

CHALLENGING TIMES

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA

Edited by J.S. Solomon



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Foreword

The last two or three years have been as eventful and challenging as any in recent Malaysian history. We have witnessed a crisis within the M.C.A.; and in a small measure UMNO also had squabbles for election to the leading posts in all its branches and divisions. The contest was fought out with heated determination. A new party has also taken power in Sabah where a legal court battle is raging to determine the right of the new party to maintain power. Lawyers fighting the issue are drawn from the Queen's counsels, and this will cost the contesting parties large sums of money. I have tried my best to settle the squabbles but failed, so all I can do is sit back and hope for the best.

An outbreak of religious violence unprecedented in the history of Malaysia had taken place in Baling, Kedah. This has brought out new mood in the people which portends danger to the peace and future well-being of the country. Care must be taken to prevent an outbreak of other such acts of violence. I have prayed to Allah to give me guidance so that I can pour out my heart to the people in the hope that they will pay more attention to good reason.

On the whole I think the time is right for me to publish yet another collection of my thoughts and views on various matters of national interest. No matter what happens, it is important that wisdom and commonsense prevail if the people are to continue to live in peace and harmony. This is a free country, and we must keep it that way for all time. We are sworn to uphold democratic principles, and we must keep our word.

It is not easy to make a record of events for this generation and the next. However, I will continue to write in the hope that what I have to say will also help to benefit posterity. To assist readers

the various articles have been divided up according to subjects. There is also a general introduction to help readers understand the context in which the articles were written.

I have left it to Pelanduk Publications to pick the articles for this book, and I hope they have made the right choice.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra', with a decorative flourish at the end.

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra.

Introduction

In this book Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Malaysia's first Prime Minister, once again addresses the perennial issues facing the nation. Islamic principles, the status of the hereditary sultans and the need for fair play and common sense in the conduct of the nation's affairs, all receive due attention. The articles reproduced here, like the ones republished in earlier years, thus possess a timeless quality which transcends the immediate purposes for which they were written.

Other articles, particularly the Tunku's profiles of various prominent personalities and his reminiscences of earlier days, show him to be an easy-going, friendly person with a strong sense of humour who is capable of appreciating the good as well as the bad in the people he meets. In this sense the book can be said not only to reflect the Tunku's views on a wide variety of subjects of concern to the nation, but also provide the perceptive reader with a glimpse of the Tunku's own personality.

The articles on Islam and the Rulers reveal that the Tunku has not wavered in his views. His concern to preserve the dignity of the Malaysian monarchy, for example, has been evident in numerous articles the Tunku has written over the years. At the same time, he has also felt it necessary on several occasions to remind the incumbent Yang di-Pertuan Agong (Paramount Ruler) and the hereditary sultans of the various states that, although they are sovereigns, they have no power to rule.

In this book the Tunku refers to the "somewhat erratic and impetuous" reputation of the Johore sultan who, in February 1984, had just been selected to become the nation's eighth Yang di-Pertuan Agong. The Tunku wrote:

I know Sultan Mahmood Iskandar well, and I can say he has some admirable qualities. He is generous, friendly and affectionate, but he takes offence easily and in the heat of the moment he is capable of doing things which he would regret afterwards.

As the King, which he will be soon, he must exercise great patience and show great care in what he does.

Soon afterwards, however, the Tunku was moved to anger by a grossly inaccurate article in *The Mail* in Britain which described Malaysia's new Yang di-Pertuan Agong as "a man who has ordered and looked on death, mutilation and torture with odious satisfaction". The Tunku wrote a stinging reply:

I do not know how old Kate Wharton [the writer of the article] is or how good looking she is, but from her writing I can picture her only as a vindictive and wicked old witch whose sole intention is to harm and ridicule others for the sake of cheap sensationalism. Perhaps she's got a chip on her shoulder.

The articles in the section on contemporary politics refer to a variety of significant events in the recent past. Several articles focus on the growing divisiveness in the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) — the senior partner in the multi-racial National Front government. In 1984 the most important rivalry in the party concerned the struggle for the post of deputy President at UMNO's triennial elections. The candidates were Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam, the incumbent, and his challenger, Finance Minister Tengku Razaleigh.

The Tunku congratulated Datuk Musa and the other successful candidates on their victory. However, his concern for party unity, and possibly Tengku Razaleigh in particular since it was his second bid for the Deputy Presidency, also prompted the Tunku to spare a few encouraging words for the losers:

To those who lost, I say take heart; the time will come when they will have better luck. The fact that they contested the seats showed the spirit which has helped glorify UMNO. There is always success or failure, gladness and sadness, but that is the way of politics.

Discussing the problem of "cliques and groupings" within UMNO

in the previous year the Tunku suggested that the current leadership might benefit from his own experience as Prime Minister:

There is another thing I used to do in order to make ourselves available to the members and that was to make the Prime Minister easily available for contact and consultation with the UMNO leaders. I used to have an open-house whereby my colleagues or high government officials and others could come and discuss important party and state matters over lunch. ...Perhaps this might be arranged in some other way whereby the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister meet party leaders outside office hours.

In late 1984 UMNO launched a new offensive against its major rival, the Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), over its alleged connections with various *dakwah* (Islamic missionary) groups in the rural areas. Reacting to a PAS accusation that UMNO was "too arrogant to talk things over" Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad promptly announced his willingness to engage the opposition party in a televised debate. The subject of the debate, Dr. Mahathir insisted, was to be PAS accusations that UMNO members were *kafir* (disbelievers or infidels). PAS leaders denied calling UMNO members *kafir*, but decided to agree to the debate anyway.

As the date for the proposed debate approached, opposition to the event began to grow. In an article reproduced in this book the Tunku argues that the debate would only further divide the nation's Muslims and create even deeper divisions between different religious groups. Moreover, argued the Tunku:

It is a tactical manoeuvre on the part of PAS — a means of getting back into the political limelight through the front door which has now been opened for them by the Barisan Nasional (National Front). If PAS succeeds UMNO has only itself to blame.

The televised confrontation was finally cancelled by order of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong with the support of the nine state sultans.

The Tunku's sense of fair play has not always pleased those who hold the reigns of power. In December 1984, when Joseph Pairin Kitingan, a former member of the Berjaya-run Sabah state government, successfully defied the party by winning a by-election in the Tambunan constituency, Chief Minister Datuk Harris Salleh im-

mediately announced a series of measures aimed at the voters. Tambunan's district status, the Chief Minister said, was to be revoked.

The Tunku described the action as "high-handed, punitive, and unheard of anywhere else". The Chief Minister's action "violated justice, fair play and the very core of democracy". The Tunku also vehemently denied suggestions that he, as Prime Minister, had stopped work on bridges in Kelantan and Terengganu when an opposition party won power in these states.

Subsequently, Datuk Kitingan formed his own party, the Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS), and won a snap election in the state called by Datuk Harris.

The articles on Islam once again demonstrate the Tunku's long standing commitment to his religion and the virtues of inter-religious tolerance and respect. He discusses the work of the Regional Islamic Organisation for Southeast Asia (RISEAP) and his continuing involvement in PERKIM (an Islamic Welfare body). There is also in these articles a sense of the frailty of man and his need for divine guidance.

The only real criticism expressed in this section refers to those who somehow believe they have a monopoly on heavenly truth and virtue:

We have kill-joys among our budding politicians who are still inexperienced and those from political parties who are trying to make a comeback. They talk glibly of creating a heavenly kingdom, a nation inhabited by saints only. When this happens, if ever, I can tell them that there won't be a place for them either. The devil will come on duty to tempt the saint from the right path — faith in God.

The Tunku's profiles include various personalities in Malaysian history. The Tunku discusses the life of Tengku Kudin (the well-known Viceroy of Selangor), Lennox Boyd (a former British Colonial Secretary) and the legendary Princess Mahsuri of Langkawi. More contemporary figures surveyed in these articles include Tun Mustapha, whose service to the nation "should be remembered" despite his "mistakes", and Ghazali Jawi, the "forgotten hero" who "played his part to help win for Malaya its independence".

Foreign leaders have also received due attention. Prince Sihanouk is described as "a charming man, fond of life and music" while Presi-

dent Marcos is portrayed as a man who, having done much good for the Philippines in the past, has now become "self-opinionated and rather vain" and is losing his trusted friends.

The Tunku's reminiscences include several articles concerning the formative years of UMNO and the nation. Throughout these articles emerges a characteristic theme — the vital importance of inter-communal unity:

Our enemies were out to try their level best to destroy us by obstructing our path to Independence. It was clear that Malays and Chinese were united, and with unity we had hope for our success in the election. People outside Malaya who had been told that the two peoples could never get together were now convinced that they could. Among ourselves we realised that we were seeking our freedom and we must get it.

Other articles are more personal reflections. The Tunku tells of his childhood days in Bangkok, the way he assisted Force 136 (a special British jungle unit) during the Japanese occupation and his successful attempt to 'kidnap' his father (the Sultan of Kedah) from a British convoy.

All in all, it is clear that the Tunku has few regrets:

Sometimes I am asked: "If you had to live your life all over again, would you change it or change parts of it?" I would not change much, except perhaps I would pass my bar exam earlier. But on reflection, If I had been more successful as a young man, I would not have gained the experience that served me well during the struggle for Independence and when I became the country's first Chief Minister (in 1955) and Prime Minister (in 1957) for a total of 15 years.

The Tunku's unquestioned status as a Malaysian elder statesman clearly sets him apart from other writers and commentators. Malaysia no longer struggles to release itself from the bonds of poverty and colonial servitude as it did in the Tunku's era. But it is well that a nation remembers its heritage and the guiding principles of its founders as it continues to grow towards maturity. For Malaysia, these are also challenging times.

Bruce Gale

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I. Rulers

"The amendment to the Constitution, in particular respect to Article 181(2), caused widespread controversy in this country early this year, in consequence of which His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong's power of assent was abrogated; that is, if he fails to give assent to a Bill within two weeks it becomes law.

"This caused a stir throughout the nation, and for the first time we have been made aware of the weakness in our Constitution which can be amended so easily."

Tunku Abdul Rahman
31 August, 1984

Drugs and the Downfall of Rulers

(4 April, 1983)

DRUG ADDICTION is the worst curse ever inflicted on mankind. If drugs had existed at the time of the Holy Prophet S.A.W., He would have sought the guidance of Allah whose judgement would have been to forbid all mankind from taking drugs. Even cigarettes, or tobacco in any form for that matter, would have been tabooed. In those days, drugs were not known and so it became a habit that grew up in later years for people in high places to take to it.

In our own country at that time, the Sultans and the Mentris took to opium, which was introduced by the Chinese to Malaya, so it was said, and the Chinese themselves were given the dope by the Europeans. My father's elder brother, Tunku Kassim, was a confirmed drug addict. I was told by Che Hassan, my father's Minister, that Tunku Kassim and the company he kept used to inject themselves with drugs until their singlets got stuck to their skin through the dried blood, and once a month they soaked themselves in water to get their singlets off their bodies.

It was for this reason, more than any other, that my grandfather Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Al Mukaram Shah, willed that after the death of his first son, Tunku Zainal Rashid, nicknamed Tunku Putra, the throne would pass to the third son, Tunku Abdul Hamid, the first son of his second wife, Wan Zahara. Soon after that my grandfather died and Tunku Zainal Rashid succeeded to the throne. After a year he too died. My father was 16 years of age when he was appointed to succeed to the throne. Tunku Dhia'uddin (Tunku Kudin), the founder of Kuala Lumpur and uncle of my father, refused to agree to this and insisted on his son-in-law, Tunku Kassim, the elder of the two brothers, be installed Sultan instead. Civil war nearly broke out, but when Tunku Kudin found that the people op-

posed him he left with an army for Selangor to fight Raja Mahadi, the claimant to the throne of Selangor.

Tunku Kudin happened to be the son-in-law of Sultan Abdul Samad. When he succeeded in defeating Raja Mahadi, he established himself as the Viceroy of Selangor and controlled the State. It was he and Yap Ah Loy who founded Kuala Lumpur and it was he who made a treaty with Britain ceding the State of Selangor to the British Raj. As a result, Tunku Kudin was not allowed to return to Kedah and so he lived until his death in Penang. He was taken after his death to Alor Star where he was buried in the royal cemetery at Langgar.

Another man who lost his throne because of drug addiction was Tunku Mohamed, the Raja of Setol. He entrusted the reins of the Government to his secretary, Kudin, while he spent his time smoking opium and taking no or little interest in the administration of the district. Both Setol and Perlis were then part of Kedah, but with Rajas, cousins of the Sultan, installed as the head. Before Kedah was ceded to the British by the Thais, Kudin went to Bangkok and made private arrangements with the Thai Government to remain as part of Thailand. As a bargain, the Thais made him Raja of Setol in place of Tunku Mohamed.

Tunku Mohamed was shocked and proceeded with a few friends to Bangkok. Among these friends was Che Awang Jaffar, who was a Kedah Government servant working in Setol, and it was Che Awang who told me this story:

"We went to Bangkok with a few friends to meet the Thai Minister and to lodge an appeal against the action of the Government for making Kudin the Raja of Setol. All the members of the delegation were opium smokers.

When we got to Bangkok we decided to live in a raft and enjoy the company of the female sex, whose job was to prepare opium and fill the pipe for us.

We spent our time at night smoking and chatting and slept the whole of next day. We made appointments with the Thai Minister from time to time, but were unable to keep the appointment. In the end we spent all our money, saw no Minister and returned home broke and dejected.

This is the evil of opium smoking. Though I smoke opium my advice is keep away from it."

At that time, I mentioned to Che Awang that if I got to his age

I would take to opium. Che Awang was one of the unusual opium addicts who smoked at fixed times, ate good food and so he lived rather longer than any other opium smoker I had known. He died at the age of 85.

An opium smoker would stop at nothing when he has the craving for opium. He would kill, rob, steal and cheat to get the drug. Drug-taking is not a new habit as I said earlier but had existed for years. No serious attempt had been made in the past to curb it. In fact the Government opened *chandu* shops to sell opium and made a lot of profit from the sale. Then in the 1930s an attempt was made to restrict and control it. Smokers had to be licensed before they could buy opium. During the Japanese Occupation the military government encouraged opium smoking and there was plentiful supply of it in this country. The intention of the military government was obviously to keep the people happy and contented and to lull them into inactivity.

After the war the United Nations imposed a complete ban on drug-taking, but nothing further had been done to enforce it. It was left to individual countries to do what they could to stop drug-taking and trafficking. Countries where opium was controlled before were riddled with corruption and followed by other abuses which added more stress and strain to the countries concerned.

It was with this in mind that I took up the matter in London during our negotiations for independence. Mr. Hare (now Lord) was made the chairman of the committee and I argued out my case for the return of registration of opium addicts. After our discussion, which lasted for nearly two mornings, Mr. Hare made no secret of his feeling but admitted there was nothing that the British Government could do to help the Malayan Government overcome the drug problem. I had not pursued the matter further during my term of office because the habit had not posed a very serious problem in the country, and also at the time we were faced with the communist uprising and Soekarno's Confrontation. In addition to all these, there was the claim on Sabah by the Philippine Government, so drug-taking went on unnoticed.

Now that all these troubles have cleared up, drug-taking has come to the forefront. One of the things I did on my return from Jeddah was to involve myself with the cure and rehabilitation of drug addicts, but not with preventive measures. That was not within my power to do. I tried religious methods to good advantage. I even

built a mosque in the Pusat Pertolongan, Batu Gajah, and appointed an *imam* and *guru* to continue with the religious lessons for Muslim addicts. In the end even the Roman Catholic priest in charge of the home, Brother James, became a convert to Islam. Even to this day Perkim has continued to help finance the Pusat Pertolongan. I regret to say, however, that immediately after these addicts are pronounced cured and returned to human society, they pick up the habit again.

These human derelicts continue to be the scourge of our society. Most of these people are young boys and girls and they take to this habit through sheer weakness, and sometimes as an act of bravado. It is a sad thing to think why of all vices must they go in for this horrible habit. The Government has now taken a very serious view of this and has introduced an extensive campaign against it. They have made it a capital offence to traffic in drugs and yet it goes on.

According to the Deputy Prime Minister, a new Act devoted exclusively to anti-drug abuse will come into force by the end of next year. This new law, I presume, will be enacted in addition to the laws already in force. But will it stop the drug habit? The source of supply still remains intact and uncontrolled and if that is so then the supply will continue to flow into the world drug market. To pass any more laws to deal with drug abuses would be considered too harsh and inhuman. Drug addicts have suffered enough already. In the Tanjung Rambutan mental hospital, one drug addict in mental anguish and sheer agony pulled out his testicles.

The United Nations is well aware of the sources of supply. Why doesn't it put a stop to it and while the UN remains complacent and negative, drugs will continue to reach the addicts. It is for the United Nations to amend its laws, making it mandatory for countries to impose a complete ban or restrict the use of drugs.

Drugs also should be divided or classified into different categories and punishment meted out should fit in with the type of drugs involved. In the first category comes morphine, cocaine and heroin; in the second, opium and third ganja. Registration of opium addicts should also be considered. The Government has imposed the maximum penalty for drug trafficking and addiction and any more punishment imposed by law might not be necessary. Ganja should not be classified under dangerous drugs, but possession and taking of it made punishable under some other drug offence.

On my visit to Rawalpindi some years ago, I saw bushes of ganja plants all round the golf course. When I asked the caddy to pick

some for me to see he produced a slab of black cake from his possession, like *belachan* and showed me how it should be taken. He just bit a piece out of the slab and started chewing it and also offered a piece to me. This, I politely refused.

It is only correct that the Government should take a serious view of drug trafficking in this country and introduce stringent measures to combat it, but it must also be appreciated that whatever measures introduced will not stop drug-taking and trafficking completely. The good citizens of this country should respond to the Government's appeal for help. Only through their co-operation can the Government hope to succeed in reducing the heinous crime of drug trafficking.

The habit of drug-taking has become rife in the United States and the Western countries and has now corrupted our society. It is therefore the duty of every good citizen to fight it.

Silver Jubilee of the Kedah Sultan

(18 July, 1983)

KEDAH IS CELEBRATING in a big way the silver jubilee of Sultan Abdul Halim Shah's regime. The month-long celebration starts from July 14 with various programmes in store, such as the *kenduri* at the mosque, the birthday parade, the boat race and finally ending with a public dinner at the Dewan Syed Omar.

The town of Alor Star has a truly festive appearance with water sprouting from the fountains at the Padang Court and Padang Meriam. The people will be in a festive mood for the whole month. I went to Alor Star to attend the birthday parade and the town was chock-a-block with cars and people. Such a festive spirit has rarely been seen in Kedah, except perhaps during the golden jubilee celebration of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah, the grandfather of the present Sultan. The late Sultan went on to celebrate his diamond jubilee in 1941.

Sultan Abdul Halim Shah is the 27th Muslim ruler of Kedah, the first one being Marong Mahawangsa, or sometimes called Maha Raja Derbar of Kalha, by which name Kedah was known at the time. He was a Mongul leader who accompanied the Mongul prince on the way to China to marry a Mongul princess but as they rounded the Sumatra coast into the Straits of Malacca, their fleet was hit by a terrible storm, the Sumatran, and was wrecked and the prince was drowned. A few other boats of the fleet escaped into Langkawi but were severely damaged. After repairs they proceeded to Langkasuka as they were afraid to go home or proceed to China without the prince. The people of Kedah, headed by Tun Perkasa and Tun Derma Dewa, chose the leader of the party to be the king of Kedah as at the time they were having a tribal warfare and he was accordingly installed the first king with the title of Marong Mahawangsa.

This was more than 1,000 years ago and the line has continued to this day and has never been broken. Tunku Embon was offered by the Thais the throne but rejected it. That was after the war with the Thais. The present Sultan can take pride in the fact that he came from a long line of kings and sultans and I might venture to say that the sultanate of Kedah has had a long history, and without doubt the longest in the country.

The Kedah members of the royal family have always been in close association with the people. Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah endeared himself to the people and towards the end of his rule, was looked upon as a saint. Whenever there was a big festival in the royal capital of Alor Star the people used to flock to the town where they were given free meals. At the big wedding of the eldest son, Tunku Ibrahim, it was said that the river ran red with the blood of the cattle slaughtered to feed the people.

Kedah, of course, was ravaged by wars with the Thais and it was not until the time of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah II that peace returned to Kedah, which was about Hijrah 1250. By the grace of Allah, Kedah had been on the whole a very peaceful State and the people happy with plenty of rice and meat and other foodstuffs to eat and export. Because of that, it had been cut up, the northern part consisting of Setol, Phuket and Pulau Trutaw were retained by the Thais, while the southern part consisting of Province Wellesley and Penang were colonised by the British. Perlis was made a separate state. What remains of Kedah is that it is still the richest rice-producing state in Malaysia.

Sultan Abdul Halim Shah came to the throne 25 years ago and like his late father, was educated at Wadham College, Oxford. He has no son to succeed him and so the heir presumptive is the Raja Muda, Tunku Abdul Malik, who was also educated at Wadham College in Oxford. He has no children of his own either, but the third brother, Tunku Anuar has sons and daughters. Tuanku Hajjah Bahiyah, the Sultanah, is the daughter of Al-Marhum Tuanku Abdul Rahman, our first king. She married Tuanku Abdul Halim in 1956 and has been a source of comfort to him. They met in England where both were studying at the time.

In 1970 they were installed the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Raja Permaisuri Agong of Malaysia. At the Sultan's request, I had the privilege to serve for one day as the Prime Minister under him. In 1972, the Sultanah succeeded me as the Vice-Chancellor of the

University of Malaya and has held the post ever since. They both endeared themselves in a quiet way to the people of Kedah. Of course, the role in which Tuanku Halim Shah has been asked to play as a constitutional Ruler of the State is not quite the same as the sultans of the past. Right up to the time of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid, his grandfather, the Sultan of Kedah had the power of life and death over the people of the State. It could be said on the whole, that the Rulers of Kedah had made a good impact on the people and so had the members of the Kedah royal family. That is my prayer that such a situation will always continue.

In his speech as the representative and leader of the people, Datuk Seri Syed Nahar Shahabuddin, who is also the first cousin of the Sultan, paid tribute to the Sultan as the Ruler of Kedah whose reign of 25 years has brought so much prosperity to the State. According to him, there has been extensive rural, agricultural and industrial development. In addition, it was proposed that Malaysia's sixth university be built there, and that Langkawi be developed as a tourist resort. He also gave the assurance that the loyalty of the people of Kedah to the Sultan has remained as strong and as loyal as ever.

The people of Kedah have much love for the throne and they showed it in no uncertain way when the Sultans signed away their rights to Britain. One word from the Sultan could have sparked off the anti-Malayan Union violence. Sultan Badlishah refused to start the bloodshed and he signed the treaty under protest. Of recent times, we have had much talk about the split among the Rulers as a result of which the people are a little bit jittery and perhaps frustrated. But on the whole, the reaction has not been widespread. It is our prayer that the Rulers must get together and work together to lead the people. They are the only Rulers left in the world today.

For us, Malaysians, the throne has been looked upon as a guarantee of our freedom. Freedom to worship, freedom to socialise and freedom to practice our political rights. The Sultans must know their duties and responsibilities towards the people. In this way alone can they be assured of their place in the nation. The security of the Ruler system is what one might say dependent on the confidence the people have in them and the Malays have great confidence in the institution of the Rulers. This has been part of the Malay culture and custom, and so far it has worked well. I am never tired of reminding the Rulers of the need to be on terms of understanding with one another and goodwill with their people.

When the Prime Minister was asked what he thought of my suggestion to review the Constitution, *vis-a-vis*, the Rulers' power in connection with religion (and constitutional matters), he was non-committal but admitted this matter required further study. According to him, the matter should be studied in depth and needs legal expertise, especially with regards to constitutional reforms. This is a matter which has to be attended to sooner or later. In fact, the sooner the better because the conduct of some of the Rulers is causing serious concern to the people. If anything untoward were to happen as a result of their action which is inconsistent with our idea of democracy, how would the Government deal with the matter?

During the British time, this country was ruled by them and so whatever action they took against the Rulers, nobody dared to question them. The Rulers and heirs were displaced by them as they thought fit but that is not something we can do now. It is necessary to look at the Constitution and see in what way we can introduce reforms or changes that would assure good relations between the people who yield the political power in this country, and the Rulers who are the symbolic Heads of State. I think a delay would be harmful for anything untoward can happen which is likely to cause a split between the people and the Rulers. So my suggestion could be given serious study and it would not be difficult to appoint experts in this country to look into the matter with constructive terms of reference and their report should be studied by the Government.

On this occasion of the silver jubilee of the Kedah Sultan, I would like to take this opportunity to wish His Royal Highness and members of his family, long life, happiness and may he reign for many, many more years and enjoy the best of health.

The Role Of The King

(13 February, 1984)

THE RULERS have at last made their choice of the new Yang di-Pertuan Agong who will succeed the present Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

This is done according to the order of succession as laid down under Article 32 and 33(1) of the Constitution which says that the Ruler can only be disqualified and by-passed, if he is a juvenile or underaged or found to be suffering from illness or other factors which will obstruct his rule as the King or if he himself declines to be the King.

There was a lot of doubt and guesses as to who would be the next Yang di-Pertuan Agong, particularly as it was rumoured that the Sultan of Johore would not accept it. Some said it would be the present deputy, others said the Sultan of Perak or the Sultan of Johore if he changes his mind. When they asked me, I said: "According to the order of succession, it will be the Sultan of Johore — but it all depends on the Rulers' choice."

The Sultan of Johore was in fact in the first line of succession and the Sultan of Perak the second, but because of the meteoric rise of Raja Azlan Shah as the Sultan of Perak, he could have been the automatic choice.

He started off as a government officer, then became a judicial officer, and then Lord President of the court, and finally succeeded to the throne of Perak — all within a short space of time.

Many thought that he would be chosen by the other Rulers to be the Yang di-Pertuan Agong where, in addition to his other qualifications, his experience and wisdom in the court would be a valuable asset to the Rulers, particularly at their conferences.

The Rulers, however, decided to stand by the Constitution and they



The eighth Yang di-Pertuan Agong

have chosen the man who has a prior claim to the throne and who accepted the appointment. The Sultan of Johore will be the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and Sultan Azlan Shah, his deputy.

The Yang di-Pertuan Agong and whoever takes over as Yang di-Pertuan Agong knows that his duty is to Allah and to the people of the country, and as such it is expected that he will do justice to the throne.

It is also true to say of other true Malaysians, that for better or for worse, this is their only home. It is the prayer in everybody's heart, mind and lips that as they enjoy the amenities of life today they also pray that those who come after them will have the same good fortune.

Though this country is multi-racial and multi-religious, we have enjoyed peace and prosperity and goodwill among men of which few countries in the world can boast.

As for me, who was born in the early part of this century, I have seen and experienced life here, and I can say that we have had our trials and tribulations but on the whole we can consider ourselves lucky to have overcome them. I would like to see that it remains good, if not better, for all time.

I have never forgotten to mention all these in my first prayer of the day, and that is God's truth. I have always prayed that Malaysians would keep together no matter what their political ideologies are, and that they would be in the best terms of goodwill and friendship towards one another so that in diversity we find unity.

We have worked together, and with the Rulers, have fought for and won independence for Malaya. Now we are able to walk with our heads up, and acclaim ourselves a free and independent people.

We have been looked upon as such too, by other peoples and with some admiration as a friendly, peaceful and progressive people.

I felt it in my blood all the time I was Prime Minister, and I boasted that I was the happiest Prime Minister in the world, and I should have added too that our people are the happiest people in the world.

One Ruler was passed over in the past and the rulers of Johore and Perak always declined the honour of being appointed the Agong.

In the case of Johore, it was because of age — both the Rulers of Johore had passed 80 years of age when they were offered the throne.

And I know what it means when one has reached the ripe old age — bones creak, the mind falters and true to the saying, "that the



Sultan Azlan Shah of Perak

spirit is willing but the flesh is weak", they would rather remain in the State as the Sultan where they can take life and duty leisurely.

Both the Rulers of Johore, the late Sultan Ibrahim and the late Sultan Ismail lived to a very ripe old age and died peacefully.

The Ruler of Perak refused because he was happier as the Sultan where he could have his fun.

Sultan Iskandar of Johore is an active man full of bright ideas. Sometimes they are all his own, and he is young with plenty of vim and vitality but with an unpredictable temperament.

For this reason he is considered somewhat erratic and impetuous, but he is a man of principle, and as such he will not forget his duty and responsibility as Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the constitutional monarch of this country of ours - Malaysia - the home and object of loyalty of all true Malaysians no matter what race or religion they belong to.

For Malaysians, particularly the Bumiputeras, there is no home other than Malaysia, and as I have often said in this country they are born, and in its soil they will be buried.

That is my hope and my prayer and when I die, I would like to die with that feeling, and an assurance that Malaysia will continue to maintain and enjoy that status.

We have accepted the form of Government for this country — a democratic state with a constitutional monarchy. The power to rule, run and administer this country are however vested in the people.

The Rulers will enjoy their special position as symbolic heads of states with the Yang di-Pertuan Agong as the King.

In the 26 years of independence, we have found that the Yang di-Pertuan Agongs have carried out their duties and responsibilities with great distinction and without blemish. They have upheld the glory of the throne with great understanding and wisdom.

The people of this country actually look to the throne with almost religious reverence and they worry little as to who the incumbent is, so long as he can add lustre to the throne. It has worked out extremely well so far.

I have no doubt that the new Yang di-Pertuan Agong will be conscientious of his duty to the country and the people.

So whoever he is or whatever may be his feelings and ideology, the power of the throne will influence his thinking and judgement. The King is above the law and he can do no wrong. That's the say-

ing. So far it has proved correct. They have been good, and there is no reason to fear otherwise.

What if anything were to go wrong? It will be the people as represented by the party in power with the Prime Minister at the head who will deal with it and they have full power to do so. Let's hope and pray that such an occasion will never arise.

I know Sultan Mahmood Iskander well, and I can say that he has some admirable qualities. He is generous, friendly and affectionate, but he takes offence easily and in the heat of the moment he is capable of doing things which he would regret afterwards.

As the King, which he will be soon, he must exercise great patience and show great care in what he does.

He must remember that he is the King and is bound by the Royal Code of Conduct, to keep his own personal sentiments to himself, and focus all his attention on the needs of the nation.

He must also remember that he is the head of the Muslim religion. His duty is to pass to all men the message of Allah, "that peace be for all men".

His duty as the Head of State is to see that justice and fair play prevail in this beloved country of ours. The five years that he will enjoy as King of Malaysia will, we hope, be five glorious and memorable years.

I had the honour and privilege to serve under five of them though only one day under the fifth, and live under the other two, and I can truthfully say that I have been proud of them all, and now I pray for the privilege to see the eighth Yang di-Pertuan Agong installed on the throne and continue the good work done by his predecessors.

With all my heart, I join all Malaysians in wishing the new King the best of good luck and good health and express our heartiest congratulations on his appointment as the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

That British Newspaper Report On Our Next King: All Spite And Venom

(5 March, 1984)

MY GRAND-DAUGHTER who is in Reading University sent me a cutting of *The Mail* containing the offensive article in its Sunday edition. This is the subject of the vehement protest by our High Commission in London.

The article by Kate Wharton is so vicious, spiteful and slanderous that I dare not have it published in full in *The Star* for fear that I might be accused of helping to circulate this vile material. I felt, however, that I should give our people some information or idea of what was said by her against the Sultan of Johore and Malaysia.

I must confess that I do not expect such an article to appear in the famous British daily, *The Mail*, which is now published in tabloid form. It is the people's paper and very widely and popularly read by the British public, in particular, the ordinary people and workers.

We accept the right of the press to give a fair report on matters of interest but not their abuse of the privilege - this is what *The Mail* has done.

I remember once at Cambridge the world billiard champion, Inman, was visiting Malaya to give an exhibition. That was sometime in 1924 and a cartoon appeared in *The Mail* by a famous cartoonist Tom Webster depicting the Malays as savages, dressed in straw skirts with long curly hair, black skin and thick lips holding spears to welcome Inman.

I wrote a stinging letter protesting against the cartoon and demanded an apology. Of course it never came but *The Mail* is a paper that caters to the fancy of the common men who are not well-informed but who love sensation.

So they have always been that way inclined without paying much attention to facts and the feelings of others. And now this sensa-

tional article.

The article deals with the so-called brutality of our next Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Sultan of Johore, and casts serious aspersions on the integrity of our government and country. It is a shocking revelation of the spite and ignorance of this writer, Kate Wharton.

Whether she is a Miss or Mrs is hard to say but it is clear to us all that she is vicious, spiteful and of devilish character. Her outbursts are sheer devilry and written without care for the feelings of others. What she wrote and had to say about the Sultan of Johore and our government is shocking and vindictive and uncalled for.

If the Sultan of Johore so wishes he could easily consult a legal expert and find out what action he could take against this newspaper and the writer.

To show her spite, I might quote the headline of this article — "He calls himself Beloved Protector, but the new monarch glories in torture. King of terror who has brought his nation shame." But he is not yet King, and she has jumped the gun!

However, she went on to say:

"Here is a man who has ordered and looked on death, mutilation and torture with odious satisfaction. The 52-year-old Sultan of Johore has been elected the next King-to-be by the nine hereditary Rulers of Malaysia. And already his rule [obviously as Sultan of Johore] is viewed with rank fear by ordinary Malaysians who have cause to look at this man's past history ... and tremble. Anyone who crosses his path is liable to torture and humiliation. They may disappear altogether after being beaten to death by one of his henchmen - or even himself".

(Oh horror! She doesn't know that we have law and order here.)

In other words, the future King is prone to sadistic acts and this is indeed a very serious charge to make. He might not be a perfect man but as the King he is expected to do justice and honour to the throne — the Government will see to this.

