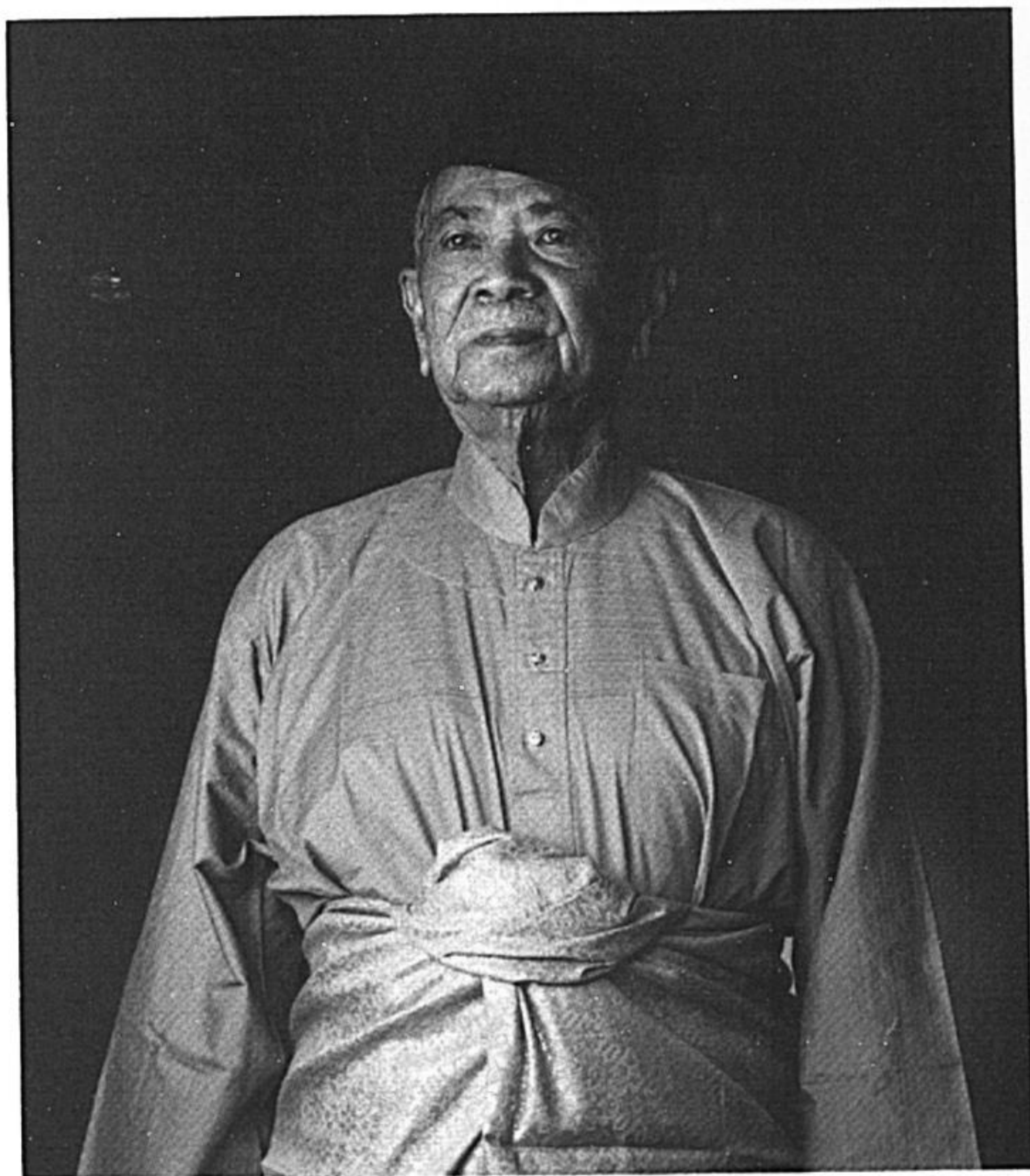


TUNKU

A Pictorial Biography

1957~1987



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1957~1987

Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard



Pelanduk Publications
Malaysia

Publication made possible through the generous sponsorship of Yang Amat Berhormat Tun Datu Mustapha Harun.

Published by
Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn Bhd
23M Jalan SS 2/67
47300 Petaling Jaya
Selangor Malaysia

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ISBN No. 967-978-172-0 (Softcover)
967-978-173-9 (Hardcover)

Printed by Eagle Trading Sdn. Bhd., Selangor.

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18 AUG 1988
Perpustakaan Negara
Malaysia

Contents

Foreword by
Tun Hussein Onn

vii

Acknowledgements

ix

The Golden Years

2

Productive Diversions

36

Malaysia

54

The 1969 Elections

70

Retirement

86

Towards Islamic Unity

106

A New Life

126

Index

153

0013

Foreword

I am happy to contribute a Foreword to this biography of YTM Tunku Abdul Rahman, which covers the period from *Merdeka* to his eighty-fourth birthday in February this year. It is an era which was crowded with historic events in many of which Tunku played a notable role.

I was not present in Malaya during the first two years of this period, but since I returned I have watched with keen admiration the profusion of Tunku's services to the nation and to Islam, even in his old age. Not all of these are known to the public and I hope that this biography will be widely read. I also hope that it will be translated into Bahasa Malaysia, so that this account of Tunku's many achievements can reach a broader section of the Malaysian public.

Tan Sri Mubin Sheppard, the author of both this and the first part of Tunku's biography has enjoyed a great advantage as a contemporary eye-witness of this post-*Merdeka* period and has enjoyed privileged access to Tunku.

The book is written in a lively style and presents a vivid portrait of a great man who has epitomised throughout his adult life the best features of the Malay character — goodwill, tolerance, humanity and integrity. The book is further embellished by the inclusion of more than a hundred contemporary photographs, painstakingly assembled by the author.

I recommend this useful and interesting book to readers both here and overseas.



Tun Hussein Onn
Kuala Lumpur,
18 May 1987.

Acknowledgements

Much of the contents of this volume have been drawn, once again, from personal interviews with Tunku Abdul Rahman, sandwiched between his many other engagements, and from answers to lists of questions, read to him from time to time — some of these while Tunku was receiving specialist treatment in London and had very few other visitors.

A second and almost equally valuable source has been the articles written by Tunku, beginning in December 1974 and published weekly in *The Star*, under the heading *As I See It*. These articles, collected in several volumes, provided a galaxy of priceless material, only waiting for his biographer to locate a particular incident in a kind of literary treasure hunt.

Tan Sri Mohamed Khir Johari supplemented Tunku's memory, from time to time, and kindly read the whole of the final typescript and endorsed the accuracy of the contents with only very minor amendments.

For the chapter on 'Malaysia' I have made extensive use of Nordin Sopiee's book *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation, 1945—65*, and I would like to record my gratitude to him. The National Archives of Malaysia has also served as a valuable source of reference for this and other subjects.

When most of the essential material had been assembled I withdrew to Fraser's Hill for three mid-week days for several months, whenever other activities allowed, and I am greatly indebted to the General Manager of the Malaysian Tobacco Company for making available 'Brinchang' bungalow. There I

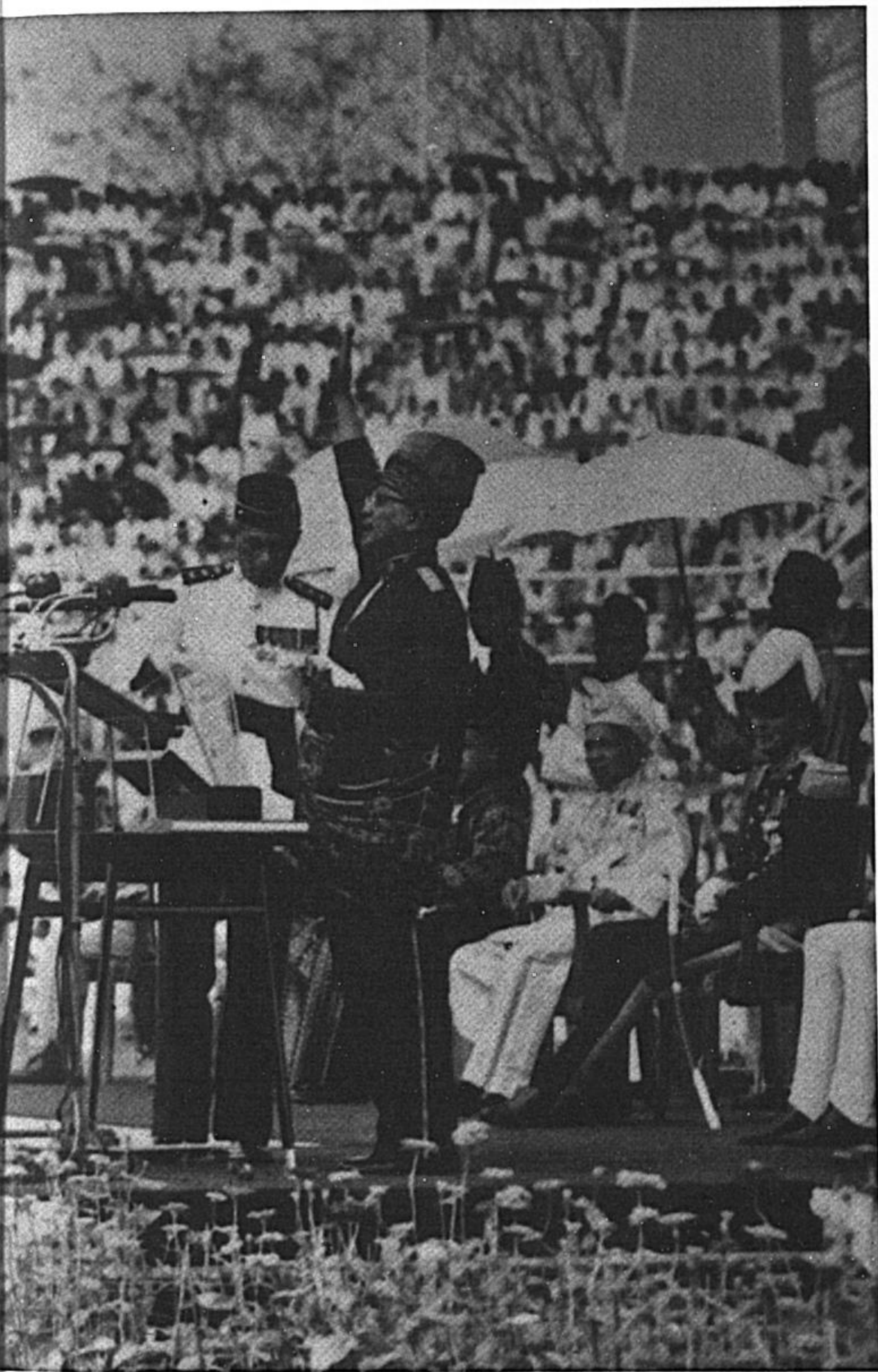
wrote and rewrote — for an average of nine hours a day, in complete seclusion.

The photographs for this volume were drawn partly from Tunku's numerous albums and partly from the Photo Library of the Malaysian Department of Information and from the National Archives of Malaysia. But there are still some major gaps. No one seems to have taken any photographs of Tunku and his Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah between 1971 and 1974. In spite of Tunku's long and distinguished service to Malayan Football, available photos seem to be limited to a few groups of officials of the Football Association of Malaya and of the Asian Football Confederation. In the quest to fill these and other gaps Mr. Cheah Phee Cheok, Tunku's indefatigable Secretary, has proved a most valuable ally.

It is a great pleasure to record, once again, my keen appreciation of the unflagging enthusiasm and co-operation of Ng Tieh Chuan, the Managing Director of Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd. Our excellent relations suffered no set-backs even as we approached and finally passed the publication deadline. My *hutang budi* to him is even greater, but I must try to find some way of repaying my debt of gratitude: the Malay *Pantun* provides no satisfactory solution.

Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard
Kuala Lumpur.

21 May, 1987.

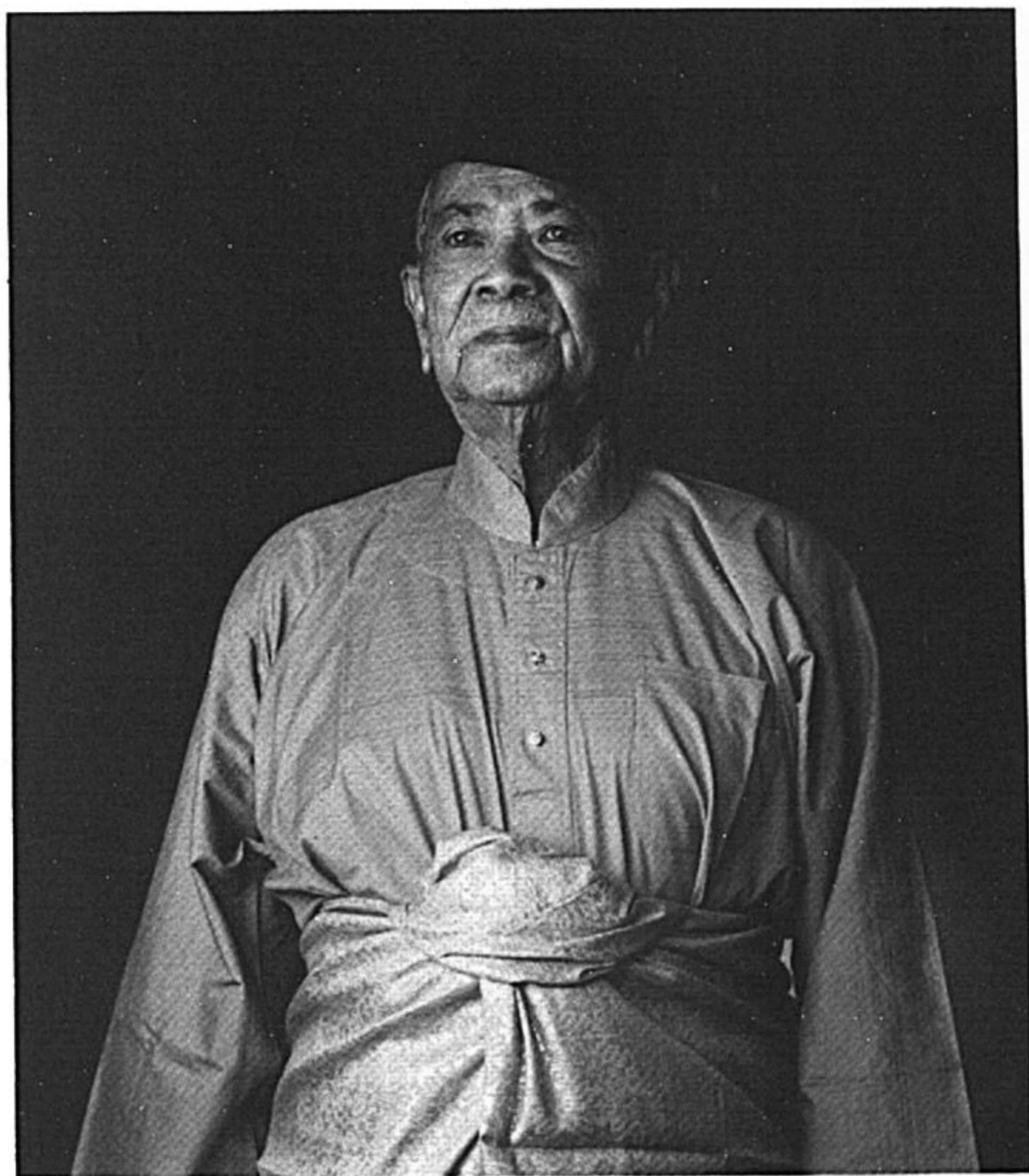


Tunku proclaims
Independence on
31 August 1957.

TUNKU

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The Golden Years

The euphoria of Independence perfumed the air of Kuala Lumpur and the minds of the population for many days.

Euphoria of a mellower variety recurred on Wednesday 10 September 1957, in the hearts of the twelve men who assembled to attend the first meeting of the Malayan Cabinet.

They met in the same room in the headquarters building of the Public Works Department, where a similar body had deliberated on so many previous Wednesdays, but now the British High Commissioner had departed and Tunku Abdul Rahman sat in his place.

Tunku brought to that meeting and to those which followed a spirit of mutual understanding and confidence which had been absent in the days of MacGillivray.

Tunku, and almost all the other ministers wore light-weight suits, collars and ties but at later meetings Tunku and Dato' Razak wore Malay dress and black *songkoks*.

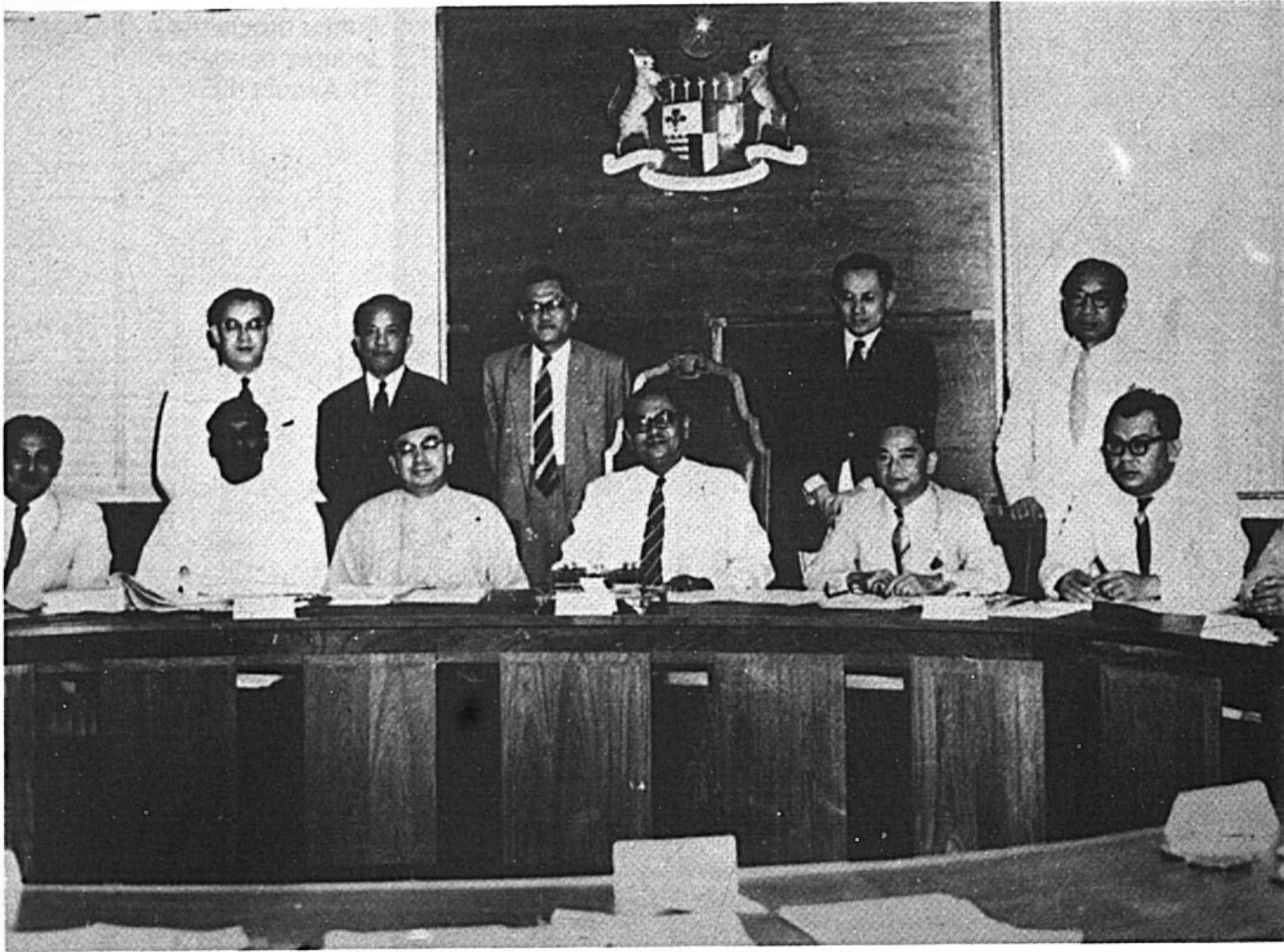
Tunku had adopted the old Selangor Residency, on a low hill overlooking the town, as his official headquarters at the beginning

of 1957 and he continued to live there until he retired thirteen years later. Before the end of this first Cabinet meeting, Tunku invited all those present to lunch at his house and in the weeks that followed, other ministers took it in turns to host post-Cabinet lunches.

It was Tunku's intention that these lunches should provide an opportunity for Ministers to discuss informally matters or problems which had not yet been resolved during the morning, and they served a valuable purpose.

Tunku's first Cabinet had twelve members, all of them stalwarts who had worked closely with him to achieve Independence by peaceful means.

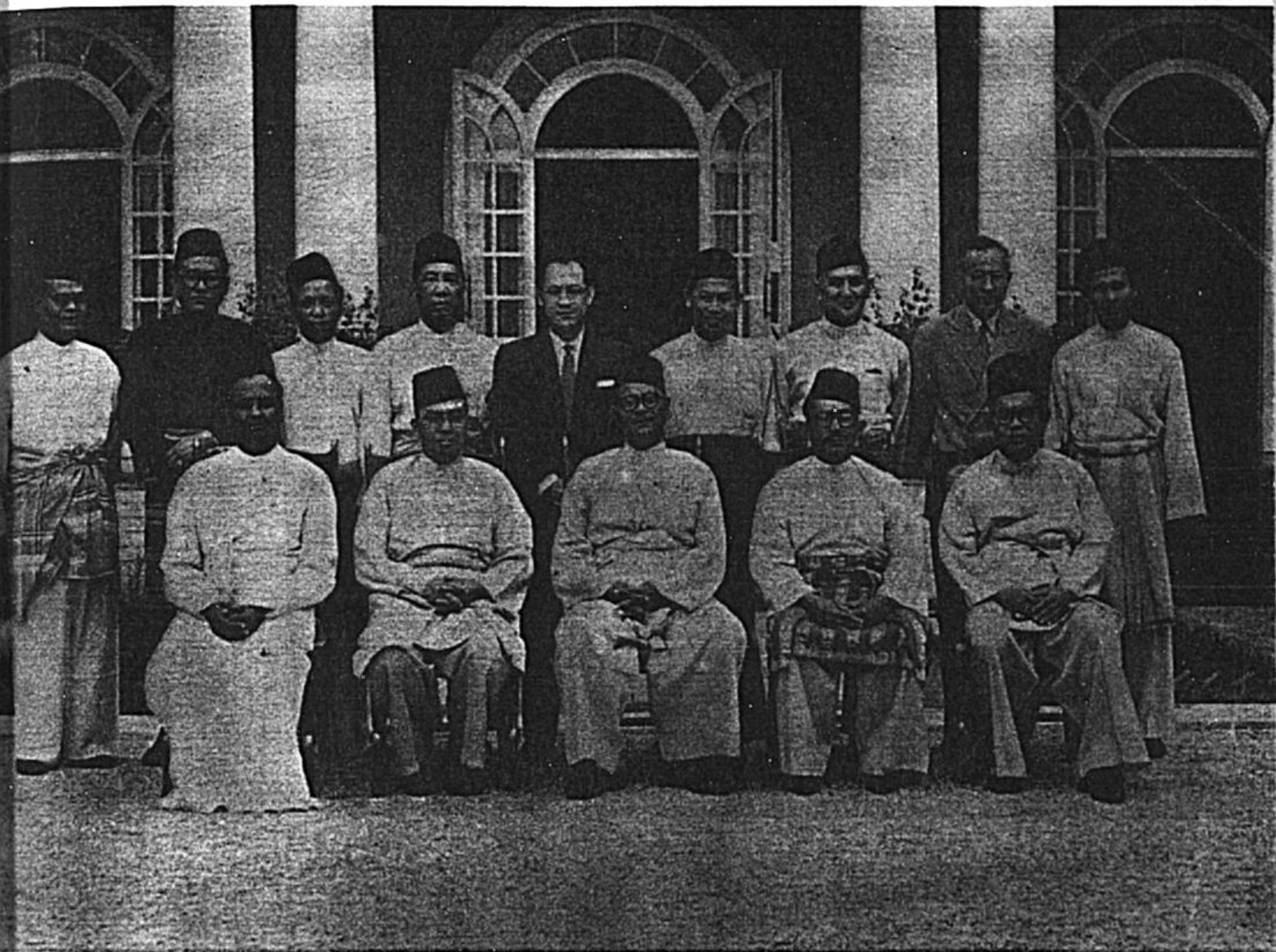
Dato' Abdul Razak held the portfolios of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Col. H. S. Lee was Minister of Finance, Encik Sulaiman bin Abdul Rahman of Johore was Minister of the Interior and Justice, Mr. V. T. Sambanthan was Minister of Health, Encik Sardon Hj. Jubir was Minister of Works, Posts and Telecommunications, Mr. Ong Yoke Lin was



Tunku's first cabinet at its first meeting, 10 September 1957.

Seated from left to right: Abdul Aziz bin Ishak, V.T. Sambanthan, Datuk Abdul Razak, Tunku, Col. H.S. Lee, Encik Sulaiman bin Abdul Rahman, Encik Sardon bin Haji Jubir.

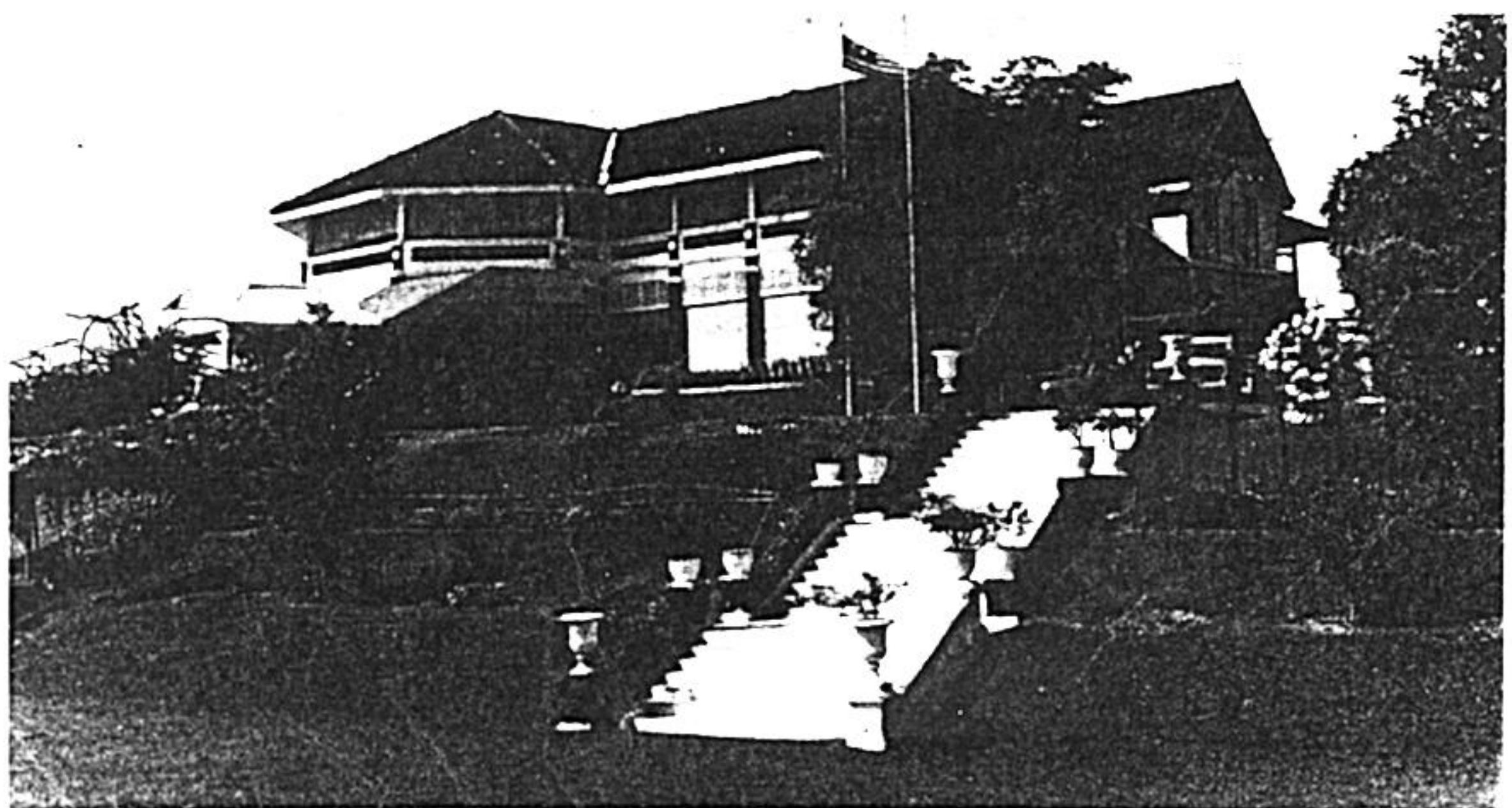
Standing from left to right: Ong Yoke Lin, Abdul Rahman bin Haji Talib, Mohd. Khir Johari, Tan Siew Sin, Bahaman bin Samsudin.

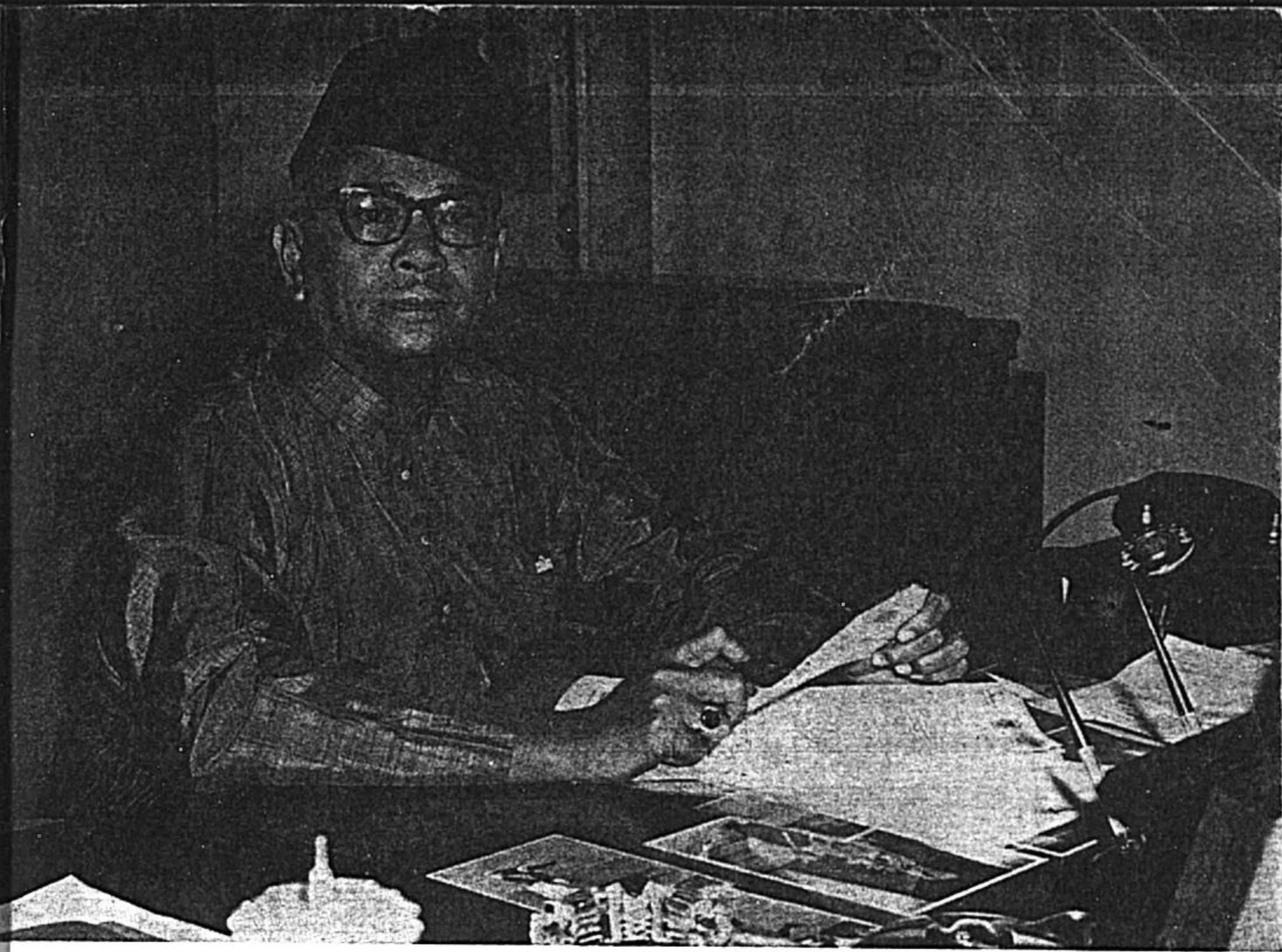


First cabinet outside Istana Negara, after taking the Oath of Loyalty before the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, 22 August 1959.

Seated from left to right: V.T. Sambanthan, Datuk Abdul Razak, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Dr. Ismail bin Abdul Rahman, Encik Sulaiman bin Abdul Rahman.

Standing from left to right: Dato' Abdul Aziz bin Majid (Permanent Secretary, Prime Minister's Department), Mohd. Khir Johari, Abdul Rahman bin Talib, Bahaman bin Samsudin, Ong Yoke Lin, Sardon bin Haji Jubir, Abdul Aziz bin Ishak, Tan Siew In, Sheikh Hussein bin Sheikh Mohamed (Secretary to the Cabinet).

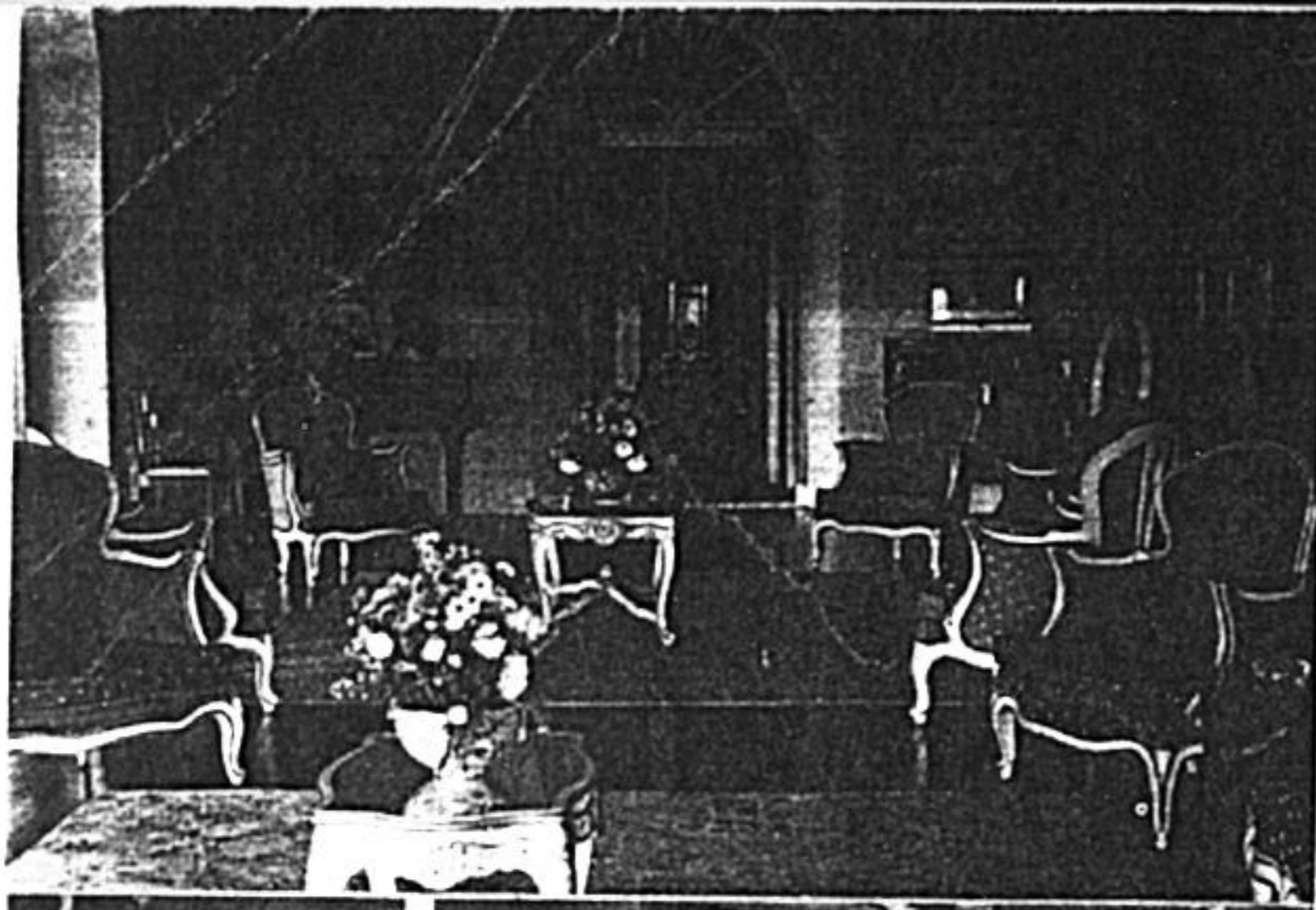




Tunku seated in his first office, in a temporary building near the Residency.



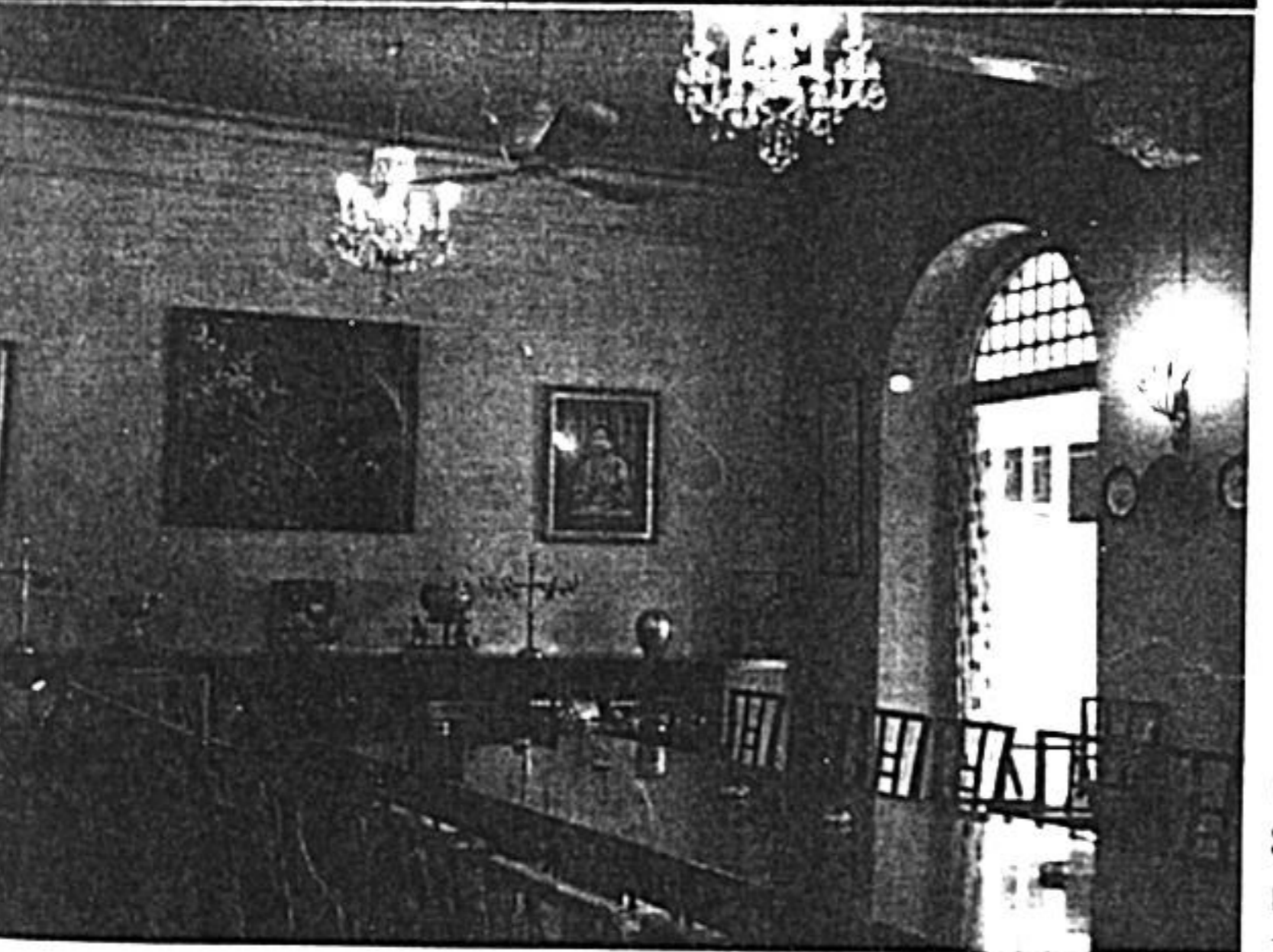
Tunku exercising in the garden at the Residency.



Another sitting room in the Residency, 1957.



Another sitting room in the Residency, 1957.



