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The Tanjong Declaration

**Towards a Just, Equal, and
Democratic Malaysia**

by

The Democratic Action Party

NASKHAH PEMELIHARAAN
PERPUSTAKAAN NEGARA MALAYSIA

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24, Jalan 20/9,
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The Tanjong Declaration

Towards a Just, Equal and Democratic Malaysia

This Special Congress in Tanjong, Penang on the first of December 1991 marks a historic juncture after 25 years of struggle of the Democratic Action Party of Malaysia.

In these 25 years, our basic beliefs and principles in the defence of freedom, democracy and human rights of all Malaysians have not been compromised even though we have had to contend with shameless repression, bribery and corrupt tactics of the Barisan Nasional.

Although we have been in the Opposition during these 25 years, our contribution in the interest of the rakyat of all ethnic communities is clear for all Malaysians to see, whether it be the defence of our Parliamentary democracy, accountability, civil liberties and human rights, or fighting for the interests of the general public, consumers, workers, farmers, hawkers, fishermen and squatters.

The years ahead are full of promise and challenges. The formation of Gagasan Rakyat just before the 1990 General Elections has opened a new vista in the perspective of our political struggle. The readiness of the main parties in the Opposition to unite for the sake of saving Malaysia from the ravages of the Barisan Nasional was the most heartening development in Malaysian politics to date.

We in the DAP have learned hard lessons during this period of time. But we are gathered here today, clear in our conscience, proud to hold our heads up high in reaffirming our basic guiding political beliefs and principles for a just, equal and democratic Malaysian society.

I. DAP's Fundamental Values and Political Principles

The DAP is committed to the struggle for a free and

democratic socialist Malaysia, based on the principles of human rights, equality, social and economic justice, and founded on the institutions of parliamentary democracy. We are opposed to power relationships and privileges of those who monopolise economic and political interests and exploit the masses.

Freedom involves the renunciation of the kind of dictatorship practised by the BN as well as the self-determination of the people on the basis of social responsibility. But the attainment of human freedom requires material and social preconditions, ie. the freedom from want, fear, ignorance, patronage and exploitation.

As democratic socialists, we want a social order in which there can be free development of the human personality within the community; in which there will be just distribution of the fruits of our work; where equality and social justice is the norm and where there is dignity and value placed on human work.

Equality is the precondition of the free development of the personality. It does not mean uniformity and levelling out, but the opposition to exploitation and privileges of those controlling economic and political power.

Democracy must not be limited to having elections once every few years as the BN tries to do to justify their undemocratic rule. Democracy is based on the free participation of all members of society at all levels of political institutions. For this reason, the elective principle of democracy must extend to all areas of society, from local governments to the Senate. At the same time, democracy does not mean only the rule of the majority in the interest of the majority. It also means tolerance and the guarantee of freedom and rights of the minorities.

We do not oppose Islam or any religions but we cannot accept the imposition of an Islamic State in Malaysia because of the substantial numbers of non-Muslims in this country. An Islamic State would curtail the rights and interests of all non-Muslims in Malaysia and is against the

spirit and letter of the Federal Constitution.

The record of the DAP in defending the rights of the non-Muslims against the encroachments on their religious freedom by the BN Administration is clear for all to see. While the MCA and MIC State Assemblymen supported the Amendments to the Selangor Administration of Islamic Law Enactment, the DAP spoke out clearly against this unjust law. DAP lawyers have distinguished themselves in defending those non-Muslims whose rights have been infringed by the implementation of BN policies, while the MCA, Gerakan and MIC have been accessories to these injustices.

Democratic socialism upholds the right to work and care for the well-being of the people in all classes, the right to a humane and clean environment, the right to extensive education and training of one's choice, as well as the right to participate in administration and all decision-making processes.

The domination of our lives by economic and bureaucratic power must be substituted by relationships between people based on solidarity and cooperation, participation in decision-making at different levels and areas of society.

In this struggle, we are one with democratic socialists throughout the world fighting for humanity and social democracy. We are in solidarity with oppressed peoples who oppose unjust wars and production of weapons for war and who advocate peace and prosperity based on equal cooperation aided by scientific knowledge and technical advancement.

Solidarity is the strongest weapon in the struggle against oppression and injustice and it embraces all peoples of the world.

Democratic socialism is an international movement of peoples committed to the joint struggle for a better society, motivated by humanist values, social scientific analyses, or by religious conviction. Full freedom of denomination and thought must neither be restricted by the state nor in any

other way.

The democratic socialist movement rejects any form of imperialist policy and upholds the right of every nation to freedom and self-determination. We also want an international legal system that guarantees freedom to every nation, protection of the rights of minorities and human rights to every individual.

The DAP has consistently opposed the repressive systems associated with "Soviet Communism" and the other countries of the Eastern Bloc throughout much of the Post-War era. We condemn all countries - whether capitalist or communist - which violate basic human rights, democracy and the right to self-determination.

All who subscribe to these fundamental values are our allies and our friends against tyranny, dictatorship, corruption, exploitation and oppression.

These fundamental values and political principles of the DAP are equally important. Their joint realisation can ensure for Malaysians a fuller and more satisfying life in freedom and peace, irrespective of ethnicity, gender, religion, class or creed.

II. The BN's Legacy of Corruption, Injustice and Abuse of Power

Through the years, the political, financial and moral scandals involving BN leaders have tarnished the image of the country and the self-respect of Malaysians. The most infamous of these include the \$2.5 billion BMF scandal; the deposit-taking cooperatives scandal involving top MCA leaders; the UEM North-South Highway contract scandal; the October 1987 arrests and detention without trial of innocent Malaysians and the closure of four newspapers; the dismissal of the Lord President and other Supreme Court Judges in 1988; the Vijandran pornographic video tapes scandal.

The BN is completely corrupted by money politics. Even their leaders openly admit this. The Anti-Corruption Agency must be made truly independent and accountable only to the people through Parliament. The assets, liabilities of all people's representatives and their nominees must be publicly delared. The law must also prohibit political donations by businesses and the business investments by political parties.

The Barisan Nasional has persistently eroded Malaysian Parliamentary democracy through unfair constituency delin-eations and other means. Bills are often rushed through Parliament without allowing Members of Parliament and the public adequate time to study or to protest against them. The interference with the Judiciary in 1988 was perhaps the most alarming erosion of our democratic institutions since Independence. It is shocking that more than thirty years after the Emergency, four Emergency laws still exist in the statute books.

There must be effective checks and balances on the Executive. A Royal Commission should be set up to review the Constitution to ensure that it protects human rights and civil liberties so that all repressive and unjust legislations can be repealed. Specialist parliamentary committees should be established to ensure greater accountability and an Ombuds-man to protect the public interest independently of the government of the day.

Basic human rights of Malaysians have been denied through the use of draconian laws such as the Internal Security Act and other undemocratic laws and policies. Basic freedoms have been curtailed through laws like the Printing Presses and Publications Act, the Official Secrets Act, the Universities and University Colleges Act, the Trade Union Act, and the Police Act.

The record of the Barisan Nasional shows precisely that they are afraid of the progressive dispelling of want, fear, ignorance and patronage from the midst of their electoral base.

In their desperate attempts to cling to power and

safeguard their economic interests, the BN has maintained control of the main organs of mass media and muzzled the rest of the press. As if this suppression of the fundamental freedom of expression in a democracy were not enough, the BN Government is now curtailing the circulation of the DAP's organ, "The Rocket" and other Opposition newspapers in order to prevent the Opposition's voice from reaching the general public.

For there to be truly freedom of the press in Malaysia, politicians and political parties should not be allowed to have direct or indirect stake in the mass media organs, and restrictions like annual renewal of the KDN licence cannot be tolerated.

III. The Proper Basis for Uniting our Polarised Society

It is undeniable that under BN rule, Malaysian society has become more and more polarised. Our two previous Prime Ministers have publicly bemoaned this unfortunate fact.

The Barisan Nasional coalition itself is an institution of communalism, with the component parties UMNO Baru, MCA, PBB and MIC openly and unashamedly claiming to fight for the sectarian interests of their respective "race". In fact, racialism is the only ideology of these BN component parties. Their opportunist leaders thrive on it, depend on it for electoral support, and when contradictions within them develop into crises such as during May 13, the "Pribumi/Pendatang" controversy, or the so-called "Chinese schools crisis" in October 1987, ethnic relations deteriorate even further.

The present leaders in UMNO Baru have come to power only through their opportunist championing of "bumiputraisim" when they overthrew the Tunku and the Old Guard in 1969. Ever since then, their domination and hegemony within the Barisan Nasional have been absolute, relegating the MCA, MIC and Gerakan leaders to being

marginal men or political parasites.

From the BN's economic policy to the politics within a school or government department, everything is clouded by racial connotations. This has led to demoralisation, cynicism and the current crisis of the brain drain from the public sector. The BN's assimilationist tendencies in its education and cultural policies have likewise created distrust and unhappiness among the non-Malay communities. Religion has been manipulated for their own selfish and communalist ends.