There is ground here from my knowledge of law to take action for libel against *The Mail*. The statement is outright mischievous, spiteful and wicked. The Sultan might have committed some acts which were not proper, but to accuse him of killing his victims and disposing of the corpses is outrageous.

She is the woman who is supposed to feed the curious public with information but instead she went out of her way to poison their minds

against our future King and our country, Malaysia.

According to her, "Malaysia is sick with corruption and vice. The police are bribable. It is a country going backwards into time, not forwards."

She then went on to describe how for nine hours Tengku Mahmood (the Sultan Iskandar) tortured the princess from Trengganu and her husband who had to go to hospital and be kept there for eighteen days for treatment.

Then she asked: "Will Mahmood - like another despotic Islamic Ruler, the Ayatollah of Iran - bring even more brutality and suffering to his land in the name of religion?" Wa, what a conjecture!

One thing is clear, according to her, that though Malaysia may be part of the Commonwealth, this man should never be allowed a State visit to Britain. Then she went on to say, "Britons will wonder who among our own royals will attend the prince's coronation and shake the hand of a confirmed murderer?"

No one as far as we know will be invited from England for this coronation, less still among the members of the royal family of Britain.

The picture she painted of our future King will convey the impression that the King of Malaysia is an absolute tyrant, a despotic ruler who can kill people and torture those whom he dislikes at will.

Little did she understand that we have a Constitution drafted by the best legal and constitutional brains in the former British Empire - Lord Reid as Chairman, and who count among the members of the Commission, Sir Ivor Jennings from Britain, Sir William McKell from Australia, Mr. Justice Malik from India and Mr. Justice Abdul Hamid from Pakistan, and this Constitution was acclaimed one of the most modern, the most constructive and the most fair and impartial piece of legislation in the modern world.

Even the King of Malaysia is appointed as Head of State for a period of five years, at the end of which he vacates the throne for the next Ruler who succeeds him according to the order of precedence which had been laid down under the Constitution.

What she does not know is that the King does not rule but is installed as the symbolic Head of State.

I repeat that the real Rulers of Malaysia are the people who under the Constitution assume powers complete and absolute, and such powers as they wield can end the rule of any Ruler at a moment's notice. The King cannot even delay assent to any Bill passed by the

Parliament.

Kate Wharton did not even bother to find this out, but instead she went on and condemned the Malaysian Government as being one of the most corrupt government in the world.

In her words, "Malaysia is sick with corruption and vice. The police are bribable. It is a country going backwards into time, not forwards." As for this charge, Western countries are immersed in worse dirt.

This is a very serious charge to make against the country which has won respect from friends abroad. Corruption there is, no doubt, among certain levels of officers but this is not common to Malaysia alone — other countries are not free from corruption and vice too.

But Malaysia is not, as she alleged, a sick and badly run country. A correspondent like Kate Wharton should travel abroad and find out for herself how the rest of the world live.

As regards the married life of Tengku Mahmood, Kate Wharton has this to say — "The Prince's official biography says he is married to the Sultanah Zanariah, by whom he has 10 children. But it deliberately omits any reference to his first wife, Josephine, from Torquay, whom he married while studying in England in the fifties."

"There's nothing about the four children she bore him. The Prince divorced her after five years to wed Zanariah. Josephine has now remarried and lives in America."

The fact is, Tengku Mahmood has 10 children in all, four by the first wife Hajjah Khalsom (Josephine). The first two are girls, the third is Tunku Mahkota (Crown Prince of Johore) and the fourth is a girl. He has six children by the Sultanah Zanariah. The total number of his children is 10.

All the children were brought up in Johore and are still there.

I do not know how old Kate Wharton is or how good looking she is, but from her writing I can picture her only as a vindictive and wicked old witch whose sole intention is to harm and ridicule others for the sake of cheap sensation. Perhaps she's got a chip on her shoulder.

I wonder who this so-called high-class Malaysian is from whom she obtained the information. He must be as mentally sick as she is and someone who has no love or loyalty for his country. Whoever he is, he should find another country to live and not try to put his country, Malaysia, to contempt and ridicule.

I certainly would not like to publish what she has written in full

but the little I mentioned would suffice to show how vicious this woman can be.



Sultan of Johore

Understanding Our Constitution

(19 March, 1984)

WE HAVE ONLY been made aware of the weakness in our Constitution after the recent controversy relating to its amendment and after the personal attack by a foreign journalist on one of our Rulers.

Our Constitution is referred to by legal authority as a written Constitution, and as such, it is all-powerful. On this Constitution our freedom, rights, religion and personal liberty rest. It is rigid in that it requires no less than two-thirds of the votes of Members in Parliament to amend any part of it.

Under the present Government where the Barisan Nasional has an overwhelming majority in Parliament, it is not difficult for the party in power to amend any part of the Constitution it so wishes.

This was done recently, and it has created fears in the minds of the people that the Government with such a majority can do anything it likes.

According to Tun Suffian in his book *An Introduction To the Constitution of Malaysia*, the Constitution is supreme, but is it? It is supreme in the sense that it creates the Parliament and endows it with all the powers to make and unmake any laws.

"The Parliament derives its power from the Constitution which divides legislative power between the Federation on the one hand and individual States on the other.

"It specifies clearly what are Federal subjects concerning which State governments are responsible. There are also concurrent subjects which empower Parliament or the State Legislative Assembly to make law."

It is obvious that the Government with an overwhelming majority in Parliament is the all-important law-making body.

According to Dicey, Parliament sovereignty means the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons; these three bodies acting together may be aptly described as the "King in Parliament" and constitute Parliament and that Parliament thus defined has, under the English Constitution, the right to make or unmake any law whatever.

And, further, that no person or body is recognised by the law of England as having a right to override or set aside the legislation of Parliament. This is so in England, but not so in countries which practise federalism.

In other words, there is no person or body of persons who can, under the English Constitution, make rules which override or derogate from an Act of Parliament or which can be enforced by the courts in contravention of an Act of Parliament.

That in the main is the principle which governs parliamentary supremacy in England but English Constitution is unwritten and is therefore different from our own.

By comparison the English Constitution differs from the system of government known as federalism as it exists in several parts of the civilised world, especially in the US, the Swiss confederation, the dominions of Canada and Australia among others.

In America, for instance, federalism and the points in which a Federal constitution stands are: firstly, the conditions essential to the existence of a Federal State, and the aim with which such a State is formed.

Secondly, the essential features of a Federal union.

And lastly, certain characteristics of federalism which result from its very nature, and form points of comparison, or contrast, between a Federal polity and a system of Parliamentary sovereignty: e.g. combination of provinces or in Switzerland, cantons, closely connected by locality, history, race, or the like, as to be capable of bearing, in the eyes of their inhabitants, an impress of common nationality.

Lands which now form part of a Federal State were at some stage of their existence bound together by close alliance or by subjection to a common sovereign.

Union of these States has brought about the formation of one government exercising control of these States through a Parliament or Congress.

It arose from the wishes of the people to form a Federal State.

At the same time they do not wish to surrender the individual existence of each man's State or canton to be completely submerged in this federation.

So it is with Malaya which had existed before the war under the British rule and protection and was made up of three forms of government; five States under the Rulers with greater autonomy known as the non-Federated Malay States. Then we have the Protected States with less autonomy and known as the Federated Malay States; and the third is the colony known as the Straits Settlements ruled directly by the British sovereign.

With Independence these States had decided to unite, but at the same time maintain their own identity, so it was necessary to set up a new government of the Federation of Malaya, now Malaysia, with two other States, Sabah and Sarawak, added to it and it was found more agreeable to have a King rather than a President as the Head of State.

Under Article 32 of the Constitution, there shall be a supreme head of the Federation, to be called the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, who shall take precedence over all persons in the Federation and shall not be liable to any proceedings whatsoever in any court.

He shall under Article 32(3) be elected by the Conference of Rulers for a term of five years, but may be removed from office by the Conference of Rulers.

Section 8 of the Third Schedule states that such a resolution requires at least five votes in favour and once removed the Ruler goes back to his State and could exercise his royal prerogative without any control by any Act of Parliament or by any Constitution, State or Federal.

Article 181 expressly provides that no Ruler can be proceeded against in any court in his personal capacity as decided in these cases: the English court ruled that Sultan Abu Bakar of Johore vs. Mighell, and Sultan of Trengganu vs. Duff Development Co. were not subject to legal litigation in their private and personal capacity.

The British had a way of dealing with recalcitrant Rulers. They removed him without any fuss and substitute another in his place.

After the return of the British to Malaya, they deposed the then Raja of Perlis, the Sultan of Selangor and the Sultan of Trengganu on the ground that they had co-operated with the Japanese.

In our written Constitution, a Sultan who fails to make good as a Ruler or who commits crime against the provisions of the law of

this country, cannot be touched, let alone be legally deposed.

It is necessary therefore to look into this question so that if anything untoward were to happen in the States, the Federal Government will have the authority to deal with the matter effectively.

When the Constitution was first drafted nobody gave their thought to this question. Since the Sultanates had existed already during the colonial period which had posed no problem, there was nothing to worry their mind over it now. But the question has become important enough to warrant attention today.

Tun Suffian is the only man who has taken the trouble to study the Constitution of this country and he wrote a book on it. He explained the position of the Rulers.

When appointed the Ruler faithfully declares that he would perform his duties in the administration of Malaysia in accordance with its laws and constitution, and at all times protect the Muslim religion and uphold the rule of law and order of the country.

If he fails to carry out his duties his brother Rulers can vote him out of office.

The executive authority of Malaysia is exercisable by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong or by the Cabinet or by any minister authorised by the Cabinet subject at all times to the provisions of the Constitution and law. He acts with the advice of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister.

He has naturally the powers to appoint the Prime Minister, a person who commands the popular support of members of the party and a discretionary right to withhold consent to a request for the dissolution of Parliament, and has the right to convene the Conference of Rulers and other functions as mentioned in the Constitution.

These roughly are the powers of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong which in fact are all formal and it gives him no authority to rule the country other than to be formal Head of State.

The Agong can be removed, as I have said earlier, if the Conference of Rulers resolves that he is unsuitable by reason of infirmity of mind or body or for any other cause to exercise the functions of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Article 32(3) and Section 1(1) (C) of the Third Schedule. Such a resolution requires at least five votes in favour, Section 8, Third Schedule.

But once removed he goes back as Sultan in his own State where he is a hereditary Ruler and free to do further wrongs.

Article 181 expressly provides that no Ruler may be proceeded against in any court in his personal capacity, and what could be done if, for instance, he committed a crime. It is necessary therefore to provide somewhere in the Constitution that he be impeached or tried by his peers.

One way of making this possible is to insert a provision in the Federal Constitution, Eight Schedule, to provide that the Agong personally or at the instance of a Ruler or of the Prime Minister may refer the alleged misconduct of a Ruler to the Conference of Rulers.

Whereupon the Conference may appoint a tribunal of three or any other uneven number of Rulers to investigate the report and recommend what action should be taken against him, and that until then he may be suspended from the exercise of his functions.

The alternative of referring the complaint to authorities in the State cannot work out in practice, because they are subordinate to the Sultan and would be scared to criticise him.

The recommendation of the tribunal will not take effect until it has been submitted to and confirmed with or without amendments by the Conferences of Rulers by the votes of at least five Rulers.

In the exercise of these new functions, only the Agong and the Rulers may participate, not Governors though they are members of the Conference. But the Rulers presiding at the enquiry can opt for the President of the Court (Lord President) and the Attorney-General to be in attendance.

There is a precedent in the case of the removal of judges on the ground of misbehaviour or of any inability, from infirmity of body or mind or any other cause, to discharge the functions of his office properly.

Such a judge may be reported by the Prime Minister, or the Lord President after consulting the Prime Minister, to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Thereupon the Agong appoints a tribunal of five judges or former judges and refers the representation to it.

Pending any reference to and report by the tribunal, the King may suspend the judge. If the tribunal recommends dismissal, the King may dismiss him. Thus complaints against misbehaving judges are investigated into by their peers.

A proposal to amend the Constitution on these lines naturally requires delicate handling and full consultation — not only among Federal authorities but also with State authorities.

Care should be taken to explain that, while the King may be remov-

ed by a majority vote of the Conference of Rulers, the Prime Minister by a vote of no confidence in the Lower House or by popular verdict at a general election (*mutatis mutandis a Mentri Besar*), and the Lord President and judges on a recommendation of their peers, there seems to be no way or no effective way of removing a Ruler who has committed criminal acts contrary to the law in his personal capacity.

It would be desirable to provide a constitutional way of doing so, in order to preserve our system of constitutional monarchy.

Daulat Tuanku

(30 April, 1984)

I WAS SORRY to see that His Royal Highness Sultan Ahmad Shah of Pahang has ended his reign as the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and has returned to his home State as the Sultan of Pahang again.

Five years have passed so quickly, and before you knew what had happened another Ruler had taken over. I have served under five kings as Prime Minister and am about to see the installation of the eighth Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

I must say that Sultan Ahmad Shah had been a model of an Agong. He is kind and friendly and has been a great sportsman. He was also good at hockey and soccer.

Unfortunately soccer it was that ended his activity as a sportsman when so late in life he took part in the game and even scored a goal for his team. Unfortunately that landed him in hospital with a mild heart attack.

Like me he is very fond of horses and owned a good string of them under the Inderapura stable and some of them have won some of the most important and coveted trophies.

He is also interested in social welfare and religious work and as I have said earlier, he more than lived the part as a good, benign and just Ruler of this multi-racial and peaceful nation.

He is well-liked by the people, the government officers, including the Prime Minister and the Cabinet Ministers, racing enthusiasts, sportsmen and religious people. So he richly deserved the award as the Outstanding Sportsman and received the Olympic gold medal.

He has gone back to his own State of Pahang where he has a less onerous duty to perform. The people of Pahang must be happy to welcome him back to their own State.

The five years of his rule have brought peace and economic stabili-



Sultan Ahmad Shah

ty to the land despite the general trade depression.

The Prime Minister had referred to the Seventh Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Permaisuri Agong as royal ambassadors. The royal couple have made several official visits abroad making friends along the way, and brought benefits to the country and above all, popularise Malaysia abroad.

He had time for everyone, old or young, big or small. When I saw him standing underneath the porch of the palace shaking hands with thousands of guests - the old, the young and even children of school-going age who went to pay their respects to the royal couple - I wondered to myself how he could have done it standing for hours.

I felt they should have arranged for two chairs on the front porch and allowed people to file pass the royal couple, exchanging greetings with them.

That would have been less tiring and more dignified. I am sure the crowd would not have minded it. All they wanted to do was to catch a glimpse of the royal couple, then proceed to the lawn below where all kinds of refreshments were served.

It is all right for the other invited guests or VIPs, who numbered less than a couple of a hundred or so to shake hands and chat with the royal couple, but for the milling crowd to shake hands with the royal couple was too much.

He had played his role as the King admirably well, and had upheld the dignity and tradition of the throne so dearly loved and revered by the people of this country.

The Permaisuri Agong herself is very quiet, very graceful and extremely charming. Both of them had endeared themselves to all Malaysians no matter who they are, or what religion they belonged to.

To Malaysians they are "our King and Queen" and they all love them. During his reign there were two incidents which had caused some concern. One was the amendment to the Constitution which restricted the power of the Ruler to give assent to Bills.

So much has been written on this subject and there is no point in my going back to it again - but it did cause a slight strain in the good relationship that had existed between the Head of State and the Government.

The other unfortunate matter was the loss of \$1,700 million and even more of Bank Bumiputra's money in the investment and loan

to the Carrian group. Otherwise the whole reign could be said to have been a glorious and happy five years.

Among the many glowing tributes paid to him and his Consort when they were first installed King and Queen were: "The King, our charismatic monarch", "the King who is close to the people," and "the King, a fountain of justice, a great sportsman, a great polo player of world standing". Among the tributes for the Queen were, "the people's Queen" and "adviser and friend of the people", all of which proved true.

In my article of January 23, 1978, I had occasion to join issue with His Royal Highness when he objected to the Tunku Arif Bendahara who expressed his wish to participate in politics and become *Mentri Besar* of Pahang.

According to him, Tunku Arif Bendahara is a royal title and as such is in line for succession to the throne. So if Tunku Ibrahim who enjoys the title of Tunku Arif Bendahara is proposed as successor to Datuk Ahmad, the *Mentri Besar*, then His Royal Highness would object quoting Article 4, Section 2A of the State Constitution as his reason for doing so.

I pointed out, however, that the choice of the State Assembly was decisive and the Sultan could not oppose. All he could do was to deprive Tunku Ibrahim of the royal title. He accepted my advice and at the same time Tunku Arif Bendahara's name was dropped.

The King that took over from him is a man of different calibre. He is always seen in military uniform with a pistol dangling by his side. He presented a rather grim and belligerent appearance but he is not all that warlike.

Being an army man he loves the uniform and weapons that go with it. But actually he is quite humane. Now his duty is to attend to the affairs of State as the King working in close association with the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet.

In his interview with Tan Sri Dr. Tan Chee Khoo, His Majesty said, "As a constitutional monarch I shall never interfere with legislation or in the legislative activities of Parliament."

"I am a constitutional monarch in Johore. I am in Kuala Lumpur to represent the other eight Rulers."

Continuing his talk with Tan Sri Dr. Tan, His Majesty suggested that, "politicians must consult civil servants who are the experts and technicians in policy matters."

Only after consultations with civil servants should the policy be

“drawn up, accepted and then implemented”.

Tan Sri Dr. Tan questioned: “Is this the policy you want to pursue when you are in Kuala Lumpur?”

“No, that is only my advice. As they have been legislators of the country for a long time ... I do not wish to interfere with legislature or legislative activities. It is neither my policy nor my intention to do so.” And there are a lot more things which His Majesty said to Tan Sri Dr. Tan.

He showed that he can work closely together with the Government of the day under the leadership of Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir. What matters most is the sanctity of the throne and the symbolic role of the King that must continue to be upheld.

We all hope and pray that there will be no change in the systematic and methodical partnership between the Ruler and the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet.

The two, the crown head and the executive head, have worked closely together all the years of independence and have brought peace, prosperity and glory to our beloved country. Let this continue no matter who the incumbent of the throne is.

In saying goodbye to Sultan Ahmad Shah, former Yang di-Pertuan Agong and his Consort, the former Permaisuri Agong, I wish the royal family of Pahang continued good health and happiness.

I also offer my royal felicitations to His Majesty the new Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Tuanku Iskandar of Johore and may his reign be as glorious and as magnificent as our former Yang di-Pertuan Agongs. God save the King. *Daulat Tuanku.*

At Federal level, therefore, nothing can be done in relation to, for example (taking an extreme case), a Ruler maliciously killing a citizen — although subsequent public outcry may well give rise to a need to amend the law.

This is the danger we must avoid at all costs.

At the State level, however, no provision exists in any of the State Constitutions for dealing with misconduct by a Ruler, except in the case of Trengganu where if the Ruler is "by reason of defect of character, becoming unfit to continue to be the Ruler of the State" he may be deposed by the *jumaah pangkuan negeri* (supporters of the State). This is a rather slender provision for dealing with a breach of the law.

What will happen then if a Ruler commits a crime; in the eyes of constitutional law, "the sovereign can do no wrong".

This principle is written into several State Constitutions, and is the basis of Article 181(2) of the Federal Constitution.

The principle of *noblesse oblige* assumes that a Ruler will always conduct himself with propriety, and there is no redress if he fails to do so.

It must also be remembered that the Ruler is human. The weaknesses of a human being are as ever present in the person of the Ruler as they are in the ordinary man.

It has happened where an important member of the ruling house had been tried in court for a criminal act. Only the Sultan of the State concerned exercised the power of pardon.

What will happen, I repeat, if a Ruler shoots down in cold blood a citizen of the State, or if he in an extreme case of recklessness knocked down a person on the road and injured or killed him? As far as I can see, no action can be taken against him.

In this democratic, egalitarian age it is undesirable that anyone should be completely above the law. If the Ruler is to be made liable, as in the case of a private person, under the provision of the criminal law of Malaysia (which is a Federal law), then appropriate constitutional amendment is necessary.

This could take many forms and be done in many ways. One way, however, would be to amend the Eighth Schedule of the Federal Constitution, under which each State legislature would be required to make corresponding amendments to the State Constitutions.

Given the sensitivity still likely to exist in relation to the Eighth Schedule as a result of events early this year, it is unlikely that this solu-

tion — which is somewhat fortuous in its operation — is attractive. What therefore is the alternative?

The only way out, as I see it, is to adopt a Royal Commission to review the full Constitution. They will find the solution to our problem, but they must be given the terms of reference which will enable them to study the various aspects of the Constitution — in particular the powers of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and their Highnesses the Rulers; and to find out how best to deal with them if they are found wanting as Rulers, or if they commit crimes that could offend the sensitivities of the people.

In England, of course, they have a Privy Council, and this is made up of Ministers, former Ministers, diplomats, business magnates, the Lord of Appeals, and Archbishops. Roughly there are about 300 members in all; but only a few are chosen to give advice to the sovereign on the problems submitted to her or him. Thailand too has had a small Privy Council.

And for this matter it appears really necessary for our Yang di-Pertuan Agong to have a council comprised of senior, responsible citizens, business and political experts, and judges.

The Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet should automatically be members of this council. All appeals to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong should go to these councillors who can be said to be keepers of the royal conscience.

A young country like ours has many and varied problems ahead of it. We should be prepared to meet all these problems, and not be taken by surprise, as has often happened.

One thing I say: we cannot delay any longer the appointment of a Royal Commission to review the Constitution. With the setting up of this council of advisers the Yang di-Pertuan Agong should have available at all times the best advice possible.

Installation Ceremony Of The King

(8 October, 1984)

ACCORDING TO THE acting Prime Minister, the Sultan of Johore, Sultan Iskandar Al-Haj ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Ismail, will be officially installed as the eighth Yang di-Pertuan Agong on November 15, and according to him, "the ceremony will be held on a moderate scale as requested by His Majesty, and also in view of the current economic situation in the country. One or two matters had to be sorted out, otherwise the preparation for the installation has been worked out and finalised."

What that means is difficult to understand.

The economic situation in this country is not all that bad so what's the need to minimise the cost of the installation?

According to the world market report, Malaysia is economically well-balanced, and is stable and credit-worthy. So, the current economic situation has no bearing whatsoever on the traditional ceremony that is associated with the installation of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

And I see no reason why Sultan Iskandar should have made a request for the celebration to be held on a moderate scale. The last seven Kings saw the ceremony of the installation held strictly in keeping with our established custom and tradition.

This, by comparison with the coronation of the sovereigns of England, is most insignificant and modest.

The English ceremony dates back many hundred years, and the attire of the officials associated with the ceremony depicted the highly-prestigious dignity of the throne of England.

It is a long and drawn-out ceremony, with strict adherence to the traditional ceremonies of the past hundreds of years. This is understood because the kings and queens of England are hereditary



Installation ceremony of the King

monarchs while ours serve for a term of five years.

After all, a King is a King; and every kingdom or monarchy has a set order of procedure which has to be observed; and this took no account of the prevailing economic condition of the country.

When King Edward VIII wanted to make Mrs Wallace-Simpson his Consort the nation would not have it; and so he voluntarily abdicated.

The only change that could possibly be made was a state of war; in which case the coronation would be postponed until the war had come to an end, and the country returned to normalcy. Otherwise the coronation would be carried out without hindrance.

On Independence we decided to set up our own monarchy which we called a constitutional monarchy based closely on the English system, but the King is installed for the stated period as a symbolic Head of State.

He reigns but he does not rule. This is so too with other monarchs of democratic countries. The sovereignty of England is hereditary. Our King occupies the throne for five years.

As a result the ceremony connected with the installation of the King is reduced to the barest minimum of pomp as compared with the English ceremony.

Now, if this is to be reduced further what then will remain of the ceremony? In what respect can it be reduced to a moderate scale? And what will be the outcome for the future?

If each King is allowed to dictate terms for the installation ceremony, where is it going to end? Before the Government agrees, the people have a right to know.

Or at least, as the man who was responsible for introducing the blue-print for the installation of the King, I could be excused if I state my views on it.

We never had a country of our own before — less still a King — so we had to work out ourselves the ceremony to mark the installation of the King.

Malaysia is a newly-independent country. It had to introduce a system of kingship in accordance with the wishes of the people in which the King is installed for five years, chosen from among the Rulers in order of precedence.

He wears a uniform which is called *baju sipap* with breasted gold braid, a *tengkolok*, a *sarong* woven with gold, the *kris* of authority, and trousers with gold braid. It is a very dignified dress based on

Kedah's ceremonial dress. If this uniform is discarded, what will the King wear in its place?

We know that the Sultan of Johore likes to be dressed in military uniform. The king is only an honorary commander of the armed forces, and not a military head. Should he put on the uniform of a Commander-in-Chief? Would this fit with his role as the constitutional monarch and not a military dictator?

We set up a committee before Independence to work out the details for the King's regalia and installation. The ceremony consisted of regalia-bearers, the *nobat*, the Quran, and the oath of office.

Seven Kings in the past have upheld the tradition with deep-seated pride. To make it a modest or simple ceremony, any more than what it is today, to say the least, would diminish the importance of our kingship.

Above all, the incumbent should not be allowed to exercise his own likes and dislikes in determining what dress to wear, or what form the ceremony should take. When I was in England I heard rumours that the Sultan of Johore would be fitted with military uniform, presumably for his installation. How far this is true is difficult to say. Whatever it is, the other Rulers should be consulted. If they don't agree then they must decide on an alternative.

And above all they must focus their attention on the dignity of the throne, and the strong Malay sentiment *vis-a-vis*, "the *adat* and tradition".

Throughout our long history we were so far behind the other races. Politically we had no share in the running of the country. In independence the system we employed has put us in parity with others in equal dignity and prestige. The institution of the Sultanate has been our forte. We decided to have a King in turn and in accord with the seniority or established order of precedence. On this score Sultan Iskandar was elected the King by his brother Rulers.

Under Article 32 of the Federal Constitution, Chapter One, part IV:

(1) There shall be a supreme head of the federation, to be called the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, who shall take precedence over all other persons in the federation and shall not be liable to any proceedings whatsoever in any court, and

32(3) The Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall be elected by the Conference of Rulers for a term of five years, but may at any time resign from his office by writing under his hand address-

ed to the Conference of Rulers or be removed from office by the Conference of Rulers, and shall cease to hold office on ceasing to be a Ruler.

Then under Chapter Two - Conference of Rulers:

38(2) the Conference of Rulers shall exercise its functions of ... (b) agreeing or disagreeing to the extension of any religious acts, observances or ceremonies to the federation as a whole.

It is clear, therefore, that any relaxation in the observance of the ceremonial rites should first receive the approval of the Conference of Rulers. Should the Sultan of Johore refuse to accept the decision then he has the right to send his resignation under Article 3 of the Constitution, or be prepared to be voted out.

One thing, however, that I am reminded of is that when the first King was installed, followed by the second, the third and the fourth, Malaya and Malaysia faced a crisis which must be considered as very, very critical.

We had the communist insurrection in the country, and confrontation by President Soekarno and the Philippines. Nevertheless we carried out our ceremony for the installation of the King without a sign of concern.

So why the sudden worry about the present situation which presents no problem to the Government, and presents no ostensible reason for reducing the scale of celebration.

In conclusion and in view of the strong feelings of the people, I propose that the Rulers should call a conference and decide on the ceremony for the installation of the King. And this would include the attire of the King and the regalia-bearers.

There are also other accompaniments such as the *nobat*, etc. and if the Rulers do not agree with the King's proposal, what then will be the alternative?

II. Contemporary Politics

"... the action taken by Berjaya against the people of Tambunan is high-handed, punitive and unheard of anywhere else. It violated justice, fair play and the very core of democracy.

"After all, the Constitution provides for free democratic election, and every man has the right to vote for any candidate he so wishes. It was for that very reason that he is not required to disclose who he voted for. All he is asked to do is to put an 'X' for the candidate he favours. This has been the principle we have adhered to when we decided on democratic election as the means to independence."

Tunku Abdul Rahman
21 January, 1985

UMNO Must Stay United

(9 May, 1983)

THE PRIME MINISTER mentioned with some concern of the existence of cliques within the UMNO party with some members supporting one leader against another. This tends to weaken the party and in the end might even break up the party itself. No one in the country would want this to happen for UMNO is the principal partner of the Barisan Nasional and the fount of the nation's solidarity, peace and well-being.

Members of UMNO should take heed of what the Prime Minister said. In fact it is the bounden duty of UMNO members to give loyal and dedicated service to the party and to the nation. They will remember that it was UMNO which broke up the Malayan Union and it was UMNO which formed the Alliance and won independence for this country.

I would like to see UMNO continue to give the lead with a good example to the other members of the Barisan Nasional. They must avoid at all costs cliques and groupings within the party. During election time, it is only to be expected that members will take sides and cast their votes for the candidates of their choice. However, since the vote has been cast and the election over, they must reform into one solid whole. In this day, members can hold their peace for the honour and well-being of the premier political party.

Unfortunately, what the Prime Minister said appears to be only too true. There seem to be groups within UMNO which support one leader against another and this goes down the line in the States, divisions and branches of UMNO. This rivalry even led to the death of an UMNO leader in a State. This is a very serious matter and before the situation deteriorates further, UMNO members must be advised and warned and be educated to take their places as good

and loyal party members.

I took over leadership of UMNO at the time when Dato Onn left due to differences he had with the party. He had proposed that UMNO's membership should be opened to all Malaysians, irrespective of ethnic groups but rightly UMNO opposed him on the ground that UMNO was a Malay party but members were however not averse to working closely with others. To admit others as members would be contrary to the constitution of UMNO. So it was that Dato Onn left the party and formed the Independence of Malaya Party.

When I took over I made it clear that UMNO must remain a Malay party but must be willing and ready to close ranks and make a political alliance with other Malayan parties. So it was that the Alliance with the Chinese under the MCA, and then later with the Indians under MIC, was formed. This alliance had worked wonders creating understanding and goodwill among the people of different races but loyal to this country and finally with that independence was won.

With independence, poor kampung Malays were well-served for the first time by the Government and the business-minded Chinese and others were given opportunities in business. All doubts as to the value of independence disappeared. Any break-up in the individual party at any time will cause the disintegration of the Alliance and bring disaster to the country.

In the 1959 elections when MCA decided to leave the Alliance and fight on its own, the remaining members rallied under Tun Tan Siew Sin. I had declared that even if there were three MCA members left, I would still regard the MCA as a member of the Alliance. In the election that followed, we won a landslide victory with the MCA winning almost all the seats allotted to them. The MCA which broke away from the Alliance got the beating of its life with hardly any support from the Chinese.

UMNO as a political party cannot be expected to remain as it was in those early days. It has become such a big and important political party that its members sometimes get out of hand. This is only to be expected. Everybody naturally is scrambling for important places in the party hierarchy to gain seats in the State Councils, Parliament and Senate. All these appointments carry with them a tidy remuneration. So it is timely for the Prime Minister to call a halt to these bickerings and manoeuvring for positions.

There is another thing I used to do in order to make ourselves

available to the members and that was to make the Prime Minister easily available for contact and consultation with the UMNO leaders. I used to have an open-house whereby my colleagues or high-government officials and others could come and discuss important party and state matters over lunch. Then I had only 13 members in the Cabinet and few heads of Government and known leaders of the party. But today the number has increased by leaps and bounds and this would make an open-house discussion impossible. Perhaps this might be arranged in some other way whereby the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister could have discussions with officials, other Ministers and party leaders outside office hours.

There is also another matter which I would like to see taking place and that is to hold frequent meetings among Barisan Nasional leaders; in other words close rapport between the leaders of the Barisan Nasional. In the old days, it was easier to do that as the members were not so numerous. We used to meet in my house for dinner for a chit chat or for a cocktail. Now there are so many restrictions and inhibitions that they find it difficult to get together. Anyway for the Muslims they could have orange and other soft drinks while others could drink anything they like, so long as they don't try and drink one another under the table, they should be encouraged to meet often at private meetings. Public and official get-togethers are not quite the same. They do not give the opportunity for free discussions.

When the Alliance was first formed, we used to meet at a moment's notice wherever possible and most times at the Miners Club. UMNO had no club house or a mess where we could get together as UMNO could not afford it. I might say the battle for Malaya's independence was won within the four walls of the Miners Club.

Coming back to UMNO, it is a Malay party and the characteristics of the Malays is to follow the age old custom of having leaders at all levels of the society - in the mosques, kampungs, districts, provinces and states. In fact, anywhere, any place where they congregate they would have leaders. Malays will stick to their leader until another leader takes over. Dato Onn was the first leader. When he left I took over, then followed by Tun Razak, Tun Hussein and now Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir, who no doubt will be Tun later on. But while he is the leader, the members will invariably remain obedient to him. I have always said that it is easy to be a leader of the Malays because they are loyal to the leader and the only thing

that is required of a leader is, as I said, to be true to the flock. When a new leader decides to take over, factions and dissension will follow until it is settled through the ballot box. For the good of the country UMNO must remain united for all time and so must the Barisan Nasional.



Tunku with Tun Abdul Razak

The Crisis In Snap

(1 August, 1983).

WHAT APPEARS TO be a small tear in the fabric of Sarawak politics has turned out to be more serious than meets the eye. Unless the tear is stitched in time, it might develop into a real political crisis.

According to reports, many of the Dayak and Iban members of Parliament and the State Assembly — six MPs and 10 assemblymen — have left or tried to leave SNAP to form a Dayak-Iban party. There are other Dayaks and Ibans who belong to the other non-communal parties such as Berjaya, Pesaka and DAP. What then will be their lot? It is hard to say at the moment. The Dayaks and Ibans are based in 16 out of the 48 seats and they are represented in other constituencies as well.

