese Red Army once seized an aeroplane in Kuala Lumpur, Tan Sri Ghazali was the one Tun Razak asked to settle the matter. Tan Sri Ghazali was at the Kuala Lumpur Airport for days settling it.

Tan Sri Ghazali telephoned Sri Lanka and Libya to enable the plane to land to refuel. After several days, the guerrillas agreed to a compromise and free their hostages.

After some months as a senator, Tan Sri Ghazali contested in a by-election in Lipis. The constituency was held by Datuk Razak Hussain (a name similar to Tun Razak's). Datuk Razak Hussain left the constituency to enable Tan Sri Ghazali to contest there.

Tun Razak and Tan Sri Ghazali's responsibilities were indeed heavy. They had been members of the Wataniah in Pahang. During the Japanese occupation they worked together to support the British Force 136. Outwardly they worked with the Japanese government but in their heart of hearts, they opposed Japan. During the day, they worked as officers of the Japanese and at night they became agents of the British.

The task of Wataniah in Pahang was to protect the position of the throne. When the British army entered Malaya once again, the Wataniah members became the bulwarks of the Malays.

After World War Two, two communist countries emerged – the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Communists in Malaya were inclined towards the People's Republic of China, whereas communist countries in Eastern Europe looked to the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union

gave up communism, the People's Republic of China became the only big communist country in the world.

Communism which lasted 70 years in the Soviet Union ended in 1991 when the last Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev, signed a decree surrendering nuclear weapons to the President of the Commonwealth of Independent States of Russia (CIS), the name that was used to replace the Soviet Union.

This final command was done to prevent states under the new CIS rule from misusing the nuclear weapons built by the Soviet Union. The proclamation and surrender of power for use of nuclear power from Gorbachev to Boris Yeltsin was an unforgettable historic moment. Gorbachev's deed was highly acclaimed. If he had been stubborn and insistent, he could have used that power to bargain for continuation to rule in the newly defunct communist world.

According to Gorbachev, "There is no place for me in the Commonwealth of Independent States." He added, "The main ideas of Perestroika had taken hold and my life's work has been accomplished." Perestroika was the process of transforming the country from the Soviet Union which ruled with an iron fist to an administration of the people.

Although Gorbachev was not pleased with Boris Yeltsin's unconstitutional move to establish the CIS to replace the Soviet Union, he did not make demands. On the contrary, he supported Yeltsin. He gave more importance to the fate of the people than his own fate and power.

If we were to reflect on the restoration of parliamentary democracy in Malaysia in 1971 after the administration of the NOC, we would notice that the surrender of nuclear power from Gorbachev to Yeltsin is similar.

When emergency was declared after the 13 May incident and the administrative powers were handed to Tun Razak, Parliament was suspended. The country's administration was in Tun Razak's hands. Although Tunku Abdul Rahman was still Prime Minister, his powers and trust had been given to Tun Razak. Tun Razak could have ensured his control of the

dictatorial powers. Even if he had wished to topple Tunku Abdul Rahman, he could as it was within his powers. During a conversation over coffee at Sri Taman, Tun Razak said, "The Tunku cannot retire. If he wants to retire, let it be at a time when the situation in Malaysia has been restored to normalcy."

Gorbachev had nurtured the people's thoughts for six years so that they were exposed to the Western powers. He and his supporters wished to bring radical changes to the political culture in the hope that the foundations Western democracy would develop, especially to create a system of freedom of thought for the people, a system of free trade as well as to wipe out the world's anxieties regarding nuclear war. He did this gradually.

An old group of extremists wanted to wrest power from Gorbachev and return the country to iron rule. However, they failed because the people had begun to realise that Gorbachev wanted to end the ruling party which governed only in the name of the people but did not heed their wishes.

As it is a big country, it was surprising that the Soviet leaders could "repent" from the religion of communism that denied the existence of God. The communist system of education openly maintained an atheistic and materialistic approach to education. From birth a communist child was trained that there is no God, so surely when the child grew up he would be convinced that God did not exist. Once, in Moscow, the writer met a Moslem family. The older generation's belief in Islam was unchanged but the younger generation appeared embarrassed to admit to being Moslems.

The fall of communist Russia is the wish of Allah the Almighty. The people of Islamic faith are not disappointed with the non-Moslems, as long as they believe God exists. However, Moslems are insulted if a person who has no religion intimidates those who believe in God. For 70 years communist leaders in the Soviet Union had forced their people to deny the existence of God, so it was only fitting that they received God's wrath.

When Tun Razak served as director of the NOC, the unconditional stipulation for the restoration of the parliamentary democratic government was acceptance of *Rukunegara* and the New Economic Policy.

Malaysians are guided by *Rukunegara* because of two main factors, belief in God and loyalty to king and country. These two practices reject communism because communists do not believe in the existence of God and do not recognise the position of a monarch.

CHAPTER 13

Diplomatic Victory

THE first prime minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, at a lunch gathering of journalists in Singapore on 27 May 1961, announced his wish that Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo (Sabah), Sarawak and Brunei could be joined together into one family called Malaysia.

The Tunku's announcement was well received by the British Government, and on 13 October, it was announced that the British Government had invited Tunku Abdul Rahman to London in November 1961 to discuss the proposal in order to clear a way for negotiations with the governments of the states in Borneo. On 23 August 1961, Tunku and the Prime Minister of Singapore had agreed on principle to join Malaya with Singapore. A memorandum of the matters agreed upon was published as the "White Paper" on 25 November 1961.

The discussion in London between the Tunku and the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, was held from 20 November to 22 November 1961 and a statement by the Malayan and the British governments was issued on 23 November 1961.

In a joint statement between Tunku Abdul Rahman and the British Prime Minister, it is mentioned that:

"In a number of meetings in London this week, the British and Malayan ministers had studied the proposal

to establish the Federation of Malaysia which will consist of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo (Sabah), Sarawak and Brunei.

"Having studied the problem in depth these few months, the British and Malayan governments are convinced that the objectives of the proposal are good.

"The ministers are satisfied with the matters agreed upon by the governments of Malaya and Singapore to join Singapore with the Federation of Malaya."

Tunku Abdul Rahman's delegation and the British government were of the opinion that before making any final decision, it was necessary to obtain the opinions of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo (Sabah). The Malayan and the British governments agreed to establish a commission called the Cobbold Commission.

The commission was made up of a chairman and four members. Lord Cobbold was appointed Chairman. The British government elected two members as did the Malayan government. Members from the British Government were Sir Anthony Abell and Sir David Waterston while Malaya's representatives were Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie and Datuk Wong Pow Nee.

The duty of the commission was to examine the views of the people of Borneo regarding the proposal to admit North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak into the Federation of Malaysia and to make recommendations after considering their views.

North Borneo (Sabah), Sarawak and Brunei too established a consultative committee to investigate, meet and offer views as well as travel to the states to obtain the people's views.

Representatives of North Borneo (Sabah):

Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun (Chief)

Pang Tet Pshung (member)

O.K.K.G.S Sundang (member)

Lai En Kong (member)

Representatives of Sarawak:

Yeo Cheng Hoe (Chief)

Ong Kee Hui (member)

Temenggong Jugah a/k Barieng

Pengaruh Montegari a/k Tugang

Dato' Abang Haji Openg

Ling Beng Siew

James Wong

Remigius Durin a/k Nganau

These committees held discussions and negotiations with people of various races and religions in the states. They also held discussions with their counterparts in Malaya. This way, they were able to meet all strata of the people and inform them of the advantages of establishing Malaysia.

Besides these committees, there were several sub-committees which worked towards convincing the people of the benefits of the establishment of Malaysia. Some committees were named the "Goodwill Committee". With movements such as these, the news that these states would join Malaya in an entity called Malaysia received an enthusiastic response all round.

There were some small communities that demanded for independence to be given first to Sarawak and North Borneo (Sabah) before opening the door to negotiations for inclusion in Malaysia. Those who opposed were few and on principle they agreed to join Malaysia. The matter that cropped up was between joining with Malaya to achieve independence and independence first before joining Malaysia.

If independence were to be granted first, surely the British government would impose many conditions, but if the states joined Malaysia to obtain independence, probably the British government would not present many obstacles.

Borneo is big. Sarawak is situated in the northwest, bordering Kalimantan, to the east and South bordering Brunei, and North Borneo (Sabah) to the north. Sarawak has an area of 47 500

square miles. North Borneo (Sabah) is 29 388 square miles, while Malaya is 50 700 square miles.