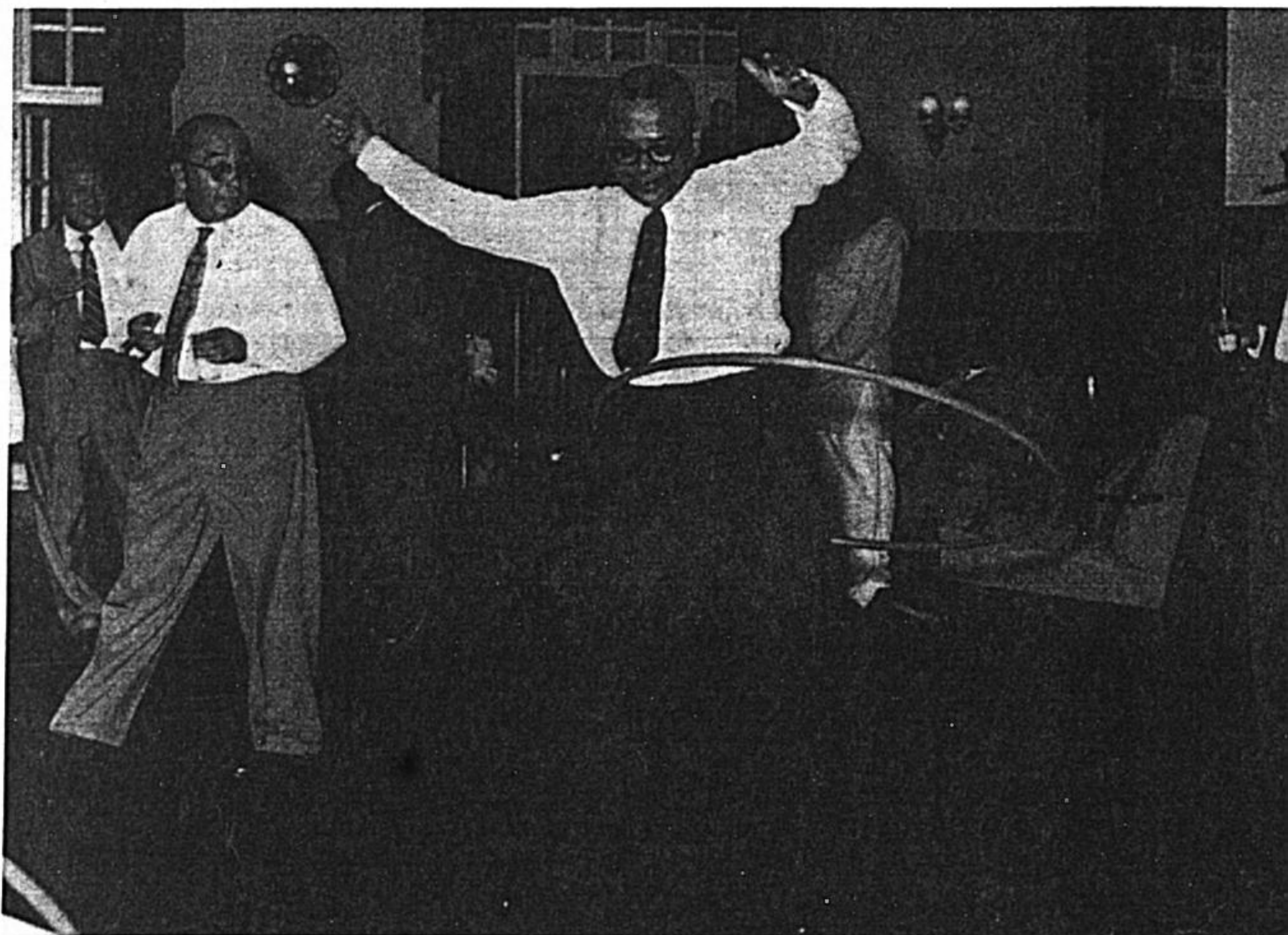
The main dining room in the Residency.

Opp. page top
Tunku telephoning in the Residency, near the entrance hall, 1957.

Opp. page bottom
Side view of the Residency, the official residence of Tunku Abdul Rahman from 1957 to 1970.



Tunku beside his swimming pool near the Residency.



Minister of Labour and Social Welfare. Mr. Tan Siew Sin was Minister of Commerce and Industry, Encik Abdul Aziz Ishak was Minister of Agriculture, Encik Mohd. Khir bin Johari was Minister of Education, Encik Bahaman bin Samsudin was Minister of Natural Resources and Encik Abdul Rahman bin Hj. Talib was Minister of Transport.

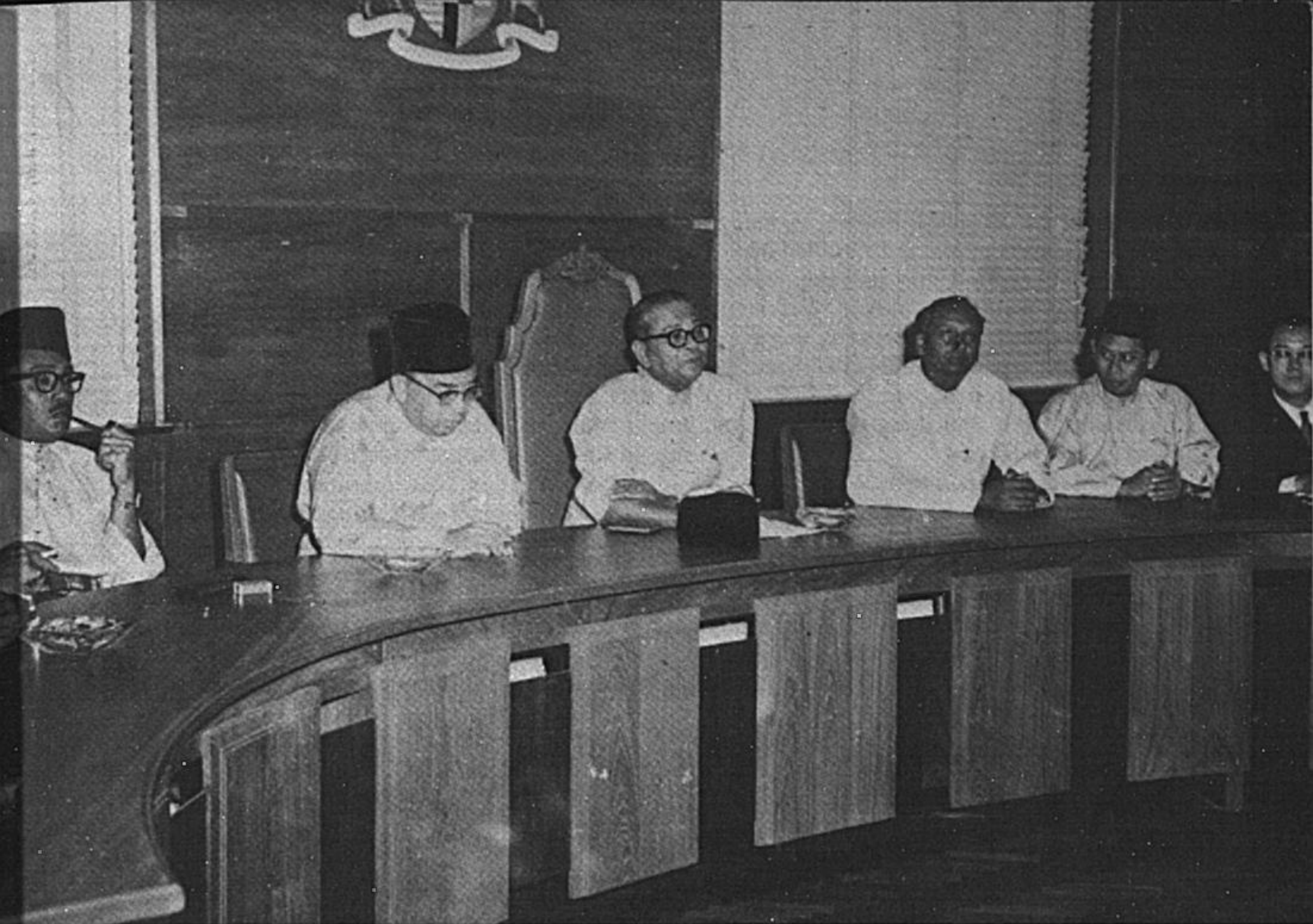
Tunku also held the portfolio of External Affairs, which in those days also controlled the Immigration Department.

Tunku made Cabinet changes in 1959, 1961 and 1962. Dr. Ismail, younger brother of Dato' Sulaiman, returned from Washington in 1959 and was appointed Minister of External Affairs, but in 1961 he took over the Ministry of Internal Security —

later renamed Home Affairs — which he continued to hold until he retired on grounds of ill health in 1967.

In 1961, Dato' Abdul Razak added the new portfolio of "Rural Development" to his responsibilities. In that year, Col. H. S. Lee retired from the Cabinet, and Mr. Tan Siew Sin replaced him as Minister of Finance. Encik Mohd. Khir Johari succeeded him as Minister of Commerce and Industry and in that year Tun Leong Yew Koh joined the Cabinet as Minister of Justice bringing the total number to thirteen. In 1962, Tunku created a new Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and added it to his own responsibilities.

This Cabinet meeting ushered in a new era in the life and history of this country. Tunku



Part of Tunku's second cabinet, 22 August 1959.

Opp. page
Tunku demonstrating how he exercises; Datuk Abdul Razak looking on (on Tunku's right).

was recognized by all communities as the Father of Independence, and as he guided his new government, created new policies, and undertook new projects, never before contemplated, he received co-operation tinged with devotion, from his colleagues, and growing admiration from the leaders of other lands, notably from the heads of other Commonwealth countries.

Tunku was a modest man and did not allow popularity to influence his character, his actions or his ambitions.

To describe his tireless programme, spread among so many different interests, would occupy much more space than is available here. The pages which follow will relate a few of the highlights of the next nine golden years.

Tunku's personal timetable began at dawn, when he rose, bathed, and said his early morning (*subuh*) prayers. The hour which followed provided him with the opportunity to concentrate, undisturbed, on major problems or projects. During this tranquil interval, his intuition sometimes rose to the surface of his mind. At other times, when a solution to a problem eluded him, he took up a copy of Pickthall's translation of the Holy Quran, opened it at random and read the first passage which came to his attention. It was during this early morning vigil that Tunku conceived or elaborated some of the major projects which have enriched the capital and the country. Tunku used a spacious room on the ground floor as his personal office.

His two major portfolios encompassed a variety of subjects and departments. As Prime Minister, he was responsible for Cabinet business, Constitutional matters, relations with the Rulers and with the Malay States, Archives and Records, Orders and Decorations at Federal level, ceremonial, accommodation for distinguished guests, security, official secrets, economic policy, Colombo Plan and E.C.A.F.E. affairs. As Minister of External Affairs he controlled treaties and agreements with other countries, diplomatic, consular and trade representation of Malaya, overseas' student welfare including Malaya Hall in London.

It was a challenging array of responsibilities.

Tunku initiated Malayan Foreign Policy as soon as he assumed the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. He recognized that his first duty was to preserve the Independence which he had so recently helped to achieve. An Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement had been signed six weeks before Independence. The nine-year-old Emergency operations against communist terrorists were nearing a successful conclusion but guaranteed his continued hostility to communist countries. Tunku applied for the admission of Malaya to the British Commonwealth and for membership of the United Nations, but he decided not to apply for membership of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, and adopted an aloof attitude to the Afro-Asian Non-Aligned movement. He gave some priority to the establishment of direct relations with Arab States, notably, Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

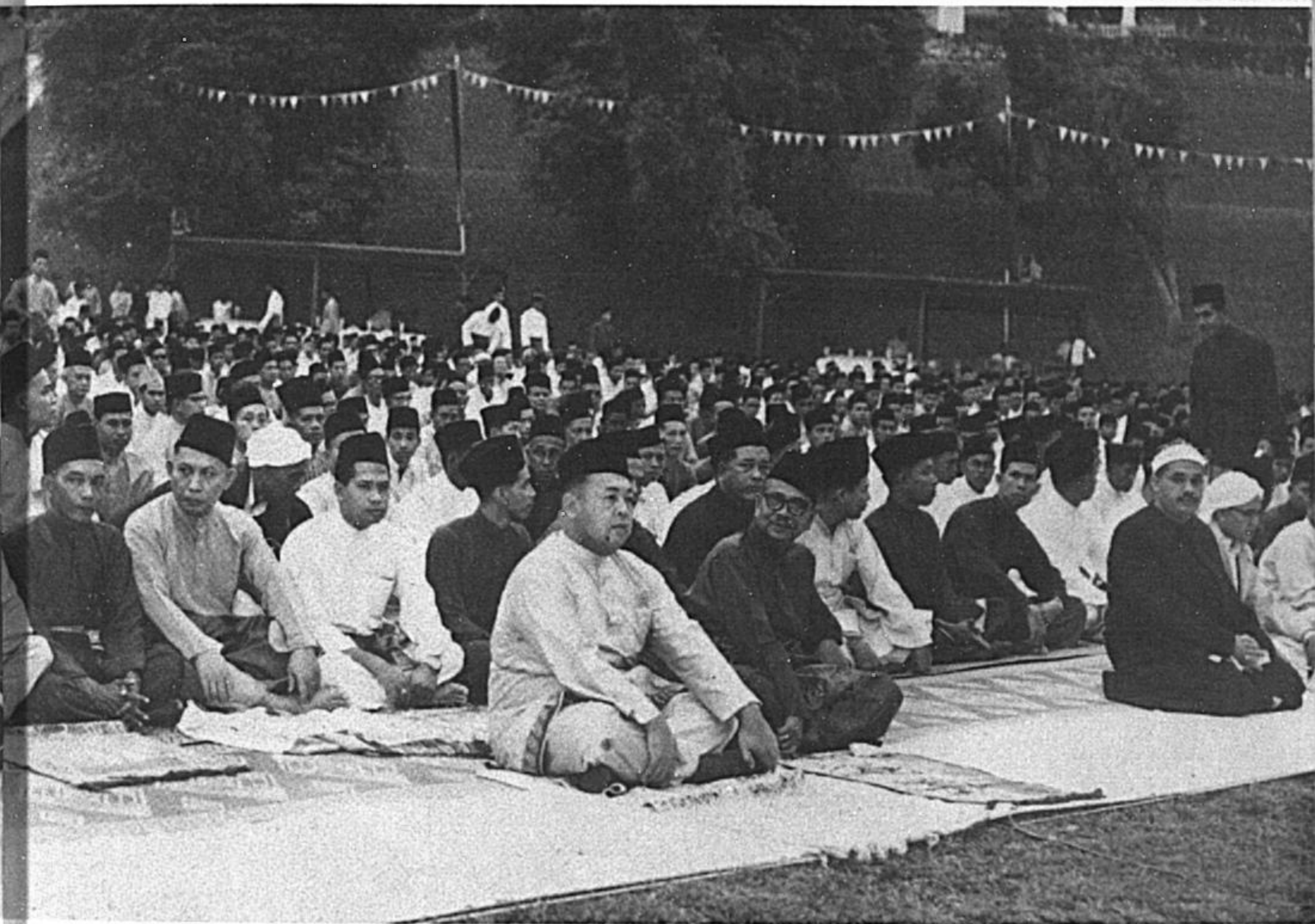
Although Indonesia was Malaya's closest neighbour, with long standing racial and cultural links, Tunku regarded the Republic with suspicion and declined to recognize Indonesia as the natural leader in the region. At a later date, Tunku took the initiative himself in proposing an economic association between Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines on a basis of equality.

The response to Malaya's diplomatic initiative was prompt and favourable. If someone other than Tunku had held the post of Prime Minister in those early days, when Malaya was still virtually unknown, it is unlikely that this response would have been so speedy or so cordial. Although still a junior and little-known figure, Tunku took the initiative at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in 1961 in condemning Apartheid and proposing that South Africa should be expelled and his proposal was approved.

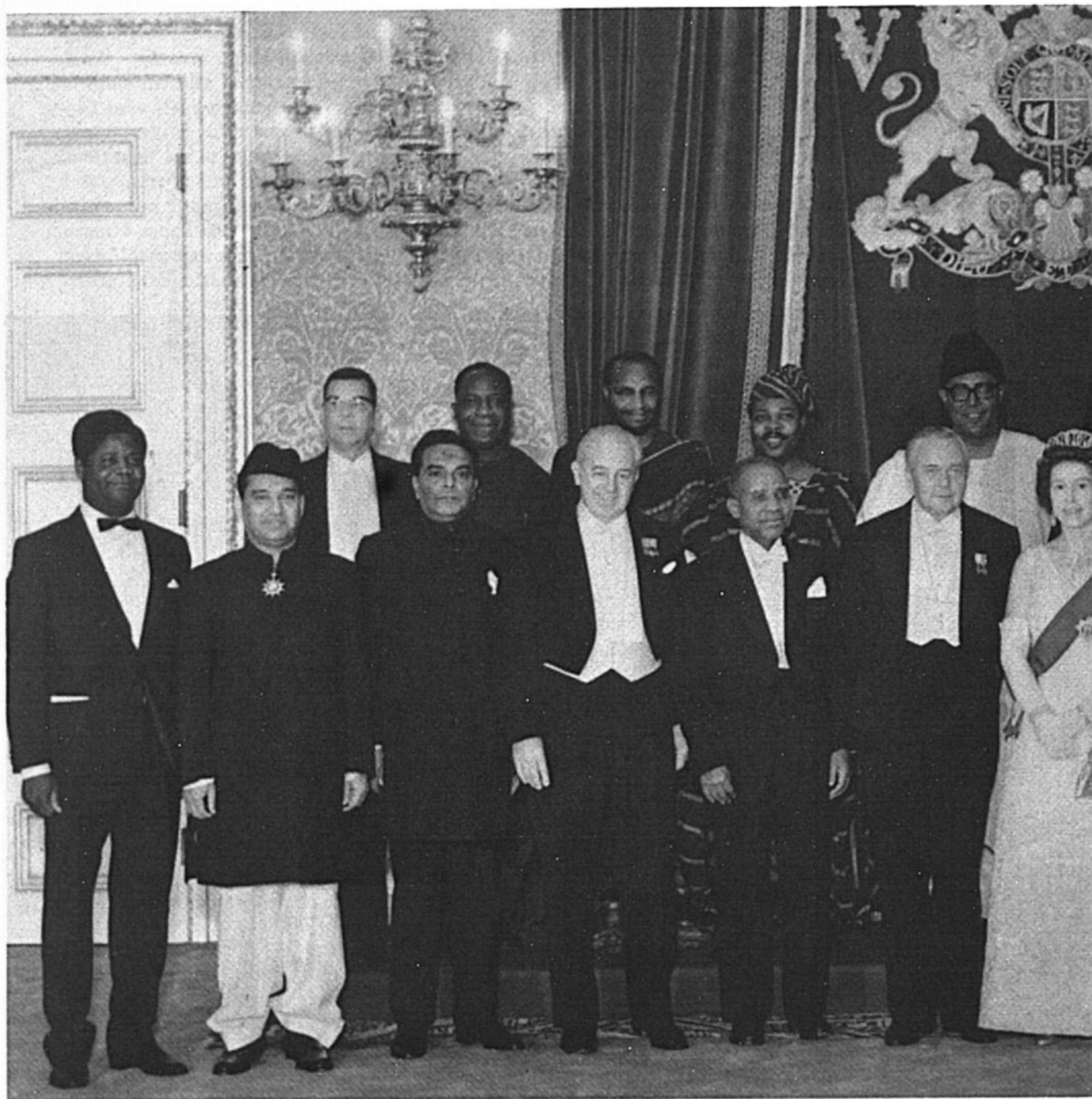
Tunku made many friends at these gatherings of Prime Ministers. His genial personality, his excellent command of the English Language and his grasp of western manners and customs were major assets when



Before a National Mosque was built in Kuala Lumpur, Hari Raya prayers were held on the grounds of Istana Negara (the palace of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong). This picture shows the third Yang di-Pertuan Agong seated beside Tunku before the beginning of Hari Raya prayers in 1961.



Tunku attends his first meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on 3 May 1960 at St. James' Palace, London. Queen Elizabeth in the centre, with Harold Wilson, British Prime Minister on her right. Tunku stands on the right of the front row between the Prime Minister of New Zealand and the Prime Minister of Canada.





he first moved in high level diplomatic circles in the West.

At his first Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in 1960, Malaya and Nigeria had achieved Independence at about the same time and their representatives were seated side by side. The Nigerian Prime Minister was Sir Abu Bakar Tafawa Balewa.

Tunku was attracted by his dignity and by the fact that, unlike some other African leaders, he spoke quietly. They often met informally outside the Conference Hall, and sometimes dined together.

At a later meeting of the Conference, after Soekarno had proclaimed Confrontation against Malaysia, some other Commonwealth leaders who were also members of the Afro-Asian Non-Aligned Movement, spoke in favour of Indonesia and criticized Malaya. But the Prime Minister of Nigeria spoke vigorously in favour of Malaya. Sir Abu Bakar was later a victim of an Ibo revolt and was never heard of again.

Tunku also renewed his friendship with

Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of Independent India, whom he had first met in 1934 during a visit by Nehru to Penang. They had met again in 1946 when Nehru came to Alor Setar and Tunku presided at a public rally.

When they met again in London, Tunku enjoyed Nehru's company and he accepted an invitation to pay a State visit to India in 1962. During this visit, when Tunku stayed at the palace of the former Viceroy, Nehru came to meet him at the palace, driving himself. Tunku thanked him but said that it was not proper for the Prime Minister of India to come so informally. Nehru replied, "What is protocol among friends?" This was Tunku's only State visit to India, but he went to call

Official visit of President Ngo Dinh Diem of Vietnam. Banquet at Istana Negara, 15 February 1960. President Ngo sits on the right of His Majesty. Tunku sits on the extreme right, next to the consort of the Sultan of Selangor.



on a succession of Presidents of Pakistan and was lavishly entertained by them.

Two far-eastern Heads of State who were previously unknown to Tunku, came to Kuala Lumpur for the Independence celebrations — President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam and Prince Norodom Sihanoukh of Cambodia. Their personalities and their background were very different but Tunku became friends of both.

Ngo Dinh Diem was staunchly anti-communist, dedicated to the service of his people and a devout Catholic. He expressed keen interest in the military and civil methods of resisting the communist attempt to take control of Malaya. Tunku sent him on tour and arranged to supply him, unofficially, with some surplus weapons, and subsequently visited Saigon. His presence was regarded with suspicion and disfavour by the numerous American military advisers. Ngo adopted an independent attitude towards the Americans, and they in turn regarded him as non-cooperative. Ngo himself was an honest man

but many of his officials were corrupt, and some of his senior army officers, after securing an assurance of non-intervention from the American military Commander, mounted a revolt in Saigon in 1963, Ngo took refuge in a Catholic cathedral and asked, in vain, for American protection. He was brutally murdered the next day, opening the way to the "Ten Thousand-Day War" and the ultimate communist control of the whole of Vietnam.

Prince Norodom Sihanoukh was a very different character. His ancestors had ruled Cambodia for centuries, exercising a form of benevolent dictatorship. Prince Norodom watched the elimination of royalty further north and assumed the post of Head of State in place of the rank of monarch. His people — the Khmers — were loyal to him and hated their neighbours, the Vietnamese.

When Tunku came to Phnom Penh, on a return visit, the Prince entertained him royally. Tunku was attracted by the University of Fine Arts, sited just outside the



President Ngo Dinh Diem of Vietnam presents a box containing Vietnam's highest Order to Tunku, February 1960.



Tunku arriving at Saigon airport for an official visit to Vietnam.

capital, where traditional Khmer dancing, music, a dance drama, two varieties of shadow play and many crafts had been revived and were being taught to young Cambodians of both sexes. At the palace, Tunku watched a large troupe of "Royal Khmer dancers" and the royal *gamelan*.

Tunku discussed mutual problems and asked the Prince whether or not he would feel more secure if he moved further from the communists and closer to the Americans. Sihanoukh replied, "I am a Prince, you are a Prince: We can never be communists. I prefer to remain neutral."

Sihanoukh visited Kuala Lumpur on a number of occasions, informally and sometimes unexpected. Wishing to reciprocate Tunku's well-intentioned attempts to protect him from his enemies, the Prince invited President Macapagal of the Philippines to Phnom Penh. He invited Tunku to come at the same time, but did not tell Tunku that he would meet Macapagal. The Prince was concerned about the Philippines' claim to Sabah which had been officially endorsed by the Philippines House of Representatives in April 1962, and he hoped that an informal encounter might provide an opportunity for a frank discussion.

During this visit, the Prince assembled a mammoth regatta on the Mekong in which several hundred boats were propelled by Khmers in colourful costumes. They reminded Tunku of the boat races which were held in Kedah annually during his father's reign. It was a memorable diversion, but although Tunku and Macapagal were able to discuss their problems in private — the prince stayed away — no solution was achieved.

The rebellion and subsequent civil war in Vietnam made no immediate impact on the stability of Sihanoukh's elegant regime, but in 1972, while the Prince was absent on a visit to Europe, Lon Nol led a revolt, reputedly with the connivance of the American government, and opened the door to a fanatical enemy of royalty and freedom — Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge supporters — and ultimately to the invasion by the Russian-



backed Vietnamese.

Tunku's friendly association with Ngo and Sihanoukh did not affect his relations with the United States, and he was welcomed and entertained by successive Presidents, beginning with Eisenhower, including Kennedy, Nixon and Johnson.

President Garcia invited Tunku to the Philippines in 1960, and he attended a banquet at Baguio to which President Soekarno was to be the guest of honour. Soekarno arrived three hours late, accompanied by an escort of local beauties, but offered no apology. While they waited, Tunku talked informally with his host and with some of the other guests about the possibility of setting up an organization in the region to promote good relations and economic links. Tunku quoted the European Economic Community as a model and offered Kuala Lumpur as a headquarters. President Garcia responded favourably but he was replaced by Macapagal and any prospect of such a scheme was deferred indefinitely by the claim to Sabah, which Garcia had never mentioned.

Tunku's foreign affairs portfolio did not monopolize his interests and he found time to devote close personal attention to a number of major building projects.

Tunku arriving at Phnom Penh for an official visit to Cambodia. Prince Sihanoukh walks beside him.



Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia presents a high Cambodian Order to Tunku in Kuala Lumpur.

The sash and decoration of the Cambodian Award.

Long before Independence, Tunku had dreamed of building a national mosque in Kuala Lumpur. As the date of Independence approached he chose a site near the railway station where development had not yet been mooted. When his choice of site became known, critics argued that it was too far from the Muslim population of the town and that a deep ravine bisected it. Tunku filled the ravine with thousands of lorry loads of earth, excavated from the site of the Merdeka Stadium, and replied that the Muslim community would greatly multiply before the mosque was completed.

Undeterred by criticism, Tunku arranged for a young Malay architect in the Public Works Department, Baharuddin Kassim, to be sent to tour Muslim countries, to study the design of their principal mosques. On his return, his preliminary plans were examined



by Tunku who made his comments. The architect resumed his travels in search of the finest marble and mosaic.

The national mosque, Tunku directed, must provide space for a congregation of eight thousand, a figure which at the time was considered by many others to be far in excess of the number which was likely to assemble there even on major festivals.

Tunku persevered. A white minaret 235 feet high and a pink-pleated dome two hundred feet in diameter were to be the principal features.

Tunku's Merdeka Stadium, which was in constant use for football matches, after 31 August 1957, acquired another use during the fasting month in 1960 — as the site of the First National Quran Reading Competition. This was organized on Tunku's initiative and under his personal supervision.

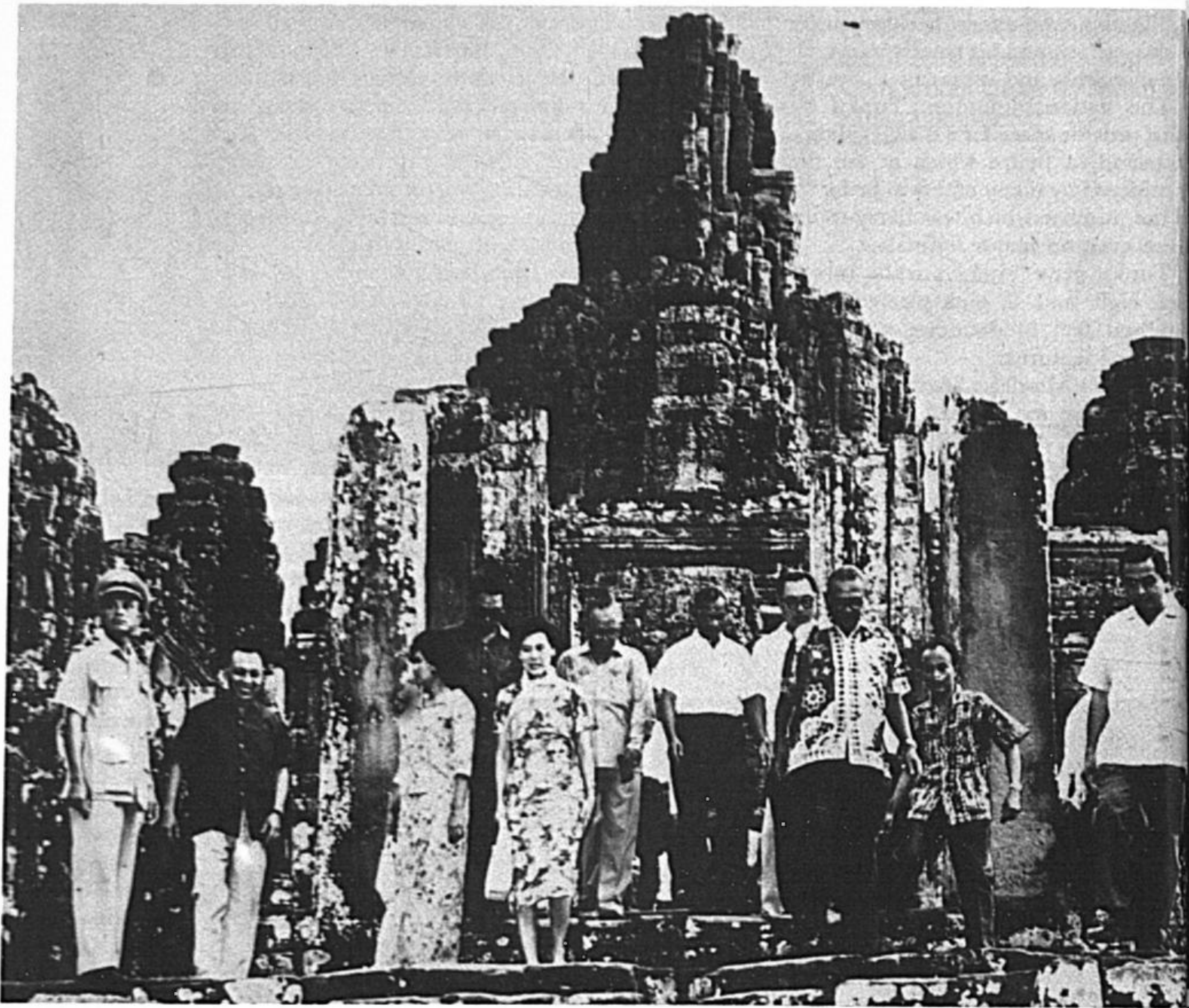
It was the first time that such a competition had been held in Kuala Lumpur, but a

similar contest on a smaller scale had been held in Kedah during the 1930s. Tunku adopted the Kedah rules and system of administration and in March 1960 every state in the peninsula sent men and women competitors.

The innovation was a great success and attracted large crowds to the stadium from 9 p.m. to midnight. State champions were selected at contests held in state capitals earlier in the month and Tunku's initiatives aroused a hitherto latent interest in the melodious chanting in public of selected passages from the Quran. Kedah champions won the principal national awards for several years, before competitors from other states replaced them. Later a competition, at international level, was opened to other Muslim countries, but although the panel of judges included experts from Arab States, Malayan competitors continued to win the highest awards.

The national mosque was officially opened





Prince Sihanoukh entertains Tunku with a performance of Khmer royal dancers at Phnom Penh.



President Nixon welcomes Tunku in Washington. Standing in the centre is Mr. Ong Yoke Lin, Malayan Ambassador.

pp. page -
Tunku visits Angkor Watt, the ancient royal capital of Cambodia. Tunku wearing an open-neck shirt standing near the centre, 1961.



Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh is welcomed by Tunku at the Kuala Lumpur International Airport, 4 March 1965.

for public worship by the third Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Tuanku Syed Putra, on 27 August 1965.

Tunku sited a national mausoleum close by, where national heroes could be buried. The first two to be so designated were Tun Dr. Ismail and Tun Abdul Razak. Tunku made it known that when he died he wished to be buried near his family in the royal cemetery at Langgar near Alor Setar.

While the construction of the great mosque continued, Tunku turned his attention to another national need — a permanent home for Malaya's Parliament. He chose a commanding site at one end of the Lake Gardens and directed the Public Works Department to prepare a design. A senior architect, Mr. A. Shipley, submitted a plan which combined a western-style tower block

standing beside debating chambers and a banquet hall, covered by Malay-style roofs. The tower block would provide accommodation for Members of Parliament when Parliament was in session and included offices for ministers. Tunku approved the plans and the foundation stone was laid on Independence Day 1962. The first session of Parliament, under Tunku's leadership was officially opened on 2 November 1963.

The Government of the Federated Malay States built two museums long before the First World War — the Perak Museum in Taiping, in 1886 and the Selangor Museum in Kuala Lumpur, which was completed in 1904. The latter stood on a site overlooking one end of the Lake Gardens and continued to be maintained and open to the public during the Japanese occupation. But on 10 March 1945

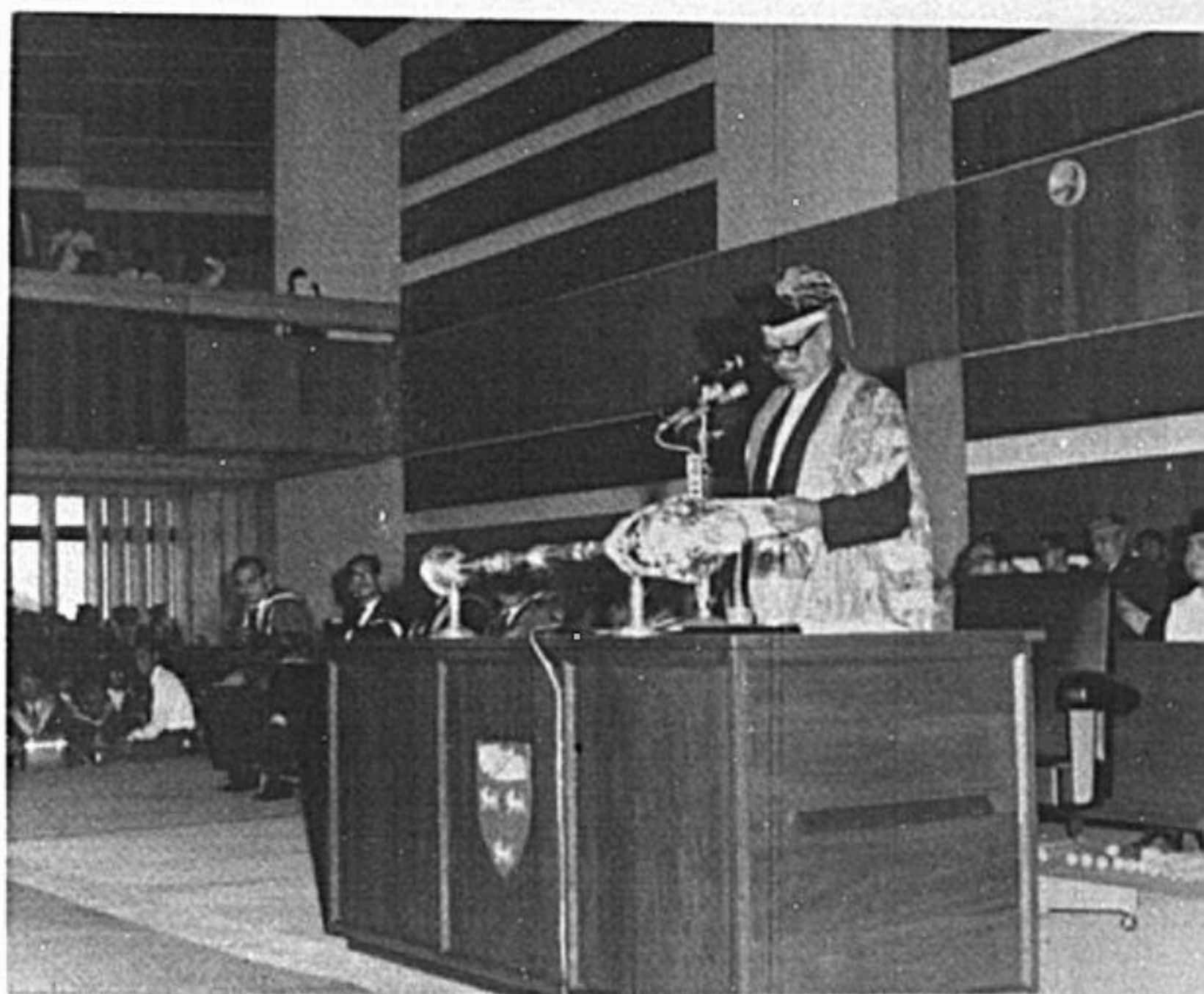
it was demolished by two misdirected salvos of bombs dropped by American B29 planes. The bombs were intended to destroy the railway marshalling yard on the opposite side of the road.

For more than a decade, the blackened site of the Selangor Museum remained vacant while other priorities absorbed any available government funds. But in 1958, Tunku persuaded his Minister of Finance to enter a token vote in the annual estimates under a new subheading — National Museum. Tunku directed that it should be erected on the same site, but when an architect in the Public Works Department submitted a design of a western-style structure, Tunku rejected it, and invited a private architect who was also an artist to prepare three sketches of a building which followed traditional Malay house forms.

The architect, Ho Kok Hoe, set off on a motor tour of the northern Malay States, accompanied by the Director of Museums designate. Tunku chose one of the designs, which drew some of its inspiration from the historic *Balai Besar* — the great Council Hall, in Alor Setar, Kedah — and gave the appearance of being raised above the ground in traditional form on pillars five feet high.

Most of the contents of the Selangor Museum had been destroyed in 1945, but while construction work proceeded, a country-wide search was made, with Tunku's backing, for Malay weapons, costumes, musical instruments, shadow-play figures and other heirlooms still in private ownership. Had Tunku's initiative been delayed, many of the treasures now on display in the National Museum would have passed into other hands.

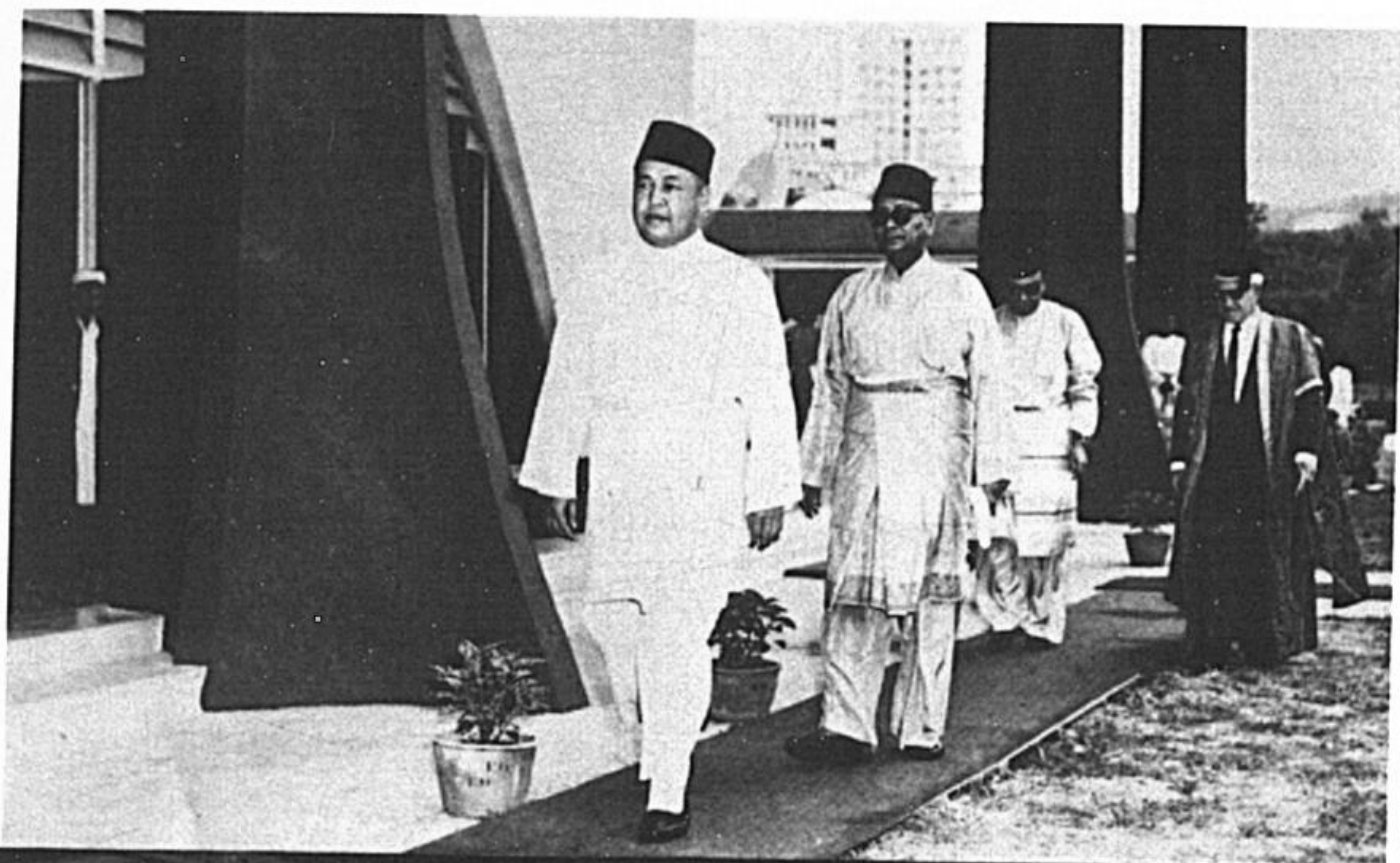
A prominent feature in the design for the face of the new museum was a pair of murals, covering more than half of the front of the building. Funds for the construction of the museum, which the Minister of Finance was reported to regard as of no economic value, were rigidly restricted by him, and did not include the cost of the murals. Tunku was reluctant to press his minister for a supplement, and decided, instead, to ask Datuk Lee Kong Chian, the rubber tycoon, to come to

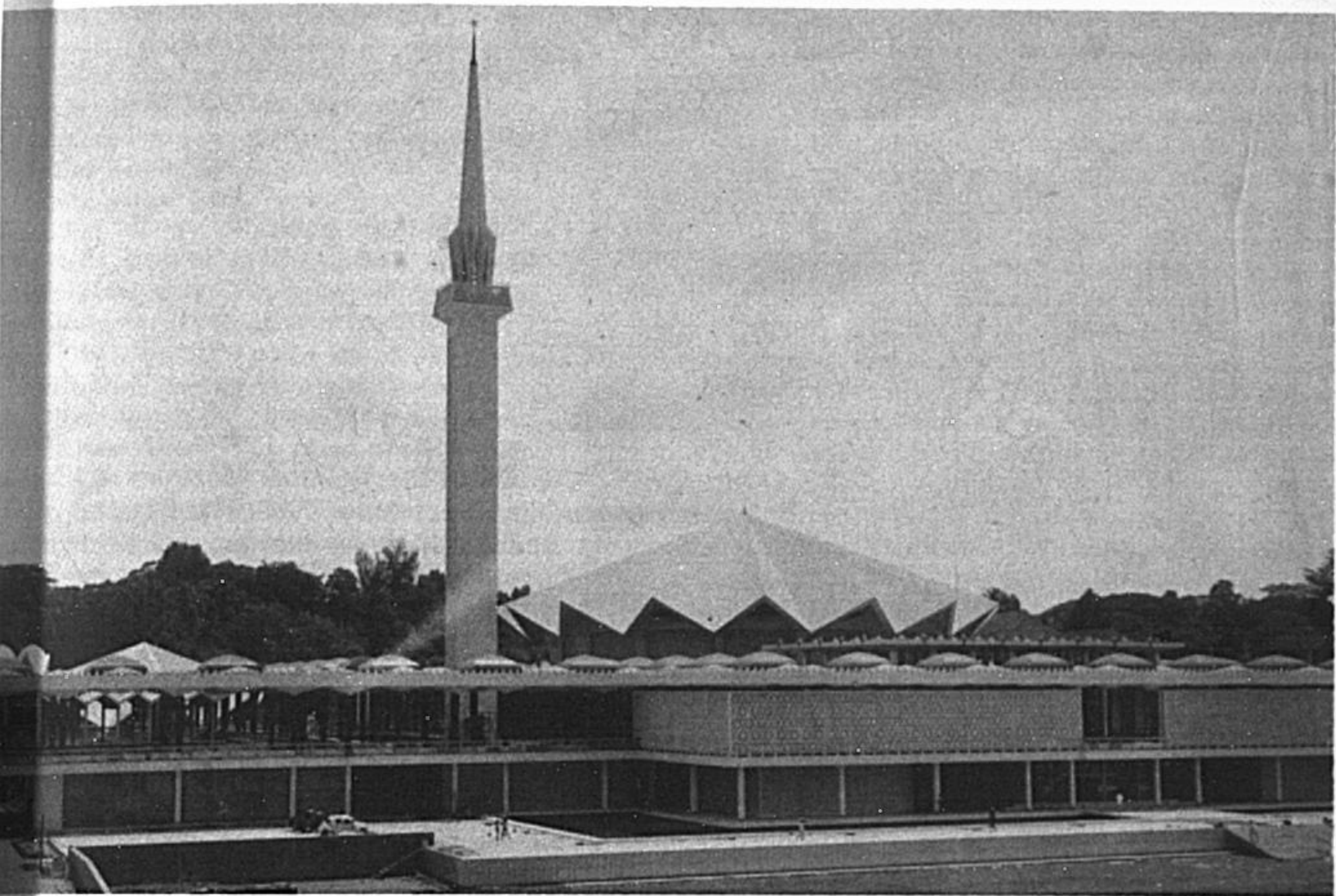


Tunku, as Chancellor of the University of Malaya lays the foundation stone of the University Mosque, November 1962.

top

Tunku is installed as the Chancellor of the University of Malaya, 6 June 1962.





