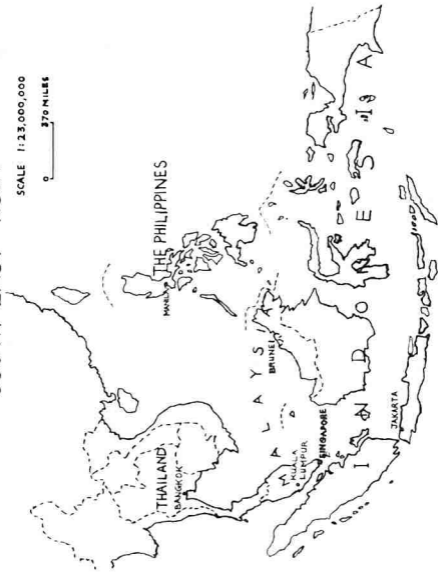


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*Malaysia—
An Anthology*

TAN SRI HAJI KHALID

VANTAGE PRESS
New York Washington Atlanta Hollywood

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FIRST EDITION

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Preface

THE PURPOSE of this book is to have more people in the Democratic World know Malaysia in greater depth to enable them to understand better the situation in Southeast Asia.

In the east, Malaysia comprises of Sabah (formerly British North Borneo) and Sarawak on the island of Borneo. In the west is peninsular Malaysia which juts out of the Southeast Asia mainland right into the heart of the Malay archipelago. Malaysia is, therefore, in the center of the Southeast Asian region. Consequently, if Malaysia falls to the Communist, the whole of Southeast Asia and indeed the rest of Asia will be threatened.

The book is made up of three separate brochures, namely:

- (1) Fundamental Liberties in Malaysia
- (2) Malaysia—Communist or Free?
- (3) The Malaysian Peasants and Communist Subversion

The brochures are in their original forms. Though they were written in 1970 the basic facts are the same. Her tactics and strategies have changed, but China's plan to dominate Asia still remains.

The first brochure deals with human rights and fundamental freedom in Malaysia. The Constitution of Malaysia guarantees these rights and freedom and the Government of Malaysia observes them rigidly because to do otherwise is unconstitutional. Furthermore, in a democracy the will of the people is the source of all rights. If the people have expressed their will which is then translated into law, the law should be respected.

The second and third brochures deal mainly with the Communist threat to Southeast Asia in general and Malaysia in particular. While on this subject, I cannot but touch upon the infamous "Domino Theory." I consider it infamous because it

equates the peoples of Southeast Asia, who are struggling for their survival and freedom, with lifeless pieces of dominoes in a game of dominoes. Psychologically it is dangerous because if a nation succumbs to the theory it will lose all the will and tenacity to do anything to meet the Communist threat. Fortunately, Malaysia does not believe in the theory and is doing everything within her power to prevent the further spread of Communism and Communist domination of Southeast Asia.

My belief is that Malaysia will not become Communist unless and until the Malay peasants, who form the backbone of the Malaysian population, want the country to be so. To prevent Communist subversion of the peasants, every effort has to be made to improve their standard of living and narrow down the socioeconomic disparity gap between the haves of the urban and the have nots of the rural areas. This is the main reason why Malaysia is putting so great an emphasis on rural development under her new economic policy which is Malaysia's contribution towards ASEAN's (Association of Southeast Asian Nations comprising Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand) efforts at self-reliance in order to enhance ASEAN's economic resilience and consolidate further ASEAN's solidarity which would contribute to the peace, progress and stability of Southeast Asia.

My thanks go to Mr. Mohamed Hassan, my private secretary when I was Malaysia's Ambassador in Bonn and Mr. K. Rajagopalan, my private secretary in New Delhi. The former helped in typing and preparing the brochures while the latter helped in reproducing them for the publishers. Without their valuable assistance this book would not have been in print.

My sincere thanks also go to Mr. Leonard Zimmerman of Vantage Press Inc., for editing my work.

I must also thank Vantage Press, Inc., for taking keen interest in my work. They have done a very good job.

Lastly, it is my sincere hope that this book, *Malaysia—An Anthology*, will attract people, who believe in Democracy and all it stands for, to earnestly come forward and diffuse the political dynamite in Southeast Asia before it is too late.

Please try to remember that;
Too much, too late is too bad.

Tan Sri Haji Abdul Khalid Awang Osman
High Commission of Malaysia,
50M, Satya Marg, Chanakyapuri,
New Delhi, India.

MALAYSIA—AN ANTHOLOGY

PART I

FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES
IN
MALAYSIA

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Foreword

ONE LOW TAI THONG is alleged by the Amnesty International to have been arrested without trial in 1956 as a political suspect in Singapore. It is further alleged that although a review board recommended his release in 1962, this recommendation was never in fact carried out and he remained in prison; early in 1967 Low was served with an expulsion order, but this was not executed at that time and in May 1967 he was deported to China after eleven years in jail. The allegation goes on to say that on arrival at a Chinese port, he was refused entry and was sent back to Singapore. Because he was born in Sabah and, therefore, a Malaysian, it is alleged, that he was banished from Singapore and since then detained in Malaysia without trial.

The Amnesty International shows great interest in this case. It takes up the cudgels on Low's behalf and instructs its branches to do everything possible to get Low released. The Federal Republic of Germany branch of Amnesty International accordingly instructs its members to assist in securing the release. In consequence, the Embassy of Malaysia, Bonn, has been inundated with all forms of abusive and derogatory letters against the Government of Malaysia from individual members of the Amnesty International. At first I wrote replies to some of them explaining the real situation. Now I can no longer entertain their letters individually and decide to prepare this article entitled, "Fundamental Liberties in Malaysia" for distribution to them.

I earnestly hope this article will help put matters in their right perspective and convince members of the Amnesty International in the Federal Republic of Germany that the Constitution of Malaysia guarantees human rights and

fundamental freedoms and liberties of man as expounded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is also hoped members of the Amnesty International will cease writing abusive and derogatory letters to me after studying this article. If further clarifications are needed, they should not hesitate to write me. It will be my privilege and pleasure to cooperate with them.

Tan Haji Abdul Khalid Bin Awang Osman
Embassy of Malaysia,
Bonn—Bad Godesberg.
June 1970

Fundamental Liberties in Malaysia

1. Introduction

In a democracy, the will of the people is the source of all rights. The people of Malaysia are sovereign and have the right to express their will by electing, with their conscience, on the basis of universal adult franchise, their representatives to the House of Representatives (Dewan Ra'ayat) which is a fully elected body. The Dewan Ra'ayat passed and approved the Internal Security Act, 1960 (No. 18 of 1960) pursuant to the powers conferred by Article 149 of the Constitution, and it came into force from 1 August 1960. In other words, the enactment of this Act (law) is the expression of the will of the people of Malaysia. Since they have expressed their will through the law, the rights they enjoy then depend upon it.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that rights are relative to a particular society and rest mainly upon custom. In any society, rights are only allowed so long as their exercise does not threaten the state seriously; and rights to the exercise of freedom are allowed provided they do not endanger the basis of the state. No doubt in a democracy, there is a right to freedom of conscience; but freedom to disobey the laws which are expressions of the people's will is a different matter.

The Internal Security Act was enacted for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others, meeting the just requirements of public order and protecting national security and integrity, which are absolutely necessary for a democratic society. Unfortunately, opponents of my government have found it fit to utilize the Act for slandering the constitution and alleging that in Malaysia, human rights and fundamental freedoms are not observed.

2. Origin of Constitution

The Constitution of Malaysia is based on the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya (Federal Constitution). In fact, the latter was only amended to suit political realities and meet the wishes of Malaysians. The Constitution of Malaysia, therefore, is strictly and basically in consonance with the recommendations of the Constitutional Commission, appointed in the name of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom and Their Highnesses the Rulers of the States of Malaya, in January 1956.

In 1955, the Federal Legislative Council was reconstituted with, for the first time, an elected majority; and the Alliance (the major political party, composed of the United Malays National Organization, the Malayan Chinese Association, and the Malayan Indian Congress) secured fifty-one of the fifty-two seats available for elected members at the elections of 1955. From its inception, the new party emphasized its desire for the attainment of independence at the earliest possible date, and in January 1956, a conference was held in London, attended by representatives of Their Highnesses the Rulers and the Alliance, as a result of which the basic principles upon which independence could be achieved were resolved. It was also agreed at that conference that an independent Constitutional Commission should be appointed "to make recommendations for a form of constitution for a fully self-governing and independent Federation of Malaya within the Commonwealth."

It was decided that the Commission should be a small one, and that the chairman and one other member should be nominated by the United Kingdom, while Canada, Australia, India, and Pakistan should each be invited to nominate one member. Unfortunately, it was not possible for the Canadian Government to make a nomination in time, and it was decided that the five members appointed by the other territories would be adequate. These consisted of the Rt. Hon. Lord Ried, LL.D., F.R.S.E., a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary; Sir Ivor Jennings, an expert on Commonwealth constitutional law; the Rt. Hon. Sir William McKell, K.C.M.G., Q.C., a former governor-general of Australia; Mr. B. Malik, a former chief justice of the Allahabad High Court; and Mr. Justice Abdul Hamid of the West Pakistan High Court.

The terms of reference for the Constitutional Commission, which was appointed in the name of Her Majesty the Queen and Their Highnesses the Rulers, were as follows:

To examine the present constitutional arrangements throughout the Federation of Malaya, taking into account the positions and dignities of Her Majesty the Queen and of Their Highnesses the Rulers; and

To make recommendations for a federal form of constitution for the whole country as a single, independent, self-governing unit within the Commonwealth based on Parliamentary democracy with a bicameral legislature, which would include provision for:

- (i) the establishment of a strong central government with the States and Settlements enjoying a measure of autonomy (the question of residual legislative power to be examined by, and to be the subject of recommendations by the Commission) and with machinery for consultation between the Central Government and the States and Settlements on certain financial matters to be specified in the Constitution;
- (ii) the safeguarding of the position and prestige of Their Highnesses as constitutional Rulers of their respective States;
- (iii) a constitutional Yang di-Pertuan Besar (Head of State) for the Federation to be chosen from among Their Highnesses the Rulers;
- (iv) a common nationality for the whole of the Federation;
- (v) the safeguarding of the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of other communities.

These terms of reference echo, it may be noted, the principles drawn up by the working committee appointed in 1946 to consider the Malayan Union, particularly in the emphasis placed upon the establishment of "a strong central government" and the safeguarding of the special position of the Malays. The Commission embodied its recommendations in a report, together with a draft Constitution, which was formally submitted to Her Britannic Majesty and Their Highnesses the Rulers on February 21st, 1957.

It was agreed at the Constitutional Conference held in London in January 1956, that full self-government and independence for the Federation within the Commonwealth should be proclaimed by August 1957, if possible. In

consequence, if the target date of August was to be achieved, there was only a matter of six months for the report and recommendations of the Constitution Commission to be considered, settled, and the final Constitution proclaimed by August 31. A working party was appointed in the Federation to examine the report of the Constitutional Commission and this party, consisting of the High Commissioner, four representatives of Their Highnesses the Rulers, four representatives of the Alliance Government, and the Chief Secretary and the Attorney General, held a series of meetings between February 22 and April 27, and reported to the Conference of Rulers and to the Federal Executive Council by early May of that year. The report was at the same time being studied in the United Kingdom, and when the working party in the Federation had agreed upon its recommendations, a delegation consisting of the High Commissioner, the Chief Minister (an office created as a result of the reconstitution of the Executive Council in 1955), the Attorney-General and representatives of Their Highnesses the Rulers and the Government of the Federation went to London to discuss the report and agree on the final details of the new Constitution. The draft Constitutions contained in the report of the Constitutional Commission were reviewed and amended both in substance and form, but basically the existing Federal Constitution follows the provisions of the draft Constitution recommended by the Constitutional Commission.

The machinery devised for bringing the new Constitution into force consisted of a new Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1957, revoking the previous Agreement of 1948 and containing (in the form of schedules) the new Federal Constitution and the Constitutions of Penang and Malacca. In the United Kingdom, the Federation of Malaya Independence Act, 1957, was passed, and an order in council was made under the Act giving the force of law to the constitutions set out in the schedules to the Agreement of 1957, and revoking the Federation of Malaya Order in Council, 1948. In the Federation, the Federal Constitution Ordinance, 1957, was enacted by the Federal Legislative Council and, in each of the Malay States, State Enactments were passed approving and giving the force of law to the Federal Constitution which later became the foundation of the Constitution of Malaysia.

3. The Constitution

The Constitution of Malaysia is the supreme and over-riding law of the country. Any law passed after Merdeka Day (Independence Day) is null and void if in conflict with the Constitution (but not laws enacted before that date). It would therefore be true to say that the Constitution sets out a broad legal framework within which the country must be run; it lays down the rights of the individual, and the extent to which and in what circumstances the executive may limit these rights; it does not attempt however, to legislate in detail for all matters, but distributes the power of governance (including legislation) in the manner required in a parliamentary democracy of free people. This does not mean that the Constitution cannot be changed if found wanting; but a change would reflect a major change in political structure, and as such can only be made by Parliament if a two-thirds majority is secured. It is also necessary for the Conference of Rulers to approve some of the changes. The detailed effects of the Constitution on human rights and fundamental liberties of man are discussed under the individual headings below.

4. Fundamental Liberties

Part II of the Constitution entrenches a number of basic "freedoms." Some of these are absolute; others can be qualified by Parliament in certain circumstances.

The following liberties are *absolute*:

(1) *Right of life*: no person may be deprived of his life except in accordance with law.

(2) *Freedom from arbitrary arrest*: A person who is unlawfully arrested may claim the protection of the High Court by way of Habeas Corpus. This applies to all people, whether citizens or not (and even to enemy aliens); and when it appears to the Court that the detention is not authorized by law, the court must release the person so detained. Persons arrested on ordinary criminal charges must be made aware of the nature of the charge against them; they must be permitted to seek legal

advice of their own choosing; and they must be produced before a magistrate within twenty-four hours (holidays and travelling time being excluded) if not released earlier. This does not however apply to enemy aliens in wartime or to persons held in preventive detention under any federal law relating to subversion or national emergency, unless the law so provides.

(3) *Slavery is totally prohibited* as is forced labor or compulsion of the individual in his choice of livelihood. The latter does not, however, apply when the law provides for compulsory national service (e.g. conscription). Convicted criminals may be required to undertake work incidental to their sentence.

(4) *Punishment of offenders* may not be imposed if the act done was not punishable at the time of the offense (this principle is the prohibition of retroactive penal legislation).