When the Cobbold Commission was carrying out its work in Sarawak and North Borneo, the Goodwill Committee travelled to the interiors. During this period Tunku Abdul Rahman was going back and forth to London. Each time the Tunku went to London, Tun Razak dutifully accompanied the delegation. Tun Razak played a very important role in the negotiations between Tunku Abdul Rahman and the British government. Several discussions were held to refine details of the formation of Malaysia. During the negotiations not a single issue was brought up that could hinder the plan to form Malaysia.

The British government promoted the formation of Malaysia because it had seen the smooth administration of Malaya after independence. Malaya was the first British protectorate to achieve independence and which had run well after that. The capability of the leaders of Malaya in administering Malaya's independence was considered a good example by the British. If Malaya could turn out so well after independence, there was no reason for Malaysia not to succeed.

The formation of Malaysia was not like the establishment of the Federation of Malaya. Malaya's independence had been achieved without shedding a drop of blood while blood was spilt in the formation of Malaysia. The strange thing was the spilling of blood was not caused by war with the colonial power but because of attacks by President Sukarno's armed forces. The agreement of the British to give independence to Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo (Sabah) and Brunei through union with Malaya had angered Sukarno as well as President Macapagal of the Philippines. President Sukarno was angry because the establishment of Malaysia destroyed his own aspirations to establish a Greater Indonesia, while Macapagal had always laid claim to North Borneo.

President Sukarno launched the "Crush Malaysia" campaign against Malaya while President Macapagal claimed North Borneo as a Philippine territory. In fact, he issued a decree placing North Borneo within the Philippines.

Sukarno had always aspired to create a Greater Indonesia by including all the surrounding countries. He urged that elections be held before Sarawak, North Borneo (Sabah) and Brunei joined Malaysia.

Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Razak held several meetings with Sukarno and Macapagal to settle the matter. The meetings were given the name MAPHILINDO (Malaya, Philippines and Indonesia). Each time there was a meeting, all the leaders would come to an agreement but after returning to their respective countries, the confrontation was resumed by the two countries. Sukarno's confrontation reached its peak just before the proclamation of Malaysia. At first, Malaysia was to have been created on 31 August 1963. However, perceiving Sukarno's attitude in opposing the establishment of Malaysia, Tunku postponed the date to 16 September 1963. This was done to enable Sukarno to change his attitude and support Malaysia's formation.

Although the Tunku had yielded, Sukarno continued to attack Malaysia after it had been established. Sukarno sent paratroopers to Malaysia. According to reports received, the troops sent to attack Malaysia had been briefed beforehand. Apparently they were told that on arrival in Malaysia they would be welcomed by Malaysians who also did not agree with the formation of Malaysia plan.

Tun Razak, as Minister of Defence, was prepared for the defence of Malaysia. When the Indonesian troops descended on the west coast of Malaysia in Johor and Kuala Selangor, they were captured. The villagers themselves were involved in this.

Sukarno's Confrontation lasted approximately three years. The Indonesian troops were much surprised and perplexed over the opposition of the Malaysians, which was contrary to what they had been informed during their briefing. The captured troops realised they had been deceived by Sukarno.

Malaysia brought the issue of Sukarno's Confrontation to the United Nations. In actual fact it did not need the help of the United Nations. Its troops alone were sufficient to face Indonesia's attacks.

Tun Razak used two methods to oppose Sukarno's Confrontation. First and foremost, he used the country's own troops. He had not forgotten the "secret diplomacy" with the Indonesian people. Tun Razak and Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie had befriended the Indonesians who had fled to Malaysia. In fact, many Indonesians who did not agree with Sukarno's Confrontation, fled to Malaysia. They were secretly allowed to stay in Malaysia. One of them was Des Alwi.

Des Alwi became the mediator between Tun Razak and the Indonesian leaders in secret. Indonesian leaders like Adam Malek and General Nasution were not strangers to Malaysia as they actually had relatives here.

Des Alwi knew Tun Razak and he was indeed anti-Sukarno. He was in Malaysia under the country's political protection. He was an adopted son of the Indonesian independence fighter and nationalist, Sultan Shahril. Tun Razak became acquainted with Des Alwi while studying in London. During Confrontation, Des Alwi became the agent who brought together Tun Razak and the Indonesian leaders. He also knew Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tan Sri Ghazali.

All this while, the Indonesian people were not passive. Many did not agree with Sukarno because he wanted to unite the moslems with members of the Indonesian communist party led by Aidid. The situation in Indonesia was tense. Sukarno did not know much about the Indonesian people's movement that opposed his "guided democracy" and his efforts to form a government with the communist party.

Aidid was very close to Sukarno. Their friendship gave rise to the wrath of the Islamic leaders and Indonesian soldiers like General Yani, General Nasution and General Suharto. Many civilians too opposed Sukarno.

When the situation became more tense, clashes occurred between the anti-Sukarno troops and the communists. Many were killed, including General Yani. General Nasution was safe, but his son was killed by the bullet directed at him.



Tun Razak shaking hands with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U-thant. Tun Razak attended the 21st session of the United Nations Assembly on 29 September 1966 and addressed the delegates there.

In this attack, the communists were defeated and Aidid was killed. The Indonesian military victory against the communists weakened Sukarno's position.

With the troops now united, especially the Sri Wangi troops, Sukarno's position began to crumble. He no longer had any power. The Army then appointed General Suharto to head the country. With the leadership in Suharto's hands, Sukarno was forced to remain quiet.

With the surrender of power to Suharto, the secret diplomatic movement was intensified. The objective was to resume diplomatic relations that had been severed by Sukarno in 1963, the time when the formation of Malaysia was proclaimed.

Tun Razak and Tan Sri Ghazali carried out negotiations through mediators with the Indonesian leaders under Suharto. Suharto wanted to resume diplomatic relations with Malaysia. Tun Razak made good use of his contacts with the Indonesian leaders to restore diplomatic relations officially.

With the restoration of relations between Malaysia and Indonesia, the relationship between Tun Razak and the Indonesian ministers, especially General Suharto, gradually became closer. Indonesia was the first country Tun Razak visited after his appointment as Prime Minister.

When General Suharto officially became President of the Republic of Indonesia, his first task was to restore officially diplomatic relations with Malaysia. As a mark of the sincerity of Indonesia, a delegation composed of high-ranking military officials led by Admiral Syaaf came to Kuala Lumpur to deliver the greetings of the government of Indonesia to Tun Razak and Tunku Abdul Rahman in May 1966.

After their cordial meeting with Tun Razak in Kuala Lumpur, the delegation went straight to Alor Setar to meet Tunku Abdul Rahman on the same mission. The arrival of the Indonesian delegation was not pre-planned. It took place unexpectedly. The delegation was in Malaysia for one day only. Their arrival lifted the curtain for official negotiations between Indonesia

and Malaysia. Official negotiations continued thereafter between diplomats of Malaysia and Indonesia.

Diplomatic negotiations were held in Bangkok. Tun Razak led the Malaysian delegation made up of government officials and politicians. The delegation left for Bangkok approximately a week after the Indonesian military delegation had come to Kuala Lumpur. The Indonesians were led by Adam Malek. Thailand's leader was the host. Tun Tanat Khoman was close to Tun Razak and Adam Malek. The meeting of the Malaysian and Indonesian delegations was very cordial and there was no sign of enmity. There was laughter with all parties relating events to enliven the atmosphere. The Indonesians related how they had taken steps to defeat the communist party led by Aidid.

Some members of the delegations of both countries stayed at the same hotel and this added to the smooth running of the whole event. Negotiations between both sides took a long time. The important task was to announce to the world that both countries were on good terms once more. This cordiality was reflected when both sides were present at the coffee-house, having coffee together. The meeting in Bangkok later decided that a Malaysian delegation would visit President Suharto in Indonesia.

A treaty was signed by Tun Razak on behalf of Malaysia and Adam Malek on behalf of Indonesia. With this, Indonesia officially recognised Malaysia. Tun Razak led the Malaysia goodwill delegation to Indonesia in August 1966. Relations between Malaysia and Indonesia had resumed.

Since then, the personal ties between Tun Razak and President Suharto became closer. They were often in touch by telephone. At times President Suharto would come to Malaysia or Tun Razak would visit Indonesia. Once Tun Razak went to Palembang for only one night. The important thing was that the close relationship between Malaysian and Indonesian leaders was nurtured after the conflict.