A general view of the National Mosque, Kuala Lumpur. Opened on 27 August 1965.

Opp. page top

The third Agong, followed by Tunku arrives at the University of Malaya Mosque for the opening ceremony, 23 August 1963. Tunku is followed by Tun Abdul Razak and Professor Datuk Oppenheim, the Vice-Chancellor.

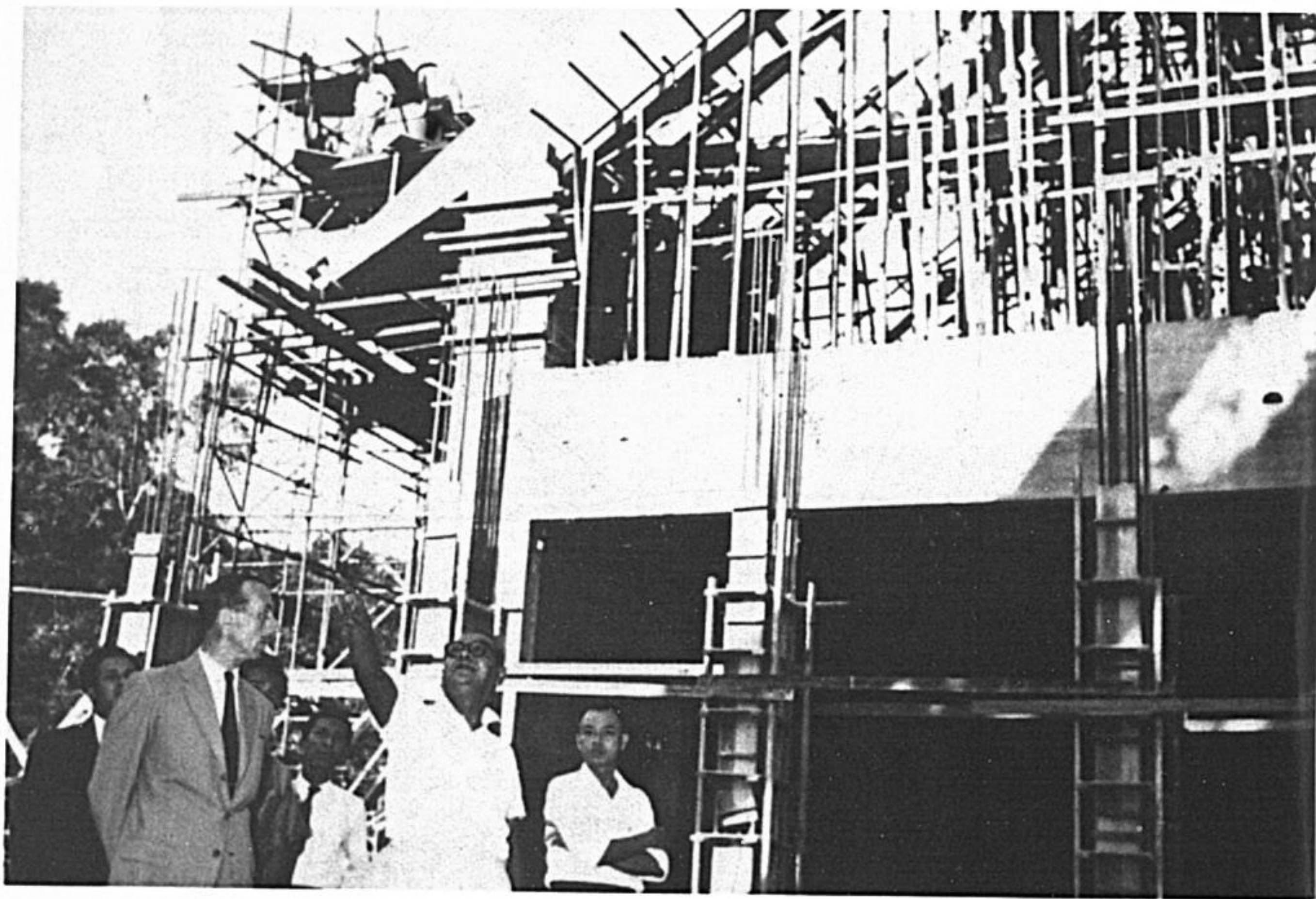
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Tunku determining the *Qiblat* of the new National Mosque.

the rescue. Ho Kok Hoe, the architect, whose design would lose much of its appeal if the space intended for the murals was left vacant, collected Tunku's letter to Datuk Lee on the morning of 8 February 1963, and flew with it to Singapore. It was Tunku's birthday and the magic of its message, when delivered the same day, received an immediate and favourable reply. Datuk Lee would meet the cost of providing and installing a pair of murals made from the finest Venetian glass mosaic. Ho Kok Hoe flew to Venice, and the murals were installed, bearing the name of the munificent donor and of the artist whose design had been chosen, a month before the official opening.

On 31 August 1963, the date chosen for the proclamation of Malaysia, Tunku decided to delay the public announcement until the report from the Secretary-General of the

Tunku visits the site of the National Museum while under construction, September 1962. The Director of Museums (M. Sheppard) shows him around. Encik Sharum Yub, Curator of Museums is visible in the background (left)



United Nations was received in Kuala Lumpur. Tunku directed that the vacant date should be filled by the official opening of the new National Museum instead. The third Yang di-Pertuan Agong performed the opening ceremony.

Two years later, work began on the erection of a "National Monument". Tunku's interest in the armed forces of Malaya and of the Commonwealth dated back to December 1941 and to the Emergency years, between 1950 and 1957. A "Remembrance Day" ceremony to honour those who had died during the First and Second World Wars had been held at a small granite cenotaph, erected by the British in the 1920s near the railway station. It seemed to have little Malayan significance.

Tunku conceived the idea of erecting an impressive national monument which would honour and keep in public memory those who had died in the defence of Malaysia during the Emergency as well as during the two World Wars. He chose a site on high ground overlooking the Lake Gardens, but it was not until he revisited Washington, in 1962 that he saw a monument which conveyed the spirit of courage and determination which he was seeking.

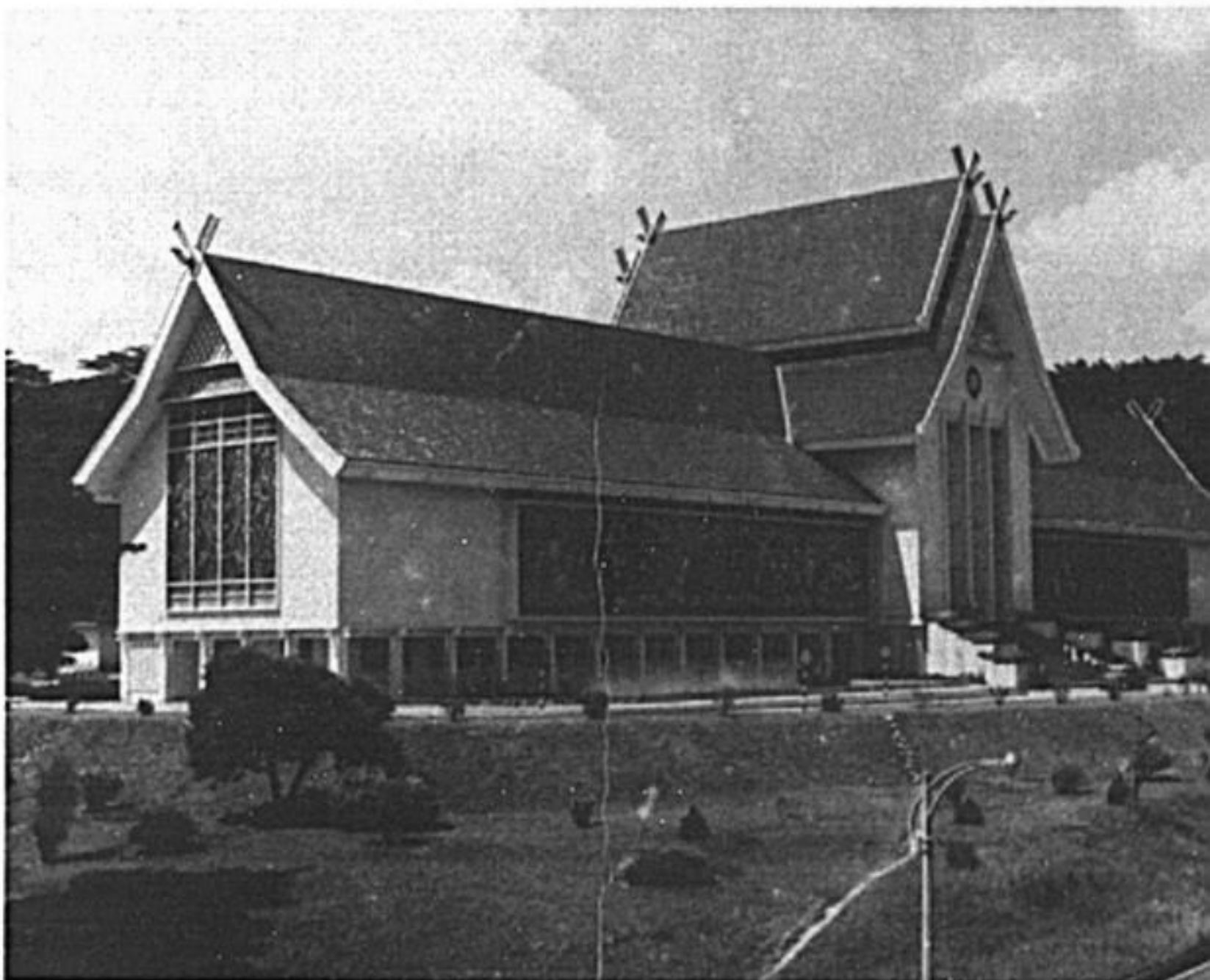
This monument commemorated the capture of the Japanese-owned islands of Iwojima, a volcanic island in the Pacific, in February 1945 by the American Marine Corps. Casualties, amounted to 20,000 Japanese, and 6,800 Americans killed and 18,000 Americans wounded. The island was the only one in the Pacific which could provide the USA with an advance air-base from which high-level bombers could carry out decisive and continuous raids on the Japanese mainland in the closing phase of the War. The heavy casualties on both sides was evidence of the vital importance attached to its ownership.

An American sculptor, Felix de Welden, was chosen to design and erect a memorial appropriate to the unique display of gallantry on both sides. de Welden's composition showed the moment when the American-flag



Former Selangor Museum.

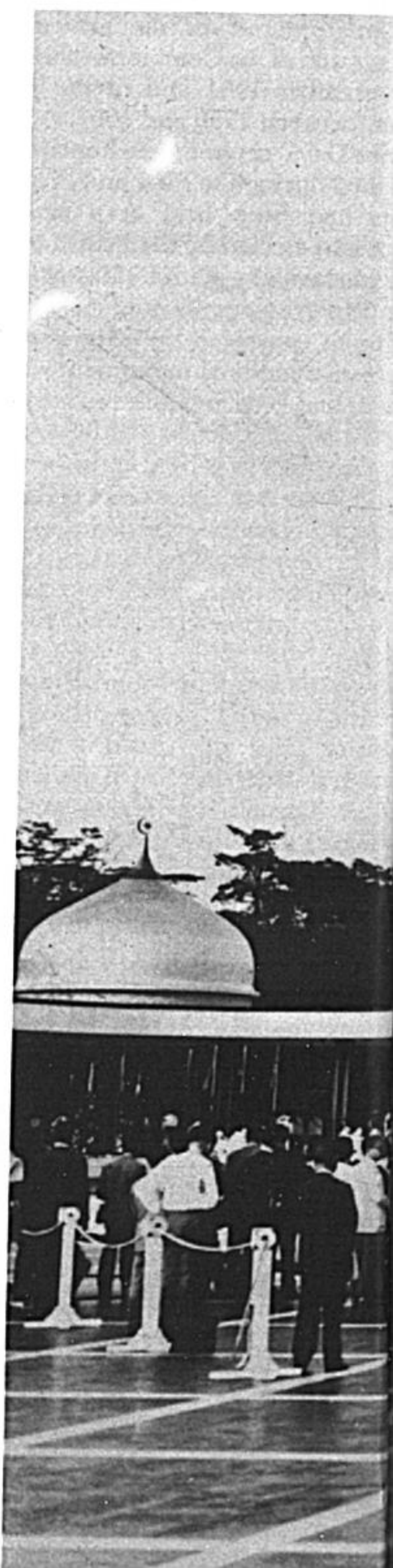
A front view of the National Museum, opened on 31 August 1963. The murals are prominent in front.



was raised on the island, signifying a hard-won victory. To Tunku the message could be applied with equal realism to the victory of Malayan and Commonwealth forces over the communists during the Emergency. He invited de Welden to meet him in Washington, and they discussed his initial concept. Later, Felix de Welden came to Kuala Lumpur to see the site and to submit designs and estimates. These were accepted and work started on the site in August 1965. The towering monument was unveiled by the fourth Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Tuanku Ismail of Terengganu, on Tunku's birthday in 1966. For a number of years thereafter, the annual "Remembrance Day" ceremony, at which the Yang di-Pertuan Agong laid a wreath, was held at the base of the monument. It has since been discontinued.

A National Stadium, a Parliament building, a National Mosque, a National Museum, and a National Monument were all

Hoisting figures into position on the National Memorial



The opening ceremony at the National Memorial, 8 February 1966.



planned and accomplished by Tunku during the Golden Years of his Premiership.

Today, these landmarks are so much part of the local landscape that few can remember how featureless the town was before the genius of Tunku embellished the capital with evidence of his own imagination.

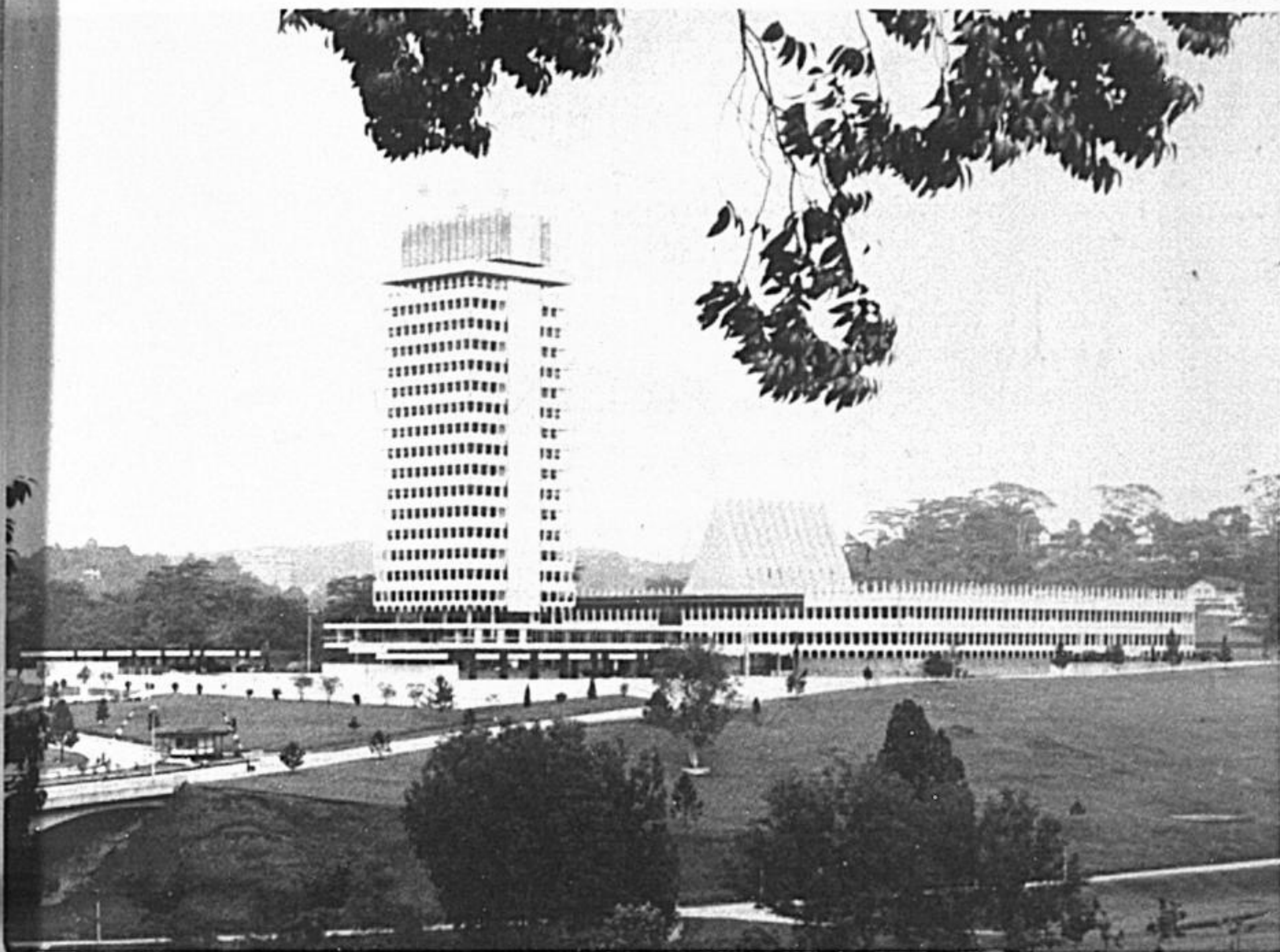
During these years four men — sometimes referred to as 'the Directorate' — administered Malaya. Tunku as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tun Abdul Razak as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Rural Development; Tun Dr. Ismail as Minister for Home Affairs and Tun Tan Siew Sin as Minister of Finance. Tunku possessed a very different personality from the other three. Tunku was usually genial, Tun Razak usually grave, Tun Dr. Ismail was strong-willed and sometimes hot-tempered. All three recognized in Tun Tan Siew Sin, a Malaysian of indefatigable industry, and unflinching integrity. Tunku sometimes adopted the role of a supra-communal figure but was accepted by his colleagues as their leader. None of his three close friends ever quarrelled with him openly, though they sometimes held widely different views.

If the years which followed the 1966 elections are regarded as a period of warming radiance, when so many dreams and ambitions had been brought to triumphal success, when political rivals, including those in his own party, exercised growing influence on public opinion, it should always be remembered that during those nine years, Malaya, under Tunku's leadership, had emerged from the inferior status of a small colonial territory, and had reached a level of popularity and respect both within the Commonwealth and in Asia which has never since been equalled.



top
Statue of Tunku standing below the Parliament building.

Parliament House seen from the Lake Gardens.



The 1964 cabinet holds its first meeting in Parliament House, 13 May 1964.



Productive Diversions

merger - penyatuan/percaturan

Tunku has always been a man with a variety of interests and has shown a genius for devising ways in which these interests could be developed to benefit others.

His love for football, beginning in his school days, raised him to positions of leadership at state, national and international levels. But in the early 1950s before Independence, he asked, in vain, for funds to construct a central football stadium in Kuala Lumpur. He had enjoyed watching professional football matches in England, played in large stadiums by famous teams at great financial advantage to the teams concerned.

He achieved his purpose before Independence by means of a different approach. The Independence ceremony, to be graced by all the Rulers and a representative of the Queen of England, could not be mounted on any existing open space: it demanded its own stadium.

Tunku chose a low hill not far from the Railway Station. A massive earth-moving operation was set in motion which would "kill two birds with one stone" — indeed, in

this case, it would achieve yet another purpose, one which Tunku had dreamed of for several years.

The mountain of excavated earth was transferred to a deep ravine, beyond the railway station and created a site for another of Tunku's treasured projects — the National Mosque.

The account of this major achievement — another example of Tunku's inspired initiative, is told elsewhere. But the stadium was completed just in time for the Independence Day ceremony, and was promptly adapted for use as the venue of the first international football tournament, named after Malayan Independence.

Tunku's record as the Father of Malayan Football stretched back to the year of his final success in his law studies. As soon as he returned to Kedah in 1949 he was elected President of the Kedah Football Association. But before he had time to take any part in Kedah Football, he was appointed a Deputy Public Prosecutor in Kuala Lumpur.

Football has been played in Malaya since

Tunku, a man with a variety of inter



the beginning of the century and a "Selangor Football League" was founded in 1905. This was succeeded by the Selangor Football Association in 1926. Very soon after Tunku's arrival in Kuala Lumpur in 1949, the principal office-bearers of the Selangor Football Association asked him to accept nomination as President, at the next Annual General Meeting.

Another football organization was also in existence in Kuala Lumpur, with a different function. When the Battleship H.M.S. Malaya visited Malaya in 1920 the officers and men presented a "Malaya Cup" for competition. It was decided to hold an annual tournament between teams representing the different States and Settlements in Malaya, and this became a major sporting event from 1926 onwards. At first the tournament was organized by a special committee but in 1926 the Malayan Football Association was founded and it took over the organization of the Malaya Cup tournament. The F.A.M. was revived in 1947 but post-war conditions handicapped its progress, until in 1951, Tunku Abdul Rahman was elected President of the F.A.M. and the association began a new life.

In spite of the fact that Tunku had only recently been elected President of UMNO, with the formidable task of a country-wide campaign to reunite the party, Tunku accepted the Presidency of the Football Association of Malaya and continued to hold the post and to play an active part in its vigorous existence for the next 25 years.

His first notable contribution to Malayan Football was the inauguration of the "Merdeka Football Tournament", in 1957. It was open to all countries in Asia with the exception of Israel, and was organized by the Football Association of Malaya, under Tunku's personal direction. It aroused an enthusiasm for the game of football in Asian countries where it was previously almost unknown. Malaya announced that all the expenses of all competing teams would be paid by the host country. These would be met from the gate collections. Tunku calmed those who





First anniversary of Merdeka Competition, 1958. Winning team with Tunku and F.A.M. Council.

questioned whether enough funds would be available. He was confident that the tournament would attract capacity crowds, and he was right.

One of the indirect results of this most successful tournament was the rebirth of the Asian Football Confederation (A.F.C.). It had been founded in Manila in 1954, but had made slow progress.

In 1958, the Asian Games were held in Tokyo. New office-bearers in the Asian Football Confederation were chosen and Tunku, though not present, was elected President. He accepted the appointment and moved the A.F.C. headquarters to Kuala Lumpur. Israel was one of the founder members. With Tunku's leadership other countries joined the Confederation including a number of Arab States.

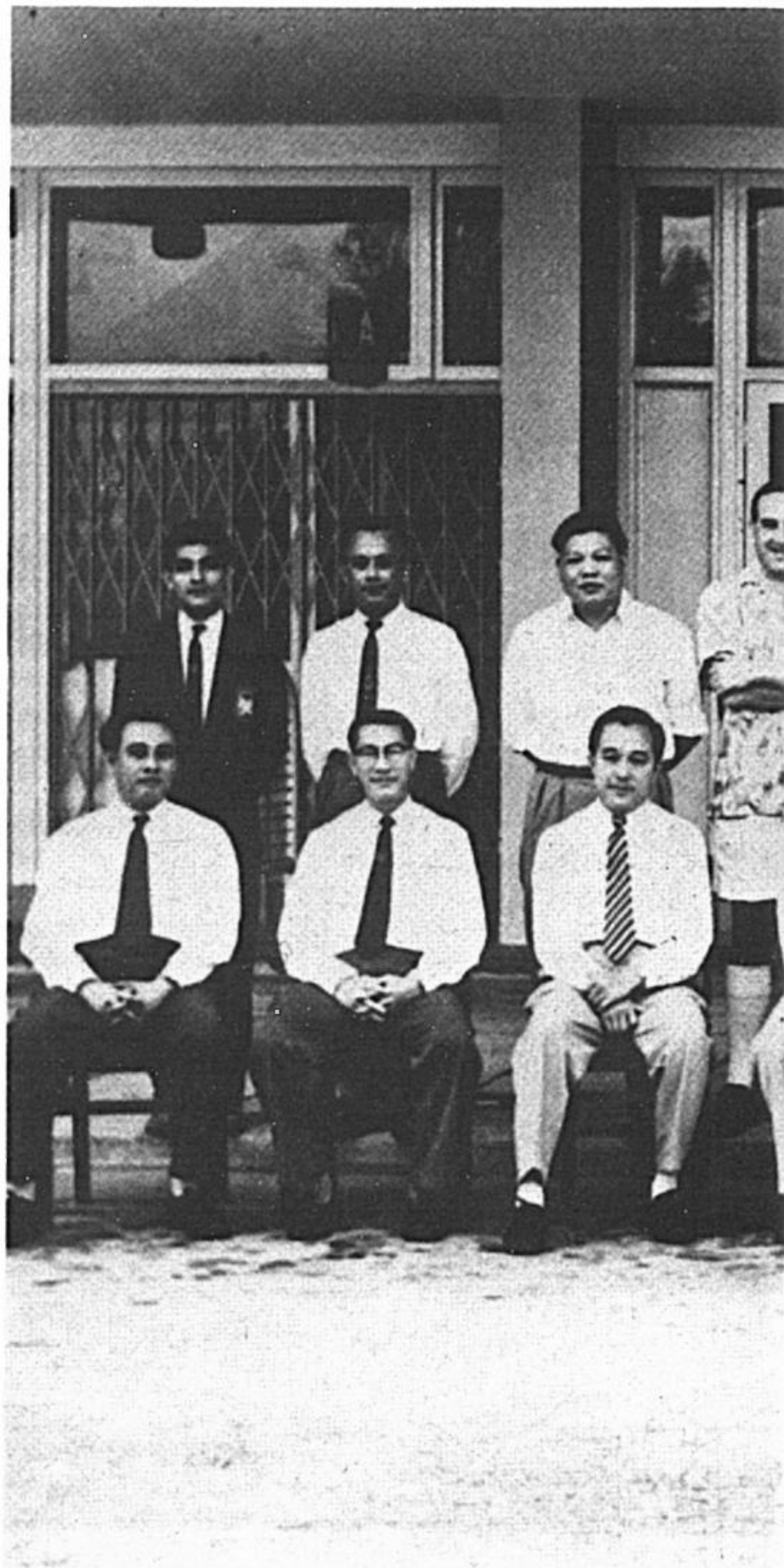
In October 1974 the Asian Games were held in Teheran and Tunku attended as President of the Football Confederation. He was confronted with three serious disputes.

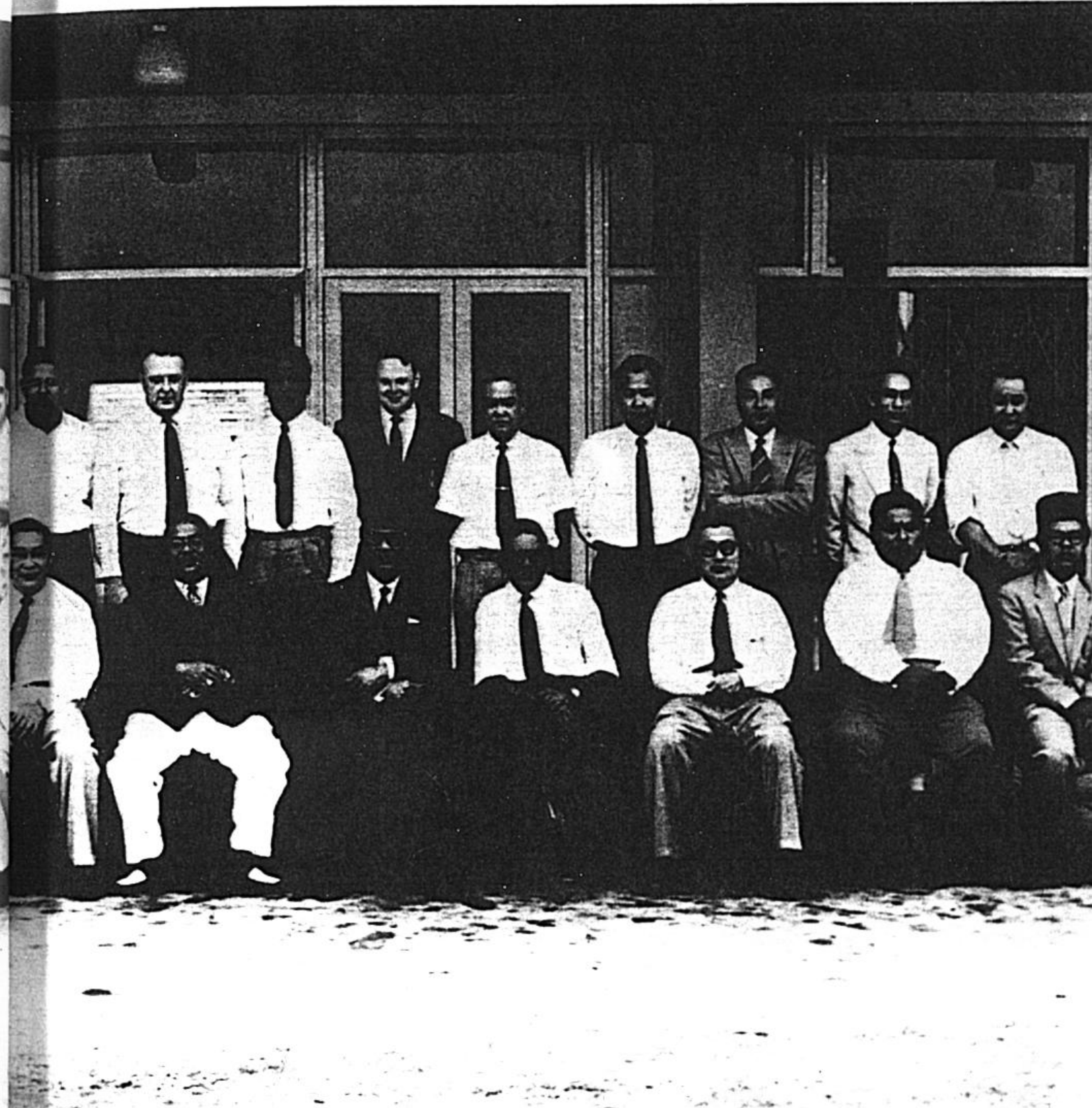
The Iranian government allowed sportsmen from Israel to enter the country but refused to admit representatives from Taiwan. They did so in response to objections from the People's Republic of China which was also represented at the Games. Before the Games began the leading delegates from Kuwait objected strongly to the presence of footballers from Israel and demanded that they should be expelled.

Tunku, as President of the A.F.C. spoke against the Kuwait resolution. He told the delegates that the Confederation had been established in order to preserve harmony among sportsmen all over Asia. Politics should have no place in the Confederation. But Arab delegates gave Kuwait their full support and Israel players were expelled.

Tunku's support for Israel, a country which he himself had excluded from the Merdeka Tournament, was a notable example of his moral courage. He was subjected to a vicious attack in a leading Kuwait magazine.

While this and the Games continued, the football teams from North and South Korea refused to meet each other in the quarter-





Group photo after the Annual General Meeting of the Football Association of Malaya in 1959 with Tunku as President.



The Malaya Cup, which was presented by the Officers and men of H.M.S. Malaya in 1920 was replaced by the "Malaysia Cup", after Tunku became Prime Minister.
This picture shows Tunku handing the old "Malaya Cup" to En. Shahrudin bin Yub, Director of the National Museum.



This picture show the Chairman of the Malayan Tobacco Company. Mr. W. K. Foster, presenting the new "Malaysia Cup" to Tunku, as President of the Football Association of Malaysia, for future competition.

finals. The game was held up for nearly one hour, but the two teams eventually agreed, after much persuasion, to play.

The Kuwait attack on Tunku, continued after the end of the Asian Games. Tunku tolerated it in silence for some time but then wrote to the Emir. In his letter, Tunku reminded the Emir that he had been Prime Minister of Malaya (later Malaysia) for thirteen years. He recalled that he had been responsible for convening, in Kuala Lumpur, in 1964, the first Islamic Conference ever held, and for three years he had held the post of Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah. He had also initiated the foundation of the Islamic Development Bank. He had conducted a meeting of the Asian Football Confederation fairly and justly and in the interests of international football. The vote by delegates at the Conference against Israel's continued membership had been carried by a majority and had been implemented. There was therefore no reason for any person, except the Israeli delegate, to feel aggrieved.

Tunku asked the Emir of Kuwait to allow him to institute legal proceedings in Kuwait's Court of Justice. The letter was acknowledged but permission to proceed was never given.

Tunku was disappointed at the lack of support from Malaysian delegates and when the next annual general meeting of the Football Association of Malaya was held he declined nomination as President. His position was taken, for a short time by Tun Abdul Razak, though he was then a very sick man, and when Tun Razak died in January 1976 he was replaced by Tan Sri Hamzah Abu Samah.

When the next Conference of the Asian Football Confederation was held in Hong Kong in 1977 a motion was proposed asking for the expulsion of both Israel and Taiwan. Tunku was not in favour but Tan Sri Hamzah who was the President of the Football Association of Malaya, proposed the Resolution and it was passed. Many of the original members of the A.F.C. asked Tunku to continue to serve as President but Tunku recognized that new and disturbing influences

were changing Asian Football and he decided to retire after an unequalled period of leadership extending over 19 years.

Tunku never received any adequate recognition for his unique contribution to football in Malaya and in Asia.

But in 1981 the United States Sports Academy gave him a "Distinguished Service Award" for "noteworthy contributions to international sport". Still later, in 1985, the Asian Football Confederation presented him with their own "Distinguished Service Award". Both awards could be considered to be "Too Little: Too Late".

Although football was Tunku's favourite sport, horse-racing — "the Sport of Kings" — ranked a close second, but it was a late starter.

Tunku's father, Sultan Abdul Hamid, enjoyed riding when he was a young man, and sometimes led a cavalcade of thirty riders, all mounted on horses from the royal stables, through the town and out into the country, when the rice fields were dry after the harvest. While he was still a little boy, Tunku learnt to ride and owned a piebald pony of which he was very fond.

A Turf Club was founded in Penang in 1864 and held annual race meetings.

In 1898, the number of race meetings was increased to two a year: two days in January and two days in July. The Sultan of Kedah attended these meetings until his third stroke in 1912. Tunku Ibrahim, his eldest son, who became Regent in that year, also attended Penang Race Meetings and sometimes took Tunku with him.

In Alor Setar the Sultan and his adult relatives gave their patronage to a different form of riding contest, known as Gymkhana, an Anglo-Indian word. In Kedah, the Gymkhana was held once a year, on a level area close to the palace. Riders competed in jumping their mounts over obstacles, and also in "Tent-Pegging". Both called for considerable equestrian skills. Some years later, a race course was laid out and amateur flat races were held there. Tunku watched the annual Gymkhana but was too young to take



part. Some of the horses and ponies which took part performed other duties for the rest of the year.

It was perhaps more than a coincidence that Tunku first arrived in England in June 1920 on "Derby Day", when the premier English horse race was run at Epsom. He was sent to Little Stukeley to be given tuition before sitting for the entrance examination to Cambridge University. Mrs. Vigers, his tutor's wife, was a racing addict. She placed bets on horses almost daily and often asked Tunku to take her bets to a bookmaker in nearby Huntingdon. Later he began to bet himself. Cambridge was only a few miles from

The Council of the Football Association of Malaya in 1958.

***Seated L. to R.:* Tan Teik Kiong, Kwok Kin Keng, Lim Kee Siong, Tunku, Dato Zainal Abidin Abas, Dato Teoh Chze Chong, Tam Seet Wah.**

***Standing L. to R.:* H.M. Lee, Teoh Chye Hin, Wong Yuen Ching, Moh Boon Hean, J. Govindasamy.**

Newmarket, where race meetings were held and where well-known horses were trained at racing stables. Tunku's interest in horse-racing grew and while he was at Cambridge University, and later in London, he often accompanied friends to race meetings instead of attending lectures. But Tunku never placed large bets and never incurred racing debts. His interest was in the horses, not in the lure of betting.

In 1947, when studying for his Bar Final Examination in London, Tunku deserted horse-racing and spent many Saturday nights watching professional football in one or other of the large Stadiums around London.

Horse-racing in this region began in Singapore in 1842 with the formation of the Singapore Sporting Club. The Penang Turf Club was founded in 1869, the Perak Turf Club, racing at Taiping, was founded in 1890 (it moved to Ipoh in 1926) and the Selangor Turf Club came fourth, in 1896, they all continued to flourish until 1942.

A few race meetings, on a small scale, were held during the Japanese Occupation, and in November 1945, very soon after the return of the British, General Sir Miles Dempsey set up a Veterinary Committee to inspect and report on surviving race horses. The Selangor Turf Club held its first post-war New Year Race Meeting on 1 January 1946.

Tunku was too preoccupied with the demands of his political career to take more than a passing interest in horse-racing and it was not until 1959, that it recaptured his attention, when he paid an official visit to Australia. His visit coincided with the most popular and prestigious event in the Australian racing calendar — the race for the Melbourne Cup which is run on the first Tuesday in November. There is no country in the world where horse-racing is so universally popular as Australia, and on the day of the Melbourne Cup, young and old, rich and poor talk and think of little else.

Tunku's introduction to Australian horse-racing on that day aroused in his mind a new attitude to horse-racing in Malaya. He

decided to seek ways and means to make it more popular among the general public and more profitable to the Government.

When Malaya achieved Independence, local horse-racing only contributed about four million dollars to the annual national revenue.

On his return to Kuala Lumpur from Melbourne, Tunku held discussions with his Finance Minister and with leaders of the racing community and then introduced "Off-Course Betting". This was an immediate success. He then arranged to allow a twelve per cent discount on bets of \$50 and above. Soon afterwards he arranged for the setting up of three digits and four digits lotteries. These innovations contributed substantially to the Government revenue. Horse-racing became a major industry. A regular flow of well bred yearlings came to Malaya from Australia, New Zealand, England and Ireland. Racing stables and training establishments were set up.

With Tunku's encouragement a "Tote Board" was established which would be responsible for the collection of income from Turf Clubs, and in due course Government income from horse-racing reached one hundred million dollars a year.

Not long after Tunku's return from Australia in 1959, two of his racing friends — Datuk Tan Chin Nam of Ipoh and Rick Sullivan, a businessman from Queensland, invited Tunku to form a partnership as joint-owners of a racehorse, Tunku agreed. The cost of maintaining a horse at that time was only about \$250 a month. In the years that followed this syndicate bought a number of horses, bred overseas and trained locally. One of these, named "*Pingat Emas*", was personally selected by Tunku from a number of yearlings, recently imported. It was sent for training and won a number of races.

This racing partnership was unaffected by political vicissitudes and in 1975, after Tunku's return from Jeddah, his faithful partners offered him a share in their most successful horse, which was racing exclusively in Australia. It was named "Prince of All"

and had already won the South Australian Derby and the "Adelaide Guineas". Now it was entered for the famous "Melbourne Cup". Tunku's two friends also owned an equally famous horse named "Think Big", which had won the Melbourne Cup in November 1974. Datuk Tan and Sullivan both hoped that "The Prince" would follow the example of "Think Big" and win the Cup in 1975. But Tunku told them that he would prefer to have a share in "Think Big" which was also entered for the "Melbourne Cup".

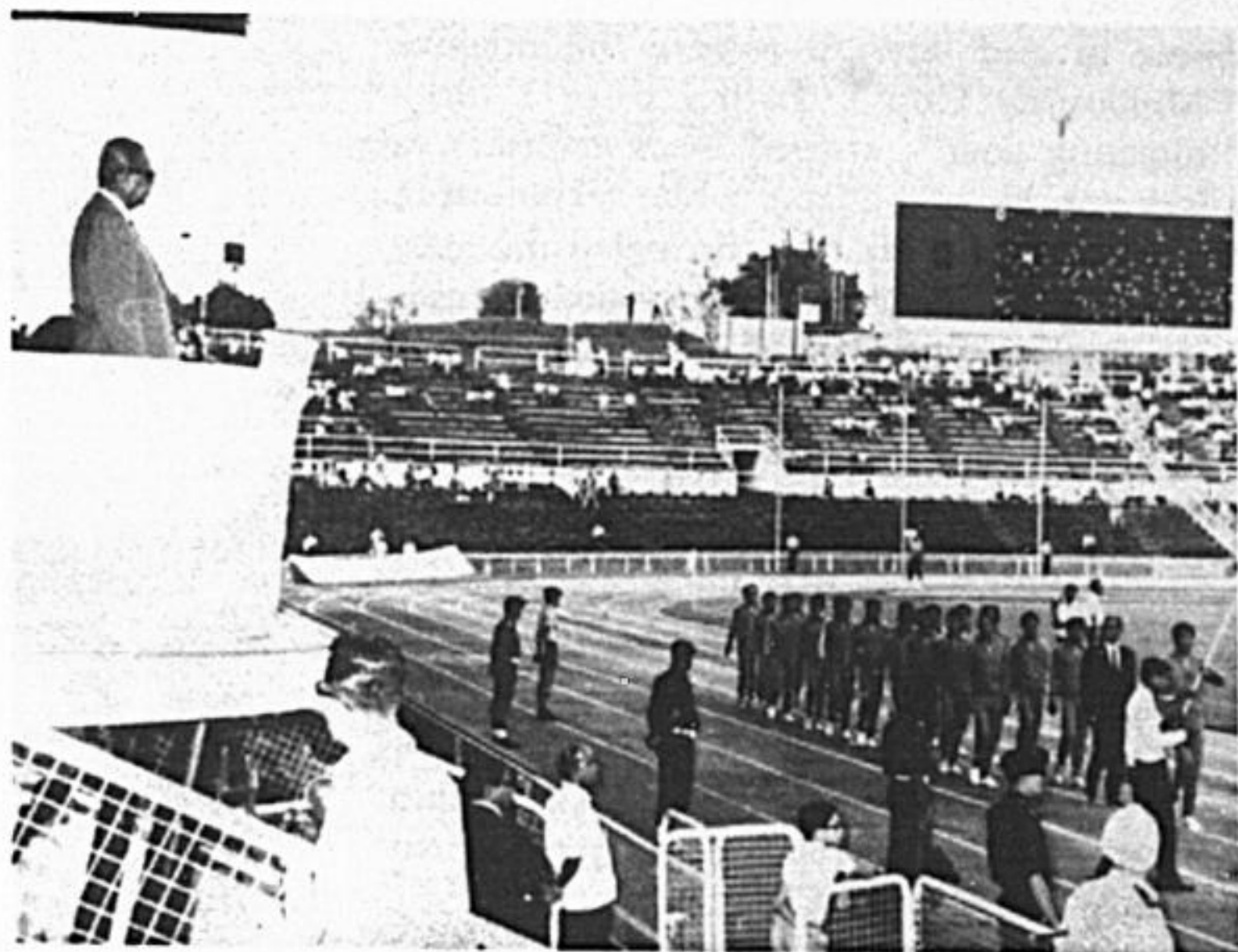
Datuk Tan replied "It has already won the Melbourne Cup and it will have to carry extra weight. Only two other horses had ever won the Melbourne Cup twice and 'Think Big's' chances of a second win are very slight."