(5) *Repeated trials* are prohibited. Once a person has been convicted or acquitted he cannot be charged again on the same set of circumstances unless a retrial has been ordered by an appellate court on the grounds that the previous trial was a nullity.

(6) *Equality* of all persons is mandatory under the law.

(7) *Banishment* of a citizen is totally prohibited. If a citizen loses his status as a national, he may of course be deported as an alien.

(8) *Freedom of movement* is generally entrenched but is subject to laws relating to security, public order, public health and the punishment of offenders (e.g. restricted residence after imprisonment).

(9) *Freedom of speech, assembly and association* (the latter meaning the right to join any lawful society, organization, political party, trade union, etc.) are subject only to certain restrictive powers exercisable by Parliament. *Freedom of speech* may be restricted if essential to ensure the security of the nation, friendly international relations, public order and morality, the maintenance of parliamentary privilege, the dignity of the courts and the integrity of individuals. *Freedom of assembly* (persons meeting must be unarmed) and *freedom of association* can only be restricted on grounds of public security, order or morality. The authority for these restrictions would be an Act proclaiming an emergency or a condition of subversion, or a Proclamation by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to the same effect.

(10) *Freedom of religion* is guaranteed. Subject to any State law restricting or prohibiting the proselytizing of Muslims, a religion may be propagated provided no impingement on public order, health and morals

takes place. Religious groups have a prescriptive right to manage their own affairs, to establish institutions for religious or charitable purposes, and to hold property and land as prescribed by law. No person can be obliged to pay taxes wholly or partly designed to finance a religion other than his own. Finally, religious groups may establish schools catering for general education and may set aside time for religious instruction; but a person not belonging to that religion cannot be obliged to attend religious classes or observances in that religion.

(11) *Freedom of education.* Discrimination on grounds of race, religion, descent or place of birth is prohibited in schools maintained by the Government or a public body. Fees and admission of pupils must therefore be uniform. This also applies to grants-in-aid, but federal law may make special financial provision for Muslim religious and other institutions.

(12) *Right to own property.* All persons are entitled to own, acquire or dispose of property in accordance with law (e.g. to hold land in the manner prescribed by the Land Code and Enactments); and a law providing for compulsory acquisition of property must specify that payment of compensation be fair and reasonable.

5. Incitement of Offenses, Disaffection, etc.

Parliament may restrict freedom of speech to the extent necessary to prevent licentious utterances likely to offend friendly nations, cause a breach of the peace or security, or offend against morals or reasonable behavior as between individuals. In the latter case, Parliament by inference has the power to legislate, for example, in matters relating to libel and slander, and to determine the point at which liberty becomes license. Similar powers exist in relation to freedom of movement and assembly, but only in the interests of security and public order.

6. Protection

All persons (whether citizens or not) are equally entitled to the protection of the law. Once a court of law has come to a decision, a person cannot be retried for the same matter unless an appellate court has so ordered.

7. Punishment of Offenses

No person can be punished for his actions unless law has prescribed them as offenses before the action was performed. Once a person has been punished, he cannot again be punished for the same offense, although an appellate court could vary the sentence imposed on him.

8. Security

In the interests of national security, it is lawful for Parliament to restrict certain fundamental liberties (see Subversion).

9. Slavery

Slavery is absolutely prohibited.

10. Subversion and Emergency Powers

Like most written Constitutions, the Federal Constitution tacitly admits that the conduct of everyday affairs must necessarily be related to everyday circumstances; that laws are only moderately severe, but will be complied with by moderately law-abiding citizens; and that legislation cannot foresee every possible circumstance in the future. The constitution therefore recognizes that extremes may be resorted to by extremists (whose methods of coercing others may be unknown); and for that reason, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Parliament and the executive are armed under the constitution with reserve powers to meet any challenge when it is made or can be anticipated.

An eminent American jurist once said of his own country, "... the Government, within the Constitution, has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence." This same statement can be true of the Government and the Constitution of Malaysia. There should, however, be sufficient safeguards.

Before the reserve powers may be used, it must be apparent

that action has been taken or is threatened "by a substantial body of persons" (whether in Malaysia or abroad) to do one or more of five things:

- (a) to cause a substantial number of citizens to fear organized violence against persons or property;
- (b) to excite disaffection against the Yang di-Pertuan Agong or any of the Governments;
- (c) to cause inter-racial or inter-class strife;
- (d) to dislocate the existing order; and
- (e) to endanger the national security.

If Parliament is satisfied as to any one or more of these threats existing, it may pass an Act of Parliament to counter the threats specified. The Act may even override parts of the Constitution—to protect in the long term the fundamental liberties. Parliament may even temporarily deprive the citizen of some of them. (This may seem paradoxical but is essentially logical. In wartime [when the "freedoms" are being defended] it would be a shortsighted constitution which did not permit, say, press censorship to safeguard vital military secrets). The liberties which can be restricted are: freedom of liberty (i.e. preventive detention); freedom of movement (i.e. restricted residence) or residence (banishment or exclusion orders); and freedom of speech, assembly and association. But every action of the Executive is subject to parliamentary approval in the long run; an emergency Act may be repealed by Parliament at any time by simple resolution of both Houses.

It may sometimes happen that a state of national crisis comes about at very short notice, in which case it is not practicable for Parliament to enact the necessary emergency laws: indeed, Parliament may not even be sitting. If such an emergency arises, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (acting on the advice of the cabinet) may issue a proclamation and by decree authorize the executive to act as though a law had been passed; but he must as soon as possible summon Parliament, and the latter may confirm or negate the action taken. Thus the final decision rests with Parliament.

Mention has been made of preventive detention under these emergency powers. If a person is detained, he has no recourse to the courts in the ordinary sense; but as soon as possible after he has been arrested, he must be told why and be given a chance to

argue his case. If he contests his detention, he must within three months be heard by an advisory board and his case examined by that board. The Board is appointed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and consists of a chairman (who must be a judge, an ex-judge or a person qualified to be a judge) and two members; after considering the case, the Board reports its findings and recommendations to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. As the name implies, the Board is not a court, although at least one member must have legal experience. It can only make recommendation which the Government is under no obligation to accept.

11. Trials

No person can be tried more than once on a criminal charge for the same offense unless an appellate court has ordered a re-trial.

12. Conclusion

From the above and taking into consideration Article 29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as appended below, it is safe and correct to conclude that the Constitution of Malaysia guarantees the human rights and fundamental freedoms and liberties as expounded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

Article 29

- (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
- (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
- (3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Nevertheless, in view of the fact that a declaration, unlike a convention, does not itself create directly binding obligations, it is far better to compare the provisions of the Constitution with those of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms which entered into force on 3 September 1953. In accordance with the provisions of Articles 9 and 10 of the European Convention as appended below, freedom and the exercise of rights are subject to limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others:

Article 9

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance.
- (2) Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of public safety, for the protection of public order, health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Article 10

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This article shall not prevent states from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television, or cinema enterprises.
- (2) The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others,

for preventing the disclosing of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary.

In the final analysis, using the European Convention as the premise, a person who is impartial, has a balanced outlook and an unbiased attitude towards the Government of Malaysia must admit the fact that Malaysia is a sovereign democratic state which guarantees and observes human rights and fundamental freedoms and liberties of man as enshrined in her Constitution.

PART II

MALAYSIA
COMMUNIST OR FREE?

To My German Friends

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Foreword

WITH THE PRESENT uncertain situation in Southeast Asia, it is only natural for many people in the Federal Republic of Germany, who are interested in the area, to want to know to what extent Malaysia will be affected by the attempt by the Communists to dominate the area. At the same time, owing to a number of adverse articles on Malaysia in the local newspapers recently, many inquiries have been received from friends to ascertain whether there is any truth in the allegations. To meet this need a brochure entitled "Malaysia—Communist or Free?" has been prepared by me. It is my sincere hope that it will help remove their doubts or be useful to them in one way or other. I wish it will also help to stop some people from believing the malicious propaganda of certain pro-Communist elements in this country against Malaysia.

The main aim of the pro-Communist elements is to make Malaysia's friends lose confidence in her. Ultimately, they hope German industrialists will refrain from investing in the country and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, too, will minimize her economic assistance. They believe that without private foreign investments and economic aid from countries now friendly with Malaysia, the Malaysian Government's efforts to remedy the present economic imbalance in the country will fail. The failure, they hope, will compel the peasants to look at democracy as a slogan only and not as a system capable of delivering the goods they badly need to make life under democracy meaningful. This attitude will make it easier for the Communists to subvert the peasants. Since most Germans believe in Democracy and all it stands for, I pray this brochure will be useful to them in their efforts to counter the propaganda.

Finally, I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to all who believe in Democracy to help us win our battle against Maoism. Your support and Malaysia's determination to succeed will make Malaysia forever a free and democratic state.

Haji Abdul Khalid Bin Awang Osman
Bonn—Bad Godesberg.
May, 1970.

Malaysia—Communist or Free?

Introduction

RECENT EVENTS IN Laos and Cambodia once again demonstrate the magnitude of problems faced by countries of Southeast Asia because of China's proximity and policy of aggression, and China's attempts to exploit nationalism to overthrow the existing order of countries of Southeast Asia through the so-called "War of National Liberation" and subversion. The pattern of events in Southeast Asia reflects clearly Peking's deep involvement. In accordance with Mao's principle, overt aggression against Malaysia could be ruled out. In the case of Malaysia, Communist subversion does not arise from the frustrations of persons who have been denied constitutional or democratic processes for the advancement of their political beliefs and aspirations, but from the Communist Party of Malaya which has the interests of its Peking masters at heart; it is carried out by people whose loyalties are not towards Malaysia and her constitution and who do not care at all for the welfare of the people of Malaysia and the country as a whole. Their only hope to dominate Malaysia would be through a "mass revolt" spearheaded by the peasantry. But they know full well it is very difficult to make Malaysia Communist because the Government of Malaysia with their pragmatic approach on economic development and rich experience in combating communism is making every effort to eliminate the present economic imbalance between the peasants and the urban population. If the Malaysian Government's drive to level up the incomes of the peasants—the "have-nots"—with those of the "haves" in the cities and the urban areas is successful, their efforts to subvert

the peasants will fail. If so, the Communist attempt to dominate Malaysia will not materialize. Because of this the Communist elements have been ordered by Peking to exploit every possible issue in Malaysia to create trouble, so that the government will not be able to concentrate its efforts on its primary and main objective, that is, to make the peasants enjoy a much higher standard of living and thereby prevent subversion.



A typical Malay village.

Strategic Importance of Malaysia to China

The important issue one must understand is why the Communists want to dominate Malaysia. In fact, Malaysia is of very great importance in China's strategy to dominate Asia. The reasons are obvious. West Malaysia is a peninsula connected to the Southeast Asian mainland. The peninsula is in the heart of the Malay archipelago and, therefore, in the center of the Southeast Asian region. The Straits of Malacca is one of the world's four ocean lanes. It links the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean through the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea. It is the bolt of the Southeast Asian insular lock and whoever controls it controls the gateway to the Far East from Europe and vice versa. If Communist China could dominate Malaysia, the whole Southeast Asian region would capitulate to the communists. The domination of Southeast Asia by Communist China will give her the absolute control over many strategic products because Southeast Asia is the world's largest producer of rubber, tin, timber, palm oil, coconut oil, rice, and spices. It also produces large amount of petroleum, bauxite, and other minerals. These products and minerals are of strategic importance to her in order to be able to sustain the inevitable long and drawn-out confrontation against India in her major move to dominate Asia. Chou En Lai addressing a political meeting in Peking in 1951 among other things said:

... the level of consciousness of the Asian people has been raised to an unprecedented degree, and liberation movements are developing more and more strongly with each passing day. The unity of the Chinese people and the peoples of Asia will certainly create a powerful and matchless force in the Far East which will rapidly push forward the great wheel of history in the movement for the independence and liberation of the people of Asian countries . . .

The so-called liberation of Asia is after all a part of the Communist's attempt to establish a New World Order, that is, to destroy the existing political and economic systems in non-Communist countries and to replace them by a world union of Communist republics.

Position of Malaysian Chinese

Many may then think, since Malaysia is of vital interest to Communist China, surely she can easily dominate the country because 37 percent of Malaysia's total population are Malaysian Chinese. It is not as easy as they think. Though 37 percent of Malaysia's total population are made up of Malaysian Chinese, they are heavily concentrated in the cities and the urban areas. The latest census shows that in West Malaysia out of 2.67 million persons who lived in the urban areas, 1.7 million were Malaysian Chinese, 0.6 million Malaysian Malays, and 0.3 million Malaysian Indians. In percentage, the Malaysian Chinese comprised approximately 64% of all urban dwellers; the Malaysian Malays 23%, and the Malaysian Indians 11%. The fact that Maoism (the Maoist theory) is based on the revolt of the peasants, the Communist Party of Malaya is Peking and not Moscow orientated, and the Malaysian Chinese are predominant only in the urban areas where only 26.5% of the country's total population live, does not provide the Communists the opportunity they really need. Hence, they cannot easily dominate Malaysia. This is also the main reason why the Communist armed revolt led by Chin Peng from 1948 to 1960 failed.

In Malaysia, there is a big disparity in the incomes of the rural and the urban populations. According to T. H. Silcock and E. K. Fisk, editors of *The Political Economy of Independent Malaya* and *Features of the Rural Economy* respectively, the monthly expenditure of a poor peasant family was as low as sixty dollars (Malaysian). Professor Ungku Aziz, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya said in one of his books on the Malaysian economy, most of the peasants were earning about \$50 a month. On the other hand, the per capita income of the Malaysian Chinese in the urban areas in 1957 was around \$1,400. At present it is estimated that the per capita income of the population of Kuala Lumpur, which has 62 percent Malaysian Chinese dwellers, is about \$1,900. These figures prove that the urban dwellers are enjoying a very high standard of living and earning big incomes. Since 64 percent of the Malaysian urban dwellers are Malaysian Chinese, it is difficult to believe most of them can be subverted by the Communists. Furthermore, most of the millionaires, rich capitalists, business tycoons, property owners,

businessmen, and traders in the cities are the Malaysian Chinese. These people benefit most from the Malaysian Government's economic policy based on the principle of free enterprise, and therefore, will suffer most should Malaysia become communist. The peasants on the other hand have nothing to lose financially if the communists dominate Malaysia. Therefore, it is illogical to believe the Malaysian Chinese who are predominantly urban dwellers and pragmatic businessmen would like to see Malaysia become communist.