Malaysia's independence had been achieved at the negotiation table with merely a signature. However, the restoration

of ties between Indonesia and Malaysia which came from the same stock saw the shedding of blood. This should not be forgotten by the younger generation.

The restoration of diplomatic relations between Malaysia and Indonesia made great demands on Tun Razak. His courage in facing each issue and problem was an endeavour which he bore diligently. It is true that the candle burns itself out to give light to those around it. That is reminiscent of Tun Razak.

A new problem soon surfaced. The Singaporean leaders began to adopt an arrogant attitude. They brought up the issue of "Malaysian Malaysia". This issue was put forward in Singapore and the leaders campaigned for it all over the place. They wanted to place all citizens on an equal footing, without consideration of their position or status.

This concept could not be accepted in Malaysia, where there was royalty, unlike Singapore. The people of Singapore were inclined towards a republic.

Singapore accused Malaysian leaders of being pro-Malay and that Malaysia's concept tipped heavily towards the Malays. Accusations flew. Tun Razak had to make frequent trips to Singapore.

Besides negotiating, Tun Razak also looked into the situation and views of the people there. He was of the opinion that if the "Malaysian Malaysia" concept was practised in Malaysia, conflict would arise between the Malays and the non-Malays. However, Singapore openly magnified the concept. Radio Singapore was filled with speeches and explanations on the "Malaysian Malaysia" concept.

This concept was far too different from what had been practised and the Malaysian leaders could not entertain it. After a long debate in the newspapers and UMNO assemblies, Malaysia adopted a firm stand that Singapore be given independence.

The people were given an explanation and the proposal was debated in Parliament that Singapore be removed from

Malaysia. After the debate, Singapore officially separated from Malaysia on 9 August 1965.

The beginning of relations between Malaysia and Indonesia was a great diplomatic success for Tun Razak. When he became Prime Minister, he created history by establishing relations with the People's Republic of China for the first time. Although some parties had had relations with China, it was through Hong Kong. Malaysia did not have relations with China sooner because for a long time it was at war with the Communist Party of Malaya.

On 28 May 1974, Tun Razak visited the People's Republic of China for six days, during which diplomatic relations between the two countries were formalised. Tun Razak met with China's leader, Mao Tse-tung and his Prime Minister, Chou En-lai. The relations were not based on of ideology. Malaysia was still anti-communist. This recognition was merely diplomatic.

The recognition of the People's Republic of China was a great success for Malaysia, as it was the only country in Asia to do so. This brought about various reactions. Malaysians of Chinese origin and the business community welcomed it. However, the Malays had a different view.

Those who closely followed politics believed that recognition of the People's Republic of China would give a morale boost to the Chinese in Malaysia and it was likely they would join the Chinese from aspect of the politics. Such an event would be a loss to the Malays.

Besides the People's Republic of China, the Chinese also had other countries like Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. If these countries joined together politically, most certainly Malaysia would have a problem. Malaysia's only hope was Indonesia and Brunei as its close companions.

If the four Chinese countries, the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore were to unite or co-operate, surely the Malays in Malaysia would not be able to defend themselves, especially if Malaysians of Chinese origin were to co-operate with them. The Malays were apprehensive that Malaysia would be the target of their attack.

Tun Razak made the decision to recognise the People's Republic of China after studying all aspects. He did not believe the People's Republic of China would use its power to colonise the neighbouring countries. Besides, it was also a member in world bodies including the United Nations where it is a permanent member.

When Malaysia changed its focus from agriculture to trade under the leadership of Dr Mahathir Mohamad, many Malaysian businessmen went to the People's Republic of China to establish trade and business. If they travelled between the two countries merely to concentrate on business and trade, and did not get involved in any political activity, the relations between Malaysia and the People's Republic of China would continue to develop.

Malaysia under Tun Razak's leadership had established diplomatic ties with China based on the fact that China is a big country in this region. Malaysia had to build relations with China as a step towards developing its economy.

CHAPTER 14

Parliament is Restored

THE National Operations Council had begun operations. Tun Razak directed all administration in the country to be placed under its charge. The country gradually recovered. Tunku Abdul Rahman, who was Prime Minister, concentrated his efforts on travelling all over the country to promote the spirit of goodwill among the population. Goodwill Committees were formed throughout the country. Tunku started the Goodwill Movement by holding tea parties in the villages and Kampung Baru as well as at every gathering of people from various races. Tunku often emphasised the importance of compromise among the people. The Malays needed the non-Malays who in turn needed the Malays to share the responsibility of ruling the country. The spirit of goodwill had to be sown in the hearts of all the people of various races in Malaysia.

Tunku Abdul Rahman believed in the purpose of the large gatherings. According to him, "If the people can eat and drink together at one table, then there is no reason why they cannot live together."

The NOC's implementation was carried out in line with the goodwill movement throughout the country. In a short time, the tense situation resulting from the 13 May 1969 incident calmed down. Tun Razak as director of the NOC, together with

other ministers like Tun Dr Ismail, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, Tan Sri Khir Johari, Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tun Sambanthan as well as several senior government officials focused their efforts on collecting data and statements as well as reasons regarding the causes of the racial riots.

Tun Dr Ismail was a firm man. He did not say much. Whatever he uttered was succinct. It can be said that all strata of the people respected him. They often held in high esteem his just decisions.

Tun Dr Ismail was a unique personality. He was never without a pipe in his mouth and was always impeccably dressed, making him a stylish and elegant person. He was charismatic. Although by nature he was not very sociable, he was a leader with a golden heart. From the way he walked to the way he sat on a chair, it was obvious he was a leader of high calibre.

Tun Dr Ismail came from an elite family in the state of Johor. His father was the first person to become the President of the Senate since it was established after independence.

In Tunku Abdul Rahman's Cabinet, Tun Dr Ismail was the person he relied on greatly after Tun Razak. He retired for health reasons but returned to the Cabinet at the Tunku's invitation to assist him in handling the situation after the 13 May 1969 riots. His sincerity was always written on his face.

Tun Dr Ismail was appointed as Deputy Prime Minister when Tun Razak took over from Tunku Abdul Rahman. However, he passed away while his energy and service were still needed by Malaysians. At that time he was the acting Prime Minister as Tun Razak was out of the country.

The National Operations Council invited the public to give their views regarding the causes of the riots and how to overcome as well as look for ways so that the incident would not recur. Every strata of the society, association and NGO was asked its opinions. The NOC would make conclusions and outline a formula so that the May 13 incident did not occur again.

Every issue and every incident which erupted in the country, and was linked to the 13 May tragedy was analysed carefully.



Tun Dr Ismail pictured here with Tun Razak. Tun Dr Ismail was often held in high esteem for his just decision. A charismatic leader, he was the natural successor to Tun Razak and was the acting Prime Minister when he unexpectedly passed away.

From the discussions and memorandum received by the NOC, it was found that the tragedy of 13 May 1969 was due to the unequal economic distribution among the various communities in Malaysia. It was important that this sensitive matter had been brought to the political arena.

Malaysians of Chinese origin had for generations been involved in business. They Malays could be said to bear the responsibility and burden of the government. It could be said that Malay parents sent their children to school and also to university in order for them to get into government departments. They meant well. They wanted their children to serve the country. In public administration, there was a quota for taking Malays into the civil service.

It was true that parents wanted their children enter civil service because it assured them a pension. It was the greatest wish of Malay parents in the villages to have their children enter civil service after school. Malays with university qualifications obviously applied for posts in the civil service as their first choice.

The Malaysian Constitution was legislated on the agreement of all the communities in Malaysia. Certain matters like the special rights of the Malays was balanced with the citizenship rights of the non-Malays. Some viewed the citizenship rights for the non-Malays as political sharing with the Malays. If in the past the Malays made up the majority in politics, then the citizenship rights had given a chance to the non-Malays to be admitted into politics.

Approximately a year after it was established, the NOC was able to ascertain the issues which caused the 13 May tragedy. It worked at forming a national policy in the hope that such an incident would not recur. In debate, four main issues were highlighted as the causes. A solution had to be found so that the issues would not be exploited by the country's enemies. These issues were the position of the Malay rulers, the special rights of the Malays, the national language and citizenship rights.

The revelation of these issues raised the anger of the population. These issues were the ones raised by most opposition parties in the 1969 elections. The very mention in speeches of the position of the Malay rulers, special rights of the Malays and the national language roused the Malays and made them angry. These issues were not new. The Malays were prepared to die rather than trade away the three issues.