But Tunku replied that he had a strong presentiment that "Think Big" would win again. He would prefer to accept a share in that horse rather in the "Prince of All", and he would travel to Melbourne to watch the race.

And so, on a windy November day, with driving rain shower, Tunku joined thousands of other racing enthusiasts at the palatial Flemington race course and placed his bet of A\$50 on "Think Big". His partners backed another horse. Earlier in the day Tunku accompanied his partners to the Athanacum Club when he bid for "Think Big" in the "Calcutta Sweepstake". The auctioneer was Sir Henry Bolte, a former Premier of Victoria, and Tunku's bid was successful.

At the Flemington race course heavy rain-showers, though continuing for only ten minutes at a time, badly affected the ground and the winner's time was the slowest on record. But as the horses rounded the last curve of the course, "Think Big" — a big gelding — thrust ahead and won by three-quarters of a length from his stable mate "Holiday Wagon". Both Tunku's partners and the trainer had backed "Holiday Wagon" and it was the favourite among the betting public.

Tunku had visited "Think Big" before the race, and he walked out to lead his miracle



Tunku, as President of the F.A.M. presents the Merdeka Trophy to South Korea, the winners of the 1970 Tournament, 16 August 1970.

top

Tunku watches the march-past at the beginning of the 12th Merdeka Football Tournament, 19 October 1969.

horse in and later to receive the massive "Melbourne Cup". Tunku wore a black "morning coat", striped black trousers, a silver grey tie and a large white carnation in his button hole. He had discarded the grey top hat, which normally accompanied a "morning coat" at a fashionable race meeting. He replaced it with a black Malay *songkok*.

Tunku stood erect, a model of dignity and composure to receive the cup, but the miracle win, the maze of microphones and the battery of cameras banished from his mind the words which he had hurriedly tried to assemble after the unexpected race result was announced.

"I thank God for our victory" was all that he could say, and he repeated the same words again at the Victory Cup Ball.

Tunku's interest in horse-racing in Malaya has never waned. He can still be seen, if his other engagements and his health allow, at the race courses in Penang or Kuala Lumpur, but few of the crowds of present-day racegoers realize the debt which they owe to Tunku for his transformation of a small-scale pastime to one of the most popular and remunerative industries in the country.

Even before Tunku became Prime Minister, one of his ambitions was to create in Kuala Lumpur a centre of Malay culture where the heritage of past centuries could be revived. It was a formidable objective. Rulers and major chiefs in states other than Kedah, with the solitary exception of Dato Nik Ahmad Kamil of Kelantan had ceased to provide traditional patronage to Malay culture.

His senior political colleagues were occupied with other priorities. Tunku, ever an optimist, declined to be discouraged and organized a festival of Malay culture in Kuala Lumpur in August 1956. It included displays of Malay, Chinese and Indian music, dances and drama as well as some Aborigine dances. It also assembled kite-flyers and top-spinners, mainly from the east coast and exponents of the Malay and Chinese Art of self-defence. It was called "PESTA" and has never since been attempted on such a country-wide scale. It was an immense success and attracted



Tunku with Datuk Tan Chin Nam (on the right) with the Melbourne Cup.

top
Tunku declares open the new grandstand of the Selan Turf Club, 3 April 1966.

Tunku with "Think Big" at Melbourne Races, November 1974.



The Cups which Tunku has won in the course of his interest in sports.





Tunku entertains his guests after dinner with Malay dancing.

thousands of eager onlookers for three days and nights.

Six years later, Tunku set up a new Ministry of Information and Broadcasting which he hoped would provide a media for transmitting traditional Malay music. Two years later, in 1964, Tunku established the embryo of a Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports. The new portfolios were both added to Tunku's already heavy burden.

Both these major initiatives involved government funds and civil servants, over whom Tunku could only exercise intermittent influence.

Prince Sihanouk's University of Fine Arts on the outskirts of Phnom Penh had shown what a royal autocrat could achieve if he was also Head of State, but it could only serve as an inspiring example, to be included in the blueprint of his Ministry of Culture.

Meanwhile Tunku chose a target which was within his personal compass — the revival of traditional Malay dancing in his own official residence.

Before the Japanese Occupation (1942—45) Malay dancing and the *Ronggeng* in particular, was popular all over the peninsula. In 1945, the country was almost derelict and it was several years before Malay youths revived a modern version of the oldest Malay dance, calling it *Joget Moden*.

When Tunku moved into the Selangor Residency at the beginning of 1957, he was at last able to entertain in style the foreign guests who flocked to Kuala Lumpur. He was familiar with the criteria of Western hospitality, but he wanted to give his guests an introduction, however brief, to his own cultural background.

Tunku was a connoisseur of good food and his wife made sure that dinners at the Residency were delicious, but, while other hosts concentrated on their menus, Tunku decided to introduce Malay dancing — not a display by professionals but an opportunity for male guests, however eminent, to join their host and a few of his Malay friends on the dance floor.



Tunku declares open the Festival of Southeast Asian Dance and Drama, August 1969, in the Tunku Abdul Rahman Hall.

Tunku's initiative may have been stimulated by David Marshall, who was then Chief Minister of Singapore. He invited Tunku to Singapore to celebrate Tunku's landslide victory in the 1955 general election and arranged for a talented young violinist — Hamzah Dolmat — to play Malay dance tunes of long ago, supported by a Malay singer.

Not long afterwards, Tunku invited Hamzah to come to Kuala Lumpur and helped him to seek employment there. When Tunku began to include Malay dancing in his after dinner hospitality, Hamzah and his lead singer were always present.

But the dining room at the Residency had not been designed for such diversions, and while it was being enlarged Tunku gave dinners followed by Malay dancing in the Ballroom at the Lake Club.

Tunku possessed a natural sense of rhythm and a grace of movement, which included the arms and hands, and which few others could equal. When he stepped on to the dance floor

after dinner to the lilt of Hamzah's violin there was something infectious about the ease with which he danced not only the *Ronggeng* but also *Chinta Sayang* — his favourite, — and *Mak Inang*. Presidents and Ambassadors from other lands shuffled to and fro, opposite, but not touching their Malay dance hostesses, and glowed with a sense of goodwill and closer understanding when they resumed their seats.

Tunku's initiative was followed by the first Yang di-Pertuan Agong at his palace and by senior Malay officials and politicians both in Kuala Lumpur and at State capitals. Tunku had revived the *Ronggeng*, and his example was continued when Tun Abdul Razak succeeded him in 1970.

Tunku founded the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports in August 1964. He handed the portfolio of Information and Broadcasting to Encik Senu Abdul Rahman, a Kedah veteran, and adopted the new ministry himself. But he had no staff, no office accommodation and only a driving purpose to rescue traditional Malay culture before its twin rivals

— Films and Broadcasting — had exterminated what little survived.

It was almost too late. Young Malays who had grown up in a cultural vacuum, observed with interest that Tunku had included Youth and Sports in his new portfolio, but dismissed the notion of a cultural revival as obsolete.

The infant ministry must be weaned by a foster-mother. Tunku chose for this formidable role his first Private Secretary Zainal Abidin Endut who, in 1964 held a senior post in the Establishment Office. It was an inspired choice.

Though not himself a specialist in any of the branches of his Ministry, his service in the Establishment Office helped him to locate and enlist the services of Ariff Ahmad from the Ministry of Information as his Personal Assistant, Ismail Bakti, a dedicated authority on East Coast Cultural survivals, Khoo Oon Soe of the Welfare Department, Mahesan and A.S.P. Mobarak to take charge of Youth and Sports. They operated from a single floor in a rented building — Fook Chuan Mansion — in the centre of the town.

Within a year, Zainal Abidin was able to report to Tunku that he had set up branches of the Ministry in almost every State in the peninsula and that he had rented and moved to a large private house in Ampang Road, with a spacious compound where Tunku saw, on an informal visit, a shadow play theatre and stages for dance rehearsals and for *Ma'Yong* performances.

In that year also a group of Malay dancers — young men and girls — trained by Ismail Bakti and costumed with the advice of Tunku's wife, performed at official functions in Kuala Lumpur and were sent to the Sydney Trade Fair.

In August 1967, Tunku allotted to Senu Abdul Rahman, the Minister of Information, his own additional portfolio of Culture, Youth and Sports, but gave him a Junior Minister to assist him.

By 1967 Tunku's favourite diversions — football and horse-racing, had grown out of all recognition, under Tunku's guidance, and



Tunku welcomes dancers from Indonesia.

had become an important part of the leisure time pursuits of Malaysians of all communities, while Malay dancing had blossomed into an essential part of the activities of a full-scale Ministry.



Tunku welcomes young dancers from Cambodia.

Malaysia

margin ~~part~~ perjeta / perantimon

Tunku welcomes Lord Selkirk,
Commissioner General for Southeast
Asia, at the Residency, 2 February 1960.







When Tunku addressed the Foreign Correspondents' Association of Southeast Asia at a lunch meeting in Singapore on 27 May 1961, he devoted most of his speech to topics such as the need for loyalty on the part of the Chinese population of Singapore; communism; ideological fence-sitters and the A.S.A. project. It was familiar material, and many of the journalists took very few notes. And then, without warning, Tunku said:

Malaya, today, realizes that she cannot stand alone, in isolation. Sooner or later she should have an understanding with Britain and the peoples of the territories of Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei. It is premature for me to say how this closer understanding can be brought about but it is inevitable that we should look ahead to this objective and

think of a plan whereby these territories can be brought together in political and economic co-operation.

This section of Tunku's speech attracted widespread interest but its significance is often exaggerated.

A merger between Malaya and Singapore had been discussed by leaders of both territories as far back as 1956, but although a Malay Head of State of Singapore was appointed in December 1958, Tunku made it known that he was not in favour of such a proposal. Singapore, British North Borneo and Sarawak were still British colonies, Brunei was a British Protectorate, but perhaps as a result of Tunku's speech, Lord Selkirk, the British Commissioner General for Southeast Asia arranged to hold a discussion, in June 1961, with the Governors of the three States

Tunku and President Soekarno share a joke.



and the Deputy High Commissioner of the Federation of Malaya, on the concept of Malaysia. They concluded that there was no prospect of an early change of status.

In Singapore, David Marshall and Lim Yew Hock strongly favoured a merger with Malaya, but they were succeeded by a more sophisticated politician, Lee Kuan Yew, the head of the People's Action Party, in June 1959. He recognized the obstacles and reserved his opinion.

The "Emergency" on the mainland had been brought to a decisive and successful conclusion in August 1960, relieving both territories of any immediate communist threat. But to Tunku there was one main objection: the population of Singapore, numbering nearly one million, were mainly Chinese whose links with Mainland China

were still close. Their loyalty would need to be transferred to Malaya before merger could be favourably considered.

But to some at least, Tunku's remarks to the foreign correspondents might indicate a change of heart.

Was Tunku, the Father of Malaya's Independence preparing to expand his horizon? Did he, like Robert Browning, believe that "a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a Heaven for?"

At one stage in the protracted discussions which followed, Tunku thought it possible that the inclusion of British North Borneo and Sarawak in Malaysia would provide a counterbalance to neighbouring Singapore. But later, political developments on the island caused him to make an irrevocable decision against any form of political or constitutional merger.

Tunku with President Soekarno and a representative from the Philippines in a more serious mood, July 1963.

Before the end of 1961, President Macapagal of the Philippines, encouraged by a substantial part of the local press, announced his opposition to Tunku's plans and dis-interred an ancient and long defunct treaty, by which a sultan of Brunei had ceded to a sultan of Sulu that part of Borneo which later became part of the Philippines. In June 1962, the Philippine Government took its claim to the British Foreign Office in London. The British offered to discuss Anglo-Philippine relations, but gave no indication that they would accept or consider the claim.

In Indonesia, President Soekarno watched with growing hostility. If Tunku's plans took a more tangible shape, he was determined to mount active opposition. When a fact-finding mission visited the Borneo territory and had expressed its support for Malaysia, in February 1963, and when another mission was expected to follow, Soekarno announced his total opposition to Tunku's plans and proclaimed a policy of "Confrontation".

Tunku had hoped to forestall this militant opposition by proposing a Cultural and Economic Association between Malaya, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand, while President Garcia was still President of the Philippines, but the project was still dormant when Soekarno issued his proclamation.

Before this crisis occurred, Tunku flew to London in February 1961 to attend a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and took the opportunity to discuss the Malaysia project with Harold MacMillan, the British Prime Minister. He also invited the opinions of other Commonwealth leaders, notably those from Australia and New Zealand.

MacMillan was non-committal and advised Tunku to avoid giving any impression that Malaya wished to force the Borneo States to join them.

At this early stage, political leaders in Sarawak expressed strong opposition to any plan which would place Sarawak under the control of Malaya.

In Sabah, a substantial proportion of the

population belonged to hill tribes, a majority of which were pagan. They had been in occupation of these inland areas since very ancient times and had no affinity with coastal Malays or Malaya. The fact that Datu Mustapha, a descendant of a Sulu chief was Chief Minister and a friend of Tunku was only likely to be of cosmetic value.

Eight months after his initial discussion with MacMillan, Tunku was invited to return to London for exploratory talks, and a joint statement was issued in London to the effect that in the view of the British Government, Malaysia was a desirable project. This was followed by the despatch of a commission headed by Lord Cobbold, a former Governor of the Bank of England, to ascertain the views of the people of Sabah and Sarawak. Sir Anthony Abell and Sir David Watherstone represented the British Government; Ghazali Shafie and Wong Pow Nee represented Malaya.

Tunku, Dato' Razak and Tan Siew Sin flew to London in July 1962 for further discussions.

After two weeks of frank and outspoken talks, the British officials agreed to prepare and to present to Parliament a Bill authorizing the creation of Malaysia, and a year later in July 1963, the Bill was passed without division.

The initial opposition to Malaysia which was shared by all political leaders in Sabah and Sarawak, dissolved slowly, partly as a result of well organized "study tours" of the Peninsula by these leaders, which included visits to some of Dato' Razak's Land Development schemes. A Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee was set up, and an Inter-Government Committee, included officials from Britain, the Federation of Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak, followed soon afterwards.

The announcement that the British Government had accepted the Malaysia Plan further influenced local public opinion. A threat, still unofficial, that Indonesia intended to appropriate the Borneo territories, as it had done in Irian, was recognized as a most

unacceptable alternative.

Indonesian hostility to Tunku's Malaysia Plan stemmed from a deep feeling of jealousy in the minds of Soekarno and his Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio. They watched independent Malaya, under Tunku's leadership, progressing and prospering, while Indonesia, now free from Dutch dominance, was unable to achieve comparable economic success.

Tunku had made a well-intentioned attempt to mediate between Indonesia and the Dutch in 1960 over the West Irian dispute. It had been misunderstood by Subandrio and had strengthened his determination to obstruct any of Tunku's plans for territorial expansion.

At first Indonesian opposition took the form of subversion, notably in Brunei, where Azahari and his "Party Rakyat", with the promise of material support from Indonesia, organized a rebellion against the Sultan. Azahari also made it known that he strongly opposed the Sultan's inclination to join Malaysia.

The revolt began on 8 December 1960, but it was soon crushed by British Armed Forces. Tunku sent a batch of Malayan Police to strengthen the civil government. Azahari had withdrawn to Manila before the outbreak of the rebellion, and issued boastful broadcasts released to the foreign Press.

Six weeks later, Soekarno announced his total opposition to the Malaysia Plan and on 1 February 1963, he proclaimed the launching of a campaign of armed obstruction, for which he coined the word "Confrontation".

Soekarno claimed that Tunku represented "Neo-Colonial" and "Neo-Imperial" forces, hostile to freedom and independence.

In Manila, President Macapagal declared his support for Indonesia. Soekarno ordered his armed forces to be on the alert and directed that his naval vessels should fire on any defenceless Malayan fishing boats which were found in Indonesian waters.

Tunku knew that he could call on Britain, Australia or New Zealand for help if necessary, under their Defence Treaty and was not unduly disturbed.

Ever a man of peace and patience, Tunku continued to search for an accommodation with both the Philippines and Indonesia, and early in July 1963 the Foreign Ministers of the Philippines — Mr. Pelaez; Indonesia — Dr. Subandrio and Malaysia — Tun Abdul Razak, met in Manila and agreed to adopt what became known as the "Manila Accord", accepting the formation of Malaysia provided that a Referendum was conducted in the Borneo States to ascertain finally the views of the people, under the supervision of the United Nations.

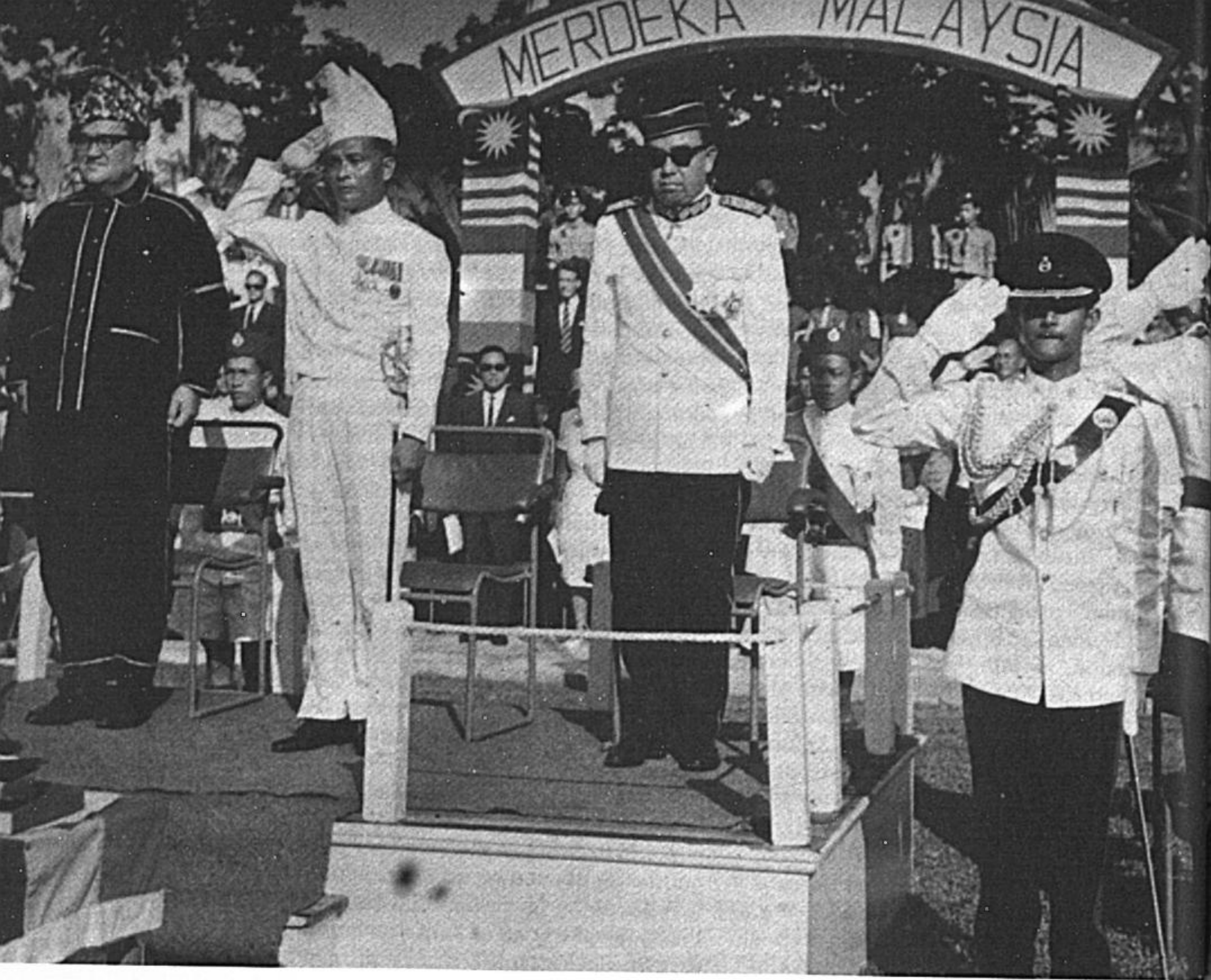
This proposal was probably intended to delay the realization of Tunku's proposal for a substantial period. But Tunku asked the Head of the United Nations Technical Aid Commission to send an urgent request to U Thant, the United Nations Secretary-General, to send a fact-finding team to ascertain, once and for all, the wishes of the Borneo people.

When Tunku was next in Manila, he spoke to President Macapagal about the Muslim population living in the Southern provinces, numbering about three million, and asked that permission be given for the Muslims of the Philippines to erect at least one mosque and to reserve at least one area for a Muslim burial ground somewhere in the area of the Philippines capital, but Macapagal declined to consider these modest requests.

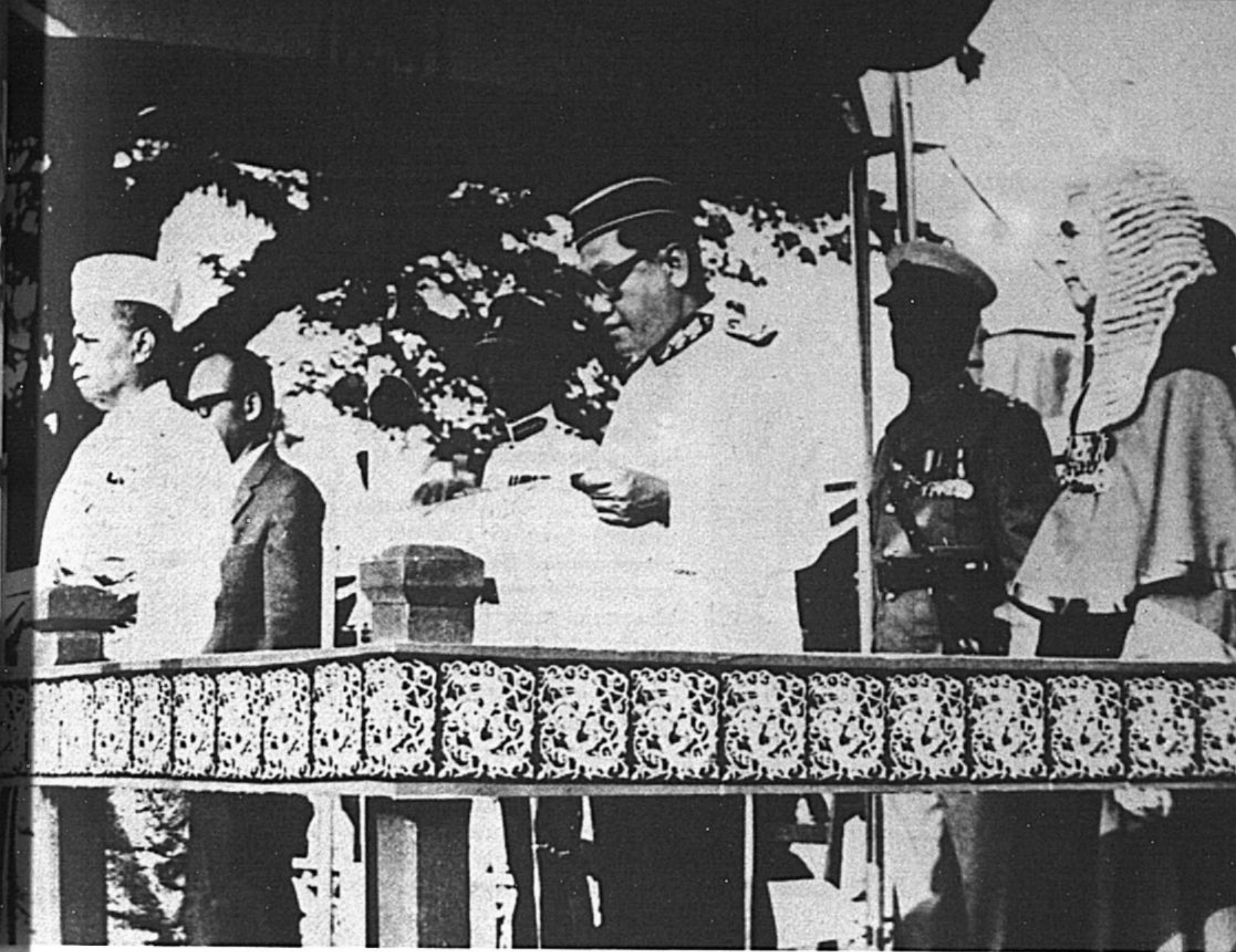
The three Heads of State waited in Manila for a reply from the United Nations: Tunku hoping and praying for a speedy and favourable decision, Macapagal and Soekarno determined to obstruct and delay what might be the end of the final chapter in an epic of Southeast Asian history.

U Thant replied that he was sending a nine-man mission, headed by a former Director of Personnel in the United Nations Secretariat, and including a Czech official. They would start work on a four-part questionnaire as soon as possible.

It now became evident that Tunku's plan to proclaim Malaysia on the anniversary of the declaration of the Independence of Malaya, on 31 August 1963 would not be



Proclamation of Malaysia ceremony in
Kota Kinabalu, Sabah on 16 September 1963.



The Proclamation of Malaysia in
Kuching, Sarawak on 16 September
1963.



Tunku meets U. Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

feasible. A delay of at least two weeks was inevitable.

Tunku accepted this with well-controlled resignation. Dr. Subandrio then demanded that Indonesian observers should accompany the United Nations' mission. This too was accepted by Tunku, although it was an obvious last-minute attempt to sabotage the proceedings. These observers arrived, carrying propaganda leaflets. There were many more than were necessary and they were screened, their number substantially reduced and their leaflets confiscated by United Nations officials. The work then proceeded smoothly and rapidly and the findings were sent by air to U Thant's headquarters. His conclusions, based on the mission's report were delivered in Kuala Lumpur on

14 September 1963 and declared that the people of Sabah and Sarawak had chosen to become part of Malaysia, freely and without any external pressure.

Malaysia was proclaimed in Kuala Lumpur on the morning of 16 September 1963. It was a triumph for Tunku's patient diplomacy.

Throughout all these negotiations Tunku was recognized as the chief protagonist of the Malaysia Plan, and he received the full and continuing support of the other three members of the "the Directorate".

A brief account of the events leading to the merger between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore and of the subsequent negotiations between the two governments, which took place prior to the proclamation of Malaysia, needs to be added here.

We have followed the Tunku's protracted discussions with the leaders of Indonesia and the Philippines, and his efforts to establish, by means of independent enquiries, the wishes of the Borneo people. But the subject of merger between Malaya and Singapore was also actively discussed by Tunku in London as well as in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore.

There was, however, a marked difference between the authority exercised by the Dictator of Indonesia, the powerful President of the Philippines and the leader of the Singapore People's Action Party, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, with whom Tunku conducted discussions and negotiations.

The PAP was under constant attack from its political opponents, notably the radical socialists. Lee Kuan Yew and his party were in favour of merger with Malaya, but his opponents were not. They preferred to establish Singapore as a stronghold of Chinese radicalism, with some communist support. Tunku was fully aware of this menace, and he insisted that if merger was approved the Malayan government must control Singapore's internal security. This radical



Tun Mustapha of Sabah
who was one of the
early supporters of the
Malaysia Plan.



Tunku with Lee Kuan Yew.

threat also generated a high degree of political ingenuity and skill in the incisive mind of Lee Kuan Yew.

As a precaution, Lee secured a vote of confidence in his government, in the Legislative Assembly, in July 1961, very soon after his party had lost an important by-election. Soon afterwards he decided that a decision on merger should not be arrived at by a general election, but should be the subject of a special Referendum, in which the public was to be given a choice of three alternatives. This was held on 1 September 1962. Seventy-one per cent of those eligible to vote favoured "Alternative A", — a Penang-style merger — and two days later, Lee Kuan Yew announced in the Legislative Assembly that "the battle for merger had been won".

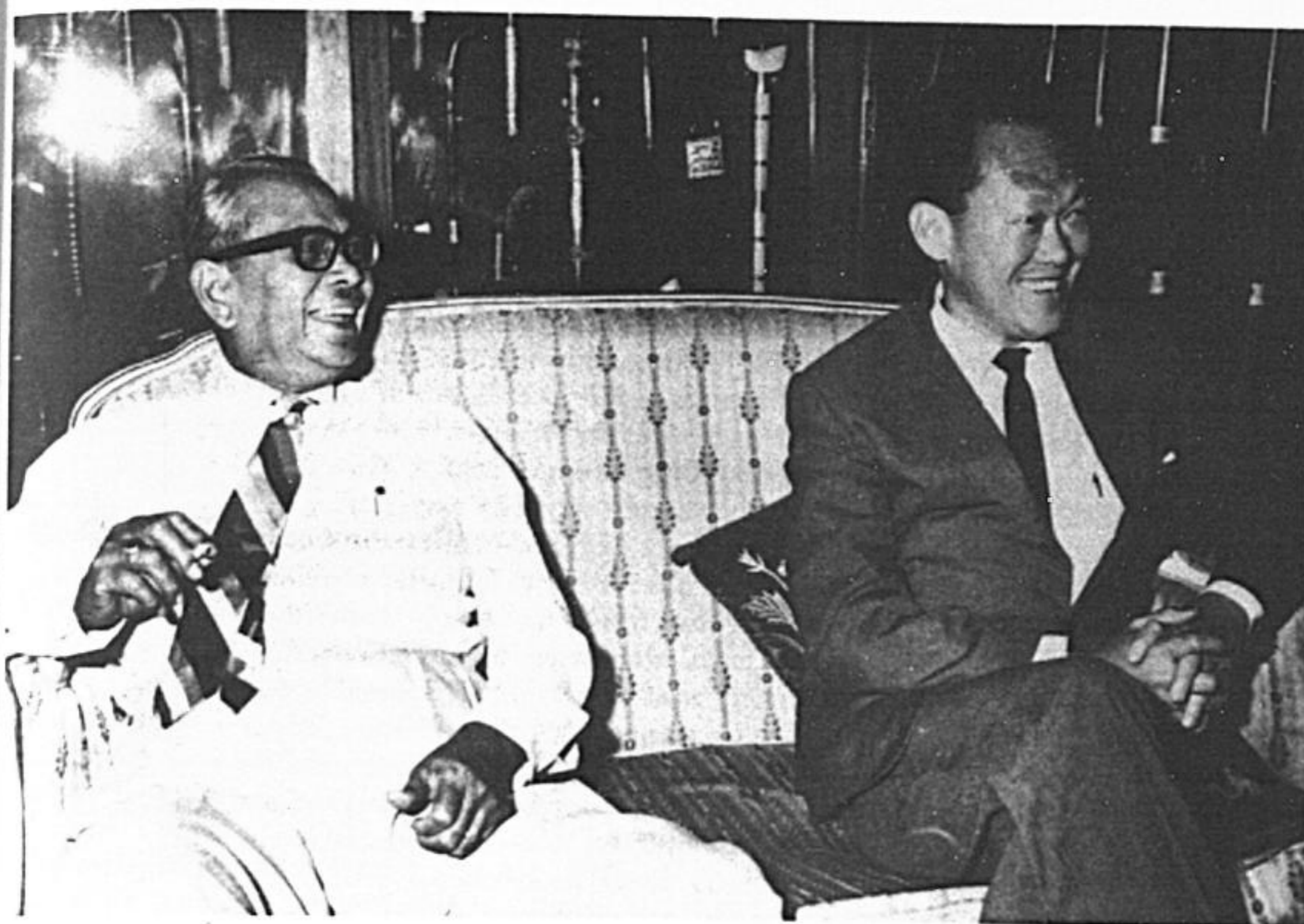
A year followed, crowded with diplomatic activity by Tunku in Manila, London and Kuala Lumpur. During this period, relations between the political leaders

of the Malayan Alliance and the PAP deteriorated. Protracted negotiations to decide the terms on which Singapore could enter Malaysia — notably between March and July 1963 — were increasingly unfriendly. Tunku was more tolerant than many of his colleagues, but he was greatly incensed by Lee Kuan Yew's unilateral proclamation of Malaysia, on 31 August 1963, ignoring Tunku's personal appeal to him to delay the announcement until 16 September, by which time U Thant's approval was likely to be received.

This irresponsible action augured ill for future Malaya-Singapore relations after the establishment of Malaysia.

In September 1963 no one on either side of the causeway imagined that in slightly less than two years' time Singapore would cease to be a part of Malaysia. But "Separation" was accepted by both governments on 9 September 1965.

What were the principal causes of this



Tunku meets Lee Kuan Yew at the Residency for a short discussion, 8 June 1966.

political catastrophe? An early and continuing factor was the fiery rhetoric of Lee Kuan Yew and his decision to enter PAP candidates in the 1964 general election. Election campaigns offer opportunities for the expression of intemperate opinions, which might otherwise remain unspoken. This rhetoric, admirably suited to the political scene in Singapore, soon antagonized Malayan leaders including the ever-tolerant Tunku.

Lee told one rally that Tunku was not of the calibre to lead the nation: at another rally he told his audience "We have to save the Tunku from his so-called friends", and at another that "the Chinese leadership in the Alliance by the MCA is replaceable". There were also many other attacks on the MCA and attempts to split the UMNO-MCA alliance.

As a result, the entry of the PAP into Malayan politics was viewed by the majority of voters with suspicion, and when the results were announced on 25 April 1964, the Alliance won 89 seats, out of a total of 104,

the MCA won 27 seats, which was more than in the 1959 elections and the PAP which had entered 9 candidates won only one seat and then only with a majority of less than 1,000.

Not long after the 1964 Federal Elections, the British Prime Minister — Douglas Home — took the opportunity of a visit to London by Tunku to urge him to form a coalition government with the PAP, and when Lee came to London in September, a leading article appeared in an influential London-based newspaper criticizing the slow pace of Chinese advancement to parity in Malaya, under Tunku's leadership. It has since been disclosed that during this visit Lee also met Mountbatten, Thornycroft, the British Minister of Defence, Sandys, the Commonwealth Secretary and Harold Wilson who by then had become Prime Minister.

Tunku decided to take action to de-escalate the incendiary atmosphere, and he arranged a meeting at which he, Tun Abdul Razak and Tan Siew Sin met Lee Kuan Yew, Lim Kim

San and Dr. Toh Chin Chye of the PAP. This was followed by an announcement in the press that a "Two-Year Truce" had been declared, and that both sides had agreed not to raise sensitive issues relating to the position of the communities in Malaysia.

This did not deter Dr. Toh from visiting Ipoh in November 1964 and holding talks with the President of the People's Progressive Party — S.P. Seenivasagam.

At the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the PAP in November 1964, Tunku sent a congratulatory message.

But in late November and early December 1964, financial and economic issues raised during the Budget debate in the Federal Parliament precipitated a fresh clash between Singapore and Malaya.

By mid-December inter-government cooperation between Singapore and the central government had deteriorated so seriously that mention of the possibility of Singapore's separation was discussed by ministers in both territories. Tunku spoke of a "break-away" on 9 December, but declared that it would be a calamity for both Singapore and Malaysia.

In early March 1965, the PAP adopted a different initiative, and announced an alliance of some political parties in Peninsular Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak with the PAP in opposition to the Malayan Alliance, and on 5 March, Lee Kuan Yew first used the words "a Malaysian Malaysia" which he declared was his objective.

On the same day, he left Singapore for a tour of Australia and New Zealand, as a guest of the two governments. Reports of his statements while overseas caused a recurrence of hostility towards him among peninsula politicians.

Lee visited Tunku a few days after his return but the meeting did nothing to improve the situation.

Very soon afterwards Tunku stated, at the Third Annual Malaysia Alliance Convention, "Singapore came into the Federation with its eyes open and they came in of their own accord. Now, having joined the Federation,

the party in power in Singapore must try to make Malaysia workable."

By May 1965, the "Truce" had ceased to function and on 9 May the PAP formed a Malaysia Solidarity Convention, with a non-Malay communal membership.

Six days after the foundation of the M.S.C. the 18th General Assembly of UMNO began. Tunku and Tun Dr. Ismail were severely criticized for being too tolerant and mild in their dealings with Lee Kuan Yew, and Tunku had difficulty in moderating resolutions demanding stronger action. His efforts were further handicapped by a speech by Lee Kuan Yew on 21 May, containing the words, "If we must have trouble, let us have it now. If we find that Malaysia cannot work, then we can make alternative arrangements."

The very next day, Lee stated publicly that the M.S.C. wanted the fundamental concept of Malaysian Malaysia to be written into the Constitution, and added that the reservations of certain rights for the Malays was not a fundamental provision of the Constitution.

A session of Parliament, which began on 26 May opened the floodgates for bitter exchanges. Tunku, almost alone, remained silent, and his self-control, while he deliberated on the future, was misinterpreted in some quarters as a sign of sympathy for Singapore.

While this belligerent session of Parliament continued, Tunku flew to London to attend a session of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, but on 25 June, he succumbed to a severe attack of shingles and was admitted to hospital in great pain. He was obliged reluctantly to spend the next fifty-four days in hospital or recuperating in Switzerland.

While he was convalescing, Tunku wrote to Tun Abdul Razak and asked him to discuss the subject of separation with the three other senior members of the Cabinet, Tunku also asked him to have a discussion on this subject with Lee Kuan Yew.

Tunku was not aware that Tun Razak had already met Lee, at the latter's request, a few days earlier, but had reached no agreement

to halt the continuing verbal war and had not raised any other subject.

It was evident that Lee, after winning the second Hong Lim by-election on 10 July felt himself to be even more securely in control of the PAP and its policies.

Tun Razak replied to Tunku on 22 July 1965 telling him that the four most senior cabinet ministers, Dr. Ismail, Tan Siew Sin, V.T. Sambanthan and he himself were unanimously of the opinion that no agreement with the Singapore Government was possible and that Singapore should be separated from Malaya.

Tunku, in London, may still have entertained the hope that an alternative solution could be found. But he now wrote back to Tun Razak requesting him to instruct the Attorney-General to prepare the necessary amendment to the Constitution, and other legal documents, and to arrange for Parliament to be recalled.

Before Tunku returned, Dr. Goh Keng Swee came to see Tun Razak and told him that, in his opinion, the only way to prevent a head-on collision between Malaya and Singapore was to separate the two governments.

Before he left London Tunku explained to a representative of the *London Times* that he should not regard Lee Kuan Yew as representing all the Chinese of Malaysia and added that Lee was in conflict with a large Chinese opposition party in Singapore as well as the principal Chinese political party in Malaya.

Tunku eventually arrived back in Kuala Lumpur early on 6 August and met his four most senior cabinet colleagues later the same day. Tunku then wrote to Harold Wilson, who had succeeded Douglas Home as British Prime Minister, telling him that he and his ministers had decided on separation. He added, "... we have arranged to set up a Joint Council of Defence." He continued, "I propose to sponsor Singapore's admission to the United Nations and also as a member of the Commonwealth."

Both the Alliance and the PAP leaders

recognized that only Tunku could make the final decision and they had awaited his return. PAP leaders were in Kuala Lumpur, Lee Kuan Yew was at Cameron Highlands.

On the evening of 6 August, Dr. Goh Keng Swee and his colleagues who were in Kuala Lumpur were told of the Alliance decision. Lee Kuan Yew, who was informed by telephone motored to Kuala Lumpur early the next morning. He was advised by Dr. Goh that the decision was final, but he drove to see Tunku at about midday on Saturday 7 August.

He found Tunku adamant. Tunku produced the "Separation Agreement" and handed it to him. Lee signed it, but asked Tunku for a note which he could show to any of his own cabinet colleagues who might be unwilling to sign.

This was prepared and was signed immediately by Tunku. The document was signed by all the PAP ministers and was delivered to Tunku the next morning.

8 August was a Sunday. A meeting of the Alliance National Council had been convened that morning. It was attended by representatives from all over the Malaysian territories. Tunku informed the Council of the separation decision.

An hour later Tunku met Alliance Ministers and State Chief Ministers (*Menteris Besar*) and informed them that a Separation Bill would be presented in Parliament. The statement was received without any adverse comment.

The same morning news of the decision reached the British High Commissioner, Lord Head, and he made a number of attempts to meet Tunku, without success. That night Tunku, Tun Razak and Tun Tan Siew Sin had accepted an invitation to a dinner party. Lord Head drove to the house of Tunku's host, gained admission and made a last minute appeal for a delay. It was not entertained.

Tunku was due at Parliament House at 10 a.m. on Monday 9 August. At 8.45 a.m. Lord Head arrived at the Residency to make another appeal for postponement. It was

equally unsuccessful.

At 9.30 a.m. Tunku met Alliance MPs and told them of the separation decision. He asked for at least a two-thirds majority, which was needed under the Malayan Constitution. They then moved into the Chamber. After a two-hour debate, the Separation Bill was passed by 126 votes to none. A few hours later the Senate approved the Bill unanimously.

In Singapore, at 10 a.m. the same morning, members of the House of Representatives assembled to hear Lee Kuan Yew announce the Separation of Singapore from Malaysia. He provided no opportunity for debate. The decision was final.



Tunku signs the joint Defence Agreement with Britain, 3 October 1967.



The 1969 Elections

Elections to Parliament were held in 1955, 1961 and 1964. The Alliance captured all the seats except one in 1955. They maintained a formidable majority in 1961 and won 89 seats out of 104 in 1964.

But between 1964 and 1969, many changes and conflicts occurred. Foremost of these was the emergence of a larger, better organized non-Malay opposition. They included dissidents from the MCA, a Malayan offshoot of Lee Kuan Yew's People's Action Party from Singapore, and a vigorous Labour Party. The Malay Pan-Malayan Islamic Party had extended its influence, notably in Kelantan, Terengganu and Kedah, and left-wing activists deriving their political views and some finance from communist sources were more numerous.

In 1968, Tunku was both Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs. The majority of his Cabinet were men of middle age who had served with Tunku since 1955. Tun Abdul Razak was still Deputy Prime Minister and had adopted the Ministry for Home Affairs when Tun Dr. Ismail resigned

in 1967. Tun Tan Siew Sin, President of the MCA was still Minister of Finance. Tun V. T. Sambanthan still led the Malayan Indian Congress.