Question of Racial Discrimination

Some people say that the Malaysian Chinese are being discriminated against. If so, it is essential to study some of the provisions of the Constitution of Malaysia to see whether there is real racial discrimination which will force the Malaysian Chinese to support the Communists. In accordance with the Constitution, every person has the right to profess and practice his religion and propagate it. There is complete freedom of worship. Except as expressly authorized by the Constitution, there shall be no discrimination against citizens on the ground of religion in any law or in the appointment to any office or employment, under a public authority or in the administration of any law relating to the acquisition, holding or disposition of property or the establishing or carrying out of any trade, business, profession, vocation, or employment. In conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty save as in accordance with the law. No public authority shall discriminate against any person on the ground that he is resident or carrying on business in any part of Malaysia outside the jurisdiction of the authority. No citizen shall be banished or excluded from Malaysia. The Constitution guarantees freedom of movement, speech, assembly, and association. There shall be no discrimination against any citizen on the grounds only of religion, race, descent, or place of birth in:

- (a) the administration of any educational institution maintained by a public authority and, in particular, the admission of pupils or students or the payment of fees; or

- (b) providing out of the funds of a public authority financial aid for the maintenance or education of pupils or students in any educational institution whether or not maintained by the public authority and whether within or outside Malaysia.

No person shall be deprived of property save as in accordance with law and no law shall provide for the compulsory acquisition or use of property without adequate compensation. The judiciary is independent of the Government. Any act of the Government in contravention of any of the provisions of the Constitution can be challenged by any citizen in the courts. If he is not satisfied with the decision of the Federal Court, he is at liberty to appeal his case to the Privy Council in the United Kingdom. The terms and conditions for acquiring citizenship are very liberal. As a result, more than 90 percent of the non-Malays (Malaysian Chinese and Malaysian Indians in particular) have become citizens; whereas before independence 90 percent were still noncitizens after nearly 100 years of colonial rule. No person shall be deprived of citizenship if the Government is satisfied that as a result of the deprivation he will not be a citizen of any country. All citizens are equal before the law. There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent a citizen of non-Malay origin from becoming the prime minister. In respect of service in the Government departments, all persons of whatever race shall, in the same grade in the service, subject to the terms and conditions of their employment, be treated impartially. Besides, appointments in the service of Malaysia are made by an independent and impartial body called the Public Services Commission who are answerable directly to the King and not to the Government. The following figures will substantiate this statement:

FIGURES RELATING TO DIVISION ONE GOVERNMENT
OFFICERS^a
BY RACIAL GROUPS AS ON 1ST NOVEMBER, 1969

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Total:	3,392	
Malays:	1,142	36.26
Non-Malays:	2,250	63.74

^a Excluding Armed Forces and the Police.

Out of 3,392 officers, 1,025 were Malaysian Chinese as shown below:

NUMBER OF MALAYSIAN CHINESE IN
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES

(DIVISION I)

<i>Service</i>	<i>Branch</i>	<i>Number</i>
Administrative	Civil Service	22
	Chinese Affairs Service	42
	Executive Service	19
	Home Affairs	2
	Immigration	5
	Registrars	4
	Election Commission	4
	Town, Municipal, Rural Planning	10
	Archives	1
	Government Printers	4
Finance	Inland Revenue	35
	Income Tax	2
	Audit Department	10
	Accountants	6
	Accountant General Office	1
	Statistics	9
	Customs	29
Public Works	Public Works Department	117
	Irrigation	39
	Survey	40
Medical and Dental	Medical & Dental Officers	225
	Chemistry Department	12
	Veterinary	6
Education	Education Officers	151
	Army Education Officers	7
Natural Resources	Mines	11
	Agriculture & Cooperative	28
	Forestry	9
	Fishery	4
	Games	2

<i>Service</i>	<i>Branch</i>	<i>Number</i>
Telecommunication, Post, Transport, Information.	Information	22
	Transport	9
	Telecommunications	35
	Radio	23
	T.V.	14
	Postal Services	8
Labor—Commerce Industries	Airways	2
	Commerce & Industries	8
	Labor	2
Social Welfare	Industrial Relations	22
		6
Legal Service		18
	<i>Total</i>	1,025

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MALAYSIANS AND
NONMALAYSIANS IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Administration Service

<i>Group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Total:	1,221	
Malays:	706	57.8
Non-Malays:	515	42.2

*Professional Services**

Total:	1,998	
Malays:	385	19.2
Non-Malays:	1,613	80.8

Education Officers

Total:	173	
Malays:	51	29.47
Non-Malays:	122	70.53

* Excluding Education.

Police^b

Malays:	...	39.76
Non-Malays:	...	61.24

Armed Forces^b

Malays:	...	64.5
Non-Malays:	...	35.5

The Armed Forces are made up of the following:

- (i) The Army
- (ii) The Royal Malaysian Air Force, and
- (iii) The Royal Malaysian Navy.

- (i) The Army

The Army is made up mainly of the following:

- (1) The Royal Malay Regiment
- (2) The Malaysian Rangers
- (3) The Malaysian Reconnaissance Corps
which constitutes the Federation
Regiment (Infantry Regiment) and
the Federation Armored Car Regiment.
- (4) The Malaysian Artillery
- (5) The Royal Malaysian Engineers
- (6) The Malaysian Signal Corps
- (7) The Malaysian Supply and Transport Service
- (8) The Malaysian Ordnance Corps
- (9) The Malaysian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers
- (10) The Malaysian General Services Corps.

^b Absolute figures withheld for security reasons.

The Royal Malay Regiment was founded in 1936. For historical reasons and in recognition of the regiment's chivalry, bravery, and loyalty in the battles during World War II, the constitution by virtue of Article 8(5) (f) restricts the enlistment in the regiment to Malays.

Other than the Royal Malay Regiment, all other units of the army from (2) to (10) as shown above, The Royal Malaysian Air Force and The Royal Malaysian Navy as shown above, are open to all citizens in the following racial proportions:

	<i>Percentage</i>
(1) Chinese	50
(2) Malays	25
(3) Others	25

Though the non-Malays constitute only 35.5 percent of the armed forces, the non-Malay gazetted officers are greater in number than the Malays because more non-Malays, particularly the Malaysian Chinese, graduate from the University of Malaya. In 1965 the total number of students in the University of Malaya was 2,835. Out of this, 1,669 were Malaysian Chinese, equivalent to 58.9% of the total. Regarding education, in 1964 there were about 1,328 National Type Chinese medium schools and 1,063 Chinese medium Assisted Schools and not less than M\$ 51 million were spent on them by the government. In addition, out of 384,905 students of all races in the English medium schools (National Type and Assisted Schools) about 200,000 were Malaysian Chinese students. This involved a further expenditure of M\$ 35 million. So, all in all, in 1964 the government spent not less than M\$ 86 million for the education of the Malaysian Chinese only; excluding those in the University of Malaya and scholars in foreign countries.

In short, without fear of contradiction, Malaysia is the only (repeat only) country in the world, apart from Singapore, Communist China, and Formosa, where people of Chinese origin are enjoying the best treatment. The question of the Malaysian Chinese being "second class" citizens, therefore, does not arise.

Article 153 of the Malaysian Constitution

Article 153 of the constitution, as in Appendix A, refers to the special position of the Malays. In the light of very strong criticisms against the government in respect of this article, a detailed study of it is therefore, essential. Under Article 153(1), besides safeguarding the special position of the Malays, the King

shall also safeguard the legitimate interests of the other communities (including the Malaysian Chinese). By virtue of Article 153 (4), the King shall not deprive any person of any public office held by him or of the continuance of any scholarship, exhibition, or other educational or training privileges or special facilities enjoyed by him. Article 153(5) confirms that all persons of whatever race in the same grade in the service of Malaysia shall, subject to the terms and conditions of their employment, be treated equally. Article 153(7) states that nothing in Article 153 shall operate to deprive or authorize the deprivation of any person of any right, privilege, permit, or license accrued to or enjoyed or held by him or to authorize a refusal to renew to any person any such permit or license or a refusal to grant to the heirs, successors, or assigns of a person any permit or license when the renewal or grant might reasonably be expected in the ordinary course of events. Article 153(8) stipulates, notwithstanding anything in the constitution, where by any Federal Law any permit or license is required for the operation of any trade or business, that law may provide for the reservation of a proportion of such permits or licenses for Malays; but no such law shall for the purpose of ensuring such a reservation

- (a) deprive or authorize the deprivation of any person of any right, privilege, permit or license accrued to or enjoyed or held by him: or
- (b) authorize a refusal to renew to any person any such permit or license or a refusal to grant to the heirs, successors or assigns of any person any permit or license when the renewal or grant might in accordance with the other provisions of the law reasonably be expected in the ordinary course of events, or prevent any person from transferring together with his business any transferable license to operate that business: or
- (c) where no permit or license was previously required for the operation of the trade or business, authorize a refusal to grant a permit or license to any person for the operation of any trade or business which immediately before the coming into force of the law he had been bona fide carrying on, or authorize a refusal subsequently to renew to any such person any permit or license, or a refusal to grant to the heirs, successors or assigns of any person any such permit or license when the renewal or grant might in accordance

with the other provisions of that law reasonably be expected in the ordinary course of events.

Article 153 (9) specifies that nothing in Article 153 shall empower Parliament to restrict business or trade solely for the purpose of reservation for Malays.

It is, therefore, clear and evident from the above that the Government of Malaysia has no right whatsoever to deprive the Malaysian Chinese and other citizens of their livelihood or to weaken their economic position. In fact, as a result of the government's policy of nondiscrimination and the free enterprise principle they adopt in trade and commerce, the Malaysian Chinese are now very much better off than they were during the British colonial period. An admission of this fact was made by Tun Tan Siew Sin, leader of the Malaysian Chinese Association in his speech in his capacity as the Minister of Finance on 22 May 1965 Appendix B.

To further strengthen this argument, a news item from a leading Malaysian newspaper under the heading "Tun Tan Answers Critics on Special Privileges" is reproduced below:

Special privileges for the Malays are part of a "fair, two-way bargain" between the M.C.A. and M.I.C. on the one hand and the UMNO on the other, the National President of the Malaysian Chinese Association, Tun Tan Siew Sin, said on Wednesday night last week, (30 April 1969). By this bargain, the majority of the non-Malays could become citizens and in return it was agreed that the special position of the Malays would be preserved.

Speaking at a rally at Sulaiman Court in Kuala Lumpur, Tun Tan, who was Minister of Finance, said it should be remembered that at the time of independence about 90 percent of the non-Malays in this country were not citizens.

He added: "They had in fact been disenfranchised."

"The Malays, through UMNO, were generous enough to relax the citizenship laws of this country to such an extent that within 12 months of independence, 90 percent of the non-Malays had become citizens whereas before independence 90 percent were still noncitizens after nearly 100 years of colonial rule in the Malay States.

"In return for this major concession, the MCA and the MIC agreed to continue the policy of preserving the special position of the Malays

while at the same time upholding the legitimate interests of other communities.

"It will therefore be seen that this was a fair two-way bargain."

Tun Tan said that the special privileges policy was not an invention of UMNO or the leaders of UMNO, but was a policy which had been followed long before independence.

He said that the policy was based on the recognition that "our Malay brethren deserve a helping hand if they are ever to catch up with their non-Malay brothers" particularly in the fields of economics, commerce and industry.

He urged non-Malays to accept that the policy was fair since there were provisions in the country's Constitution which ensures that the policy does not harm non-Malays.

Tun Tan warned that if the Malays were left behind in the national march to prosperity and felt more and more insecure then there would be trouble sooner or later.

He urged the people to remember that in the United States where the Negroes were the dispossessed segment of society, Negro-violence had shaken American society "to its very foundations" although the Negroes formed only ten per cent of the population.

He added: "The Malays in this country number not 10 percent, but 50 percent, and we do not want what has happened in America to happen here."

Tun Tan said that it was unfortunate that racial issues had become the dominant issue of the present election campaign in the principal urban areas in West Malaysia.

Tun Tan added: "Apart from the inherent dangers of pursuing such a theme, as the logical result of such tactics would clearly be racial conflict, the real facts and truth have been completely distorted."

Regarding the status of the non-Malay citizens in Malaysia as a whole, please refer to a verbatim report of a speech by Tun V. T. Sambanthan, leader of the Malaysian Indian Congress in his capacity as Minister of Works, Posts, and Telecommunications in the House of Representatives on 1st June 1965 as in Appendix C.

The main points of Appendix C are appended below:

"When one looked at the electorate at that time, one observed that 4 percent of the electorate was Indian, 8 percent was Chinese and 88 percent was Malay. Now, there were fifty-two seats to be contested at that

time. Yet, how were the seats allocated? Roughly 40 percent of the seats were allocated to the non-Malays and, mark you, at that occasion, because of the large majority of Malay voters—barring one constituency, I think all the others had Malay majority. And so, if anybody wanted to stand up for the elections at that time and win, he had to have the Malay electorate with him. 85 percent of the Malay electorate—what does it mean? It means that politically the Malays were really powerful. It also means that even though they were so powerful, the leadership of U.M.N.O. comprising mainly of the Tunku, Tun Razak, Dr. Ismail and others felt that they had to be large hearted enough to concede the fellow races, brother races in this country, a larger measure of seats than their numbers warranted, and so we had it."

"If we look around in Asia and in East Asia, particularly, you will find that my race, the Indian race, is not welcomed in Ceylon, is not welcomed in Thailand, in Vietnam, in Cambodia, in all the other areas. What help do they get for citizenship in all these territories? In Burma, as we know, Indians have been sent packing, in Ceylon they refused them citizenship and in Burma it is likewise. I know it, you know it. And yet in Malaysia what happened? Here, we found that the Malay leadership said, "We shall take them unto ourselves as brothers, we shall give them full opportunity to live in this country, we shall give them every opportunity to become citizens." And so, in 1957, for the whole year we waived language qualifications, and tens of thousands of Indians, Chinese, Ceylonese and others became citizens. Why did the Malays do this? Is it to propitiate Malay rule in this country? Is it to keep themselves all the time in power that they watered down their own authority? It would be stupid, utterly stupid, for them to do that, if they wanted to control this country for all the time. They could have done it by the simple expedient that one observed in Ceylon, Burma and other countries—deny the opportunity of citizenship to these people."

"Such vicious, utterly vicious mendacity against a race with whom it is our great fortune to live. A race who have throughout their time have been hospitable, been polite, been respectable and yet this race, believe me, is the poorest in this country. The other races have come here, they are by far richer. Even my own race, mostly made up of labourers today have a monthly earning much better than the ordinary kampong dweller; I know it. The towns—who owns the towns in our country? Who owns the cities? Who owns the estates? Do the Malays own these? Then what is it that we are trying to shout at them for?"