The DAP reaffirms its belief that such divisive policies of the BN, whereby Malaysians are classified into "bumiputra" and "non-bumiputra" only serve to prevent the formation of a united national consciousness. National solidarity will always remain elusive as long as the power brokers within the BN rely on communalism to further their vested interests. Malaysian sun, where talent and hard work are justly rewarded, where the poor of all ethnic communities are equally assisted and where sectors or classes and not "race" are earmarked for special assistance.

The proper basis of unity can only be the common demands for democracy and human rights. These demand a consistency and there is no place for double standards. In the collective struggle for these rights, Malaysians of all ethnic groups will soon realise their common destiny.

National integration must also be forged between East and West Malaysians by restoring the rights and privileges of the peoples of Sabah and Sarawak. Federal-state relations must be reviewed to effect a new understanding on matters such as the apportionment of oil royalties.

IV. Towards Social and Economic Progress

The BN boasts about the country's high growth rate. But we know that this is normal for an economy at this particular stage of development. It is the quality of "development" which concerns the discerning Malaysian

and especially those Malaysians who work and contribute to the wealth of our nation.

The fact is that we are still far from creating an independent industrial base as what other neighbouring countries have accomplished. The BN's economic strategy mainly involves opening our country to indiscriminate foreign investors. The value of the ringgit continues to drop against the currencies of our main trading partners while prices soar.

Thus BN economic policies have contributed to the pawning away of choice state assets to private interests at give-away prices: bargain sales of land and properties to foreign interests; warped priorities like the building of golf courses, condominiums, the Desaru "Ski Resort", the Shah Alam "Snow Garden" and other pleasure centres for foreign and local super-rich. Land laws which enable foreign interests to buy up real estate in Malaysia must be reviewed.

We are not opposed to foreign capital per se. We are opposed to the kind of BN policy which allows foreign capitalists total freedom to buy up land and properties in Malaysia; to dump their polluting industries in this country; to dictate terms and conditions for their investments, such as all kinds of tax incentives, low wages, no unions and the availability of golf courses. We believe that the interests of the country and our workers come before the interests of foreign capitalists.

In the award of privatised contracts such as the multi-million North-South Highway Project, the DAP was at the forefront of the battle against its unethical award to an UMNO company.

Like opportunists in other parts of the world, the BN is trying to capitalise on the demise of the old regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by pushing through its privatisation policies. The BN Government's ideological commitment to rampant privatisation has not only seen BN cronies monopolising contracts but the callous dispossession of urban settlers, estate settlers and others from the

and. Under BN rule, such denial of social justice and social security has become commonplace.

We are certainly not opposed to privatisation but we are against unfettered capitalism. We believe that privatisation must follow strict procedures of accountability instead of the unethical practices of the BN in giving contracts to companies linked to the BN. All contracts for privatisation must be based on open tender as a rule.

At the same time, we believe that such social amenities as public health care, public transport and other public utilities need not be privatised. These public amenities must be further improved and expanded to ensure that the poorest masses can enjoy basic necessities of life. The public sector needs comprehensive reform in order to improve efficiency, productivity and morale.

Profitable public enterprises should also not be privatised while the ailing government agencies which continue to drain our financial resources should have been the first to be privatised. The Barisan Nasional has turned this simple logic on its head by doing the reverse!

Adhocism has characterised BN economic policy rather than any form of prudent planning. Where there is money to be made by those well-connected entrepreneurs, there is so-called "development." For example, the rampant building of condominiums in many Malaysian cities has made nonsense of the respective Urban Structure Plans. Likewise, the National Agriculture Policy is today not worth the paper it is written on. Many of these projects have been implemented without considering their effects on the environment and the existing infrastructure.

Owing to this adhocism, corruption and mismanagement, the public sector has lost billions. The BN Government has borrowed over a hundred billion ringgit, much of it for misconceived projects. We continue to repay this debt. In the 1992 budget, our debt service charges stand at 18.6% and debt servicing is the second largest component, or 25% of operating expenditure. The current account deficit is

expected to widen further to \$13.6 billion, or 10% of GNP in 1992.

Social and economic progress requires enterprise and initiative of vast sections of society and equal opportunity for all. That is why the DAP has called for bold reforms such as the Independent Commission for Monitoring the National Development Policy; the replacement of the quota system by a "Merits and Needs" approach; an industrial strategy based on the small and medium-scale industries linked to the agricultural sector, as well as the strategy to attract the many talented and skilled Malaysian professional working abroad.

The brain drain is a very serious problem for our country in desperate need for talented and skilled human resources. The Barisan Nasional's narrow-minded attitude of "Good Riddance to Bad Rubbish" will prove to be a big mistake which future generations will regret. The DAP has persistently called for concerted effort to engender a "Reverse Brain Drain", a strategy that other more dynamic economies in the world have used to good advantage.

Malaysians working all over the world yearn to return to their homeland but it is the Barisan Nasional's unfair, unjust, illiberal, undemocratic and corrupt policies which deter them.

Social and economic progress needs the energy, intellect, skills and experience of all Malaysians. They must be judged and rewarded accordingly as befits their contributions. Otherwise, we see the crisis of incompetence and mediocrity which has characterised the public sector all these years under the BN.

There must be equality in access to education, culture, health care, recreation and social security through the introduction of national health and social insurance. Social assistance should be extended to the elderly, the terminally ill, the homeless, the mentally ill and others from social problems.

At the same time, the Government should give positive support to the private sector to enable it to be dynamic and internationally competitive. Bureaucratic red tape and over-regulation should be minimised since they contribute to inefficiency, corruption and other abuses of power. Abuse of power is seen for example, when taxi licences are given to big companies with political connections to top BN leaders instead of to genuine operators. All legislation and regulations which stifle entrepreneurship and progress, for example, the Industrial Coordination Act, should be repealed.

In a world in which there is no longer basis for the arms race, there is no reason for excessive defence expenditure any more. We must have well-trained forces consistent with our economic resources while more allocation must be channelled into social and economic development.

The BN's "National Development Policy" presents nothing new from the divisive policies of the old "New Economic Policy". Bumiputraisim and the controversial quota system remain to polarise Malaysian society and to enrich further the "Umnoputras", who will continue to pull the wool over the eyes of their electoral bases.

Under BN rule, the gap between the rich and poor is getting bigger and bigger. In 1990, the top 20% in the country received 56% of total household income while the bottom 20% received only 3.5%. This disparity is more alarming than the US where the top 20% received only 46.3% of their total household income.

The Barisan Nasional has plagiarised the idea of "A Caring Society" from the 1990 election manifesto of Gagasan Rakyat but in the process have exposed their hypocrisy and insincerity. During the recent national census, information regarding the disabled and other less privileged Malaysians was not even sought! We not only need to know the exact numbers of disabled people in this country in order to cater to their specific needs, we also need laws against discrimination of disabled people especially by employers.

A caring society is one which accomodates people's

disabilities. Employers must make the workplace accessible for them, restructure jobs, modify equipment unless it can be shown that it would cause undue hardship or threaten others. The authorities must also ensure that transport systems and other public places have facilities to help the disabled.

The income tax structure needs to be revised to benefit breadwinners more and unjustified impositions like road tolls within the city limits must be abolished. Local government assessment rates should be reviewed to ensure that taxpayers get their money's worth in services. For a start, all City, Municipal and District Councillors must be elected and accountable to the people.

Under the BN rule, the country has seen the constant outbreak of massive financial scandals. The money that the BN has squandered from the Malaysian rakyat all these years through this non-accountability is reason enough for a changeover of Government. At the start of the Sixth Malaysia Plan alone, DAP Secretary-General and Parliamentary Opposition Leader exposed at least ten major new scandals for which the BN is answerable.

The DAP has always demanded the institution of Royal Commissions to investigate all these scandals as well as the efficacy of the Anti-Corruption Agency but the BN has only contempt for our Parliamentary Democracy. It is also time for the introduction of a Freedom Of Information Act to allow the rakyat access to information about the affairs of state.

V. DAP's Commitment to Labour

Through our history and our fundamental principles based on democratic socialism, the DAP is firmly committed to the cause of Malaysian labour. Labour leaders were among the first top echelon leaders of the DAP.

We believe that as producers of the nation's wealth, Malaysian workers' contributions to the economy must be

fully recognised. Workers' right to organise and to freely assemble must be honoured. To date, the Barisan Nasional refuses to allow electronics workers the right to form their own national union, while the Trade Union Act and other undemocratic laws restrict workers' rights and movements. step toward democratic socialism. The BN has consistently tried to create divisions in the workers' movement.

Access to work must be the basic aim of our labour policy. The DAP stands for an active employment policy which would not allow mass unemployment. Those who have lost their jobs through mechanisation or retrenchments should be provided the opportunity to gain new professional skills. The disabled, single parents, women and others must be given rights as workers. Other aspects of concern to workers, such as health and safety at work, have not been given adequate attention under the BN Government. It is also time to institute a Minimum Wage Policy especially since the BN claims to want to eradicate poverty and build a caring society.