The political structure of the Alliance was stable, reliable but uninspiring to the younger generation of voters. Indonesian Confrontation which helped to rally support in 1964 ended in August 1966 and although the Philippines' claim to Sabah had been revived, it was of no interest to voters in the peninsula. But there were other incidents and developments which preceded the opening of the election campaign in 1969 and which influenced public opinion and benefited the opposition.

While Confrontation was at its height, six young Chinese from Pontian, on the west coast of Johore, were recruited locally, trained in Sumatera and were then parachuted back near Labis, further north, in September 1965. They were captured soon afterwards by Malaysian Armed Forces and were later charged in Court with treason and were sentenced to death.

Their appeals failed but their defence

Tunku campaigning in the 1969 Elections.



lawyer, Miss P.G. Lim, sister of a prominent opposition M.P. filed an appeal for clemency. The affairs of these six young men were then taken up by opposition politicians led by Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, M.P. for Batu near Kuala Lumpur.

The Attorney-General informed the press that only a Ruler of a state or the Governor of a settlement could pardon a prisoner, once his appeal to a High Court had failed.

Tunku was in London attending a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and Dr. Tan Chee Khoon sent a cable to him asking him to intervene. Miss Lim's appeal and Dr. Tan Chee Khoon's cable were given wide publicity in the Malayan press.

Subsequent press reports added that these men had admitted that they had been recruited by a member of the Socialist Front in Pontian and had been sent to Sumatra for training in the use of firearms and in parachuting before they returned. Dr. Tan Chee Khoon then took up the cause of five other Chinese who had been convicted, sentenced to death and were awaiting execution, also in Johore. The eleven men then became the subject of mounting political polemics.

The vigour with which the opposition supported an appeal for clemency aroused widespread resistance to any show of mercy among leaders of UMNO and senior government officials. Tunku, from London, asked the Attorney-General to restudy the cases. While the opposing political parties continued their demands, the Johore Pardons Board met and rejected the appeal for clemency on 11 July. A cable was then despatched, in the name of the parents of six of the condemned men, to the United Nations Human Rights Committee. Other episodes in the political campaign for pardon included a signature campaign, a request that a new Pardons Board be appointed, a telegram to the Sultan of Johore, and cables to the Pope, to U Thant and General Suharto.

None of the senior members of cabinet were in favour of intervention. Tun Razak had taken over the portfolio of Home Affairs since



Tun Tan Siew Sin, a member of Tunku's cabinet from 1957 to 1970, first as Minister for Commerce & Industry, and later as Minister of Finance.



Tun Dr. Ismail was a member of Tunku's cabinet from 1959 until he resigned on grounds of ill-health in 1967. He rejoined Tunku's cabinet in May 1969.



Tunku welcomes Halie Selassie of Ethiopia (1968).

Tunku receives Mrs. Gandhi, Prime Minister of India (1968).



the resignation of Tun Dr. Ismail, and he waited with growing anxiety for Tunku's decision. Amnesty International cabled Tunku on 19 July. The help of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization was requested and Dr. Tan Chee Khoon appealed to the Conference of Rulers. Two more condemned men (Malays) then came to public notice. They had parachuted from Sumatra to Sitiawan in Perak in 1964 and were also awaiting execution.

Tunku returned from London and listened to the views of Tun Razak and other cabinet colleagues. They were nearly all firmly opposed to any intervention. But Tunku was by nature a man of deep compassion, and the opportunity to save the lives of eleven young Chinese and two young Malays proved irresistible. He wrote to the Sultan of Johore, the Regent of Perak and the two State Pardons Boards.

He pointed out that Confrontation had ended and the men had waited in acute misery for over two years, but this personal request for pardon was rejected.

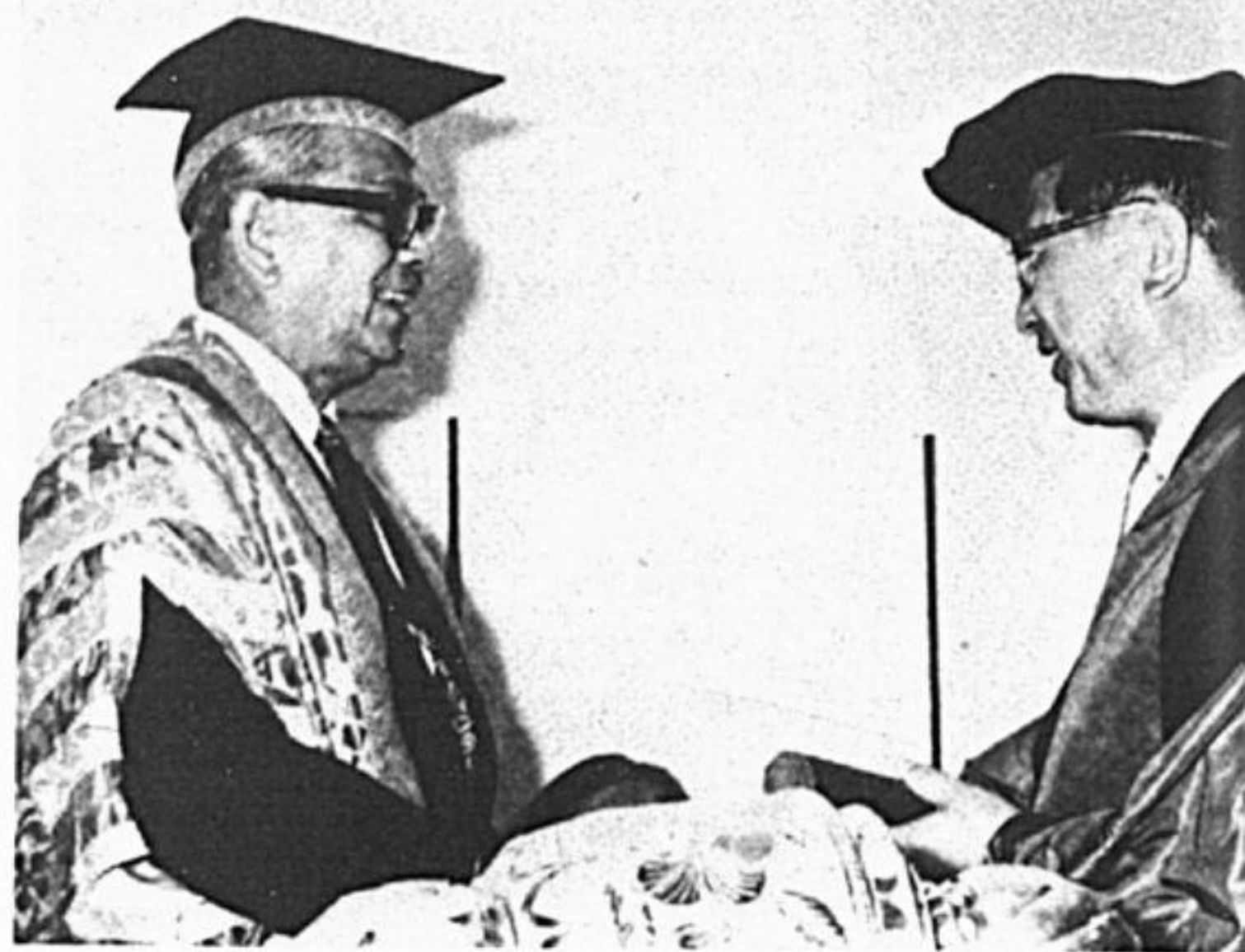
Opposition politicians urged Tunku to renew his efforts. The DAP planned a "Mercy March" of the thirteen volunteers who had collected 10,000 signatures but the police refused permission.

Preparations for the executions went forward. The parents were requested to come to the prison in Johore Bahru to sign documents.

A demonstration by Chinese near the centre of Kuala Lumpur called for pardon. Thirteen youths were arrested and requests to hold other demonstrations were refused by the police. The spectre of public disorder grew more menacing.

During the first ten days of August, Tunku, in isolated prominence sought a solution in harassed meditation.

The political campaign, organized by opposition parties, spread from Kuala Lumpur to other urban areas. International organizations, with slender opportunities to assess the merits of the subject, continued to urge the Prime Minister to save the lives of these young men. Malay opinion, represented



Tunku conferred with the Honorary Degree of the Premier of South Korea

by UMNO and voiced in the Malay press could see no good reason for clemency.

Opinions diametrically opposite, expressed forcefully by two communities, threatened to erupt into inter-communal clashes.

Tunku's personal inclination was to show mercy. The young men had been in prison for two years, their execution drawing ever closer. Confrontation had ended and friendly relations with Indonesia had been restored. To pardon these men now could be regarded as another gesture of goodwill to a former enemy.

In the cabinet, not all his ministers opposed intervention. If Tunku allowed the law to take its course and serious inter-racial clashes resulted, he would feel guilty and might be forever blamed for the consequent catastrophe.

Tunku's decision took the form of an appeal to the public of all communities for tolerance. He reinforced his earlier warning of the disastrous results which might follow any further breaches of the peace.

It was a strongly-worded warning and, as he intended, it reached the Sultan of Johore and the Regent of Perak. Two days later, the Johore Pardons Board held an emergency meeting and postponed the execution. A week later, the Sultan commuted the death

sentences of eleven Chinese to life imprisonment. The Regent of Perak followed his example early in September and commuted the death sentence on the two Malays.

Tunku's indirect solution was greeted with vociferous praise by his political opponents. His cabinet colleagues accepted his unilateral actions, but many Malays criticized him and remarked among themselves that Tunku was making too many concessions to the Chinese. The MCA refrained from comment, but they viewed the consequent popularity of opposition leaders with dismay.

Not long afterwards, Tunku was at the centre of another controversy — championing a new National Language Act in which he supported the teaching of English as a second language and rejected the demands of Malay leaders headed by Syed Nasir bin Ismail of Johore, that Malay should not only be accepted as the national language but should be the sole medium of official communication.

No further concessions to the Chinese, he urged, should be allowed. Syed Nasir's views were widely circulated and equally strongly supported by Malays of both UMNO and the PMIP. Syed Nasir became a popular figure and spoke with increasing vigour, often criticizing Tunku.

But Tunku, adopting again the role of a far-sighted national leader, introduced his National Language Act in Parliament in March 1967 and spoke eloquently in Malay in its support. Tun Dr. Ismail, who was about to retire on grounds of ill health, spoke in favour of Tunku's Act and when the debate ended, Syed Nasir and some of his closest supporters, Dato' Harun Idris, Dr. Mahathir and Abdul Rahman Yaakub preferred to be absent. Tunku again showed his magnanimity, after the passage of the Act in Parliament, by accepting a letter of apology from Syed Nasir and permitting him to continue to head the Language and Literature Bureau. But Malay opposition to the Act continued to weaken the support of school teachers for the Alliance with grave results in the 1969 elections.

The long period which was provided for the May election campaign favoured the opposition and gave them the opportunity to exploit sensitive issues with steadily increasing irresponsibility.

After a short "honeymoon" period of relative goodwill and moderation, communal issues were given increasing prominence and inter-racial antagonism was deliberately stimulated.

The PMIP operating mainly in the rural areas demanded exclusive privileges for the Malays and their language. The DAP operating in the towns campaigned for a "Malaysian Malaysia" and declared that the MCA could never give effective support to the legitimate claims of Malaysian Chinese.

Tunku, Tun Razak, Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tun Sambanthan toured the peninsula and before long realized the gravity of the political situation, but they could not control the increasingly vicious and irresponsible whirlwind of hostility. During the later period of the campaign, Tunku was accused of disloyalty to the Malay population and to the Muslim religion: charges which caused him great mental suffering. In Kedah, character assassination took the form of illustrated leaflets showing Tunku sitting at a table, holding chopsticks and facing a roasted pig. Another pamphlet still more widely distributed in Kedah showed Khir Johari, the Minister of Education dressed in Mandarin robes.

Tunku and other Alliance leaders devoted the last few days to their constituencies, unaware of the events which were creating a major crisis in Kuala Lumpur.

National security was in the hands of the Minister for Home Affairs, Tun Abdul Razak. His Permanent Secretary was Tan Sri Sheikh Abdullah. The Inspector-General of Police was Tan Sri Mohd. Salleh. His security chief — the Head of the Special Branch at police headquarters was Encik Abdul Rahman bin Hashim and the Chief Police Officer, Selangor, was Dato' Mohd. Ariff. It was their responsibility to inform the Minister of Home Affairs — far away in Pahang — of the skilful



Tunku receiving the Freedom of the City of London.





plotting of a group of communist supporters lurking on the outskirts of the city.

An event which occurred on 4 May provided a golden opportunity for which leaders of the extreme left were waiting. The speed and skill with which they took advantage of it was clear evidence of the size and efficiency of their organization.

A boycott campaign had been launched by the Labour Party. A branch had been formed in the Chinese shanty village which formed part of a long established township called Kepong, the headquarters of the Government Forest Research Institute and six miles from Kuala Lumpur. In the early hours of 4 May, a group of Kepong Chinese youths were sent to paint "Boycott the Election" in

large letters on the main road.

A three-man mobile police patrol saw them at work and tried to arrest them. The slogan-painters resisted vigorously, using pieces of firewood and metal bars and in the struggle one of the police fired a shot which hit a member of the Kepong group. The Chinese disappeared into the darkness carrying their wounded comrade. The youth was hurried to the Kuala Lumpur General Hospital, but he died.

News of the death of the young man spread rapidly in Kepong and was immediately recognized by communist sympathizers as the golden opportunity to create disorder for which they had been waiting.

The father of the dead man was advised to

Tunku campaigning in Kedah.



leave all the funeral arrangements to members of the Kepong Branch of the Labour Party and instead of bringing the body back to his house, it was taken from the hospital mortuary to a well known "death house", in Sultan Street, in the heart of the Chinese business area of the town.

Processions are a normal part of a Chinese funeral, but if they take place in a town, a police permit is required. The father (Lim) did not come to ask for a permit until 6 May, and when he did so the date chosen for the procession was Saturday, 10 May, the day of the General Election. He was told that the date could not be approved, for obvious reasons.

Police Intelligence officers were by then aware that Labour Party officials in Kepong were taking an active part in the organization of the funeral procession. This information was reported to police headquarters and the request for a funeral procession through the town was referred to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The police would have preferred to refuse the application, but in view of the tense situation in the town they needed the support of the Minister.

The Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, was far away, campaigning in Pahang and Kelantan, and when he was contacted, he gave instructions that the police must avoid any action or restriction which might precipitate Left Wing public protests immediately before Election Day.

Tunku, whose memory of his dialogue with Chin Peng in December 1955 had remained undimmed, and with it an enduring recognition of the communist threat to the stability of Malaya, was not consulted. If he had been, the decision might have been different.

When Lim, the father, returned the next day accompanied by two members of the Labour Party and asked that the procession be held on 9 May, he was told that this could be approved, but that he must return the following day for the permit.

Lim did not return the next day, but two members of the Kepong Branch of the Labour

Party, appeared, stating that they had come in his place. They were accompanied by the Malay president of the University of Malaya's Students' Union. They had come to take delivery of the permit. The suspicions of the police were reinforced, but their instructions from the Ministry were explicit: all they could do was to restrict the route which the procession must follow and to limit the number of persons who could take part. These conditions were entered on the permit.

The Labour Party members were critical of the limitations, but accepted them with a bad grace. The senior of the two remarked, "We don't want to see any of your men wearing red caps: they might annoy some of our members." He referred to men of the Federal Reserve Unit, a tough section of the police force who were trained to handle riots and civil disturbances: they wore peaked caps with red tops. They were accordingly withdrawn.

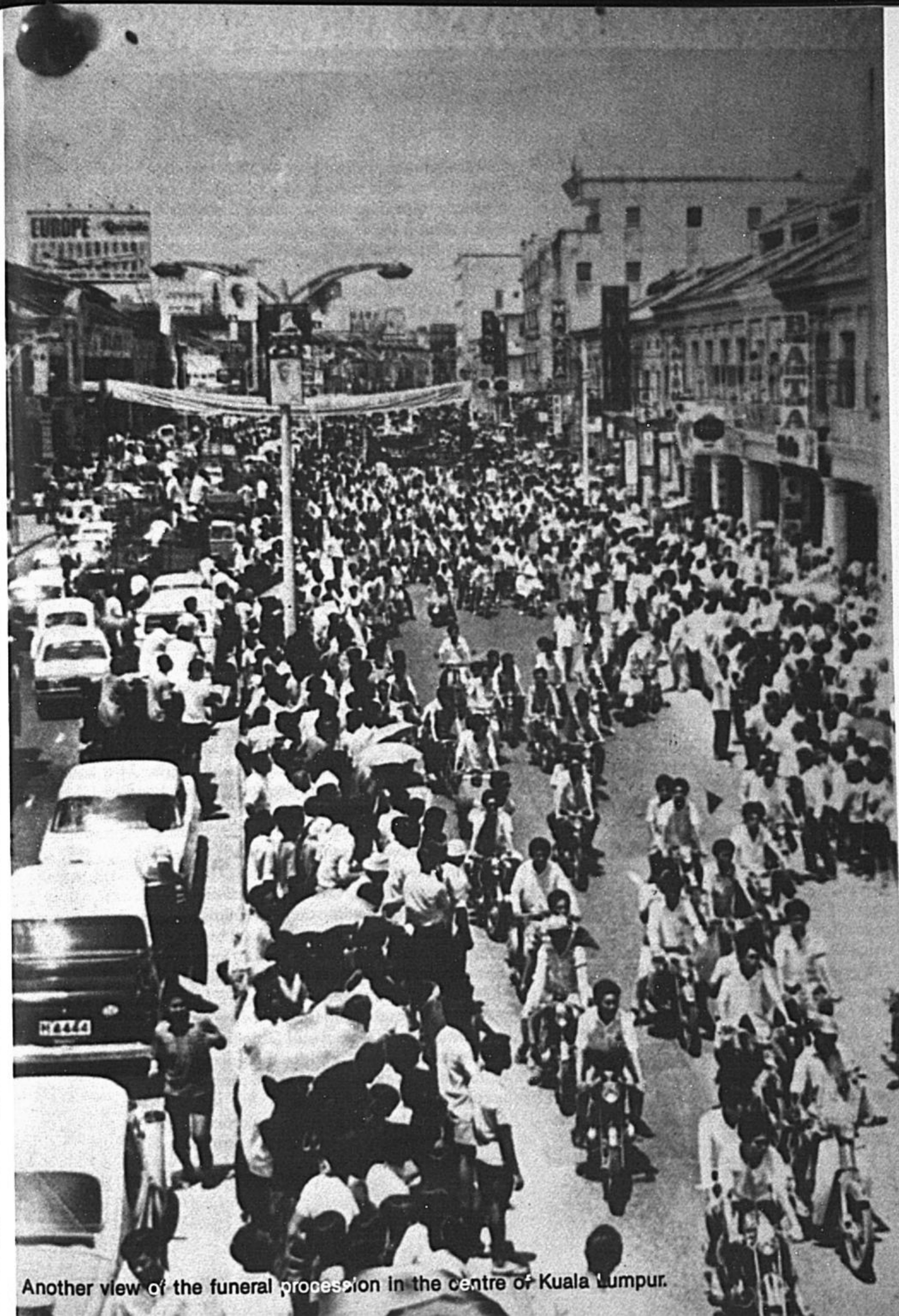
Preparations were already well advanced when the local Labour Party officials returned to Kepong with the permit.

In a conference in Kepong that night, it was agreed that they could safely ignore the conditions written on the document, and an entirely different route through the centre of Kuala Lumpur was chosen.

With the benefit of hindsight and subsequent investigations, we can form an acceptable idea of the events which took place in the planning headquarters. Chinese Secret Societies, clandestine groups of armed thugs, flourished unobtrusively in every town in Malaya. The Chinese community was well aware of their strength and their ruthless efficiency. The planners sent out an urgent invitation to these Secret Societies to assemble on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur on 8 May. Branches of the Labour Party were urged to send as many members as possible. Workers who could draw and paint Chinese characters on banners were allotted specified tasks and slogans. Five hundred young Chinese who owned or could borrow motorcycles were enlisted to contribute a deafening escort. Well-wishers were urged to join the



The funeral procession in Kuala Lumpur, 9 May 1969.



Another view of the funeral procession in the centre of Kuala Lumpur.

procession along the route.

At 9.55 a.m. on 9 May, the head of the procession left the "death house", a banner bearing the Labour Party symbol, and a portrait of the dead man on a large placard, preceded the coffin. Almost from the outset no attempt was made to follow the authorized route. The head of the procession turned into Petaling Street and led those who followed through the very centre of the town. They stopped frequently to enable trained Chinese speakers to address the crowds, mainly Chinese, who lined the route. Portraits of Mao Tze Tung and sayings from his Red Book were carried and repeated. Tunku's name, his government and the police were vilified. Within an hour, the members taking part in the procession had increased to at least 5,000.

At about noon the head of the procession had reached the main crossroads along Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, in the heart of the town. Here they were joined by the motorcyclists, a formidable and spectacular supplement. Provocative insults were repeatedly directed at the Malay policemen who accompanied the procession but who maintained a remarkably high level of tolerance.

The changed route through the main streets had one advantage. The procession thus completely avoided the Malay residential area. It was however witnessed by many Malays, pedestrians or passengers in cars or buses which were overtaken by the huge crowd and waited patiently for it to pass. And when it reached the MARA and UMNO headquarters where many Malays worked, the police had difficulty in preventing Malay reprisals.

By nightfall the body had been buried, the procession had dispersed and the organizers were congratulating each other on the fact that in the space of four days they had assembled the largest and most spectacular demonstration of Labour Party authority in the whole period of the election campaign. The number of people who took part was officially estimated to total 10,000.

It was a near miracle that no outbreak of

inter-communal violence took place that day, but the terrible events of 13 May can be directly linked to the criminal excesses of provocation and direct insults perpetrated during the so-called "Funeral Procession" on 9 May.

The general election on the following day was carried out without a single incident, in spite of the fact that hundreds of trained agitators and secret society gangsters were still in Kuala Lumpur.

But as election results were reported throughout the night and on the following morning, the Alliance headquarters found that it had lost 23 seats in Parliament and 79 in the various State Assemblies.

A relatively new political party named "Gerakan Rakyat" which included Lim Chong Eu, a former MCA leader and Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, a former strongman in the Labour Party, won control of Penang.

The Gerakan and their campaign allies, the DAP had won unexpected successes in Selangor, and Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, leader of the Gerakan in the state, applied to the Kuala Lumpur Police for a permit to hold a "Victory Parade" on 12 May.

In spite of the widespread forebodings, the procession on 9 May and the General Election on 10 May had passed without a single breach of the peace. There seemed, therefore, to be no justification for refusing the application and a permit was issued for a "Victory Parade" along certain specified streets, ending at 8 p.m.

Party supporters, some mounted on small trade vehicles and some on foot, followed the route laid down by the police, but they combined shouts of victory with jeers and insulting remarks aimed at Malays, wherever they were encountered.

When the main body dispersed, groups of trouble-makers, Indian and Chinese, toured the main Malay residential area and deliberately insulted the residents, sometimes accompanying their remarks with indecent gestures. No breach of the peace occurred, but the deliberate provocation contributed powerfully to a demand, the next morning —

13 May — for a Malay counter-procession: a demand which could not be refused.

There is reason to doubt whether senior officers at police headquarters recognized the gravity of the emergency that morning, and even in the afternoon the Army had not yet been put on the alert.

Tunku, after a brief interval for rest in Alor Setar, returned to Kuala Lumpur at midday on 13 May. He had retained his seat, but with a much reduced majority. Khir Johari, in spite of scurrilous attempts at character assassination by the PMIP was returned with a majority of 375. Another former Minister, Senu Abdul Rahman, was defeated, so was Dr. Mahathir, both by Kedah voters.

Tunku knew nothing about the processions in Kuala Lumpur on the 9 and 12 May or the tense atmosphere in the city. He was promptly informed by his principal private secretary of those events and was told that a Malay procession was to be held the same evening. At Sri Taman, Tun Razak received a telephone call from Dato' Harun Idris, the former Chief Minister of Selangor and now awaiting a compromise pact with the Gerakan before retaining that post. Harun told Tun Razak that a Malay procession through part of Kuala Lumpur had been demanded by UMNO members, to redress the insults and provocation heaped on them during the last week. It could not be refused. The procession was to start from his house at dusk.

Before the Malay procession could move off along Jalan Raja Muda, a minor clash between Malays and Chinese occurred at Setapak, three miles to the North. Exaggerated reports of its gravity generated other violence near the Malay residential settlement. Dato' Harun telephoned Tun Razak again to report that he could not control his followers. At about the same time, Tunku received a

surprise visit from the police officer-in-charge of traffic to tell him that a curfew had been imposed on the whole town.

Tunku telephoned Tun Razak and they drove to the Selangor Police Headquarters and listened to security reports as they came in. They were horrifying and showed that the violence which had so nearly erupted on the 9 and 12 May was now widespread.

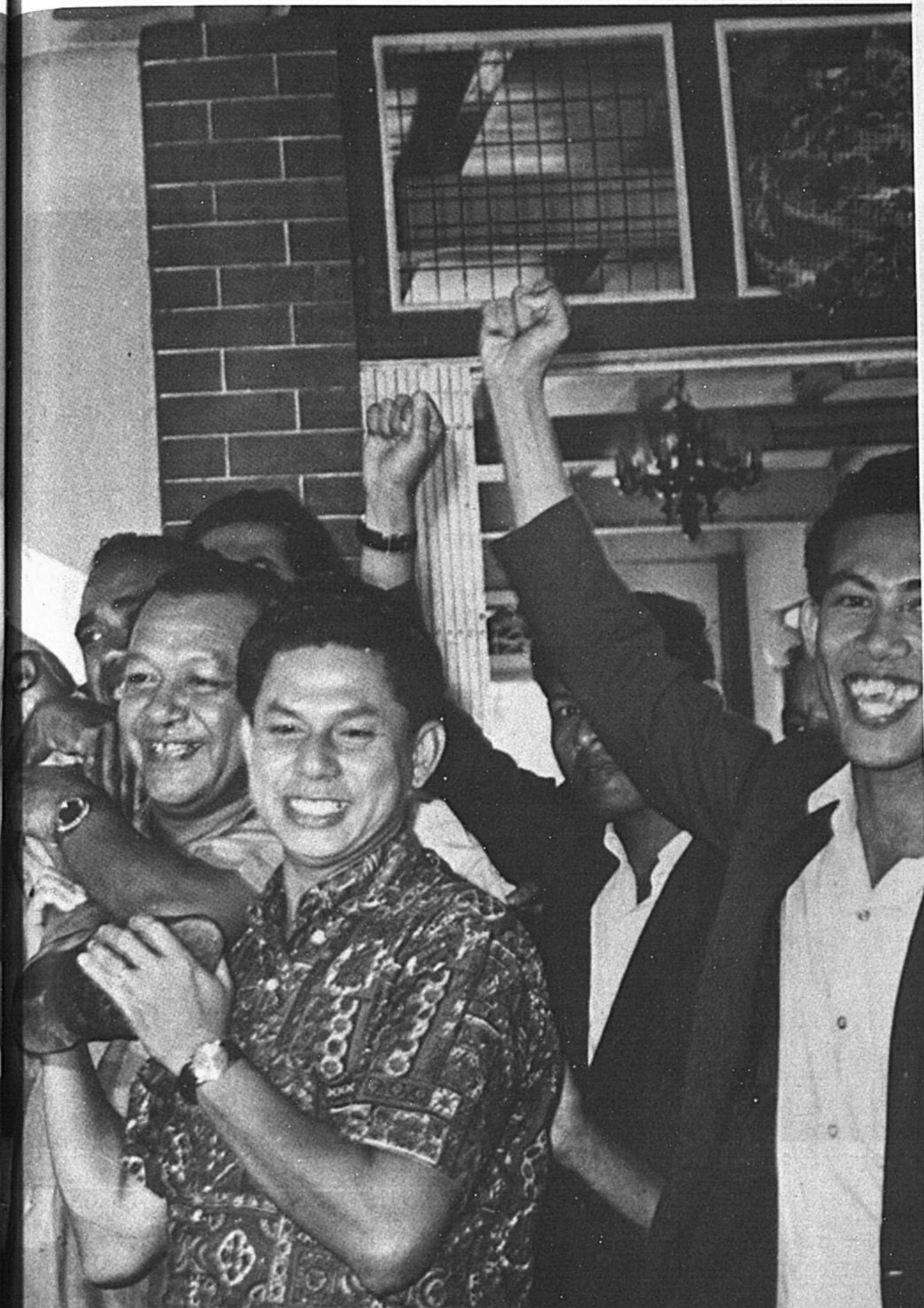
Tunku returned to the Residency to say his prayers and then arranged with Radio Malaysia to send an official to record impromptu a message to be broadcast to the nation. Tunku then drove to the Television headquarters and arrangements were made to interrupt the normal programme. Tunku was by now deeply distressed and he had difficulty in controlling his emotions. He spoke both in Malay and English, repeating his appeal to all Malaysians to prevent the violence from spreading and suggested the formation of goodwill committees, throughout the country if necessary. It was then 10.30 p.m.

In the days and weeks which followed, many people searched for a scapegoat.

No serious breaches of the peace or acts of violence took place in any other part of the peninsula on or after 13 May. It should have been abundantly clear that the atrocities of 13 May were the direct results of the two processions on 8 May and 12 May and that the principal responsibility for the mammoth funeral procession on 8 May and for the excesses which occurred during the latter part of the Gerakan-DAP 'Victory Parade' procession on the 12 May lay with communist agitators and left-wing extremists who wished to disrupt the peace of the country as the communists had hoped to do during the Emergency.

To blame Tunku, as some people did, was to ignore the facts and was an act of deplorable ingratitude for a life dedicated to the service of the nation since 1951.





Retirement





Tunku rose at dawn on 14 May, after a sleepless night. He devoted rather longer than usual to his prayers and then moved out to the broad verandah facing the town.

The Residency had been sited in 1880 on a hill, separated by the Gombak River from an overgrown tin-mining village of attap-roofed huts.

His house still commanded a panoramic view, but the waterlogged settlement of the 1880s had been replaced by rows of modern shophouses and offices, humming with activity. Tunku looked at the familiar scene, but the whole area was now silent.

During the night Tunku had identified his immediate priorities. It was Wednesday — Cabinet day — it was also the day when he would normally have asked for an audience with His Majesty, at which, as the leader of the successful political party, he would receive the Royal Command to form a new government.

This was manifestly inappropriate, but he must give His Majesty a brief report of the

Tunku tenders his resignation as Prime Minister to the new Yang di-Pertuan Agong in the presence of other Rulers and Chief Ministers, 21 September 1970.



Members of the National Goodwill Council with Tunku in 1970.

action which had been taken and inform him of the proclamation of a State of Emergency which was being prepared and which he would be asked to sign later in the day.

He walked slowly down the private stairs leading to his personal office. While he sat in deep thought, Tun Abdul Razak telephoned: Tun Dr. Ismail had spoken to him late on the previous night, offering his services in any capacity. Tun Razak suggested that he and Tun Dr. Ismail should come to the Residency, as soon as possible for a discussion, and that he should also bring Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tun Sambanthan.

An hour later the Directorate had reassembled. The priorities were speedily agreed: a Declaration of a State of Emergency, covering the whole peninsula, the temporary suspension of Parliamentary government, the creation of a National Operations Council (soon to be known as N.O.C.) and the postponement of elections in Sabah and Sarawak. Tun Razak proposed that the Operations Council should be chaired and largely manned by the military, but Tunku did not agree. Tunku asked Tun Razak to accept the chairmanship of N.O.C. While he, as Prime Minister, would continue to preside over a new cabinet, still to be selected and gazetted.

Tunku receives King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, June 1970.





Tunku and King Faisal at a Banquet given by the Deputy Yang di-Pertuan Agong at Istana Negara, 7 June 1970.

Tunku took the proclamation of a State of Emergency, prepared hurriedly by the Solicitor-General, to the palace. While Tun Razak informed members of the previous cabinet of the action which was being taken.

Tunku, the humanitarian, gave directions for the immediate setting up of a distribution centre where essential food would be assembled, parcelled and distributed to areas which were still under a 24-hour curfew where thousands of people of all communities were confined. Tunku chose a large secondary school at the foot of the drive leading to the Residency and called for volunteers over the radio to man it.

Later in the day, Tunku revisited the Radio and Television headquarters and told the public what was being done. He then drove to the Selangor Police Headquarters to obtain information about the security situation in Penang and Melaka where minor incidents had been reported.

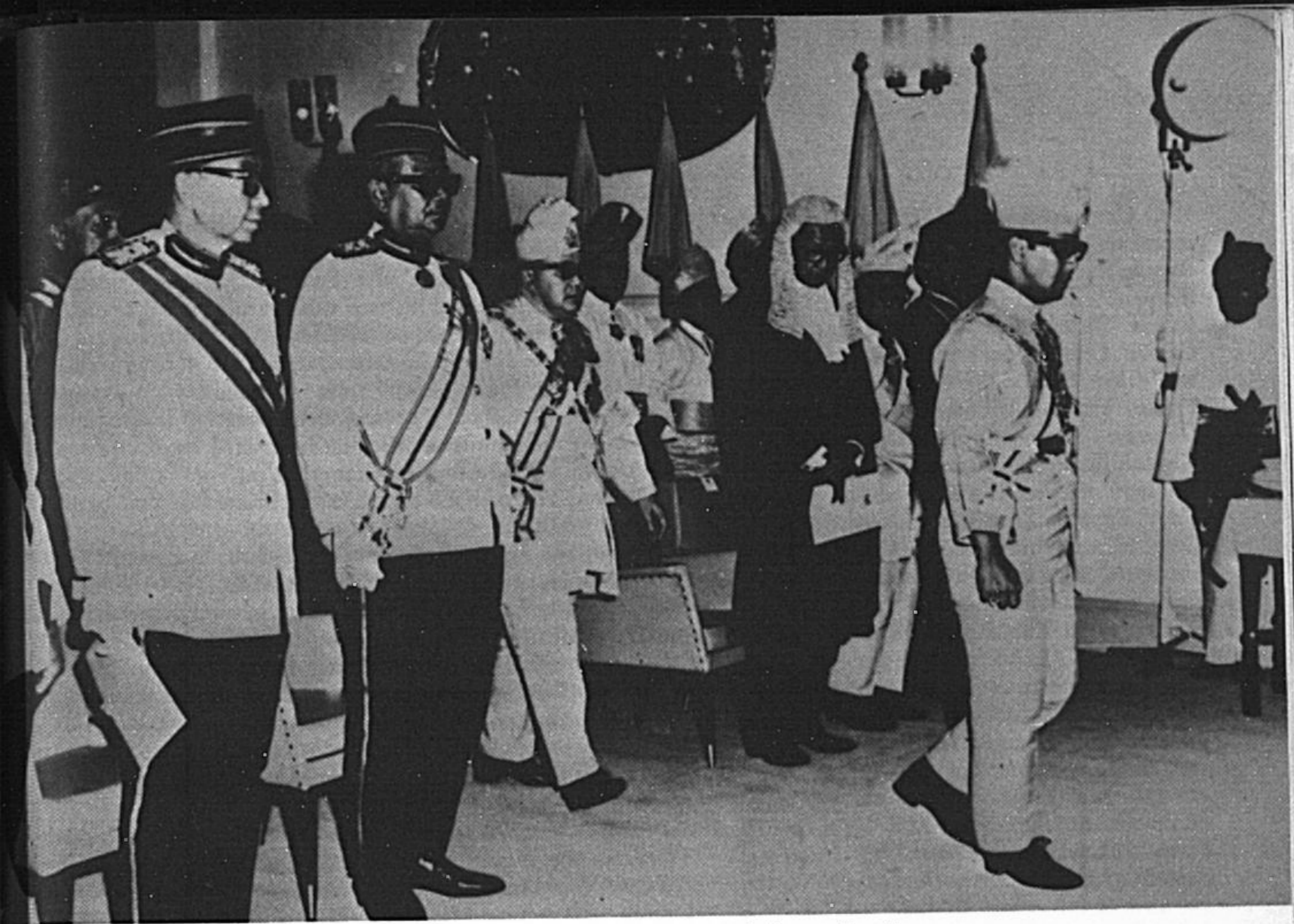
On the following day, membership of

Opp. page

Tunku enters the Great Hall to receive the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Oxford, 29 June 1970.







His Royal Highness Sultan Halim Shah, the Sultan of Kedah, followed by the Deputy Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Sultan of Kelantan, proceeding to the Throne Room in the Palace, to take the Oath of Office. They were followed by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister and Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister, 21 September 1970.

Opp. page
Tunku receives D.M.N. from outgoing Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Sultan Ismail of Terengganu.

N.O.C. was finalized. It included three members of the previous cabinet, — Tun Razak, Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tun Sambanthan and a former Cabinet Minister, Tun Dr. Ismail. To these were added General Tunku Osman, Chief of the Armed Forces Staff, Tan Sri Mohd. Salleh, the Inspector-General of Police, Tan Sri Abdullah bin Shamsuddin, Director-General of Public Services, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Lt. General Dato' Ibrahim Ismail as Executive Officer, Dato' Hamzah bin Dato' Abu Samah, newly-appointed Minister of Information and Broadcasting was also included.

That night Tunku heard that two Malay trishaw-riders in Melaka had been assaulted by Chinese thugs and he flew to Melaka the next morning, satisfied himself that there was no danger of repercussions, and then drove to UMNO headquarters. There he met hundreds of Malays who were unable to return home owing to the curfew. Many of them had come to Melaka to take part in the traditional custom of purification at the seafront on the last day of the month of *safar*.

Tunku was informed later that a member of an opposition party had paid the thugs to assault the Malays.

As soon as Tunku returned to Kuala Lumpur, he called a meeting of senior cabinet ministers and announced the formal appointment of Tun Abdul Razak as Director of Operations and his appointment was gazetted the next day.

Tunku then drove on to the Merdeka Stadium where many refugees, including some of those who lost their houses on the night of 13 May had been given shelter.

Still later Tunku made another broadcast over Radio and Television Malaya and announced the Declaration of a State of Emergency and the introduction of a set of Emergency Regulations, which he urged everyone to obey. He also announced the setting up of the National Operations Council and stated that arrangements were being made to appoint Operations Councils at state level. He ended his broadcast with the words

"May God help us to restore peace to the country which we love."

Tunku, in consultation with Tun Razak, selected the members of his new cabinet and the names were gazetted on 30 May.

On the same day, all the cabinet members assembled at Parliament House to take their Oaths of Office. The members were: Tunku, Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports; Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Acting Minister of Finance; Tun Dr. Ismail, Minister of Home Affairs; Tun Tan Siew Sin, Minister with Special Functions; Tun Sambanthan, Minister of Works, Posts & Telecommunications; Tan Sri Sardon, Minister of Health; Tan Sri Ong Yoke Lin (who was still in Washington), Minister without Portfolio; Mohamed Khir Johari, Minister of Commerce and Industry and Acting Minister of Local Government and Housing; Khaw Kai Boh, Minister without Portfolio; Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah, Minister of Sarawak Affairs; V. Manickavasagam, Minister of Labour and Acting Minister of Transport; Dato' Mohd Ghazali bin Jawi, Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives; Dato' Abdul Rahman Yaakub, Minister of Education; Encik Abdul Ghafar bin Baba, Minister of National and Rural Development and Minister of Lands and Mines; Dato' Ganie Gilong, Minister of Justice; Lee Siok Yew, Minister without Portfolio; Dato' Hamzah bin Dato' Abu Samah, Minister of Information and Broadcasting; Tan Sri Fatimah Haji Hashim, Minister of Welfare Services and Tan Sri Abdul Kadir Yusof, Attorney-General.

A small group of ambitious members of UMNO held views which were opposed to the "give and take" attitude of Tunku and his close colleagues. After the 1969 elections, they moved closer together and agreed that a "new model" government was needed under a new leader.

Such a situation had been witnessed in other countries, both in Asia and Europe, where politics had been in practice for a much longer period. In Malaysia, its novelty gave

it greater shock-value.

This group was headed by Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, who had been a Member of Parliament for a rural area in North Kedah until he was defeated by a Malay opponent from the PMIP in the May elections. His close associates included Syed Nasir Ismail, Dato' Harun Idris of Selangor, Musa Hitam from Johore and Syed Ja'afar Albar, a mercurial protagonist of Malay rights.

They and other like-minded UMNO members observed with disgust the composition of Tunku's new cabinet. They noted that six members of Tunku's 1957 cabinet had been retained. Three MCA stalwarts had been included but without portfolios.

Dr. Mahathir, Syed Nasir and Syed Ja'afar Albar issued a statement for publication in the leading Malay language newspaper, urging the continued exclusion of members of the MCA from the cabinet.

Tunku immediately sent a brief note, in Malay, to each of them which read "in the name of God I ask you to help the government in its task of restoring peace and harmony to our country. One of the ways is to restrain yourself from issuing statements which can worsen the situation."

Tunku's right eye had become seriously inflamed, as a result of the constant strain of the last few days and he was persuaded to enter hospital, the day after he despatched his reproof to the three agitators. An operation for glaucoma was necessary and Tunku could not be discharged until 15 June.

Two days later, Tunku received a letter through the post. The letter was in Malay. It was typed and covered four pages. It was signed by Dr. Mahathir. Copies were sent to Tun Dr. Ismail, Dato' Harun and Musa Hitam.

The letter contained a bitter personal attack on Tunku, blaming him for the party's heavy losses in the recent election and for the communal violence on 13 May. He demanded that Tunku should resign immediately from the post of Prime Minister and that he should withdraw from politics. Thousands of copies were later cyclostyled and

distributed all over the peninsula, by others.

Tunku was deeply wounded by this personal attack, but apart from sending a copy of the letter to Tun Razak "for such action as he thought fit", Tunku took no action.

Tun Razak, in his capacity as Deputy Chairman of UMNO summoned a meeting of the Party's Executive Council, to be held in his official residence, "Seri Taman", on 12 July.