Amendments had to be made to the Constitution concerning these issues. Once recorded in the Constitution, the public could not raise them in any general forum to politicise them. What could be questioned was only their implementation.

The NOC unanimously agreed that these sensitive issues should not be brought up in political debates. It also agreed that they be recorded in the Constitution.

Besides these sensitive issues, two other matters were brought forward to become the country's policy. One was the *Rukunegara* and the other the New Economic Policy. The *Rukunegara* should be practised and made a part of the people's life. The New Economic Policy would ensure the nation's wealth was distributed on an equal basis among the people of various races. The Malaysian Constitution was drawn up in such a way as to protect every race in Malaysia.

The Malays had power in politics but as time went on they were being left behind in the economic sector. Consequently they felt that by giving citizenship rights to the non-Malays, their political powers were being threatened.

Efforts to restore Parliament were carried out enthusiastically. Tunku Abdul Rahman had started that he would retire as soon as Parliament resumed. The restoration of Parliament was a historical event. Indeed it is difficult to identify any country that had carried out an emergency or military administration wanting in real earnest to return to parliamentary rule. However, Malaysia was racing to re-establish Parliament, which showed that its leaders were not power crazy. They would share the administration of the country with the people.

The amendments to the Constitution were now ready and the outlines of the *Rukunegara* and the New Economic Policy

too had been done. The amendments would be raised in Parliament the very day it was restored.

Parliament was resumed after more than a year of suspension (May 1969–March 1971). The amendments to the Constitution as proposed by the National Operations Council became the main matter attended to by Tun Razak as the second Prime Minister. The restoration of Parliament marked the end of Tunku Abdul Rahman's tenure as Prime Minister.

When the House of Representatives began its session, the Deputy Prime Minister Tun Dr Ismail proposed that, "In accordance with the allocation of ordinance 14(2) that at this first meeting, it is required to consider immediately via all stages of the Draft Legislation (Amendment) Constitution (No. DR. 14/71) before considering all other matters in the Ordinance Management Meeting."

Soon after Tun Dr Ismail put forward the proposal which was unanimously passed, Tun Abdul Razak began his speech:

"I feel convinced and believe that all the Honourable Members present in this House are filled with happiness that by the grace of Allah the Almighty we are able to meet in Parliament once again. I also believe that all of you realise fully how heavy your responsibilities are in order to ensure that parliamentary democracy is carried out smoothly and completely in our country.

"When I was appointed Director of the National Operations Council 21 months ago on 17 May 1969, my foremost task was to restore peace and harmony. I was also responsible for ensuring that the country's administration was carried out smoothly and speedily as well as reviving harmony and trust among the various communities in our country. With the help and co-operation from all parties, I have been able to carry out my tasks.

"During this time, I had been thinking and carrying out various efforts to restore the situation and atmosphere in this country to their former conditions to enable us to hold Parliamentary sessions once more

where you, the Honourable Members, may accomplish their respective tasks as representatives of the people.

"As all of you already know, the powers of a government come from the people. We are present in Parliament today merely because we have obtained the people's trust. Our position is no more than holders of the trust on behalf of the people. Their main hope is for us to carry out the obligations with full realisation and responsibility in order that harmony among the communities is always maintained.

"For this reason, we must hold discussions and devise our policies with great care while at the same time remember and realise the feelings and hopes of the people of our country.

"The problems laid out before us all cannot be explained indiscriminately without being guided by the historical background of the country's political and economic development. We have to accept the fact that our nation is made up of various races who are not yet wholly united. Compared to other countries, our country is still young and our experience in the workings of the parliamentary democratic system fewer than twenty years. Moreover, our economy has not achieved progress fully, and there is clearly an imbalance in position among the communities.

"In the meantime, we must realise that in the midst of our society this day there is a new generation who have grown up after we achieved independence. They do not know the political background of the time we struggled for the country's independence as they do not understand the compromises we had agreed upon then among the communities, which were necessary in order to succeed in our struggles.

"One other group that we have to face is the irresponsible people who aspire to gain power by provoking and inciting communal sentiments, raising anxieties and suspicion among the communities.

These are the truths that must guide us when we work out our plans to overcome various problems faced by

our people and the country as we enter a new chapter in our nation's history.

"Our session today has been delayed twenty months. I too feel regret like you do, Honourable Members but we all know the reasons. The disturbances in May 1969 marked a black spot in our country's history but by the grace of Allah the Almighty, we have been able to plan policies and take firm and effective steps to save our people and country from plunging into a deep gorge. Today, although the situation and atmosphere have generally recovered as previously, it is not proper that we forget the lessons and experiences that we have obtained from the 13 May incident.

"Of course it would have been easy for us to allow the problems to continue whilst hoping that at some time in the future, they would disappear by themselves. But a country cannot be ruled based on mere hopes and conjectures. If we do not take the necessary steps now, we will be condemned by the people for the crime of not accomplishing the responsibilities that have been entrusted to us. I believe every one of us wishes to avoid the recurrence of the 13 May incident in our country because the effects would be more terrible and widespread should this happen again. We have incurred huge losses and gained bitter experience from the irresponsible and indecent deeds of a minority of the people who desired to cause disturbances and turmoil. Now we have to act firmly because what we have at stake is the fate of our people and our country.

"Let us all impress in our hearts and minds the lessons we have learnt from the 13 May incident and let us not discuss and debate any more on what had caused the outbreak of the incident and how it had begun because this would likely make us forget our true enemy, that is the irresponsible elements whose job was to plant the seeds of suspicion and anxiety among the communities as well as to use sensitive matters for their own benefit.

"These elements had a great opportunity to arouse racial feelings during the election campaign in 11 April

and May 1969. They deliberately raised fear and anger by questioning and ridiculing the conditions stipulated in the constitution, regarding the Malay language and the special position of the Malays, and even intensified their feeling of insecurity when they saw how wide the gap was between them and the non-Malays especially in economy and education. Some of these irresponsible elements had sparked feeling of dissatisfaction deliberately by giving incorrect explanations regarding the implementation of the conditions in the constitution and also urging the abolishment of these conditions from the Constitution. Another group created fear and mistrust by saying that the rights of the non-Malays as legislated in the Constitution would be violated.

"We must acknowledge the truth that is in Malaysia today. As the 13 May incident is still fresh in our minds, it is necessary to be firm and to show our determination to maintain and uphold our democracy to oppose the deceitful deeds of the irresponsible elements.

"We have to show proof that we are truly firm in our word to destroy all opportunities that can be used by these elements to harm our political atmosphere and arrangement. In short, we will not allow a small group to abuse the freedom granted to destroy our own rightful freedom.

"With Parliament back in session, today we all realise our great hopes and the desires of the people in this country. I place high hopes that by our move to pass the draft regulations being discussed in this assembly, the doubts and suspicions among the population throughout this country will be wiped out. I also hope after that listening to our discussion here, they will feel convinced that even if we have different political stands, we are united in our efforts to maintain the peace and stability of the country and the solidarity as well as the harmony of the people.

"Thus for the reasons I have mentioned just now, the government has made the decision to put forward the draft regulations before all of you on this day with the

purpose of amending several allocations in the constitution. We have two very important aims.

"Firstly, the amendments are intended to restrict public discussion of sensitive subjects so that parliamentary democracy may function smoothly in our country. Secondly, the objective is to correct through the law some imbalance among the communities. The government had taken a long time to consider carefully before making a decision to forward the aforementioned amendments in this assembly. We had the advantage of holding frank discussions, which proved beneficial, in the National Consultative Council.

"We trust and believe the amendments are important in view of existing the situation and atmosphere and do not doubt that these amendments are agreeable to the majority of the people who would like to see that harmony among the communities is not jeopardised.

"Now I would like to clarify the proposed amendments one by one.

"The first amendment contained in Section 2 of the draft regulations concerns Article 10 of the Constitution. This amendment aims at prohibiting anyone from making statements which can stir the sensitive feelings of the communities in our country. The method is by giving the power to Parliament to pass laws which prohibit acts of questioning whatever subject, right of position, status, privilege, sovereignty or absolute right which is determined or protected by the allocations in Part III (which contains the related allocations and citizenship); Article 152 (relating to the special rights of the Malays and valid interests of the other communities), and Article 181 (relating to the sovereignty of the Malay rulers).