SNAP, which has the most number of Dayak and Iban members based their votes on equal representation from all the 48 constituencies, two from each, and as a result of this, the Ibans are outnumbered and non-Ibans are appointed to the top posts of the party hierarchy. Hence Datuk James Wong was elected president of the party and Datuk Kalong Ningkan as the adviser. This has made the conscientious Ibans and Dayaks feel that they have been relegated to a position of the minority instead of being the majority party members. The majority of the population in Sarawak are, in fact, the Dayaks, yet they have lost control in the political set-up of the State. So the only way they can assert their superiority and overcome this unsatisfactory situation is to form their own party following UMNO in West Malaysia.

When the struggle for independence started in Malaya, the Chinese and Indians were invited to join on a communal basis, each community will retain their identity while working together for a com-

mon cause — the independence of Malaya.

On this understanding, the Alliance was formed and won the independence for Malaya. Later on, under Tun Razak, the Barisan replaced the Alliance, with the inclusion of other non-communal parties and became what it is today. As far as I know, it has brought a change in the name and composition of the party followed by a change in the symbol, the *dacing*, instead of the "boat". The understanding among the partners remained the same.

There is some justification in the claim of the Dayaks for a party of their own within the state alliance. It will be hard to deny them the right to be members of the Barisan Nasional as there was a precedent with Berjaya of Sabah, which broke away from USNO and was admitted a member of the Barisan Nasional. There was also the case of former Berjaya president, Datuk Haji Mohamed Nasir, who formed the party — a breakaway from PAS and then also Datuk Hassan Adli the former member of PAS who became a member of the Barisan Nasional. These are a few examples.

The Prime Minister has assured that he would sort out the trouble. According to him he has his own way of solving the crisis but definitely "I cannot solve it through the newspapers". Because of this I am not saying much about it here for I am sure the Prime Minister will do the right thing.

The Dayaks and Ibans are not quite as politically matured as UMNO is. UMNO started on a solid foundation and has proved its worth and had spearheaded the movement for Malaya's independence. The illiteracy rate among the Dayaks and Ibans is very high. Assuming that the new party comes out well in the next election, could the leaders hold their members together for all time, like UMNO? There are some who might think they have more right than the others to take over the leadership of the party. Then a power struggle will start within the party and when that happens the party will suffer and in no time disintegrate. Even UMNO has not been free from power struggles.

The political awakening among the educated group of Dayaks is quite natural but much ground work has to be done to educate their people to think as they do before the Dayaks can separate themselves from others. The majority of them like to pursue their way of life, living in their long houses and enjoying the way of life they like best. A very nice life indeed but it cannot be expected to last for all time. One day they must wake up and break away from their tradition

and age-old custom and take their place among the other progressive races of Malaysia. With independence they are beginning to show the awakening and it would take some time before they can share the political awareness with the others.

On the other hand, they themselves can also be divided on religious grounds because the Christian missions have a strong say in their behaviour and many of the educated Dayaks belong to one or the other Christian sects, i.e. the Catholics, the Protestants and the Methodists. Many of the kampung-based Dayaks have now embraced Islam. I can see difficulties confronting the Dayak and Iban communities and much hard work will have to be done to overcome them. The political leaders will not have all the time at their disposal to change the thinking and habit of their people. UMNO had a fair share of this kind of trouble. Some Malays broke away from it to form another Malay party based on Islam and they have had some success, particularly in the East Coast where the Malays are not so politically advanced.

Sarawak which joined Malaysia in 1963 was given a special consideration by the Alliance Government which appreciated the strength of the Dayaks who formed the majority population and so it was that it has been given more seats than other states. A Dayak, Kalong Ningkan, was made the first Chief Minister. However, not long after, i.e. on June 12, 1966, the Council Negeri of Sarawak passed a vote of "no-confidence" in him. In fact, it was the third time that Kalong Ningkan had faced a political storm as Chief Minister.

On this occasion, dissident factors in the ruling Sarawak Alliance Party had made a joint petition demanding the resignation of the Chief Minister as executive head of the State Alliance. At the time, the new party strength in the State Council was Pesaka 15, Panas 3, SEA 3, SNAP (his own party) 6, SUPP 5, and an Independent 1. He refused to resign and made a violent attack on me for taking sides with the dissident members. In fact, I was trying to patch up the trouble. He went on to say "I know the Tunku feels bitterly disappointed in me because he has not succeeded in making me a stooge to make Sarawak a colony of Malaysia. If he thinks he can make Sarawak a colony of Malaysia, he is suffering from a terrible illusion". He is now one of the leaders of SNAP, acting as adviser and spokesman for the party. I hope he has realised that I am not the tyrant he took me to be.

SNAP then withdrew from the Alliance to form the opposition

in the State. It was the young educated Ibans who brought back SNAP into the Alliance Party of Sarawak. Then another Dayak, Datuk Tawi Sli, took over as Chief Minister, which lasted for a time. A Malay Chief Minister, Datuk Abdul Rahman, then took over and with that a great change took place. Sarawak became one of the most developed states in Malaysia. After him came another Malay and he is Datuk Patinggi Abdul Taib Mahmud and further progress took place at a rapid rate. Many educated Dayaks and Ibans shared the credit with him. It would be a great pity if this split were to affect the Dayaks and Ibans' participation in the non-Dayak based constituencies as there are many who were returned from these constituencies.

I understand the trouble within the party has been brewing for some time. These young Ibans were disgruntled over the appointment of Datuk James Wong as president of an Iban-based political party which according to them was made without consultation with them. Now it has reached a breaking point, but Datuk James Wong does not think that the elements could pose any serious threat. Remember the saying "a stitch in time saves nine". So he must not pass the present crisis off as a matter of "no importance". It is important enough to warrant the attention of the top leaders of the Barisan Nasional.

The Prime Minister has made the position of Datuk Leo Moggie quite clear in so far as his appointment as a Minister is concerned. He is Minister of Energy, Communications and Posts, and will remain so during the duration of his term of office. According to the Prime Minister, since Datuk Moggie is no longer in SNAP, the party ceases to have any right to ask for his removal. This is the Prime Minister's prerogative, and he would not be influenced by any request from any source.

Datuk Patinggi Abdul Taib Mahmud said that he needs to mediate on a few suggestions that have emerged during his meeting with others and hopes that he can reach a solution by August 10. He reiterated that the problem facing them should not detract from the Barisan concept of a united harmonious nation.

I personally feel there is no serious problem to solve. This particular case had previous precedents. Breakaway parties had been accepted in the Barisan Nasional without much ado, so why not accept the new Dayak party and leave it at that?

The Carcosa Question

(26 March, 1984)

THERE SEEMS TO be no end to the question of Carcosa by the young members of UMNO and now they are being joined by other Malay parties who feel as they do that Carcosa should not have been given away. It must be embarrassing to the British Government who I understand is quite willing to avoid any misunderstanding with the Malaysian Government and appears willing to give it back when the request is officially made.

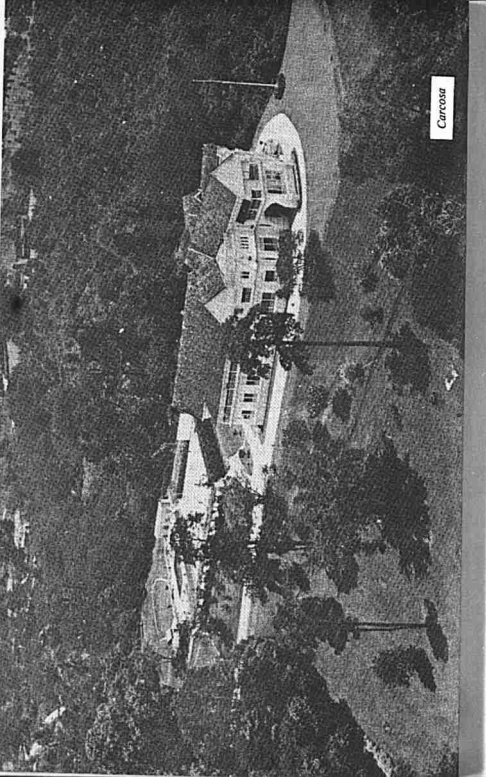
The person who feels most embarrassed over this must be myself, "the villain of the piece," because it was I who made the gift in 1956. I had explained in my previous writings why I had given Carcosa to the British Government, and this was mentioned by Cik Zainah Anwar to the *Straits Times* of March 22. According to her, and this I had already forgotten, it was done on the supplementary orders of the day paper circulated on debate day.

The intention behind this, as I had explained earlier, was done as a show of gratitude to the British Government for helping us in our fight against the communist terrorists. I was the chairman of the Operations Council where the British High Command gave full weight to my counsel in prosecuting the war against the communists, which finally enabled me to talk with Chin Peng in Baling.

That talk was the culminating point in our fight against the communists. Chin Peng was honest enough to say to us that he was fighting to set up a communist government in this country. All the people who were loyal to this country turned against the communists and from that moment the fight was over.

I remember too after our independence, though it was not in my mind at that time, but which I learned after our independence, that the British adopted a change of wind policy towards their former

Carcosa



colonies based on Malaya where a former colony was won over as a friend. This policy was meant to give all former colonies independence and win them back as friends and partners, and thus shape a new peaceful world. The results, however, showed later that the policy had gone awry, because some of these new countries became hostile. Are we now following the same trend?

What had gone wrong with the change of wind policy was something that could not be anticipated, less still avoided. But on the whole the British had helped establish human dignity when they broke up their old empire on which the sun never set to give independence to their colonies.

The people who had taken part in our constitutional struggle for independence considered our success a gift from heaven, and at the same time were grateful to the British Government and people for their understanding. Some mentioned that the independence of Malaya was a gift on a silver platter, but that was not quite correct because when we took up the struggle from Dato Onn, the situation was thought to be hopeless and fraught with danger. But we, my comrades and I, decided to do or die in our attempt to achieve it. We had therefore to win over the Chinese, Indians and others to our struggle and finally the rulers.

After the first election when the Alliance won every seat but one, we knew our struggle was over, and independence was in the offing. It was then that we needed co-operation from the British and other Commonwealth friends, Australians and New Zealanders, for independence without a safety valve would be worthless.

There was a threat from the communists who vowed to continue the fight to a bitter end; there was the threat from President Soekarno to annihilate us with a "Crush Malaya" war cry, and there was also the attempt from the Philippines to take Sabah. A small country like Malaya with a divided population could hardly be expected to face these threats alone.

We negotiated with Britain who represented Australia and New Zealand for the defence of this country. We realised too how administratively weak we were, and needed British help to see us through the initial stage of our country's independence.

It was agreed to retain certain key officers in the technical, scientific and defence posts. They gave their help readily and willingly. Because of this we were accused and derided as neo-colonialists. We cared not because we knew what was good for us, and we pursued



Tunku with President Soekarno

the course we had shaped for our country's good and we were proved right. Independence was not intended for a set period of months or years, if possible for all time.

When Mr. Lee Kuan Yew decided to join us in our claim for Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak, he promised to observe and respect Malay rights enshrined in the Constitution. Without these reserved rights the Malays would be an extremely weak partner in the multi-racial Malaysia where the non-Malay population would exceed the Malays by more than one million people, with a strong economic hold over the whole country.

Then Mr. Lee Kuan Yew went back on his words after independence and started his campaign of Malaysia for Malaysians. I could have silenced his claim by taking punitive action against him and cripple Singapore, but the outcome of such action would have brought racial trouble because the Chinese population would have been sympathetic to him. Rather than risk racial conflict, I decided to give independence to Singapore.

We have maintained peace and have progressed side by side, and Singapore and Malaysia have been acclaimed as the shining stars of this dark region of South and Southeast Asia. All this good work which has brought happy relationships among the people and peace to our country has now been forgotten and in its place a hostile attitude is adopted by some young people, to the concern of other peaceful citizens.

I hope the young members of UMNO would not ask for the return of Singapore. When I gave it away, I had planned it quietly and before the meeting of Parliament was held, I locked up every Member of Parliament in the conference room. It was only after they had completely agreed to it that I released all the members to return to Parliament and when the vote was taken, all were for it. Only one vote, that of Syed Jaafar Albar, was against it. This was because of personal animosity and a vendetta between him and Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

The younger people are not aware of what had gone before. They are now only conscious of their own self-importance and in this frame of mind they decided to wipe out any memory of British rule or connection with Malaysia. I gave Carcosa as a gift to the British Government as a token of our friendship.

It was so with Indonesia when they won independence from the Dutch. They decided to wipe all traces of the Dutch rule in Indonesia

and so they took over Timur and went further to take West Irian. This is well understood because the Dutch had been cruel masters and when Indonesia fought for their independence they lost thousands upon thousands of lives in the struggle. The repossession of these territories helped to wash the bitter pill which they had swallowed as a result of Dutch action.

Did UMNO and the partners, MCA and MIC, and the people of Malaya lose even a drop of blood in our struggle? We lost nothing but through independence we have a very good country, Malaysia, a source of pride to us. Allah be praised.

So what is the grouse that we could have against the British? Apart from being ruled by them at one period, but throughout our long history, we had been ruled by foreign powers, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, the Japanese and even the Thais in the northern territories. What a humiliation that was.

When the Japanese ruled this country they had planned a co-prosperity sphere for nations in Asia but Malaya was left out. According to them Malaya was a divided country and is therefore perpetually doomed to be ruled as a colony.

I remember when we had to stand under the blazing hot sun in open ground on certain days of the week and turn towards the rising sun and bow our heads when we were commanded to do. Today under our new policy we are turning to them for closer cooperation and friendship. But of course this was not done as a homage from the servants to the masters. It was done on a voluntary basis to get closer to Japan for our economic good, and we are free to change the course as and when it suits us.

I have no counter offer to make with regard to the claim of our youth. This gift of Carcosa to the British has put me in a bad light already, and I don't want to be condemned for the rest of my life as a traitor. I had given the \$25,000 residence as a gift to the British without good reason, according to the youngsters, and now they want it back. Quite honestly I did not know that Carcosa had a hill with many acres of land included with it.

At one time I had been accused of selling this country to the Chinese, now Carcosa to the British, so what will remain of me after I am dead and gone, only Allah knows. I have a feeling that there will only be curses and plenty of them. Perhaps I had been overcome by a misplaced sense of gratitude and I quote here a famous Malay pantun:

*Bunga tanjung dari udara,
Suntin anak permadari
Dudok di hanjong kera bercara
Hilang akal kerana budi.*

This does not bear translation, all it means roughly is that one loses one's reasoning on account of his great sense of gratitude. That's what had happened to me perhaps, but I am convinced that what I did was right.



Lee Kuan Yew

May, the Eventful Month

(14 May, 1984)

MAY HAS BEEN a most eventful month in the history of this country. UMNO was formed on May 11 at the Royal Palace of Perak, and the worst tragedy ever experienced by the people of this country happened on May 13. Now the MCA members are fighting it out among themselves with no holds barred. Why have all these had to happen in this month of May?

Events leading to the outbreak of violence made it impossible to avoid the political show-down. Acts of subversion had been going on very early in the year, for 1969 was election year.

We gave thanks to God, however, that what took place had not spread beyond the bounds of Kuala Lumpur. If action had not been taken at the early stage to quell the outbreak, God knows what would have happened to this country. I had in mind to postpone the election until the political atmosphere had cleared up, but being confident of our strength I decided to carry on. However, it had been a lesson to those who seek to create revolution in this country. In fact there was only a small percentage of the people involved and the rest of the peaceful citizens were taken by surprise by what took place.

I was away in Alor Star attending to the campaign and had a feeling that I must return to Kuala Lumpur that morning. After prayer I got up with the string of prayer beads in my hand but it got caught at the edge of the table and spilled all over the floor. This truly was a bad omen and I was worried.

When I arrived in Kuala Lumpur I was briefed on the uneasy situation and was told that some Chinese youths, mostly communists and gangsters and those in sympathy with them, would attack the Malays in Pudu.

Then Tun Razak came to the house and while he was with me, he was informed that some trouble had started in Princess Road in front of the residence of the *Mentri Besar* where some Chinese had been assaulted, and that some Chinese gangsters had attacked the Malays coming out of the cinemas unaware of the trouble that had broken out.

I went immediately to the Central Police Station to find out for myself what actually had happened and was told that communal violence had broken out everywhere and curfew was imposed. That night I spoke on TV and advised everybody to stay indoors, to be calm and avoid getting mixed up with trouble-makers.

Coming back to the causes, it was all because of the general elections which had been fixed to take place on Saturday, May 10. Nomination day was on April 5. All parties stepped up their campaigns with heated violent attacks on the Alliance Government.

The communists were actively supporting the opposition parties though working behind the scene. On nomination day itself, the police found communist flags in many places, the worst place was in Perak.

Hostile acts were openly committed against the government agencies. The police mobile vehicles were stoned. The opposition, the PMIP, the DAP, the Gerakan and the PPP stirred the emotions of the Malays and the Chinese alike. All these parties showed utter disregard or restraint in their campaign and hit on the raw on all these sensitive issues, harping again and again and upsetting the innermost feelings of both the major races of Malaysia. The conduct of the campaign in 1969 went beyond all bounds of propriety. The communists made full use of the anti-government issue, hoping to make a comeback after election and possible seizure of power with the help of some of the opposition parties, in particular the socialists.

They were found openly supporting the Labour or Socialist party. There was another group of Chinese, racist and articulate, who had refused to acknowledge the hitherto accepted division of interests between political and economic forces for which the Constitution has so studiously and fairly provided. They went for the Malaysian Malaysia political platform. They are sometimes referred to as the chauvinistic diehards who found the concept of "Malaysian Malaysia" advocated by the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, as the only policy acceptable to them.

This small number of men were most vociferous, active and they

spared no effort to run down the government and played up the communal issues.

In Penang at about 8:30 p.m. on April 24, 1969, in the Jelutong area, Encik Kassim bin Omar, a member of UMNO riding a motorcycle stopped when he saw a number of Chinese youths on the road, and asked them what was going on. Without rhyme or reason they set upon him and killed him. They then smeared his face with red paint.

It appeared at that time these youths were writing anti-government slogans on the road.

Then on May 4, in the early hours of the morning, three police constables on their rounds came across a group of young Chinese in Kepong who were painting signs on the road. When challenged by the police they set upon them, hurling fire-wood, iron spikes, iron balls and stones at the constables who retreated into the old market place nearby.

As they were attacked they were forced to defend themselves and had to shoot at them. One was hit and died later, and his body was brought to Kuala Lumpur and kept in the house of the dead in Jalan Sultan.

The police received an application to hold a funeral procession on the day of election, May 10. That application was made by one Malay Labour party man, Syed Hamid bin Syed Ali Alatas. They gave permission for the procession to be held a day earlier, which was May 9. I was never informed about it. This certainly was unwise for instead of being a funeral procession it turned out unexpectedly to be a violent anti-government demonstration. The procession stopped every five or six yards to harangue the crowd where thousands of sympathisers were lining both sides of the street. They shouted insults calling the police running dogs of the government and other curses.

It was obvious that the demonstrators were provoking trouble but the police kept their patience. Instead of following the route approved by the police, they started to go to whichever route they chose and in front of the UMNO headquarters they started to harangue and hurl insults at UMNO and the Malays.

The election that took place the next day affected the Alliance prospects of great victory. The Alliance won 76 seats as against 37 by the opposition parties. This was the worst result we had ever had. In the Penang state the Alliance suffered severe reverses and lost

the city to Gerakan which later joined the Alliance. In Kelantan we also lost.

In UMNO a group of young people referred to as the ultras or as they preferred to be known, the intellectuals, had taken the opportunity to run down my government. As far as I know they were trying to establish a new order of things through UMNO and take over power. Among the things they had in mind for Malaysia were Afro-Asian policies and with that it was suspected that their plan was to remove the constitutional monarchy and set up Malaysia as a republic. The trouble situation gave them the opportunity to launch their campaign.

Of these young men, particularly the university students, they had been thoroughly brain-washed and became hardened supporters of these ultras. They carried out intensive campaigns of hatred and vilification against the UMNO leaders and against me in particular. Fortunately their number was confined to the so-called intellectuals and the university students; elsewhere they got no support. The students carried placards in the demonstration in the compound of the university which condemned me as a feudalist, gambler, dictator and accused me of many other sins which I had not been aware of.

These are new epithets, whereas before they called me *Tunku yang di kasehi, Bapa Merdeka, Anak Raja yang Berjiwa Rakyat*, etc. After confrontation was over, the communist defeated, and the Philippines decision to forego their claim on Sabah, I became a feudalist, a gambler and a tyrant, and the arch enemy of democracy.

Everybody was trying to get into power – so be it. I said when the Sultan of Kedah took over, I would leave but not a day before.

Their blend of politics had become very dangerous but as I said it was only confined to intellectuals and university students, most of whom had just come out from the kampungs to take up a course of study at the university and felt themselves very flattered to be approached and wooed by politicians.

Later on when I was in Mecca, one of them, a member of Party Islam, came to stay in my house with Datuk Asri. He told me that he was one of the leaders of the demonstration. He realised how stupid all that was. However, as students they must like excitement and that was all they had in mind.

One man used to ring me up every evening at the height of emergency asking me to step down as I was not wanted by the people. He was under the impression that I had been fooling about with

his wife. At least that was what he had been told. It was only later when they were about to be divorced that he asked his wife about it. She emphatically denied the charge. Then he was considerate and gentlemanly enough to come and apologise to me after he had been released from detention and on my return from Jeddah.

After all these years there has been a change in world politics as well as in local politics and nothing had happened to mar the happy relationship among Malaysians.

The world order has changed much, particularly among the Afro-Asian nations. What had been expected to be a viable force working for the well-being of the under-dogs of Asia and Africa had turned out to be a Frankenstein with internecine trouble breaking out in most of these member countries, and it was particularly bad in the African countries. So what was started with good intentions and great expectations had turned out to be a flop.

Those young people of ours who had favoured the Afro-Asian politics must have changed their minds by now and of course the intellectuals and the former university students, who were after my blood have grown up to be husbands, fathers and high salaried men. They must now feel satisfied with life in Malaysia. Some joked about it and others passed it off as a boyish prank.

I am still alive to see all these changes taking place and I have changed very little from what I was, except that I am much older and a little weak physically, but I am much wiser now than when I took over in 1951 as president of UMNO. Many things have taken place after all these years, and I can now sit back to reminisce over those past events.

This year the election fever has started again and as before everybody is getting a bit jittery and excited, but this is nothing compared with what had happened in May 1969 and the days prior to it.

Our politicians of today will give thought to party and national interests and leave the politics of other countries alone. Let them take example from us, not we from them because we have done well for ourselves. Remember what you do today will stand to benefit those who come tomorrow and so be farsighted, fair-minded, and considerate in shaping the policy of our country.

The UMNO Elections

(28 May, 1984)

IN THE LAST few months, we have seen election campaigns being waged on a very large and heated scale by political parties, particularly by the Malayan Chinese Association, a partner of the ruling party, Barisan Nasional. This unfortunately has split and harmed the image of the party.

The Malayan Chinese Association entered the worst crisis in its history. There were expulsions of some of its leaders which led to the split, and court cases, and there seemed to be no possibility of settling the issue. On the other hand, it got worse and worse.

I can only hope that wisdom and common sense will prevail in the interests of the MCA and Barisan Nasional, and a way out of this crisis can be found.

In 1959, there was similar trouble which led to the withdrawal of the MCA under Dr. Lim Chong Eu from the Alliance and Tan Siew Sin (now Tun) took over as the head of the MCA and won almost all the seats allotted to it. The MCA breakaway group lost heavily.

This time, however, the situation is quite different. The trouble in the MCA now is between two factions and as a result some important leaders were expelled from the party.

This aroused the anger of many members who insisted on having the leaders back in the party and allow the members to decide by the casting of votes, or else hold a referendum. This is as it now stands.

The UMNO, on the other hand, was ready to choose its leaders at the general assembly. I started on this article before the elections began, and will end it with the conclusion of the meeting.

The contests for the posts of vice-president and deputy president of UMNO was a major factor to be decided.

There was also the question of who would be elected head of UMNO Youth and Wanita. In addition to all these were the Supreme Council elections. Those elected would hold office for the next three years.

The only post that was not under contest was that of the president of UMNO. Since UMNO was first formed there was never really any serious contest for the post of president.

Dato Onn bin Jaafar withdrew from the party on his own accord. I did the same and so did Tun Hussein Onn.

In an interview with Bernama, Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir said, "that if I feel or I recognise signs that I am no longer wanted, I will not hesitate to leave the field". All the former presidents realised that it would be good to do so in the interests of party unity.

I realised there were rumblings in the party for a change of leadership in my time. The issue was over the use of the Malay language to replace English at the Government, parliamentary and university levels.

My objection was whether it was prudent to replace English in high places of learning such as universities where we must continue to employ English as the main medium of instruction.

The Malay language had not had a good start and not been given time to develop as yet, and no books were available in Malay on science and technology and other spheres of high education.

The Malay language was not advanced enough to take over from English to provide the right type of education for the progressive people.

The main aim in entering the university was to get the best education possible. Half education is no education at all. This young newly-born nation of ours depends so much on good leadership and this can only come with good education.

Some of the students who did not have a basic English education were opposed to the education policy which I advocated.

The University of Malaya, the Mara College and the Malay Language Institute held hostile demonstrations against me.

The Ministers who wanted to ride on the wave of popularity and see the last of me also joined them secretly. But I stood my ground because I felt Malaya must be served by well-educated and dedicated leaders or else the future would be bleak.

UMNO returned me at the general assembly in 1969 unopposed. But I felt uneasy. When the time came in September, 1970, I

withdrew without much fuss and Tun Razak took over as president.

After his death, Tun Hussein Onn succeeded him and after Tun Hussein's retirement, Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir took over. One can say that on the whole UMNO leaders were well educated and if it continues on this strain, the party is safe and so will be Malaysia.

There will be tension, in fact very high tension, before the election of office-bearers takes place, but once that is settled they would sit back with a sigh of relief and no hard feelings would be felt. But for a time there will be feelings of disappointment and frustration.

According to the Prime Minister: "Attitudes have changed and today people see a lot of prestige and even power to be gained by winning a seat in the UMNO policy-making body. It is not just the policy. It is the perks that come with it...."

"They also see a lot of prestige and opportunity coming with the post. Therefore, we now have a mixture of people — some who wish to serve and some to gain the opportunity."

When I arrived at the hotel where the meeting was held, I saw such a big crowd of people hoping to gain admittance into the conference room.

However, they had to be satisfied with watching the proceedings from the closed circuit television and to listen to the Prime Minister's speech from outside the conference room.

This shows how important UMNO has become, how much progress has been made, and how much confidence it has won from the people.

So when the Prime Minister mentioned in his speech the money that is being used to obtain places in the UMNO division, branches and the hierarchy, I thought to myself this is only natural as the party has become so important to the Malays.

UMNO is the backbone of the nation; so one can understand the scramble for positions within UMNO. I took it as a compliment to the party and felt justly proud that I had a hand in the formation of UMNO, which has made good today under the many leaders who have led the party from time to time.

Of course, there is the talk of the young people taking over from the old guards. That again is natural but the young people must remember that they cannot remain young for all time, for tomorrow they too will be relegated to the position of old guards.

It is well to remember the good work that had been done by the many people in the past that had not only won independence for

this country but has guided the country and made it what it is today, a prosperous and peaceful nation.

The Prime Minister in his speech covered very wide ground. He touched on religious issues and the influence it might have on the economics of the country.

Quite rightly he argued that we must not take a narrow religious stand which will affect the financial viability of this country. We need the money to help the people in all spheres of life and the money for infrastructural development.

He touched on many other aspects of UMNO's activities. However, when he tried to justify the amendment to the Constitution, he mentioned that Singapore was given the separation order and the people were not consulted. So what's wrong with his amendment to the Constitution?

As to this I had explained before I did it to preserve peace in the country and that was good enough reason.

When asked by the press what I thought of the number of candidates contesting for these limited seats, I said: "It is a compliment to UMNO to think that members are fighting tooth and nail to win positions in the party's top posts."

On Thursday (May 24), UMNO Youth and Wanita UMNO had their meetings and had elected their presidents. As was expected Encik Anwar Ibrahim won the election by 89 votes and so did Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz by 71 votes.

On Friday (May 25), the voting for the posts of deputy president and vice-presidents took place. Datuk Musa Hitam was elected deputy president and three people, Datuk Seri Wan Mokhtar, Datuk Haji Abdullah Badawi and Encik Ghafar Baba were elected vice-presidents.

I would also like to congratulate those who were elected in the Supreme Council elections.

To those who lost, I say take heart; the time will come when they will have better luck but the fact that they contested the seats showed the spirit which had helped to glorify UMNO. There is always success and failure, gladness and sadness, but that is the way of politics.

While we can rejoice in our victory, we must know how to shoulder our failure. The party on the whole has gained by the enthusiasm and loyalty of its members.

Those who have been entrusted with the duty and responsibility

of running UMNO for the next three years must put their hearts and minds to their work and remember always that UMNO is the mainstay of this nation's well-being.

United We Stand, Divided We Fall

(16 July, 1984)

I HAVE BEEN asked what I think of the Cabinet reshuffle. "That I do not know," I said, "because I have not seen the new line-up or even been told about it." In fact the Prime Minister has the last say in this matter. He alone enjoys the prerogative to choose whom he likes to serve as members of the Cabinet. One thing is certain however. He must be assured of the undivided loyalty of the Cabinet and the capability of the members to do the job well. It is the principle of the collective responsibility of the Cabinet that the members must speak with one mind and one voice. Once the Cabinet is divided, the Government would be confronted with a very serious crisis which may even cause the fall of the government in power.

I had the experience towards the end of my term of office as Prime Minister and narrowly escaped the crisis. However after that I decided to resign. My deputy Tun Razak took over as Prime Minister.

The democratic system of government which we practise must ensure at all times, the loyalty and support of the Ministers. We have so far been lucky and on the whole the Ministers have worked closely together, and they have enabled the Government to function smoothly all these years.

The partners of the Barisan Nasional are free to choose their leaders but it does not follow that these leaders would be automatically appointed to the Cabinet. The reason is that the members must not be allowed to think that since they are appointed by the party they owe no allegiance to the government leader, i.e. the Prime Minister. In 1959, the MCA took an uncompromising stand on the distribution of seats at the forthcoming election of that year. As a result of that, they pulled out of the Alliance Party, leaving a small number of the MCA behind. In support of them, I declared that

even if there were five MCA members left, I would stand by them. In the election that followed, the new MCA won an outstanding success winning all the seats except one.

Now the MCA is having another trouble worse than any they have had before. Unless they can resolve their differences, the Prime Minister is faced with the problem as to whom among the MCA members could he choose to serve in the Cabinet. The MCA must make a real serious effort to reach a settlement. According to information, a compromise formula would be worked out by both sides.

We hope and pray that whatever may be their stand on the issues involved, they must reach an understanding and it must be soon.

I am not free to give my views on the Cabinet line-up at least at the time of writing as I have not seen it. And as I said earlier, it lies absolutely with the Prime Minister to choose whom he thinks suitable for the smooth running of the government. He must not be influenced by the judgment of the party or opinion from an old politician like me. He alone must use his discretion and with the help of the senior Ministers choose the right man for the right place. Everybody would like to see their favourites continued as Ministers but as I said, it is for the Prime Minister to make the choice.

In the former days, I myself chose the Ministers and deputy Ministers who in my mind would work closely with the others for the good of the government. Of course, the number of Ministers in my days was small. There were only 13 and the number has now trebled and with that, the responsibility of the Prime Minister has increased proportionately.

Despite the small size of my Cabinet, I had not been free from trouble, for some of the Ministers were inclined to go on their separate ways. There was one man in particular who always seemed to be different from the rest. He refused to consult me or any of his colleagues in shaping the policy of the Ministry. In the end, he was compelled to resign from the Cabinet.

The other members of the Cabinet had their individual likes and dislikes, a characteristic common to human beings. But on the whole it had been a very successful Cabinet, and with that, the country enjoyed peace and prosperity.

I would like to mention a few amusing anecdotes connected with some of the leading members of the Cabinet of my time.

Tun Tan Siew Sin, the leader of the MCA, cannot speak a word of Chinese. I remember an occasion when I was in Alor Star, some

Chinese businessmen and members of the MCA had some complaints to make on something to do with taxation. I asked them to go and see Siew Sin. When they came back after the interview, they said "Siew Sin is not a Chinese but a tyrant" who told them to get out after they made their complaints. That is the way with Siew Sin. He always maintained he was right but whatever he had to say, he was honest enough to say it. On one occasion, he asked for leave to go abroad. I told him that I will take over his portfolio. Immediately, he cancelled his leave for according to him, he would find the Treasury empty under me. So I had to appoint somebody else to take over before he could go on leave. However, under him the MCA sailed merrily along, working closely with the UMNO and MIC ensuring the success, peace and well-being of the nation.

The other man whom I was fond of was Tun Sambanthan. He had his own way of doing things and accordingly, what he could do tomorrow, he would not do today. Whenever he received complaints from the MIC members, he always listened to them intently and conscientiously and we would assure them that he would deal with the matter promptly. And they could expect a satisfactory reply from him in due course. The meeting would close with a happy note. He would then forget about it all. When he remembered about it, the others would have forgotten the whole affair, and so there had never been a serious clash between him and the others.

The other man was Tun Razak who was a very serious-minded politician and always carried a permanent scowl on his face. One day, he came to see me and from the appearance of his face, it was a serious matter indeed, I looked at him and said: "If you could put a smile on your face and remove the scowl, you would appear more human and we could settle whatever you have in mind smoothly and amicably." Immediately after that, both of us laughed. And sure enough, the matter was settled.