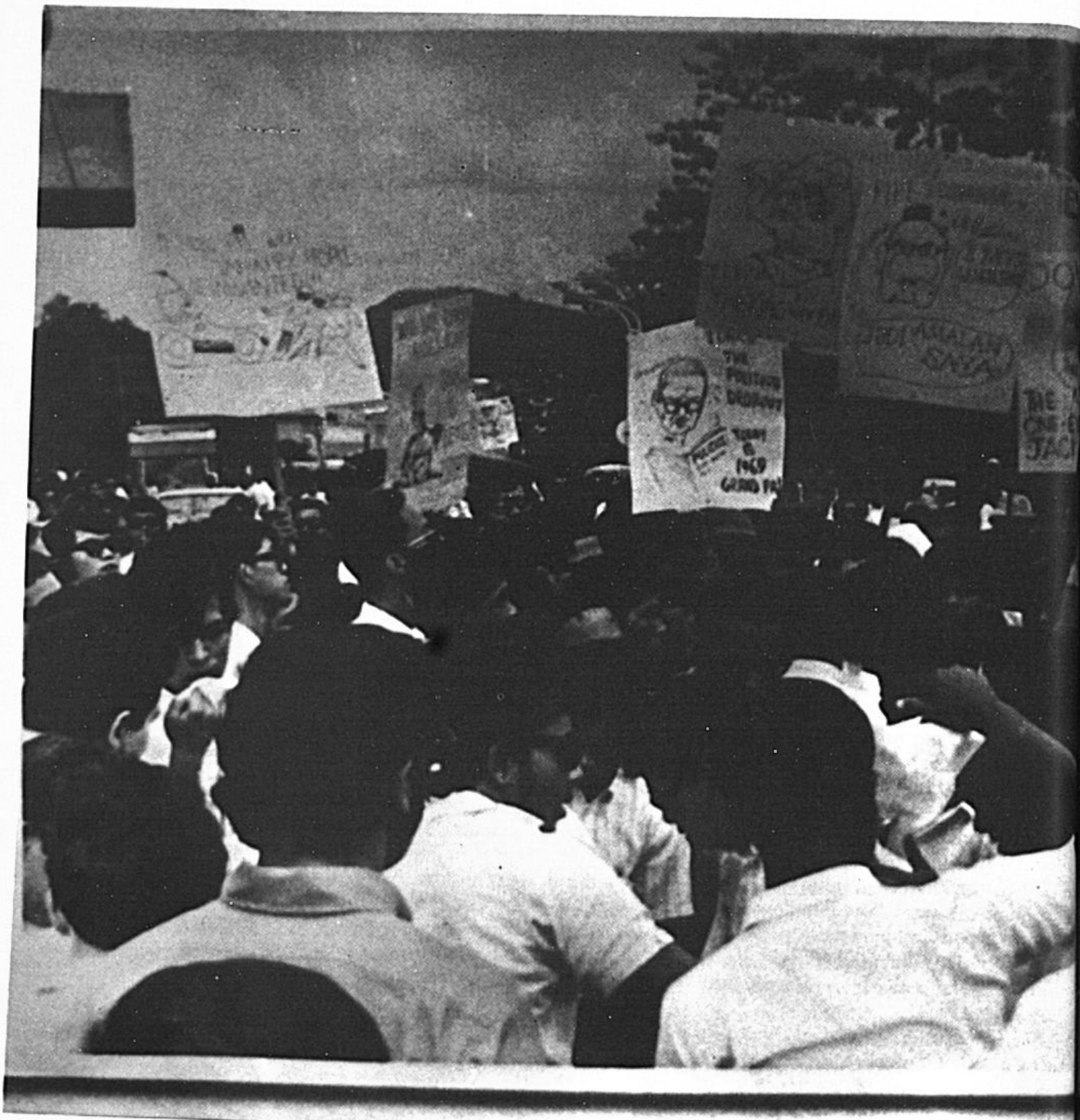
Tunku did not attend: Dr. Mahathir was there to present his point of view. The discussion lasted for two hours. The letter, it was argued, was calculated to aggravate the prevailing sensitive situation. It was proposed that Dr. Mahathir be directed to resign from the party's Executive Council in view of a serious breach of party discipline which he had committed. Twenty-five members voted in favour, five dissented.

Two days later Tun Dr. Ismail, as Minister for Home Affairs, made an order under the Internal Security Act, prohibiting the possession, distribution or publication of Dr. Mahathir's letter to Tunku.

Tunku's senior colleagues were staunchly loyal. Tun Abdul Razak, although recognized as Tunku's heir-apparent, made it known that Tunku must be allowed to decide for himself if or when he wished to retire.

To Tunku, retirement, at this critical instant, would be tantamount to abdication at the time of the gravest crisis the nation had ever experienced. Such action was unthinkable. He was in good health and in vigorous physical condition. It was, he believed, his duty to continue to lead his government at least until the prevailing State of Emergency had been brought to a conclusion.

He turned his attention to the setting up of a National Goodwill Council, with similar bodies in every state. But some of Tunku's political opponents were not so easily subdued. They turned their attention to Malay students in the University of Malaya, where a well organized University of Malaya Students' Union offered an obvious and easily influenced alliance. The President of the Students' Union had joined two members of the Kepong





Student demonstrations at the University of Malaya.

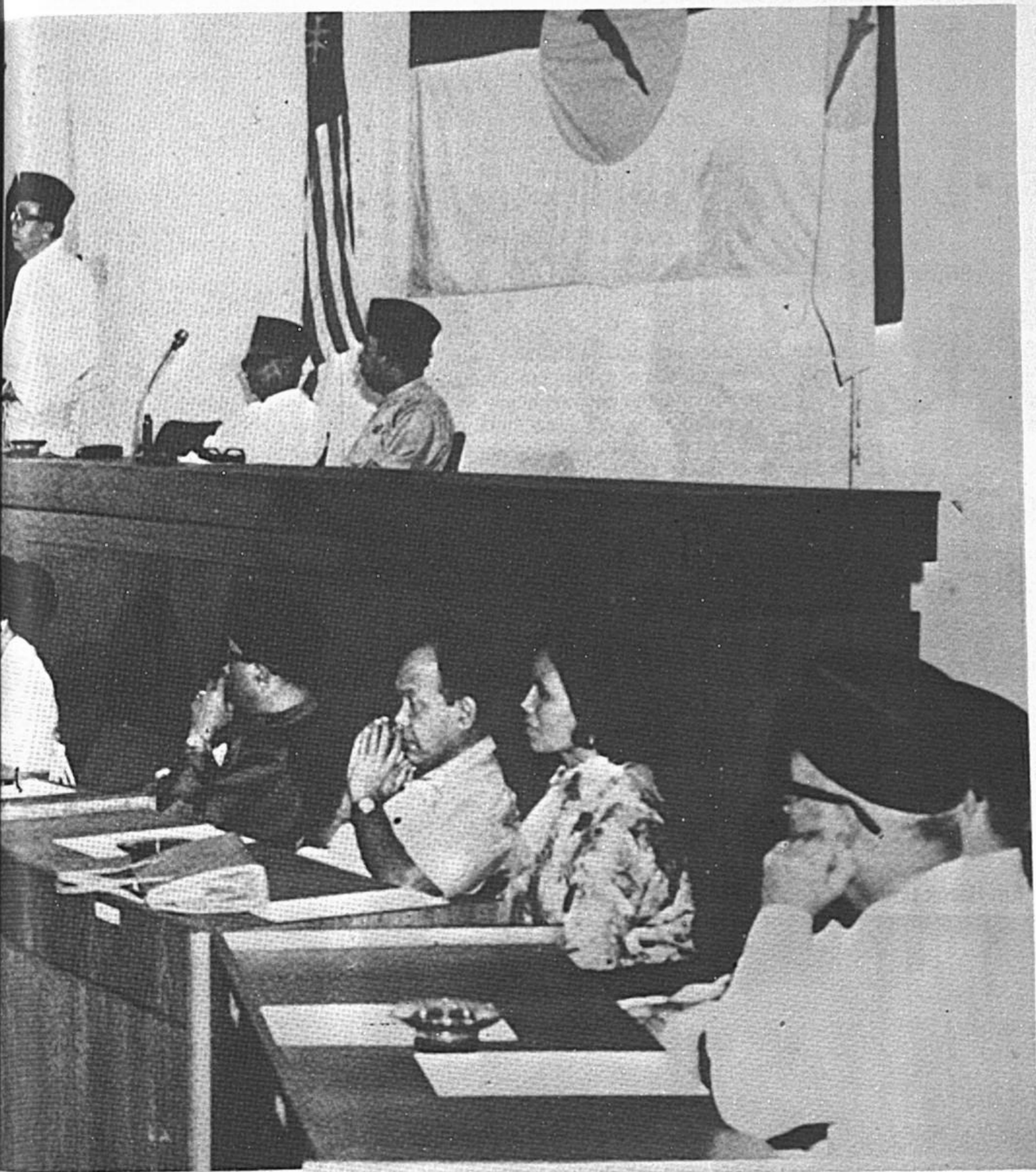




Tunku embraces the new Yang di-Pertuan Agong his nephew, 21 September 1970.

Tun Razak addresses a special meeting of UMNO, on his assumption of the Post of Prime Minister and President of UMNO, 22 September 1970 (Tunku sits on his left).







Tunku makes his farewell speech at the State Banquet in Parliament House, 22 September 1970.

Tun Razak proposes a toast to Tunku at the Farewell Banquet, 22 September 1970.



Branch of the Labour Party on 7 May in their application for a police permit for the funeral procession. He was likely to give equal co-operation to UMNO malcontents. Their activities would have to be confined to the university campus, but the press could be informed in advance and would publish what reporters heard and saw.

The first demonstration, by students carrying placards and shouting slogans, was held on 17 July. Some of the slogans resembled those which had been circulated by Indonesian agents during Confrontation: they were all directed at Tunku.

Similar demonstrations continued at intervals for more than a month. Students at the MARA Institute of Technology followed the example of those at the university.

If these examples of underground pressure had any influence on Tunku, they only served to strengthen his determination to continue to lead the government for some time to come.

In due course, the leaders of the campaign for Tunku's resignation became tired of their sterile efforts.

Tunku continued to promote inter-communal goodwill, by means of his National Goodwill Council, through its State branches, and to fulfil his duties as Head of State with his customary proficiency. He received King Faisal of Saudi Arabia on his first state visit to Malaysia in June 1970 and paid an official visit to Japan in July of the same year. He also welcomed Tun Adam Malek, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, and combined friendly discussions with a round of golf.

It was during his visit that King Faisal invited Tunku to accept the post of Secretary-General of an Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah, which he would be required to bring into existence. The King first sent his Ambassador to see Tunku and to broach the subject. He then met Tunku in the privacy of the National Guest House — *Istana Tetamu* — and delivered his personal invitation.

The establishment of the Islamic Secretariat had been approved in principle at a conference of Muslim Heads of State in Morocco at which Tunku was present, but no mention of

a candidate for the key position had been made. Tunku's appointment was approved at a subsequent conference at Karachi.

It was a formidable undertaking, but if Tunku hesitated to accept the invitation, it was on other grounds. King Faisal, in his wisdom, had chosen Tunku, in preference to an array of Arabs.

In his opinion Tunku, at the age of 67, was the only individual who could bring together the leaders of forty Muslim states and harness the wealth of the Middle East to promote Islamic unity.

Tunku had recognized the fact that the moment for his retirement was approaching, but he had, as yet, no definite idea as to how he would then occupy his time and energy.

Here was a challenge, hitherto beyond his contemplation. He accepted the King's offer which, to others would have held out little if any attraction, and started to scan a new horizon.

Tunku discussed arrangements for his retirement first with Tun Razak and later with his senior cabinet colleagues. Tunku decided to link his retirement with the installation of the fifth Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Sultan of Kedah, which was due to take place on 21 September 1970.

This installation would follow established procedure, but arrangements appropriate to the retirement of a national leader, after thirteen years as Prime Minister and twenty years as President of UMNO had no precedent.

Tunku, whose expert management of such matters, at the highest level dated back to 1956, made sure, in close consultation with Tun Razak, that on this occasion there would be no lessening of the superlative quality of Malay ceremonial.

On 19 August Tunku made his first official reference to his imminent intention to retire, when he gave what was termed as "Eve of National Day" broadcast. Tunku, with the consent of N.O.C., had directed that the 1970 celebrations of Malaysia's National Day should be organized on a scale similar to pre-Emergency days, and had forecast further moves to lift the remaining restrictions. He



Tun Razak, the Prime Minister presents a silver tray to Tunku bearing the signatures of all Ministers and State Chief Ministers at the Farewell Banquet on 22 September 1970.

Picture of the Silver Tray presented to Tunku at the Farewell Banquet, 22 September 1970.

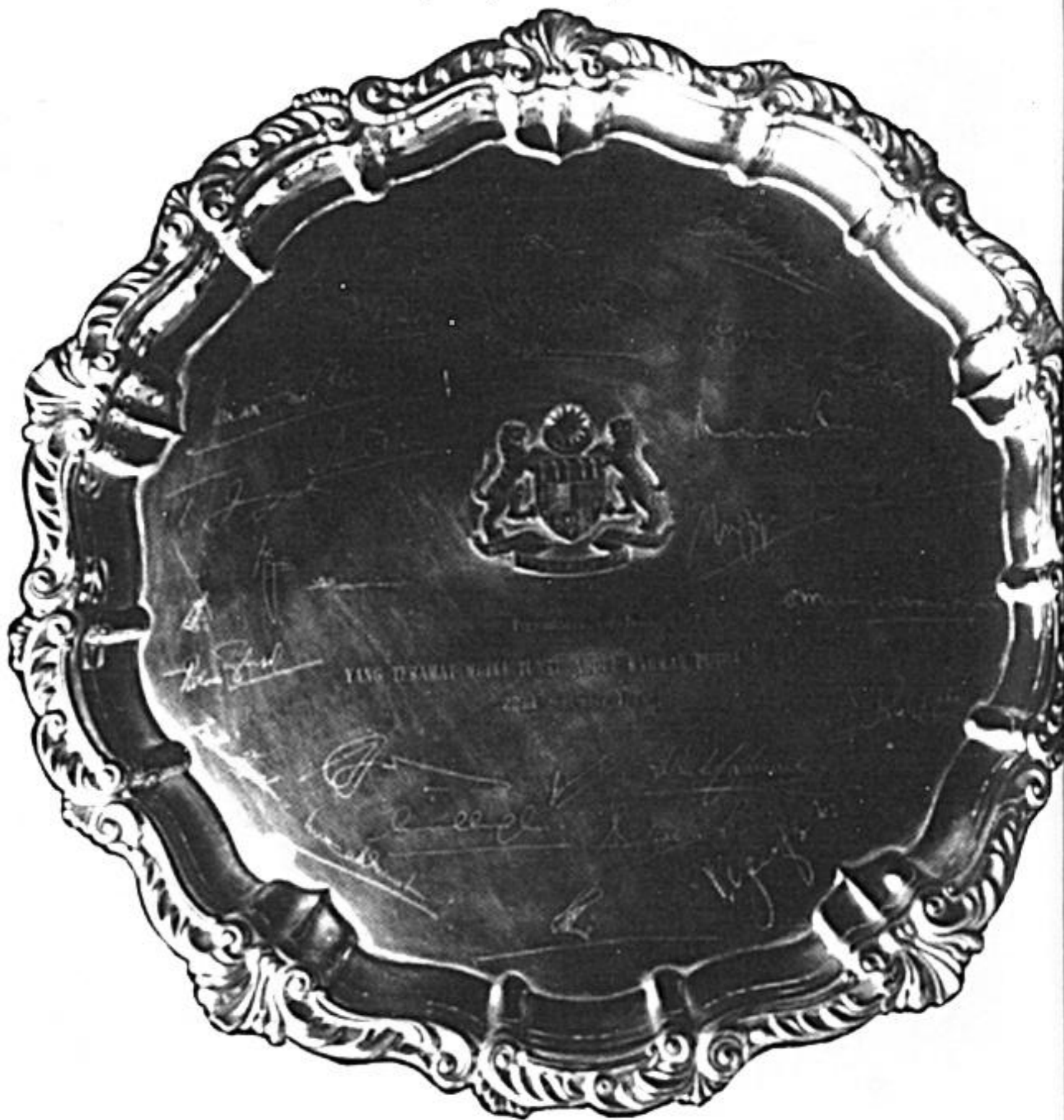
predicted the re-convening of Parliament and the restoration of the rule of democracy and told his listeners that he would make an announcement about his retirement on 30 August.

Knowledge of Tunku's discussions at top cabinet level had been well preserved, and there was speculation in the press that Tunku might "step down" in December.

Tunku then flew to Kuala Terengganu for an audience with the fourth Yang di-Pertuan Agong, at which he discussed the arrangements for Sultan Ismail's retirement and the accession of his successor on 21 September.

Two days later, Tunku broadcast his views on the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and criticized communist objections to the presence of Taiwan as an existing member of the world body. To the general public, there was no hint of an imminent retirement.

But on the night of 30 August, Tunku returned to the mass media and told everyone that he would retire on 22 September.





Tunku attends a farewell dinner given by the Inspector-General of Police, Tan Sri Salleh.

He would preside at the installation of his nephew as the new Yang di-Pertuan Agong and then, on the following morning, tender his resignation and request the Agong to appoint Tun Razak to be the new Prime Minister.

There was still much work to be done. Tun Razak would announce the composition of his new cabinet on the day of his assumption of the premiership, and invitations had to be sent to UMNO leaders and senior members all over the peninsula to assemble in Kuala Lumpur on 23 September.

Tunku was a man with deep emotions, normally hidden from even his closest colleagues.

To onlookers, near and far, he maintained the familiar appearance of a still, dominant leader, genial and gentle.

At the palace on the morning of 21 September, Tunku wore the white official uniform of the Prime Minister, with a single insignia and sash — that of Kedah's highest award. The myriad Orders and Decorations, conferred on him by foreign countries hung in his residence or in the Penang Museum.

On the lawn, below the palace, the guard of honour and the pick of the military bands waited in the sunlight.

The new Agong, wearing the traditional

head dress, tunic, sarong and trousers, heavy with gold thread, and holding the *kris*-of-state, stood in the palace while Tunku read the Proclamation, and then took the Oath of Office. Tunku then escorted his nephew out of the building to receive a royal salute and to inspect his guard of honour on the lawn.

That night Tunku attended a royal banquet, also in the palace, at which the other Rulers were present.

At 9 o'clock on the morning of 22 September, Tunku and Tun Razak again drove to the palace; Tunku wore the official white uniform of the Prime Minister for the last time. He handed his document of resignation to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, and then, in a unique expression of emotion, embraced his nephew warmly. Formality was rapidly restored, and Tunku requested the Agong to hand to Tun Razak his document of appointment as Prime Minister.

Very soon afterwards, Tunku and Tun Razak drove to the headquarters of the Language and Literature Institute, where four hundred leaders of UMNO had assembled in its largest conference room. Tun Razak, with the inspiration of his newly-conferred premiership, addressed the assembly, announcing his cabinet appointments, including the return of MCA members to Cabinet posts,

and his plans for the future government of the country. It was a stirring speech and when Tunku rose to say farewell, the sense of anticlimax recalled Tennyson's words — "authority forgets a dying King", and robbed his remarks of any prospect of a favourable reception. There was little applause and he left the hall almost unescorted.

A farewell state banquet in the great hall of Parliament was held on the following night, at which Tunku was the guest of honour and banished at least temporarily a sense of ingratitude.

Five hundred guests were present. They included every Minister, and the Chief Ministers from every state, high-ranking officers of the Malaysian Armed Forces and Malaysian Police, senior government officials, Ambassadors and High Commissioners and their wives.

Everyone present recognized that the occasion marked the end of an era. At the conclusion of his speech, Tun Razak turned to Tunku and handed him a very large silver tray. A gold medallion lay in the centre, bearing the Arms of Malaysia. It was surrounded by a forest of signatures, the autographs of every Minister and every State and Settlement Chief Minister. They had been engraved and skilfully arranged so that they covered almost the entire surface.

In a brief inscription in Malay, which occupied a small space below the medallion, the key word was *persembahan* (offering), a word normally used only when addressing royalty, and carrying a sense of homage.

The tray was a farewell offering to Tunku from the nation's leaders.

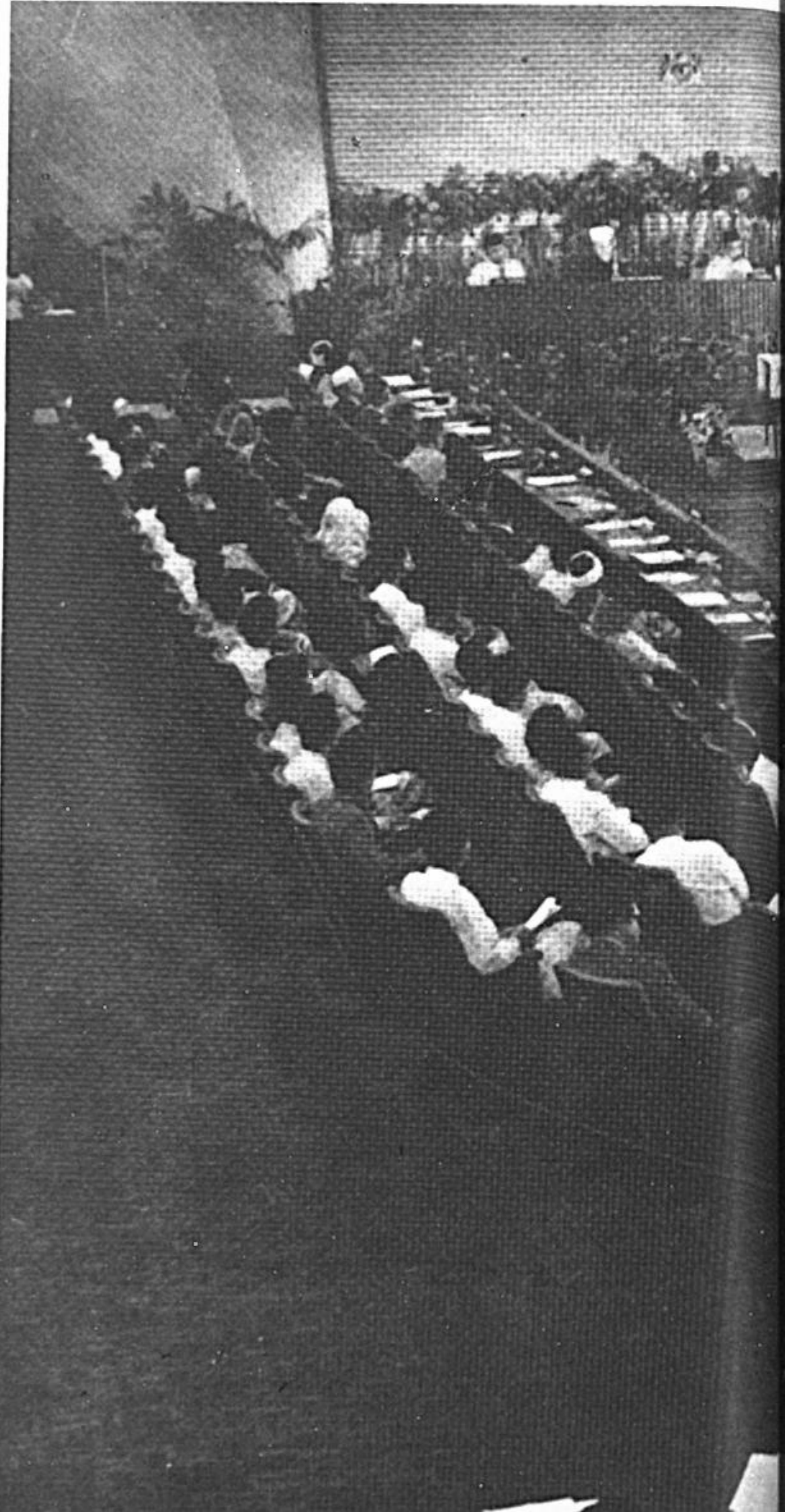
Tun Razak, the President of UMNO, presenting a plaque, with a message written in gold to Tunku on behalf of UMNO for Tunku's services to the nation. Tunku was on a short visit to Kuala Lumpur from Jeddah on 12 August 1972.

Left to Right: Dato Senu Abdul Rahman, Tunku, Tun Hussein Onn, Tun Sardon Jubir and Tun Razak.

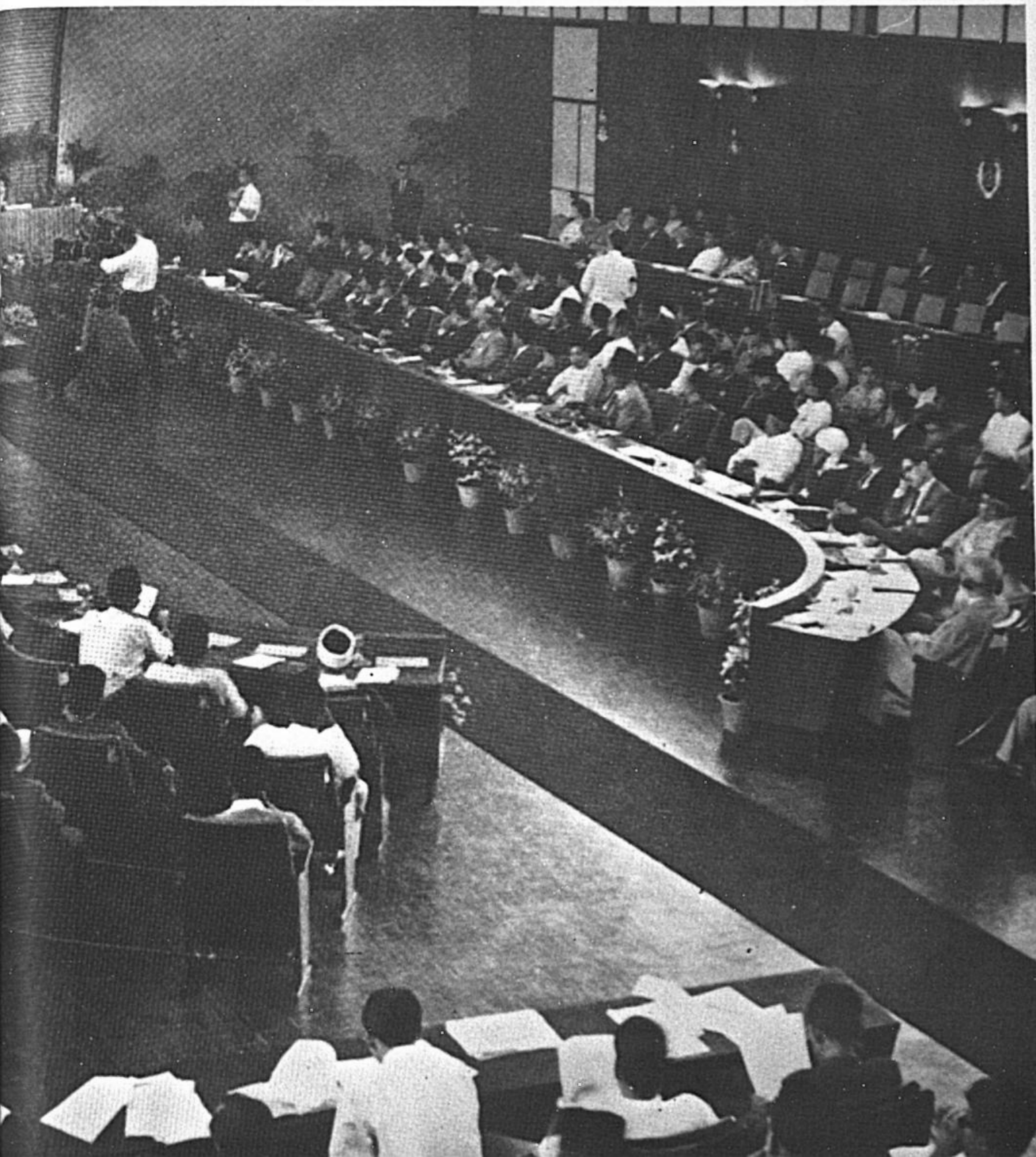




Towards Islamic Unity



Tunku declares the first Southeast Asian Regional Conference of the World Muslim Congress in the Tunku Abdul Rahman Hall, Kuala Lumpur, 31 January 1964.





The delegates at the Conference pose with Tunku in front of the Tunku Abdul Rahman Hall.

In 1957, when Tunku became Prime Minister of Malaya there was no unity whatever among Arab states and no attempt to unite them.

Tunku was the pioneer in a continuing crusade to unite Islamic states which included such giants as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan.

There were a number of problems common to all Muslim states in which uniform practice would be an obvious advantage, notably the determination of the first day of the fasting month.

If the advantage of uniformity was seriously discussed, such an attempt received no public expression until Tunku took the initiative. This he did in 1960, on the first morning of the Festival of the Haj — generally known as *Id-il-Adha*. The festival, in 1960, coincided with the first Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London.

There was, at that time, no central mosque

in London, and Tunku with many other Muslims travelled to Woking, a small town in Surrey, south of London, to take part in the festival prayers.

At the conclusion of the prayers, the *imam* of the mosque invited Tunku to address the congregation which included Muslims from many different countries. Among them, though unknown to Tunku, was Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia. Tunku was chosen to speak because he was a Prime Minister and was known to be accustomed to speak in public in English.



Tunku entertains the delegates at his residence.

Tunku was given no warning of this invitation and had not contemplated the likelihood that he might have to speak, but he accepted the invitation.

As he stood, a handsome figure, elegantly clothed in a Malay suit of light yellow silk with a high collar, thoughts rose in his mind, to which he had never previously given serious attention, and he decided, on the spur of the moment, to speak on the need for Muslim unity.

It was an inspired choice and his extempore remarks made a lasting impression on at least one member of his audience — Prince Faisal, who was then the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia. The Prince possessed a good knowledge of English although he would never speak it on official occasions.

When Tunku returned to Kuala Lumpur, he decided to follow up his speech and its message and he invited the Head of the

Department of Religious Affairs in Johore, to lead a modest delegation and to visit prominent Heads of Muslim states and to seek their support for a meeting of Muslim leaders to discuss problems of common interest. The response to this first initiative was non-committal.

A second mission, sent two years later, though it was given more attention, did not bring back any definite response. But in 1963, Tunku sent a third and more dynamic delegation and the leader brought back positive promises of support. As a result, the first

conference of representatives of Muslim countries ever to be held met in Kuala Lumpur at the beginning of February 1964 during the fasting month. The conference was held in the Tunku Abdul Rahman Hall and was attended by representatives from nineteen Muslim States, including the Chief *Mufti* of Palestine, Syed Amin Al-Hussaini. Finance for the conference was provided by the World Muslim Congress — *Mutamar Al-Alam Al-Islami* whose headquarters was in Karachi.

Tunku declared the conference open and Tun Razak officiated as Chairman. Tunku invited all delegates to break their fast and enjoy his hospitality at his official residence. The conference discussed a number of problems which were common to Muslim people and states all over the world and passed a number of resolutions, including one condemning Israel and calling for united action to free Palestine from Jewish occupation.

In June 1970, King Faisal came on a state visit to Malaysia and was received and entertained by Tunku as Prime Minister. The King included in his programme a visit to the Muslim College in Petaling Jaya for which Tunku had appealed for funds. The college had previously been accommodated for 15 years in one of the Sultan of Selangor's rambling palaces at Klang, about twenty miles away.

It was during this visit that King Faisal extended a formal invitation to Tunku to accept the appointment of Secretary-General of a new organization, which was to be called the Islamic Secretariat and was to be sited in Jeddah.

Tunku replied that he was a man who enjoyed good company, horse-racing and an occasional game of cards, and was ill-suited for such a post. King Faisal seldom smiled, but a gleam of amusement shone for a moment from his hooded eyes. "I know all about you" he replied, "I am not asking you to be the *imam*, I only invite you to help to organize Muslim unity, a task which you can do much to achieve."

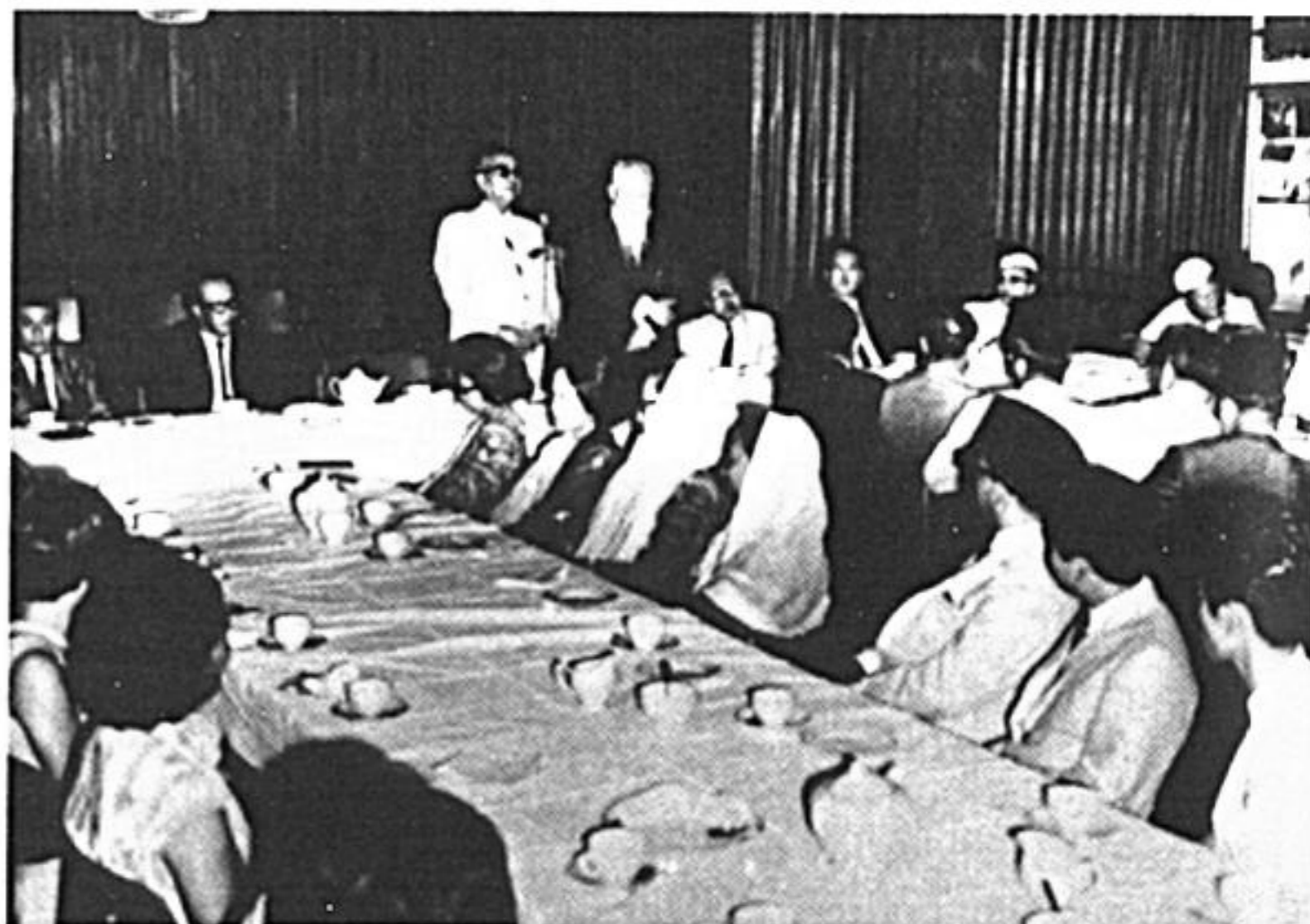
Tunku then accepted.



Tunku presents awards at a *Fatihah* reading competition at the Muslim centre at Klang, 1966.



Tunku addresses a gathering of 400 Chinese Muslim converts in Klang, 1967.



Tunku welcomes 28 new Muslim converts and gives them some advice. Haji Ibrahim Mah (on his left) interprets for him.



Tunku welcomes Haji Yusuf Lee when the rest of his family embraced Islam at the Residency. Haji Mubin Sheppard, the first Secretary-General of Perkim stands on Tunku's left.

King Faisal had brought his proposal to set up an Islamic Secretariat to a meeting of Muslim Heads of State in Rabat, Morocco in September 1969, where it was unanimously approved in principle.

The meeting in Rabat was convened to condemn Israel for the partial destruction by fire of the ancient Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem in August 1968.

Tunku was present at Rabat, as Prime Minister of Malaysia, and on his way home, he attended a meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. He took the opportunity to condemn in vigorous terms the complete embargo in the American press of any mention of the critical resolution by the Muslim Heads of State at Rabat. Tunku was aware that much of the American press was controlled by Jews and he was not surprised when no reference to his speech appeared the next day in any of the leading newspapers in Washington.

Tunku retired from his post of Prime Minister on 22 September 1970, but before he retired he arranged to enlist senior staff to accompany him to Jeddah and to assist him in what was a pioneer undertaking. These Malaysian officers responded to a government circular inviting individuals to volunteer for

secondment for two years. Seven officials were finally selected: Datuk Ali Abdullah, a member of the senior staff of the Ministry of External Affairs, was appointed Permanent Secretary; Omardin Abdul Wahab was appointed Political Secretary; Abdul Razak Hussein was Assistant Secretary; S.A. Lim was Finance Officer; Yunus was Chief Clerk; Redzuan was Correspondence Clerk and Syed Hussein Jamalullil served as Tunku's Private Secretary.

King Faisal offered Tunku a choice of several palaces in Jeddah. Tunku chose a guest palace, a two-storey building with a banquet hall and fifteen rooms, sited about half an hour's drive from the sea. The whole building was air-conditioned, elegantly furnished and carpeted. Office equipment was purchased locally. The palace had a large compound. The interior and the compound were looked after by servants who were recruited in Jeddah. In 1970, Jeddah had acquired many of the amenities of a modern





King Faisal of Saudi Arabia comes to Kuala Lumpur to invite Tunku to accept the post of Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat, as yet to be set up.

seaport. Tens of thousands of Muslims passed through it during the pilgrimage season, and the oil of Saudi Arabia flowed through it to supply the outside world.

Looking back at his period as Secretary-General, Tunku remarked that the task was more difficult than that which he had undertaken, almost single-handed, to reorganize and revitalize UMNO in 1950. Tunku soon realized why the project had not been undertaken earlier, and why King Faisal had chosen a foreigner, rather than an Arab to fill the key appointment.

It became increasingly clear to Tunku that King Faisal was the only Muslim Head of State in the Middle East and North Africa who was genuinely interested in implementing the concept of Muslim unity.

Tunku received many visitors and was treated with great respect; some of his visitors spoke English, others spoke Arabic and Tunku relied on an interpreter. Tunku usually wore a light-weight western-style suit, with a shirt, collar and tie and a black *songkok*. He wore Malay dress on Fridays and when going to mosque. He never wore Arab costume.

The first major task was to enrol member-states and to obtain from them promises of annual subventions.

Some of the largest states, with unlimited wealth at their disposal, were reluctant to contribute funds which would be used to

Opp. page top

Tunku arrives at Rabat, Morocco to attend the Conference of Muslim Heads of States, 26 September 1969. He was welcomed by King Hassan II.

Opp. page bottom

Tunku as Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah, welcomes visitors.





Tunku arrives by plane (Saudi Arabia Airlines) on a visit.

benefit poorer states. Small states were willing to enrol as members, but could only offer very small annual grants.

Progress was slow and Tunku asked for telex equipment to expedite communications. The official concerned replied that Tunku was free to make use of the government telex equipment but declined to provide a separate installation. Tunku was therefore obliged to travel long distances to speak personally with influential officials.

Tunku eventually enrolled forty Muslim countries as members of the Islamic Secretariat but as time passed, Tunku reached the conclusion that the Secretariat had made very little progress in establishing Muslim unity. Some positive action to provide mutual benefits for those in need was necessary.

Tunku went to see King Faisal and proposed that an Islamic Development Bank should be set up, with capital subscribed by all the member states. This would bring material benefits to the poor states and would help to create a sense of Islamic unity. Rich states would experience no difficulty in making a substantial contribution, people in the poor states could draw on the bank to

Opp. page
King Faisal of Saudi Arabia.

finance development schemes and would enjoy a better standard of living.

King Faisal brought Tunku's proposal to the next meeting of the Conference of Foreign Ministers and persuaded them to give the scheme their unanimous approval.

But it was not enough to secure agreement: the project must be organized and implemented, and King Faisal directed that Tunku should hand over the post of Secretary-General and take up the new and heavy responsibility of setting up the Islamic Development Bank.

The scheme which Tunku presented not long afterwards to a Conference of Islamic Finance Ministers was accepted, but the Finance Minister of Saudi Arabia was not in favour of the project and did not attend the vital first meeting of Finance Ministers.

Immediately after the meeting Tunku drove to Taif to see the King, in the searing mid-day heat, to report the absence of his Finance Minister, without whose presence the whole scheme might collapse.

The King expressed his anger and Tunku drove back to Jeddah, exhausted but confident that there would be no further opposition from that official in the immediate future.

Tunku had then to prepare the Charter, with the help of a committee of five, three of whom were Arabs and two were Malays. In this he received valuable advice from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

A Declaration of Intent was signed in December 1973, and the Charter was approved by another meeting of the Conference of Islamic Finance Ministers in August 1974.

Tunku arranged to establish the headquarters of the bank in Kuala Lumpur, but before it had time to operate, the new Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat, Mr. Hassan El Tohamy, Tunku's successor, secured the agreement of another meeting of Finance Ministers to take control of the Islamic Development Bank, and transfer its headquarters to Jeddah since Saudi Arabia was the largest subscriber. At the same time,

the Conference of Finance Ministers, guided by its Saudi Arabian member, decided to appoint a new President, in succession to Tunku. Before he retired Tunku had the satisfaction of seeing that twenty-six Arab countries had become subscribing members and that the Bank had an authorized capital of 2,000 million US dollars — a total which was to be paid up in five annual instalments.

The concept of Islamic unity among Arab states had now acquired a framework and the mechanism for development, but there was still no unity among Muslims in Europe. King Faisal once again took the initiative, and with Tunku's help set up a Muslim Council of Europe.

In London, the number of Muslims living in different parts of the city had greatly multiplied, but a proposal to build a mosque in Central London, planned by the Aga Khan fifty years ago, was still dormant. A few Muslims attended Friday prayers in part of a tall building in the residential area near Kensington Gardens. Tunku had often prayed there when he lived in London and he now discovered that the official-in-charge was a member of a Muslim sect which attached no importance to the provision of mosques.

Once again, Tunku went to see King Faisal and told him of the deplorable situation. Prince Faisal and Tunku, had been obliged to travel by train to a mosque in Surrey on the Haj Festival morning more than fifteen years earlier and Faisal, now King, agreed to take an active part in building a central mosque in London. An appeal for funds from the King, backed by a substantial contribution from the Saudi Arabian government, met with speedy support and a handsome mosque was completed in 1980.

Tunku attended the official opening, and mourned the absence of King Faisal who had been assassinated in 1975.

Tunku's three and a half years in Jeddah had brought greater benefits to Muslims in the Middle East, North Africa and Europe than anyone could have contemplated in 1970, but his single-minded endeavours and achievements passed almost unnoticed and

wholly unrecognized in Malaysia.

In Jeddah, Tunku's successor-in-charge of the Islamic Secretariat, did his best to expunge all traces of Tunku's pioneer work. He ordered all the Secretariat files which had been compiled by Tunku and his staff to be burnt, and he published a brochure about the Islamic Secretariat in which he claimed full responsibility for the entire project and made no mention of Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Other men might have abandoned their lifetime ambition, content with the knowledge that it had been achieved. Was it not time to relax and to enjoy the benefits of an over-due retirement?

In Southeast Asia, Muslim unity had not yet been contemplated, and Tunku's work in the Middle East appeared irrelevant. King Faisal was dead but one other legacy of his far-sighted benevolence lived on to benefit Muslim activities anywhere, including Malaysia.

The organization was named *Rabitah, Al Alami Al Islami* — the Muslim World League.

Before Tunku became Prime Minister, the encouragement of unity among Muslims of different racial origins in Malaya seems never to have been regarded as anyone's responsibility.

Few Malayan Chinese had ever become Muslims even in the East Coast states, where they formed a long established mini-minority.

A Muslim missionary society had been founded in Singapore by Muslim Indians, and a branch had been formed in Kuala Lumpur in the 1950s, but it was moribund.