"Has the Minister of Home Affairs been arresting Chinese and let-

ting off the Malays, or has he been arresting Indians and letting off the Malays? No. Where is the line that this Government has taken which shows that it is Malay and not Malaysian? Where have we said anything like that? Nowhere as far as I can see. Our policy has been distinctly Malaysian. Our attitude to problems has been distinctly Malaysian."

"The minorities have been able to be happy without Mr. Lee Kuan Yew to look after them. (Honourable Members: Hear! Hear!) When we were made citizens, it was not Mr. Lee Kuan Yew who made us citizens; it was Tunku and his brother comrades who made the country as it is today. It was the brotherhood that we had amongst ourselves, that complete brotherhood we had, that complete goodwill we had amongst ourselves, which made it possible for everyone here to become citizens. Where are the distinctions?"

"As I said, it has been my great good fortune to have been born in this country. Where else can you find a more charitable, a more polite, a more decent race than the Malay race? Where else can you get such politically decent treatment for any immigrant race? Where else in the history of the world? I ask you. These are the facts."

"Who are you to safeguard us? I am a 10 percent minority race here, but I am happy here. I do not want anybody to safeguard me."

In view of what have been said, with the exception of a very small percentage of Communist elements who are disloyal to Malaysia, it is most unlikely the Malaysian Chinese, who owe undivided loyalty to Malaysia, will support the Communists to dominate Malaysia.

Mao's Theory of Peasant Revolt

Where then, does the danger lie? In line with Mao Tse-tung's theory (Maoism) of peasant revolt, if at all Malaysia would become Communist it must be with the support of the Malaysian Malays, as admitted by J. H. Brimmel in his book entitled *Communist in South East Asia*, who contended that the election of Rashid Mohidin was considered a double necessity. Richard Harris on "Communism in Malaysia" in the *Asia Handbook* edited by Guy Wint, among other things, wrote as follows:

... it is conceivable that a communism that has always been Chinese led

and inspired, could again expand in the absence of adequate non-communist leadership among the overseas Chinese. For there are now more threats to their chances of assimilation and a peaceful livelihood in the Muslim area of South East Asia than at any time in the past century. Demonstrations in Singapore and elsewhere imply that Maoism has its following among the young. But such a close link with Peking does not seem likely to strengthen the communist case as a whole. .

The above statements prove beyond doubt that the Communist movement must primarily be supported by the Malaysian Malays and not Malaysian Chinese if it is to succeed. To substantiate this statement, North Vietnam may be quoted as an example. The Communists and the Communist force in North Vietnam were the North Vietnamese peasants who form about 80 percent of the ethnic Vietnamese population whose economy was principally agrarian, with rice as the most important crop. The Chinese who formed the minority and lived in the cities were not the vanguard of the mass revolt which made North Vietnam communist. The late Ho Chi Minh was not (repeat not) a Chinese, but a Vietnamese nationalist patriot who became a Communist because he believed in communism as a means of liberating and developing his motherland. On Maoist principle, he led the peasant revolt to spearhead a mass revolt which made North Vietnam communist.

To be able to understand this theory clearly, one must refresh one's mind on communism and the communist principles. In this world at present, there are two main communist principles; one of Marxist-Leninist principle as adopted by Moscow and the other Maoism as adopted by Peking. The Marxist-Leninist principle is based on the struggle of the proletariat (working class) against the bourgeois. This struggle is the formation of the working class into a force to overthrow the bourgeois supremacy and the conquest of political power by the working class. Lenin's success in Russia was based mainly on the strength of the urban proletariat and not the peasants. He regarded the peasantry as only an auxiliary force in the proletarian revolution. On the other hand, Maoism is a rural strategy based on the peasantry with the poor peasants being the revolutionary vanguard. Mao Tse-Tung's rural strategy is the encirclement of the cities by mass revolt led by the rural peasants. In other worlds, under Maoism the peas-

ants should spearhead a peasant revolt leading to a mass revolt to conquer political power. Unlike Lenin's, Mao Tse-Tung's success in China was based on the overwhelming preponderance of the 600 million peasants who formed more than 4/5ths of the Chinese population. The peasantry, not the urban proletariat, was the central character of China's drama. Mao devoted his life to the Chinese peasants. He trusted his own judgment above all the peasants and was quoted to have said during the Long March, "Whoever wins the peasants will win China; and whoever solves the land question will win the peasants."

Economy of Malaysia—Racial Disparity

After knowing the differences between Moscow and Peking types of communism, a study on how each fits in with the communist threat to Malaysia is interesting. However, before doing so, a study of the economy of Malaysia is essential. Malaysia has a peasant economy because it is mostly agricultural based. In other words, Malaysia is predominantly an agricultural country with nearly 60 percent of the total working population engaged in agricultural occupations such as rubber tapping, weeding, padi planting, fishing, and market gardening. The manufacturing sector is still relatively small. In 1961 it contributed only 16 percent of G.N.P. In terms of employment, according to 1957 census, the economically active population were in secondary industries. But the pace of growth has been rapid in recent years. At the same time, the growth in the agricultural sector is equally as fast. It is, therefore, interesting to study these figures:

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION IN MALAYA BY INDUSTRIES, 1957

1957

<i>Industries</i>	<i>Persons</i> <small>(In thousands)</small>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Total Percentage</i>
1. Primary:			
(i) Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting, and Fishing	1,244.8	59.0	
(ii) Mining and Quarrying	58.5	2.8	61.8
2. Secondary:			
(i) Manufacturing	135.4	6.4	

<i>Industries</i>	<i>Persons</i> <i>(In thousands)</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Total Percentage</i>
(ii) Building & Construction	68.1	3.2	9.6
3 Tertiary:			
(i) Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	11.6	0.6	
(ii) Commerce	195.2	9.3	
(iii) Transport, Storage & Communications	74.8	3.5	
(iv) Services	319.7	15.2	28.6

The next point which requires further study is its population. According to the 1957 census:

- (i) 58 percent of West Malaysia's total population lived in the rural areas;
- (ii) 50 percent of West Malaysia's total population were Malaysian Malays;
- (iii) 80 percent of the Malaysian Malays lived in the rural areas;
- (iv) 70 percent of the rural population were Malaysian Malays;
- (v) 60 percent of the peasants in West Malaysia were Malaysian Malays.

From these figures, it is clear that the Malaysian Malays are mainly peasants. Conversely, the peasants are predominantly Malaysian Malays. In other words, "Malays" and "peasants" are synonymous.

Now since Malaysia is having a peasant economy, the peasants are mainly Malaysian Malays and Maoism is based on the peasantry and peasant revolt, Malaysia will become communist if only the Malays—the Malays only—want it to be so. In fact, one of the main reasons why the Communist Party of Malaya was defeated in the first Malayan emergency (1948-60) was because it failed to win over the Malays and was unable to equate the theory and discipline of communism with the tenets of Islam. Therefore, the fear that if the disgruntled minority with the Malaysian Chinese community go into the jungle to join the guerrillas, Malaysia will become communist and the allegation that Malaysia will be threatened by serious danger unless the govern-

ment abandons this policy of Malay domination, are unfounded at all.

If one does not agree with the above conclusion and still maintains that the allegation by critics and adversaries of the government, that is the persecution of the Malaysian Chinese by the government will drive them into the jungles to join the Communist guerillas, is correct then the belief that Malaysia will not become Communist if the peasants are not subverted is further strengthened, because by their going into the jungles the peasants will be convinced that the communist movement is a Chinese-dominated one. In consequence, the peasants' natural fear of Chinese domination will make it impossible for the Communists to subvert them. In fact, Communist China's biggest task is to remove this fear. The need to convince the peasants that communism is not a Chinese movement and has nothing to do with Chinese domination has made it imperative for Abdul Rashid Mohidin to play a leading role now.

Conclusion

Looking at this subject in all aspects and from all angles, one can safely conclude that Malaysia will be free and will never become communist if the peasants are not subverted. Since the peasants are mainly Malays, the key to the survival of democracy in Malaysia is the fate and livelihood of the Malays in the rural areas in particular. At present the Malays are mainly the "have-nots" while the non-Malays are mainly the "haves." This unfortunate socioeconomic problem must be solved immediately if Malaysia is not to become communist. By eliminating the present economic imbalance, that is by removing the disparity in incomes between the Malays and the non-Malays, the government will succeed in defusing the political dynamite left behind by the colonial power and thereby make Malaysia a strong democratic country free from Communist domination, to act as a bulwark against the further spread of communism in Southeast Asia. In other words, to stop the Communists from dominating Southeast Asia, there must prevail in Malaysia peace and happiness through racial harmony. To achieve this, Malaysia must be free from racial conflicts. To prevent racial conflicts the present economic imbalance



Harvesting of padi—traditional method.

Malaya
Singapore

between the Malays and the non-Malays must be solved and eliminated quickly. Since 60 percent of the peasants are Malays who are the "have-nots," by elevating and improving the standard of living of the Malays, the government hopes to give a much higher standard of living to the peasants so that they will not be subverted by the Communists to spark off a peasant revolt, in accordance with the Maoist theory.

In short, Malaysia's main problem is not political but economic in structure, and that if the government can solve the economic problems, the political problems will take care of themselves. This means, if Malaysia is to be the bulwark against communism, a permanent harmonious relationship among the various communities in Malaysia, which is basic in the preventing of eruption of further racial clashes and disturbances must be created. To achieve this vital and noble objective, the government has pledged itself, as in Appendix D, to make the New Economic Policy of Malaysia, the main objective of which is to correct the economic imbalance between the rural and urban areas, a success as soon as possible. Unfortunately, in carrying out this difficult task they have been accused by their adversaries of practising racial discrimination, favoring and pampering the Malaysian Malays and suppressing the Malaysian Chinese. It is not only unfortunate but discouraging because the charges come from people who advocate democracy and claim to champion the cause of freedom in democracy. In fact, their mischievous, unfounded, and false criticisms and allegations against the Government are their biggest disservice to democracy and their own Government which advocates democracy.

In the final analysis, irrespective of what others may think, Malaysia is determined at all cost to be free from communism because Malaysians know what communism is from past experiences. Above all we love our motherland more than the armchair critics love Malaysia. To our friends, we thank them for their past support and further appeal for their greater understanding and cooperation.

Embassy of Malaysia
53 Bonn—Bad Godesberg.
May 1970.

APPENDIX A

Constitution of Malaysia

Article 153

(1) IT SHALL BE the responsibility of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to safeguard the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of other communities in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, but subject to the provisions of Article 40 and of this Article, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall exercise his functions under this Constitution and federal law in such manner as may be necessary to safeguard the special position of the Malays and to ensure the reservation for Malays of such proportion as he may deem reasonable of positions in the public service (other than the public service of a State) and of scholarships, exhibitions and other similar educational or training privileges or special facilities given or accorded by the Federal Government and, when any permit or licence for the operation of any trade or business is required by federal law, then, subject to the provisions of that law and this Article, of such permits and licences.

(3) The Yang di-Pertuan Agong may, in order to ensure in accordance with Clause (2) the reservation to Malays of positions in the public service and of scholarships, exhibitions and other educational or training privileges of special facilities, give such general directions as may be required for that purpose to any Commission to which Part X applies or to any authority charged

with responsibility for the grant of such scholarships, exhibitions or other educational or training privileges or special facilities; and the Commission or authority shall duly comply with the directions.

(4) In exercising his functions under this Constitution and Federal law in accordance with Clause (1) to (3) the Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall not deprive any person of any public office held by him or of the continuance of any scholarship, exhibition or other educational or training privileges or special facilities enjoyed by him.

(5) This Article does not derogate from the provisions of Article 136.

(6) Where by existing federal law a permit or licence is required for the operation of any trade or business the Yang di-Pertuan Agong may exercise his functions under that law in such manner, or give such general directions to any authority charged under that law with the grant of such permits or licences, as may be required to ensure the reservation of such proportion of such permits or licences for Malays as the Yang di-Pertuan Agong may deem reasonable; and the authority shall duly comply with the directions.

(7) Nothing in this Article shall operate to deprive or authorise the deprivation of any person of any right, privilege, permit or licence accrued to or enjoyed or held by him or to authorise a refusal to renew to any person any such permit or licence or a refusal to grant to the heirs, successors or assigns of a person any permit or licence when the renewal or grant might reasonably be expected in the ordinary course of events.

(8) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, where by any federal law any permit or licence is required for the operation of any trade or business, that law may provide for the reservation of a proportion of such permits or licences for Malays; but no such law shall for the purpose of ensuring such a reservation

- (a) deprive or authorise the deprivation of any person of any right, privilege, permit or licence accrued to or enjoyed or held by him; or
- (b) authorise a refusal to renew to any person any such permit or licence or a refusal to grant to the heirs, successors or assigns of any person any permit or licence when the renewal or grant might in

accordance with the other provisions of the law reasonably be expected in the ordinary course of events, or prevent any person from transferring together with his business any transferable licence to operate that business; or

- (c) Where no permit or licence was previously required for the operation of the trade or business, authorise a refusal to grant a permit or licence to any person for the operation of any trade or business which immediately before the coming into force of the law he had been bona fide carrying on, or authorise a refusal subsequently to renew to any such person any permit or licence, or a refusal to grant to the heirs, successors or assigns of any such person any such permit or licence when the renewal or grant might in accordance with the other provisions of that law reasonably be expected in the ordinary course of events.

(9) Nothing in this Article shall empower Parliament to restrict business or trade solely for the purpose of reservations for Malays.

(10) The Constitution of the State of any Ruler may make provision corresponding (with the necessary modifications) to the provisions of the Article.*

*Such provision has been made in all the State Constitutions concerned: see Johore Gazette Notification (New Series) 43A of 1957; Kedah Legal Notification 27 of 1957; Kelantan Gazette Notification 241 of 1957; Negri Sembilan Gazette Notification 453 of 1957; Pahang Gazette Notification 270 of 1957; Perak Gazette Notification 1413 of 1957; Perlis Legal Notification 5 of 1957; Selangor Gazette Notification 403 of 1957, and Trengganu Gazette Notification 227 of 1957.

APPENDIX B

Citizenship, Malay Rights, and Chinese Education

Speech by
the Honorable the Minister of Finance
Enche Tan Siew Sin, at the Delegates'
Conference of the Hokkien Association
of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur on 22 May 1965

I AM VERY happy to be present here this evening on such an important occasion.