Tun Ismail was another man who had a golden heart but a fiery temper. One day, I had occasion to interfere with his Foreign Ministry, and was told that he took it very badly, and decided to resign. I heard him coming up the drive-way of the Residency and hid myself and told them to tell him I was not in, and he went away. In the afternoon, he appeared and was told the same thing and he decided not to come again, appeared no more, and his temper cooled down. When he was chairman of Guthrie, there was trouble within the party and that was after the violence of May 1969. He left Guthrie

and asked me to take him back into the Cabinet. He felt that it was his duty to stand by me. He was a noble soul and I will never forget him for that.

Our system of government follows that of Britain very closely. In fact, our constitution is based on the British Parliamentary system except for one thing, that is, our constitution is written whereas the British one is not. However the same principle prevailed, the Prime Minister chose his members for the Cabinet. Whatever the line-up is of the new Cabinet, it is not of our choice though of our concern. It is not for us to question him. It is for him to consider the pulse and feelings of the nation and to do the right thing, and the nation would stand by him. It is only natural for every Malaysian to concern himself with the choice of a Minister he favours most but the nation must come first and foremost in his mind is continued peace and prosperity of Malaysia.

Where There Is Team Spirit

(23 July, 1984)

I HAVE ONLY realised that few Malaysians understand the working of the Cabinet so they talk rather loosely about the Cabinet line up. I pointed out that it is the prerogative of the Prime Minister to choose whom he feels would do the job well and work closely with him and the other members. Outsiders have therefore no say in it. The reason I gave was that the Prime Minister must be sure of the men who can pull along with him and are prepared to accept the collective responsibility of the Cabinet.

Malaysia followed the system established by the British colonial administration and this we felt would serve us well. Under this system the high Commissioner presided over the Executive Council made up of officials and nominated members. He was the supreme head of the government and had unrestricted administrative powers.

When we were returned after the 1955 general election, we joined the Executive Council as working partners.

This went on well because we realised that until Malaya got its independence we could do no more than co-operate with the colonial government. During General Templer's time the Member System was set up which in effect was the same as the Executive Council.

It was originally agreed that independence should be given four years after the first election, but we managed to cut the period by half. With independence we became masters of our own destiny but we decided to follow the system so well-established by the colonial government. The Executive Council was turned into a Cabinet with the Prime Minister as the chairman.

We held our meeting once a week on Wednesday, and the Ministers had to put up papers connected with any proposals they had in mind.

and this was discussed by the members. The secretary to the Cabinet (the Chief Secretary) had to prepare these papers which were earlier distributed to all the members of the Cabinet.

Before the meeting of the Cabinet at 10 in the morning, the Prime Minister would brief His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong on Cabinet business of the day and if the Agong had any views to offer, the Prime Minister would inform the members of the Cabinet. Sometimes the Minister concerned would meet His Majesty to explain more fully the matter in question. The Cabinet was anxious to see that His Majesty was properly briefed on what went on in the day-to-day government business.

The Cabinet papers were naturally prepared in English as at the time government officials were all English-educated and trained under the British administration. It was difficult to prepare the papers in Malay immediately because the terms used had no equivalent in the Malay language. But sooner or later it was intended to use whatever was more convenient and more explicit and understood by the Ministers. They had to know their subjects well, be it in Malay or English. Around 1964 papers in Bahasa Malaysia made their appearance and most Ministers found difficulty in understanding the meaning as the language was couched in the new Malay style. However, we managed to go through all the papers, and succeeded in running the Cabinet smoothly.

We had only 13 Ministers then, so there were not many Cabinet papers that we had to deal with. But now with the increased number I wonder what are the number of Cabinet papers that have to be dealt with by the members at the weekly meeting of the Cabinet.

We also introduced a get-together lunch after the meeting of the Cabinet and before the start of the lunch we continued to discuss and to clear up matters which were not finalised at the meeting. We had to end the Cabinet meeting soon after 1 p.m. to allow the Government servants to return home for their lunch. If there were matters which could not be cleared, we appointed a few Ministers to attend to them and report back to the Cabinet.

I usually had an "open house" nearly every day for lunch. Ministers and government officials would drop in to discuss government business. By doing so we managed to clear up many simple government matters without delay.

In addition to this I had also worked out periods for discussion with government officials and diplomats. They were either formal

or informal. For the informal we used to collect together anywhere for breakfast or tea and for the formal, appointments would be arranged at the office of the Prime Minister.

We never had any clash among the Ministers but there were signs indicating that the younger leaders were getting rather restless as they felt the Cabinet should be increased to include new members. I maintained, however, that there was plenty of time for them to be members of the Cabinet but first they must acquire the necessary experience and there was no hurry for new Ministers to take over as yet.

This caused discontent among them and there was a clique formed to oust me and the old Cabinet from power. It was particularly bad soon after the outbreak of violence of May 13, 1969. All this suddenly cooled down and when I was satisfied that commonsense had returned, I retired in September 1970.

When I look back to those days of 1955 when I was the Chief Minister and the time when I became the Prime Minister, I have every reason to be satisfied with the team spirit which predominated the minds of the Ministers, uppermost in their hearts and minds was to work for a united Malaya, bringing peace, happiness and economic stability to the country.

By the grace and will of Allah, Malaysia came into being with Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak as new members in 1963. In addition to this we had won goodwill and friendship abroad. A new change of policy was launched by the British Government giving freedom to all her colonies.

There was, however, one setback. President Soekarno of Indonesia grew jealous of our success and decided to crush Malaysia under his battle cry *Ganyang Malaysia* ("Crush Malaysia"). In the end he got the worse of it and President Suharto and his regime took over from him. We had triumphed over the Malayan Communist Three Star rebellion and successfully fought the Philippines' claim over Sabah and with that peace returned to Malaysia.

Around 1965, the unfortunate separation of Singapore from Malaysia occurred. This I must reiterate was unavoidable and it had to be done, and as quickly and as peacefully as possible to prevent communal polarisation in the country which might lead to racial conflict between Malays and Chinese.

At one time Mr. Lee Kuan Yew suggested that his party, the PAP, could help form a coalition government with the Alliance Govern-

ment. I maintained there was no need for that because the Alliance party had an overwhelming majority and we did not need the help of the PAP to run Malaysia.

I felt that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's creative mind would not just rest at that — not for long! He might have other motives in mind. So I told him quite frankly that it was best for him to confine his time and attention to Singapore and leave Malaysian politics alone. We had to say goodbye to Singapore but promised to work closely together for the good of this region of Asia, and for all time.



The First Malaysian Cabinet

UMNO vs PAS: Debate Of The Century

(22 October, 1984)

IN LAST WEEK'S article I had omitted all mention of Islam because that needs to be treated on its own, and I have a long story to tell about it. It forms part of the Malay *adat* and custom.

A Malay is defined as a person who professes Islam, and who habitually speaks the Malay language. It is easy to tell from here what Islam means to a Malay. Throughout the long period of foreign domination, and involvement of foreign missionaries in this country, Malays remained firm to their religion, as seen in the Nadrah case in Singapore.

Nadrah was a Dutch Eurasian girl whose mother gave her away to Cik Aminah when she was running from the Japanese. Cik Aminah brought her up as her daughter, and a Muslim, and hid her from the Japanese during the period of the Japanese Occupation. When the British came back, the district officer of Kemaman, Trengganu, took her away, with the approval of the British government and put her in the convent in Singapore where they converted her into a Christian. This angered the Muslim population of Singapore, and they demonstrated violently. A few people were killed. Nadrah was then removed to Holland where she was married to a Dutchman. Now, however, she is lingering in prison for the killing of her husband.

A Malay who gives up his religion will cease to be a Malay. In fact this is the only race in the Muslim world in which religion is synonymous with the race.

In the early days of independence there was an American Christian mission in Petaling Jaya which paid money for conversion to Christianity. The Malays who received the money were made to sign a form in which they renounced Islam. They brought all this infor-

mation to the Prime Minister's Department, and there was no denial of the truth because of the proof submitted by them. I gave the missionary notice to leave the country at once.

On another occasion the Serendah Boys Home which was run by the government was taken over by the Catholic mission during my absence in England. When I came back I was told about it, and without hesitation I told them to hand it back to the government.

When the Japanese military government was in power I was approached by the head of the Education Department — I was then Superintendent of Education, Kedah — and he expounded his new concept of a multi-religious movement which he proposed to form. According to him, all religions would come together — Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus and others — and would be asked to bury their religious differences, and form one religion with the best of each religion's observance and beliefs imported into it. I told him that the idea was good, but was not possible to achieve. He said, "Why not?" "That's a long story to tell," I said, "but, with regard to the Muslim religion a change or departure from the established beliefs and orthodoxy, Muslims would reject the idea." He was astounded, and promised that he would do something about this. I told him that as far as I was concerned I wouldn't be a party to it. In the interest of peace, I said, the best thing was to leave religion alone. In a divided country like ours the best thing was to allow people freedom of worship. So it was that on independence we wrote into the Constitution that Islam would be the official religion of this country, but people of other faiths would be free to follow their own religions.

"Article 3(1) Islam is the religion of the federation, but other religions may be practised in peace and harmony in any part of the federation."

When we gained independence, one of my first acts was to give thanks to Allah for our victory, for not a drop of blood was shed in our quest for independence. I emphasise that no blood should ever be shed in the observances of the different religious beliefs if we want eternal peace.

Upon independence the government professed our love for Islam by building mosques throughout the whole country. At first some of the narrow-minded Muslims refused to use the mosques because according to them the money came from *haram* sources such as the welfare lottery. I pointed out to them that the revenue of the coun-

try is derived from all sources; some are *halal*, some are *haram*. We have not objected to the source from which we received our salary, so what's wrong about it? According to the Holy Quran, he who builds a house of prayer would be rewarded. It didn't say that the money must come from a *halal* source. The government then built religious schools, institutions, and even universities. Qualified teachers were employed to give religious lessons, unlike what it was in the days before independence when religious teachers set up their own schools. The students built little huts where they stayed, but today teachers are all tested and qualified before they are employed to give religious lessons.

So much has been done in this country for the religion of Islam. Quran-reading competitions were held in every state, and finally ended in the Kuala Lumpur stadium. Muslim readers from all over the world participated; and Malaysia enjoyed a good reputation as one of the leading Muslim countries in the world.

The Muslim countries in Rabat, Morocco, decided to form a Muslim United Nations and chose Malaysia to organise this body.

I went with a team of seven pioneers, with Ali Abdullah — now Datuk — as my Secretary. We organised the Conference of the Foreign Ministers on the same principles as the United Nations. Malaysia again organised the Muslim World Development Bank, with headquarters in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. It was because of Malaysia's contribution to Muslim progress that I was given two awards, one from Saudi Arabia and the other — the first Hijrah award — from Pakistan.

The Malays should be really proud of the part their nation has played in the cause of Islam. But politics being what it is, no notice was taken of it by the political opponents. I have had a taste of it in my time. A political party using the name of Allah denounces the UMNO. In a country like Malaysia, with a multi-racial and multi-religious population, the effect of this conflict between Malays will be to set back the clock; and the Malays will suffer most.

Malaysia had always had people of different ethnic groupings and religions, and there have never been religious clashes throughout the history of this country. This is one country where I observed, at least since Merdeka, people of all religions have participated in each other's religious festivities in open houses, and exchanged greetings with one another. While this friendly atmosphere pervades the national scene we can expect peace for all time. We have every reason

to thank our lucky stars when we think of what is happening elsewhere. In Ireland, for instance, there is religious trouble between the Protestants and the Catholics. And in Beirut there is religious trouble between the Christians and Muslims. In India, Africa and elsewhere we hear of violent clashes between people of different religions.

We have a few religious opportunists who want to make an advent into the political arena, using the religion of Islam to trumpet their entry into politics. Have they succeeded? No. The people are not foolish enough to listen to their cravings, and the kampung populace are better educated now.

A party in particular which called itself Parti Islam SeMalaya lost the states of Trengganu and Kelantan where they had been in power for some time. Now they seek to make a comeback. And to the chagrin of most Muslims in this country they employed the slogan of *kafir-mengkafir*. This is not new. They did so in my time, but I took no notice of them. But our government is unduly sensitive. So instead of leaving them alone or prosecuting them, they took offence and challenged them to a debate. This is what they want as they have nothing to lose, as I said earlier. At least they feel they are being treated on terms of equality by our high and mighty government. The debate will be held to the amusement of millions in the country who will be entertained for one hour on TV. But what will be the end result?

This government has enjoyed great prestige in the Muslim world. It is the first country to hold a conference of the religious leaders (*ulamas*) throughout the Muslim world in Kuala Lumpur in 1969. It took me nine years to get them to agree to this conference. All these Muslim countries have a habit of looking at themselves in the light of their self-importance; and they were naturally reluctant to accept an invitation from a small Muslim country with a small Muslim population for a conference in Kuala Lumpur. But in the end they came; and as a result Malaysia was acknowledged and accepted as one of the leading Muslim countries in the world. We should enjoy that reputation without being influenced by a small political party made up of religious kampung teachers whose knowledge and understanding of Islam is limited and backward. But the government chose to give them a place in the religious hierarchy of this country.

I shall say no more on the "meeting of the century" except to

note that our generation with its taste for historical hyperbole will cry more for such a meeting. While I am perfectly willing to accept and acknowledge its importance, I am somewhat more hesitant about assessing its possible benefit. It is a tactical manoeuvre on the part of PAS — a means of getting back into the political limelight through the front door which has now been opened for them by the Barisan Nasional. If PAS succeeds UMNO has only itself to blame.

We Must Uphold Democracy

(21 January, 1985)

TAN SRI SUFFIAN KOROH, in defence of the drastic action taken by the Sabah State Government in respect of Tambunan district, said that it is the Government's duty to provide development, economic opportunities and other benefits only to its supporters, and it cannot be expected to provide equal care to its opponents.

According to him, the State Government's action was nothing new. Other governments had taken similar action in other parts of Malaysia even though they take pride in being guardians of human rights — and I would further add, the champions of democracy.

In support of his government's action, he dragged my name into it by saying, "Former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman stopped work on bridges midway in Kelantan and Trengganu because PAS, then known as the Pan Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP), won both state elections."

I have little recollection of this as it took place, if at all, a long time ago. I am not infallible, but why follow what I did wrong, and not what I did right? If I remember right, I did so many good things when I was Chief Minister, and later Prime Minister for 15 years.

In 1959 PAS won both States. To the best of my memory, all federal projects were carried out in these two states wherever possible. And I remember, too, there were certain projects which we wanted to carry out, but which the PAS Government opposed. For example, when we wanted to build a hospital in Kota Baru, the PAS Government refused to give us the site for the hospital.

Only now it has been completed and used as part of Universiti Sains Malaysia, and as a teaching hospital. They also refused to accept the land development schemes on our terms because they were

afraid that the Alliance Government would get the credit, and they would lose face.

It was only natural that when we carried out any project in the States, we made a song about it. Politics being what it is, the louder we sing, the more applause we get.

I remember the late Datuk Mustapha Albakri who branded me "an empty drum that made much noise". My retort was that I wanted to deafen the ears of those who support colonial rule, and in so doing put sense in their heads.

Then I was also hauled up before General Templer and told not to be too open and direct in my criticism of the British Government.

I said, "I have no choice. Either I have to criticise the British rule or give up the idea of independence. If I were to praise the British Government people will say, 'What the hell do you want independence for? I'm afraid I have to continue doing what I have been doing; if you don't like it you can put me in.'"

"Oh," he said, "you want me to make a martyr of you, and help you towards your goal?"

That is the way with politics. If we are determined to do certain things then we must not be deterred from doing them. But we must know our limit, and always do the right thing.

I am sure I did not stop work on bridges midway in Kelantan and Trengganu. After independence the metal highway was constructed to link Kelantan and Trengganu.

In the colonial days, the metal road to Trengganu from the centre of Kota Baru ran only for 11 miles. For the rest of the journey we had to wend our way through rocks and the laterite road; and at one point near Jerteh we had to go on the beach. It used to take us almost half a day to get from Kota Baru to Kuala Trengganu.

As an example, I remember an occasion in pre-war days when I took a tennis team from Kedah to play in Trengganu. We left Kota Baru by van at 6 a.m., and we arrived at Trengganu at 1 p.m.

Just as I was about to sit down to lunch the aide-de-camp to the Sultan of Trengganu came and took me away to the guest house which belonged to Datuk Amar, former Menteri Besar of Trengganu, three miles away. I told him I had better eat first, and go after lunch. "No", he said, "there's lunch prepared for you there". Three of us, (Tun) Azmi, Syed Hassan Shahbudin and myself, followed him to the big, empty guest house. And he dumped us in that house and left. There was no sign of lunch.

We waited and waited, and at 5 p.m., I heard the clanging of dishes, and I thought to myself, "Here comes the lunch for which we have been waiting for three hours." But there was only tea.

However, we had been without food for 12 hours, so even tea and biscuits tasted good. (Tun) Azmi left earlier in disgust to go to town, leaving Syed Hassan Shahbudin with me. The two hungry crabs could have eaten anything, but there was nothing to eat except, as I had said, some biscuits with tea, so after tea we walked to the town, and it was a long three-mile walk.

When we got there at 7 at night the food was laid on the table ready to be eaten, and we sat down with the gang. Before we could tuck in a mouthful the same aide-de-camp arrived. He said, "The food is ready." I said, "Not for a second time, I am going to eat here first." He said, "I promise that you will get the food," so we left.

Thank heaven there was food, and we ate it very heartily. When we finally left Trengganu the car shaft broke, and we had to get a new car, for which we had to wait for hours.

When I was campaigning in Kelantan and Trengganu for the 1955 and 1959 elections, I realised how hard it was to get from one place to another. And I swore to myself that if we ever got independence I would build a metal road linking all the states.

And so, as everybody can see for himself, roads now span the States from east to west coast, and they were built to standard specifications. Even the east and west coast road was planned during the time when Parti Islam was in power in Kelantan.

There is only one bridge, if I remember rightly — the Jerleh bridge — that was built by PAS with a loan from a syndicate in Singapore. They were only able to repay 25 per cent of the loan; and it is up to the Federal Government now to make good the loan.

There was also the bridge on the way to Pasir Mas which we promised to build, but the UMNO leaders and others living in that area protested because according to them, the members of Parti Islam had said openly that they didn't want to be bought over by the Alliance. There was also a low bridge to Kota Baru which the Government is now replacing with a permanent bridge.

Whatever it is, the action taken by Berjaya against the people of Tambunan is high-handed, punitive and unheard of anywhere else. It violated justice, fair play, and the very core of democracy.

After all, the Constitution provides for free democratic election, and

every man has the right to vote for any candidate he so wishes. It was for that very reason that he is not required to disclose who he voted for. All he is asked to do is to put an 'X' for the candidate he favours. This has been the principle we have adhered to when we decided on democratic election as the means to independence. And by the grace of God we won, and the Barisan Nasional has remained in power ever since.

The Alliance, and later the Barisan Nasional lost a few seats here and there, but on the whole they have been blessed with good luck. We expect that this faith in democracy will continue and continue for all time.

Berjaya has proved itself to be a very able, capable and popular party in Sabah, and took power after the breakup of USNO. It has been in power for many years. The party can't expect to win every seat all the time. Sometimes they must lose; and it is expected that they would take their loss as gamely as they take their victories. After all, what is the loss of two seats? Ninety eight per cent of the seats are in their hands. With that overwhelming support they could well afford to be magnanimous and generous to their opponents.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore, has also lost two seats, and I heard that he was very annoyed about it. He mentioned me as an example when he proposed to amend the election laws. I do not think it is the right attitude to take for leaders who profess unstinted support for democracy. There must be more than just lip service for the principle which we love dearly. Because of democracy, small as we are, we are enjoying our freedom.

Whatever I may have done in my enthusiasm to keep this country secured from our enemies, I have never deprived any town or State of its status or freedom or any man of his right to vote.

At one time the Alliance lost both Kelantan and Terengganu, and also Penang. But today the same party, with the addition of a few other parties working in coalition, has taken over the whole country. Furthermore, it has established itself as the most popular party in the country.

There are a few hitches here and there, a few financial losses as well, but on the whole we must thank God that we are able to rest our tired bodies in homes. Some are spacious and luxurious, while others are no more than shacks; nevertheless we are able to sleep protected from the vagaries of the weather.

Nobody in his right senses would agree with what was done by

the Sabah Government in abrogating the status of a district because of the defeat Berjaya had suffered.

Datuk Harris Salleh, the Chief Minister, explained that this was not the first time it was done — three other districts have had their status abrogated, but that was for other reasons.

In the case of Tambunan it suffered punishment because the people had voted against his party. Nobody can deny that the Government action is both cruel and unjust, and contrary to our idea of democracy.

We realise that many regimes profess to practise democracy; and so there are many types of so-called democracy in this world. In the Soviet Union for instance, they call their regime a democratic regime. If anybody works against them or refuses to support the party then they are tucked away, sometimes for the rest of their lives, or they are annihilated.

Now we have in our own country a form of democracy as practised by the Parti Berjaya where if the people do not support them they are deprived of all the amenities of life. It is "Sabah democracy", but not the democracy which we are sworn to uphold.

Whatever may be the reason behind their move, the people must be spared from such a punishment.

Democracy must not exist in the mind only, but in substance, reality and in fact. This is what we have undertaken to do, so while there is time the Government must put the matter right. We cannot condone such action.

The Essence of Democracy

(24 December, 1984)

THE CONTROVERSY OVER the MCA crisis has gone on for a long time, and there doesn't seem to be any likelihood of a settlement.

On the other hand, it seems to have grown bigger and bigger, and almost out of shape. It now involves UMNO as well, as a result of the suggestion made by Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam, to the effect that MCA should withdraw from the Barisan and settle their trouble.

This statement led to bitter attacks by those who want to cause dissension between the Barisan Nasional party members. They even suggested a breakup of UMNO and MCA.

This surely had never been the intention of the Deputy Prime Minister who had conceived in his mind, a possible solution to this trivial problem. Instead the issue was played up. In consequence the controversy has instead been blown out of proportion to the actual problem faced by the parties concerned.

I was asked what I thought of all this. All I said was that there was no need for the MCA to withdraw from the Barisan because that would not help it to settle the problem.

Withdrawal of the MCA from the Barisan would mean that one of the pillars which supports the party in power has broken down, and this may eventually lead to its collapse.

The MCA and UMNO have been the mainstay of the political solidarity of this country. We started together during those difficult periods to fight for independence, and together we won glory for this country.

There was trouble in 1959, but that was between UMNO and MCA over the question of distribution of seats; and when the MCA decided

to withdraw, another MCA led by Tun Tan Siew Sin took over. So the alliance between the two parties has continued to this day, and I hope it will be for all time.

In this case, however, there has been no quarrel between MCA and UMNO. The trouble started in the MCA's own camp among its own members.

Surely there must be some way of resolving this conflict. For instance, the MCA constitution must have provided for the time limit in which a man can act as president, but the appointment which is purely temporary has to be confirmed at the general meeting which must be held as soon as possible. With most constitutions it is provided that so many members could call for a general meeting in order to confirm the appointment. The MCA is not a new party, but one of the oldest, and is conversant with politics. It must have provisions in its constitution to deal with matters like this. If not, all I can say is that their constitution is imperfect.

Admittedly, it was wrong for the Deputy Prime Minister to suggest that the MCA should withdraw to settle their differences. What difference does it make if they remain, for if they wish to settle their problem they can as easily do so while in the Barisan. That again should give no cause for excitement or alarm.

According to the press report (*The Star*, Dec. 21) the Barisan Secretary-General, Encik Ghafar Baba, met both the expelled MCA vice-president, Mr. Tan Koon Swan, and also the acting President, Datuk Dr. Neo Yee Pan. In the course of the meeting, he might have made certain suggestions for the settlement of the trouble. He was trying to get both sides to reach a compromise, but nothing was reported to the press.

I believe there must be some expectancy of a settlement. According to *The Star* report, the "feuding factions" were believed to be on the verge of coming to terms. That was two weeks ago.

Then on December 22, newspaper reports mentioned that Tan Sri Wee Boon Ping, the president of the Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Malaysia, had met the president and secretary of the MCA; and according to him the crisis would be resolved soon, but he couldn't say when.

The opposition have brought into the controversy the question of Bukit China and the Papan radio-active waste dump. Obviously, the motive behind this is to cause further friction between the MCA and UMNO, and a loss of faith in the Barisan Nasional Govern-

ment. Such a split would not be conducive to the well-being, peace and security of this country. Woe betide those who try to gamble with the lives and safety of the people of this country.

The matter of Bukit China is a small matter. There was no need to play it up. The Chief Minister of Malacca, Datuk Seri Abdul Rahim Tamby Chik, mentioned it to me. I advised him not to build or carry out any development project in an area or on a site which the people hold sacred. In other words, don't build on the tears of others.

Bukit China is of great sentimental value to the Chinese. Malacca is the oldest settlement of Malaysian Chinese who have their ancestors buried there at Bukit China. It is only natural that they feel bad to have the cemetery defiled by removing the remains of the dead to make way for buildings.

After all there are many places in Malacca where they could carry out housing projects, tempting as it may be to have the disused cemetery site for such a development. The unhappiness and resentment of the people demand that the authorities "skip it", and leave it well alone.

I have a piece of land in Penang opposite the Chinese cemetery on which I built my bungalow. There is a halting shed for those who go to the cemetery to perform their homage to the dead, particularly on All Souls Day (Cheng Beng Day). That cemetery is no more in use, but when the building was being constructed those who had their ancestors buried there held a demonstration without first bringing the matter to my attention. When I asked them what the demonstration was about they told me that they wanted that halting shed on my land to be kept as it was. I told them that that was my intention, I had not touched the building nor had it fenced in; and I would be happy to let them have its use for all time.

They expressed their regret for taking this action without first coming to me, and stopped beating their drums, and went away gently and quietly regretting their impulsive action.

However, there are some pieces of land such as the Muslim cemetery in Bangkok which has ceased to be of use, but the land itself is in the very heart of the capital and a diamond mine. If the remains could be removed to the cemetery outside of Bangkok, the land could be used for a shopping and office complex. The money would be of very great benefit to the Muslim community of Bangkok. This would bring in an income of at least 1,000,000 bahts a year

which could help to settle the Muslim community in the building, and at the same time, the shopping centres and offices would bring in a tidy income for the benefit of the Muslim community which is very poor.

The mosque officials refused to agree to my proposal, and the Thai Government refused to interfere as they are afraid it might hurt the feelings of the Muslim community. But in my mind this is different from the Bukit China case. Sentiments are sentiments, and we should not treat them lightly. I think the best plan is to leave Bukit China alone.

The dumping of radio-active waste in Papan is a nuisance because of its smell and danger to health, and I think the people have the right to object to it.

In the first place, the authorities should have consulted them and, if they had objected strongly, to find another site far away from human habitation. The whole idea is to get rid of the waste. Any spot is good enough for it.

We must respect the wishes of the people. This is the very essence of democracy. Men in their official capacity with power vested in them should always be mindful of the feelings of others, particularly the small man.

We must avoid creating dissension in the country because there are men who are only waiting for the opportunity to set this country ablaze. The communists (MCP), for one, are still here, and they have not forgotten the beating they had from us.

Revenge is sweet, so if a chance comes their way they will not be slow to take the fullest advantage of it. There are Chinese, Malay and Indian extremists who belong to this group of people, or who are sympathetic to them, and they allow themselves to be swayed by their argument.

For most of us who love this country and want to keep it peaceful and clean, we must join hands to fight them. This is the only country we can call our own. We intend to make it a home for those who come after us. It is a free country in every sense of the word, and we must keep it this way, and for all time.

Politics in Sabah and Sarawak

(28 January, 1985)

WHEN YOU COME to think of it, politics in this country has decidedly taken a turn for the worse. Nobody would have imagined that elections would be accompanied by such acts of violence, particularly at the by-election. And this led to the death of a supporter of one of the rival parties contesting the election, and the injury of many others. Some were treated as out-patients, and some, in-patients.

To a seasoned campaigner like me, and an ardent advocate of free democratic elections, I feel sad to see these happenings.

What's worse, some of the things said were most damaging and atrocious. Is this a forewarning of what is to come in all the future elections? I pray that God may save us from "the evil thereof".

After all a democratic election is to allow people freedom to decide, firstly, on the party to run the country, and, secondly, the best man to lead the party. Then when the election is over, and the Government is formed, the democratic machinery will be started, and elected members of the party will start to play their roles in earnest.

If they do their work well, the country will enjoy peace and prosperity, and the people will enjoy all happiness. But it does not always happen this way. Some Members of Parliament appear to ease up after the intensity of the election and take their work rather apathetically.

Sometimes the Speaker has to adjourn the meeting for lack of quorum. The clock-in system, the brainchild of our Prime Minister, should be introduced, and also the clock-out. This will make sure that members are entitled to their allowances.

The high cost of holding elections has been prohibitive. What a difference it is from the early elections when candidates were given

only \$5,000 per constituency, though they might have had to spend a little more.

Now one must be prepared to spend at least \$100,000 per constituency, or more. God knows how much they spent in the recent Padang Terap by-election. From what we read, they must have spent hundreds of thousands. Members of both parties, Barisan Nasional and PAS, called to their aid, speakers and campaigners from as far away as Sabah to help with the campaign.

In Sabah and Sarawak, even where the constituencies are smaller than those of the peninsula and the number of voters are comparatively small, I was told they spent millions.

At this rate they might just as well buy the voters. And the excitement, too, surpassed all the previous experience of elections.

There is nothing very much that can be done about it. The way it is going now, "no hold is barred". And what's worse, the people are punished for not voting in favour of the Government candidate.

When USNO first lost to Berjaya — Berjaya won 28 seats, and USNO 20 seats — that number would have provided a very healthy opposition, and made for lively debates in the assembly. But very soon, three-quarters of the USNO members crossed the floor and joined Berjaya.

At the recent by-election, where Datuk Kitingan won as an Independent, beating the ruling party by a large majority, the Chief Minister was incensed, and went so far as to reduce the status of Tambunan district, and remove the Government officers to another district.

According to reports, more than a hundred members of the staff working under the Community Development Leader, native chiefs and district chiefs have received letters terminating their services in Tambunan. Mr. Idang, the district officer of Tambunan, has found himself without a job, but he is still in receipt of his pay.

And what is more, according to Tan Sri Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, Berjaya presented "building materials to the voters to help in building their homes".

If this is correct, it is tantamount to buying votes. The Election Commission should go into this. And if there is any truth in it, action should be taken to stop it from ever happening again.

The Press in this country naturally reacted to everything said and done before and after the election. This angered the Chief Minister of Sabah who responded by saying that the press is anti-Berjaya,

and condemned it as being mercenary. He added that the press had gone out of its way to campaign against the party and the State Government.

According to Datuk Majid Khan, "These journalists would offer their pen to Berjaya for a price; and when their demands are rejected, they turn against Berjaya and the Government, and portray a damaging picture of it as being anti-Barisan Nasional."

This is a very serious charge to make against our press which has been so well respected. He is liable to be sued in court, and it can be serious for him.

I can say for sure, with respect to *The Star*, that we made no approach for such a kickback; and I don't think other journalists would have resorted to such acts of depravity.

In the interest of democracy, the Malaysian Government should set up a committee to probe into these happenings in Sabah so that the people will have an opportunity to know what is happening there.

Before the Sabah affairs had a chance to calm down, another State in the country appeared to step into the headlines. This is in respect of the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Datuk Patinggi Abdul Taib Mahmud.

When he returned from his holiday abroad, thousands of his supporters gathered together to greet him at the airport, and news was rife that some political groups in Sarawak tried to oust Datuk Patinggi Taib from the chief ministership.

Since then news began to flow. And, sad to say, the situation has become more serious than what we had imagined.

Glancing through the papers, Datuk Patinggi Taib was reported to have said on his return that he would not step down. He would also not be deterred from his policy of carrying out development projects in Sarawak because the people of Sarawak wanted to improve their standard of living. According to him, there is pressure from the group opposed to him which alleged that he was not practising "consultative politics". And they wanted him out.

The Prime Minister has been handed a memorandum signed by 42 out of 48 Sarawak Council Negeri members who expressed their support for Datuk Patinggi Taib, and many well-known political leaders in Sarawak were named by the press as being strongly in support of Datuk Patinggi Taib.

In fact, it was Datuk Amar Yong, who is the Science, Technology and Environment Minister, who handed over the memorandum to

the Prime Minister.

According to reports, Datuk Patinggi Taib asked those present whether they wanted him to remain as Chief Minister, or to go, but they were solidly behind him.

On the other hand, his uncle, the Yang di-Pertua Negeri, whose name has been dragged into this conflict, admitted there were some differences between him and the Chief Minister. However, it was only a family quarrel, and not serious enough to cause a political rift.

Parti Pesaka Bumiputra Bersatu (PBB), however, has admitted to publicly criticising Datuk Patinggi Taib.

Datuk Patinggi Taib has said that some big person must be behind it. Who that big person is, he did not name. Before this moment there seems to have been an air of subdued hostility among the members of parties which make up the party in power, and it has now come into the open.

It is hard at the moment to assess the situation, but we will hear more about it.

Datuk Patinggi Taib is touring the State to prepare the people to meet the crisis. I have no doubt that he will win them over to his side because there is proof in the years he has been the Chief Minister that he cared for them, and that he wanted to do more for them irrespective of who they are and what they are.

It is too early for me to say what will be the outcome of this conflict.

According to the PBB, Datuk Wan Yusof, its vice-president, has refuted charges that he had ganged up with several state leaders to oust Datuk Patinggi Taib.

He alleged, however, that the President of PBB and Sarawak Barisan Nasional was weak, and not firm. This, he had occasion to say in the State Assembly, but Datuk Patinggi Taib was unduly sensitive to criticism, and refused to see the other side's point of view. According to him there was no question of any ganging up to topple the Chief Minister. "But how can three of us oust the man who has been elected by the people under our democratic system to lead the State? I am just pointing out a few things which I think are not right. I am too old for power. I still support Datuk Patinggi Taib. The people have given him the mandate to be the Chief Minister. And it's not for me to cause any problem," he said.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Datuk Musa Hitam, immediately went to Sarawak in the hope and with the object of pacifying the

group. He made it clear that the Federal Government fully supported Datuk Patinggi Taib's democratically-elected government; and further warned that action would be taken against anyone trying to undermine the system of parliamentary democracy.