"As the Honourable Members are aware of, the freedom of speech and expression of thoughts under Article 10 Section 1 (a) in the Constitution already subject to the allocation in Section 2 (a) to the article which gives power to the Parliament to make laws in order to impose 'restriction' which is necessary or

important in the interest of the safety of the Federation or its territories, relations with other countries, public peace or morals and the restrictions meant to protect the Parliament specialty or any State Councils or to avoid contempt of the court, false accusation or deeds to instigate the performance of some mischief.

"If the restrictions mentioned in Section 2 (a) are accepted and deemed necessary, surely it is of greater importance to impose restrictions on the act of questioning allocations which are important and basic which are contained in the Constitution bearing in mind our new experience, because it is on this basis that our nation was built and for that reason, a new section ought to be entered under Article 10 which clarifies and explains clearly the powers of the Parliament under Section 2 (a).

"I feel it is not necessary for me to explain one by one in this House to show how just our country's Constitution is towards all parties and it has been legislated as a result of the agreement achieved by the main communities in Malaysia after discussions were carried out openly and in depth among us all before we achieved independence.

"As I have explained our Constitution has placed a just condition on all parties regarding citizenship. This is also true of other allocations in the Constitution regarding the protection of valid rights for all communities in Malaysia.

"For example, allocations relating to the special position of the Malays are balanced with the assurance given to protect the valid interests of other communities and also the citizenship which I mentioned just now. The allocation relating to the position of Bahasa Malaysia as the sole official and national language is balanced with the assurance that the languages of other communities can be used other than for official purposes. Relating to allocation regarding the sovereignty of the Malay rulers, I believe no one would wish to challenge the rulers' position.

"I am convinced that not a single person who is loyal would like to see the subject of the rulers' position being debated in the political arena.

"These are the matters recorded in our constitution which can be regarded as sensitive matters that anyone must be forbidden to discuss publicly as they are matters which can be used by irresponsible elements to destroy the unity of the people. I wish to stress here that the allocations which are the basis of our nation should rightly be preserved not only to guard our interests, but because they are too sacred to be made the subject of dangerous debates.

"Now I would like to clarify that the powers to be given to the Parliament to impose restrictions on public discussions of sensitive allocations do not include discussions about their implementation.

"The Honourable Members surely agree that the sensitive allocations should not become the subject for public discussion, but it would not be fair if the methods of their implementation be restricted from debate, that is, up to the point regarding acts by the government or any authority misuse the powers to implement the Constitution's allocations. It is proposed that the matters which can be argued be determined in a law which will be brought forward to Parliament in the near future.

"No one can claim that he has wisdom and has never made a mistake, and we in government are always willing to accept any views and suggestions on how these allocations can be implemented. We have acknowledged that it is in our common interest that these allocations be preserved and we also acknowledge that it is to our benefit to ensure that these allocations are implemented fairly and justly so that the objectives and purposes for which they were made were achieved.

"I will now move on to the second amendment, Section 3 in the draft regulations for the purpose of amending Article 63 in the Constitution relating to the privilege of the Members of Parliament which ensures that they will not be brought to the justice of the courts

for whatever matter they express during discussions in the House or any of its committees.

"We propose to include a new section in Article 63 with the aim that a Member of Parliament who is accused of a misdemeanour under any law, passed by the Parliament in accordance with Article 10 (4) as amended with Section 2 of the draft Regulations, that the member has no right to to protection under Article 3 (2). Until Parliament is able to pass the law under Section 4 Article 10, the Sedition Act, 1948 as amended under the Emergency Ordinance (Essential Powers) 45, 1970 is enforced. The third amendment is to Section 4, in the draft regulations it gives the same effects to Article 72 to the Constitution relating to the same privilege to a member of the Legislative Council in any state in Malaysia.

"I realise that the Members of Parliament and the members of the State Legislative Councils are made up of those who are responsible. But we are all aware that what we say here is recorded in the minutes of the House Meeting and is directly reported by the media. If we want to prohibit sensitive matters from being discussed publicly by giving powers to the Parliament to pass laws to limit freedom of speech regarding these matters and enable legal action to be taken against those who are accused of committing a misdemeanour against the law mentioned, then it is only right and fair that the Members of Parliament or State Councils are also subjected to the accusation if we ourselves violate the laws mentioned.

"We ought to realise that the Members of Parliament and the members of the State Legislative Councils always get special attention from the public and their speeches in the House attract the people's interest. If the Honourable Members are allowed to raise sensitive matters in the House without being subjected to the enforcement of the law, then there is no meaning to this amendment proposed in Section 2 of the draft regulations. This House has already agreed that freedom

of speech in this House does not mean a member can touch on subjects that can arouse the racial feelings and threaten the position of the communities in this country.

"This prohibition has been determined in Ordinance 36 to the Ordinance of the House of Representatives Meeting which establishes that it is wrong to use words which could incite feelings of hurt and enmity between one community and another in this country.

"I believe the Honourable Members are all agreed that this regulation is not sufficient for the purposes intended considering the existing atmosphere today. I feel it is not befitting the powers of the Speaker to order the members of this House to withdraw their words every time they go against Ordinance 36.

"This not only aggravates the Speaker's responsibility as he must decide at the blink of an eye each time such a thing happens, but what is important is that the dangerous words have been uttered and cannot be erased. Thus the Honourable Members must also be subjected to legal measures for their dangerous words, just as the public is. It is proposed that the Members of Parliament and the State Legislative Councils who violate this law be tried only by a High Court Judge. The Sedition Action, 1948 will be amended accordingly to include this allocation.

"I now turn to Section 5 in the draft regulations which intends to amend Article 152 of the Constitution relating to the National Language by determining the definition of the words 'official purposes' in the Article. The Constitution has determined that Bahasa Malaysia become the national language without preventing or forbidding the use of other languages except for official purposes. As the Honourable Members are aware, the meaning of the words 'official purposes' in the article has not been explained.

"For this reason, it is proposed that the words be given a clear definition by adding one new section which assures that these words mean any government purpose, whether the federal or state governments, including any

purpose for the public authorities. I feel this definition is very useful and important to explain further the purpose already understood.

"I would like to give assurance to the Honourable Members from Sabah and Sarawak that the amendments to this section which I have explained just now, do not in any way discredit Article 161 which states that the English language may be used in both these states mentioned for a period of ten years after Malaysia Day.

"Turning to Section 6 in the draft regulations, which is divided into three parts with the purpose of making several amendments to Article 153, I propose to explain beforehand Section 6 (a) and 6 (c) at the same time. Section 6 (a) in the draft regulations has the purpose of amending Article 153 by including after the word 'Malay' which is mentioned in the Article, the words 'and indigenous people of the states in Borneo'.

"Section 6 (c) in the draft regulations merely represents an explanation with the purpose of including a new Section (9A) to Article 153 which explains the meaning of the words 'indigenous people of the states of Borneo' as having the same meaning as that found in Article 161A in the Constitution. I feel it is not necessary for me to clarify the purpose of this amendment.

"Regarding the amendment contained in Section (a) of the draft regulations, I believe that the amendment can be accepted by all parties. The basic purpose of Article 153 is to give a chance to the Malays to progress more speedily in order that at a time in the future they would be able to compete with the non-Malays by having similar conditions of abilities and qualifications, because at present it is acknowledged the Malays have not yet achieved as rapid a development as the non-Malays. The same is also true among the indigenous people of the East Malaysian states. For this reason, the amendment proposed is indeed logical.

"I ought to bring forward at the same time Section 8 of the draft regulations for the purpose of amending Article 161 (a). This amendment is to coordinate with

the amendment in Section 6 of the draft regulations and I think it is not necessary for me to clarify it at length.

"I wish to explain that the proposal to do away with Section (1), (2) and (3) in Article 161 (a) has been done at the request of the governments of Sabah and Sarawak according to the Inter-Governmental Committee Report. Although Section (1) in Article 161 (a) has been struck out, the position of the indigenous people in both these states will not be affected because they will immediately get the same privileges under the proposed amendment. With Section (2) struck out, the indigenous people in both states will gain more benefit because they will receive privileges under Article 153 not only in Sabah and Sarawak but also in West Malaysia.

"Because the purpose of amending Article 161 (a) is to place the indigenous people in Sabah and Sarawak on the same status as the Malays in the West Malaysian states, it is necessary that Section (3) be struck out, otherwise the conditions will be conflicting. Privileges that may be granted by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong according to Article 153 to the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak are regarding federal matters only, that is matters under the central government's power. This amendment will not ever affect the state's powers to grant privileges to the indigenous people of both states mentioned in the matters placed in the state's powers. With these amendments, it is clear that the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak are placed in the same status as the Malays in the West Malaysian states.