All of us in Malaysia today are living in an interesting period. The first two years of Malaysia have certainly been not only interesting but exciting ones, too. We are facing an increasingly serious external threat to our nation, we also have internal problems which, though less serious, have to be faced and solved.

The Central Government of Malaysia had the honor and privilege of governing this country during the last two years, and indeed it had been in power before then—in the days when the States of Malaya were known as the Federation of Malaya. It is usual, on an occasion of this nature, to recall the past. However, this evening I would like to look at some of the matters which concern us now and in the future.

Although many of you are businessmen, you will readily agree that the state of business in any modern society is heavily dependent on its political health. Up to the early years of this century, a large part of the Chinese community were recent im-

migrants and did not look upon this country as their permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty. At that time, it was natural that many Chinese did not take an interest in the politics of this country. In any case, there was not much for participation in politics as we were under colonial rule. As more and more settled down here, and as it became increasingly clear that far more would die here than return to the land of their ancestors, their thinking underwent a gradual but nonetheless distinct change, but even then, right up to the beginning of World War II, Malaya had been rightly described by the late Pandit Nehru as a political backwater.

Military Thinking

When that war ended, Malaya was divided into two distinct parts. The Federated Malay States, the Unfederated Malay States and two of the three Settlements of the former Straits Settlements, namely Penang and Malacca, were incorporated into what was then known as the Federation of Malaya. Singapore was set up as a separate entity. The British realized then that the pace of political activity would quicken and that it was only a question of time before the States of Malaya, or the Federation of Malaya, as it was known then, would become independent. They perhaps realized that although the process could be slowed down, it could not be completely halted. Singapore, on the other hand, was a critical factor in their military thinking. It had to be preserved because of its naval base and hence its strategic importance to British policy in this part of the world.

British policy in the Federation was quite different from that in Singapore. Basically, British policy in the Federation of Malaya was dominated by fear of the Chinese, largely for two reasons. Of the two main racial groups in the former Federation of Malaya, the Chinese were regarded as stronger economically, and it was always traditional British colonial policy to load the dice against the stronger group. Secondly, the Chinese, as a whole, were identified, though unjustly, with the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army, which operated against the Japanese during the Occupation period but which was controlled by the Communists.

if it was not a Communist organization in effect. On top of all this, the Emergency of 1948-60 generated even greater suspicion against the Chinese community because the movement was directed by the Communists who were largely Chinese.

This fear led the British to a policy of restricting citizenship rights for the Chinese as they felt that it would be dangerous for too many of them to become citizens. I am aware that the popular belief at that time was that it was the Malays who were against the granting of citizenship rights to the Chinese. This is basically untrue, and I know what I am talking about because I have sat in the legislature of this country without a break for the last seventeen years and I have also sat on every major government committee on citizenship. The result was that on 31 August 1957, the day of independence, only about 200,000 Chinese had managed to become citizens out of a total of more than two million then resident in the former Federation of Malaya.

Farsighted Statesmanship

When negotiating the terms of independence before that date, the M.C.A. had asked that every Chinese who could legitimately claim to be regarded as a citizen should be allowed to become a citizen with the achievement of independence. It is a tribute to the farsighted statesmanship of U.M.N.O. and its leaders that they reacted sympathetically to this request. To give effect to this sympathy, a provision was inserted in the constitution itself to the effect that "good character" meant any person who had not been in jail during the period of three years preceding his application for citizenship.

This was the main stumbling block to the acquisition of citizenship in colonial days. With the removal of this barrier, it was possible to admit approximately one million new citizens within twelve months of Merdeka and, of this number, roughly 800,000 were Chinese. If the Malays had been against giving a fair deal to the Chinese in the matter of citizenship, they would not have allowed such a situation to develop.

The next major issue was the one concerning the special position of the Malays. Not many people are aware that this

provision was inserted in the 1948 Federation of Malaya Agreement, as part of the special responsibilities of the High Commissioner, in the following terms:

The safeguarding of the special position of the Malays and of the legitimate interests of other communities.

It will be seen that this simple phrase could mean nothing. It could also mean everything. It was vague, it was also comprehensive and it was comprehensive enough as to be capable of being interpreted in a way which could mean the virtual elimination of Chinese economic interests in important sectors of the economy. Here again, with independence, this omnibus provision was scaled down to a precise definition so that it will be clear to all what this provision means. You will find it in Article 153 of the Constitution. I have no time in a speech of this nature to tell you exactly what it means or what it does not mean, but very briefly, the effect of this provision is that, firstly, all existing rights are preserved; secondly, no citizen can be prohibited from engaging in business activity or deprived of his right to engage in business activity merely because he is a non-Malay.

Chinese Education

In the field of Chinese education, a matter which is dear to the hearts of the majority of the Chinese population of this country, and one on which they feel very strongly, I do not have to remind our people that Chinese education today has the kind of status which could not have been possible in the days before independence. In 1954, which was the year before the Federation's first general election, when the Alliance came to power for the first time, the amount spent on Chinese education was \$11.7 million. The amount spent on education as a whole was \$99.9 million. In 1963, and I have taken 1963 because after this year we would be dealing in pan-Malaysian figures, and therefore the comparison would not be fair, the figures were \$44.6 million and \$283 million, respectively.

In other words, while the amount spent on education as a whole increased by 183.28 percent in nine years, the amount

spent on Chinese education increased by 281.19 percent. In brief, Chinese education has fared even better than education as a whole since independence, and education as a whole has been the principal beneficiary of independence.

It will, therefore, be seen that in three major areas, that is, in the field of citizenship, Malay rights, and Chinese education, the Chinese are actually in a much happier position today than they were in the days of colonial rule. I have taken some pains to trace the history of these matters because I have heard, not only in this country, but overseas, that the Chinese were better off under British rule than they were in the former Federation of Malaya or in Malaysia today. I could give other instances, but the three major ones I have given will serve to show how unfounded such a belief is.

Liberal Policy

In Singapore, on the other hand, the British adopted a more liberal policy, in so far as the Chinese were concerned, for perhaps two reasons. In the first place, it was predominantly Chinese, and British policy in this island state had to take account of this political fact of life. Secondly, the British here did not fear the Chinese so much because they felt that in case of trouble, a couple or so of infantry battalions could put things right. After all, it is not so easy to wage guerrilla warfare or even stage a first class revolution in a city, when even the whole state itself is smaller than the average Parliamentary constituency in the Federation in terms of area.

I should like to make it clear that I have not traced past history in order to indulge in recrimination over the past, because this is utterly useless. I have done this, so that we can understand the present, because the present must necessarily be a legacy of the past. We cannot divorce our present from our past. The two are part of the whole. If anything, history may yet record that British colonial policy on the whole has been an extremely enlightened one. In the former Federation of Malaya and Malaysia, their withdrawal will perhaps be regarded by historians of the future as a classic example of withdrawal at the right time and in the right way. Be that as it may, an imperial power, how-

ever enlightened, must think in terms of its imperial power, though unfortunately the Chinese had to be the casualties in the case of the former Federation of Malaya.

The Future

So much of the past. What of the future? If there is one thing which must be borne in mind at all times, it is that all races in Malaysia must come to terms with one another and must learn to live with one another. In the States of Malaya, we have been fortunate, because on the West Coast, large numbers of Chinese and Malays have been thrown together for many years past, and race barriers have gradually come down. In some of the older states, my own State of Malacca, for example, these two races have lived together for so long that race distinctions are practically nonexistent.

In Singapore, on the other hand, Chinese in the state do not have much contact with Malays and hence misconceptions and misunderstandings have arisen more easily. I would, however, ask the Chinese in Singapore to remember that Singapore cannot exist by itself. Even succession from Malaysia cannot eliminate the facts that less than 1½ million Chinese there are surrounded by over 100 million people of the Malay race in this part of the world. They have to come to terms with this fact of life and I think the Chinese are realistic enough to appreciate that this fact cannot be brushed away whatever one may think and whatever one may wish.

If I may, I would like to refer to China's explosion of her second atomic device. She may feel that she has every right to do so because other powers which she regards as unfriendly to her have gone even further ahead. Further, she can maintain that what she does internally is her own affair and we cannot quarrel with that point of view. To the outside world, however, what is far more important is what she intends to do with her newfound power. That is really the question at issue for the rest of the world. If the intention is to use the purpose of underwriting a foreign policy which would encroach upon or sometimes even destroy the territorial integrity or the independent status of other nations weaker than herself, then those of us who are threatened

have the right to react accordingly. We, as Malaysians of Chinese origins, have, however, to bear one thought in mind at all times, and that is to look at this matter and other matters like this as Malaysians owing our loyalty to Malaysia and no other country.

If I may hazard a guess of the future, I would say that there is cause for optimism rather than pessimism. I say this because there is every indication that the vast majority of the people of all races wish to live together in peace and harmony. The Chinese are essentially peace loving, tolerant, and adaptable. We have the deep understanding that comes from being associated with a civilization which has survived 4,000 years of human history. Given a readiness to see each other's point of view, given a readiness to understand and to give and take, there is no reason why the future should not be as bright as its promise.

APPENDIX C

Peaceful Achievement or National Disruption

Verbatim Report of Speech by the Honorable
the Minister of Works, Posts, and Tele-
communications, Dato V. T. Sambanthan,
in the House of Representatives, on
1 June 1965

MR. SPEAKER, SIR, this morning when I scanned the paper, I asked myself this question: What sort of man is this; what sort of a man is this that can calmly and quietly propose the cutting up of our country; what megalomania is it that is driving him forth; and what is his fevered mind driving at? And, as I looked further I found that he has one reason for suggesting that this country should be cut up and that is that he is against Malay rule here—Malay rule in Malaysia. Before accepting his definition, let us for a moment go back into the past.

I could do no worse than draw members in this house to think of the year 1955 when we had our first elections. Before that, this country of ours was very much like to political backwater; we had not had much of elections and in 1955 we were going to have nationwide elections. At that time, the Alliance, forming U.M.N.O., M.C.A. and M.I.C., decided to contest the elections on the basis of freedom in four years. When one looked at the electorate at that time, one observed that 4 percent of the electorate was Indian, 8 percent was Chinese and 88 percent was Malay. Now, there were 52 seats to the contested at that time. Yet, how were the seats allocated? Roughly 40 percent of the

seats were allocated to the non-Malays and, mark you, at that occasion, because of the large majority of Malay voters—barring one constituency, I think, all the others had Malay majority. And so, if anybody wanted to stand up for the elections at that time and win, he had to have the Malay electorate with him. 88 percent of the Malay electorate—what does it mean? It means that politically the Malays were really powerful. It also means that even though they were so powerful, the leadership of U.M.N.O. comprising mainly of the Tunku, Tun Razak, Dr. Ismail and others felt that they had to be large hearted enough to concede to fellow races, brother races in this country, a larger measure of seats than their numbers warranted, and so we had it. In 1955, as I said, the people had not yet been into elections. Before that, the backwash of British rule here had left within the country various communities, each settled within itself, fairly cordial no doubt, but still without much opportunity for intermingling apart from in the social sphere. And so, we had the Malay electorate having to vote for non-Malays.

Good Fortune

I was one of those in 1955 who had the good fortune of having been chosen to stand for elections. At that time, in my own constituency, the majority of the voters were Malays. Two of my opponents were Malays, locally based, men of good reputation. One of them strangely enough, was the present Speaker of the House. However, the Malay people in the kampongs were told of the objectives that we had, of the necessity for us to be nonracial in our outlook, of the need for them to vote for the policy, the policy of freedom and all the consequential improvements that the country would have because of freedom; and so it was in many of the other constituencies. The Malay kampong folk came out in thousands, and they voted us in.

Around that time, one of the men who had to go from village to village, kampong to kampong, wading in water, going by boat, living in the jungle, sometimes at the threat of being shot by Malay extremists, is one who is today being branded by the P.A.P. character assassins, as ultraracialist. I refer to no less a man than Tuan Syed Ja'afar Albar. (Applause) Tuan Syed Ja'afar Albar at that time had a very important task of going from village

to village to tell the Malays, "This is not the right thing, we have got to think of Malaya, we have got to think of the people as one, we cannot say that Malays should vote for Malays, we should vote for anybody, whoever the party puts in and we should vote on nonracial lines." That, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is Tuan Syed Ja'afar Albar. (Applause) If record of a man can speak for himself, that record, I think, is vivid enough to cast aside all these aspersions that have been thrown at the door of Tuan Syed Ja'afar Albar. I have myself deep respect for him. However, that is the past.

Not Welcomed

Now, in 1955, we won the elections with a great majority. Then we obtained freedom in two years time. During this period, we had to discuss citizenship and various other things. Now, what did the Malays do—since we are speaking on racial lines—what did the Malay leadership do? They had 88 percent of the electorate still with them. What did they do with citizenship? If we look around in Asia and in East Asia, particularly, you will find that my race the Indian race, is not welcomed in Ceylon, is not welcomed in Burma. Look at my brother Chinese race, it is not welcomed in Thailand, in Vietnam, in Cambodia, in all the other areas. What help do they get for citizenship in all these territories? In Burma, as we know, Indians have been sent packing, in Ceylon they refused them citizenship and in Burma it is likewise. I know it, you know it. And yet in Malaya what happened? Here, we found that the Malay leadership said, "We shall take them unto ourselves as brothers, we shall give them full opportunity to live in this country, we shall give them every opportunity to become citizens." And so, in 1957, for the whole year, we waived language qualifications, and tens of thousands of Indians, Chinese, Ceylonese and others became citizens. Why did the Malays to this? Is it to propitiate Malay rule in this country? Is it to keep themselves all the time in power that they watered down their own authority? It would be stupid, utterly stupid, for them to do that, if they wanted to control this country for all time. They could have done it by the simple expedient that one observed in Ceylon, Burma and other countries—deny the opportunity of citizenship to these people. They can never take this

country from you. Then why did they do it and are these the people today who are trying to foist Malay rule?

Vicious Mendacity

In all my life I haven't seen such mendacity as that put in by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew of P.A.P. (Applause) Such vicious, utterly vicious mendacity against a race with whom it is our great fortune to live. A race who have throughout their time have been hospitable, been polite, been respectable and yet this race, believe me, is the poorest in this country. The other races have come here, they are by far richer. Even my own race, mostly made up of laborers today have a monthly earning much better than the ordinary kampong dweller; I know it. The towns—who owns the towns in our country? Who owns the cities? Who owns the estates? Do the Malays own these? Then what is it that we are trying to shout at them for? This in fact, Mr. Speaker, is the essence of the whole question. We have got to recognize this fundamental fact.