While in Malacca, the Prime Minister must have made a reference to what is happening in Sarawak when he said, "The Government's aim is to reduce differences and sensitivities for the sake of unity and stability so that we can concentrate fully on national development." Differences, according to him, can be overcome through discussion rather than through shouting. Let us take the Prime Minister's advice and settle the misunderstanding among the Sarawak leaders amicably.

Sarawak has done very well for itself, and has gone from success to success. The progress it has achieved as a State has become the pride not only of the Sarawak people but of the Malaysian nation.

Mistakes have always been made by those entrusted with the running of the Government, and problems arise from time to time. But no man is infallible, and can guarantee that he will make no mistakes. But so long as the performance of the party in power shows a credit balance — and a big one at that — the party and its leaders can be said to be doing well.

On the other hand, it is right and proper for the leaders of the party in power to hold close consultations with one another. That is the right attitude to take.

I think the leaders concerned should now play down their differences, and should try and get together, and in the interests of the people, should smoothen things out among themselves.

There is still time to do it. I know the Sarawak leaders, and I know them well. I see no real difficulty to their coming to terms with one another. And for the sake of good fellowship my advice is to do just that, and "shame the devil".

There's No Room For Fanaticism

(14 January, 1985)

ACCORDING TO REPORTS, a small number of students and staff of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia have protested against Sudirman and his troupe performing in the university's fund-raising show on the grounds that the show is unIslamic and would give the university a bad image.

As a result of this protest, the show has been postponed indefinitely, and the university has offered to refund those who had paid for the tickets.

According to Sudirman, this is the first time that such a thing has happened to him; and it is unfortunate that it has happened at all. After all, his show is clean entertainment and there is nothing lewd or offensive about it. "There is nothing objectionable about my songs or my troupe performance. During my performance I try to make the audience relate to my show and really enjoy themselves," he said. His outfit, too, and those of the members of his troupe of dancers are decent.

According to reports, 15 student clubs and associations of Universiti Kebangsaan have come in support of the Economics Students' Association to hold the Sudirman concert at some later date. The protest from the students union — PMUKM — and the Academic Staff Association, including the Dean of Islamic Faculty has brought about "the hitch".

The protest centred on the alleged unIslamic values attached to such a concert which the protestors claimed would undermine public morality and Islamic values.

Islamic values, according to my understanding, means "peace, love, co-operation, honesty, punctuality, hard work, honour and abstinence from licentious behaviour." In other words, Islamic values

are human virtues. These are accepted by all decent men, irrespective of race or religion.

The question arises: How can a concert held in the cause of charity for needy students by proven performers be described as indecent?

According to reports, the general response at UKM campus was one which opposed the action taken by the religious "bigots". The cancellation of the concert was irrational and uncalled for, according to them, and there is not a single regulation in the University Act or the Federal Constitution that prohibits such a concert. This was done by an extremist student group out to make trouble. I read in the Hadith that at a marriage ceremony, our Holy Prophet had suggested the playing of drums to enliven the party.

I myself fail to see what is wrong with this Sudirman show. Sudirman himself graduated in law from the university, and can be said to be an intellectual. Human beings must have some fun some time. "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," and university students in particular can have a lot of fun provided it is clean and wholesome.

In the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for instance, they work, they play and take full benefit of what the university education can offer them. There are debates and entertainment shows at different functions almost all the time. Some of the entertainment is provided by the college societies, and sometimes entertainers are brought from outside.

After all, to go to a university is to pursue not only a course of study but to gain better knowledge of the intelligent world, and when students pass out of the university, they are able to glean all sides of life — the good and the bad. I had the benefit of this experience and when I set out to fight for independence these experiences proved a help.

To put the record straight, we did not get independence for this type of people who cannot find anything right in anything we or others do for they prefer primitive existence to civilised life. They are wasting their time at the university. This is all I can say about them.

Today, one cannot live alone and in isolation from others. We find it necessary to learn to live with others. Our students are sent abroad for this very purpose. Millions of dollars are spent by the government and government agencies to broaden their outlook without regard to who they are and what they are, for this can be

of great asset to their country, their family, and of course themselves.

It is good to have faith in Allah. This we must have, for that will help to guide us along the right path. But to use Him to shut out the world from us is to deny ourselves the benefit of His guidance. Even our Holy Prophet told His followers to go out to China if need be, to seek knowledge.

I have maintained that the failure of the Malays to compete with others was due to neglect in their upbringing and education. The schools which were available to them in the colonial days were only primary schools. When they passed out of these schools, all they were capable of doing was to toil on their land or find jobs with income insufficient to maintain their homes and bring up their children. And so in the process of improving their condition of life, the government has spent millions of dollars.

When the British introduced the Malayan Union government after the war, it collapsed under UMNO pressure. The Federation of Malaya was established in its place, but the colonial power was still in control of the government.

The Malay leaders and the Sultans, however, came in for special consideration and special favours, but the humble people in the kampungs remained the same, uncared for and neglected. Life for them remained the same — a poverty-stricken community. We vowed for a change which could only be brought about by complete and absolute independence.

Many people in the top hierarchy of Malayan society never believed that our struggle would succeed. However it was agreed that we should go for it in stages, through popular elections.

We received an overwhelming support of the people of all races and by the grace of God we won a glorious victory. We gave thanks to Allah in many ways and in many forms and with independence Malaya was transformed into a magnificent home for us, almost like a story in Arabian Nights.

Roads, water supply and lights found their way into the remote kampungs under the rural development plan and that plan was followed by other plans for betterment of life for our people.

With all these developments, Malaysia has become an entirely new country — a country that has come into the world recognised and praised by others; and now we are playing our part along with others to promote world peace, progress and a better life.

We joined the United Nations and are taking part in its activities.

On our own initiative we formed ASEAN for economic co-operation.

Then Malaysia was called upon by the Muslim world to organise the unity of Muslim nations: And this we did. And furthermore we organised and put into operation the Muslim World Development Bank.

For those who wish to engage in religious pursuits, we built mosques, *suraus*, religious institutions and an Islamic University.

We initiated the Quran competition at national and international levels and drew the attention of Muslims to our country on every holy month of *Ramadan*.

All these successes are the fruits of hard work, not of one man or one group of men, but through the sympathetic attitude of all the people living in this country.

It is regrettable and most disconcerting that the obstruction should have come from the so-called men of religion. Their number is small but they are articulate in the kampungs and remote areas, and now the universities. They use religion to get political advantage and also to break up Malay unity. The incrimination and condemnation of those who don't subscribe to their line of thinking and their way of life is very violent. They condemn others for listening to radios, for watching TV shows, for going to places of entertainment and for participating in the life provided by this civilised world.

We have come a long way and are playing our role as members of a civilised society and our people appreciate it. Many of their children have found their way into places of higher learning, into business, into government service, into politics.

It is regrettable that we are being confronted and hounded by these religious fanatics. My advice is to ignore them and keep them in their places.

Omar Khayam has pinpointed these people in his poem when he said:

Mix only with persons of a noble family!

Mix only with the wise, having a high pedigree!

But run away a thousand miles from the low-born and the mean

Take it, if a wise man gives you poison,

But throw down, throw down,

If an ignorant and foolish fellow gives you money!

So be it!

III. Islam

"Every man must understand that we were not born of the same race or religion, and we are intelligent enough to know that unless we can learn to live at peace and respect one another, the result will inevitably be turbulence and turmoil.

"In my writings and speeches, I have laid stress on peace and goodwill among men. I am always happy to support any movement working towards this end. I have taken to religion and find peace of mind in my faith in God.

"I also realise that every religion thinks of itself as the best, and every man thinks of his race as superior. But if we continue with this line of thinking we will only invite trouble."

Tunku Abdul Rahman
9 April, 1984

Saints and Cigarettes

(8 November, 1982)

WHEN QUESTIONED as to how long I have been smoking, I told my enquirer that I have been smoking for the last 64 years and I have enjoyed every moment of it. But one thing I may say is that I normally do not inhale and I don't smoke in bed.

I first started smoking when I was a student in England living with a clergyman in the Rectory, Little Stukeley, Huntingdon, the home of Robin Hood. His wife, Mrs. Margaret Vigers, was a chain-smoker and it was she who introduced me to the cigarette habit. Rev. Vigers himself smoked a pipe, so much so that his teeth were blackened by nicotine and decayed through lack of care and attention.

Cigarettes then were so cheap, six pence for a packet of 10 in 1920 and towards the end of 1930, gift coupons were included with each packet which one could exchange for presents. The more coupons one collected the better present one could get.

Many people started smoking just for the fun of it, but ended up as addicts. I remember reading the story of an old Indian who was said to be 140 years old and when asked what he attributed his old age to, he blurted out "smoking" and puffed away at his clay pipe, blowing smoke rings as well. People in those days had an idea that smoking helped to keep off infectious cold as well as other minor diseases. Many people have seen films where cigarettes were given to dying soldiers who would take a puff or two and then pass into oblivion.

Apart from anything else, smoking was a pastime and a fashion in those days. Canteens in the colleges produced cigarettes with college crests and the cigarette shops produced those with university and college crests. I remember a tobacco shop owned by an Armenian, named Ora, in Cambridge where one could order cigarettes

of any brand, be it Balkan, Turkish, Egyptian or Virginia, with one's name on them. On top of this, one would be treated to Turkish coffee with Turkish cigarettes.

Everybody, as far as I can remember, either smoked cigarettes or pipes, except of course the very enthusiastic and outstanding sportsmen and oarsmen who realised that smoking affects their stamina and were forbidden from smoking. Popular brands of cigarettes were obtainable from shops and machines everywhere and at any time. All one had to do was to drop a coin in the right slot and the cigarettes of one's choice would pop out. There was no talk of the dangers of cigarette smoking. Cigarette shops were found in every corner of the streets and alleys in London.

In Malaya some heavy smokers would carry tins of 50 in their hands, instead of packets or in cigarette cases. There were all kinds of brands available. Poorer people and workers would smoke the cheaper ones, while padi planters and farmers smoked palm leaf with Java tobacco which they prepared themselves and at small cost. They tend to burn holes in the clothes.

Everybody indulged happily in cigarettes without being aware of the hidden dangers. Now medical scientists have attributed lung cancer to cigarette smoking. Many, for fear of cancer, have given up smoking. Sometimes some of them return to the habit and feel happier for it, while those who stay out say that they too are happy.

The authorities have agreed that smoking must be discouraged, and the best way to do it is to increase taxes and duties on cigarettes, and to ban cigarette smoking in public places and offices. In spite of the increase in prices, workers and wage earners continue to smoke without care of consequences. This is perhaps due to their ignorance and carefree attitude of life.

As they indulge in their little favourite pastime at increased cost, they demand more pay. So the Government gave in and to meet the increase, more taxes and duties are imposed on cigarettes and other essential pleasures of life, and in this way inflation sets in. Other innocent people ask why they in particular have to suffer for it, and the poor husbands have had to find the money to make up for the household budget deficit.

So, as a result of the imposition of duties, everybody has to bear the consequences. I may say the increase in duties on cigarettes and other essentials has to stop some time. The trade recession caused by the high cost of production may cause economic problems and this

will be more harmful and destructive to human society than all the harmful effects of cigarettes and drinks put together.

Smokers have been given enough warnings not to smoke and if they choose to do so, let it be their business. The Government and the employers must ensure the happiness of their workers and prevent industrial unrest.

There are prohibited places for smokers - government offices and cinema halls - but now this has been extended to the Penang ferries. A habitual smoker must take a puff at least once in an hour or two without which he would feel sleepy and dull and would lose his working efficiency. The Government in the end will stand to lose because of it.

My suggestion is that there should be a room where smokers can retire for a few minutes to take their smoke. I can well understand the cinema halls not allowing the audience to smoke because the place is stuffy enough, but I feel to do so in an open space as in the ferry is most unreasonable.

I think it is a serious mistake to place too many restrictions on cigarette smoking because this will drive them to smoke in secret and in hidden places which might touch off some inflammable object and cause fire. This is more dangerous and would defeat the objective. During the fasting month what do I crave for most? Cigarettes, and when I break fast, the first thing I do is to drink my cup of tea and eat a fruit, but before my cup is half empty I will be puffing away at my cigarette.

During the early period of the Japanese occupation of Singapore I went to look for my brother-in-law who had been taken prisoner. I couldn't find him but found plenty of cigarettes on the black market; so I bought them with whatever money I had with me instead of buying the clothes, which I had intended to do. The cigarettes lasted a few months after which we had to smoke the mouldy cigarettes sold in Malaya till the end of the occupation.

Now we have got to pay an exorbitant price to smoke. So be it. But unless the people are convinced that cigarettes are the only destructive dope that causes cancer of the lungs, I am afraid nothing will stop them from smoking.

I am not encouraging cigarette smoking. As I said before, don't smoke if you have not done so before, and smoke less if you are an addict, but the Government must remember that with the increase in duty on cigarettes there will inevitably be a demand for more pay.

There are many harmful drugs which are more dangerous than cigarettes and in spite of heavy punishment it has not deterred people from taking them. Smuggling and trading in forbidden drugs are very rife and only recently \$81 million worth of heroin was seized at the Penang International Airport. The penalty for drug trafficking is death but this does not deter traffickers. Trafficking in drugs has caused corruption and other heinous crimes and this has occupied the attention of all the governments in the world. But no amount of vigilance, care or watching can stop this crime, which is now on the increase.

As I said before, the whole cost of living in the country has shot up so high and every smoker who smokes 20 cigarettes a day, at today's prices, would pay about \$50 a month and that is a big slice of their salary to go up in smoke.

Stop them from smoking if you can, if not leave them alone. There are other worse things in the world than cigarettes. As Omar Khayyam would say, "It is not me who smokes, it is the hand that lights up my cigarette."

We have killjoys among our budding politicians who are still inexperienced and those from political parties who are trying to make a comeback. They talk glibly of creating a heavenly kingdom, a nation inhabited by saints only. When that happens, if ever, I can tell them that there won't be a place for them either. The devil would come on duty to tempt the saint from the right path — Faith in God.

Whatever one tries to do one can never escape the devil, so this world is full of sins. May God save us all.

Islam - The Most Modern Religion

(10 January, 1983)

RISEAP, THE Regional Islamic Organisation for Southeast Asia and the Pacific, is going on splendidly, operating with good effect in the countries bordering the Indian Ocean, South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. At its first council meeting, we dealt with many subjects on which decisions had been taken at the general meeting held six months ago.

Among the important items dealt with were the religious courses to be held for the young people from these countries, including research and welfare work. Without taking these matters into account, RISEAP's activities would not have quite an effective impact on the member countries. It is necessary to provide religious lessons on scientific lines in the countries where there are new Muslims. The influence of modern thinking plays a big role on them. Some Muslim teachers are inclined to be a bit narrow in the concept of the religion and young people with modern ideas find it hard to follow their teachings.

Islam, in fact, is the most modern of all religions. It came into being 2,000 years after the Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish religions, and 700 years after Christianity. The reason for that, as we understand it, is that the world has changed much since the first Gospel was sent down and taught to men. The intention therefore must be to keep pace with world progress and new ideas that come with it.

When the Muslim religion was handed down to the Holy Prophet Muhammad, S.A.W., it said that the Quran was and always will be our guide, and where there was nothing in the Quran that could help, then we must resort to the Hadith, the sayings and practices of the Holy Prophet, and when there was nothing in them to guide us, then one must seek the findings of the religious leaders working in con-

junction with one another. This clearly shows how advanced the religion of Islam is.

The fault, if any, lies in the manner in which the religion is being preached and practised by some religious leaders. Under the Sunni, a school to which the Orthodox Muslims belong there are four *imams* - Hanafi, Maliki, Ambali and Shafie (to which the Malays belong). They agree on the main principles of Islam but differ on minor details. As an example, before a prayer, all Muslims are required to perform ablution, which consists of washing the mouth, the nose, ears, face, the arms, the head and the feet. Under the Shafie rule and practice, if one touches a female, then one has to perform the ablution again. Obviously, it is difficult to avoid touching one another in this modern society, and in the particular instance at the Kaaba, as they jolt one another during the seven circuits around the holy stone. The other three schools allow a person to pray without having to perform another ablution, and the Shafie met it half-way by providing that so long as one does not touch flesh to flesh the ablution remains good.

There are many such differences among the Sunnis but not sufficient to divide their followers. The big difference, however, is between the Sunni sect and the Shi'ite, to which such men as Khomeini belong. For this sect does not believe in congregational prayers in the mosques, while the Sunnis are obliged to pray in the mosque, at least once a week, the Friday prayer.

When I was secretary-general of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, the Sunnis living in Iran asked me to obtain a site for a mosque as they found it difficult to persuade the government of Iran to provide facilities for Friday prayers. I had to approach the Shah, who promised to look into it.

Another matter which occupied the attention of the committee was the question of representation at the council of RISEAP. Under the constitution, members of the council are appointed by name to hold office for two years, but at the last conference the new president of the Muslim Organisation of Australia objected to the presence of past presidents of the council, and insisted on his taking it over, being the new president. That we could not agree, because of the provisions in the constitution. He was so adamant that he threatened to withdraw Australia from RISEAP. Now we have to consider how best to deal with this situation to prevent such a thing happening which might lead to a break-up with Australia. We felt that the

only way out was to empower the president to appoint additional members to the council.

Another matter which caused us concern was the fact that the Registrar of Societies in the former Australian Papua New Guinea refused to register the Muslim association on the ground that it was an immoral association. He had never heard of Islam and therefore the name sounded to him like an unlawful society. The religion they follow in Papua New Guinea is Catholicism and their own faith.

I remember an occasion when President Soekarno claimed Dutch New Guinea as part of Indonesia. I offered my services as a middleman to bring about an amicable settlement between President Soekarno and the Dutch government. My object was to see how best we could settle the issue without aggravating it. It is hard to remember the various points we discussed, but the Dutch were willing to compromise.

One thing I remember, was Mr. Lund, the Foreign Minister of Holland saying: "We spent a lot of money and time to improve the lot of the natives of New Guinea. We gave them a good government, good schools and the Catholic religion, and they became so religious that on Friday they don't eat meat but eat man instead." We laughed over his joke. "So you can see it is not easy for us to surrender the whole of New Guinea to President Soekarno. The people would not accept his rule, but we are prepared to compromise." I cannot, however, remember what the terms were. In my mind the terms should be acceptable to President Soekarno, but when they were submitted to him, he rejected the terms. However, he got his way and West Irian became his possession. I don't know whether they now eat meat or man on Friday, I won't take the risk to find that out!

The next meeting of RISEAP will be held just before the fasting month in the first week of June. The council decided to invite prominent Muslims to give a talk, but I felt that the talk by these religious pedagogues would not offer anything new because we would all have heard what they will have to say on Islam.

What I would like to see and hear is from important Muslims, particularly the converts such as the world-famous astronaut Neil Armstrong, who was the first man to set foot on the moon. He has since become a Muslim and the reason given was that when he first stepped on the moon he heard a sound, which was very clear to him and his companions. At that time, he thought his ears were playing

tricks on him as he was rather excited and over-awed by his first experience on the moon. When he was sent on a lecture tour to the various countries, one of the places he visited was Cairo, Egypt, and he heard the same sound again. So he asked the Egyptian companion nearest to him what the sound was. He was told that it was *azan*, the call to prayer and the glorification of god. He was astounded for that was the same sound and the same words to the best of his memory that he heard on the moon. It was then that he decided to learn something about the religion and finally embraced Islam. As a result of that, he lost his coveted job. But, according to him, he had found God, and nothing else mattered.

We have had of late, strange but well-known individuals who have embraced the religion of Islam. One such man is the first and most famous of the pop singers, Mr. Cat Stevens, who in the early seventies adopted the Muslim name, Yusof Islam, but for what reason I have not been able to find out. He, too, should be invited to attend our next conference in Kuala Lumpur. The Muslims will have the opportunity to hear what he has to say.

We have of course other famous names, such as Muhammad Ali and other world boxing champions. Malaysians had the benefit of seeing Muhammad Ali in action when he fought Joe Bugner in Kuala Lumpur in 1978. People are beginning to make a study of Islam throughout the world and thousands of coloured men in America have flocked to the fold of the religion.

Perkim, which is the parent body of RISEAP, is trying to disseminate the knowledge of Islam through books and other media. Only the lack of funds has prevented us from doing a lot more for Islam. I have to write about the activities of Perkim and RISEAP because the press and mass media have not given sufficient prominence to our work. While we work without expecting any reward or personal gain, we at least expect some mention of what we are doing in the name of Islam, which is the official religion of this country. But we have got none, or at the most, very little. I am therefore grateful to Encik Anwar Ibrahim, the Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's Department, who was quick to appreciate our work and hosted the dinner for the members of the council of RISEAP to their great delight. For this, we thank him.

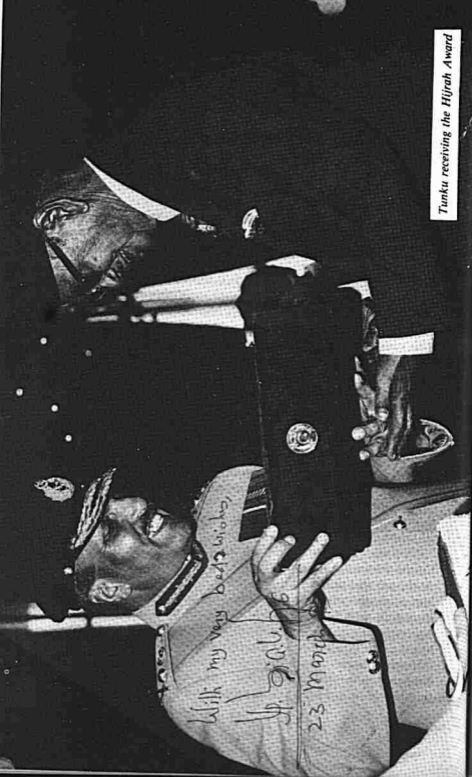
The Brotherhood of Islam

(21 March, 1983)

IF I HAD BEEN told that one day, I would be honoured as a Muslim leader and given such high awards as the King Feisal Award and the Hijrah Award of Pakistan, I would never have believed it. As I had said in China, I had not always been religiously inclined but rather, a playboy and a man of the world who made the best of life in his young student days. I did not believe the Indian fortune-teller when he told me in 1939 that I would one day be the Prime Minister of Malaya. But all these have changed with time and age. I must admit, however, that deep in my heart, I was religious and was quick to defend my religion if any attack was made on it. It was a fashion in those days for British authors to find fault with Islam. They seemed to regard Islam as an enemy of mankind.

I remember Dr. Sale's translation of the Holy Quran which was given to me to read by the Vicar, in which he (the author) found fault with almost anything and everything Islam so much so that it was hard to read or make sense of his commentaries. They were full of venom, bitterness and vindictiveness. Nevertheless, I read it all, from beginning to end.

Then when I went to stay with another tutor in Cambridge to study for the entrance examination for the university, my tutor, Mr. Basil Atkinson, also produced the same book for me to read but I told him pointedly that I had had enough of Dr. Sale. He also took me to church with him one day to give me better information and understanding of the Christian religion. When we returned home, he asked me how I liked the prayer in church. I said it was entirely different from my own religion where we do obeisance to God with our heads on the floor. "But in your case," I said, "you sat on comfortable chairs and sang hymns accompanied by the organ and the



With my very best wishes,
J. G. A. L. 76
23 March 46

Tunku receiving the Hijrah Award

choir boys. Then you only pray once a week, whereas we pray five times a day and what was even more important, we believe in the brotherhood of men of faith, irrespective of race or colour. So there lies the difference between your religion and mine. After that, he did not take me to church any more.

Dr. Sale knew no Arabic. He did the translation from other works with one idea in mind, that was to belittle Islam and his attacks had been pointless, spiteful and vicious. He made the Holy Prophet out to be an imposter, yet he could not explain how it was that the Quran was produced by the Prophet in classical Arabic when he had never been to school, or given any education as a boy. He grew up as an orphan, tending the sheep as a herdsman of his uncle. All he had to say was that Muhammad learnt all these from a Christian who had befriended him in the bazaar. If that was so, then the Prophet must have performed miracles to remember all that was told to him by the Christian. We could well understand it if he had a written record to go by, but he had none and his words filled the pages of the Quran with poetic perfection.

No imposter would have a lasting religion impact on the world all these 1,400 years. The Islamic religion, as it grew with time, became stronger and stronger and the Holy Prophet Muhammad became more revered. The prayer, the alms-giving (*zakat*), the fasting, the principles of Islam have not weakened with age, but have rather gained strength. The brotherhood of Islam spread throughout the world. Admittedly Muslim laws are considered a bit antiquated in the modern sense but that is so with all laws. In the 18th century, theft of anything of more than a shilling's worth was punishable with death in England. In most Muslim countries, the laws must fit the crime. And so almost all Muslim countries have adopted modern laws.

When Muhammad S.A.W. was asked as a Prophet if he possessed miraculous or supernatural powers, his reply was negative, except that he was the Messenger of God, his only magic, if at all, was the Holy Quran. The impact of the Quran on the minds of Muslims is indeed strong. This is easily understood, as the revelation to man is to do good and to come close to Him.

Al-Fatihah is the first verse of the Holy Quran. It was the first complete Surah revealed to the Holy Prophet. This Surah is, in fact, a prayer which Allah taught. It puts a man in the position where he reads his prayer which begged for answers and were revealed in

the Holy Quran. "This is the guidance that you begged of me." Al-Fatihah means "In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, Praise is only for Allah, the Lord of the Universe, the All-Compassionate, the All-Merciful, the Master of the Day of Judgement. These alone we worship and to Thee alone we pray for help. Show us the straight way, the way of those whom Thou hast blessed; who have not incurred Thy wrath, nor gone astray."

One of the greatest assets of the religion is its claim to the brotherhood of Islam, irrespective of race or colour. It was said that the Prophet's devoted slave, Zaid, fell in love with the Prophet's cousin, Aishah, but she rejected him and the Prophet asked her if the rejection was because of the colour of his skin (he was a negro). She admitted it was. Then he said, "Marry him".

The Prophet was a much married man, the reason was that the followers wanted a male issue from him. In actual fact, he was married for many years to one woman, Khatijah, and she was 15 years his senior. After her death, his followers wanted him to marry again for political and religious reasons.

So much for Islam. In fact, the students take years to study the religion and from the religious kampung schools, they move on to the higher religious schools at home and religious universities abroad. One man admitted that after 10 years of study of the religion, he was no wiser.

I shared the King Feisal International Award with His Excellency Sheikh Massanein Makhlof. He is an authority on the religion of Islam. He could read every word of the Quran by heart, noting where the Ps and Qs, the full-stops, commas, hyphens and dashes are. He knows every word uttered by the Prophet in the Hadith and he knows all the authorities and so it was that he was honoured at the age of 93. His mind is still clear, his speech is good, only his eyesight has dimmed with age.

As for me, I never dreamt that I would be nominated to share the honour with this great religious man. As I said in my speech, I did no more than do what a good Muslim should do in the cause of Allah and for the good of men. On Independence, I built religious institutions, schools and mosques throughout the length and breadth of Malaysia. I also started the Quran reading competition which brought the cream of the Muslim readers from all over the world to Malaysia once a year during the fasting month.

I didn't do all these to get the better of the opposition, for at the

time there was no opposition to the Alliance. One thing I remember distinctly was that after our victory in the 1955 general elections, one of my colleagues asked me to sack a certain high government official because of his campaign and the use of government machinery against the Alliance. I told him that would be the last thing I will do. As good Muslims, our duty must be to prostrate ourselves and give thanks to Allah for his small mercies and for our good fortune.

I ran Perkim and carried out welfare work for those who deserved help and we took charge of Muslim refugees who had to flee their countries because of religious persecution. Our religious work was to enlighten the people, and we won new members of Islam as a result of our effort. Under religious councils, we have set up, in South-east Asia and the Pacific, new avenues for the teaching of Islam. I was also lucky to be called by the late King Feisal to organise Islamic unity and worked in the capacity of secretary-general for the Secretariat of Islamic Foreign Ministers for a few years. I conceived and organised the Islamic Development Bank and I also conceived the benefit of setting up the King Feisal Foundation which is now in operation and producing good results.

I shall be leaving tomorrow for Pakistan to receive the Hijrah Award which is being given for the first time in the history of Pakistan. What is more satisfying to me is that these two countries Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, are renowned Islamic states which practise Islam religiously. That they have chosen a person from a State with secular laws and given to democratic practices, is surely an unusual tribute to Malaysia, a country with a mixed population, mixed religion and with Islam only as the official religion. But Allah is great and He knows best.

Muslim Unity

(13 June, 1983)

I HAVE BEEN OCCUPIED for the whole of last week. First with the conference of RISEAP, then with the visit of the Muslim delegation from China, and finally I had to go and lay the foundation stone for the satellite town named after me in Miri, Sarawak.

Luckily for me, Datuk Ahmad Nordin, the secretary-general of Perkim, had taken good care of the Muslims, while Datuk Patinggi Haji Taib Mahmud, Chief Minister of Sarawak and vice-president of RISEAP, and Datuk Hussein Mohammad Osman, the secretary-general had helped me out with the conference of RISEAP. The Prime Minister was kind enough to open the second general assembly of RISEAP with words of advice which won the hearts of those present. It had been a very hectic week and at the same time, a very challenging one for me.

RISEAP was formed for South-East Asia and the Eastern Pacific to bring the Muslim minorities closer together. It is quickly taking shape but the only snag has been that there are many organised bodies within each country wanting to be represented in RISEAP. What we had hoped and planned for was for member countries to represent the interests of all Muslims living in their countries, otherwise RISEAP would be too big and unwieldy.

The last meeting had brought many applications from these Muslim bodies and we were hard-pressed as to how to placate them. In the end it was agreed that first the new applications must get the support of their countries' representatives already in RISEAP. The next step would be to take them in as probationaries under the title of associated members for one year. At the end of the year they could be admitted as full members, if it is proved that they legitimately represent the Muslims in their countries. Then there was the ques-

tion of those who were not normally eligible to be members. These are the Muslim sect who do not belong to the recognised Sunni Muslims.

We are keen to set up regional bodies throughout the four corners of the world. Our aim is to use RISEAP as a model, so it is necessary to make RISEAP a strong and a perfect regional body for others to follow. The object of RISEAP is to get the Muslim minorities and others living in these regions to come together at a conference so that they can discuss matters of common interest and problems Muslims face in the countries in which they live. It is only logical that they must get together for they can do so much more for each other. At the moment, only Muslim nations have come together under the Organisation of Islamic Conference which works on the same pattern as the United Nations and only foreign ministers and high ranking Muslims are assembled at these conference, but not the minorities. At these conferences nobody knows what is happening to them and there is nobody to bring up their problems. Muslim minorities, however, are found everywhere and in every country in the world except in the North and South Poles.

The attempt by RISEAP to bring all these Muslims together appears a little ambitious but nevertheless very necessary. At least if we cannot do much we can get other people to think and show more interest in them. An attempt was made by Rabitah Al Islam of Saudi Arabia to form a regional secretariat for the whole of South and South-East Asia in Karachi but it failed to get off the ground as they had not done very much groundwork. When the conference was over the plan to form this regional secretariat was shelved and nobody can say when it will start off again. Any attempt to form an organisation of this nature has to be worked out very carefully by truly dedicated individuals with a mind on world Muslim unity.

Now we have on our plates so many applications that we are uncertain as to how best to accommodate them. If we turn them down they would be frustrated and will not support RISEAP and will start rival religious bodies to fight RISEAP. Minority Muslims must avoid squabbles and petty bickerings among themselves. They must remember that they represent the minorities in a non-Muslim country and if the minorities cannot get on well together, they cannot expect to do much for themselves. It would also make it difficult for RISEAP to help them.

A few countries regard Muslim organisations as subversive. One

in particular, is Papua New Guinea, which refused to register the organisation on the ground that it is subversive and therefore an illegal body. I took the matter up with the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea over this and he has not had the courtesy to reply me. However, we face many such problems in this part of the world and that is what makes our work very challenging. We pray that Allah will help us. I remember that Mr. Lund, the Foreign Minister of Holland, once said to me about the people of Papua New Guinea when I tried to negotiate for peace between Soekarno's Indonesia and Holland over the question of annexation of West Irian by Soekarno. He said Soekarno would find it difficult to run West Irian. According to him, the Dutch had done so much for them and with the help of Christian missions many had become good Christians, so good that on Fridays they don't eat beef but eat human beings instead.

The Chinese Muslims from China came on a visit just about the time we were holding the RISEAP conference. I had to divide my time between them and RISEAP. I had occasion to mention before that the Muslims from China would not join RISEAP unless we expel Taiwan first. That I pointed out, was not possible. We are not a political body but a religious one. So they did not attend the conference, not even as observers. But we are willing to make a separate arrangement with the Muslims from China in order to help them.

They were taken round to various institutes, schools, Perkim clinics to show how we work here. They were taken to Trengganu to witness the Quran reading finals and also to Kelantan and Penang. From all counts they were pleased to see how much work has been done for Muslims in this country. They did not expect anything like this and therefore were very impressed with what they had seen. According to them, the present government of China has given Muslims religious freedom. As I said before, they have been out of touch with religion for quite a long time. Only the old people know the religion while the younger ones are completely ignorant of it. So the visit of these Muslim leaders from China may help to revive Islam in China among young and old alike.