In 1960, Tunku decided to form a new Malayan missionary body in Kuala Lumpur and held an inaugural meeting in his house on 19 August. He named it *Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam, Malaya* — PERKIM — the Malayan Muslim Welfare Organization, with the spreading of a knowledge of Islam to Malayan Chinese as its principal object. Tunku included the word *kebaikan* (welfare) in the title in order to emphasize the importance of mutual assistance in missionary work.

Tunku's official duties and overseas activities left him very little time to devote to the progress of this new example of his devotion to the ideal of Muslim unity, but he invited PERKIM committee members to arrange simple conversion ceremonies, followed by an evening meal, in his official residence, and thereby gave great encouragement both to PERKIM members and to Muslim converts. The majority of them came from Klang, an historic centre of long established Chinese families twenty miles away.

With this high level support, branches of PERKIM were formed in almost every state in the Peninsula, and a vision of unity among the races of Malaya through Islam began to take shape.

Tunku continued to give PERKIM encouragement and some financial support for the next decade and requested state governments to do the same.

PERKIM's work continued at a slower pace during Tunku's absence in Jeddah, but soon after his return the office-bearers asked him to accept the post of President, instead of Chief Patron, and Tunku agreed to do so.

PERKIM still had no home of its own, although a site had been made available by the Selangor state government some years earlier.

Soon after he became President, Tunku requested an architect to design a fifteen-storey tower block where PERKIM could operate and expand, and where many floors could be let to commercial firms as tenants.

A podium block of five storeys was also planned and was completed in January 1980 and the whole structure was officially opened in 1982.

Tunku's far-ranging interest in Muslim unity soon began to identify new objectives. Muslim refugees from Cambodia, a fraction of the previous Muslim community, who had escaped the indiscriminate slaughter of the Pol Pot regime, and had made their way through South Thailand to the northern border of Malaya, were given a warm welcome and temporary accommodation in hatted camps.

Tunku as Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah.



Tunku visits Afghanistan as
Secretary-General.





Tunku in Jeddah after discussions leading to the setting up of the Islamic Development Bank.



Tunku lays the foundation for Perkim headquarters building in Kuala Lumpur, February 1976.

The United Nations responded to Tunku's appeal and provided funds. Tunku then directed his sympathy to other Muslim minorities in the Far East — Burma, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea.

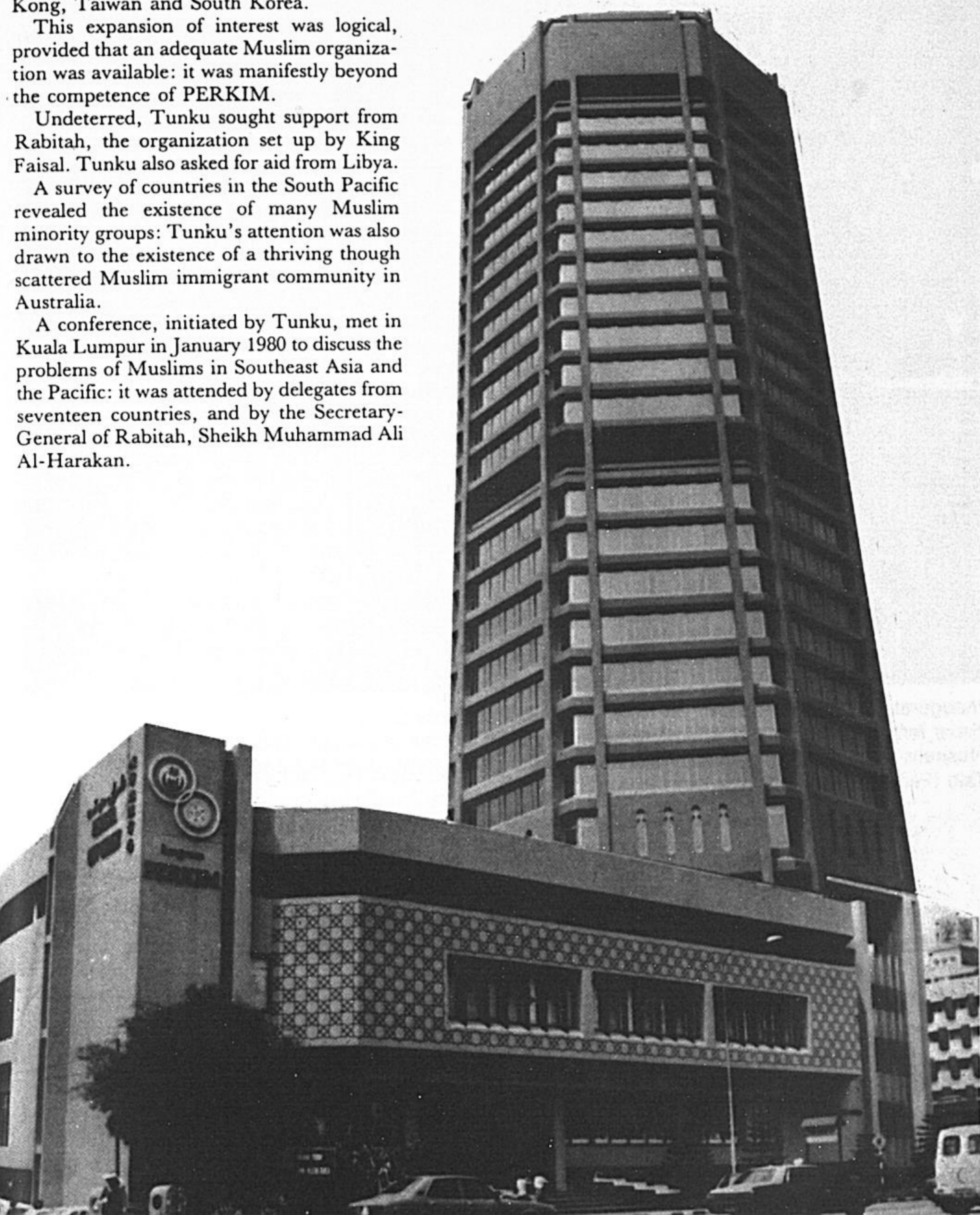
This expansion of interest was logical, provided that an adequate Muslim organization was available: it was manifestly beyond the competence of PERKIM.

Undeterred, Tunku sought support from Rabitah, the organization set up by King Faisal. Tunku also asked for aid from Libya.

A survey of countries in the South Pacific revealed the existence of many Muslim minority groups: Tunku's attention was also drawn to the existence of a thriving though scattered Muslim immigrant community in Australia.

A conference, initiated by Tunku, met in Kuala Lumpur in January 1980 to discuss the problems of Muslims in Southeast Asia and the Pacific: it was attended by delegates from seventeen countries, and by the Secretary-General of Rabitah, Sheikh Muhammad Ali Al-Harakan.

View of the Perkim headquarters building in Kuala Lumpur, built with funds assembled by Tunku.





Inaugural meeting of RISEAP on November 1980 in Kuala Lumpur.
From left to right: Tan Sri A. Aziz (Perkim), Justin Cheema (Pakistan), Dato' Hussein Osman (First Secretary-General), Tunku (President), Dato' Patinggi Taib (Perkim), Sheikh Safiat (Rabitah).

The delegates decided to set up, forthwith, a new organization to be called the Regional Islamic Council for Southeast Asia and the Pacific (RISEAP), and Tunku was elected its first President.

Three Vice-Presidents were appointed, Datuk Amar Haji Taib Mahmud, (a Vice-President of PERKIM) who was the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Dr. Mohammad Ali Wang from Australia and Prof. Osman Raliby from Indonesia. A six-man Executive Committee was also elected consisting of Hj. Badaruddin bin Othman from Brunei, Ghani Mohammad Hashim from Burma, Dr. Ashfaq Ahmad from Papua New Guinea, Ali Tamidar Muhrir from Japan, Haji Dawood S.M. Ting from Hong Kong and S.M.K. Sherani from Fiji. RISEAP headquarters was allotted accommodation in the new PERKIM building, and received a launching grant of US\$50,000 from Rabitah.

A year after PERKIM was founded, two young Korean Muslims returning from the pilgrimage, broke their journey at Penang, came to Kuala Lumpur and asked if they could meet Tunku.

They were members of a small group living in Seoul, who had been converted to Islam by a Turkish soldier who had been sent to South Korea as part of the United Nations military contingent during the Korean War. They were the first Koreans ever to go to Mecca.

Tunku welcomed them and after a fact-finding interview learnt that out of a population of many millions, the majority of whom were Buddhists, there were less than one hundred Korean Muslims.

Tunku promised to help them and after several months of diplomatic communications, a group of a dozen Malayan Muslims, headed by the President and Vice-President of PERKIM, flew to Seoul.

They were given VIP treatment and were accorded an interview with the Korean President who promised to make available a central site for a mosque.

As a result of Tunku's initiative, a Korean Muslim Association was founded, a dozen

young Korean Muslims came to Kuala Lumpur and attended a three-month course in Islamic studies at the Muslim College at Klang, while Tunku launched an appeal for funds to build the first mosque in Korea. The Korean students, after their course, returned to Seoul to spread the knowledge of Islam among their countrymen. The Muslim community grew steadily and the mosque in Seoul was officially opened by Tunku in 1968.

The President of the China Islamic Association in Peking, Haji Mohd. Ali Zang Jie and other Chinese Muslim leaders, welcomed Tunku and his delegation and some of them accompanied him on his ten-day tour, starting in Peking, including Canton and ending in Hong Kong. Tunku offered to arrange special *dakwah* (missionary) courses in Kuala Lumpur for young Chinese Muslims and expressed his fear that, unless positive action was taken to teach Islam to the younger generation of Chinese Muslims, the future of Islam in Eastern China was in danger.

Tunku visited old mosques in Peking, Shanghai, Hang Chow and Canton, one of which was built 700 years ago, and gave donations to the officials at each of them.

Tunku was accompanied on this visit by Tun Omar Ong, Tan Sri Haji Yusuf Ibrahim, Dato Hussain Osman, Haji Hashim b. Halim, Owen Chung, Tunku's A.D.C. and Samad Mokhtar, Tunku's bodyguard.

Tunku was the first Muslim leader of international status, other than Malay Heads of State, ever to visit China since it became a Communist Republic. The Prime Minister received him in the Ming Palace, an honour reserved for special guests, and wherever Tunku and his delegation went they were treated with great courtesy and friendliness.

It was a notable expedition, undertaken by a man aged nearly eighty years, sustained by a rare tenacity of purpose — to serve the cause of Islamic unity as long as he was able.

Tunku's unequalled initiative benefited countless Muslims in the Middle East, North Africa, Europe, Southeast Asia and the Pacific, South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, and Australia. Should not this selfless legacy be

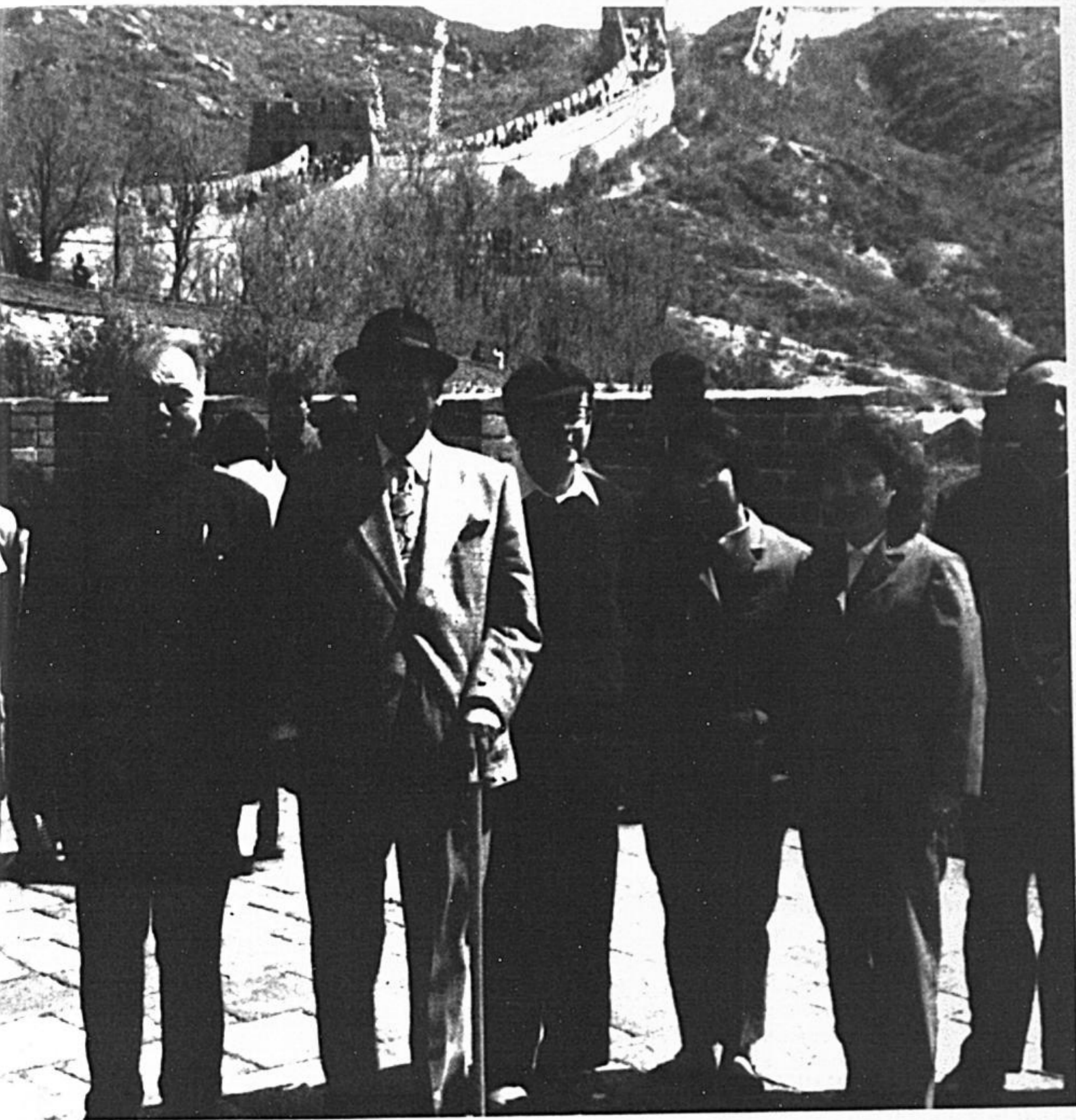
recognized by offering him one more title:
"Father of Islamic Unity"?

Muslims in Australia came there from Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan, India, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Albania and the Middle East. They form a very small minority of the whole population but they had built mosques in Sydney, Perth, Melbourne and Adelaide. In each centre, the Muslims associate closely, regardless of their diverse origins, and they have formed Muslim societies and councils in different states.

Tunku, as President of RISEAP, was invited to open a new mosque at a place called Katanning, 200 miles south of Perth in 1982 and was greatly impressed by the self-reliance of the community, both in fundraising and in the actual work of construction.

Tunku visits China in 1982.





A New Life

Tunku left Jeddah on his second retirement late in 1974. He had been requested by the Conference of Finance Ministers, on King Faisal's express recommendation, to organize an Islamic Development Bank and to be its first Head. But once he had completed the difficult preliminary work, which included the Declaration of Intent and the Articles of Agreement, it was predictable that his services would be dispensed with.

In the last few months before he retired from his post as Prime Minister, Tunku visited Alor Setar and Penang. He still owned a small house in Alor Setar but most of his old friends in Kedah had either died or moved elsewhere and he decided to settle in Penang. He was offered two houses of modest size, one relatively new and another more than fifty years old. Tunku preferred the old house: it had been built for the use of senior executives of the firm of Guthrie, but was now available at a favourable price and Tunku arranged to buy it using part of the retirement gratuity which he would receive from the Government. The house needed extensive repairs and

Tunku added a patio on the upper floor and several rooms both up and downstairs.

Thus, when his services in Jeddah as the first Head of the Asian Development Bank were terminated with such ungracious speed, he had a home to retire to.

After living an intensely busy life for more than twenty years, Tunku could not accept the prospect of unlimited leisure.

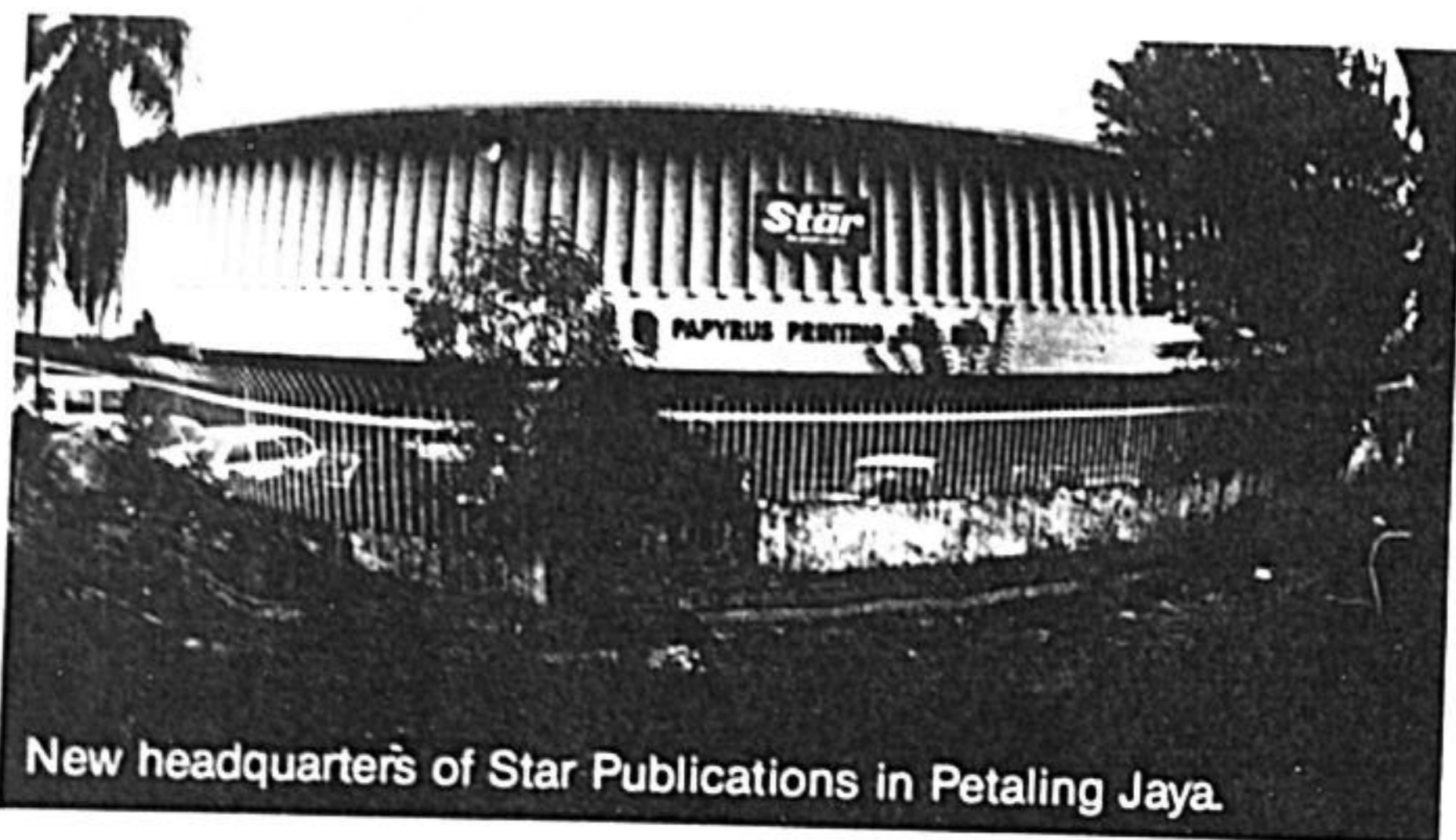
A business career, even a number of Directorships did not appeal to him. Islamic unity was still an uncompleted ambition, but opportunities for local expansion appeared to be minimal.

Then, as if in answer to an unspoken prayer, Datuk Loh Boon Siew, a wealthy Penang businessman, who imported Japanese motor-cars and motor-cycles, came to see him. Datuk Loh also owned an English language newspaper called *The Star*. It was published in Penang, and its small circulation did not extend to the mainland.

Datuk Loh asked Tunku for his advice. A junior Minister from Kuala Lumpur had paid him a visit. He wished to obtain control of *The*

Side view of Tunku's house in Penang: 16, Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman.





New headquarters of Star Publications in Petaling Jaya.

Star, and although Datuk Loh had replied that he did not wish to sell, the Assistant Minister had expressed annoyance and Datuk Loh feared that he and his business might suffer. But if Tunku would agree to acquire a controlling interest in the paper and accept the appointment of Chairman of the Board of Directors, *The Star* would be safe.

Tunku had never engaged in business, he had never even bought shares in a commercial firm and was not a wealthy man. Others in his position might have expressed sympathy and have advised the beleaguered tycoon to look for help elsewhere.

But this was the type of challenge which Tunku could not reject. He consulted his bank manager, arranged for a substantial loan and agreed to buy 300,000 shares; *The Star* agreed to pay the monthly interest. He also cabled Tun Mustapha and when his old friend arrived in Penang, Tunku asked him to add his financial support.

The Star was now safe. But it was an unattractive publication. Tunku undertook to write feature articles under the general title *Looking Back* in which he would give his personal account of the growth of UMNO and their struggle for Independence.

The first article was published on 16 December 1974 and described Tunku's first step as an amateur journalist, editing a





Tunku taking a look at *The Star* printed on the new machinery in Petaling Jaya.



The front page of *The Star* in 1975.

cyclostyled broadsheet, issued free to members of UMNO. It was a fascinating success story. Tunku changed the name from *Suara UMNO*, to *Suara Merdeka (the Voice of Independence)*; organized a campaign against two other Malay newspapers which opposed UMNO and set up a small printing press in Johore Bahru, but that was more than twenty years ago.

In Penang the circulation of *The Star* increased substantially. Tunku helped to improve the management and his article attracted readers in other states. Before long, Tunku and his Board of Directors decided to move their headquarters to Kuala Lumpur and to convert *The Star* into a national newspaper.

They needed new machinery and more

capital. This the MCA agreed to provide, but Tunku retained 30,000 of his shares and his position as Chairman and continued to write a weekly article. Their scope was extended to include Tunku's views and comments on current affairs, under the general heading of *As I See It*. These articles established Tunku's reputation as an Elder Statesman, whose sage opinions were eagerly read by people of all communities.

These articles have been republished in eight volumes: *Looking Back*, published in 1977; *View Points* (1978); *As a Matter of Interest* (1981); *Lest We Forget* (1983); *Something to Remember* (1983); *Contemporary Issues in Malaysian Politics* (1984); *Challenging Times* (1986) and *Political Awakening* (1987).

Although Tunku's home is in Penang, he

maintains a small house and office in Jalan Tunku, Kuala Lumpur. He now owns the house, but it was formerly the quarters of a senior government officer. The office, a chamber annexe, has been added by Tunku.

Tunku writes all his articles; he does not dictate them. He once said that only two men could read his handwriting — his two secretaries — Mr. Jee Guan Huat in Penang and Mr. Cheah Phee Cheok in Kuala Lumpur. Mr. Jee died in 1984, leaving the indefatigable Mr. Cheah, who spends most of his time in Kuala Lumpur. There he finalizes, types and forwards the weekly articles to *The Star's* head office in Petaling Jaya.

Mr. Cheah has other responsibilities. He keeps Tunku's diary of engagements, assembles and replies to part of Tunku's voluminous correspondence, replies to telephone calls which are sometimes almost continuous, intercepts visitors, many of them without appointments, and is ready to leave at short notice for Penang, if Tunku needs him.

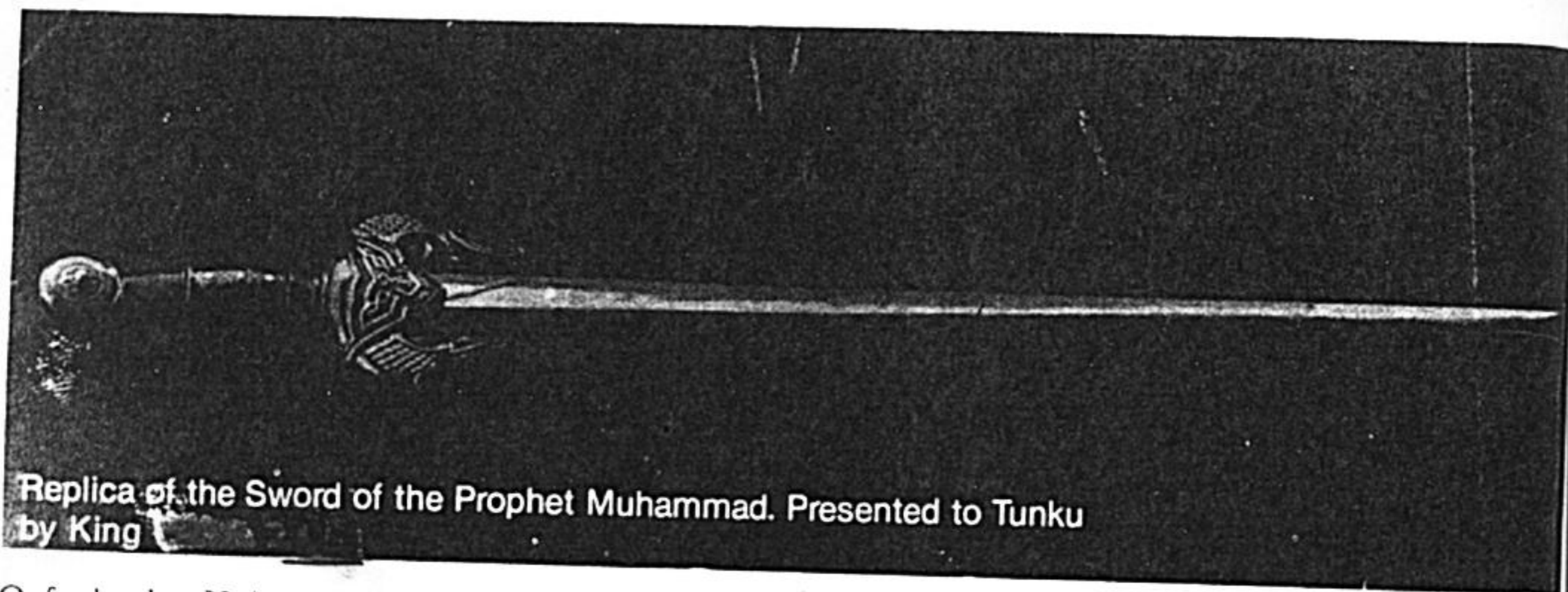
Tunku's close interest in the promotion of Islamic unity has been described elsewhere. But since his return from Jeddah, there has been a notable expansion of activity in Malaysia, East Asia and the South Pacific, as a result of Tunku's initiative. Other members of Muslim minorities give him loyal support, but the ultimate responsibility for sustained activity and progress still rests on Tunku's aged shoulders.

So many decorations, honours and awards have been conferred on Tunku in the course of his long and illustrious career that neither he nor Mr. Cheah can supply a complete list. But they include the highest Awards from Malaysia, Cambodia and Vietnam (in pre-Communist days), Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, the Philippines, Morocco, Ethiopia, Netherlands, Belgium & West Germany.

Many universities acquired merit by conferring on Tunku Honorary degrees, usually in Law or Letters. These included the University of Cambridge, the University of



Tunku at work in his office in Kuala Lumpur with his secretary, Mr. Cheah.



Replica of the Sword of the Prophet Muhammad. Presented to Tunku
by King

Oxford, the University of Malaya, the National University of Malaya, the Science University in Penang, the Prince of Songkla University and the Chula Longkong University in Thailand, the University of Manila, the University of Araneta also in the Philippines, the University of Sydney in Australia and the University of Aligarh in India.

Awards of an even greater international prestige were conferred on Tunku in 1983, when he was 80 years of age. On 1 March 1983 Tunku received the Faisal Award from King Fahd, son and heir of the late King Faisal, in the royal capital of Saudi Arabia.

Three weeks later Tunku flew to Islamabad to receive, from General Zia, President of Pakistan, the Hijrah Award. Tunku was the first person to receive it.

Both awards were given to Tunku in recognition of his unique contribution at international and national level, to the cause of Islamic unity.

The King Faisal Award was presented to Tunku in an assembly of Muslim leaders and scholars in a great hall in Riyadh. The presentation of the Hijrah Award took place out of doors, witnessed by thousands, and was part of a military ceremonial which commemorated the anniversary of Pakistan's National Day.

Both Awards took the form of large gold medallions, accompanied by substantial cash gifts.

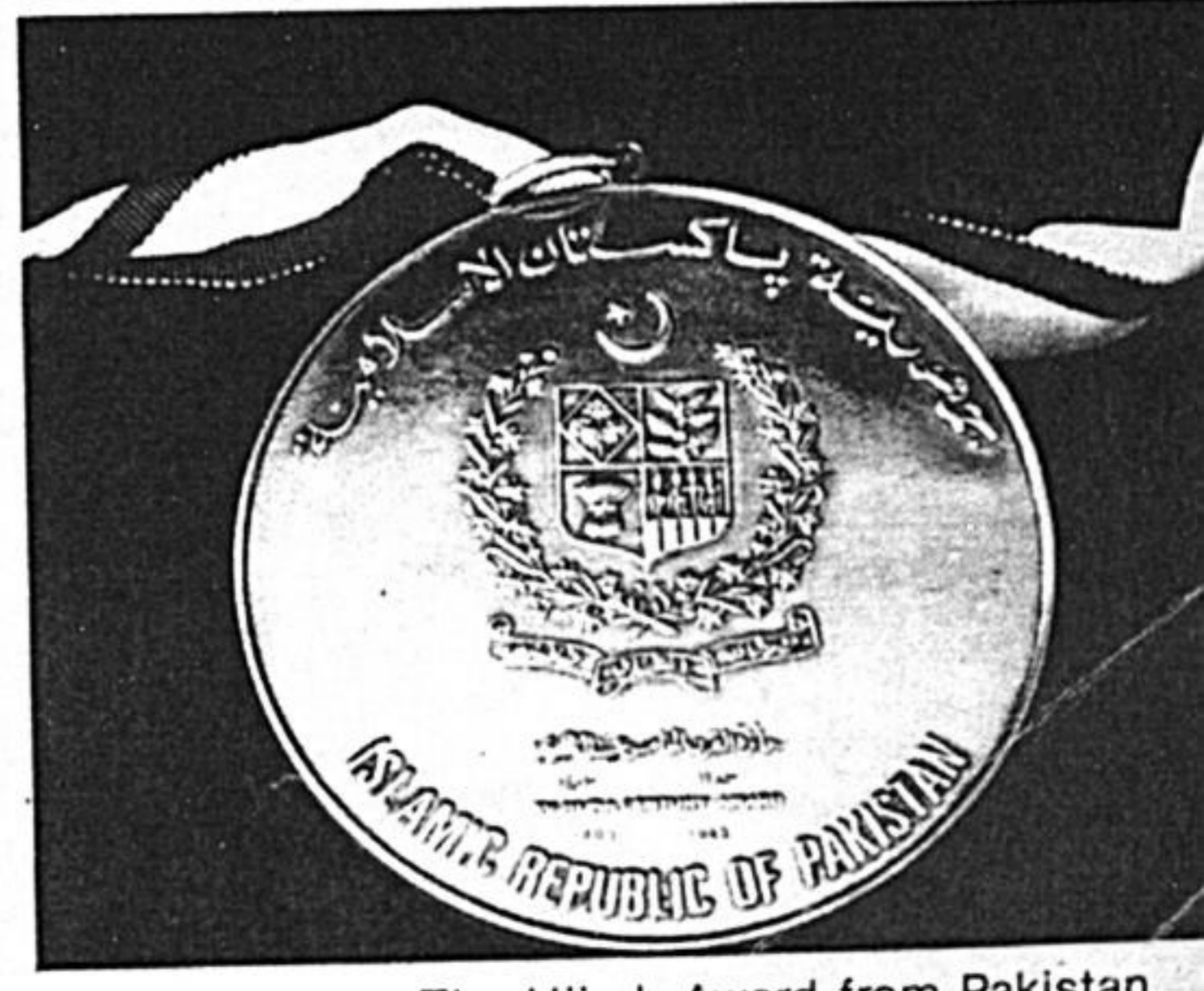
In 1987, shortly before Tunku's 84th

birthday, the High Commissioner for Australia in Malaysia, Mr. David Evans, announced that Queen Elizabeth had, on the advice of the President of Australia, approved the appointment of Tunku as an Honorary Companion of the Order of Australia. The Foreign Minister of Malaysia, Datuk Rais Yatim, arranged for the presentation to take place in the Treaty Room in the Foreign Ministry building in Kuala Lumpur appropriately named "Wisma Putra". The emblem of the Order is a large gold and light blue disc, representing a Mimosa flower.

Awards of a different category have been created and are being conferred each year, in Tunku's name, on some of the most talented Malaysian students for further studies overseas. These form part of the continuing benevolence of the Tunku Abdul Rahman Foundation.

The Foundation was established as a national institution by an Act of Parliament approved at a session held on 15 July 1966, to commemorate Tunku's services to the nation.

Funds were contributed by members of the public, UMNO members, by firms, companies and state governments, and now total over ten million Malaysian dollars. These are administered by a board of trustees, whose Chairman is appointed by His Majesty, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and whose members include a representative of the Ministry of



The Hijrah Award from Pakistan.



Education and of the Treasury.

Tan Sri Khir Johari and Datuk Lim Sun Hoe have played a prominent part in the administration of the Foundation and in the implementation of the original project.

The Tunku Abdul Rahman Awards now include: a Tunku Fellowship for a Malaysian graduate for studies at Ph.D. level; two Tunku Abdul Rahman scholarships for Malaysian students for post-doctorate studies at Cambridge University; a scholarship to the Malaysian University of Agriculture; a scholarship for a student at the Prince of Songkla University; a special award to a blind student at Master's level; a gold medal, *Pingat Tunku*, awarded to the best graduate from local universities and the Tunku Chair, for the study of International Law, at the University of Malaya.

Dr. Mahathir, when Minister of Education, drew up a programme of Special Awards, and improved the administration of the Foundation. These proposals were implemented by Dato' Musa Hitam in 1979, and he organized a "Tunku Abdul Rahman Foundation Night" in conjunction with Tunku's 76th birthday. At a dinner on that occasion, Tunku's Gold Medal, scholarships and prizes were presented to the winners of the awards. This function has been continued annually.

Tunku takes a keen interest in the activities of the Foundation and in the winners of these awards.

Tunku has always possessed the gift of making friends at all levels of society and among all communities. It was an immense advantage during the long struggle for Independence by peaceful means, a feat which no one else but he could have achieved.

As he grew older, his relatives and many friends delighted to join in celebrating his birthday. Even in his old age, he has retained the natural charm, the infectious chuckle and a spontaneous sense of humour.

In February 1987, his family in Alor Setar and Penang and his friends in Kuala Lumpur competed for the privilege of organizing the celebration of his 84th birthday. In the end, they agreed on a

Opp. page top

Tunku receives the grand order of the Republic of Tunisia in 1976.

Opp. page bottom

Tunku receives the Tun Abdul Razak Foundation Award in 1978 from Toh Puan Hajjah Rahah.

Medallion of the Order of Australia.





Tunku with Tan Sri Khir Johari and Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi at the "Malam Yayasan Tunku Abdul Rahman".

compromise — extending the festivities over three days.

A dinner party in Kuala Lumpur on Friday night, 6 February was the "Curtain Raiser".

Some years earlier Tunku had appealed to his friends not to give him any more presents: donations to one of Tunku's favourite charities were the only exception. Iced and decorated cakes would be relayed to welfare homes.

But on the night of 6 February Tunku's hosts, the heads of Sime Darby and Genting decided to ignore his embargo. At an appropriate moment, after a congratulatory speech, Tunku Ahmad Yahaya, representing one of Tunku's principal hosts, handed him a decoratively wrapped parcel. The cover was quickly removed and Tunku gazed in delighted surprise at a book, elegantly bound in red leather with gilded tooling. The book had been printed in Penang in 1824. The author, John Anderson, was an official in the service of the British East India Company and he described at length events leading up to the occupation of Kedah (spelt Quedah) by the Siamese in 1821. A water colour portrait of

left

Tunku delivering his speech at "Malam Yayasan Tunku Abdul Rahman".

Opp. page

Tunku at the dinner.



the refugee Sultan had been inserted as a frontispiece.

The book was believed to be the only surviving copy in private ownership and had been purchased at an auction in London at a fabulous price.

Tunku's knowledge of Kedah history is unequalled by any layman, and he promised himself at least an hour of uninterrupted browsing as soon as possible.

On Saturday morning, 7 February, friends began to assemble at Tunku's house in Kuala Lumpur before he had left his bedroom and to await him in a large sitting room which had recently been redecorated, as if to prepare for the occasion.

Tunku emerged, wearing a white bush jacket, and touched the hands of a dozen well-wishers who had assembled in the hall.

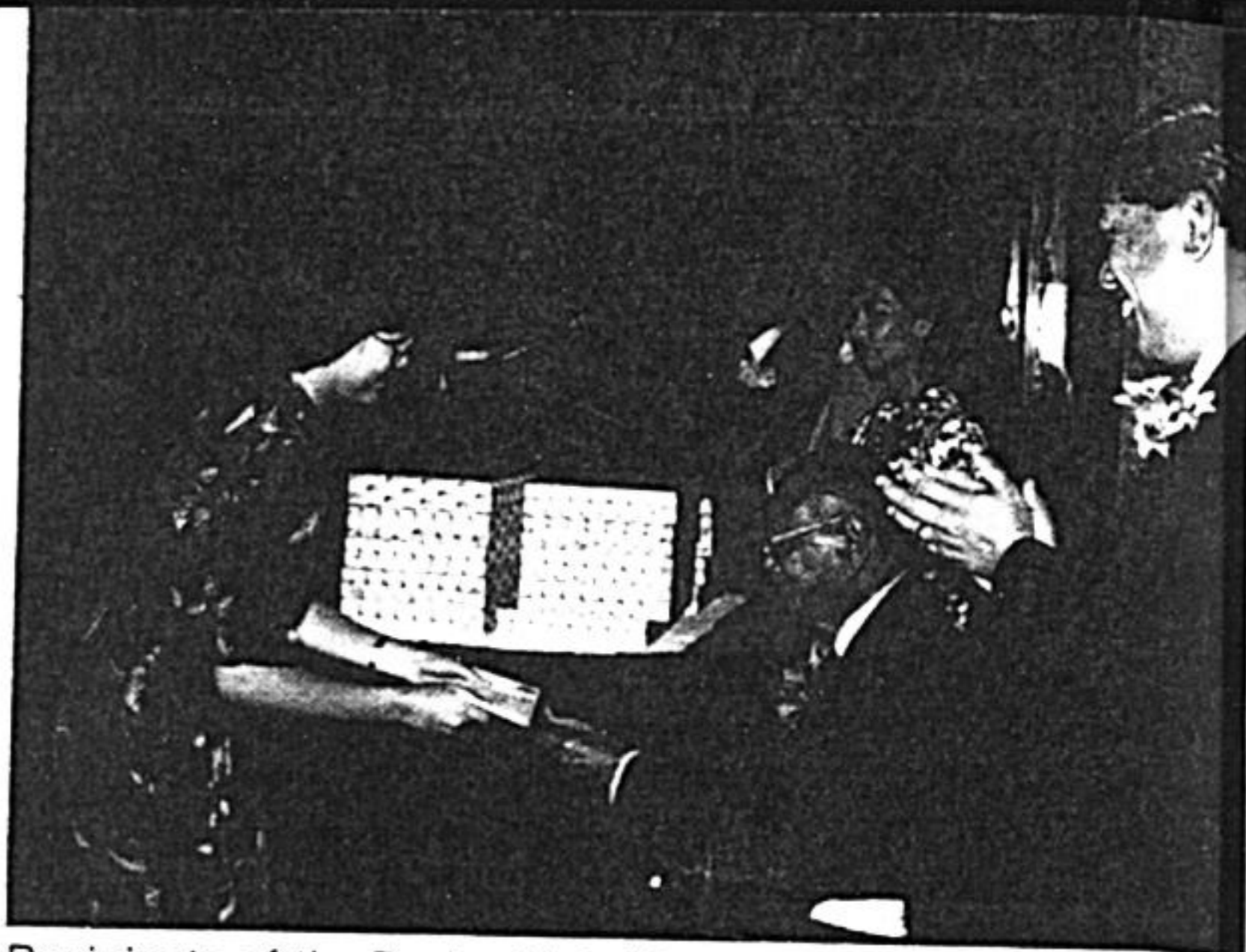
The President of PETRONAS, Tan Sri Abdullah Salleh, had come to hand Tunku a cheque for M\$10,000 as a birthday donation to one or more of Tunku's chosen charities.

Tunku faced a barrage of cameras as he accepted the cheque and announced that he would give half to the victims of a recent fire which had destroyed one hundred timber houses in Kuala Lumpur and one half to PERKIM to enable the publications committee to print and publish more booklets for Muslim converts.

Tunku dispensed light refreshments in the dining room with the air of a man with no other engagements.

But in Tunku's outer office, Mr. Cheah waited anxiously. Tunku had still to finalize the text of a speech which he was due to deliver that afternoon.

The telephone rang almost continuously with birthday messages. Samad, Tunku's veteran bodyguard, another survivor from Tunku's years as Prime Minister, stood guard at the entrance to Tunku's inner office, restraining optimistic visitors, autograph hunters and newspaper reporters who had by-passed the front entrance of the house. Mr. Cheah also knew that a double pile of copies of Tunku's latest book were standing on Tunku's desk waiting to be autographed.



Recipients of the Tunku Abdul Rahman Foundation Awards in 1986.

Silver tray presented to Tunku in March 1987 by the Selangor, Perak, Penang and Singapore Turf Clubs in appreciation of his services to horse-racing.





Mrs. Thatcher, British Prime Minister, visits Tunku in Kuala Lumpur. Mr. Cheah stands behind Tunku.



Encik Abdul Samad bin Mokhtar, Tunku's bodyguard since 1963.



Mr. Cheah Phee Cheok, Tunku's private secretary since 1955.

Tunku had arranged to fly to Penang that night, but not until Encik Ghafar bin Baba, the Deputy Prime Minister, had launched *Political Awakening*, Tunku's latest book, in the ballroom of a well known hotel.

Every chair in the ballroom was occupied when Tunku stepped on to the carpeted platform at five o'clock, followed by Encik Ghafar, the publisher, Mr. Ng Tieh Chuan and Tan Sri Lee Siow Mong. Tan Sri Lee's presence was not related to the launching ceremony, but he had flown from Singapore so that he could present to Tunku, on the eve of his birthday, a gift of his own devising. It was not an historic heirloom, but it was almost as rare. After a short speech praising Tunku's work to promote inter-racial harmony, Tan Sri Lee handed Tunku an elegant Chinese scroll inscribed by him with birthday greetings in the Malay (*Jawi*) script, using Indian ink.