The DAP not only protects the interests of workers, we believe in the promotion of workers' solidarity as a concrete

Instead of trying to upgrade workers' incomes and conditions, the BN Government is resorting to legal and illegal immigrant labour to help employers. This has had the effect of keeping wages low and creating serious social problems.

Petty traders, hawkers and other self-employed should be given support and regulated instead of being constantly harassed by the BN authorities. Their contribution to the national economy must be appreciated. They also act as an outlet for our human resources, otherwise they would be adding up to the unemployment figures.

VI. Effective and Non-Racial Solutions to Rural Poverty

The BN has failed to solve the problem of rural poverty. Worse, it has consistently tried to communalise this problem to pander to Malay chauvinism and trivialised the problems of the non-Malay poor.

The problems faced by the landless farmers, small fishermen, plantation workers and rural New Villages are indeed serious, requiring effective solutions specific to these sectors instead of being communalised. Many have insecure tenure and face eviction. They lack the basic necessities of life. Rural infrastructure is still primitive especially in Sabah and Sarawak and this is scandalous when the BN carries on building wasteful prestige projects in West Malaysia.

Effective solutions include less dependence on export crops and more on food crop production; tax alleviation for rubber smallholders and other agricultural producers; reform of the system of land alienation and ownership; rent control; land reform guaranteeing land to the tiller and equitable redistribution of land; egalitarian and democratic marketing and credit cooperatives; more loans to farmers; more funds for proper development projects rather than luxury and prestige projects.

The BN Government has been reluctant to consider land reform in the rural areas because of their vested interest since BN leaders are among the biggest landowners in the rural areas. They have opted for highly expensive and environmentally disastrous land development strategies which have only led to new dissatisfactions among settlers. Crippling loan repayments and other deductions faced by FELDA settlers must be alleviated in the settlers' interests and not that of FELDA's.

Poor fishermen also need assistance in terms of alternative employment opportunities, the issuing of licences, and our fishery resources must be protected for Malaysian fishermen.

The 452 New Villages in the country have for far too long been left out of the mainstream of national development although they were all set up during the First Emergency period (1948 - 1960). Most New Villages still lack basic infrastructure like good metalled roads, efficient drainage system, modern sewerage system, health and sanitation system, modern and well-equipped recreational facilities, efficient public transport system and other basic amenities. Whilst the population in the New Villages has grown with families getting bigger and bigger, the land size of New Villages has not grown. Thus, we find very large families crammed into single houses. Not only has the BN Government neglected the New Villages, it has failed to provide security of land tenure. Land titles issued in New Villages are on a lease varying from 30 or 60 years and very recently only in some cases 99 years. In fact, all land for housing in New Villages should be issued with 99-year leases.

Similarly, the living conditions in estates are still appalling, especially when it comes to provision of basic amenities like clean water, 24-hour uninterrupted supply of electricity, modern and well-equipped nurseries, efficiently-run creches by qualified persons, proper health and sanitation facilities, houses with sufficient space for a family, schools with modern facilities, modern recreational facilities and most important of all, affordable houses which can be owned by estate workers.

Estate workers must be brought into the mainstream of development so that they, too, can enjoy the fruits of development. Continued neglect of estate workers will only drive the estate workforce out of the estates. This trend is already affecting the economy of the nation.

The plight of plantation workers is critical especially since much of the estate land is being taken over by private developers and these workers are simply driven off the land although they have settled there for decades.

Despite having attained independence in 1963, the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak lack development, especially in the rural areas where basic infrastructure

is virtually nil. So-called development has been concentrated mainly in and around the town areas. The rural people in these states have not been provided with clean drinking water or electricity supply or proper schools for the rural children. Customary land rights of the natives in these states must be respected and accorded its rightful place in the land policy of any Government. The BN Government is presently trying to take away these rights by using dubious and unscrupulous means.

Our natives such as the Penans and the Orang Asli need just as much special protection as our tropical rain forest. Their basic rights too must be respected and their just demands met.

Small industries in the agricultural sector should be encouraged not only because they supplement rural income but also because they are the stable basis for our industrial strength.

VII. Liberal and Progressive Educational and Cultural Policies

Barisan Nasional educational and cultural policies have led to grave misgivings and contributed greatly to polarisation of Malaysian society. The effect of the quota system in education has caused despondence and dissatisfaction among those deserving non-bumiputra who fail to enter local tertiary institutions or obtain scholarships. The assimilationist tendencies in the National Cultural Policy have led to quite a few unfortunate incidents which have polarised further Malaysian society.

If we are to learn the lesson of recent developments among the ethnic populations in Europe, Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world, the preconditions for promoting unity among diverse ethnic groups are civil equality, cultural and social democracy. There must be democracy in all social spheres.

We reaffirm our commitment to Bahasa Malaysia as the

national and common language of all Malaysians. However, any language should be permissible as the medium of instruction if the people or community concerned so desires. upon the medium of instruction used by schools. Graduates from all language streams should be recognised and their skills put to use in nation-building. The BN's "ultimate objective" of closing all Chinese and Tamil schools is as retrogressive as it is divisive.

The MCA's greatest concession in its 42-year history in denying and renouncing the constitutional right, basis, status and guarantee for the Chinese and Tamil schools will have far-reaching adverse consequences for national-building in the 1990s and the early decades of the 21st century. The DAP will continue, as in the last 25 years, to be the principal political force in the country to defend, protect and uphold the constitutional right, basis, status and guarantee for the Chinese and Tamil primary schools and mother-tongue education.

To ensure greater social democracy and unity, emphasis in awarding scholarships and student places should be based on excellence as well as a socio-economic status. The divisive quota system must be replaced.

Besides the teaching of basic skills to cope with one's working life, the school curriculum should inculcate moral and human rights. Students, especially University students should be encouraged to be concerned about social and political affairs instead of being emasculated by the BN's Universities and University Colleges Act. Such restrictions on the freedom of students only serve to suppress creativity and innovation. Each student should also be allowed to be taught their own religion.

The allocation for education and cultural activities must be vastly increased especially in relation to the defence budget. Expenditure on primary and secondary schools of all language streams must be increased and there must be fair and equal treatment in financial allocation to all the different streams of schools. A target of one University per state should be set to provide more opportunities for our

students, to prevent the enormous outflow of capital.

VIII. Rights and Dignity for Malaysian Women

The Barisan Nasional gives credence to women only for their ability to deliver the vote. This is the role of the Wanita wings of UMNO Baru, MCA, MIC and Gerakan when women voters are wooed at election time.

In reality, the position of Malaysian women is far from satisfactory. Women occupy the lowest paid jobs in the employment market. In the electronics industry where women predominate, they are not allowed to form a national electronics union. In the other sectors, equal pay for equal work is the exception and not the norm. The State does not assist in any way to help provide creches and other child-care facilities for working women.

The Barisan Nasional and the mass media it owns and controls actively promote the image of women as passive, stereotyped sex objects. This has encouraged sexual harassment at work and contributed to the alarming increase of rape and other forms of violence against women and children.

The DAP actively fights for the rights and dignity of women. Improvement of women's status in society is a major prong of the struggle for democratic socialism and the agenda of Wanita DAP. Wanita DAP will work toward special provisions for women's participation at every level, including leadership and executive level, for women's views to be incorporated in every issue and their special needs catered for.

We are alarmed and angry about the increasing incidence of rape and other cases of violence against women and children, including abductions. Sexist portrayal of women should be banned from the mass media and gender-sensitive education campaigns implemented, especially in schools. The root of violence against women lies in society's atti-

tudes toward women and the problem must be addressed at this societal level.

Women's rights must also be fully realised in laws affecting women, such as family laws, laws relating to social security and welfare benefits, inheritance, marriage and divorce, citizenship, domestic violence, sex discrimination and sexual harrassment.

IX. DAP's Concern for our Youth

The despondency among Malaysian youth is evident everywhere. Many are turning to drugs and other unhealthy activities. Non-bumiputra youths who have been forced to drop out or who have failed to gain admission into colleges and universities have become cynical and disgruntled. The discriminatory policies of the BN have succeeded in turning out a whole generation of "quota victims".

Among the students, especially College and University students, the restriction on their participation in social and political affairs of the nation through the Universities and University Colleges Act is leading to a generation of uncritical non-thinkers.

The youth groups which receive Government allocations and patronage are only those with links to the Barisan Nasional. Others are blatantly excluded. The youths of different ethnic groups are not encouraged to mix and integrate, nor are they encouraged to be concerned about the general state of democracy and human rights in Malaysia.

DAPSY, or DAP Socialist Youth is in the forefront of the struggle to lead Malaysian youths along the path of social consciousness, political awareness and healthy pursuits. DAPSY is, and will be involved in campaigns to protect the environment, to protest against corruption and injustice, to defend Malaysian democracy and human rights, and to lobby for more artistic and cultural outlets for Malaysian youth.

We believe that youth groups of all ethnic communities must be given fair and equal treatment by the Government and more effort should be made to provide opportunities for our youths to cooperate and have joint activities.

As an investment for the future, there should be nine years compulsory education, and provisions against child labour.