In 1957, I said, in the whole year, hundreds of thousands of non-Malays became citizens, by a voluntary act. By a voluntary act the Malay leadership itself watered down their own political power. Can you see it anywhere else? Even the huge nations of the West—the United States. Can 100,000 Malaysians go to the United States tomorrow and become citizens there? Could you do it in Germany, in Turkey, in Albania, in Russia, or in any part of the world, I ask. The answer is "No." In the United States they have got a quota, in Australia you cannot put your foot down and step into it, and yet here, we find the course of history changed. A different pattern—a different pattern of brotherhood, of understanding, of goodwill—a different pattern based upon moral, ethics; a good decent, humanistic pattern. And so in 1957, we had freedom. We had, more and more, become citizens. In 1959 we had another election. We won this election again. Despite the fact that in the intervening period, some parties came out, openly chauvinistic because in some towns they found that there were Chinese citizens and they thought they could play them up for their own ends; chief amongst them, of course, was the P.P.P. But then, in 1964 they were beaten roundly and soundly, simply

because the people came to know of their wiles. They were trying to play upon race.

Imperialist Game

The imperialist game, once the imperialists left, was taken up by the local politician, simply because he thinks that in a country where there are many races, people of many religions, speaking many languages, it would be easy to divide them. That they have failed. Between 1955 and 1963 we found the Federation of Malaya a very stable, a very democratic, and very well run country in this region.

We found that in the United Nations, that we had a fairly good reputation; our stand against apartheid was quite sound and applauded everywhere, except of course by the South African fascists.

But apart from that, we had our own plans for the development of the country. We had the Second Five-Year Plan, which was going ahead. We had large land schemes which gave not only to the Malays but to all the races—tens of thousands of acres of land. We had roads, water supply schemes, all these going ahead in an Asia of trouble and turmoil.

This one country was an oasis of happiness of a happy people living together, not asking themselves, "Am I a Malayan Malayan?" They were all Malayans. There was no question of their being anybody else. They were all together as one. Nobody came around with any clichés those days. We all felt we were Malayans; we lived as Malayans. Our land schemes were for the Malayans and we had them in plentiful supply. And even at that time the Deputy Prime Minister, who was in charge of the schemes, even then he was thinking of a huge land scheme of 200,000 acres. And was it only for the Malays? No. It was for many races—for all the races, for the underprivileged, for those without land, without work.

We do not think that we want to impoverish the Chinese and enrich the Malays; we want everybody to be well off in this country. That is what the Father of the nation wants.

Happy Country

Then, around 1960, things changed. We had, as I said, in the Federation of Malaya, tranquil, happy, peaceful country with the people quite happy. They had something to look forward to, an era of peace and happiness. The Communist menace had been broken. We were happy.

In Singapore, on the other hand, there had been trouble. Different governments, different setup. Then we heard of one Mr. Ong Eng Guan and how he was doing certain things and how latterly the P.A.P. came into power in Singapore. There came about a P.A.P. strutting about; speaking much about itself. But, no sooner had they come into office than the party broke into two. This was around 1961. Before that, it would interest Honorable Members to know that this same P.A.P., which a year later was to go round day after day and stand at the doorsteps of the Prime Minister of Malaysia, of Malaya then, to ask him to agree to take in Singapore, of their own volition, wrote to me a letter as Minister of Telecommunications to tell me that they want to break up the Pan-Malayan setup of the Telecommunications Department.

That was their thinking in 1960. But when the Barisan Party came up and the P.A.P. broke up, mark you, not because all of them were Communists and that is what Mr. Lee Kuan Yew wants us to believe, but I don't believe it. It was a clash of personalities. They just could not stand up to this man's arrogance. It was just that, and so the party had to break up. Then what happened? A Lim Yew Hock had to come in to keep that party in power, or it would have been thrown out. That was the situation. A Lim Yew Hock, a lone man had to throw his vote to keep that party going. Then they thought of something. "Ah, there is Kuala Lumpur, a monolithic, powerful, strong government and a mild, kind-hearted man who is the Prime Minister: may be, he will agree; may be, I can run to him for succor." Which, in fact, was what he did.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew a couple of days ago said that he

calculated—yes he calculated very much or schemed over and over again. A word he did not use was that he normally calculated on the basis of what they call "dialectical materialism." But whatever his dialectical materialism means, he found useful for this particular purpose—the dialectic of incense burning could come in useful—you can "puji" somebody now and then—and so incense burning went feverishly at a hot pace at the feet of the Prime Minister of Malaya. Day after day, week after week, month after month, his wooing to get Singapore in. To get the Prime Minister to say, "Yes, we will accept Singapore." Otherwise the whole edifice was going to crumble round the P.A.P. That is history and I don't think anybody can question it.

After that, the Prime Minister said, "Yes, we shall have Malaysia." These were quiet spoken words. But what a reaction they had! Immediately after that, somebody had to make some capital out of it. "Why should I not do it," said Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. So he had a referendum armed with the strength that the Tunku's name should carry him through the referendum. Which he did. But no sooner had the referendum been through and Tunku had committed ourselves into Malaysia, then Mr. Lee Kuan Yew felt he could start bargaining. If you went through his speeches, you would find a subtle change in tone. The old tone of abject plea was no more present; we now find it replaced by an arrogance towards Kuala Lumpur.

Malaysia Agreement

Then we had the Malaysia Agreement signed in London. No sooner was this agreement signed and the ink was hardly dry, a meeting of students by Mr. Lee was held in England. At this meeting Mr. Lee, who likes to say that he wants to analyze in public, went to the students and said, "You know, I cannot become the prime minister simply because there is an army—and you know who is the chief of it?" The insinuation being that Tunku's nephew was the chief of the army and, therefore, he would prevent anybody else from becoming the prime minister. Mr. Lee spoke about this hardly before the ink had dried on the Malaysia Agreement. This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, is one of the exam-

ples of signs for the future. We could hardly believe when we were told of such things. We thought, "Surely this man talks so nicely and is ever so open in what he says." We did not think that his words were glib words that were uttered only by one who calculates with an abacus mind, moment after moment, using various types of dialectics for various purposes. Thereafter, Mr. Speaker, Sir, what happened is known to all of us. However, stage by stage, we found conditions changing.

Around the time of referendum, the Singapore ministers would go round and say, "We are all Malaysian." But after the referendum and the second elections, they said, "Oh, we are Singaporeans. Singapore shall show Malaysia." So you can see how Malaysian become Singapore Malaysians sometimes. So, this ding dong has been going on.

Chinese Chauvinism

Just recently in the last elections of 1964 this gentleman, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, spoke of Malay leadership. You see, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew is one of those who thinks that he walks against the backdrop of history, that he strides with history, that history must follow him, and so all he writes must be put into books, all his speeches must come into a book form, that his words must always exist, for he is part of history. However, let me read. This is what he says around the time of the last elections, at Seremban where he had gone to play up Chinese chauvinism:

The implication is, first, that we are deceitful people who say one thing in Chinese and a different thing in English and Malay; and, second, that I have often said in public that the Malay leadership of U.M.N.O. is irreplaceable. Off the record, in Chinese, I have contradicted this by saying that this leadership is not of the right caliber.

If you compare this to what he says today, you will realize that, what he said in Chinese that day was quite correct. He was being deceitful.

In the last three weeks, two weeks before nomination day and one week

after it, I have been explaining why the U.M.N.O., leadership is irreplaceable in order to safeguard the integrity of Malaysia as a separate and distinct unit from Indonesia.

All this happened barely a year ago—all these things about the U.M.N.O. leadership. "The U.M.N.O. leadership is an important leadership; it is a necessary leadership, and nobody should be able to overthrow this leadership." Here again you have it:

For Malaysia to succeed we must help the Tunku's leadership to succeed.

Distinctly Malaysian

What has happened between then and now that there should be a complete change of attitude? What have we done, what has this country done, what has the cabinet done? Has the Minister of Home Affairs been arresting Chinese and letting off the Malays, or has he been arresting Indians and letting off the Malays? No. Where is the line that this Government has taken which shows that it is Malay and not Malaysian? Where have we said anything like that? Nowhere as far as I can see. Our policy has been distinctly Malaysian. Our attitude to problems has been distinctly Malaysian.

So, Mr. Speaker, Sir, these are some of the things which I should mention here, simply because we have to place on record that we in this country are at a peculiar juncture. We are faced, after Malaysia, with a danger of Indonesian confrontation. One would have thought that all sensible, intelligent, patriotic citizens of this country would rally round and keep a single house and not divide that house. We should have thought that at this moment our main task is unity and not division. We should have thought that disunity would be the last thing for us to speak of. But yet why should a man of intelligence as Mr. Lee Kuan Yew do all these things? This is the question I ask, because it is a vital question. I feel that he does these things because, among other things, he is a very disappointed man. If earlier on he had praised the U.M.N.O. leadership, if earlier on he had said he trusted the U.M.N.O. leadership, it was perhaps because it was

caused by a certain amount of ardor, ardor at the anticipated love of living together. But, unfortunately, the passionate embrace never came forth and like a rejected suitor he must hit back—hit back and destroy if he can, this young nation of ours. This was what it amounted to.

Let us look more closely at what he said. Some days ago, this same gentleman said that Singapore is necessary to safeguard the minorities here. The minorities here have been able to be happy without Mr. Lee Kuan Yew to look after them. (Honorable Members: Hear ! Hear !) When we were made citizens, it was not Mr. Lee Kuan Yew who made us citizens; it was Tunku and his brother comrades who made the country as it is today. It was the brotherhood that we had amongst ourselves, that complete brotherhood we had, that complete goodwill we had amongst ourselves, which made it possible for everyone here to become citizens. Where are the distinctions?

Racial Chauvinist

Then we had this wonderful concept of a United Front, expounded in cliché form of "Malaysian Malaysia." What was more surprising and more laughable is that we had the Member for Ipoh, utterly, completely, contemptibly, a racial chauvinist, getting up and saying, "Oh, we will join the United Front if it is not communal." I would ask him to tell it to the marines—that is, without insulting the marines. The P.P.P. is openly chauvinistic. The P.A.P. is chauvinistic but in a more subtle form. That is the only difference. If the P.A.P. is not chauvinistic, why should it try to play up communal feelings? Who was it who started analyzing publicly about the Malay base in politics? It was not we. We have been getting together; we have been living together, living together for a long time. The Malays have been here for a very long time. I do not question that they have not been living long here. But why should this great gentleman come in and say, "Oh, the Malays here are as much immigrant as anybody else"? Surely that, excuse me Mr. Speaker, Sir, is beyond the realm of stupidity, because that is precisely what it is. No leader of any reputation would try to rouse communal feelings, and this is precisely what he is trying to do.

Dangerous phase

So, Mr. Speaker, I fear that we are passing through an extremely dangerous phase in the life of our country. Externally, we have Indonesia; internally, we have Lee Kuan Yew and his brand of politics (Applause). In his megalomania he tells us to break up this country into Malacca, Penang, Singapore and other places. Can we live like that? What madness in this; what utter, absolute, and complete madness is this? Surely we in this country will never permit such madness to rule this country. That is what we have to face. The situation is serious, extremely serious, I tell you. Have we not got the example of Pakistan and India before us? Don't we know the millions that were killed there—the ordinary people? Of course, people like him would be in hiding. They would not get involved. It is the women, the children, the girls—they are the people who will suffer. But thank God, we do not equate Chinese sentiments with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. He is trying to equate and say that he is Chinese sentiments, which he is not. The Chinese race is a great and noble race. It will never give way to such nonsense; neither will the Malay race. As I said, it has been my great good fortune to have been born in this country. Where else can you find a more charitable, a more polite, a more decent race than the Malay race? Where else can you get such politically decent treatment for any immigrant race? Where else in the history of the world? I ask you. These are the facts.

A famous political philosopher once said: "When you want to adjudge what a man says, ask this question, 'What are your principles? What are your practices? What is your record?'" The record of the Federation of Malaya and the Alliance has been a record of peace; a record of brotherhood, a record of unity and amity within this nation. We will not permit anything to mar this unity and this amity.

Highly Ethical

Simply because a party has got as its primary membership Chinese, Malays, and Indians, it does not mean that it is non-communal, when every word they mouth is communal. Every time the Member for Ipoh opens his mouth, it is communal. Everybody knows that. I know in my own constituency his party

tried to do a fantastic trick. They went to the Malays and said, "You know the Chinese are squeezing the blood out of you"; and went to the Chinese and said, "You know, the Malays are taking all the land away from you"—the same party, the same constituency, different villages. That is a noncommunal party according to the P.A.P. and the people of their thinking. But we in the Alliance, what do we say at every platform? We are brothers, we should live together, we want to make this country a happy country, we want to build this country up, we want land schemes and other schemes for the well being of our people. History, Sir, shall record what we have done. It shall record that we have been highly ethical in our motives, highly ethical in our attitude, and highly humanistic in all that we have done. That same history shall record that a man with some megalomania tried to break up this country in all his megalomania. He even propounds the theory of hostage—he says, and I quote "we in Singapore must be there to safeguard the minorities of Malaya." Who are you to safeguard us? I am a 10 percent minority race here, but I am happy here. I do not want anybody to safeguard me. This is my country. Surely the estate laborer, the new village dweller, he does not need Lee Kuan Yew to come and look after him (Honorable Members: Hear! Hear!). He has been there all along.

In 1948, when the Emergency started, when villages were being burnt by the army in their attempt to supplement the Briggs scheme and some of them were asked to pack and get out, sometimes rather rudely, who stood by them? Was it the P.A.P.? It was not even born then. It was Tan Cheng Lock and the M.C.A. (Applause). These people stood by them during these turbulent times. They stood by them at a time when no question could be asked. The Chinese were on question then. The whole Chinese community was at the courthouse, the whole Chinese community was questionable. Their loyalty was questionable. But who stood by them? It was the M.C.A. in those days. They have a record of suffering, they have a record of services for the people. These are things that we cannot deny, and has the M.C.A. gone round and said—"We are Chinese, you are Malays, let us fight"? We have never said any such thing. At every platform we say, "We will unite, we will safeguard this country, we will defend this country." And so, by God, we shall, Mr. Speaker (Applause).