We look forward to the day when the Muslim communities of China could relive their past glory when Muslims were numerous and strong. Among their many famous men was Admiral Cheng Ho who travelled the seven seas. It was he who established diplomatic relations between China and the Malacca Sultanate. There was

Ahbab of Uygur nationality, a devout believer of Islam who was chosen by Emperor Qian Long (1736/1795) of Qing Dynasty as his concubine with the title of Xiang Fei (Fragrance Concubine). She kept her religious belief and habit all her life. After her death she was buried in the Eastern Tomb in Zunhua country, Hebei province and many mosques were built by the emperor to commemorate his love and respect for her. It is a well-known fact that Muslim soldiers gave a good account of themselves right through the period of many dynasties and to the time when they fought the Japanese and then the communists.

China enjoyed at one time one of the largest Muslim populations in any one country. She boasted of 30 to 40 million Muslims but under the Gangs of Four and the evacuation of General Chiang Kai-Shek from China, there are no more than perhaps 13 million Muslims left and most of them live in the Sinkiang/Mongolia provinces. The rest are found in Taiwan and in the areas bordering Burma and Laos. Many have found asylum in Thailand itself. They have built for themselves mosques and other religious institutions. It is our prayer that one day they will be able to return to China where under the present regime they can hope to be welcomed back.

The Work Of Perkim

(24 October, 1983)

IT HAS BEEN a very busy week for me, particularly in carrying out Perkim's programme. First we had the opening of the dental clinic on October 21. This clinic was formerly owned by Dr. Haji Noordin bin Salleh and given to Perkim by his widow, Puan Nor Chahaya binti Abdul Majid in accordance with the wishes of her late husband.

The building was given complete with all the furniture and expensive equipment. It is situated right in the heart of Kampong Baru in Jalan Raja Muda and is ideal for the purpose of such a clinic. It is a spacious building and Perkim decided to run the medical clinic there as well. It will be a boon to those who seek dental attention and medical aid.

Datuk Dr. Haji Ibrahim bin Md. Yassin will look into the reorganisation of the dental clinic and the dental surgeons who have agreed to give voluntary service are Dr. Hussein Ahmad and Dr. Puan Manjit Singh Gill. As soon as the clinic starts its operation, many more dental surgeons are expected to come forward and offer their services free after working hours.

The dental clinic will be opened three times a week from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. and the medical clinic will open from 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. Though it has been decided that the clinics will start with three days a week, this could be further extended if the demand for more time warrants this. There is another medical clinic run by Perkim in Cheras, and there are two more clinics, one in Penang and another in Alor Star. It is hoped that more clinics will be opened in Kelantan, Pahang and other states.

Patients will not be charged fees but are invited to give a small donation and it is open to all irrespective of race or religion. It should,

however, be emphasised that the running of such clinics is expensive as Perkim has to buy the medicine and pay allowances to those who have given their time to attend to the patients.

In the afternoon of the same day, we had the meeting of the Perkim National Council in my house at No. 1, Jalan Tunku. This lasted till late at night followed by dinner at 10:00 p.m. The Council dealt with the agenda for the Annual General Meeting on Sunday, October 23, and other matters of importance were discussed.

The following morning, on October 22, a seminar on Perkim Dakwah was held at Complex Tabung Haji in Subang/Sungei Way, which started at 9:00 a.m. and in the evening, at 8:00 p.m. the Prime Minister attended the thanks-giving service and gave his blessings to the new Perkim building.

The Annual General Meeting of Perkim was held at Complex Tabung Haji yesterday. It started at 9:00 a.m. In my speech at the opening of the Annual General Meeting, I stressed on the need for the State Government to help Perkim by providing religious classes for the new Muslim converts in the various states because the states have got the funds to do so from *zakat* and *bitulman*. The states should also provide the religious teachers.

Perkim finds it difficult to undertake this work because the cost to set up such classes and pay the teachers is prohibitive. All we could afford to do is to set up a few classes and leave it to the converts and those who wish to seek knowledge of Islam for themselves. This has not been very successful because many of these people live far away from these centres but with the Government's help, all these religious courses could be held in more central parts of the town and country and more efficient teachers could be employed to give these religious lessons. Without this follow-up, it is impossible to give religious education to the new converts and their conversion to Islam could be meaningless.

Some of the converts have taken the trouble to get teachers to give them lessons or to learn from books but this is not a very satisfactory way of getting to know the religion of Islam. In Penang, I have formed a club for the converts and there they are being given religious lessons. I feel strongly that the State should provide the help because they have the means to do so.

Islam unlike other religions, requires its followers to observe the principles of the religion and the principle of faith, which means that one does not only believe in the omnipotence of Allah alone. He

must show his faith by performing prayers five times a day. He must give alms, visit the Holy City of Mecca to meet other Muslims of the world and to perform the religious rites and show his faith in Allah and honour the memory of the Holy Prophets, Ibrahim and Muhammad. He must believe in Allah and the Holy Prophets, the Holy Quran, the angels and Doomsday. Another important matter is that he must believe in the brotherhood of Islam. Otherwise a Muslim does not fulfil his obligation as a believer.

All these principles I mentioned have to be studied assiduously. For instance, the Quran is written in classical Arabic and Muslims are supposed to read the original verse in their prayer though they can read the translation to understand the meaning of the Quran, but it is compulsory for all Muslims to know and to read the original verse in Arabic. So much has been said about fasting and the giving of alms and *zakat* that it takes time to explain all these and it is not possible to cover them in this article. What I am trying to convey is that to be a Muslim, one must practise it and not just profess that he is a follower or believer of Islam.

Some people take years to study the religion. Maulana Muhammad Ali who wrote the book *The Religion of Islam* mentions in the preface that he had taken seven years to write this book and at the end of which time he is still not satisfied that he has made a good job of it. I find his book on the religion of Islam very enlightening, and I must confess here that I made a thorough study of his book and learned something about Islam from his writing.

There is no dearth of converts in this country but they must all be helped to understand and practice the religion. One of the proposals I made at the Annual General Meeting was that every member of Perkim adopt, as a friend, a new convert and enlighten him on the religion of Islam as best as he could. Unlike other religions, a Muslim has to perform ablution, that is washing the hands, the face, nose, ears, neck, arms, mouth and feet before he can perform his prayers.

So far Perkim has had to depend on donations and this has been generously forthcoming from Libya, Saudi Arabia and some of the Middle East countries. Other donations come from people in this country, some of whom are non-Muslims. Our affiliates, BINA of Sarawak has done a lot to help us and USIA of Sabah, under Tun Mustapha has started us off by giving Perkim a loan of \$6 million.

Through Perkim we have formed RISEAP which consists of

Muslims living in South-East Asia and the Pacific region and the expenses connected with the activities of RISEAP outside of those which are collected in their own countries by Muslims are paid by RISEAP Headquarters in Malaysia. So Perkim's expenses have been very heavy. It is necessary therefore, for the State to help us from the *zakat* and *bitulman* fund, otherwise we will not be able to fulfil our commitment in the cause of the religion and in the cause of the understanding of Islam.

This country today has many Muslim elements. Some are extreme and narrow in their views and outlook while others are revolutionary. As had been stated by the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, there are certain activities which are highly dangerous to peace and stability of this country. There are those who set their heart on introducing the Iranian type of republic in this country. Of course, they will not succeed as they have no following.

Perkim is the only religious body that leaves out politics in its activities but concentrates more in the building of a happy society in Malaysia. Therefore, it is very necessary indeed for the Government to give help to a body such as Perkim which has won wide acclaim throughout the Muslim world and it is the only body that can counter the activities of the revolutionary Muslim forces in this country.



Tunku with Muslim converts

Peace And Goodwill Through Islam

(12 September, 1983)

THERE HAVE BEEN a lot of religious lessons, talks and discussions on our TV and these cover a wide range of subjects on the religion of Islam. Anybody who wants to learn about it can just turn on the TV, and they will hear all there is to say about the religion. Sometimes non-Muslims won't understand it as some of the subjects are quite complicated. Sometimes Muslims feel that they have listened too often to this and they tend to get rather bored.

It is a sad thing to have to say this because so much time has been spent on religion on the TV and so much religious work has been done in this country to help educate the people, more than perhaps what has been done in most other Muslim countries. We have religious schools, colleges and universities and in addition to these institutions we have sent our students to further their studies abroad. Sometimes they come back with a mixed bag of religious knowledge which gives divergent views on certain aspects of Islam but on the whole the understanding of religion in this country appears to be good and progressive, and not narrow or bigoted as some would have us believe.

Some religious propaganda from abroad is to a small extent taken up by the fanatics here, but finds no support from rational people. Having made a little study of Islam myself, I am inclined to think that it is surely not the will or intention of our Holy Prophet Muhammad to deny his followers the amenities of life with the changes that have taken place in the world from time to time. According to the Hadith, he was not averse to these changes, so in his time he preached Islam which was more progressive and advanced than the other religions at the time. Among the outstanding things I admire so much about Islam are charity (*zakat*), prayer, pilgrimage, recogni-

tion of other prophets and above all, the brotherhood of Muslims and the authority of the Holy Qur'an.

There is a lot to do to make our religion better understood by the Muslims themselves and by the non-Muslims too. This is the work undertaken by Perkim with a certain measure of success. The religious authorities spend so much time on matters of little interest to the people as a whole, for people want to know the main principles of the religion. So far, I regret to say I have not found any of the lessons on TV of much help to me in my work in Perkim. For instance, on the question of *zakat*, I would certainly like to hear what the Religious Department has done with the money collected from *zakat*, *bitulman*, and *fitrah*. How much has been done for the aged, the poor, the orphans, the handicapped and the converts, for whom *zakat* is intended to help? They seem to talk about giving *zakat*, and not so much about what has been done with the money. Perkim, on the other hand, has worked so hard to help those who need help, like caring for the Muslim refugees, but our capacity is limited because of the lack of funds and the religious departments have done little to help us.

On the TV and the radio, guest speakers just talk and talk. It matters very little to them how much interest the subjects permeated the minds of the listeners. Sometimes the action taken by the Religious Department reveals a lack of concern or consideration for the feeling of others. I was shocked when an old man from Kedah, supposed to be 100 years old by the name Lebai Omar, was charged in court for *khalwat* with a woman, Doyah binti Daim, 40 years of age. It is hard to imagine that a man of that age could have an affair with a woman. All that he needed from her was to get somebody to look after him, to tend to his household chores, such as cooking, washing up, and house cleaning. If he had wanted her for sexual purposes, it would have been different. But can any sane person imagine that a man 100 years old is capable of sexual intercourse? Nevertheless, the Religious Department prosecuted him for *khalwat* and he had to pay a fine. He had to get rid of her and soon died of neglect and exhaustion. This is an act of cruelty which we did not expect from the religious authority and it made a mockery of our religion. For Islam stands for peace and goodwill among men. To a Malay, the religion is his second nature, the other is *adat* or custom and the two mean everything to him. The saying goes - *Biar mati anak jangan mati adat*.

In a society with a mixture of other races and religions, it is necessary for us to agree to a relaxed and free society, with freedom to follow different customs and religions and other healthy incentives and inclinations. It was agreed, however, that Malay shall be the official language of this country and Islam the official religion. This will ensure goodwill and understanding among the races for all time. On this score we won Independence for Malaysia and on this score alone can we hope to see Malaysia strong and free from trouble. We have seen so much upheaval in the world today because of the gap of differences of race and religion in some countries. On the other hand, we have also seen goodwill and peace among others living under the same conditions. Our choice must be to ensure peace for our beloved Malaysia for the benefit of our future generation.

There are some, among the Malays, who want Malaysia to be a Muslim state. This would alienate the loyalty of non-Muslims as they would feel that they have no rightful place in Malaysia, being a State for Muslims alone. As the old saying goes, a country divided must break apart and fall to pieces. Nobody wants this to happen to our country. We have seen what happened to Lebanon and other countries in Africa and Southeast Asia.

While the TV gives plenty of lessons on religion, they have completely left out the other half of our *adat*. Strange to say that most young officers in the Government service know very little on the correct form of address when talking or writing to royalty and people entitled to respect. Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy and as such the people must adapt themselves and conform to the correct etiquette. Lessons in school could do a lot of good but none is available. When the boys leave school they become strangers in their new surroundings. They have no opportunity to mix with the right people so they cannot be blamed for their ignorance. Remember that religion and *adat* are to a Malay the essential parts of our character. These had kept us alive during the colonial days.

In the days of old, they were being taught by their elders on the correct behaviour. Now they don't care to learn and nobody bothers to teach them. Some say that Indonesia does not use these *adat*, why must we? But Indonesia is a republic while we are a monarchy. The difference is that while we are monarchy we must know the correct form of behaviour and conform to the ways of monarchy. Some of our people want this country to be a republic and do away with the Rulers but the fact remains that we are a monarchy, so people

should accept the fact and behave as such. Many conservative Malays feel that without Rulers and the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Malays would have no special position or stake in this country, because a republic would entitle any successful party to appoint any person irrespective of his religion or origin to be the president.

There are a few monarchies remaining in this world. Among the prominent ones in Europe are Britain, Spain, Norway and Holland while in Asia we have Japan, Thailand, Malaysia and Nepal. There are also absolute monarchies such as Oman, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the United Arab Emirates. So far these constitutional monarchies have done well and the people of Malaysia in particular are happy with the institution. In England, there are correct forms of address for the King, princes and other aristocrats and the codes of conduct are observed very strictly. Sometimes it goes a little beyond our understanding but the British take it all in good grace. The judges of the court, for instance, are not aristocrats but they are addressed as "My Lord". This can be a little confusing. Why, they ask, is a judge addressed as "My Lord", when he is not an aristocrat? But he is; in fact, Lord Almighty in his court with the power of life and death over those who appear before him.

In Japan and Thailand, the cultured people understand how to conduct themselves and how to apply the correct form of words when addressing people of rank and this is followed assiduously by their people. We have our form of words too, when addressing the rulers we use Duli Yang Maha Mulia, Tuanku. When addressing persons of the royal family, they are addressed as Tunku and answered to as Patik. In the days gone by, the understanding ones knew how to use this form of address. How many of them today know about all this? This is all part of our *adat* which the people of old emphasised on so much but which is forgotten by the people of today.

The Malays have always been looked upon as a polite people. Throughout the days of colonisation, the Malays were treated as a race of cultured people. Now that we are masters of our own destiny, in our country, we should not give up what is good in us. Our duty is to improve and to show what a polished race of people we are. The Education Department should take this matter up and so must the Religious Department and the mass media. We have the time on our TV for these lessons and we must make it our duty to see it done. This will help to improve our standing in the eyes of the people in the country and those outside our country as well.

Peace For All Time

(9 April, 1984)

(Here is the full text of the speech that the Tunku made at the Inter-Religious seminar held at Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur, on 7 April, 1984.)

“**I** AM HONOURED to be asked to officially open the Seminar of the Malaysian Consultative Council of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Sikhism whose aim is to hold meaningful dialogues among peoples of all religions. This is a most commendable task which will create mutual respect and understanding among peoples of different religion and will give them the opportunity to discuss problems affecting, not only religion but perhaps other matters of common interest to all.

An organisation such as this was formed under the name of Malayan Inter-Religious Organisation, the object of which is the same as yours but what has become of this society I don't know. I remember that Datuk Patinggi Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud was the President and so there was a Muslim body associated with this organisation.

This is the first time that you are holding the seminar, the theme of which is “Common Religious Values for Nation-Building”.

One day I hope that a Muslim religious body might join in, as the object of this organisation is very good and farsighted. Your organisation will help to create good relations among peoples of all religions in a country with a mixed population and a mixed religion. It is the duty of each and everyone of us, living in this country, to ensure peace for all time.

What is happening here today among the politicians in whose

hands the well-being of the country is entrusted, is rather worrying. The political crisis in the ruling party Barisan Nasional is causing serious concern to the good citizens. There have been clashes among party men and leaders, the likes of which we have never experienced before. At party meetings many things have happened that shocked the people. There have been fisticuffs, stabbing and shooting.

The people at large can only watch without having any say in the matter, but deep in their hearts they realise that this trouble portends danger for the future of this country. Something must be done to bring sanity to our politicians who will be leaders of this country. We depend on them and if they continue to behave in this manner what hope is there for us?

Men of religion must feel very concerned about all this. This seminar gives them the opportunity to discuss the situation from human and religious angles, and they must do so with their hearts in it.

It is the prayer of everybody in this country that there shall be trustworthiness and sincerity among the politicians entrusted with the care and well-being of our country. They must play the role expected of them by the people.

I have lived a very full life and this has been my proud boast. I was for 20 years a government servant in Kedah doing all kinds of jobs — district officer and magistrate — and in Kuala Lumpur, a DPP and president of Sessions Court. Then I moved on to politics and fought successfully for the independence of Malaya — a country which had been subject to foreign rule for all the years of its existence. It was so divided with the people of different races, different religions, different languages and cultures that it seemed impossible to see how best to ensure racial and religious harmony in such a mixed society. But past records were encouraging because we never had had any racial or religious conflict in this country.

The indigenous Malays were swamped, and the British did nothing to close the gaps among the people. They divided the country into three parts — the Unfederated Malay States, the Federated Malay States and the colonies of Singapore, Penang and Malacca. Under this arrangement, the Malays were given the privilege to manage their own affairs and life in the non-federated states. Elsewhere we only existed in name and the country and peoples remained very divided.

After the war, the British government decided to turn Malaya into a colony with one government called the Malayan Union, with the

Malay rulers as heads of the Muslim religion in their respective states. That was all that was left of the Malay identity in their own country. We saw the end was coming, so either we accepted the situation and met our end calmly, or fought back. Dato Onn took up the cry of *Hidup Melayu*. Then when I took his place I went all out for Merdeka.

With Merdeka, and when the excitement died down, we sat down to the serious business of planning to make this country a home for all, irrespective of race or religion, with special rights for the Malays and Bumiputeras because the Malays and Bumiputeras were the underprivileged race in their own country.

Our Constitution also provided for religious and social freedom for all, and this freedom we have all enjoyed for all these years. The people of Malaysia are free to choose their religion and follow it to their hearts' content. Though Islam is the official religion, to show our sincerity the government gave public holidays for people of other religions to observe their religious obligations. What was most encouraging was that everybody joined in the joys of the festivals exchanging greetings and goodwill and friendship.

The government contributed money towards the building of places of worship when requested. So one can say that Malaysia is truly a good country and a nice place to live in. One is never denied a place in the society because of differences in race, colour or religion. Every man or woman is accepted on his or her face value.

Unfortunately, there have been isolated incidents started by misguided youths, but these just passed like wind gathering no dust. It is our duty to keep this country peaceful for all time. It requires the co-operation and goodwill of men of all religions and races. Religion can help so long as everyone can remember that religions are intended to work for the good of man. Islam even provides that every Muslim must break away from his daily routine and have communion with God at least five times a day, according to the movements of the sun. Unless man is reminded of his duty to God he will never think of his fellowmen.

Since World War Two, a big change has taken place. Countries which were ruled by super powers and white masters began to fight for independence, and many have obtained their freedom. Then followed the winds of change as a counter to the communist threat to obtain mastery of the world. The communists had claimed to fight for the rights and equality of men, and this had gained wide sup-

port from former subject races.

With the new found freedom, a new world order instead produced all kinds of disorder and turmoil. This was due to the lack of experience of the leaders and their lack of faith in God. Civil wars and violence took a heavy toll of lives and property. Some of these troubles are happening so near to us. Thousands of refugees fled their homes, many died on the way and many lost their parents, brothers and sisters. We have in Malaysia refugees from Vietnam, Kampuchea and the Philippines, so we know the folly of religious, racial and political strives.

People are worried that such troubles can catch on here. So every precaution must be taken by the good citizens to prevent such happenings from taking place. The world picture today shows that the super powers are openly split into two big camps with their teeth bared, i.e. those who believe in religion and those who do not. Though the big powers are maintaining peace with one another, the danger of war breaking out is there and cannot be brushed aside. The small nations which support the ideologies of both super powers are showing growing signs of restlessness. Troubles are breaking out among them. The fear is that they may reach the top, and God help us if the two camps — pro-God and anti-God forces decided on an all-out war. The last two world wars have shown that deaths were not confined to the battlefield, but many more innocent lives were destroyed in the shelter of their homes.

Every effort must, therefore, be made to prevent the outbreak of such a war. Prevention must be taken at home, so we must do our best to maintain peace in our own country. Action must be taken by men of peace and men of God to initiate the move.

Every man must understand that we were not born of the same race or religion, and we are intelligent enough to know that unless we can learn to live at peace with and respect one another, the result will inevitably be turbulence and turmoil.

In my writings and speeches, I have laid stress and emphasis on peace and goodwill among men. I am always happy to support any movement working towards this end. I have taken to religion and find peace of mind in my faith in God.

I also realise that every religion thinks of itself as the best, and every man thinks of his race as superior. But if we continue with this line of thinking we will only invite trouble. We might as well be honest and say to ourselves, 'we are here today and gone tomorrow'.

row' , so while we live we should continue to make life worth living.

Above all, we must give this nation our absolute loyalty, and may it continue to give us shelter and protection for all time — God be praised."

No Room For Religious Extremism

(30 July, 1984)

OF LATE, there has been a lot of talk on the activities of Muslim extremists in the north and eastern States of Peninsular Malaysia.

It was reported in the press that at their illicit meetings, posters of Ayatollah Khomeini depicting him as a great Muslim leader and eulogising his qualities as such, were openly displayed. It has been said that these extremists were trying to use foreign devices to topple our government and to set up in its place a militant Muslim government after the fashion of Ayatollah Khomeini.

The movement referred to, was a violent revolution which toppled the Shah of Iran and was followed by the execution of thousands upon thousands of innocent people. According to the rebels, the Shah's Government was tyrannical and had to be removed. But it is so far removed from the one we practise here.

Our government is a government of the people, by the people and for the people and there is no question of tyranny being evident here.

Behind their minds is the urge to seize power and enjoy the wealth Malaysia has amassed. Any attempt to topple the Government by force must be regarded as treasonable, no less heinous than the insurrections of the Malayan communists.

The people here will not be easily swayed to militant Islam based on Khomeini brand of blood-bath revolution.

These so-called extremists are made up of political and religious minded young people and because of their inability to win recognition through the normal recognised political channel, they have come out with a Khomeini-type of violent political movement.

People are aware of what is good for the country. Watching their activities from this end I can't see the danger they present. The power-

ful UMNO political party remains the backbone of the country's politics.

In the first place, it was UMNO which won independence for this country, and it has served the Malay cause and interests so well, so far, that it has won the friendship and confidence of other races.

It has created a government with a stable economy and a progressive administration. It has maintained understanding and goodwill among the people of all races and creeds.

Nobody wants a change unless it can be proved that the party wanting the change can deliver the goods and do better.

Can these activities — militant in character — lacking in political know-how, convince the people that they are better than UMNO?

We have a constitutional parliamentary monarchy often referred to as the new type of monarchy. It is an undeniable fact that Malaysia is one of the shining lights in the dark world of Southeast Asia.

After Independence the people have become more settled and satisfied with life in Malaysia. The common people are able to think and judge for themselves what is good and what is not for the country. A militant, religious government can never be good for a country of mixed population.

If you look at the country today and compare it with what it was in the colonial days, the difference is so great, it's hard to think that it is the same country.

Reiterating what I have often said previously, the Malays have been brought into political limelight, playing their part and contributing their share in the well-being and progress of the country, be it in administration or in the business world.

When you ask ordinary Malays what they think should be done to improve their lot, the normal answer would be: we are satisfied with what is being done for us today, and given time we can expect our lot to improve further. We cannot deny that what the Government has done for us has given us a new lease of life.

In the circumstances, what could the opposition party, like party Islam or any other extremist Malay party do for the country?

Any Malay can see what is happening in the world where religion has been brought into conflict with the democratic way of life. It sets the nation in utter confusion, bringing destruction to peace and suffering to all.

They know that if Malaysia with its multi-racial and multi-religious society were to succumb to this extremism we would suffer as well.

I used to think how beautiful Lebanon was. It was one of the most outstanding Arab nations. Millions were invested by all the Arab world in Lebanon. One bad move brought about the internecine war between Muslims and non-Muslims. The country has broken into pieces as hell has broken loose.

I personally can see no imminent or potential danger from the activities of these extremists, except for sporadic incidents as those seen in Batu Pahat and Kerling. One might say that these were isolated incidents which this Government is well able to cope with.

More encouragement should be given to voluntary organisations such as Perkim to counter the terrorist tactics of these militant Muslims. Unfortunately Perkim does not have the means to do it because of lack of funds. The organisation receives very little financial support from the State Government. Government agencies would not have the same opportunities to counter the campaign of the extremists. Only voluntary organisations such as Perkim can fight them.

Its work has won thousands of adherents to Islam and thousands more are interested in the religion because Perkim's activities are non-sectarian, non-racial and devoted entirely to the building up of happy relations among Muslims and between Muslims and non-Muslims.

If the Government could give a little financial aid from *zakat*, Perkim could make more substantial improvement and could embark on carrying the war into the terrorists' camp. I strongly feel that the State Perkim should be given sufficient funds to help pay the officials so as to enable them to devote their time and attention to Perkim's *dakwah*.

Coming back to the activities of these Muslim extremists, I appreciate the Government's concern but verbal attack and other action taken against them is not enough to stop them. Counter action should be employed through religious voluntary bodies to fight them.

At the Kedah Perkim general meeting, I was encouraged to see the Menteri Besar of Kedah, Datuk Seri Syed Nahar, show his support through suggestions and promises to see what he could do to persuade the State to get more help for Perkim. If he succeeds the other States are bound to follow suit. The money can be paid to the State's Perkim secretariat. There is no question about the *zakat* fund leaving the State.

Perkim headquarters does not have any need for this money

because we have sufficient funds to run the Perkim headquarters in Kuala Lumpur. The only trouble is, we are unable to feed the other branches and provide sufficient money for them to run the State's *dakwah* successfully.

According to his address at the Third International Seminar On Islamic Thought, the Prime Minister said: "We the Muslim *ummah* have to make a conscious decision whether to remain ... between living in the past or only superficially coming to terms with the contemporary world, or whether we will opt for an Islamic future.... Remember always that Islam, when it came, was a modernising force that brought greatness to the early followers, greatness in the field of economy, industry, science, arts and military powers." And I may add also, politics and political consciousness.

We Muslims must learn to be honest with ourselves. We need to have a balanced approach to this world and to the hereafter. To live the life of a Muslim as understood by the intellectual, a Muslim must have a broad outlook of life. Only with that can we bring the Muslim lifestyle to the fore in this turbulent world.

How Religion Changed My Life

(18 December, 1984)

(This is the text of the Tunku's policy speech as President of RISEAP at its third General Assembly in Kuala Lumpur.)

“**T**HIS IS THE third General Assembly of the Regional Islamic Dakwah Council of Southeast Asia and the Pacific. The members have all shown greater interest in our work in the cause of Islamic solidarity in these foreign countries. This is as it should be.

Without the help and co-operation of their brother Muslims they would find themselves lost in a world populated with people of other religions; and in the end might give way to the influence of these others, and lose faith in Islam.

I find this has happened in many countries, particularly in China and in many European countries. Important to us too, are the converts to Islam in these countries. Unless they are taken care of and befriended and taught the religion of Islam they would lose their bearing.

Islam is not like other religions because, unlike others, we have to observe and perform certain rites, such as praying five times a day, fasting, giving *zakat* (alms), believe in the Quran, and have faith in Allah and the Holy Prophet. All these exercises are necessary to discipline Muslims and to bring us closer to God, and make us good and God-fearing people.

There are many religions in this world, and the idea behind them is almost the same, but because there is no compulsion in the observance of the religion, people lose touch with God. Many practise it only for certain occasions such as marriage, for death, and for

festive occasions. But for us Muslims it is our daily obligation to pray, without which a Muslim becomes just like the others.

In this age of progress which brings with it new thinking, people tend to lose faith in God. We have seen men who openly show disbelief and defy God, leading to world dissensions and world wars. The two world wars had taken a heavy toll on human lives, not only among fighting men but also among the innocent at home. A third world war, if ever it breaks out, God forbid, would wipe out the entire human race and living things.

So today while we participate in the necessities and amenities of life doing business or whatever we do to keep up with the world and keep ourselves alive we must have faith and believe in God in the hope that He will save us from all the evils, temptations and dangers of life which rule the world of today.

A Muslim must have his faith in God and the Holy Prophet and perform his daily prayers. This too will help to remind him of his duty to his fellow-men. To perform prayers at five different times of the day has a great consoling effect on man's soul.

There is now a new deviant group which is called Tarikat Samaniah (Rohania) and according to them there is no need to perform the set prayers. All that is necessary is to express their intention to pray (in the heart).

In the case of marriage, it said that one need not have the consent of the guardian nor is it necessary to have the *Imam* with the authority to perform the marriage.

In the case of death, no prayer for the dead is necessary for when a person dies, he becomes a carcass and can be thrown into the river or just buried without any ceremony.

Prayers have done me a lot of good. As a young man I was playful and cared little about the serious side of life. Then during the Japanese occupation, we faced the greatest challenge to life. As a result, I took to prayer and made a study of the religion. From that moment on, my life changed. I became more serious, more interested in the affairs of our country and people, and more observant. My luck seemed to have changed too, and for the better.

After the war I went to England to complete my Bar examination. When I returned home I became somebody. This led to my election as President of UMNO and the Alliance, and later I became Chief Minister and Prime Minister of this country. Then I became Secretary-General of the Organization of Islamic Conference of

Foreign Ministers; and lastly I became President of Perkim and RISEAP, the Islamic bodies which look after the Muslims in Malaysia and Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

In recent years the religion of Islam has grown and now we find Muslims in the five continents of the world. The newest additions are found in the United States of America, Southeast Asia and Tonga.

As brothers we are duty-bound to take an interest in the lives of our fellow-Muslims wherever they may be. On this score, RISEAP was formed – that is, to look after Muslim minorities in Southeast Asia and the Pacific regions, and this strengthens the bond of brotherhood among Muslims.

Some of them find life difficult in these countries. They are being persecuted and discriminated against and some governments look upon Muslims as a danger to their religion, but many of the Commonwealth countries are friendly to them. We are in the best position to know their plight because there are many thousands of refugees who find asylum here and the tales we hear from them are pitiful and shocking.

The greatest number of refugees come from the neighbouring countries. But unfortunately some come from a Muslim country where they find life hard. At the rate illegal immigrants are finding their way into Malaysia, we will find ourselves in the course of years overweighted and over-populated by the presence of new immigrants. However our duty is to help them, because they are our brothers in Islam.

RISEAP, which has undertaken the task of looking after Muslim minorities within this region, has taken on a tremendous task. It requires honest effort, money and time to devote itself to the cause of these minorities. As I said, some countries are trying to liquidate Muslims, and destroy Islam as they consider Islam a danger to their way of life and their religion.

RISEAP was established in November, 1980 and we have had three conferences so far. The cost of holding these conferences has been almost prohibitive, for Malaysia is one of the smallest Muslim nations in the world. One day I fear some other countries may have to take over or RISEAP would die.

At the Council meeting in Hong Kong held in 1983, the member countries agreed to pay half the cost of the fare for attending the conference, but the main cost of the expenses has still to be borne

by RISEAP headquarters in Malaysia. We were fortunate at one time to get the support of some of our friends in the Middle East, particularly Saudi Arabia; but now because of the oil crisis and trouble in the Middle East, help has not been forthcoming.

If our local Muslims feel that what we are doing is right, then they should come to our help by donating towards RISEAP. The member countries who feel that this organization must go on may have to give more financial support to it. At the least, all those who can afford, must pay their share of the expenditure.

They must also organise themselves into strong, efficient religious bodies to enable them to serve the Muslims in their own countries better for unless the countries are organised and united, I cannot see what help they can give to their Muslim brothers.

We have been obliged to reduce our expenditure by holding the conference once in three years. It costs a lot to hold the conference, particularly the cost of transport. We can take care of them while they are here to attend the conference, but members must try and pay transport expenses.

Our Government has been helpful in that it has helped us with donations. Being a private organization we cannot expect the Government to shoulder the cost of running it.

We have been in existence for only four years, but RISEAP has been able to achieve some good results for the benefit of Muslims; and it is hoped that with the help of Allah, and your contribution, we can continue to help Muslim minorities in these regions.

Many matters will be discussed at this meeting. Among them are:

- (1) To send *Imams* to all the countries which have no one learned enough or qualified enough to lead the prayers, and to give religious lessons.
- (2) More literature on Islam must be issued to these countries in the language best understood by them.
- (3) To set up more courses for religious study at the Headquarters for students abroad.
- (4) To keep our charter up to date by introducing new amendments and deleting out-dated ones.
- (5) Help the ladies in member countries to strengthen their organization. They have joined us for the first time and this is truly encouraging for RISEAP. Their participation will add new life to our organization.

Lastly, I would like to express my very sincere thanks to our good

friend His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Al-Hamad Al-Shubaili for his generous contribution of \$50,000 towards our expenses for the Conference. As ever he is always generous, kind and mindful of our difficulty.

I remember at our first RISEAP Conference in 1980, we ran short of funds and he came to our rescue by making an appeal to his Foreign Minister to help us with \$500,000. This truly was of great help to us.

I am sure you will join me in expressing our grateful thanks for his kind help.

I wish you all success in your deliberations to help build up the moral and spiritual work in the cause of Islam."

Islamic Values and Government Policy

(26 November, 1984)

I HAD ACCEPTED the invitation to launch the book *Contemporary Issues on Malaysian Religions* on Saturday (November 24), but I failed to turn up. Perhaps a little explanation is necessary for my absence.

The Malaysian Consultative Council of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Sikhism held a seminar on 7 April, the object of which was, as I understood it, to create better understanding between the followers of different religions through discussion.

On that occasion, leaders of different religions were assembled and they dealt with the many issues pertaining to matters of interest and importance to the people of Malaysia as a whole. It was my privilege to declare open this council and among the speakers were well-known people representing the different religions. Among them were Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, Dr. Abdul Rauf and Mr. Lim Kit Siang.