X. DAP's Concern for our Environment

The Barisan Nasional's rabid search for quick profits has resulted in the present crisis of environmental pollution. The pall of haze hanging over the country, especially in the main cities, is a grim testimony to BN mismanagement of the economy.

The Sungei Buluh tragedy was the result of lax enforcement of laws and regulations. A powerful BN leader was one of the directors of the "Bright Sparklers" factory when it started. The full story has still to be revealed. But it is a well-known fact that such illegal factories manufacturing harmful or toxic chemicals are commonplace in Malaysia. The Asian Rare Earth factory producing radioactive waste in Perak is another example.

Foreign companies like the Japanese Mitsubishi are allowed by the BN Government to dump their polluting industries in our country when such industries are prohibited in Japan. The BN Government has still not found a solution to the treatment and dumping of toxic wastes produced by Malaysian and foreign industries.

Our invaluable tropical rain forests are being increasingly denuded to satisfy the greed of timber tycoons and their foreign consumers. This is not only leading to ecological disaster of major proportions but also destroying the habitat and way of life of our natives.

The Malacca water crisis is a direct result of deforestation of the water catchment and qualifies as a major scandal

when the country is supposed to be on its way to being a developed nation and tourist attraction. Flash floods which paralyse the nation's capital after an afternoon's downpour is the obverse of the same environmental abuse, created by unplanned development and greed.

The golf and "condo" mania in many urban centres today is also leading to a fast degrading urban environment when Environment Impact Assessments are not scrupulously adhered to and often ignored.

The DAP believes in an alternative development philosophy which puts priority on people not quick profits, on ecological balance and on sensible planning of the urban environment.

The BN has no desire to control the car population and reduce air pollution since its top leaders have a vested interest in the national car industry. On the other hand, we believe that it is high time that a cheap yet efficient public transport system is made available to urban dwellers, especially the less well-off. While the BN dreams up grandiose schemes as cheap devices to gain world attention, most Malaysian cities and towns are still without proper drainage and sewerage systems.

Industries should be given incentives to treat, store and safely dispose of their factory effluents. All investment proposals must be screened to exclude environmentally harmful ones. Incentives should also be given for research and development on pollution control, recycling of waste material and treatment of wastes.

Environment-friendly agricultural practices like organic farming must be promoted amongst Malaysian farmers to regain the ecological balance.

To save our forests, the export of timber logs must be banned and the licencing system reviewed. Downstream timber-based industries should be encouraged instead but there must be tight enforcement of forest management and stern deterrents against illegal loggers.

The rights of native communities to their forest land must be protected and guaranteed in legislation.

XI. A Consistent and Principled Foreign Policy Outlook

The DAP upholds a consistent independent foreign policy. We oppose imperialism, racism and zionism and actively promote peace and justice in international relations. We have always taken a critical stand against the arms race including the disproportionate spending on defence in successive Malaysia Plan allocations. We have declared on the other hand that:

"National defence does not depend on the amount of monies spent on military equipment and materials but even more importantly, on the national unity and resilience of the people."

Excessive military spending merely adds to the inevitable arms race and suspicion among our neighbouring countries besides diverting valuable resources for development. In the process, small states invariably become clients of the Superpowers.

Within the new regional and international scene, there must be moves to democratise the United Nations and other international bodies to ensure that big and small nations have an equal say and that no Big Power or Bloc can impose its hegemony over the world's political, economic and cultural order.

The DAP's position emphasises a consistent and principled stand on all foreign policy decisions as opposed to the Barisan Nasional's inconsistency and double standards. We support the struggles of all oppressed peoples everywhere in the world, especially their just wars of liberation and self-determination.

The principles of the Non-Aligned Movement must be

stringently upheld:

- * Respect for the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination;
- * Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states;
- * Non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of states; and
- * Peaceful co-existence among states.

We endorse the principles of ZOPFAN (Zones of Peace, Friendship and Neutrality), which means that foreign bases in member countries must be phased out and military treaties with countries outside the region abrogated. ASEAN should also declare itself a nuclear-free zone, prohibiting ships carrying nuclear weapons from entering the region.

DAP believes that greater economic, social and cultural contracts should be forged among all ASEAN countries instead of the BN Government's cultivation of a special relationship with one or two countries. Only such an open and sincere attitude towards all the ASEAN member countries will breed trust and lasting relations.

The DAP defends human rights throughout the world. The BN Government lacks the moral authority to do this because it is itself guilty of human rights abuses, such as the use of preventive detention. Malaysia's Internal Security Act has the unsavoury reputation of being the most draconian in the world. Even South Africa has recently amended its own ISA to curtail the period of interrogation.

The BN Government's other human rights abuses include the curbing of freedom of expression and association noted above. Dr Mahathir is currently leading a backward chorus of developing countries challenging the international imposition of human rights standards on all countries. To date, the BN Government does not have the confidence to ratify the two International Covenants on Political and Civil, Social, Economic and Cultural Rights. Likewise, the BN Government closes one eye to human rights abuses inflicted by the Indonesian Government in East Timor, and by the

Fijian as well as the Myanmar regimes.

The DAP is part and parcel of the Socialist International movement, which has 75 member organisations of socialist, social democratic and labour parties in all parts of the world, some of which are ruling parties in their countries. In a world in which reactionary and corrupt regimes are ruling at the expense of their exploited masses, member parties can draw support, solidarity and inspiration from SI. With the increasing spread of unfettered capitalism through privatisation, there is no doubt that democratic socialism will become more and more relevant as the solution to the plight of oppressed peoples throughout the world.

If Malaysia is to gain the respect of the world, our foreign policy must be mature, consistent, sensible and principled. There is no place in modern diplomacy for a country's foreign policy to be determined by its whims and fancies or personal quirks of its leader. Under the Mahathir Administration, we have witnessed many examples of such capricious foreign policy changes: the "Look East Policy", "Buy British Last" and recently, "Cool Toward the Australians" campaign.

Instead of building Malaysia's reputation as a moral country, free from reproach as far as human rights and conservation are concerned, the BN Government has shamed Malaysians by its international infamy of mass ISA arrests and detentions, interference with the Judiciary, its oppressive labour laws, its indiscriminate depletion of our tropical rain forests and the plight of our natives.

Malaysia cannot join the same league as other developed countries unless its leaders stop behaving like despots of banana republics and its domestic and foreign policies are consistently enlightened and progressive.

XII. The Political Task at Hand

The historic task which began with the formation of

Gagasan Rakyat in 1990 must be seen to its logical conclusion. When the DAP joined with Semangat 46, Parti Rakyat Malaysia, Indian Progressive Front, Berjasa, Hamim, Malaysian Solidarity Party in its coalition, Malaysians were at last given a choice of an alternative Government. It was a momentous step by the DAP, which had all this time been in the Opposition.

Gagasan Rakyat, despite its short span of existence, managed to slash the BN majority of total votes down to 52%. This was no mean feat considering we did not have a common symbol, considering we had to contend with the dirtiest BN tactics in Malaysian history, and considering we were up against the might of BN money politics and BN-controlled mass media.

"Onwards to Tanjong 3" is our battle-cry for the next general elections. We came so close to accomplishing the "Tanjong 2" objective in the 1990 general elections, which was to capture the Penang State Government. We fell short of just three seats. It showed that the people of Penang had put their faith in the DAP as a viable alternative Government and we will not let them down.

The success of Tanjong 3 is crucial for showing the people what an alternative clean and democratic-socialist DAP government can provide. This is the challenge of the Nineties that is before all DAP and Gagasan Rakyat leaders, members and supporters.

The DAP, in launching its Reform Programme, is sounding the clarion call to all justice-loving and democracy-minded Malaysians to rally around the DAP and Gagasan Rakyat in order that we can realise our dream of a better Malaysian society.

To combat the might of the BN machinery, BN money politics and dirty tricks, we need leaders and cadres with commitment and discipline dedicated to winning the widest possible support of Malaysians. We need to unite with as many sections of the people as we can if we are to defeat the BN at their game.

All over the world, in the developed countries, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and even in Africa, people clamour for democracy. Since the start of the nineties, one reactionary ruling party after another has been toppled by their democracy-loving peoples. In Malaysia, we see the BN sowing the seeds of their eventual downfall as the masses become more enlightened and demand higher expectations.

The Party's Reform Programme is a serious attempt at self-renewal, to ensure that DAP leaders and cadres are dedicated to those fundamental values and political principles of the Party. We will move to ensure genuine participation and the creation of a powerful mass movement by strengthening grassroot organisation.

To meet the challenges of the future, we intend to have membership drives, fund raising and wide circulation of the Party organ to be ready for the offensive. The Party machinery will be revamped and new adaptations to our mode of operation effected.

XIII. The DAP is Set for the New Challenges and Struggles Ahead

DAP leaders have proven their mettle. If they had wanted to be bought over by the blandishments of BN money politics and bribery, they would have succumbed long ago. Our accomplishments inside and outside Parliament are on record.

It is because of our fundamental values and politics which are in the interest of the Malaysian peoples that we have stayed these 25 years to build the Opposition. The Barisan Nasional has proven through and through to be hopelessly communalist, corrupt, anti-democratic, anti-human rights, and governs in the interest of the super-rich, the cronies of the top BN leaders and their favoured foreign capitalists.