APPENDIX D

Objectives of the New Economic Policy (NEP)

1. IN THE AFTERMATH of the racial riots,* the NEP was enunciated, the overriding objective of which is national unity. Comprising two prongs, the NEP seeks to eradicate poverty among all Malaysians and to restructure Malaysian society so that the identification of race with economic function and geographical location is reduced and eventually eliminated, both objectives being realized through rapid expansion of the economy over time. Based on an intensive review of the nation's policies and priorities and involving close consultation with and deliberation among all priorities and involving close consultation with a deliberation among all segments of Malaysian society, the NEP has come to constitute a positive commitment by the Government to the task of creating a united, secure, socially just and progressive nation.

2. The first prong of the NEP aims at progressively improving the economic condition and quality of life of the poor of all races by directly increasing their access to land, physical capital, training and other public facilities, thus permitting them to share more equitably in the benefits of economic growth. The aim is that the incidence of absolute poverty should be substantially reduced by 1990 from the implementation of policies and programmes directly geared towards the needs of the poor.

3. Over and above the need to ensure that the poor are provided with sufficient opportunities to participate in and benefit from the process of economic growth, the Government seeks as well, through the second prong of the NEP, a fairer distribution

*Took place on May 13, 1969

among the races of the opportunity to participate in the widening range of economic activity that is already underway. The present compartmentalization of racial groups by economic function, with the Malays and other indigenous people concentrated in the traditional sectors of the economy, is the core of the problem. It militates against the fuller utilization by the Malays and other indigenous people of the many opportunities being opened up in the more modern sectors of the economy. It stands in the way of national unity when members of any particular racial group feel a sense of discrimination, whether real or imagined, on endeavoring to enter into fields of economic activity not commonly associated with that race.

4. Accordingly, through the second prong of the NEP, the Government aims at providing such assistance as may be necessary for all racial groups in the country to find employment, secure participation and acquire ownership and control in the various sectors of the economy. To this end, it is necessary that the Malays and other indigenous people should be freed from their dependence on subsistence agriculture and be given opportunities to participate proportionately in the modern rural and urban sectors of the economy at all levels. Conversely, as the Malays and other indigenous people show progress in their involvement in the modern sector, the other Malaysians should be encouraged to play a greater role in modern agriculture so that the identification of the Malays and other indigenous people with agricultural pursuits is eliminated. The basic objective is the creation of a socioeconomic environment in which a united nation would evolve out of the daily interaction of Malaysians of all races in all sectors of the economy across the geographical regions of the country.

5. The objectives of social justice underlying the NEP cannot be viewed independently of growth objectives. The level and growth of income of socioeconomic groups in poverty is to be raised in the context of rising standards of living. At the same time, the restructuring of the racial composition of employment and wealth ownership is to be effected in ways which do not deny opportunities to others as well. Accordingly, the distributional objectives of the NEP must depend on accelerated economic growth which, however, will be redirected to benefit the disadvantaged more. Moreover, rapid economic growth is essential to mobilize the substantial resources required for the eradication of poverty

and the restructuring of society. An essential component of this strategy is the active participation of the private sector including foreign expertise. What is sought is redistribution in a context of dynamic growth so that no particular group experiences any loss or feels any sense of deprivation in the process.

6. In the implementation of the NEP, equal priority is intended for the two prongs, for both together constitute a complementary and mutually reinforcing set of policies and programmes. Measures aimed at benefitting the poor in their present locations and spheres of economic activity would no doubt contribute significantly to the enhancement of their living standards. The limits to such enhancement will, however, be quickly reached unless some of the poor in both the rural and urban areas of the economy are provided with the necessary opportunities and resources to move into the more developed regions and sectors of the economy, given that by far the most serious factor contributing to poverty is underemployment. On the other hand, measures aimed only at the restructuring of society particularly in respect of the changes sought in the ownership wealth, would tend to benefit to a substantially greater degree the more advantaged among the target groups concerned leaving the economic condition of the poor largely unaffected.

7. It must be appreciated that planned development through public sector spending aimed at correcting imbalances and restructuring society will tend to initially accentuate rather than reduce these imbalances. The initial benefit from the construction of multimillion dollar irrigation schemes for example, will accrue to urban entrepreneurs and construction workers before they benefit the rural poor for whom these schemes are meant. On the same basis, it can be expected that efforts to urbanize and integrate Malays and other indigenous people into the mainstream of modern economic activity would also benefit the other communities first. This process of planned public sector spending affects the speed of restructuring. It is important to understand and emphasize this. Otherwise the Malays and other indigenous people will become embittered because they are not receiving what they have been promised while other Malaysians will also be embittered because the emphasis on the development of Malays and other indigenous people deflects their sights from the benefits they themselves are already receiving from the implementation of these schemes. In the atmosphere so created, the

whole purpose of the NEP will be retarded or reduced to nought.

8. In the final analysis, what is sought by the NEP is a socioeconomic environment in which individual Malaysians find self-fulfillment within a system which provides for proportional participation, management and control in the economic life of the nation. Continuing improvement in the economic welfare of each and every individual in Malaysia is important in this regard but is not enough. Unless this is also accompanied by progressive transformation of the country's racially-compartmentalized economic system into one in which the composition of Malaysian society is visibly reflected in its countryside and towns, farms and factories, shops and offices, the present state of accommodation and understanding between the major racial groups will not grow to the full maturity of national unity.

9. The progressive attainment of these objectives is also important if the security of the nation is to be promoted. As long as tangible progress is not seen to be made in bringing about their attainment, discontentment will arise and provide fertile ground for the machinations of anti-national and subversive elements. Indeed, such elements have increasingly capitalized upon current problems in the socioeconomic environment in seeking to destroy the foundations on which the nation developed. Through intimidation and attempts to destroy public confidence in the capacity of the Government to provide law and order, they seek to discredit the programmes of a constitutionally elected Government for accelerated economic development with social justice for all. They have little regard for the impact which their efforts have on the welfare of the common man or the practicability of implementing their utopian promises. All their actions in fact are aimed at establishing a system of Government which is alien to the ideology of the mass of Malaysian society.

10. The Government will meet this threat to the security of the nation. It will expand its security forces and above all, it will continue to ensure that the most rapid progress possible is made in eradicating the root causes of socioeconomic imbalances so that Malaysians of all races, religions, income groups and social strata will share in a sustained manner in the fruits of progress. Only on this basis can it be assured that Malaysians, particularly those who are now less fortunate, will not fall prey to the designs of antinational and subversive elements.

11. The inter-dependence of the socioeconomic development ef-

forts of the Government and the development of its security capabilities cannot be overemphasized. In the absence of security, social and economic progress will be thwarted. Without such progress, on the other hand, the maintenance of the nation's security will become progressively more difficult.

12. The NEP was inaugurated with the overriding objective of fostering nation building and national unity. The re-emergence of the security threat makes it incumbent upon the Government to ensure that, in addition, its policies, programmes and projects will also contribute to the task of assuring national security for all its people.

PART III

THE MALAYSIAN PEASANTS
AND
COMMUNIST SUBVERSION

*To
My Friends
Who Believe That:
The Malays Being Muslims Will Not Become Communists*

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Foreword

THIS BROCHURE is a follow-up of the one entitled, "Malaysia—Communist Or Free?" produced by me in May, 1970.

Because Malaysia's economy is mainly agricultural based, the peasants are predominantly Malays and "Maoism" is based on peasantry revolt; Malaysia will become Communist if only the Malays—the Malays only—want it to be so.

The big question is will the Malays who are 100 percent Muslims become Communists? This brochure tries to answer the question.

It is hoped the Government of Malaysia will do everything within their power to prevent the Malay peasants from being subverted by the Communists. I wish the government every success in all their endeavours.

Haji Abdul Khalid Bin Awang Osman

Bonn—Bad Godesberg,

August 1970.



The National Mosque (Masjid Negara), Kuala Lumpur.

The Malaysian Peasants and Communist Subversion

(1) Introduction

ACCORDING TO STATISTICS about 80 percent of the Malays in Malaysia live in the rural areas and 70 percent of the rural population are Malays. About 90 percent of the total rural population are peasants and 60 percent of them are Malays. Therefore, the peasants are predominantly Malays almost 100 percent of whom profess Islam as their religion. Under the circumstances, many believe because Communism is against Islamic principle, the peasants in Malaysia will not be subverted by the Communists to spark off a peasant revolt in accordance with Maoism. This memorandum tries to prove that the belief is incorrect.

(2) Subversion through Poverty

To begin with let me quote Aristotle in *Politics* (tr. Benjamin Jowett) Book II:

Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime

It is a fact that the peasants in Malaysia are very poor. In general a peasant family earns about \$60 a month. It is also a fact that communism thrives on poverty. These, in line with the above quotation, can easily make the peasants succumb themselves to Communist subversion. To strengthen the argument, let me take

Indonesia as an example. About 95 percent of the Indonesians are Muslims. Yet during the Indonesian confrontation against Malaysia, the Party Komunis of Indonesia (P.K.I.) had not less than three million members and the party was the largest in the world outside the Soviet Union and Communist China. In fact, the P.K.I. attracted a mass movement not because the masses endorsed the Communist program, but because the Communists promised an Amalthean horn of plenty, including land to the tillers on overcrowded land-hungry Java, and the peasants were unaware that the Communists knew that they could not fill the cornucopia. Furthermore, the P.K.I. nurtured a myth of incorruptibility and cultivated the impression that the other parties had impoverished the people by corruption and that if the people wished to improve their living conditions, they had no choice but to support the P.K.I. Thus the P.K.I. appeared to offer an alternative to the corruption and demoralization that had marked the system of guided democracy which they enthusiastically supported.

(3) Subversion through Religion

At the same time, Aidit was able to equate the theory and discipline of Communism with the tenets of Islam and thereby made the Indonesian masses believe that Islam and Communism could coexist. In this connection, Aidit was reported to have said at the Central Committee's Second Plenary Session of the P.K.I. from 8 to 10 November 1954:

... our people are influenced by three political trends. Apart from the Communist trend which has glorious and heroic revolutionary traditions, the Nationalist and Islamic trends also have traditions . . . For this reason, it is wrong for Communists to refuse to cooperate with all Nationalist and Islamic parties and leaders. It is an undeniable fact that there are more points of agreement between the Communist masses and the Nationalist and Islamic masses than there are between their leaders . . .

To determine whether the theory and discipline of Communism could be equated with the tenets of Islam, I append

below an extract from Part II (Introduction) of a translation of the Holy Koran. The translation was prepared by the late Maulawi Sher 'Ali and the introduction written by Mirza Bashir-Ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad:

Principles to Establish Social Order

To establish order in the social sphere and to give it a beneficent direction the Qur'an has laid down the following principles:

- (1) Absolute ownership vests in God alone and all things belong to Him.
- (2) He has subjected everything to the control of man for the collective benefit of the whole of mankind.
- (3) Since the object of man's existence is spiritual perfection, he must be given a certain amount of freedom of choice in his actions and must be provided with a field for his activities.
- (4) Since the materials upon which human progress is based are the common heritage of the whole of mankind, the produce of human labour must be so distributed as to secure their proper share both to the individual and to the community.
- (5) For the proper regulation of the human social system some person must be entrusted with executive authority who must be elected as the result of consultation among the members of the community over whom he is to exercise authority. His function is not to frame laws but to enforce divine laws.
- (6) Keeping in view the possibility of diversity in the political systems of different communities the Qur'an teaches that:
 - (a) In case of a dispute arising between any two or more political States the others should combine to bring about a settlement of the dispute;
 - (b) If an amicable settlement is not arrived at between the parties to the dispute, the remaining States should pronounce an equitable award with reference to the matter which is the subject-matter of the dispute;
 - (c) If either of the parties to the dispute refuses to accept the award or, having accepted it, fails to give effect to it, the remaining States should combine to persuade the recalcitrant State to accept the award in the interests of international peace. If persuasion fails, they should compel the Government

- concerned by force to submit to the award;
- (d) When the obdurate State has made its submission, the other Governments should refrain from going beyond the enforcement of the award relating to the original dispute and should not seek to secure any advantages for themselves, for this would lay the foundation of fresh disputes.

Under "Other Social Aspects" this is what he wrote:

The Qur'an expounds in detail the principles upon which human intercourse ought to be based. It stresses the need of co-operation and defines the limits of individual and collective rights and obligations. It explains the fundamentals of government and its obligations and the relationship that ought to subsist between Government and people. It regulates the relationship of master and servant and lays down the principles that ought to govern international relationships.

The Qur'an expressly enjoins that wealth should not be permitted to accumulate in a few hands and that it ought to be kept constantly in circulation. To achieve this, it prohibits the lending of money on interest by means of which a few clever people are able to monopolize the greater part of the wealth of the community and makes provision for the compulsory distribution of inheritance. It does not permit any person to leave the whole of his property to one out of several heirs or even to augment the share of one heir at the expense of another. It seeks to bring about equitable adjustments in the distribution of wealth through the Zakat, alms and charity. It imposes as a first charge upon all government revenues and resources the obligation of providing for the welfare and progress of the poorer sections of the community. Through these means it provides for the economic prosperity of all sections of the people.

I append below another extract from a book entitled *Islam in the Soviet Union* written by Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerrier-Quellequejay under the Chapter "Muslim 'National' Communism":

... there were the non-Marxist nationalist moderates to whom Communism was simply a "lesser evil." This they had to accept out of fear of a White Counter-revolution that would bring back the conditions of the old regime. Certain of their number were even practising Muslims who thought that Islam and Communism could not only be temporary bedfel-

lows but might also be wedded permanently. A nationalist writer, Hanafi Muzaffir, wrote in 1922: "Everything predisposes the Muslim peoples to identify themselves with Communism. Like Communism, Islam denies narrow nationalism and recognises only Islamizat, the brotherhood and the unity of all nations under the flag of Islam.

Others of the nationalist leaders who had joined the party found that Communism was perfectly acceptable to a traditional Muslim Community. The Kazakh Ahmed Baytursun, for instance, wrote about the compatibility of Communism with a patriarchal, nomadic society: "The Kazakh people will embrace Communism without the slightest trouble. It will even adopt Communism sooner than any other peoples will, for its traditional mode of life is already very close to Communism.

Deep down, these communist nationalists and fellow-travellers might differ amongst themselves in their attitude towards Communist ideology and the problem of world revolution, but they had in common a feeling of confidence, if not in the Russian proletariat, then at least in certain Comintern leaders, notably in Lenin and a conviction that communism was potentially a factor favourable to the liberation of the Muslim peoples . . .

At Appendix One is an extract from a book entitled, *The Struggle For the Middle East: The Soviet Union in the Mediterranean, 1958-1968* by Walter Z. Laquer under the heading "1957: the Syrian Crisis". Ninety-five percent of Syria's population are Arabs, eighty-seven percent of its total population are Muslims, yet the country has a strong Communist Party with Syrian Communists as respectable patriots.