All these people had much to say about the subject of religious freedom and other matters which are of importance to the peace and well-being of this country. Some of them might have gone astray on some points, but on the whole they kept within the scope and objective of the discussion.

Dr. Abdul Rauf said in the course of his talk, in reply to unfair criticism: "Those of us who have decided in recent years to make this blessed country their own home have not only been offered warm refuge by their Muslim hosts, in spite of their great number, but have also been extended an equal legal status."

He emphasised that, "Islam means peace, love, co-operation, honesty, punctuality, hard work, honour and abstinence from licentious behaviour. Islam stands for complete understanding between

all people and all races."

This, accordingly, is the Islamic value mentioned by the Prime Minister. But he did not spell it out, causing many people to misunderstand it as an attempt to turn this country into an Islamic State.

Datuk Musa Hitam, in his address in America, told his audience what this Islamic value meant and it was understood and naturally accepted as the virtue essential for the well-being of man and nation.

The introduction to the book, however, is harsh and vicious in its interpretation of Islamic values and attacked the Government on its policy of making Islam the official religion and Bahasa Malaysia the official language of this country.

According to Paul Tan and Theresa Ee;

...A major resentment is the recruitment policy of government servants. For every five persons recruited, four are Malays. Today, the majority of government servants in the administration are Malays and people in the top posts are also generally Malays.

The Federal Constitution of Malaya states that only a Malay can become the Prime Minister of Malaysia. Many talented non-Malays left the Government service as hopes of promotion became dimmer. For some time, non-Malays were already whispering their discontent, as their rights were being whittled away, slowly but surely. They feared and suspected that the government policy was Islamisation. However, the Internal Security Act, which can be used to hold citizens indefinitely without trial, made open dissent impracticable.

Malay language, which forms the basis of Bahasa Malaysia, is also declared the official language in the Constitution with a special provision for the uplift and betterment of the Malay race. Thus the stage was set for the Government to coerce and create national consciousness and unity.

This criticism of the government policy is mischievous, to say the least. These matters had been fully discussed by the Reid Commission when the Constitution was prepared nearly 28 years ago. Every community, association and political body had been consulted and it was agreed to write into the Constitution the terms of this agreement.

The Malay race is synonymous with Islam for, according to the Constitution, a Malay is one who embraces Islam and who habitually

speaks the language. It was accepted that Malays were indigenous people of this country; so to make Bahasa Melayu and Islam the official language and religion of this country was accepted as logical and the right course to take for independent Malaya.

At the same time, English was given preferential status and treatment as the second language and medium of instruction for higher studies.

Chinese and Indians were given the right to run their own schools with subsidies from the Government.

One might say that this is the only country in Southeast Asia that provides education for people of all races in their own language. The only condition is that they must accept Bahasa Malaysia as the object and expression of loyalty to the country.

This was agreed to with appreciable tolerance. However, they were accepted, as a result of which the country has enjoyed peace and prosperity all these years.

It was also agreed that Malays should be encouraged to take part in business but not at the expense of others. It was feared that if the natives of the country felt themselves pressured and cornered by the affluence and supremacy of the other races, they might show their resentment by fighting back and this would lead to violence and unrest in the country.

It was appreciated that without government help, the Malays would be completely at a loss as they find no opening in the business and private sectors of the country.

This right had been agreed to, including Bahasa Malaysia and Islam as the official language and religion, and entered in the Constitution: so why bring it up now except with the malicious intention of creating ill-will among the people of this country.

It could easily be used by extremists to create trouble. We have seen this happening everywhere around us, and we have reason to thank God that this has not happened in Malaysia and we pray that it must not happen here.

We have seen refugees in large numbers from neighbouring countries and in particular from the Philippines where hundreds and thousands of refugees had to flee for their safety and seek refuge and asylum here. Large numbers of Muslims are still fighting a guerilla warfare in the jungle for their survival.

Our duty as citizens of this country must be to live and let live. No particular race can have everything their own way and I have

reminded my people of this often enough, and I feel it is the unequivocal duty of the non-Malays to remember their duty towards the Malays and Malaysia, the country of their adoption.

It must be remembered that the non-Malays had never been robbed of their fundamental rights but allowed to live their own life and to follow their own religion and on this score, we should all be able to live together in peace and harmony.

We should all thank God for the small mercies received and we must make the best of what we possess, and above all we must make this country a home for all, not only for us who live today but for others who come after us.

I take exception to what was said in the introduction of the book and perhaps to some of the things said by the other speakers.

I was hoping that we could use religion to build better understanding among the people of this country because I have often said that a man of religion is law-abiding and understands the need for the promotion of goodwill and peace in the country.

Perkim Comes Of Age

(5 November, 1984)

PERKIM (Pertubuhan Kabajikan Islam Malaysia) will be celebrating its silver jubilee on 19 November. It will be a modest celebration, but full of meaning and significance.

It is the only body that I know of in the Muslim world which is doing yeoman's service among the less fortunate people, and this includes other benefits such as education and taking care of the Muslim refugees who number many thousands in this country.

Perkim has for instance been looking after the Kampuchean refugees since 1975, and its associate body in Sabah looks after the many thousands of Muslim refugees driven and persecuted in the Philippines because of their religion.

Now the Vietnamese Muslims have asked for asylum in Malaysia. After some two years of protracted negotiations with the Government, Perkim might be given permission to care for them.

Perkim was formed in August 1960, and the pioneers were:

Tan Sri S.O.K. Ubaidullah, president; Tuan Haji Mohd. Ali bin Taib, vice-president; Tan Sri Mubin Sheppard, secretary and Dato Haji Ally Maricar, treasurer.

The members were: Dato Sheikh Ahmad, Menteri Besar Perlis; Tuan Daman Hui, Religious Affairs of Department Perak; Wan Abdul Kadir, Trengganu; Ustaz Nik Mahyideen, Kelantan; Ustaz M.T. Kandil, College Islam; Haji Ali Raya, Johore; and Syed Jaafar Alba.

My first association with this organisation was at the missionary training centre, Darul Arqam, in Jalan Ampang. The man in charge of the centre was Ustaz M.T. Kandil. I was absolutely taken in with the object and purpose of such a body in Malaysia.

Later on I found a piece of land in Maxwell Road bordering Batu Road which I felt would be most suitable as headquarters for such

an organisation, but they were unable to make use of it because of a lack of funds.

As Prime Minister I could not take an active part in Perkim, but my heart was with them. And I could have provided the funds for the building we had in mind, but they never asked for it.

When I was in Jeddah, Tan Sri Abdul Aziz Zain, an official of Perkim, joined me as my secretary, and on his advice I asked Col. Gadaffi, President of Libya, for a loan of M\$12 million for the Perkim headquarters. This, he was kind enough to agree to in principle, but the details had to be worked out before the loan could be approved. That again took a long time to finalise, and by the time it was finally approved, the cost of the building had doubled.

When I was invited to take over as President on my return from Jeddah, I found that there had not been any meeting for three years, and its activities had come to a standstill. A lot of thinking had to be done to plan for the revival of Perkim, and how it could be achieved. One great disadvantage was the lack of funds.

I could only think of one man who might be able to help. He was my old friend Tun Mustapha. So I approached him for a loan to start off Perkim, and he was kind enough to respond immediately by giving us a loan of whatever he had for his own USIA (Pertubuhan Islam Seluruh Sabah) organisation.

That was a good start. With M\$6 million invested in Perkim's name, we launched our movement and reactivated Perkim. We brought in new members, and instilled new life and spirit, with the result that the organisation became alive again and made its presence felt throughout the Muslim world.

In the course of our work we managed to win over the Muslims in Sarawak under Tan Sri Datuk Taib Mahmud and his wife Datin Laila Taib. BINA (Angkatan Nahdatul Islam Bersatu) Sarawak became affiliated to Perkim. Tun Datuk Haji Abdul Rahman bin Ya'kub, Yang di Pertua, Negri Sarawak, took active interest in the new organisation, and participated in all its activities.

With USIA and BINA as affiliates, Perkim won a new victory. And over 100,000 new converts were won over to Islam.

Not long afterwards Tun Mustapha had differences with the Christian missionaries, and repatriated five of them. This led to some excitement in the Catholic circle, and they won sympathisers in Catholic countries.

When I was in Jeddah as secretary-general, the Council of Chris-

tian Churches invited me to a meeting in Geneva - Christian-Muslim conference, the object of which was to promote goodwill and understanding. But when I got there I found that the real reason was to ask me to intercede on behalf of these five missionaries so that they could be returned to Sabah.

I told them I could not interfere because the Sabah Government had complete and absolute control over immigration matters. I told them of our trouble in the Philippines where at that time Muslims were being driven out of their homes, and many had sought asylum in Sabah.

After the trip to Geneva I obtained an audience with Pope John, the object of which was to discuss the refugee problem. But before I was able to state my case the Pope brought up the question of the five missionaries. I informed the Pope that I had come to plead for the Muslims who had been driven from their homes, and deprived of their land for no reason other than being Muslims. They had occupied these properties for hundreds of years, and they were never told to register as owners. The Pope admitted he was unable to help because this was outside his authority and jurisdiction.

I am never tired of reminding our people of how important it is to have tolerance in religion; particularly so in Malaysia where there are people of so many ethnic groups with different religions living together. At least those who believe in religion are more law-abiding than those without.

We have been living together under British rule for many generations. We never had any religious squabbles and we must keep it that way. This is Perkim's avowed aim: to make Malaysia our home and the object of loyalty of all the people who live here. Our charitable duty has now extended beyond the shores of Malaysia.

We were approached by Muslim minorities living in Southeast Asia and the countries bordering the Pacific for help, and so we decided to form another wing of Perkim which we called RISEAP (Regional Islamic Da'wah Council for Southeast Asia and the Pacific).

Rabita Al Islam which had at first supported our plan decided to set up another organisation with its headquarters in Karachi. We gave in to them and promised our support. When the Karachi conference decided to set up a new Muslim headquarters to work for South and Southeast Asia and the Pacific we attended the meeting and promised our support, but the organisation never got started.

When I visited Karachi I found that there was no headquarters at all, and the new organisation had never got off the ground. It was therefore obvious to us that Pakistan could never give the lead, and so we decided to go ahead with the first conference of RISEAP under Perkim's wing in Kuala Lumpur.

Rabita was sporting enough to accept us as the new leaders, and gave us some financial help, but they insisted on inviting their council members from all over the world to attend the conference in Kuala Lumpur. This sapped all our funds.

It was agreed to set up the new headquarters in Kuala Lumpur.

The sporting Saudi Arabian Ambassador, Mohamed Al-Hamad Al-Shubaili, went out of his way to get the Saudi Arabian Government to give us a handsome donation of US\$500,000 to help run RISEAP. This organisation was considered as the first Muslim organisation to work for the good of minority Muslims scattered throughout Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

Datuk Hussein bin Osman took over as the first secretary-general of RISEAP. After him was Dato Ali Abdullah who was formerly the secretary, O.I.C., when we started pioneer work in Jeddah in 1970.

Perkim today has a good set of executive officers. Among them are Datuk Patinggi Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud, Tan Sri Yusoff, Tan Sri Aziz Zain, Tan Sri Mubin Sheppard, Tun Omar Yoke Lin, Dato Ahmad Nordin, Dato Haji Buyong and a few others.

Tun Mustapha and Tun Abdul Rahman Yaakub, Yang di Pertua Negri Sarawak, are deputy presidents of Perkim. The untiring Datuk Md. Nordin bin Zain is the secretary-general.

One thing, however, Perkim members were made aware of was their duty to Islam and to their fellow men. They were not allowed as Perkim members to take part in politics because the two can never go well together. Political interest could divert our attention from the realities of Islam. To use the name of Allah to win votes will in the end contaminate our effort in the cause of humanity and in the name of Allah. This is our avowed aim, and may Allah keep us straight.

In recognition of the success of Perkim, I was given two awards: The King Feisal award from Saudi Arabia, and the Hijrah award from Pakistan.

Today we have reached the age of 25 years; and it is my prayer that after I have gone, Perkim will continue this good work. I realise

that we have some difficulty in making Perkim the absolute success which we have in mind, but that is because of a lack of funds. The states which used to support us have withdrawn their contribution. According to them Perkim is rich enough to carry on without any further help from them. But this is not so. The only money we have is barely enough to run our organisation.

We have so many things on our plate, and some of these I have mentioned earlier. Besides, we have clinics (dental and medical), commercial and trade schools which give free courses to Muslims. Our religious courses for the Muslim minorities from abroad and non-Muslims who wish to make a study of Islam consume a lot of money. As a result, we have been forced to borrow money from banks to meet our needs.

Our central government has been kind enough to help us from time to time, especially with the expenses connected with the RISEAP conferences. Quite a fair share of our income comes from non-Muslims; and I cannot thank them enough for their help.

I was forced recently to write and ask for help from the Rulers. A few have replied to the effect that they will give the matter some thought; and we are looking forward to their help.

If we are able to get the money it will all be used for Perkim's work in the States, and at the same time counter the propaganda of the diversionists in the States.

In a country like Malaysia, with a multi-racial society and differences of religion, it is very necessary to build an organisation like Perkim which can help to narrow the gap of differences by undertaking charitable work which in some respect is open to all Muslims and non-Muslims.

Our members, both men and women, give free voluntary work, and they expect no material gain for themselves. Many of them are converts to Islam.

May Allah reward and bless them for their services to the less fortunate members of our society.

IV. Profiles

"Ghazali Jawi was a controversial figure. Sometimes he was obstinate and would not listen to reason and sometimes he was the very opposite. As such he found it hard to get on with people. Even our own party men complained about him. Some opposed his inclusion as a member of the Cabinet, saying that he was not a suitable man to be a minister. But I maintained that he had given unswerving loyalty to the party and had helped to build UMNO in Perak and for the service, I'd stand by him. So it was that he retained his ministerial rank, except when he became *Menteri Besar* of Perak for the second time."

Tunku Abdul Rahman
13 December, 1982

Proud Prince and the Kennedys

(28 June, 1982)

I RECEIVED a very pleasant surprise when our foreign ministry informed me that Prince Sihanouk wished to meet me. So it was that he came to Penang with his wife, Princess Monique and other members of his entourage. It has been 18 years since we last met in Kuala Lumpur and I remember what I said to him then: "You are not a communist, so don't flirt with them because their politics can never agree with yours." Prince Sihanouk is a very charming man, fond of life and of music. Like me he is not a serious man but a bit excitable. I used to think of him as my counterpart, following the same pattern of life and a scion of the royal house.

We got on very well together; he used to visit Kuala Lumpur - without notice sometimes - and on one occasion, his visit clashed with that of Senator Robert Kennedy, brother of the late President Kennedy. They were not on speaking terms for, according to Prince Sihanouk, Robert Kennedy was offish and had suggested that Prince Sihanouk call on him. Prince Sihanouk said he was the Head of State and it was for Robert Kennedy to call on him first.

Both of them decided to return on the same day and at the same time in their own planes and both refused to occupy the same lounge at the airport. So I had to rush to attend to one and again to the other. However, it was agreed that Robert Kennedy leave ahead of Prince Sihanouk. That was the last time too that I saw Sihanouk. I never dreamt I would see him again. He is 60 and I am nearly 80 but we were able to renew old friendship and reminisce about the past and laugh over it.

He was on a visit to Russia in 1970 when his trusted friend, Marshal Lon Nol staged a coup and took over Kampuchea (then Cambodia), but he didn't stay in power for long. Lon Nol, an anti-

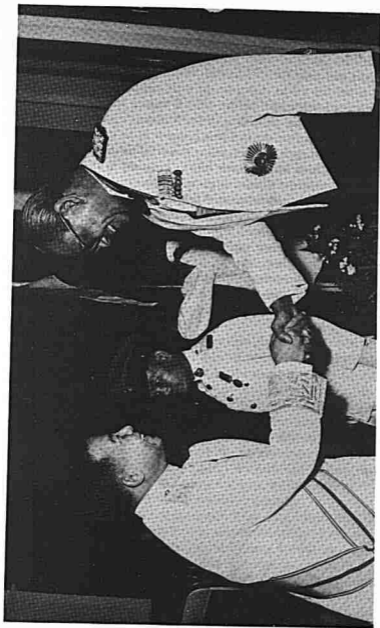
communist, objected to Prince Sihanouk leaning too far to the left, and staged a *coup d'etat* in his absence in Russia. The Khmer Rouge, an extreme communist party, led by Pol Pot, then staged a rebellion and overthrew Lon Nol and took over power with a vengeance never before experienced in this region of Asia. According to Prince Sihanouk there are now no more than four million Kampuchians in a country which previously had about seven million people. The rest are either killed, or living as refugees in foreign lands. He lamented over the fate of his people who had suffered so much misery and it is his determination to free his people from the puppet government of Heng Samrin.

An *American Times* correspondent asked him how he expected to win back Kampuchea when he has no arms or soldiers. He replied: "What made you think we have no arms and soldiers? Our guerillas are fighting the puppet government and I am going to hold the first coalition government meeting in the jungle where we will take a decision to fight it out with them." Prince Sihanouk realises he has a difficult task ahead. The present puppet regime of Heng Samrin has established itself in Kampuchea with the help of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese have proved their courage and have beaten off powerful nations such as America and France. In fact, a coalition with his former rivals, the Khmer Rouge and the Peoples National Liberation Front, has to prove its sincerity and solidarity. Their object is to mobilise all efforts to liberate Kampuchea from the aggressors and to implement the declaration of international conference on Kampuchea. The snag, however, is that each party in the coalition will retain its own political identity and freedom of action.

How this is going to work out is difficult for outsiders to say. One had ousted the other in the past and their policy is diametrically opposed to one another. However, for the love of Kampuchea, Prince Sihanouk said: "They can sink their differences." The coalition government of democratic Kampuchea shall be guided by "the principles of tripartism, equality and non-preponderance."

Our foreign Minister, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, complimented the wisdom and abiding sense of patriotism that first brought the parties together in Singapore last September. This time, they came together in Kuala Lumpur and after months of hard bargaining and soul-searching effort they have reached an agreement. They have now signed the instrument that will bind them together as a political force determined to regain Kampuchea. This coalition government will



Tunku with Prince Sihanouk

get the support of all nations, including Malaysia, and other nations which have consistently opposed the aggression committed against Kampuchea in defiance of the U.N. Charter and Resolutions. Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie admitted, however, that Ascan can only give moral support and pray for its success.

It is not for me to elaborate on what has been agreed upon by the parties but the task before them is indeed formidable. At the same time, Vietnam must have viewed Malaysia's part in staging the signing of the agreement in Kuala Lumpur as an unfriendly act. In the event of an open conflict, many powerful nations such as U.S., Russia and China will be drawn into it. I can say in all honesty that this uneasy tripartite alliance might not be able to get off the ground without the direct and substantial support of the powerful nations.

The United Nations have taken a decision and they must follow it up with all-out support for the democratic government of Kampuchea. In the end they might have to agree to a split, into North and South Kampuchea. After all, it had happened in Korea and Vietnam, and in a way in this country between Singapore and Malaysia. So why not Kampuchea as a first step towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict. However, we all pray for peace in this region of Asia.

The Legend of Mahsuri

(25 October, 1982)

THERE IS A pleasure ship called Princess Mahsuri which provides pleasure cruises for tourists around the islands of Southeast Asia. In fact, there was no such person as Princess Mahsuri. Just Mahsuri or Puan Mahsuri would have been a more appropriate name to use. However, since they chose to elevate her to a princess, there is no harm in it. But being the person responsible for digging out her past life and giving prominence to it by building her tomb and writing the script of a film on her, I must clarify to the best of my ability the story of Mahsuri.

Mahsuri deserved whatever honour people chose to bestow on her. She was the beautiful daughter of Pandak Meyer, who lived in the kampung of Ulu Melaka, Langkawi, in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah (1232-1240), now Hijrah 1403. According to the story they told about her, she was a beautiful lady, born of an ordinary class family. Her father was a businessman. In those days people had to travel far and wide for their livelihood on business or fishing trips. Some of them went for an even more hazardous business, that of piracy. When Mahsuri reached marriageable age, she was married to a man, also doing business, by the name of Ali. He, like his father-in-law, also travelled extensively.

As a result of the absence of the menfolk from the island, the code of conduct for the womenfolk was very strict. One of the most serious offences was adultery and the punishment for this was execution by *sula*. The guilty person would be buried in the sand with the shoulders sticking out, and a kris would be plunged into the shoulder blade right through the stomach and churned. The victim would then bleed to death. Such a punishment had never been meted out to anyone within the memory of the islanders.

Mahsuri was left very much on her own when her parents and husband went on their business trips, so she naturally was exposed to all kinds of temptation. But she had always been sociable and popular. After she got married, she was expected to be more decorous, but being so free and friendly in her ways she joined other girls in all their social activities.

A businessman from Melaka used to come to Langkawi quite a lot to do business. His name was Dramang. It was said that this man made flirtatious advances on Mahsuri. Whether she reciprocated these advances or not was not proved, and there was no direct evidence to suggest that they were having an affair. But the story was that Dramang and Mahsuri were often seen together.

The news reached the ears of Datuk Kama Jaya, whose wife Datin, was said to be jealous of Mahsuri because the attention the latter received had shut her from the limelight. As the First Lady of the island, she should have received more prominence, but Mahsuri got all the popularity instead. So she (Datin) approached the Datuk and told him of the rumour which had been spread about Mahsuri and Dramang.

"This has gone too far and people are saying that you are not interested enough to take action and that you turn a deaf ear to all these happenings," she said.

"I have heard about it, but I am not inclined to believe it because Mahsuri is a well-behaved girl and very popular in her kampung, and what's more, I might say, on the island. Her beauty is bound to create a certain amount of jealousy among the womenfolk, who will lend their ears to all these tales and stories about her. I don't believe it is true," said the Datuk.

"You are not suggesting that I am one of those who are inventing charges against Mahsuri?" asked the Datin.

"All right," said the Datuk, "bring to me evidence to prove that Mahsuri is guilty of adultery, and I shall punish her."

Mahsuri's house was constantly watched. Any visitor to the house or kampung would be reported to the Datuk.

It was reported that when Dramang visited the kampung, Mahsuri would invite him into the house. A neighbour, Osman, and his wife said they saw Dramang entering the house of Mahsuri, but what they did inside was not possible for them to know. All they knew was that Dramang was in the house for no less than two hours. Osman's story was corroborated by Mat Saman. Awang Ngah and his wife

Leha also mentioned that on one occasion, they saw Dramang entering the house of Mahsuri around dusk.

This evidence was submitted to the Datuk Kama Jaya. The Datuk considered the evidence and thought it was strong enough to bring both Mahsuri and Dramang to trial on a charge of adultery.

The report of the impending trial caused great excitement among the people of the island. Most of them did not give credence to the story but rather felt inclined to believe that all this was "cooked up" and a frame-up by the Datin and all those jealous of Mahsuri.

Accordingly, the Datuk Kama Jaya feared that a public trial might create trouble on the island, and so he decided to hold it in his Balai Seri (Datuk's Hall) rather than in the court, in private rather than in the open. It was therefore hard to say what evidence was adduced in the trial which led to the passing of the sentence of *sula*. Both Mahsuri and Dramang were found guilty and ordered to be executed immediately.

Next morning, before the break of dawn, they were brought to Padang Mak-Serat for the execution. Padang Mak-Serat was then the capital of the island of Langkawi, not Kuah as at present. The headquarters of the Datuk was in Padang Mak-Serat and most of the islanders were concentrated there.

According to witnesses at the execution, Mahsuri was buried half-way in the sand but she continued to protest her innocence. However, no notice was taken of it, and so she changed her stance instead to pleading for leniency. With a piercing voice and a cry of pain and anguish, she uttered a curse, as the kris was plunged into her shoulder blade.

"If I die, this island shall bear my curse that for seven generations it shall be the home of the doves and castor trees."

This struck fear among those who had gathered to witness the execution.

According to reports, which I am not inclined to believe, as the kris was pulled out, white milky blood spurted out, sending the people running in all directions. Her body was later carried back to Kampung Ulu Melaka, and there she was laid to rest.

The curse of Mahsuri had a dire and telling effect on the islanders. Disaster upon disaster followed her death, bringing untold misery to the people. The cruellest one was the surprise attack by the Thais in revenge for the defeat they suffered when the islanders recaptured the fortress of Kota Kuala Muda from them, leaving behind

thousands of people dead and property destroyed including padi fields. Those who managed to escape met with other disasters, one of which still standing today to tell this sad story is Batu Reban. It was said that hundreds took shelter beneath the cliff, which without any reason split and buried them alive. For years, burnt rice used to surface as a reminder of the terrible tragedy.

When peace returned to Kedah, the islanders went back to the island but life was never the same. Many left to settle on the mainland. Seven generations was not defined or determined as of whom, for Mahsuri left no issue. The Datuk Kama Jaya and his family were all killed in the attack. I maintain that seven generations must be seven times twenty five years.

When I went to Langkawi as D.O., the first thing which struck me as strange was the loneliness of the night which pervaded the air, coupled with the weird sound of dogs howling throughout the night. This according to the people, was due to the curse, and the dogs, instead of barking, howled. The Government would spend nothing to improve the condition of the island, and people went about their daily chores without a complaint. I tried to do what I could for them but the Government gave me no support. So I made them help themselves by building paths connecting the villages.

The rest of my time I spent looking around and doing research on Langkawi history. I found Mahsuri's grave with one tree giving shade and a big ant hill covering it as a tomb to the martyr. I had the area cleaned and built a tomb on it. Before the tomb was completely ready, I was transferred to Sungei Petani as D.O. However, I saw to it that it was finished with the help of a Chinese businessman, Poh Sin Tong.

Now the Government has made a fine job of it and visitors are flocking to see it in thousands. Langkawi, once the island of doom, has now become one of the most attractive tourist resorts. The curse is ended and so Mahsuri may now rest in peace. God bless her soul.
Allah cucurkan rahmat atas roh Mahsuri.

Ghazali Jawi, The Forgotten Hero

(13 December, 1982)

THE DEATH OF Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi brought back old memories — memories of the days when we were struggling for independence. I remember him as a junior officer in the Drainage and Irrigation Department in Bagan Serai and a very staunch member of UMNO. The strongest UMNO party was in Perak which boasted 30,000 members, with Datuk Bukit Gantang, the *Menteri Besar*, as the head. When I took over UMNO, Datuk Bukit Gantang decided to break away from UMNO to form another party in Perak. They decided on this move after the general meeting in Malacca on April 3, 1953, where all the representatives of UMNO in Perak declared that they had no confidence in UMNO under my leadership, and they then walked out of the assembly. Then it was Ghazali Jawi who got up and in a resounding tone declared that they, the North Perak/Bagan Serai division, would remain with UMNO, come what may. It was a very courageous step to take, for a junior officer to defy the *Menteri Besar* for a cause which he believed in. We applauded him for the courage he had shown.

After the breakaway, Datuk Bukit Gantang spent much time visiting all the districts to alienate support for UMNO and to win adherents for his new party, the National Party of Perak. In Bagan Serai he made no impression at all and under pressure from UMNO members he collapsed and had to be attended by doctors. But what was most encouraging for UMNO was that all attempts by him to win over UMNO members from other divisions failed badly. It was Ghazali's turn now to travel throughout the area and campaign for UMNO. Many divisions in Perak chose to remain with the party and very soon the rest of the state came back to the fold and left Datuk Bukit Gantang as a leader without any following.

When we had the election in 1955, Datuk Bukit Gantang's party collapsed miserably. The only victory from the opposition was in the Semanggol constituency, where Haji Ahmad won the only seat we lost in the 52 constituencies.

After independence, Ghazali became the Assistant Minister of National and Rural Development, while Encik Shaari (Kopi) was appointed *Menteri Besar*. Then Encik Shaari found difficulty in pulling along with the royal family of Perak because he promised them mining land and other valuable property which he could not give. As a result there were hard feelings between UMNO and the royal family and the Datuks. Encik Shaari finally resigned and Ghazali took over. Ghazali was less prone to show favour for members of the royal family. He just turned down their applications; so he, too, became an enemy of the royal family. It came to a head with an open quarrel with the Sultan of Perak, Al-Marhum Sultan Yusof. We then found it necessary to remove him from Perak and posted him to Egypt as our ambassador. When Tun Razak became Prime Minister, he put him back as *Menteri Besar* of Perak. He became an uncompromising foe to the present Sultan.

Ghazali Jawi was a controversial figure. Sometimes he was obstinate and would not listen to reason and sometimes he was the very opposite. As such he found it hard to get on with people. Even our party men complained about him. Some opposed his inclusion as a member of the Cabinet, saying that he was not a suitable man to be a minister. But I maintained that he had given unswerving loyalty to the party and had helped to build UMNO in Perak and for the service, I'd stand by him. So it was that he retained his ministerial rank, except when he became *Menteri Besar* of Perak for the second time.

Whatever people may think or may say of him I still consider him a national hero. He was a freedom fighter and had played his part to help win for Malaya its independence and its rightful place among the nations of the world.

The young people have got to remember this, for they were babes just out of cradles and they grew up without the stigma of subject people, whereas we had to struggle hard and nobody expected us to win independence for Malaya because of its unusual character, where no single race has a complete majority over others. As such the colonial masters could continue their hold on the country through their divide and rule policy and all the Malay leaders and rulers had

decided on "home rule" with the colonial masters exercising protection over Malaya rather than independence.

Our people today have forgotten how independence was won and who were the people who led the movement. But when death struck down our comrades-in-arms our memory would go back to those difficult periods when we had to struggle without knowing what our fate would be. I am sure that if Ghazali had lost to Bukit Gantang he would have been kicked out of government service.

I remember Ghazali and others who fought with me for independence and I cannot help but feel hurt that the authorities had not considered him worthy of a place in the heroes grave at Masjid Negara, the same as that given to Syed Jaafar Albar and Syed Nasir. As the next best thing, his body had to be taken back for burial in Lenggong, his birthplace, all the way from Kuala Lumpur. I know we don't expect compensation for our work but at least it would be nice for the Government of today to remember those of yesterday who had served the nation loyally. However, we, his comrades-in-arms, pray for him to rest in peace and whatever may be his fault, may God forgive him, for his service to his country has more than made up for whatever fault he might have had. Peace be on him and may Allah bless his soul.

Boyd, the Other Bapa Merdeka

(14 March, 1983)

I READ WITH shock and a saddened heart the news of the death of Lord Lennox Boyd of Merton under tragic circumstances. He was knocked down by a car as he was crossing a street in London. The report of his death was accompanied by a reference to the part he played in Malaysia's independence. That was all that was said of him, as if nothing else mattered. As a matter of fact, Lord Boyd played almost as important a part in our country's independence as I did myself. Without his understanding and broad-minded approach to the issues involved in this country's independence, it might have been very hard indeed to achieve it. The way in which it was achieved is something to be remembered - there was no bloodshed and no loss of lives.

The Malaysians of that age will remember that his predecessor, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, had even refused to meet me as the president of the UMNO/MCA Alliance and finally when we went to London, despite his refusal, we were received by him with some reluctance and that was only when the members of the Labour Party led by Lord Ogmore and Mr. John Foster pressured him into meeting us. Ultimately, with even greater reluctance, he agreed to the holding of our general election, but with a proviso that the nominated members must join the government members. This, of course, led to the withdrawal of the Alliance members from all state and legislative councils as a protest. After protracted negotiation it was agreed by the British government that the nominated members should join the winning party of the general election to be held in 1955.

In the meantime, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton withdrew to give way to a man named Alan Lennox Boyd, as Colonial Secretary. Lord Boyd seemed to be a man of great understanding and foresight in Asian



Tunku with Alan Lennox-Boyd

political affairs. To give himself a better knowledge and idea of the situation in Malaya and the communist insurrection at that time with three-quarters of the country under curfew, he visited this country in September 1955. I had just then taken over the post of Chief Minister and the portfolio of Internal Security after the Alliance election victory.

He took me up at one of our meetings on my reference to the government of that day as "my government". According to him, I had no right to call the Malayan government "my government", because it was still under British rule, whose duty and responsibility it was to look after the well-being of the people and the country. Malaya was not yet an independent nation. I maintained, however, that as Chief Minister, I had the right to refer to the government as "my government". However, I accepted the fact and admitted that I had over-stated my role as Chief Minister. At the end of the first meeting of the Federal Legislative Council, he was invited to take the floor and address the council. This he did.

In his address, among other things, he said: "Her Majesty's Government are sincere in their declared intention to guide and help the people of Malaya along the path to full self-government within the Commonwealth of Nations, we all hope and believe." This was an indication that he was prepared to meet the Alliance delegation in London as soon as it could be arranged to discuss the question of independence. This suited us admirably, for we were anxious to have talks with the British government on the independence of Malaya as soon as it could be arranged.

I had declared earlier that we were bent on getting independence within four years, but after my experience as Chief Minister, I realised that the period would be too long as the younger members of the party were rather impatient. Soon after his return home, Lord Boyd invited the Alliance party and the Rulers' representatives to London for the talks on January 28, 1956, and so we packed up to go. However, before any mission from Malaya could possibly attend the independence talks in London, there were a number of questions which had to be settled among ourselves.

Finally, we agreed to leave for London on January 1, 1956. We left by boat from Singapore on the m.v. Asia for Karachi, where we emplaned for London. While at sea, we had meetings every day and it was only when we reached Bombay did we agree on the proposal to be tabled at the talks with the British government, and

nothing outside this concrete proposal should be mentioned without the concurrence of all the members, and I was to be the sole spokesman.

I remember very well when we discussed the role of British advisers. Dato Seth, the *Mentri Besar* of Johore, mentioned that the Sultan wanted a British adviser in independent Malaya. Dato Seth said he had to mention this because it was the command of the lord and master of Johore and he would stand condemned if he were to agree to it.