"I now turn to Section 6 (b) in the draft regulations which gives powers to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong in accordance with His Majesty's duties as determined under Article 153 of the Constitution, to ensure the Malays and the indigenous people of the Borneo states receive an appropriate number of places in the universities, colleges and other education centres beyond the secondary level where it is found there are many more qualified candidates than places available. I feel it is necessary to explain the aims of Section 6 (b). I have

already drawn the attention of this House that one of the reasons which led to the outbreak of the disturbances in May 1969 was the mounting feeling of insecurity among the Malays caused by the wide gap they found between them and the non-Malays especially in the education and economic sectors. I have also explained that one of the main aims for the proposal of amendments to the Constitution is to correct the imbalance in several sectors of the people's life. Other methods and steps which are necessary are also taken to correct the imbalance in education and economy. In the economic sector, the government has set up the New Economic Scheme to restructure the country's economy so that every community can take the same part in the country's trade and industry. Another sector that needs to be balanced is education which is closely connected to economic and social progress.

“Today the number of students from all communities qualified to further their studies has increased. Nevertheless, because of the deprived socio-economic background and insufficient educational facilities in the rural areas, the academic progress of Malay students is not as good as desired.

“This situation has resulted in the imbalance among communities in several courses in university. For instance, in Universiti Malaya there is a wide gap between the Malay students and the non-Malays in some courses. The figures proving the imbalance in the situation is published in the White Paper entitled ‘Towards the Country's Harmony’ which has been announced officially. As can be witnessed, although the situation has begun to improve, the rate of progress is not satisfactory and not yet able to fulfil today's needs. The imbalance among the communities will give rise to various consequences which are dangerous to our nation and must be overcome as soon as possible. Figures in the statistics mentioned show clearly the true situation. Many more factors and figures can testify to the worrying situation. The figures show clearly that the Malays are still left far

behind in several courses. For example, in the field of science, the number of graduates in 1970 were 22 Malays out of a total of 493 students in the Science Faculty, only 1 Malay out of 71 in the Engineering Faculty in 1970, 15 Malays out of 49 in the Agricultural Faculty and 4 Malays out of 67 in the Medical Faculty. It is obvious that the situation is not fair and not desirable in the interest of the country's. The government is organising long-term steps to improve the education facilities and the backward socio-economic background of the rural students. Nevertheless, a quick solution is necessary to overcome conditions as they are today.

"At this time the constitution of Universiti Malaya stipulates that the university has to take in all students given a government scholarship on condition that they possess the necessary qualifications. Thus, we could perhaps make it easier for Malay students to enter university by awarding them scholarships, without regard for their financial background.

"Even so, certainly this method is not fair because scholarships to qualified Malay students must be given based on their ability and their financial situation. Perhaps the objective to correct the imbalance in the faculties can be achieved by issuing administrative directives. However, such a move will give rise to misunderstanding and misinterpretation. So it is necessary for us to study and correct this question openly because it does not only concern the Malays but is tied up with all our interests. Therefore, we should clarify this problem to the whole population in order that they understand our objective and the reason we have taken such steps. It is on this basis that the amendment to Article 153 is proposed.

"I would also like to take this opportunity to give the assurance that the powers given to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to issue directives to any universities, colleges and education centres beyond the secondary level in order to reserve an appropriate number of places for the Malays and indigenous people of the states of Borneo,

will be implemented with great care and caution. The aim of these amendments is to reserve places for certain courses of study where the Malay students and the indigenous students of the states of Borneo are extremely small in number. In this way the imbalance can be overcome in the efforts to maintain the country's solidarity. I would like to explain the amendment proposed to Article 153 by adding a new section (8A) which is subject to Section (1) of the Article.

"Finally I would like to explain Section 7 in the draft regulations to amend Article 159 (5) in the Constitution by creating an allocation other than the articles already included in it, that the amendment to the allocations contained in Article 10 (4) of the Constitution or any law that is passed under this Article, Part III of the Constitution, Article 63 (4), Article 72 (4) and Section 5 to Article 159 cannot be made without the agreement of the Council of Rulers.

"As the Honourable Members is aware, Article 159 (5) has stipulated that the amendment to Articles 38, 70, 71 (1) and 13 cannot be passed except with the agreement of the Council of Rulers.

"In conclusion, I would like to state that our country has gone through a very dangerous crisis in its history. The feelings of fear and hate, anger and distrust had been aroused. Let us reflect deeply and carefully in which direction we wish to proceed. Let us remind ourselves that the workings of a democratic system in our country must take into account the multiracial make-up of our society. Prior to this our country had never been confronted by the challenges we are now facing. I would like to ask all the Honourable Members if it is wise for us to go back to the old ways where, in the name of democracy and freedom of speech, is it the irresponsible elements were free to carry out their deceits in order to rouse racial feelings until it brought our nation to the brink of ruin, or should we act now to take back the freedom from them so that parliamentary democracy can run smoothly. I am convinced about and do not

doubt any more what we must do now, just as I am convinced that what is wished by the whole population of our country above all else is that the harmony among the communities be perpetuated and also so that our country advances forward to fulfil the desire to achieve unity and prosperity in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity.

"Should there still be any doubts or anxieties in the hearts of some Honourable Members here regarding the amendments to the Constitution, I hope after the explanations made on, the aims as well as the requirements of the draft regulations, their doubts and anxieties would be erased. With that I ask that the House pass these amendments to the Constitution and show clearly to the whole population that we are determined to ensure the parliamentary system of government that is suited to the conditions prevailing in our country.

"Let all of us who love and are loyal to this country stand firm and united in the foremost interest of ensuring the maintenance of the harmony and unity to perpetuate the objectives of the nation in order to advance towards achieving progress and prosperity. Sir, this I beg to propose (applause)".

The resumption of the House of Representatives was a new era in the democracy of Malaysia. The House of Representatives began its session for the first time simultaneous with the appointment of the second Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak. Tunku Abdul Rahman, who had led Malaysia since 1952 as the UMNO President and from as the Prime Minister from 1955, withdrew as Prime Minister in order to pave the way for Tun Razak.

As a newly independent country, Malaysia was proud of its progress in democracy. The people of Malaysia had understood as well as practised the concept of democracy as the administrative machinery in the country.

The concept of democracy is the granting of rights to the people, especially to place leaders at a certain level. The people's

representative for example, is chosen by the voters and each person has one vote and the right to vote for their choice of a leader. In Malaysia, the term of the House of Representatives five years. The people who are registered as voters use their right to vote every five years to choose representatives in the State Legislative Council and the House of Representatives. In the many years the elections have been held it is found that the election process certainly gives absolute right to the people to use it. One point of interest in Malaysia's elections is that riots have never occurred nor people killed. In some other countries, in every election there are sure to be riots and deaths.

Elections in Malaysia do not cover all sectors of administration. Malaysia only practises elections at the levels of the State Legislative Council and House of Representatives. Senators are appointed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Local Councils like the City Council and Local Assemblies used to hold elections. Some years ago, the Local Assembly and City Council elections were abolished. The Kuala Lumpur City Council does not hold elections. The Mayor is not chosen by the people. He is a government official and the post is approved by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

Kuala Lumpur is made a city like London, New York, Paris, and Berlin in the industrial countries. However, the Mayors of these other cities are chosen by the people whereas the Mayor of Kuala Lumpur is a government official. This was obvious when the Mayor of Kuala Lumpur exchanged gifts with the Mayor of Manchester city at the closing ceremony of the 16th Commonwealth Games at the Bukit Jalil National Stadium. The former presented the logo of the Commonwealth Games to the latter because Manchester would be the host of the 17th Commonwealth Games.

Malaysia has entered its fourth era. The first era under the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman has already retreated from the political stage. So have those who were supporters of the leadership of Tun Abdul Razak and Tun Hussein. Still active in the political arena today are supporters of Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad.

Leaders come and go. Thus, it becomes the responsibility of the people to determine the nation's history during their time. It is left to them to form and plan the history of that era.

Malaysia achieved independence on a silver platter and there was no bloodshed except for the Indonesian Confrontation at the time of Malaysia's formation.