It is time to save Malaysia before the Barisan Nasional

It is time to save Malaysia before the Barisan Nasional leaders pillage and ravage it beyond recognition. We call upon all Malaysians with a conscience to rally round the DAP and Gagasan Rakyat to realise our dream of a better Malaysia, a Malaysia without the ISA or OSA; a Judiciary free from interference by the Executive; a Malaysia where there is truly freedom of speech; a fair and free mass media; real democracy; elective local governments; cultural democracy; social democracy; a Malaysia where human rights are cherished...

HIDUP DAP!

ONWARD TO TANJONG 3!

HIDUP GAGASAN RAKYAT!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

丹絨宣言

迈向一个公平、正义 与民主的马来西亚

前言

1991年12月1日在檳城丹絨区举行的特别代表大会将成为马来西亚民主行动党经过25年斗争后，一个历史性的转折点。

在这25年里，我们从来不曾放弃过为全体马来西亚人维护自由、民主与人权的基本信念与原则，虽然我们一直和国阵无耻的压制、贿赂以及贪污手段进行斗争。

尽管在过去25年来，我们一直都是反对党，但我们为马来西亚各族人民所做出的贡献，不管是在维护我国的议会民主、公信力、公民自由权，还是为一般群众、消费人、工友、农人、小贩、渔夫及非法木屋居民的利益所进行的斗争，却是有目共睹的。

未来的岁月，将是充满着希望与挑战。1990年全国大选前成立的人民阵线正为我们的政治斗争带来新的前景，反对阵线里几个主要的政党愿意为了从国阵的劫掠中挽救马来西亚而团结起来，这是到目前为止马来西亚政治上最令人振奋的发展。

我们在行动党的这一段时间里，已经得到了很多痛苦的教训。但今天我们齐集在这里，问心无愧、自豪与昂扬地，再次肯定我们要求一个公平、正义与民主的马来西亚社会的基本政治信念与原则。

一、行动党的基本价值观与政治原则

行动党致力于争取一个以人权、平等、社会与经济公正为基础，以议会民主制度为基石的自由及民主社会主义的马来西亚。我们反对任何垄断经济与政治利益及压制大众的权力关系及特权。

自由是涉及谴责国阵所推行的独裁政治以及奉行以社会责任为基础的人民自主权。但是要达到自由却必须先具备物质与社会先决条件，包括脱离贫困、恐惧、愚昧、依赖及剥削。

身为一个民主社会主义者，我们所要的社会秩序必须是可以自由发展人格及公正分配工作的成果；在这里，平等与社会公正是一般的标准，而人类的工作成果也被赋予尊严与价值。

平等是自由发展人格的先决条件，它并不意味着划一和绝对平均，但却反对那些掌握经济和政治权力的人进行剥削及享有特权。

民主不应该像国阵所尝试做的那样只限于每隔几年举行一次选举来使到他们不民主的统治合理化，民主的基础是建立在社会的每一份子都得以自由参与每一层次的政治机构上的。因此民主的选择权原则必须被延伸到社会的每个角落去，这包括了从地方政府一直到上议院；与此同时，民主并不只意味着维护多数人利益的占多数者的统治，它也包括容忍以及保障少数人的自由与权利。

我们依然反对在马来西亚实行回教化政策，因为这个国家拥有很多非回教徒。回教国的形成将剥夺马来西亚所有非回教徒的权利和利益，它也同时违反联邦宪法的精神与条文。

行动党维护非回教徒的宗教自由权利使其免于被国阵政权侵犯的记录是明显可见的。当马华的议员们支持雪州回教成年法修正案时，行动党清楚的表明反对这项不公正的法律。行动党的律师曾因维护在国阵政策下权利被剥夺的非回教徒而著名，而马华与民政却是这些不公正事件的帮凶。

民主社会主义坚持人民拥有工作及得到福利照顾的权利，拥有一个清洁环境的权利，得到自由选择接受高深教育及训练

的权利，以及行政及所有决策过程的参与权利。

目前支配着我们生活的经济与官僚权力，必须由团结与合作和参与社会各领域与各阶层决策为基础的人际关系所取代。

在这场斗争中，我们是国际社会主义成员的一份子，为人权与社会民主而斗争。我们跟全世界受压迫的人们团结一致，反对不义的战争，反对为战争而制造的武器，提倡以公正分享科学知识及先进技术为基础的和平与进步。

在反抗压迫与不公正的斗争中，团结是最强大的武器，它把全世界人民结合在一起。

社会主义是个全球运动，人民誓言同甘共苦为一个更美好的社会而斗争，并且由人文价值、科学性的社会分析或宗教信仰所推动。思想及多派别的自由不可被国家或任何其他方式所加以约束。

社会主义运动抗拒任何形式的帝国主义政策，并且坚持每个国家拥有自主权。我们也要求一个能保证每个国家的自由权，保护少数人的权利，以及个人的人权之国际法律制度。

行动党向来反对近代跟“苏联共产主义”及东欧集团有关的压制性制度。我们谴责所有违反基本人权、民主的国家——不管它是资本主义还是共产主义国家。

所有认同这些基本价值的人都将成为我们的同盟与朋友，一起抗拒专政、独裁、贪污、剥削以及压制的行动。

行动党的这些基本价值与政治原则都是同样重要的，它们的实现将保证马来西亚人不分种族、性别、宗教、阶级或信念，共同拥有一个更令人满意的生活，充满着自由与和平的气息。

二、国阵贪污、不公正与滥权

这些年来，国阵领袖们所制造出来的政治、经济、及道德丑闻已经沾污了国家的形象以及马来西亚人的尊严。其中最著名的丑闻包括了25亿元土著金融丑闻，涉及马华高层领袖的接受存款合作社丑闻，友乃德工程有限公司的南北大道契约的

丑闻，1987年10月无辜的马来西亚人在未经审讯之下被扣留以及四家报馆被关闭事件，1988年最高法院院长以及其他最高法院法官被革职事件，维贞德兰色情录影带丑闻等。

国阵完全被金钱政治所侵蚀，就连他们的领袖也公开承认这一点。反贪污局必须是真正独立的，并且直接在国会向人民负责。人民代议士的财务状况以及在他们名下的信托产业都必须公布出来。法律也必须阻止商业机构作出政治性捐献，政党也不可进行商业投资。

国阵不断通过不公平的选区划分和其他途径，侵蚀马来西亚的国会民主。各种法案经常由国会匆促通过，不给予国会议员及公众充足的时间研究或反对。一九八八年的干预司法行动，可能就是自独立以来，国阵侵蚀民主制度的最严重事件。在紧急状态三十多年后的今天，令人震惊的是，四项紧急状态的法律仍然存在。

政府行政机构必须受到有效的监督与制衡；政府应成立一个皇家委员会以检讨宪法，确保宪法捍卫人权与自由，以便所有压迫性及不公平的法律可被废除；各个国会专门委员会也应成立以确保更强的公信力，以及成立一个仲裁委员会，以保护公众利益，免于政府的侵蚀。

马来西亚人民的基本人权，已被压迫性的法律所否决，例如内部安全法令及其他不民主的法律与政策；基本的自由已被专制的法令所限制，例如印刷与出版法令、官方机密法令、大专法令、工会法令、警察法令等等。

国阵的记录确实显示了他们不敢积极消除其基层选民的贫困、恐惧、愚昧及依赖性。

在他们竭力抓紧权力及保护经济利益的企图中，国阵控制了主要大众传播媒介，并箝制其他的报章；国阵政府如此压制基本言论自由似乎还觉得不够，目前进一步限制行动党传播工具，即《火箭报》，及其他反对党报章的向外发行，以阻止反对党的讯息传达予群众。

马来西亚要有真正的自由，政治人物与政党不应被允许

在大众传播媒介中持有利益，也不能容许如逐年更新内政部准证的存在。

三、我国两极化社会的恰当团结基础

在国阵统治之下，无可否认的马来西亚社会已越来越趋向两极化。我们两位前首相针对这种不幸的局面曾公开表示惋惜。

国阵本身其实就是一个种族性的机构，它的成员党新巫统，马华及国大党都恬不知耻的公开声称为他们各自“族群”的利益进行斗争。事实上，种族主义才是这些国阵成员党的唯一意识形态。国阵机会主义的领袖们使到这种情形持续着，并藉以获得选民的支持。当他们之间的矛盾演化成危机，如五一三事件，“土著”与“外来移民”的争执，1987年10月发生的“高职事件”等，种族间的良好关系就会进一步被破坏。

目前的新巫统领袖是通过利用“土著主义”，在1969年推翻东姑及其他老一辈的领袖而夺得权力的。从那个时候起，他们在国阵里就扮演绝对支配性及霸权角色，使马华、国大党及民政党的领袖们成为边缘人或政治寄生虫。

从国阵的经济政策到一间学校或政府部门里的政治，全都被笼罩在种族意识的阴影里。这导致士气低落、愤世嫉俗，以及目前频频发生在公共领域里的人才外流危机。国阵在教育及文化政策里的同化倾向在非马来族群中制造了互不信任及不满的情绪。宗教被利用来达至个人及族群自私的目的。