At Appendix Two is an extract from an article "Islam and Socialism" by Enche Mohamed Nor Jety of the Democratic Action Party Malaysia in a book entitled, *Who Lives If Malaysia Dies?* While he explains that the teachings of Islam are completely synonymous with the ideals and principles of socialism, the Marxists maintain that communism is the goal and the final form of socialism. Indeed, even the Russians do not like to be called Communists; they prefer to be known as Socialists. It is not difficult to equate communism with socialism and in line with the arguments put forward by Enche Mohamed Nor Jety the Communists can conveniently equate the theory and discipline of communism with the tenets of Islam. If A is equal to B and B to C, therefore, A is equal to C.

Under "Aiditism" the Communists in parts of Indonesia posed as friends of religion; they donated to the construction of mosques and made other contributions to Muslim causes. Because of this, their supporters included many sincere Muslims who had no particular affinity for communism. As a consequence of Aidit's success the current Communist Party of Malaya's policy on subversion is to organize "Front Organizations" based on pseudo-religious themes.

(4) Subversion through "NASAKOM" Technique

Although the P.K.I. is said to have been crushed in Indonesia in 1966 by the army, it is believed to have gone underground and there are reports that it has established contacts with the M.C.P. in the southern provinces of Thailand and is helping to subvert the Thai Muslims through such PKI-MCP-influenced groups as the People's Party of Southern Thailand and the Southern Thai National Party. Employing "Nasakom Technique," P.K.I. teams are helping to appeal to Irredentist sentiments among the Thai Muslims by promising to "re-unite" them with Malaysia in order to give Islam protection against Buddhist discriminatory practices. Because of this Musa Ahmad, Rashid Mahidin, and Abdullah Che Dat are now made to play leading roles in the M.C.P. in Southern Thailand. In fact the M.C.P. is now utilizing the Thai Muslims to attract Malays in West Malaysia especially from the Thai/Malaysia border districts in Kelantan and Perak to go to Southern Thailand to be trained in "Aiditism" and "Nasakom Technique" with the fervent hope that Malaysian peasants who are poor and the "have-nots" in the country will be subverted if they are made to believe that Communism, Islam, and Nationalism can exist nicely together and that Communism is potentially a factor favorable for the liberation of the Muslim peoples.

(5) Malay Socialism

The Malays—the peasants in particular—are born socialists.

When a peasant wanted to move his house from one kampong to another he invited the kampong folks to his house. They

tied poles to the house and together they carried it to the new site. No money was paid to anyone. The women folk collectively prepared food. When the work was done, the folks helped themselves to the food and everyone was happy.

The same with working the bendangs. In Kedah the system was called, "Meminjam orang." The modern version is, "Gotong Royong." The farmers worked their padi fields in groups. The neighbors helped a fellow peasant to harvest his padi and he in turn helped them when their padi ripened.

The principle of, "All for one and one for all" was long practiced by them. It was also practiced in marriage ceremonies etc. in the kampongs.

In the mosques whoever arrived first would occupy the front rows. A man could be a beggar in the streets but if he arrived earlier than a V.I.P. he had the right over the latter to sit in the front row.

In the eyes of Allah everyone is equal. By religion and culture, the Malays are socialists without even knowing what socialism means. The Communists can easily exploit this factor to their advantage.

(6) Conclusion

In view of what has been said, if we still believe that the Malays cannot be subverted to support the Communists by virtue of the fact that they are Muslims, then we are grossly mistaken.

Because of the great possibility of Malays in the rural areas supporting the Communists and the fact that the peasants are predominantly Malays, if Malaysia is not to be dominated by the Communists, Malaysians of all races must give their fullest support to the government in discharging their pledge to remedy the present socioeconomic imbalance between the "have-nots" and the "haves" to make the peasants enjoy a higher standard of living, so that they will accept democracy as a system which has delivered them the goods which they badly need to make life in democracy a meaningful one.

There is no alternative. Democracy must succeed because failure will lead to subversion and communism. Failure permits no alibis. The government must, therefore, do everything within

its power to see that all plans to eradicate the present socioeconomic disparity between the rural and urban populations be successfully carried out, and treat all those who abort or sabotage the plans as antinational elements punishable under the Internal Security Act.

In the final analysis, victory in the battle between democracy and communism in Malaysia depends largely on the peasants. Whichever side wins the peasants wins the battle. May democracy triumph!

APPENDIX ONE

Extract from The Struggle for the Middle East: The Soviet Union in the Mediterranean, 1958–1968

By Walter Laqueur

1957: The Syrian Crisis

BY MIDSUMMER of 1957, Syria was the Arab state that had moved closest to the Soviet Union—and also the country in which the Communist Party had become the strongest, single political force. All this had not happened suddenly: these developments could be traced back to the days of the French mandate, the upsurge of left-wing groups during World War II, and the postwar period. It is comparatively easy to state what factors were not involved, but more difficult to find a satisfactory explanation for the origins and causes of this trend.

Not directly involved, to begin with, were economic factors. It has already been mentioned that from 1945 to 1955, Syria, in contrast to many other Asian and Arab countries, had made astonishing economic progress. It could not be argued that Syria was stagnating economically, on the contrary, the country experienced a major boom. Nor could the Syrian crisis be explained by reference to an immediate conflict with the West. Most Syrians felt bitter about Israel and suspicious about Turkey. But there was no direct clash with the West; the West did not continue to

occupy part of Syria's territory (as it did in Egypt until 1955), nor were there any Western bases on Syrian soil—as in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq or Libya. Nor could one fairly regard Soviet policy or Soviet propaganda as the main cause of these developments. If the Soviet Union influenced happenings in Syria prior to 1956, it was only in a round about way, by means of the "anticolonialist" ideas that had been absorbed by Arab nationalism, and, of course, by way of the Communist party. The process of radicalization in Syria was both spontaneous and homegrown. It had much to do with conditions inside the country; outside factors were secondary.

Russia's aims in Syria were obvious—they were to make Syria an ally (or a client state) rather than a satellite. It was an unprecedented situation, for never before had a non-Communist regime moved so close to the Soviet Union voluntarily, without war or civil war. The European "Popular Democracies" had become part of the Soviet sphere of interest as a result of occupation by the Soviet Army; the voluntary element was, and presumably still is, notably absent. In Syria, both government and public opinion were, with negligible exceptions, in favour of the Soviet alliance, there was no need, as in the East European countries, for the stationing of large Soviet army units as guarantee of lasting friendship. This cordial relationship was admittedly based mainly on common foreign political interests, rather than on the Syrian wish to emulate Soviet experience in the economic and social field.

By and large, however, everybody in authority agreed that there was great difference "between Communism as a doctrine and the Soviet Union as a state" (sabri al Assali). There can be no doubt that most (though perhaps not all) of those who made these declarations did so in good faith. There is no doubt, either, that they did not have any clear idea about the direction in which they were moving; for them, Communism was what it had been thirty or forty years previously, namely, a movement that wanted above all to fight Islam, that opposed Arab nationalism, and that saw its main task as the pursuit of the class struggle. But this early "extremist" Communism had disappeared long ago, and they saw no reason, therefore, to worry about what seemed to them to be imaginary dangers. They did not realize the tremendous changes that had taken place in Communist tactics, especially in Asia and the Middle East. They were neither pro nor anti-

Communist, but pre-Communist and thus quite incapable of recognizing Communism in its more modern guise.

To make the position of the Communist Party within the National Front easier, Khaled Bakdash appeared in the Syrian parliament with rather sweeping statements that his country was and would remain, "Arab nationalist and nothing else in addition." In an interview with an Egyptian weekly he went on record as saying that he was "above all an Arab nationalist." Communism and Arab nationalism could exist side by side very nicely, and in any case, his party would not get entangled in partisan strife until Syria was altogether liberated from imperialism.

If a period of new trials was ahead, the Syrian Communists certainly could face it with considerable confidence. Their prestige and influence were higher than ever before, for they held commanding positions in all three Syrian trade-union confederations and in various intellectual popular-front organizations that had been founded by them (such as the Arab Writers' Congress, the Lawyers' Association, etc.), and among the youth, student, and teacher groups their position was almost unassailable. In addition, there was the submerged but very important section of the party: the members in the army command, the internal security forces, and those who had been won over from, or had been infiltrated into, other political parties.

In the past, anti-Communist groups had thought they possessed two effective sticks for belaboring the Communists. Communist atheism, the struggle of the party, against religion, had been one of the main propaganda assets of the Communists' political enemies. But for a long time prior to 1958 the Communists had abstained from any antireligious activity; on the contrary, they had tried hard, and successfully, to win over a number of leading religious dignitaries to their front organizations.

All in all, the Syrian Communists had become respectable patriots; they had little to fear from political rivals whose aims and intentions coincided with their own short-range political programme. Their open activities would probably be restricted in the future, but they would continue to exist and be active, as they had in similar circumstances before. Khaled Bakdash, in any case, was optimistic about the prospects of his party when interviewed by a Czechoslovak newspaper after the union had taken place.

APPENDIX TWO

Islam and Socialism

by Mohamed Nor Jetty, National Vice-Chairman, DAP

MORE THAN MOST religions, Islam preaches brotherhood and equality of peoples of all races, colours and nations within its fold. The Prophet Mohamed himself was probably exactly of the same skin as Jesus, but today His followers embrace all colours: peoples from Africa, China, South East Asia, Europe and America.

I have deliberately introduced my subject on this note of internationalism because as a Muslim and someone who believes profoundly in the teachings of Islam, I feel that the ideals which I have imbibed in my upbringing as a Muslim are completely synonymous with the ideals and principles of socialism.

Almost half the population of Malaysia comprise peoples of the Islamic faith and yet there is a lack of appreciation amongst non-Muslim Malaysians that Islam is partly founded on the words and certainly very close to the teachings of four Prophets who lived before Prophet Mohamed, namely Christ, Noah, Abraham and Moses.

The Qur'an does not acknowledge that Jesus was the Son of God and that he suffered death upon the Cross; for if Jesus were acknowledged as the child of God, Muslims believe it would compromise God's oneness, a belief which is the very cornerstone of Islam.

It is not my intention to deal with the many aspects of Islam which are misunderstood by non-Muslims in our country. I shall leave that to more learned Muslim leaders and scholars. I wish

only to emphasise the closeness of Islam to democratic socialism in the twentieth century.

I might begin with some verses from the Holy Qur'an and a few sayings of the Prophet of Islam:

God is the Creator of everything, and He has charge over everything. (The Holy Qur'an-39:62.)

All people are a single nation.

God has commanded me to show humility so that no one may rise above one another, or behave haughtily towards others.

Your servants are your brothers and stewards. Feed them and clothe them like yourselves. Compel them not to do work too hard for them, but if you so compel them, then help them in doing it.

Feed the hungry, visit the sick, and free the captive.

Verily truth is goodness and goodness leads to Paradise.

Resolve that if people do good to you, you will do good to them, and if they oppress you, you won't oppress them.

Islam does not allow asceticism. A Muslim who mixes with others and shares their burden is better than the one who lives a life of seclusion and contemplation.

Actions shall be judged according to motives. No man is true in the truest sense of the word save he who is true in word and thought.

Dost thou love thy Creator? Love thy fellow-creatures first.

Who is the most favoured of God? He from whom the greatest good cometh to His creatures.

All God's creatures are his family.

Seek for my goodwill in that of the poor and indigent.

I have deliberately quoted from the sayings of the Prophet of Islam with the express purpose of outlining the cardinal Islamic virtues, because as socialists who believe in equality, fraternity, social justice and democracy, what we are struggling for is in many ways similar to the ideals and the teachings of Islam.

To me the Prophet was in his day a leader of men who wanted to right the wrongs in society. The Prophet sought to change the unjust and undesirable social conditions he found prevalent around him to one guided by justice, equality, fraternity and love for all men regardless of race, colour or creed.

These are the very ideals which we as socialists strive to achieve in our own multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural

society, a society which we want perfected into a stable, tolerant and permissive one, where Malaysians of all races, religions and cultures can live as one peaceful and harmonious family.

The universality and brotherhood of Islam is the very thing which we democratic socialists are seeking to establish in our country, still so rampant with inequality and lacking in social justice. The desire to put a stop to oppression of man by his fellow-man is in fact the old Islamic ideal nowadays very often couched in socialist language.

I wish to quote a paragraph written by G. Wright Mills in his book entitled *The Marxists*.

You do not have to be poor any longer. Everywhere men have always lived as exploiters and exploited—you are poor not because of anything you have done or anything you have failed to do, not because of original sin or the will of God because of bad luck, you are poor because of economic and political conditions. These conditions are called capitalism.

At first capitalism was a great progressive force in man's history; under it men built enormous facilities for the production of all the things they needed. You are poor and you are exploited and you are going to be exploited as long as capitalism prevails, for capitalism is the system that exploits you.

You do not have to be poor. The conditions that make you poor can be changed. They are going to be changed. By the revolution you can eliminate once and for all the exploitation of man by man. You can enter into a socialist society in which mankind conquers nature. And no man any longer will know poverty and exploitation.

The very essence in the above quotation is cool, logical and incisive. The subject of interest is the same. Man and poverty continue to be the focal point of attention—both for socialism as well as for Islam.

The close proximity of this quotation and the earlier Islamic ones are in fact a projection and furtherance of religious decrees on the brotherhood of man. To Muslims both categories of quotations carry the message of truth, love and the equality of man. To the Muslim's mind they are one. The Muslim most easily comprehends and supports both.

Democratic socialism is completely in keeping with the

psychological make-up of the Malays in our country, brought up as they are on the Islamic principles of justice and equality. There is nothing whatsoever in the democratic socialist ideology which is antagonistic to the teachings of the Prophet and the obligations of a Muslim to his religion of Islam.

Socialism, like Islam, has a strong moral and ethical basis, the foundation being concern for man's progress and his future. Socialism indeed aims to raise our standard of living in the material sense in order that we may be better able to worship Allah and execute the precepts of the teachings of Islam and the Prophet in a more effective manner. The economic and material factors on the one hand and the spiritual factors in our lives on the other are equally important. The former can be a complement to the latter.

Islam preaches equality of man before God, and socialism, like Islam, is against the God of wealth and the religion of exploitation which is the practice of capitalism.

Both Socialism and Islam emerged as a protest against man's inhumanity towards his fellowmen. Both uphold liberty, equality and fraternity. Responsible and meaningful freedom of the individual and nations is dear to both.

Islam has many ethical, economic and political concepts in common with democratic socialism.