Encik Abdul Ghafar spoke with affection of his long political association with Tunku,

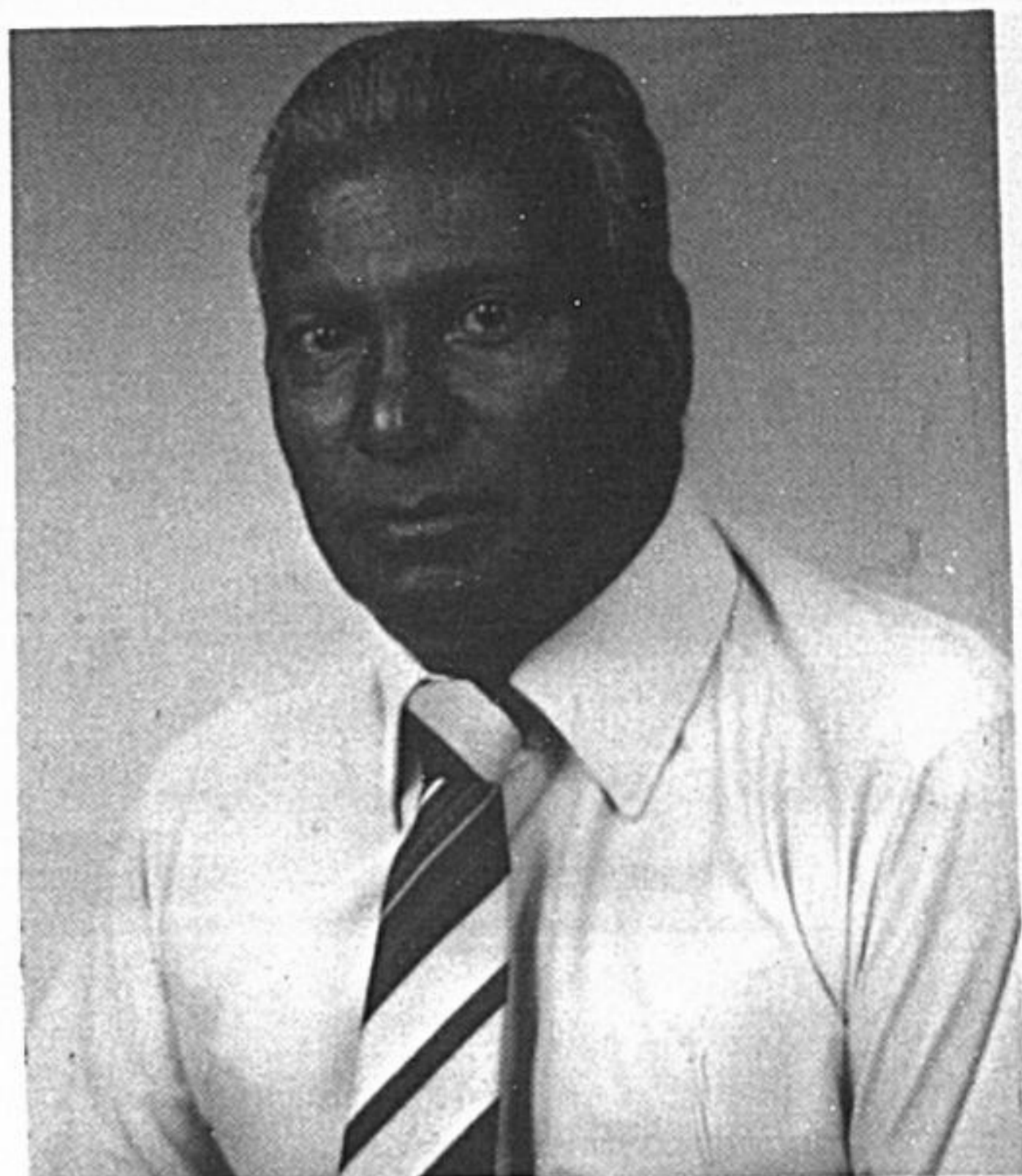
dating back to 1950. It was then Tunku's turn. His audience, which included ambassadors, community leaders and old friends, watched with some alarm as Tunku extracted from his pocket several large sheets of paper, on which he had written notes, big enough for him to see, in spite of his failing eyesight. They were soon reassured: Tunku scarcely glanced at his text and spoke extempore.

Tunku has the gift of shaping his phrases so that they generate spontaneous laughter. He spoke first in Malay and then in English. Nearing the end of his remarks in English he paused for a moment before saying "Whether we look East or West, we shall always be friends with England."

Tunku moved across to relax with Encik Ghafar, Tun Tan Siew Sin, Tan Sri Lee and members of the diplomatic corps over cups of tea, while the majority of the audience purchased their autographed copies and



Mr. Owen Chung, Tunku's A.D.C. since 1974.



Mr. R. Kalimuthoo, Tunku's driver since 1957.

consumed light refreshment at the other end of the ballroom.

Tunku drove to the airport that night and flew to Penang. He reached his brightly illuminated house at about eleven. Numerous members of his family were waiting to welcome him and it was midnight before he could turn off his bedside lamp.

But before the sun rose on 8 February, Tunku, with astonishing resilience, had woken and had repeated his dawn prayer. His sisters, only a little younger than Tunku, were also early astir, helping to prepare for the impending avalanche of visitors.

By nine o'clock, a double row of well-wishers, who had come by bus or on foot, were waiting outside the walled entrance to Tunku's compound. The name of the road had been changed by the municipal authorities in time for this morning's gathering and now read Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman.

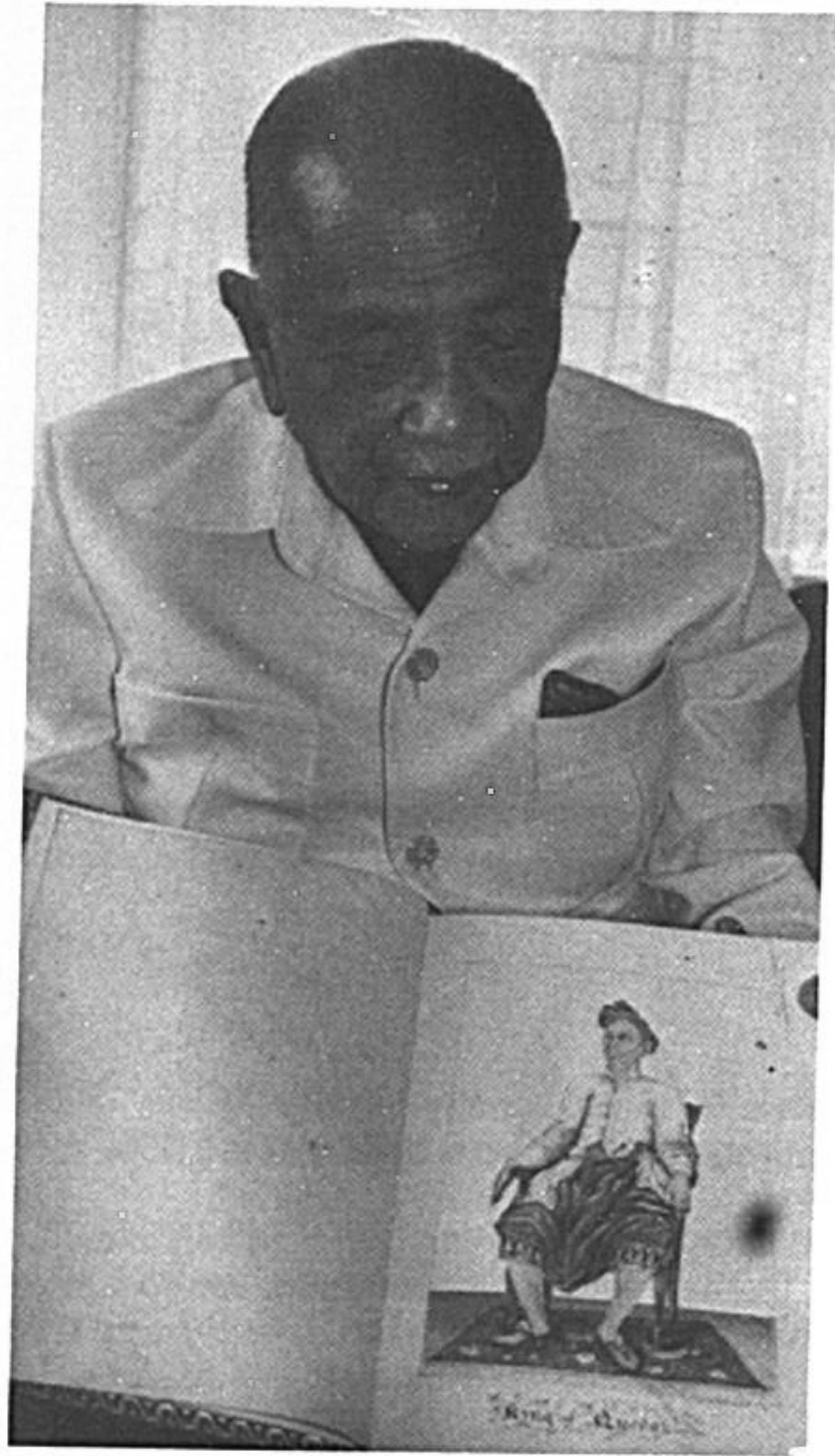
Tunku's honorary Penang A.D.C. Mr

Owen Chung, a member of an ancient Penang Chinese family, waited near the entrance until Tunku and his wife had taken their seats at one end of a long table in his dining room.

The men at the head of the column were then admitted. Access to Tunku's dining room is through a spacious hall. Its walls are covered with tall glass-fronted display cases full of Tunku's treasures.

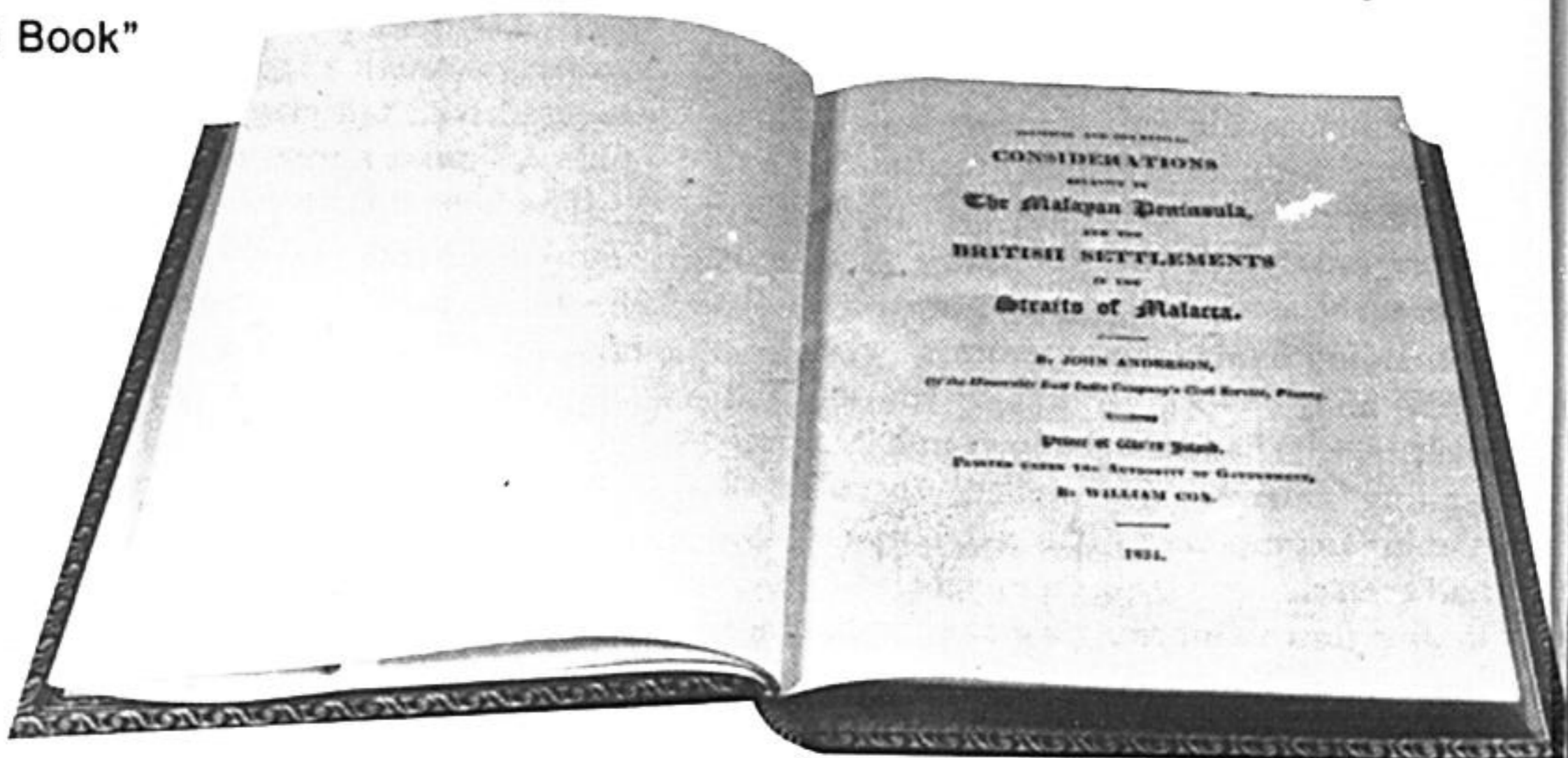
The first objective of everyone was to touch Tunku's hand and to wish him a happy birthday, they then passed behind his chair and filed along the other side of the room. Refreshments, laid out on broad dishes were now sampled and needed to be replenished frequently. These well-wishers were in many cases humble men and women, Chinese, Indians and Malays — the people of Penang.

The Deputy President of the MCA, Datuk Lee Kim Sai, and the Secretary-General of the



Tunku with "The Rare Book"

"The Rare Book" cover and title page.





Portrait of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin (1803—1945), Tunku's great-great grandfather.

1903
42

DAP Mr. Lim Kit Siang, Datuk Lee's political rival, arrived almost together; each was followed by a substantial group of supporters. Both groups sang birthday greetings, the MCA brought a mobile orchestra for good measure, and both presented Tunku with mammoth-iced cakes.

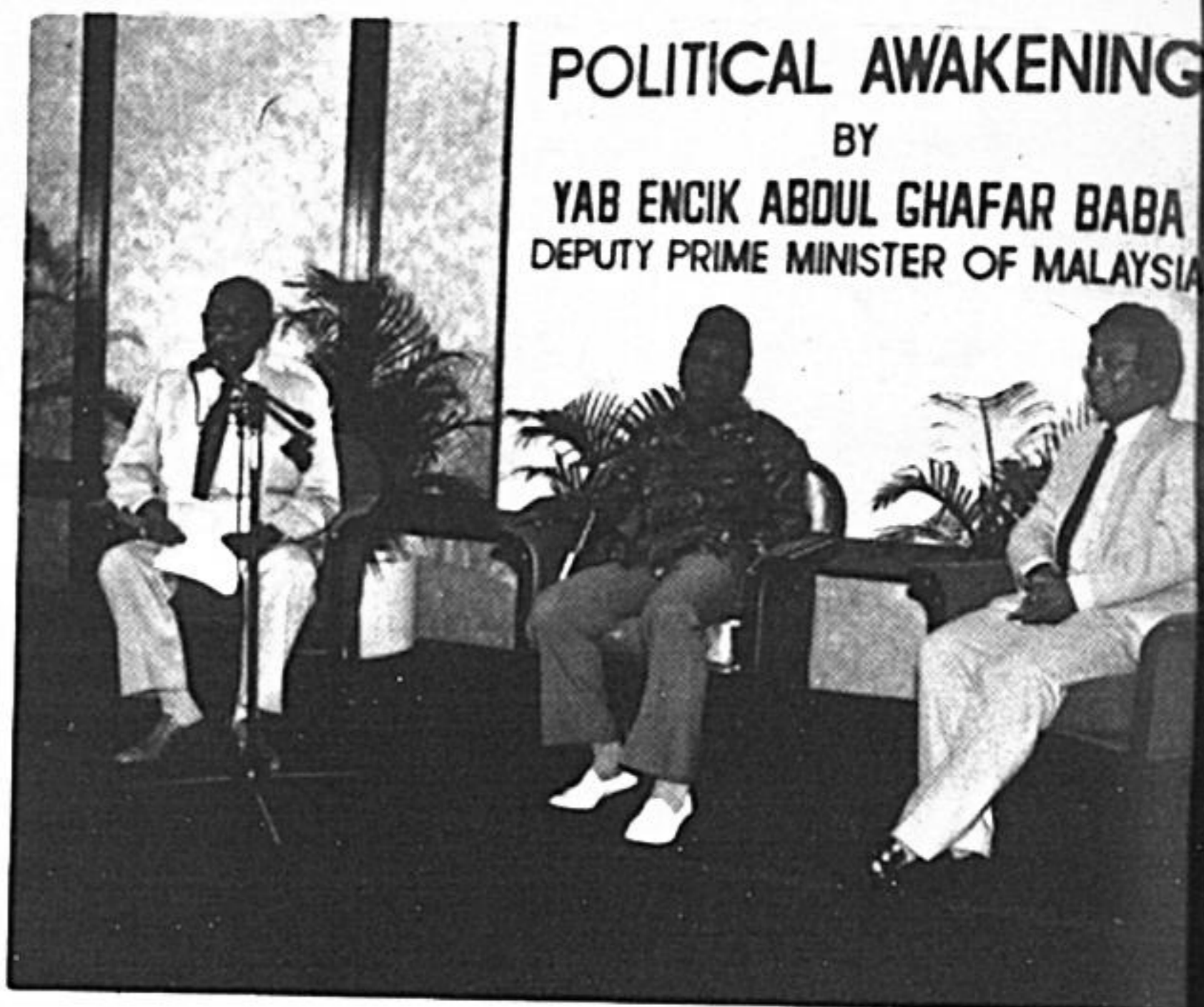
Not long afterwards, while the flow of well-wishers continued, Tun Awang, the Governor of Penang and Dr. Lim Chong Eu, the Chief Minister entered, sat beside Tunku for a short time and then withdrew. Tun Omar Ong and his wife Toh Puan Dr. Aishah Ong had come from Kuala Lumpur to represent PERKIM. Locally-based members of the diplomatic corps followed.

Some Indian visitors placed garlands round Tunku's neck. Krishnan, another admirer, brought flower petals, a bottle of water and a small basin so that his wife, Chandra, could bathe Tunku's feet, a gesture normally reserved for their own father.

Television cameras and press photographers covered much of the morning's cavalcade. Much to Tunku's relief they eventually withdrew.

As the visitors moved back to the entrance, they paused to gaze at the contents of the wall cases. These included a small selection of foreign honours and awards conferred on Tunku at different times in his career: many others are displayed in the Penang Museum.

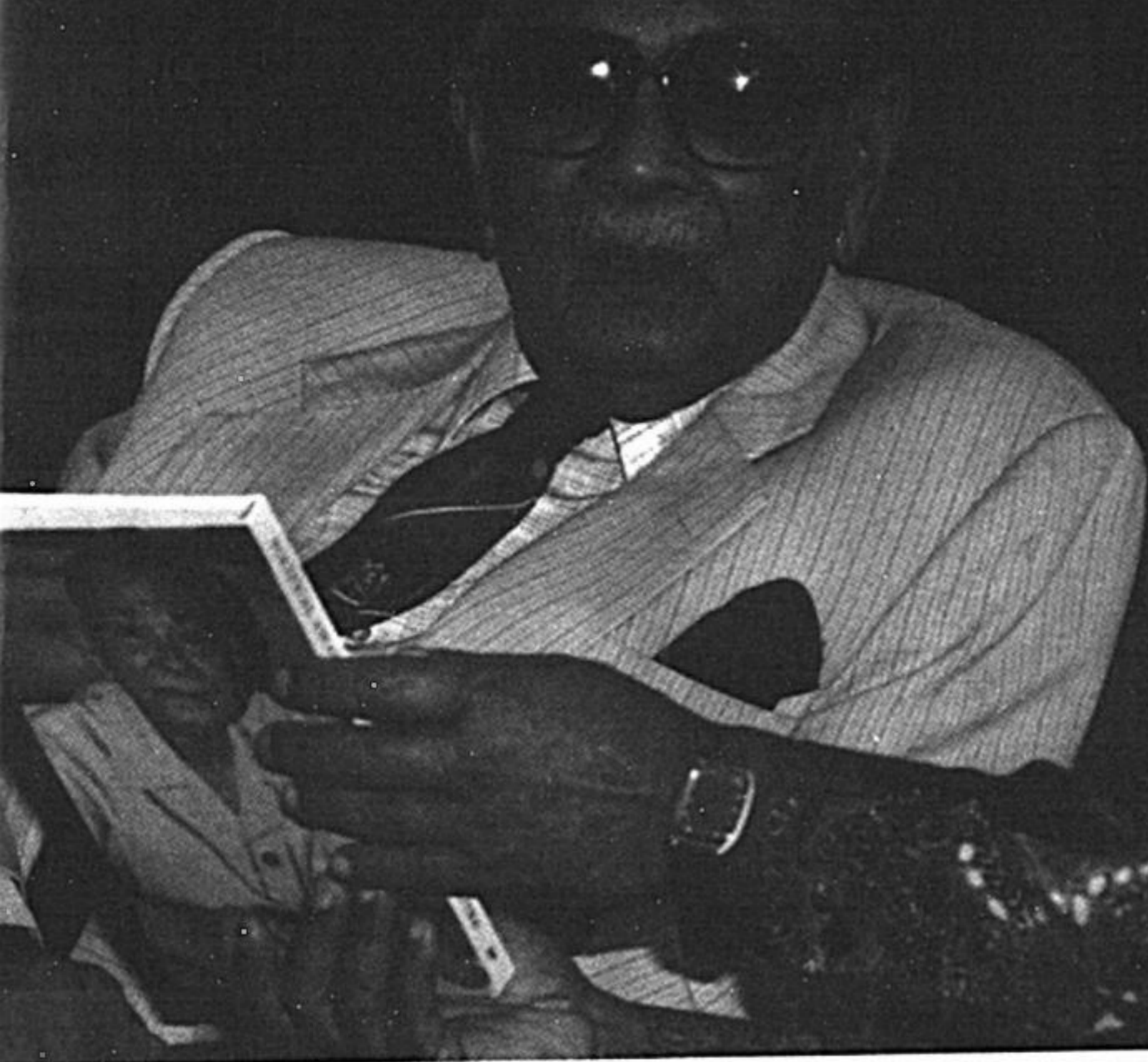
In one wall case, a heavy-curved sword was prominent. It is a replica of the sword of the Prophet Muhammad. The original rests in the great museum in Istanbul and this copy was made, at the request of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and presented to Tunku personally by the King's son. Another case is crowded with large silver trays, each inscribed by the donors, and in yet another case are framed photographs of Heads of State whom Tunku had entertained or who had entertained Tunku. Pewter cylinders containing scrolls occupy another display case; prominent among them is the parchment which was



Tunku at the launching of *Political Awakening*, 7 February 1987 with Ghafar Baba and Ng Tieh Chuan.

Opp. page

Encik Ghafar Baba admiring the book.



presented to Tunku when he received the Freedom of the City of London in 1968.

Tunku and his family remained in the dining room to share a lunch of curry and rice which some of the family had helped to prepare. Tunku then walked slowly up the long, curved staircase to his bedroom for a short siesta.

In his office greeting telegrams had been delivered and a number of the largest cakes occupied a side table waiting for onward delivery.

Tunku reappeared at 3 p.m. He had promised himself a visit to the Penang Turf Club, although there was no race meeting — only off-course betting. But he knew that he would meet old friends at Batu Gantong. Kalimuthoo, his driver for nearly thirty years, swept him away and then a little before 5 p.m., drove him to the Penang Football Stadium, where Tunku watched Kedah beat Pahang, another form of birthday present.

While the people of Penang, at all levels of society expressed their affection and admira-

tion, newspapers in every language carried articles, photographs, biographical notes and full or half-page birthday greetings.

The Star included a twelve-page supplement devoted exclusively to Tunku and his birthday.

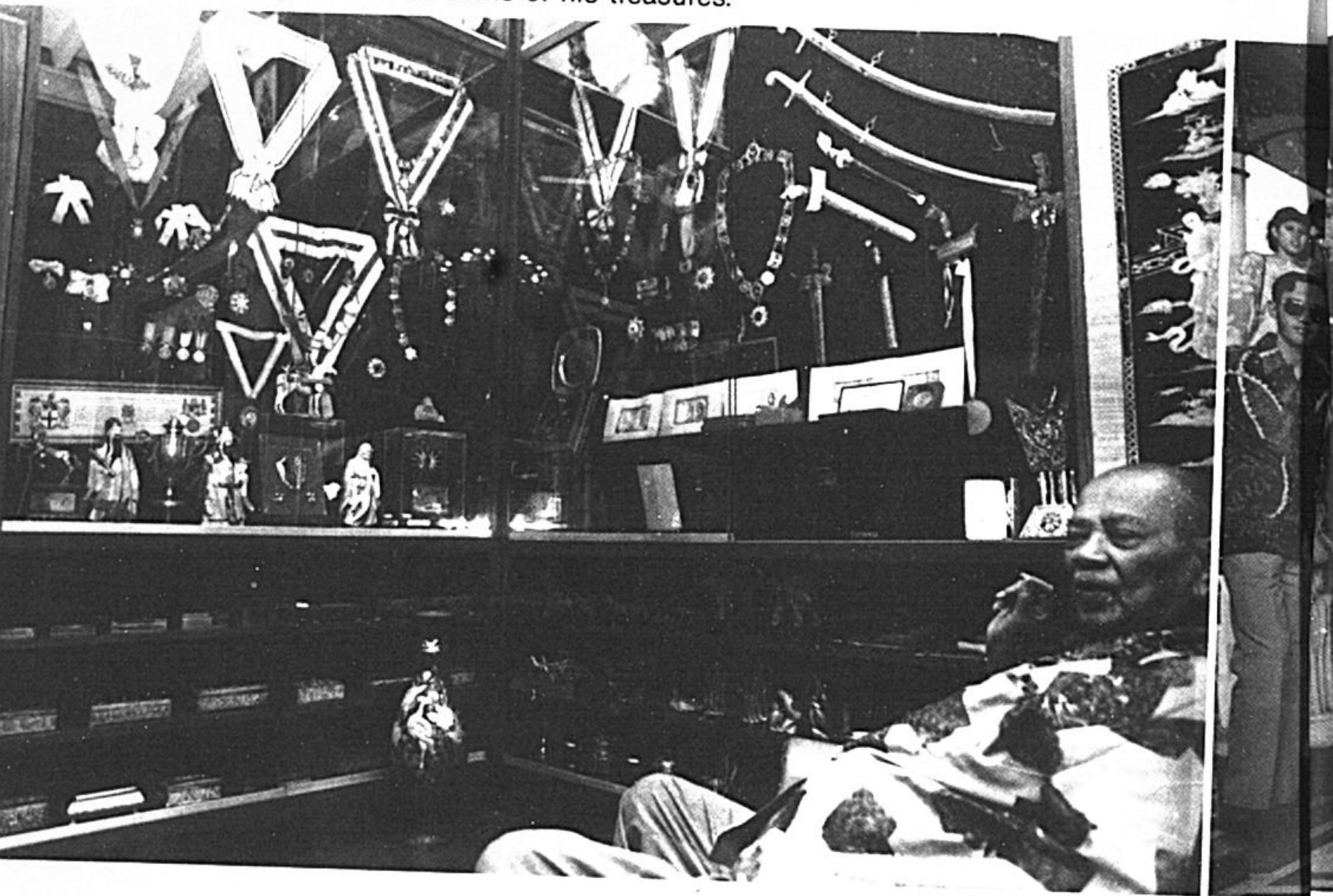
It also published a message from the Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. It read (in translation):

We are thankful to Allah that the Tunku is still able to contribute his invaluable service, especially in welfare services and missionary work. His willingness to serve society even at his age is a pride all Malaysians share.

Datuk Dr. Ling Liong Sik, the Transport Minister and President of the MCA wrote:

The Tunku is one Malaysian who is loved and respected by the whole nation. He personally epitomizes the values cherished by all Malaysians — the values of goodwill, tolerance, moderation, peace and justice Let us return to the traditional values which the Tunku

Tunku in his Penang home with some of his treasures.



Tunku with some members of his family on his birthday in 1986 in Alor Setar.

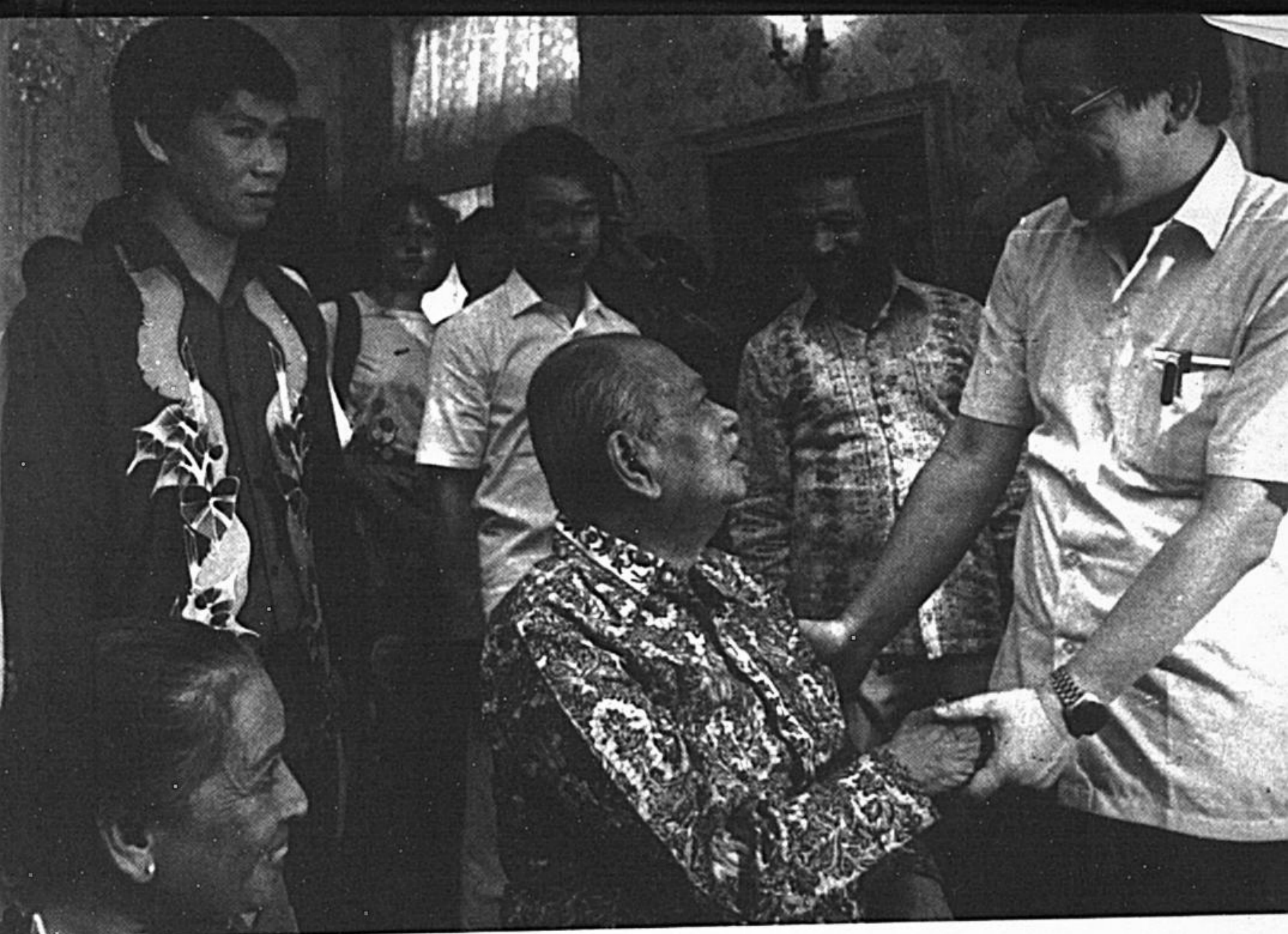




MCA Deputy President Datuk Lee Kim Sai and the party's birthday cake.

Opp. page top
DAP Secretary-General Lim Kit Siang congratulates the Tunku.

Opp. page bottom
The Tunku congratulated by the members of the staff of *The Star*.



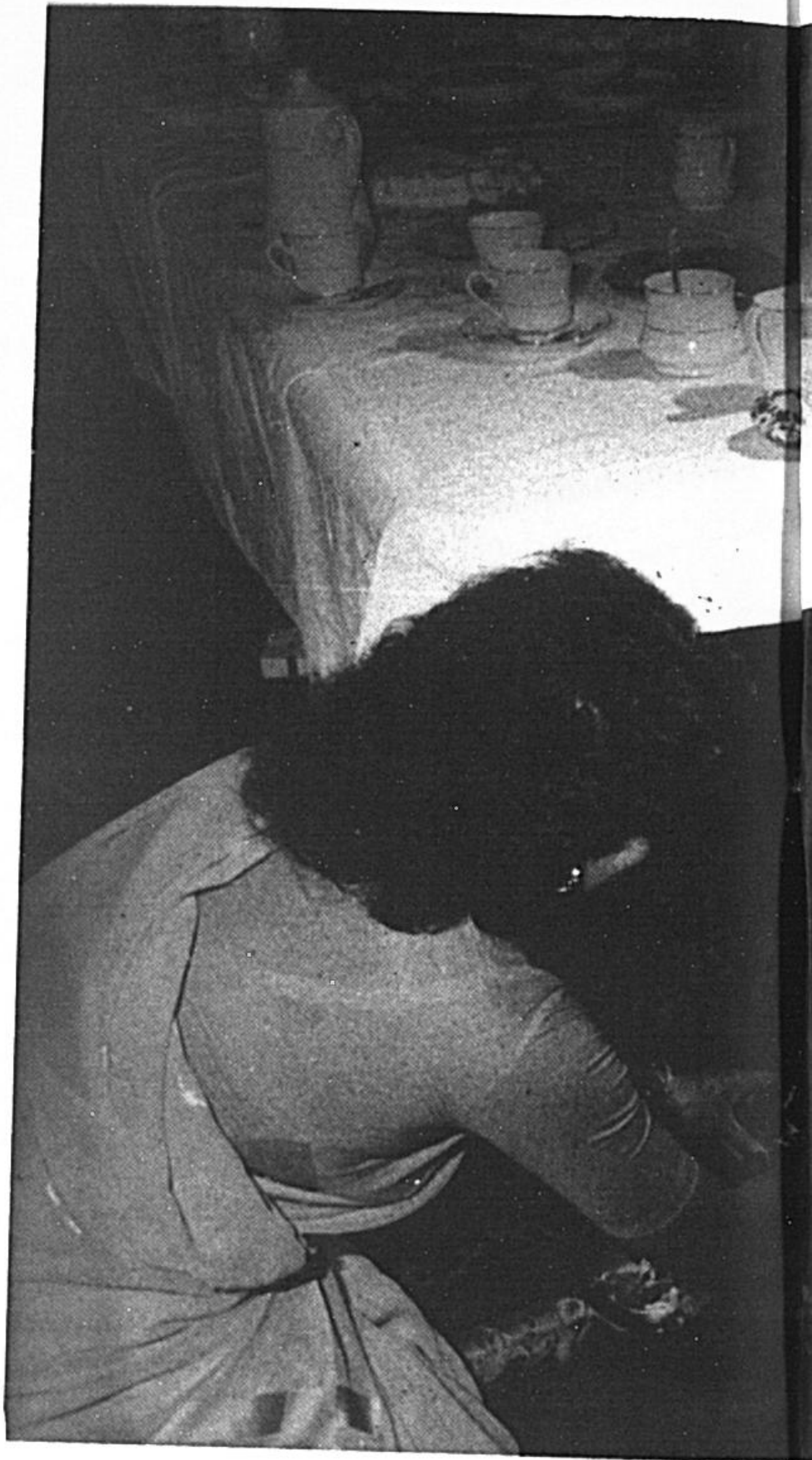
espoused, for these are the attributes which will hold the nation together.

Datuk S. Samy Vellu, Minister of Works and President of the MIC wrote:

Years have gone by since you delivered us from the bondage of colonialism and gave the nation *Merdeka*, but the great principles by which you achieved nationhood are here to guide us. It is our pride that one of the greatest figures of our history is living with us, speaking to us and teaching us the way of living together

Tan Sri Mohamed Khir Johari wrote: Malaysians of all racial origins and religious beliefs have good reason to be grateful to God that we still have the Tunku in our midst. During these uncertain times he gives us hope and inspiration. Malaysia needs him now more than ever.

Perhaps these and many other tributes which were offered to Tunku on his birthday can be summarized in some words which appeared on 9 February in the *New Straits Times* second leading article, under the heading *A Rare Man* — "The best present we can give the Tunku is to ensure that this nation enjoys his legacy of racial harmony, generation after generation."





Mrs. Krishnan bathing Tunku's feet according to the Hindu custom.

Index

- Abdul Aziz Ishak 4,5,10.
Abdul Hamid, Sultan 44.
Abdul Rahman Hj. Talib 4,5,10.
Abdul Razak, Tun 1,4,5,10,11,26,
29,34,44,58,65,66,79,89,95,98,
102,103,104.
Accord in Manila 59.
Aga Khan 116.
Alliance 64,65,67,68,75.
Alor Setar 16,26,27,44,126,135.
American 17,19.
Anderson, John 136.
Arab States 21,108,116.
As I see it — Weekly article 130.
Asian Football Confederation (AFC)
40.
Asian Games 40,44.
Australia 46,58,59,124,132.
Azahari 59.
- Bahaman Samsudin 4,5,10.
Baharuddin Kassim 20.
Bank, Islamic Development 115.
116,120,126.
British High Commissioner 1,67.
Brunei 56,58.
- Cambridge University 46,135.
Chin Peng 79.
China, People's Republic of 40,102,
123,124.
Chinese 57,62,72,116,140,141.
Colombo Plan 12.
Commonwealth 12,16,31,34,65.
Confrontation 16,58,70,74,101.
Culture, Ministry of 50,51.
- D.A.P. 74.
death house 82.
Defence Agreement 68.
Directorate 34,89.
- Egypt 108.
Elections 77,82.
Emergency (State of Regulations)
12,31,89,90,101.
Europe 19,94,116,123.
External Affairs 10,111.
- Faisal
Prince 24,108,109,116.
King 89,90,101,110,111,113,115,
116,117,126,132,144.
Finance Ministers 70.
football 36,52.
Football Association of Malaya
(FAM) 38,45.
Foreign Minister 101,109,116.
Foreign Policy 12.
- Gerakan 83.
Ghafar baba 94,137,144.
Goodwill Council, National 88,95,
101,140.
- Hamzah Dolmat 51.
Harun Idris, Dato 75,83.
Ho Kok Hoe 27,30.
Hong Kong 121, 123.
horse-racing 46,48,52,138.
- Indonesia 12,16,52,58,59,62,131.
Information and Broadcasting,
Ministry of 10,50,51.
Internal Security (Home Affairs) 10.
Iran 108.
Iraq 108.
Ismail (Dr.), Abdul Rahman 5,10,
26,34,74,89,94,95.
Israel 40,44.
- Japanese 31,50,126.
Jeddah 46,101,104,110,111,113,116,
117,118,120,126,131.
Johore 109.
Johore Bahru 74.
- Kedah 19,21,27,36,44,51,70,101,
103,136,138,144.
Kepong 77,79,95.
Khmer 17,19,22.
Khir Johari, Mohd. 4,5,10,75,135,
136.
Korea 40,123.
Korea, South 40,47,121,123,131.
Kuala Lumpur 17,19,20,21,29,36,
48,50,52,62,64,77,103,104,107,

- 109,110,116,121,122,123,130,131,
135,136,138,139,144.
Kuwait 40,44.
- Labour Party 77,79,101.
Lee, Col. H.S. 1,4,10.
Lee Kim Sai 141,148.
Lee Kong Chian 27,30.
Lee Kuan Yew 57,62,64,65,66,67,
68.
Lim Chong Eu 144.
Lim Kit Siang 144,148.
Loh Boon Siew, Datuk 126,128.
London 16,58,64,72,108,116.
- Macapagal 19,58,59.
MacMillan, Harold 58.
Mahathir, Mohamad 75,95,135,144.
Melaka 90.
Malay dancing 50,51.
Malaya 12,16,17,36,44,46,57,58,62,
108,116.
Malaya Cup 38
Marshall, David 51,57.
Mausoleum, National 26.
Melbourne Cup 47,48.
Merdeka Stadium 20,94.
Monument, National 31,32.
Morocco 101,108,131.
Mosque, National 21,29,36.
Musa Hitam, Dato' 95,135.
Museum, National 27,30,31,32.
Mustapha, Datu, Tun 58,62,128.
- National Day 101,132.
National Language Act 75.
Nehru, Pandit 16.
Ngo Dinh Diem 16,17.
Nigeria 16.
- Ong Yoke Lin 1,4,5,22,94.
Operations Council,
National 94.
Oxford University 132.
- P.A.P.
Singapore 57,62,65,67.
Pakistan 17,108,132.
Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP)
70.
Parliament 26,102,104.
Parliament House 32,35,66,67,94,
100.
Penang 16,48,90,103,126,128,130,
131,135,136,140,141,144,146.
- PERKIM 117,120,121,122,123,138,
144.
Philippines 12,19,58,59,62,70,131.
Phnom Penh 17,19,22.
"Pingat Emas" (horse) 46.
Prime Minister 12,48,123,126.
Public Works Department 20,27.
- R.I.S.E.A.P. 122,123,124.
Rabat 111,113.
Rabitah Al-Alam Al-Islamic 117,
121,122.
Referendum 64.
Residency,
Selangor 1,7,50,51,54,67,87,89,
90.
Rural Development 10.
- Sabah 19,58,60,62,70.
Saigon 17,18.
Sambanthan, V.T. 1,4,5,67,70.
Sarawak 56,57,58.
Sardon Hj. Jubir 1,4,5,94,103.
Saudi Arabia 24,89,109,113,115,
116,131.
- Turf Club 48.
Selkirk, Lord 54,56.
Senu Abdul Rahman 104.
Seoul 123.
Separation (Singapore) 64,67,68.
Sihanoukh, Norodom 17,19,20,22.
Sime Darby 136.
Singapore 56,62,66,116,140.
Soekarno, President 56,58,59.
Sri Taman 95.
The Star newspaper 126,127,128,
129,130,144,148.
New Straits Times newspaper 150.
Subandrio 59,62.
Sulaiman Abdul Rahman, Dato 1,4,
5,10.
Sword of the Prophet Muhammad
132.
Syed Nasir 75,95.
- Tan Chee Khoon 72,74.
Tan Siew Sin 4,5,10,34,67,140.
Tray, Silver 102.
Turf Club 46,145.
- UMNO 38,65,66,74,94,95,98,101,
103,104,113,128,130,132.
U Thant 59,62,64,72.
United Nations 12,31,59,62,102,

111,121,123.
United States 19.
University of Malaya 97,132,135.
"Victory Parade" 82.
Vietnam 16,18,131.
de Welden, Felix 31,32.

Woking,
Mosque 108.

Yang di-Pertuan Agong 5,13,26,31,
32,51,87,90,98,101,102,103,132.

Zainal Abidin Endut 52.

18 AUG 1988