行动党重申国阵政府把马来西亚人分成“土著”与“非土著”的分裂政策只会阻止团结的国家意识的形成。只要国阵内部的权力经纪继续依赖族群主义来加强他们的既得利益，国民团结的理想将永远无法实现。

我们对国家仍然坚守这样的承诺，即：每个公民在马来西亚国土上都拥有合法的地位，一切才华与努力都应得到公平的回报，而每个族群里清贫的成员将不分种族的依领域或阶级得到特别的援助。

建立在正确基础的团结，将是民主与人权一致的要求。

要达到这个目的就必须坚持一贯的立场而不容许双重标准的存在。各族马来西亚人共同为这些权利进行斗争，将很快实现共同的目标。

东西马人民之间的国民团结意识必须通过恢复沙巴、砂劳越人民的权力与地位加以培养。中央与州的关系也需获得检讨以便针对一些如石油采掘税的分配等课题达致新的谅解。

四、迈向社会与经济进步

国阵不时吹擂国内的高度经济发展率，可是，我们都知道，在我国目前经济发展阶段中，这是正常的。

关心国家的马来西亚人民，特别是为国家经济作出贡献的劳动人民所关注的是发展的“素质”。

事实上，在邻国已建立起一个独立的工业基础之际，我们还在这方面赶不上。国阵的主要经济策略是毫无限制地开放于外资，结果造成零吉不断贬值，而物价却不断上升。

因此，国阵的经济亦导致国家的高价值财产被低价典当给私人利益；高尔夫球场、豪华的共管式公寓、迪沙鲁的旅游中心、沙阿南的“四季花园”等供富人享受的设施则如雨后春笋般地出现。此外，允许外国人收购我国产业的土地法令也有必要加以检讨。

我们并非反对外资，我们所反对的是允许外国资本家绝对自由来收购我国土地和产业的国阵政策。在此种政策之下，外国资本家也把污化环境的工业带来我国，并为他们的投资划定条件（如各项的税务特惠、压低工资、阻止工人成立工会及兴建高尔夫球场）。

我们主张，国家及我国工人的利益应高于外国资本家的利益。

针对大工程的投标如把南北大道工程投标予巫统公司，行动党一直坚决反对类似的不道德的行径。

国阵和世界各地的机会主义者一样，试图利用苏联和东欧

旧政权的崩溃来作为推行私营化政策的藉口。国阵政府推行私营化计划，不仅造成国阵的“朋友”和“跟班”垄断各项计划，而且亦导致城乡居民失去土地。在国阵统治下，广大人民失去社会公正和保障，已成司空见惯的现象。

我们不是一味反对私营化，但我们反对毫无限制的资本主义。我们主张私营化必须符合严格的条规，以确保公信力。可是国阵所施行的私营化，却把合约授予跟国阵有关的公司。我们主张，私营化必须以公开投标作为最基本的条规。

我们也认为，社会设施如公共保健和公共交通等，是不应该私营化的。相反的，这些社会设施必须扩展及提升，以便广大的贫苦人民可以享用。公共领域亦须进行全面改革，以便提升效率、生产力和士气。

赚钱的公共企业也不应该私营化，应优先私营化的是亏本的政府机构；然而，国阵所实施的“私营化”计划是本末倒置的。

国阵的经济政策缺乏细心策划，只要特权阶级有赚钱的机会，那里就有“发展”。举个例子，在很多城市大量出现的豪华共管式公寓违反了各项城市大蓝图规划。同样的，在今日，国家农业政策也可说是废纸一张。很多计划都是在没有考虑到环境和现有基本设施的情况下推行的。

由于经济政策缺乏细心和长远的策划，公共领域损失数以亿计的资源，国阵政府亦借了数百亿的债务，其中大部分是用在策划不周详的工程上，却要人民来还债。

在1992年的财政预算案中，我国的债务是18.6%，占操作开销的25%。预料在1992年，来往账目的赤字将增加到1千3百60万元或1992年国民生产总值的10%。

社会与经济进步需要社会各阶层的主动努力，同时也需确保所有人都有平等的机会。因此，行动党主张果敢的改革，如成立一个独立的委员会去监督国家发展政策的施行，并且

- (一)以“绩效与需求”的原则取代国打制；
- (二)发展跟农业有关系的中小工业；及
- (三)吸引在海外工作的马来西亚专业人才回国。

在我们需要大量人才与熟练人力资源来推行发展之际，我们所面对的人材外流是一个非常严重的问题。国阵对人才外流所采取的消极政策将会是下一代的遗憾。行动党不断呼吁采取有计划的行动以争取人才倒流回国，为人民服务。

在世界各地的马来西亚同胞都渴望回国，但是，国阵的不公平、不合理、不民主、不开明及腐败的政策却阻吓了他们。

社会与经济的进展需要所有马来西亚人的体力、智力、技术与经验，他们也必须根据各自的贡献来获取酬劳。否则，这些年来，国阵统治下公共领域中所产生的腐败无能，将进一步恶化。

人民应有权利享有平等的接受教育、文化、保健、康乐活动与社会保险的机会。这可以通过推行国民保健和社会保险计划加以落实。年老、患上绝症、流离失所、患精神病者及其他因社会问题而受害的人皆应获得更好的社会援助。

与此同时，政府应给予私人商界积极的支援，使他们冲劲十足且在国际上具有竞争性。官僚的繁文缛节，过多的条例化应加以简化，因为它们是无能、贪污及滥权的导因。举个例子，跟国阵有关连的大公司获得的士执照，而的士驾驶员却一无所有，就是滥权的最佳写照。压制工商界主动性和进步的一切法律和条例，如《工业协调法令》应废除。

在这世界上，已没有了军备竞赛争基础，因此，国防过份开销是不必要的。我们需要的是受良好训练的武装部队，更多的资源应使用在社会与经济发展用途上。

“新经济政策”是深具分裂性的，而所谓的“国家发展政策”则是换汤不换药。土著至上主义则继续不断马来西亚社会两极化，及使一小撮巫统官僚变得更加富有。这是瞞骗选民的障眼法。

在国阵政府统治下，贫者越贫，富者越富，是普遍的现象。1990年，国内最有钱的 20%人获得总收入的 56%，但最贫穷的 20%只获3.5%。在美国，最富有的 20%人只获 46.8%的总收入。贫富悬殊的现象我国比美国更严重。

国阵抄袭了人民阵线1990年大选宣言的主张，将之命名为“爱心社会”。但是，国阵却暴露了其虚伪和不老实。在最近的人口调查中，却丝毫一点也没有查问残缺人士和其他不幸人士的资料！我们所需要的并不仅是残缺人士的人数，以便为他们提供援助，也需要反对歧视残缺人士的法律，尤指雇主的歧视。

一个真正有爱心的社会肯定会容纳残缺人士，雇主必须提供方便的工作地点，调整工作，改善设备。有关当局亦必须确保交通系统及其他公共场所所有协助残缺人士的设施。

所得税结构必须加以修订以便有利于养家活口的人，不合理的收费，诸如在城市范围内征收通行费等，也应该取消。应该检讨地方政府的门牌税，以确保纳税人付钱后得回相等的服务。作为开始，所有的市议员应该是民选的，且必须向人民负责。

在国阵的统治下，我国不断发生财务大丑闻。国阵以不负责任的态度浪费人民的钱，这已足以让我们要求改换政府了。在第六大马计划开始，行动党秘书长兼国会反对党领袖就揭露了国阵必须负责的十大最新丑闻。

行动党一直要求成立皇家委员会来调查所有的丑闻以及反贪污局的效率，但国阵只会藐视国会民主。目前应是制定《资讯自由法令》的时候了，以便人民可以取得有关国家事务的资讯。

五、行动党对劳工的承诺

一路来，基于民主社会主义的基本原则，行动党坚决支持马来西亚劳工的事业。行动党的高层领袖中有许多都是劳工领袖。

我们相信身为国家财富的制造者，马来西亚的工人对国家经济所作的贡献，必须受到承认。工人的组织工会的权利及集会自由，必须受到敬重。今天，国阵否定电子业工友组织全国工会的权利，并且通过《职工会法令》及其他不民主的法律来限制工人的权利与运动。

我们的劳工政策的基本目标是提供就业机会。行动党主张积极的就业政策，以避免大规模的失业。应提供机会给失去工作的人获取新技能，残缺人士、单身家长、妇女及其他人必须给予工作的权利。在国阵政府执政下，工人保健与工作安全也不受重视。由于国阵政府声称要消除贫穷及建立一个有爱心的社会，这也是实行最低工资政策的时候了。

行动党不仅维护工人的利益，同时也致力于促进工人的团结，以迈向民主社会主义。国阵却不断在工人运动中制造他们的分裂；国阵不但不改善工人的工资和待遇，反而召进合法及非法的劳工以帮助雇主，其结果就是压低工资及造成严重的社会问题。