When Malaysia was faced with the 13 May 1969 incident, its enemy was the communists and communist elements. Another riot which took place was following the sacking of Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim as the Deputy Prime Minister and member of UMNO. This time the clash was between the Malays.

Matters like these need to be watched by the younger generation because any crack or split in the democratic administration will create anxiety among the people.

Another sad incident was when Tunku Abdul Rahman gave independence to Singapore on 9 August 1965. Although the separation between Singapore and Malaysia did not cause bloodshed, it may be likened to a surgery without anaesthetic. This was because both the countries had been administered together by the British for more than 100 years.

At first the people were shocked by the Tunku's decision but gradually many were of the opinion that the decision was a wise one. His wisdom is evident in the context of democratic rule.

In a democratic administration elections are "compulsory". If Singapore had been a part of Malaysia still, surely Lee Kuan Yew would have influenced the Chinese in the peninsula. Lee Kuan Yew was a politician who was very capable and could influence his people of Chinese origin. If this were to happen, then MCA would not remain in the Malaysian government. MCA would surely have been replaced by PAP. The position of voters in the peninsula certainly would have been uncontrolled. The Chinese would surely have supported Lee Kuan Yew.

All these incidents must be contemplated on by the younger generation. It is left to them to determine the fate of the people

in both these countries. Possibly one day, the people of Singapore would be willing to practise the way of life of people in Malaysia, that is to accept constitutional rulers. Then perhaps Singapore will be accepted into Malaysia once again.

CHAPTER 15

Milestones in Tun Razak's Life

AS soon as he was no longer with us, the situation in the country was agitated, and we were quite frightened to face the future. What we had thought was common suddenly turned into something that was so uncertain. This was how most people felt on hearing the news of Tun Razak's demise. How would we face the future with the loss of a figure who had been proven from the beginning until the end of his life?

Tun Razak inherited leadership of the country when Tunku Abdul Rahman (who probably was reluctant) gave up power still believing that the person designated to continue his duty was a force that had been tested. There was no sign of greed in him nor desire for more power; also it did not appear that he would worsen the situation. Tun Razak was as calm a human being as one could find. Looking deep into his eyes at the time the country was in turmoil, one saw no anxiety or doubts. What emanated was a balanced calmness.

The strength beneath the calmness certainly did not emerge all of a sudden. Calmness usually came after one passed through turmoil that was most exacting. Reflected in the shine of his eyes was the strength beneath the calmness which was also exhibited in his actions. Usually with a forehead slightly creased,

Tun Razak would listen attentively. He would not give an immediate answer. Everything would be digested first so that the solution and action would display soundness and advantage.

From where did he get such strength and calmness? Going far back to his early life, we have seen his life as a nobleman who did not feel himself above the ordinary people. Though educated, he did not feel he was cleverer than his friends. With much power later on, he never felt the desire for more power. Far from it, he was a man of remarkable patience, waiting not with a hidden desire and receiving power not with ecstasy. He regarded all that he received his duty and responsibility to the well-being of his people.

He was born into a nobleman's family during a most challenging decade. The country was still under colonial rule. Living with his grandfather in Kampung Jambu, Tun Razak was brought up in an atmosphere of nobility. His habits and movements were probably to some extent coloured by this aristocracy but by going to the Langgar Malay School in Pekan, gradually he became familiar with and understood the life of the ordinary people. It is not surprising his schoolmates respected him and there is no record that Tun Razak ever avoided his friends who were not from a noble background. Frequent association with the ordinary people made him comfortable. And it is with such a feeling of ease that he continued his studies at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, before going to Raffles College, and then to England.

Even though his intelligence was not evident early in his life, it was later proved when he completed his law studies in a matter of only eighteen months. He completed his studies in April 1949 and was called to the bar in May 1950. Tun Razak then prepared to return home to a country which was pursuing its independence.

Although it had not been highlighted, the progress of his achievement from one phase to another proved that Tun Razak was an officer whose knowledge and experience was solid. His achievements came rather quickly and at a young age which

foretold the promise of this quiet young man to rule. This was proved, for example from age 28 leading to 48, step by step as Tun Razak climbed the ladder of power, beginning as the State Secretary of Pahang and ending as the Prime Minister of Malaysia who planned important policies for the country's development and the welfare of his people.

That ladder however was not easily to be climbed as thought. Tun Razak was not a figure who advanced just because he happened to be a nobleman. He passed through several rungs of power before being finally accepted to sit at the top. His experience abroad with Tunku Abdul Rahman in London was the foundation for the growth of his character and personality as a leader. There are many examples which show how Tun Razak became helper, assistant and at times adviser to his leader.

For the length of time they shared power, Tun Razak was never impatient to inherit the power. On the contrary, it showed that throughout their partnership in power, Tun Razak was a most patient man.

From the beginning it appeared as if Tun Razak was born to hold power because of his birth as a nobleman. The passage of power was blessed by another nobleman – Tunku Abdul Rahman. However, this was not an absolute right because that power was not surrendered to or inherited by him. Tun Razak himself had worked hard for it. In fact, he himself had tried to delegate the power until it formed very strong roots.

Those close to him would surely have been aware how the quiet and humble nobleman wielded his power carefully. While in England as an undergraduate, Tun Razak proved that he was not a person ignorant of the goings on beyond the boundaries of his country. He realised that almost all the colonies of the West were burning with the spirit of nationalism at the time, and he felt that Malaya should not remain passive. Because of this, as an undergraduate, Tun Razak quickly involved himself in intellectual movements and debates, and made speeches about the fate of the people and the nation.

At the time, he was aware that the Far East had begun to be fired by demands for independence. Personalities like Ramon

Magsaysay from the Philippines, Mahatma Gandhi from India and Sukarno from Indonesia were not unfamiliar to him. As a nobleman, he knew that these names did not emerge suddenly from amongst the population. There was something that ignited the lives of the people in the colonised lands. And the raging flame gave voice to the spirit and determination of the people oppressed by the colonists.

From his reading and socialising, Tun Razak gathered much information and the secret wishes of his own people. Although his life was not quite oppressed from the material aspect, he was aware that happiness, what more national honour, depended on the status of the people. And this honour needed to be fought for with wisdom and courage and, not incredibly, with bloodshed as had happened in some colonies.

With this understanding and realisation, when he was given the opportunity to struggle beside Tunku Abdul Rahman as a nationalist, Tun Razak quickly welcomed it. In London, he emerged a confident as intellectual and potential fighter which resulted in him being chosen to head the Malay Union of United Kingdom. It was there that he began an extraordinary friendship and partnership with Tunku Abdul Rahman. Tun Razak and Tunku Abdul Rahman supported each other and their friendship strengthened.

Records show that the relationship of these two Malay intellectuals was extremely peaceful. Despite some peculiarities in both their habits, this slight difference seemed to become a kind of effective combination which proved most profitable. It is generally known that Tunku Abdul Rahman was a figure who was relaxed, trusting and cheerful. Whoever knew the Tunku felt no barrier around him. It is also generally known that Tun Razak was someone who seemed to have his own secrets, was careful and not so cheerful. But, these are externals. For example, the Tunku's relaxed habits and cheerfulness easily concealed his cautious observation of people. On the other hand, Tun Razak's external features hid the secret of his determination to act courageously for his people.

The relationship between Tun Razak and Tunku Abdul Rahman in London was obviously more organisation-like. This continued when they were together back in the country, making the task of administering the country very comfortable and easy. This was possible as Tun Razak maintained a respectful relationship with the Tunku whom he regarded not only as a leader but also as his father.

Throughout the relationship, Tun Razak was like an aide who was always able to read his chief's thoughts and wishes. After a discussion on some matter or problem, the Tunku would be able to laugh easily as if there had been nothing difficult or serious. The person seen to be increasingly serious was Tun Razak, not because he felt certain burdens had fallen on his shoulders, but because he wished to help Tunku Abdul Rahman accomplish the tasks planned. To Tun Razak, Tunku Abdul Rahman was the person who laid the tracks for beneficial works. And he was the one to activate what had been laid out. The plans were often realised – the elder thought of them and the younger implemented it. Because of the presence of an unwritten understanding between them, the blend of power and work of these two figures became extremely easy and effective.

The habits and moderation possessed by a nobleman like Tun Razak are not easily understood if one did study his childhood and early adulthood years. As a child surely he was obedient to the orders and the teachings of his parents. The world of nobility has its own ways and even its own taboos. All these rules in some small way taught Tun Razak to be disciplined and orderly. Nevertheless, because of his own ways, and especially his childhood surroundings, Tun Razak was able to look beyond his noble upbringing. He was not only aware of the beautiful things easily to be seen in the world of nobility. He also saw other things in a life more real especially when he went to and from the Langgar Malay School.