对小商人、小贩及其他自雇者，国阵应给予支持与适当的管制，而不是不断的干扰。他们对国家经济的贡献应被承认，这些工作是疏散人力资源的管道，不然，失业队伍将更加庞大。

六、对乡区贫穷有效及非种族性的解决方案

国阵已不能解决乡区贫穷问题。更糟的是，它不断尝试使这问题种族化，以迎合马来沙文主义，并淡化非马来人贫穷问题的严重性。

没有土地的农夫、小规模渔夫、种植业工人和乡区新村所面对的问题其实是严重的。这些领域需要有效的解决方案，而不是使它种族化。他们很多都面对土地保有期没保障和被驱逐及收回的问题，及缺乏生活上的基本需求。乡区特别是沙巴和砂劳越的基本设施仍然很原始，而国阵却在沙亚南建立“四

季花园”及计划在新山建立“滑雪胜地”，这真是一大讽刺。

有效的解决方案还包括：减少依赖出口的农产品和更着重生产粮食作物；减轻橡胶小园主和其他农耕者的税务；重整土地分割与拥有的制度；控制租金；进行土地改革以确保耕者有其田及公平的重新分配土地；符合互利及民主的行銷制度及借贷合作社；给农夫更多的贷款；给适当的发展计划注入更多的资金，而不是将钱花在奢侈与豪华的计划上。

由于国阵政府的领导人许多是乡区的大地主，基于这种利益关系，国阵政府不愿意在乡区进行土地改革，他们选择了昂贵和破坏环境的土地发展计划。这使乡区居民产生新的不满。

联邦土地发展参与者无法应付的贷款及其他扣除额必须减低，这样做是以土地计划参与者的利益，而不是联邦土地发展局的利益为出发点。

在提供新的就业机会，发出执照和保护渔业资源等方面贫穷的渔夫应得到帮助。

虽然 452 个新村早在 1948—1960 年的紧急状态期间就开始存在，但长久以来它们都被置于国家发展主流之外。大多数新村依然缺乏基本措施如良好的碎石路、有效的排水系统、现代化的沟渠系统、有效的公共交通系统，及设备齐全的娱乐场所。虽然新村人口正随着家庭单位日愈增加，但新村土地却从未增加过。因此，我们常常发现到一个大家庭，有时甚至几个家庭，被逼挤在一间屋子里。国阵政府不但忽略了新村，也未为土地权提供保障。新村地的拥有权介于 30 到 60 年的地契，只有在最近才发出 99 年地契。事实上，新村所有房屋计划的土地都应该得到 99 年的地契。

同样的，园丘的恶劣生活情形仍非常令人震惊，特别是基本设施非常缺乏，如：清洁食水、廿四小时不断的电流供应、现代化与设备良好的托儿所、由合格人士妥善管理的育婴室、适当的健康与卫生设备、给家庭足够空间的屋子、现代化设备的学校、现代化休闲的设备。最重要的是，园丘工人应“居者有其屋”。必须把园丘工人带进发展主流中，让他们享有发展的果实。长期忽略园丘工人只会迫使他们离开园丘。这种现象

已经发生，并影响着国家的经济。

自1963年独立以来，东马的沙巴与砂劳越的园丘仍然缺乏发展，特别是在乡村一带，简直没有基本设施。而所谓的发展却在城市一带进行，这些园丘的人民没有获得清洁食水及电流的供应，乡区孩子也没有像样学校可以念书。

这些州的土著的传统土地权力必须受到尊重，并在任何政府的土地政策中得到承认。国阵政府目前尝试用许多可受质疑与蛮横的手法来剥夺这些权利。

园丘工人的困境是最严重的，特别是自从很多园丘土地被私人发展商收购后，在那儿住了几十年的工人则被任意驱逐。

我们的土著，如普南人及原住民和我们的热带雨林一样需要特别的保护。他们的基本权利和需求都需受保护和尊重。

农业领域的小工业应受鼓励，不只是因为它们增添乡区收入，也因为它们是我们的工业力量的稳健基础。

七、开放与进步的教育与文化政策

国阵的教育与文化政策已导致严重的不安和大马社会的种族两极化。因教育固打制，而失去机会的那些有资格进入本地大专院校或获取奖学金的非土著感到泄气及不满。国家文化政策的同化倾向已导致一些不幸事件的发生，使大马社会更加两极化。

如果我们要从欧洲、苏联和世上其他国家的种族问题的最新发展吸取教训的话，促进各种族团结的先决条件是公民权利上的平等，以及文化与社会民主。在社会各方面都需要民主。

我们重申马来文是国家语文与所有马来西亚人的共同语文。但是，如果是有关人民或族群的愿望的话，任何语文都应被容许成为教学媒介语。为确保文化的民主，学校的教学媒介语不应受到任何限制。

所有语文源流的毕业生都应受承认，而他们的学识也应被

用在国家建设上。国阵要关闭所有华、淡学校的“最终目标”是开倒车与造成分裂的政策。

马华在其四十二年党史上最大的让步是，否认和摒弃华文小学及淡米尔文小学的宪赋权利、基础、地位及保障。这将在1990年代及廿一世纪初期，在国家建设方面带来深远的反效果。民主行动党将如过去廿五年那样，继续成为国内捍卫、保护及拥护华小淡小及母语教育之宪赋权利、基础、地位及保障的政治势力。为确保更大的社会民主与团结，颁发奖学金与分配学额应着重经济社会地位，而固打制应以绩效与需求的原则所取代。

学校课程除了教导应付个人工作生活的基本技能以外，也应该灌输道德与人权。学生，特别是大学生应受鼓励关怀社会及政治事务，而不是被国阵的《大专法令》所抑制。对学生自由的各种限制只会抑制创造力与创新能力。应允许每个学生学习他们本身的宗教。

教育与文化活动的拨款应大量增加，这是与国防预算案相对而言。各语文源流的小学和中学的开销必须增加，各源流学校在拨款方面必须受到公平对待。政府应在每州设立一间大学，为我们的学生提供更多求深造的机会及阻止大量资金外流。

八、大马妇女的权利与尊严

国阵对妇女的器重只因她们有能力提供选票。这是新巫统、马华、印度国大党和民政党的妇女组在大选时所扮演的角色。

事实上，大马妇女的地位仍然低落。妇女在人力雇用的市场上从事低薪工作，在雇用大量女工的电子厂内，妇女被禁止成立全国电子厂工会。在其他领域，同工同酬只是个别例子，而不是一般的准则。政府未设法为职业妇女提供托儿所及其他照顾孩童的设备。

国阵及它所拥有和控制的大众传媒，极力制造妇女是驯服及定型的性对象。这鼓励了工作场所的性骚扰，造成妇女及孩

童遭受强奸与其他暴力事件的显著增加。

民主行动党积极的争取妇女的权利与尊严。提高妇女在社会上的地位，是民主社会主义的主要斗争目标之一，也是民主行动党妇女组的奋斗目标。

民主行动党将致力争取妇女在括领导与执行层次的参与权。在每一个课题，妇女的看法与他们的特别需求，都应受征询与照顾。

我们对与日俱增的强奸案与对妇孺所遭受的其他暴力事件，包括诱拐事件，感到气愤。应禁止大众传媒将妇女描绘为性对象，同时应推行性别敏感教育运动，特别是在学校里。对妇女施暴的根源在于社会对妇女的态度，所以我们必须在这个层次上着手解决问题。

妇女的权利也必须充份体现在影响妇女的法律条文上，如家庭法，有关社会安全和福利的法律，以及有关继承遗产、结婚与离婚、公民权、家庭暴力、性别歧视、性骚扰等的法律与法令。

九、行动党对青年一代的关注

马来西亚青年普遍的对现状感到沮丧，很多染上吸毒及其他陋习，而那些被迫辍学，或无法挤入大学或其他高等学府深造的非土著青年逐渐变得冷漠及深感不满，国阵政府不公平的政策成功的制造了“固打制受害者”。

大专法令限制了大专生参与社会及政治活动，结果把他们变成不善批评、没有独立思考力的一代。

只有与国阵有挂勾的青年团体才能获得政府拨款赞助，余者全都被排挤在门外。不同族群的青年不被鼓励相处及交流，他们也不被鼓励关注马来西亚国内的一般民主及人权情况。

民主行动党社青团，是带领马来西亚青年迈向社会及政治意识斗争的前线团体。社青团将继续参与环保运动，抗议贪污及不公正行为，捍卫大马人民的民主与人权，及为大马青年争取更多艺术及文化出路。

我们相信各族群的青年团体应受到政府的公平及平等的对待，同时应提供更多机会让我们的年青人能够进行合作及联合举办活动。

行动党主张 9 年免费教育作为对将来的投资，并要求立法禁止童工。

十、行动党对环保之关注

国阵急求快捷致富之态度，导致目前我国面对严重的环境污染问题。各城市上空密布之尘雾是国阵未能妥善管理国家发展的最佳证据。

双溪毛糯烟花厂爆炸惨剧则是疏于执行法令的后果，光明烟花厂初成立时，它的董事包括一名深具影响力的国阵领袖，惨剧之真相尚有待调查。但是，此类危害环境或性命的工厂到处林立却是众所周知的事实。座落在吡叻，生产辐射废料的亚洲稀土厂是另一个例子。