It was likely that Tun Razak asked himself again and again about the differences in his life. Furthermore at those times, it was probable that he had begun to observe and evaluate the life of his people, beginning with the difference between a



Tun Razak was not a great orator known for his fiery speeches, but he was often seen in his speeches emphasising a point he thought important by raising one or both of his hands.

nobleman and a commoner. Journeying to and fro, as well as conversing with his grandfather who was always by his side, some determination and understanding naturally sprouted in him. And if Tun Razak was seen to be keeping more to himself, it did not mean that he did not mix with or think about the other people. Many later events proved that his attitude of isolating himself shielded his role as a serious guardian and assessor of the people.

After reaching adulthood, coupled with the legal education he received, Tun Razak better understood the meaning of justice and equality. Armed with this knowledge and awareness, he gradually matured in his years and actions. All these were especially relevant when the country was caught up in its own struggles, agitated but not quite exasperated, because there is a difference between the achievement of independence by Malaya and Indonesia. It is not surprising that later Tunku Abdul Rahman said that he was the happiest of prime ministers. In silence, perhaps, Tun Razak stated the same thing.

However it was almost unexpected that Tun Razak would be faced by another challenge, and rather suddenly. Even though the Emergency had prepared them for difficulties, that period was got through with the help of the British. This matter became altogether different after the country came under self-administration, especially when it was forced to face a nation of the same stock, Indonesia. The easygoing quality of Tunku Abdul Rahman was misjudged by Indonesia's leader, resulting in the suspicious attitude over the interpretation of independence becoming the seed of a serious misunderstanding. To Tunku Abdul Rahman, it was justified that Malaya achieved independence through moderate negotiations, but where was Sukarno concerned, there was something that gave rise to concern. Malaya, to Sukarno, was not independent in actual fact, but was regarded as the base for other neo-colonialism objectives.

In the struggle, only Tunku Abdul Rahman's voice was loudly heard opposing Sukarno. However, this did not mean that Tun

Razak did not play an important role. The Tunku's every action was discussed with Tun Razak as his deputy, and undoubtedly the approach to handling the national problem must have been to a certain extent influenced by Tun Razak. It was not only an exchange of words. The war of words finally sparked a war of activity and a number of skirmishes occurred with losses on both sides.

This tying phase, according to some observers, all the more matured Tun Razak's thinking. If before, the argument for independence was accomplished merely by speeches and ideas, this time it was through vigorous strength and fighting. Still, the independence of the nation had to be maintained according to one's own methods. In the process, Tunku Abdul Rahman became more ferocious and Tun Razak more thoughtful.

It was somewhat strange that Tunku Abdul Rahman's fierceness and Tun Razak's thoughtfulness did not get down to fathom that the nation's troubles need not necessarily come from outside. The germs of the nation were within and owing to some careless and unexpected mistakes, the 13 May incident erupted. It exposed that the poverty which was late in receiving treatment could become a malignant cancer.

At that stage, there was a perceived lack of confidence in Tunku Abdul Rahman's leadership in overcoming the old illness that had newly spread. His mind and emotions in turmoil, the Tunku finally decided it was best to surrender his leadership to someone truly capable. Tun Razak had to resume leadership to overcome a national problem that was difficult and dangerous.

It was at this point that it become clear not only Tun Razak was forced to consider the problem of this disease and the poverty, but the whole population too was under pressure to justify that what had been fought for with dignity, was not in vain.

Tun Razak's capability as the country's leader shone clearly when he handled the problem through the National Operations Council which had to legislate the New Economic Policy. As

the second Prime Minister later, he continued to consider a wise and just way to develop the multiracial people so that they did not feel neglected, oppressed and removed from the economic cycle which by right they should enjoy together.

With his wisdom in gathering experts from the various communities, Tun Razak finally succeeded in discovering a formula to treat this destructive illness. With logic and explanation to all communities, it was accepted that 30 per cent of all economic and social development projects be reserved for bumiputeras. Tun Razak himself saw to these heavy tasks by moving about here and there to ensure the New Economic Policy was able to fulfil the two-pronged objective – first, to eradicate poverty, and secondly, to restructure of the multiracial population.

With his vision and earnestness, Tun Razak directed the creation of various development programmes which later became popularly known as the urbanisation of the rural areas. The necessity of facilities like roads, electricity supply and piped water was emphasised. Johor Tenggara, Kesedar, Ketengah, Dara and the Jengka Triangle were opened up which on their own had sites for factories and industries as well as hotel.

Tun Razak also launched the Green Book to encourage the production of foodstuff. Under the Rural Development Plan, the government gave subsidies to certain fields – the breeding of fresh water fish, distribution of milk, eggs, chickens, cows and foodstuff. For the bumiputeras, the MARA was established to give them a chance to participate directly in the economy.

These plans were carried out in earnest and Tun Razak gave no hint of his fatigue and exhaustion in moving around to ensure all had begun well and taken effect.

Enthusiastic and diligent as an officer, intelligent and patient as a politician, his role as a father and husband was seldom noticed. However, to those who were close and were observant, Tun Razak was a father who showed his love for his children in his own way. He never forgot to embrace and kiss his children before going to the office and on returning home, at times



Mohamed Nazir, the youngest son of the late Tun Razak pictured here with his siblings at his father's grave at the Warriors' Tomb in the National Mosque.

longer than usual as if whispering something. Tun Razak realised that he was becoming more occupied with his duties which needed him to move around a lot and quickly too, meeting the people to listen to their grouses and suggestions, visiting development areas to ensure there were no impediments, and chairing meetings to strengthen his party. Perhaps because of this too, the main task of bringing up his children was left to Tun Rahah, his wife who understood his role.

His children too gradually understood their father's responsibilities had increased and become heavier. They seemed to be aware that their father's attention to the people matched his attention to them. The children, in particular Najib who was the first to realise his father's responsibilities, and Nazir the youngest, felt happy each time their father arrived home, and did not feel neglected despite their father having to go out again to continue his work which by day had become heavier. Tun Razak as a father gave special attention to the education of his children.

When Tun Razak passed away, his eldest son, Najib and his youngest, Mohamed Nazir were 23 and 10 years of age respectively. Between them were three other siblings – Ahmad Johari, Mohamed Nizam and Mohamed Nazim. Through Tun Rahah's guidance, all the children were well educated and have succeeded in their lives.

Not much has been related about Tun Rahah. However, this mother has evidently deliberately chosen to remain behind the screen of power which had made her husband an illustrious statesman and her children useful citizens. Until today, despite the continuation of her husband's efforts by her children, Tun Rahah has preferred to remain in the background.

Profile

TAN Sri Dato' Seri Shariff Ahmad has long history in politics. He began his career in 1954 as a reporter with *The Straits Times* and *The Singapore Standard* and later became the news writer in Radio Malaya. His involvement in journalism made him well acquainted with the intricacies of Tun Abdul Razak Hussein's political struggle.



He had the opportunity to involve himself in politics after being awarded the United States Congressional Fellowship. While in the United States, he was placed in Congress (House of Representatives and Senate) for the 1960/61 session and had the opportunity to witness the implementation of legislative functions at close quarters.

Upon his return to his homeland, he was appointed Political Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Education from 1963 to 1969. He contested the Langat Parliamentary seat in the 1969 general elections, immediately becoming a Member of Parliament until 1982. He also contested in the 1974 general elections in the Parliamentary Constituency

of Jerantut, Pahang, winning without contesting on nomination day.

In 1969, he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj. In Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak's Cabinet (1971–1976), he served as Deputy Minister of Information. In 1977, under the administration of the late Tun Hussein Onn, he was appointed Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs and later, Minister of Agriculture. His last post in the Cabinet was Minister of Land and Regional Development which he held until 1982. In 1983, he retired from politics.

Tan Sri Dato' Seri Shariff Ahmad has written two books to date that is *Menjunjung Kaseh* (Malay version), *Sire with Love* (English version) on the constitutional ruler and *Memoir Patriotik* (Malay version), *The Untold Biography: The Great Patriot* (English version), a biography of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj.

Tun Razak: Prince of Titiwangsa is his latest work written in memory of an illustrious figure who was the second Prime Minister of Malaysia.