国阵政府允许外国公司在马来西亚设立一些他们本国禁止的危害环境的工厂，日本 MITSUBISHI 工厂是其中的一个例子。国阵政府迄今仍未寻获处理我国及外国工厂所制造的有毒废料的方案。

茂盛的热带雨林日益消失，以满足木业头家及外国消费者的贪婪。这不但将导致灾难，同时也将破坏生态环境及森林原住民的生活方式。

马六甲水荒危机即是在蓄水区域伐木所产生的恶果。在我国本应步向发展成为旅游胜地的当儿，这水荒危机可说是个大丑闻。毫无计划的发展及贪婪也造成首都一雨成灾。许多城市环境亦每下愈况。公寓与高尔夫球场如雨后春笋，到处林立，它们并没有依循环境部之规例兴建。

民主行动党认为发展须以人民之福利为依归，而非牟利致富。我们亦认为发展须经周详策划，以保护自然生态及城市环境。

由于国阵领袖在国产车工业中拥有利益，因而没有计划控

制车辆污染及减少空气数量。我们行动党认为城市居民，尤其是中下层阶级，迫切的需要更廉宜且更有效率的公共交通系统。国阵以不实际的豪华计划吸引全球的注意，与此同时，大部份的马来西亚城镇仍未有完善的沟渠与排污系统。

工厂应受鼓励安全的处理及储存它的废料。所有的投资计划必须经过精密挑选，以排除对环境有害的工业。控制污染之研究与发展，废物重用及废物处理等亦应受到奖励。

我国农人应受鼓励采用不会危害环境的农耕方法，例如有机物耕种法，以恢复自然生态之平衡。

为了拯救我们的森林，应禁止树桐出口及检讨发出执照的系统，严厉执法并严惩非法的伐木者，与此同时，鼓励木业下游工业的发展。

原住民的森林地拥有权应该受到宪法的保障。

十一、一贯并具原则的外交政策

行动党主张一贯的独立外交政策，我们反对帝国主义，种族主义和犹太复国主义。我们将积极促进国际和平和正义。

我们已表明坚决反对各国竞相增置武器之立场，其中包括在大马五年计划中拨出超出比率的开支款额给国防部。相反的我们曾经宣布：

“国家防御不能完全依赖花费在购置军事武装的款额，更重要的是人民团结一致并具有弹性。”

超额的军事开支无可避免的将导致军备竞赛，引起邻近国家的怀疑，及转移了发展的宝贵资源。在这过程中，小国将无可避免的成为超级国的军备的买主。

在新的区域及国际舞台，务必要有促进联合国及其他国际机构民主化的行动，以确保大、小各国拥有平等地位；超级强国或集团再也不被允许在世界政治，经济及文化秩序中施加它的霸权。

行动党强调，所有的外交决策必须符合原则及立场一贯；而非如国阵般的双重标准及前后不一。

我们支持世界各地受欺压者的斗争，尤其是那些为了争取解放与自主而宣战者。

不结盟运动之原则应加以发扬：

- 尊重人民及国家的自主权；
- 尊重统治者及国家领土之完整性；
- 不干涉他国内政；
- 各国和平共存。

我们赞同和平、友善及中立区域之原则。这意味驻在会员国的外国军事基地必须迁移，以及与区域外国家签署的军事条约必须取消，亚细安也应宣布它是个无核能的区域，严禁所有载运核能武器的船只进入。

行动党认为在亚细安各国之间应有更多经济、社会及文化的交流与接触，而非如国阵政府般只与印尼建立特别关系。只有以开朗与诚恳的态度对待所有的亚细安会员国才能建立信任及持久的关系。

行动党捍卫世界各国的人权。由于国阵政府本身践踏人权，它因而没有道德权威去捍卫他人人权。马来西亚的内部安全法令在国际上被誉为全世界最残酷之法令。即使是南非也在最近修改了该国之内安法令，以缩短盘问时间。

国阵政府其他蔑视人权的例子包括限制言论与结社之自由。马哈迪医生目前领导发展中国家以落后的论调挑战国际为各国所规定的人权标准。国阵政府迄今仍然没有勇气核准有关政治与公民和社会，经济及文化权益两项国际公约。同样的，国阵政府对印尼政府，菲济及米亚马政权践踏人权事件采取姑息态度。

行动党是国际社会主义 (SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL) 运动中不可分割的一份子。此组织由世界各地之七十五个社会主义、社会民主党及劳工党所组成，其中有些是国家的执政党。在群众受到暴政的压迫与剥削的腐败国家，国际社会主义运动

会员国可从该机构获得支持。私营化令自由资本主义日益扩张，在这种情况下，民主社会主义毫无疑问的将是全世界受压迫的人民的解决方案。

马来西亚如果期望获得世界各国的尊敬，我们的外交政策必须是成熟、立场一贯、敏感与具有原则。现代外交礼仪不容一国之外交政策凭其领袖之个人好恶或一时兴致而决定。我们看到马哈迪政府的外交政策之反复改变，即：从“向东学习”到“抵制英国货”，到最近的“冷淡对待澳洲”运动。

国阵不但不把马来西亚建立成一个道德国家，及避免在人权方面使我国遭受谴责；反而用内政安全法令大肆进行逮捕及扣留、干涉司法界、立法压制工人、大肆砍伐雨林及造成原住民之困境时，使马来西亚蒙羞。

除非国阵领袖立刻停止其有如“香蕉共和国”专制君主之行为，并实施文明、进步及一贯的国内、外政策，否则马来西亚不能与其他发展国家齐驱并驰。

十二、当前的政治任务

1990年人民阵线成立后开始的历史性任务必须加以完成。当行动党跟46精神党、人民党、印度人民进步阵线、回教阵线、哈民党、马来西亚团结党组成阵线时，马来西亚人民终于有机会选择另一个政府。对于一直以来都处于反对党地位的行动党来说，无疑是跨前了一大步。

虽然人民阵线的存在只是一段很短的时间，它还是有能力把国阵的得票率削减到52%。这可不是一个简单的成绩，因为我们还没有采用相同的标志，并且必须跟国阵所采用在马来西亚历史上最肮脏的手段对抗，以及面对国阵的金钱政治与由国阵所控制的媒体力量。

“迈向丹絨三役”是我们下届大选的斗争口号。在1990年大选中我们几乎达到“丹絨二役”的目标，夺取槟州政权。我们只欠三个席位。这显示槟州人民已经对行动党深具信心，视我们为可选择的政府。我们不应让他们失望。

“丹絨三役”的成功是绝对重要的。它可让人民看到清廉与民主社会主义的行动党政府到底能为他们提供些什么。这是行动党与人民阵线的领袖、党员及支持者在90年代所必须面对的挑战。

行动党在展开其革新计划之际，也号召所有热爱正义与拥有民主思想的马来西亚人跟行动党与人民阵线并肩向前，共同实现我们所期望的、更美好的马来西亚社会。

为了对抗国阵的国家机器、金钱政治以及肮脏手段，我们需要具献身精神及有纪律的领袖与干部便赢取更多马来西亚人民的支持。我们需要跟更多领域的人联合起来打倒国阵。

许多国家，如苏联、东欧，及非洲，其人民都在为民主而斗争。自九十年代开始，一个接着一个的反动派执政党都被热爱民主的人民所推翻了。在马来西亚，我们也看到国阵开始显露将会垮台的迹象，因为群众的醒觉已越来越高，要求也越来越高。

党的革新计划是认真的自我改革的尝试，以确保行动党领袖及干部们为党的基本价值与政治原则而献身。我们将通过加强基层组织以确保真正的参与党的革新计划以及形成强大的群众运动。

为了面对未来的挑战，我们计划大量招收党员、筹款，并且把党报散播到每个角落，发动宣传攻势。我们也将革新党机构以采纳新的操作方式。

十三、行动党已为面对新挑战和斗争做好准备

行动党领袖的气节已经受考验。如果他们能够被国阵的金钱政治与贿赂所收买，他们老早已屈服。我们在国会内、外所获得之成就有记录可循。

我们以马来西亚人民的利益为依归的基本价值观与政策，使我们能在过去25年中光荣生存，并加强反对党。国阵一再的证实它是个种族极端、腐败、反民主、反人权的政府，它是

为了一小撮富有者，国阵领袖之支持者及深获他们欢心的外国资本家的利益而操作。

趁着国阵领袖仍未把马来西亚掠夺及蹂躏至面目全非的地步，现在是拯救马来西亚的时候了。我们呼吁全部有良知的大马公民团结在行动党与“人民力量”之旗帜下，实现我们共同的愿望，建立一个更美好的马来西亚。一个没有内部安全法令和官方机密法令，司法界不受行政部干预，一个真正拥有言论自由、公平及自由大众传媒、地方政府由人民民主地推选，同时拥有文化民主及社会民主。简言之，一个维护人权的马来西亚。

行动党万岁！
迈向丹絨三役！
人民力量万岁！
还政予民！