"The Sultan could kick my buttocks on my return but I couldn't care less," he said.

This remark evoked a reply from the High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray, who said that Dato Seth was being naughty. We all laughed at it.

I mention this to illustrate the spirit of all those who attended the meeting and the good effect of the discussion we had among ourselves on the boat to Karachi. The whole discussion that followed was carried out by both sides in a spirit of "give and take" and that spelt the success of our mission. We agreed that independence should be declared on August 31, 1957.

Her Majesty the Queen was gracious enough to send a message to me through her uncle, H.R.H. Prince Henry, the Duke of Gloucester, before the declaration of independence, in which she said among other things ".....it is with deep and real pleasure that I welcome you to the brotherhood of our Commonwealth family of Nations. I am confident that Malaya will respond worthily to the challenging tasks of independence and that she will continue to show to the world that example of co-operation and goodwill between all races that has been so marked a feature of her history."

It was Lennox Boyd who was primarily responsible for the smooth and friendly negotiations towards independence of Malaya. And Malaysians today have every reason to be grateful to him, as I was.

In my exuberance and out of the goodness of my heart and as a mark of gratitude, I decided to make a present to the British government of Carcosa, for which I am severely criticized today. At that time, I thought it was nothing compared to the help rendered by the British government in our struggle for independence against the communists which had involved the British government at great cost to themselves in money and the lives of the Commonwealth soldiers. This was a small token of our appreciation for the help received and I myself felt I was justified in doing what I did, for as the Malay

saying goes: *Hutang mas boleh dibayar, hutang budi dibawa mati.*

I've always remembered Lennox Boyd as a great personal friend. As I was lying stretched out in bed in a Harley Street nursing home with shingles, he used to come with Indian dishes bought at an Indian restaurant to feed me and himself as well, all at his expense, almost every other day. According to him, it was bad enough to have this disease, and having to eat the horrible hospital food as well was just too much. He was always a very good sportsman and very kind and generous. He was the managing director of Guinness, the very prosperous British brewery. He was married to Lady Patricia Guinness, the second daughter of the second Earl of Iveagh, and an heiress in her own right to the vast Guinness fortune. He was always a happy-go-lucky man and in that light I can say we share the same common interest.

Two years ago he visited Malaysia to attend to his business and came to spend a few days in Penang with Lady Patricia, and that was the last time we met.

He was a lieutenant in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve from 1940 to 1943, and held many other honorary posts in the service of the nation and the British society. He was a graduate of Oxford and called to the Bar, late in life, at the Inner Temple in 1941, whereas I was called in 1948. He leaves a widow and three sons. With his death Britain has lost one of her most illustrious and patriotic sons.

I offer my heartfelt and sincere condolences to the bereaved family. He will always be remembered by us Malaysians and his name will be recorded in the annals of our history. May God bless him and may his soul rest in peace.

The Marcos I Know

(31 October, 1983)

PRESIDENT MARCOS is facing the most severe inquisition of his life. Everyday we read about him in the columns of the foreign press and probably even more so about him in the local press, that is if they were allowed that freedom to write. Somewhere, there are demonstrations everyday, condemning him for being responsible, so they say, for the deplorable economic and political situation in the country.

Whether or not he was responsible for the death of opposition leader, Benigno Aquino, nobody could say for certain, but one thing however was certain, and that was that the security men who were assigned to protect him, had not done so. They charged that the death of Aquino had been on the orders from the top. If he was not answerable, then the President must have lost his power to rule the country.

Philippines is facing the worst crisis in its history. The foreign bankers and the Philippine business community have lost confidence in the Government, and are giving up hope of the country ever being able to regain its feet. With foreign debts faced by the Philippines amounting to nearly \$20 billion, there is no hope of getting any help from the banks, or support from the business community. President Marcos has not been able to allay their fears and in addition there are strong rumours of his failing health. The President's frequent appearance on the news pages and on television have become rather rare now, and most of his engagements had to be cancelled.

They have suggested the appointment of a vice-president to undertake some of his onerous duties. It is understood that if he has to appoint one, he might well appoint his sagacious First Lady, but

what they are worried about and the question asked is what will happen to the country if he were to suddenly pass away. There will be chaos and nobody has any doubt in their mind about it.

President Marcos has been the Head of the State, a virtual dictator, for the last 16 years, and he has been having his own way for most of this period. There is no denying the fact, however, that he has done much good for the Philippines, a country considered to be unstable, with the communists, Muslim insurrection and criminal activities.

He had to control the country through emergency measures and this has gone on far too long and has antagonised most of the people, who feel that democracy might never return to the Philippines. Truly he is in a very bad shape. Some of his trusted friends are leaving him. How he can salvage the worsening situation nobody knows. That has always been the fate of a dictator - there is no one else on whom he can pass on the blame.

I knew Marcos in those early days when he was eyeing for the top post in the Philippines hierarchy. I visited that country many times. The first visit I made was at the time of President Garcia. It was then that we decided to form ASA, an economic pact between Thailand, Philippines and Malaysia. But it was at the time of President Macapagal that I met Mr. Marcos at public functions. One morning in particular which I remember so well was when I went with President Macapagal to play golf on the President's private course, across the river, from the palace. Mr. Marcos was there to meet us. He was a very good golfer himself, I was told, but he was there not to play but as he said, "only to meet me". He followed us around the course and talked about nothing in particular but made a pleasant impression on me. Then the next thing I heard was that he had been made President.

The second occasion I met him was when he visited Malaysia with a large entourage, which included his wife and daughters. He used to come and have private talks with me at the residency, and showed a great fondness for durians. One morning he was to receive a doctorate from the University of Malaya at a special convocation in the Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman. That morning he and his good lady had durians at my house and at 9 a.m. I told him that he had better get ready for the convocation as it was held at 10 a.m., if I remember right, and so they both left.

I got to the convocation hall 10 minutes earlier but by 11 a.m.

the President had not arrived, and everybody was feeling jittery, while waiting impatiently for him. But I assured the congregation that he would come as he was in my house that morning. Anyway we confirmed it after we rang up the Istana Tetamu where he was staying. Eventually he arrived at 11:30 a.m. - keeping others waiting for one-and-a-half hours.

During that visit to Malaysia, it was reported that an infiltration force made up of Muslim soldiers had been mounted with orders to invade Sabah but they refused to go when they knew where they were to be sent, so they were lined up and shot. This was a shocking revelation of the infidelity and treachery of the Filipinos who were supposed to be on terms of friendship with us, and the attempt to invade Sabah was made while the President was on an official visit here. I don't know whether he was aware of this plan.

The major in charge of the invading forces was captured in Sabah with all his men. He confessed that they were sent to Sabah on the orders of the high command. They were detained here and whether they had been released or not is not known because soon afterwards, I left the country on retirement and went to work in Jeddah.

While we were there, we were shocked to hear that Muslims were being turned out of their holdings and homes on the ground that they were not registered owners of the land in which they lived. They maintained they had been living in that place for hundreds of years but if they were requested to register now, they were happy and willing to do so. But their request was turned down as new owners, all Christians, had been registered in the land office. It appeared a meeting was arranged between the Filipino Christians and the homeless Muslims in the mosque and so all Muslims were collected there. When the Philippine Christians came, they came fully armed. Three quarters of those assembled were killed and the rest were wounded. This caused a furore and a shock throughout the Muslim world and Libya immediately called a special conference in Benghazi through OIC to discuss this massacre.

At the conference, Indonesia and Malaysia advised against taking drastic action against the Philippines as it may sour the relationship among Asean countries. The better opinion, however, decided to have a special talk between the Muslim delegation from OIC with the Philippines Government over the incident. I had left the secretariat and Mr. Hassan Tohamy took over as secretary-general.

This was the most dastardly crime ever committed against a com-

munity who are people of the same race but of a different religion. As far as I know, no action was taken against the Philippines. Now they, the Muslims, have forgotten about the whole affair, and Manila continues to attract the Muslim tourists because of the many pleasures it offers them.

When President Marcos came back to Malaysia on another visit at the time of Tun Razak or was it Tun Hussein, he expressed a wish to meet me. I happened to be here, and so I went to see him at the Hilton Hotel. As I entered his suite, he was seated at the desk near the window but never budged an inch or moved a step forward to greet me. So I went to him and was offered a seat and after an exchange of greetings, I found out that the Marcos I met then was not the same one I met before.

In 1978, I made a trip on the cruise ship the Queen Elizabeth and in that trip were also His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Tuanku Yahya Petra, and the Sultan of Selangor. When we arrived in Manila, our ambassador together with officials from the embassy were there to greet us. The ambassador went straight to pay respects to the King and said that he had arranged for them to call on the President.

I insisted that he should not have made the King and the Sultan call on the President without first giving appropriate notice. I was rather displeased that it was not properly arranged.

And what I heard after the call was made, was even more shocking. It appeared that when they arrived at Malacanang Palace, only the Yang di-Pertuan Agong's car was allowed to enter the compound but others including the Sultan of Selangor were asked to stop outside and the occupants were asked to walk. The Sultan of Selangor refused and said "If I am not allowed to drive in, then I had better go back", so the palace officials had to run back to ask if the Sultan of Selangor could drive in and after a hurried consultation, permission was given. According to report, when the Agong and the Sultan got up to leave, the President got up, bade them goodbye and never saw them off to the door. When the First Lady made a move to accompany them, he stopped her.

According to the Filipinos who know their President, he had changed much after having been in power for so many years. He has become self-opinionated and rather vain.

He often kept others waiting. Power has got into his head and he cares not what others think of him. Only now he is meeting with

serious problems and may be made to eat the humble pie. That would be a tragedy for him.

The Palace Prince And I

(2 January, 1984)

A RECENT REPORT ON "The Crown Prince Who Doesn't Mind Waiting" (28 December) is interesting. Crown Prince Akihito is a nice man who just turned 50 on 30 December and he doesn't mind staying on as the Crown Prince so long as his Royal father stays well and healthy.

The monarchy in Japan has changed into a constitutional monarchy since the war. The Japanese people still revere their emperor as a symbol of unity of the nation, and as a custodian of Japanese customs and traditions.

I had the pleasure of meeting Prince Akihito and Princess Miyako when they visited Malaysia between 19 - 20 February in 1970. I was impressed with the calm modesty of the prince and the charm of his wife, the princess. I might say that we took an immediate liking to each other.

At a private dinner I gave him, we found much to talk about as we had much in common. He liked sports, especially tennis, mixed well with the ordinary people, and was modest in his department. He mentioned to me that his children would like to have tortoises for pets and I told him if I visited Japan I would bring along some baby ones so that the children could play with them.

It just happened that I went to Japan at the end of the year and informed the palace that I had brought with me some tortoises and asked what I should do with them. The Crown Prince immediately invited me to come for dinner at the royal palace. I went there with my wife and were entertained at his private quarters in the palace, and I gave the six young tortoises to his children.

We sat down to a Japanese dinner and enjoyed very much indeed the quiet meeting with him. I said to myself that both he and his

wife would be ideal emperor and empress of modern democratic Japan for they were human and had plenty of understanding of the new world order.

He reminded me so much of my very dear friend, Prince Masauji Hachiska, who was staying with the master of Selwyn College, before he joined the University of Cambridge. I was then staying nearby at No. 11, Grange Road, with Mr. Basil Atkinson, the son of the former archdeacon of Cambridge, who prepared me for the "Little go" examination (an entrance exam to the university).

This Prince Hachiska was a bird fancier and spent a lot of money and time on the study of the winged plumage in all parts of the world. Later, he wrote books on birds.

When he ultimately entered the university, he had a special Daimler sports car built to his specifications and he must have paid something like £ 2,000, which was a lot of money in those days.

We became very close friends and he was the first to take me up on a small plane in 1925, which he piloted himself. He later married the daughter of the Japanese Ambassador in London.

When I went to Japan in 1951 to attend the Hiroshima conference, I missed him. He had his home in Atami and I suddenly called on him without advising him beforehand of my proposed visit but he had already gone abroad. I treasured my friendship with him but never met him again, for soon afterwards he died.

The first letter I received from Japan was from him soon after the Japanese occupied Malaya. He was so proud to read in the Japanese paper of my exploits, which were widely published in Japan of how I snatched my father from the British army escorting him to Singapore via Penang, together with the Regent of Kedah, Tunku Badlishah.

That letter was brought by Prince Okagawa, who was stationed in Singapore as the civil affairs officer to the Japanese military government.

The Crown Prince's behaviour and mannerism brought back immediately to mind memories of my friendship with this Prince Hachiska.

According to reports, the Crown Prince who just turned 50, is an expert in his own right in ichthyology (the branch of natural history that treats fishes).

I remember very well the visit of his Imperial Majesty Emperor Hiroshito to England in the early Twenties as the Crown Prince of

Japan. To the best of my memory, that was the first time that a member of the Imperial family of Japan paid an official visit to England. The visit caused a lot of excitement and much publicity was given to it.

In the sixties, when I was Prime Minister, I visited Japan and was entertained to lunch by the emperor and the empress. I had as the minister in attendance, Datuk Suleiman Abdul Rahman. He had a bushy moustache which had turned grey and before going to the palace I told him to dab his moustache with the eye-brow pencil of his wife and blacken it a bit.

We were all dressed up in *tengkolok* and the ladies in *kebaya*, which in a sense resembled the Japanese kimono. I think that impressed the empress very much because she was of the opinion that the Japanese dress originated from the *kebaya*.

In fact, the Japanese houses and home life follow very closely the Malay pattern where they unfold their mattresses, like the Malays do, and take off their shoes before stepping inside. The houses are always built above the ground as the Malay houses are and there are not much modern furniture, either in the palace or in the ordinary Japanese homes.

When lunch was over I found that Datuk Suleiman's moustache had gone grey again, the reason being that during meal time he was dabbing his moustache with the napkin and the colour must have rubbed off. This caused much surprise to the emperor who found that his guest came in with a black moustache and went out with a white one. Being polite Datuk Suleiman was not asked as to whether the food had turned his moustache white.

The emperor and empress are both keeping well and as reported in the press, the Crown Prince is in no hurry to take over from him, his august father. That is easy to understand, for to be the Emperor of Japan, one has to live the god-like life of an Emperor, whereas as Crown Prince he is able to move about.

Unlike the English press the Japanese press do not play up the private life of the royal family.

Now that he has turned 50, I wish the Crown Prince many years of good health, long life and happiness.

There are only three countries in Far East Asia to wit, Japan, Thailand and Malaysia, which have constitutional monarchies, with a democratic system of government and they are outstandingly peaceful and economically stable, while the people are happy.

The emperor is the symbolic Head of State while the political and administrative responsibilities are left to the politicians and government servants.

Today, Japan is one of the most economically advanced and progressive countries in the world. So it is that the Prime Minister of Malaysia is turning towards Japan for help.

Let's hope this new-found friendship will continue for the mutual benefit of both countries for all time.



The Life Story Of Tengku Kudin

(30 January, 1984)

I WAS APPROACHED by an official from the Taiping Museum who asked me about the old ruin in Bukit Gelugor which, according to him, belonged to Tengku Dhia'uddin.

There is nothing much left of it now, except the skeleton with concrete walls and pillars. It is just a ruin, a relic of the past, an object of curiosity for curiosity-minded people and sightseers to visit and for young people to write and carve their initials and names on the walls, and whatever else they wanted to say. It was called Udini House.

It was once a big and imposing building of the old-time architecture with wooden floors and beams, and with big servants' quarters. Trees and undergrowth have grown all round the house now and have hidden the remains of the building from view and made its architectural design less clear.

However by looking at it carefully, one can well imagine what it must have looked like in the early days.

According to Mr. Cunningham Brown, this house was still used as government quarters in his time and was divided into two sections, and some of the old furniture and ornaments still remained there. The government officers who vacated the house complained of the snakes which made unwelcomed visits to the house from time to time.

He said that he was very interested in it when he was president of the municipality and wanted to see this building preserved because, according to him, it was built by Tengku Dhia'uddin more than 100 years ago. But the then government did not take any notice of the request to renovate the house and in the course of time all the furniture and ornaments were pilfered. The planks and all the wood work were also removed from the house as they were of the best

quality materials. According to Mr. Brown, if a little repair had been carried out the house would have stood today as an historical object of interest.

Tengku Dhia'uddin, better known as Tengku Kudin, also had a town house in Northam Road which was built on the left of the Kedah House but has since made way for a new one. All the members of the Kedah royal family used to occupy that area of Penang. Tengku Dhia'uddin had as his official residence, a house on the hill at Bukit Tinggi, Alor Star, and this had been confiscated by his brother, Sultan Ahmad because of his part in fighting against Raja Mahadi in support of his father-in-law, Sultan Abdul Samad in 1872.

What happened then was that the Sultan was annoyed with Tengku Kudin for interfering in the affairs of another state. The Sultan had warned him that if he took a large army from Kedah to help defeat Raja Mahadi, he himself would not be allowed to return to Kedah.

The story of the invasion of Selangor by Tengku Kudin was told to me by Pak Tahir who was a Langkawi man, and the brother of my guardian at the time when I was in school in Penang. Pak Awang bin Osman — the father of the former *Menteri Besar* of Kedah, Haji Shariff and Haji Khalid Osman, who was assistant minister and former High Commissioner in India.

He related that he accompanied Tengku Kudin early in 1873 when the latter commanded a large force of well-armed men from Langkawi to join his army. They set off in hundreds of big long boats fitted with cannons and arms and set sail for Klang. They arrived within a few days and the ships were anchored off the coast of Selangor.

When night fell, they made their way to the Klang River. They then tied cotton to strings and the strings — of one foot long, so as not to harm the birds — to the legs of pigeons. At a given signal they dipped the cotton in paraffin, set the cotton wool alight and released the pigeons. As the pigeons flew away they perched on the roofs of the attap houses and set the roofs ablaze and this lit the darkened skies for miles around. They then attacked Mahadi's forces which had surrounded the palace, and put Mahadi's men to flight and saved Sultan Abdul Samad from defeat.

Tengku Kudin then set himself up as the viceroy of Selangor with Sultan Abdul Samad as his vassal and symbolic head of state. It was he who founded Kuala Lumpur and set up Yap Ah Loy as Kapitan Cina and a big tin miner in Kuala Lumpur.

A year after, he made a treaty with Britain and ceded the State of Selangor as a protected state of Britain. After that he decided to leave Selangor and returned to Kedah.

When he arrived in Penang a messenger was sent to meet him, bringing a message from Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin, telling him that he would not be allowed to return to Kedah as he had misplaced the trust the people of Selangor had in him by ceding the State of Selangor to the British. He had also disobeyed earlier the command of the Sultan by invading Selangor. As a result of his treachery he had brought disgrace to the royal family of Kedah.

So it was that he decided to live in Penang in Northam Road, and the one he had in Bukit Gelugor. He lived in Penang until Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin died in 1878. Then he decided to return to Kedah and he stayed in his old residence at Bukit Tinggi.

In his absence in Selangor, Sultan Ahmad had appointed Tengku Yakub his other brother as Raja Muda. This, however, did not worry Tengku Kudin for he had other plans in mind.

Tengku Yakub saw to it that Tengku Kudin was not allowed to interfere in the affairs of the State. He decided that he would gang up with Wan Mohd. Saman to fight Tengku Kudin if he ever tried to do so.

Tengku Kudin knew that Tunku Abdul Hamid, the eldest son of the second wife, Wan Hajar, had been installed heir presumptive to the throne of Kedah over and above the head of his elder brother, Tengku Kassim, who was the son-in-law of Tengku Kudin but was addicted to drugs. Tunku Abdul Hamid was also made the Raja Muda to give strength to his claim to the throne in the place of Tengku Yakub.

Tengku Kudin meant to fight the issue to the bitter end and he had his younger brother Tengku Jusoh as his strong ally and supporter.

In 1881, on September 22, Sultan Abdul Rashid died.

Tengku Kudin took Tengku Kassim to Bangkok on October 27 1881 and sought audience with King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) as Kedah was a vassal state of Siam. He was received and he laid his case before the King who agreed that Tengku Kassim should succeed Sultan Zainal Rashid in place of his younger brother, Tunku Abdul Hamid who was a minor at the time.

Tengku Yakub and Wan Mat Saman made immediate preparation and left for Bangkok when they heard of the visit of Tengku

Kudin to the King. When they arrived, Tengku Kudin had already returned but they wasted no time in seeking an audience with the King of Siam which was given immediately. They then told the King of the order of succession willed by the late Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin which made Tunku Abdul Hamid heir to the throne. They impressed the King of Siam with what they had to tell him.

The King immediately reversed the decision he had made with Tengku Kudin and asked Tengku Yakub to return immediately and instal Tunku Abdul Hamid as Sultan of Kedah.

He was enthroned on March 23, 1882 amidst much rejoicing and celebrations which lasted 40 days. Being a minor, a council of regency was set up with Tengku Yakub as the head, assisted by Wan Mat Saman.

On October 28, 1882, Tengku Kudin left Kedah and came to stay in Penang for the rest of his life. Tengku Jusoh also left Kedah and followed Tengku Kudin.

There was a story told of Tengku Jusoh and his handle-bar moustache, of which he was very proud. He made a vow that if Tengku Kassim did not succeed to the throne on the death of his elder brother, Sultan Zainal Rashid, he would shave half of his moustache. So when Tunku Abdul Hamid became Sultan, true to the vow he had made, he shaved half of his moustache, which almost broke his heart.

He lived with it until he died in Penang. He also had a house in Northam Road, next to Tengku Kudin but was rarely seen outside of his compound.

So it was that Tengku-Kudin lived at his official residence in Northam Road and used the house at Bukit Gelugor as his retreat. This house stood on a little hill facing the sea and it must have been an ideal retreat for a man like Tengku Kudin who always built his houses on hills. No doubt he was a man of great character and personality, in fact, an historical figure.

When he was in Penang he was approached by the Penang Malays, who had brought from India the Indian drama called *Indra Saba*, but which they converted into Malay drama, portraying the legends of old with music, dancing and singing.

It differed from Indian drama in that they had many scenes by the release of curtains and so on. They were hard put in finding a suitable name for it. Rather than call it by the same name as the Indians, they wanted a Malay name for it.

A delegation of actors and promoters went to Tengku Kudin and asked him to give a suitable name for this Malay Indra Saba. They told him it was a stage play with actors, actresses, playing the roles allotted them with singing and dancing.

So he decided on a name for it - he called it *bangsawan*, because according to him, it was a fiction play and not a real story, so like all the "wans" they were always play acting and not honest and straight forward - a skit on his arch enemy Wan Mat Saman, and that was how it derived its name. Later it became known as Malay opera but in actual fact it originated from India.

The same was true of *boria* which also originated from India. As most of the Penang Malays were of Indian origin many Indian things were introduced into Penang, particularly spices and other foodstuffs, which today have become part and parcel of the diet of the Malays.

Coming back to Tengku Dhia'uddin, nobody would know him by that name. He had always been known as Tengku Kudin. A curious thing about him was that he had left no property behind.

The one in Alor Star comprising 50 acres of land was confiscated and given to my mother and now owned by Syed Nahar, the *Mentri Besar* of Kedah, the son of my younger sister, Tunku Habsah.

The skeleton of the old house still stands and some people mistook it for the palace of Raja Bersiong, whereas the latter lived in Kuala Muda and later made his escape to Siong, Baling. Alor Star only became the state capital about 450 years ago under Sultan Mohammed Jawa.

The house in Bukit Tinggi used to be our resort during the durian season. It had beautiful chandeliers and good Italian furniture. A wide avenue built after the French pattern led to the river with large concrete flower pots lining both sides of the avenue. It felt eerie to live inside and we used to gather together in a circle to hear stories of the good times they had, told to us by those who lived there with Tengku Kudin.

He had many concubines but no wife left alive and only one son that I know. He later married Raja Arpah the daughter of Sultan Abdul Samad of Selangor and had some children by her.

He had a domineering personality and was a born leader. Unfortunately for him there were other strong men in his days - men such as his brother Tengku Yakub and Wan Mat Saman and they made it difficult for him to have his own way in Kedah.

He left for Selangor where he made a great name for himself - a name to be remembered for all time.



Tunku Kudin

To Err Is Human, To Forgive Is Divine

(27 February, 1984)

ACCORDING TO press reports of 21 February, Tun Mustapha and his USNO party will have a tough time indeed for it is said that his party will probably be expelled from the Barisan Nasional.

According to *The Star*, "USNO will not only be out in the cold but it is likely to freeze to death."

This is indeed a pity because USNO has a proud record of achievement in its fight for Malaysia. Tun Mustapha and the late Tun Fuad Stephens bulldozed their way through a maze of opposition from the pro-British elements in Sabah. In the solidarity committee they were the most prominent exponents of Malaysia.

When Malaysia was agreed upon, Sabah refused to defer the date for independence in order to appease President Sukarno but promptly declared independence on 31 August, 1963.

After *Merdeka* Tun Mustapha was made the governor and made a "Tun" and Peter Low was appointed the first Chief Minister. The State progressed in independent Malaysia as happily as ducks take to water.

After a time, Tun Mustapha decided to take over the administration of the State as the Chief Minister. He elevated Donald Stephens (later Tun Fuad Stephens) to the post of Governor of Sabah.

The State enjoyed prosperity unsurpassed in all its history with its timber trade. With the new-found wealth, the State carried out extensive development, both rural and urban. This has continued to this day under Datuk Harris, but it was Tun Mustapha who started it.

At that time Tun Mustapha had many friends, all at his beck and call, and he became a very popular figure indeed. In fact, there had



Tun Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun

never been a more popular figure than him in Sabah. At his parties in Sabah, ministers flocked around him, embracing him with brotherly love and affection, and had a merry time with good food and entertainment, etc.

He bought a plane which he used frequently to go to places outside Malaysia as and when he liked. Tun Razak made use of it once for a trip to Europe.

Tun Razak was cordially impressed with him and even offered him a Cabinet post. At first he accepted, then when he realised that his freedom of movement would be fettered, he turned the offer down. In actual fact, Tun Razak wanted to keep him under vigilance and tie him down to some honest work rather than allow him to gad about abroad.

I remember when I was Prime Minister, he came once and asked me for permission to go to England to have his in-growing toe nail cut. I told him that that was not sufficient reason to go all that way for the treatment. "It is something you can do here. Don't make that an excuse to go for a holiday. You can have it done here and so please return to Sabah," I said.

After my retirement, when I was working in Jeddah as secretary-general of the Organisation of Islamic Conference, I used to see him almost every year in Mecca.

Sometimes I used to see him in London enjoying himself. I was told that he once paid for the expenses of a Ruler who stayed in a first-class hotel in London and had no money to pay for it. In fact, he footed many such bills owed by his so-called friends. He did all this without a grudge or rancour. He had a lot of money and so many friends then, and was generous to a fault.

Those who served him, in restaurants, hotels, or in the casinos, were well rewarded.

At home he distributed honours freely as well as gifts, to those whom he liked and he liked so many people.

In the religious field he worked tirelessly to form USIA (United Sabah Islamic Association) and built a beautiful headquarters, which housed USIA and gained many adherents to Islam. It was through him that PERKIM found a new lease of life.

Every year pilgrims from Sabah were sent by him to Mecca and they were very proud of being Sabahans and Tun Mustapha's men.

Now he has fallen into bad times, with bad luck following his every move. All his friends have gone. When he lost the election, he also

lost his own men who deserted him like rats leaving a sinking ship. Such is politics at its worst.

A night before the let-down, he asked me to meet the successful candidates in his house in Kuala Lumpur. I gave them a pep talk and I advised them not to be unduly worried. I told them that they could make a very strong opposition in the state assembly. In fact, debates in the assembly would be livelier with a good, strong and honest opposition.

Tun Mustapha had kept them in Kuala Lumpur for many days at his own expense in order to win them over. But as soon as they returned to Sabah, all of them, or at least almost all, crossed the floor to join the new successful party, Berjaya.

He still continued to lead whatever little was left of USNO but with less and less success. Consequently he has lost every seat in Parliament and only managed to win a couple of seats in the State Assembly.

To all intents and purposes, today USNO exists only in name. In his attempts to win support for USNO, Tun Mustapha perhaps thought he had found an opportunity which could reactivate the party, that is to fight BERJAYA on the issue of secession of Labuan. So, he jumped at it.

After all, Labuan is Sabah's territory with a free port status and it can give Sabah additional prestige. It was not his intention to be disloyal to the Barisan Nasional of which USNO is a member, but rather to beef up the party.

The move to transfer Labuan to the Federal government was made by Berjaya, so USNO opposed it in order to discredit Berjaya, but this has been taken to mean that USNO is being disloyal to the Barisan.

Further, it was alleged that Tun Mustapha and USNO were opposed to the amendment to the Constitution, which was the subject of national discussion.

I also opposed it and so did many other members of the Barisan Nasional, but this was done in good faith as a service to the nation without any intention to harm the party.

All this has been amicably settled now, and nothing more needs to be said about it. The transfer of Labuan to West Malaysia has been successfully accomplished and the matter should be left at that.

As a member of the Barisan it surely has a right to make its views heard. If every man in the party were to give general approval or

assent to everything done and said by the Government, then the party would cease to be democratic. After all, democracy requires a man to express himself on any subject he feels will be of use to the country and to his party.

I had a lot of trouble myself in those days, in particular, in respect to the separation of Singapore from Malaysia. Even the then secretary-general of UMNO, the late Syed Jaffar, opposed it, and finally resigned from his post. One of the Ministers, Aziz Ishak, also violently opposed it. But I took no action against either of them but went ahead with the plan.

As I mentioned before, I could have penalised Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and suspended the Constitution of Singapore, but by doing this could I appease the wrath of the Chinese people of Singapore and the Federation?

There is so much one could do when in power, but as a leader one must do what in one's mind is the right and acceptable thing. Foremost in mind must be to preserve peace, so I decided to give independence to Singapore without much fuss.

Now Singapore and Malaysia are co-existing as friends and Singapore is making useful contribution to the well-being of Asean.

USNO and Tun Mustapha may have made mistakes in the mind of the Prime Minister, but it has not impeded the accomplishment of the Barisan Nasional's objective, neither has Tun Mustapha's opposition affected the amendment to the Constitution.

In any case, UMNO's days as a political entity are numbered and we all know it. So why flog a dead horse?

Datuk Harris himself is not free from blame, for acts of disloyalty. He fielded Berjaya men in the USNO constituencies against the advice of UMNO headquarters, thus contravening the party discipline. What excuse did he give the Prime Minister? He seems to have got away with it, but poor Tun Mustapha has got himself into boiling water.

I have advised Tun Mustapha to give up politics because it has ceased to be good for him. It looks as if there is nobody whom he can trust. My experience was similiar at one time, though not quite so bad. However, I took to religion and I have been happy.

The people who work with me are sincere and loyal and they have nothing to gain. They seek no material reward, except to serve God and their fellowmen.

I appointed Tun Mustapha, with the agreement of my colleagues

in PERKIM, to be my deputy, but unfortunately he showed little interest in it.

He still chose to delve in politics, paying out large sums of money to try and reactivate Sabahans' interest in USNO. The enthusiasm is no more there.

USNO sank deeper and deeper into a quagmire of political upheaval, and its financial resources suffered a severe loss. Now in dire straits, Tun Mustapha has committed mistakes and has incurred the displeasure of the Prime Minister and the Barisan Nasional.

In addition to this, Datuk Dzulkifli, deputy president of USNO, who claimed he was speaking on behalf of several USNO members, said in a press statement that the leaders who are to be blamed were not all members of USNO but only three of them, and that these leaders would be dealt with accordingly.

My advice to him and all other members of USNO is not to let the leaders down but to stick together, come what may. This loyalty to one another will impress USNO members and others in sympathy with USNO. Blame one another and you will cause a split in the party and bring discredit to it.

What is going to be Tun Mustapha's lot is difficult to say but I pray that the Prime Minister and the Barisan Nasional will show clemency, knowing that he has given glorious service to the party in the past.

It was he who brought Sabah into Malaysia. At least, as a token of goodwill his service should be remembered.

"To err is human, to forgive divine," said Alexander Pope. On this basis I make my appeal. My appeal may have come too late - but better late than never.

A Pictorial Biography Of The Tunku

(27 August, 1984)

TAN SRI DATO Mubin Sheppard's pictorial biography of myself from the cradle half way to the grave is a work of art which young people will enjoy reading. He started off by giving incidents of my birth to which he and some other men place great importance.

My mother had to spin a yarn to persuade my father not to carry out the punishment which was severe in the extreme and which entailed the chopping off the thumb of the wife and children of the Keeper of the Ruler's Seal, who had used the royal seal to dispose of land for money. When the accused's family sought my mother's help to beg for mercy from the Sultan, my mother did not know what else to do but to go to the Sultan and tell him that she had conceived and if the punishment was carried out, she was afraid the child would be born deformed.

In fact, she had not conceived. It was only afterwards that she conceived. When the child was born, he looked dark in complexion, so different from the other brothers and sisters. Alas she said, "I lied to the Sultan and this was the punishment I got." The ugly duckling however, grew up to be the saviour of his people and finally to win independence for this nation which had never, never known independence in all its history.

The tiff that Dr Ismail, Suleiman and I had with Dato Onn was over the independence issue. Dato Onn felt it unsafe to take over the country bereft of British protection and help. I maintained, however, that as long as the British exercised control over this country, nothing much could be done for the Malays.

The British would not dare do anything for fear that they might be accused of being one-sided. Home rule which Dato Onn advocated under the British protection would not help the Malays at all. Their

life would be worse off as time progressed and in the end they would remain even more backwards. Therefore we had to fight for independence or nothing at all. On that score we went all out and we were lucky the Chinese and others joined us because the Malays had taken the stand that they would sink or swim together and this convinced the others that they meant business.

We gave thanks to God we got our independence and Malaysia emerged as one of the shining examples of a well-managed and well-run country, 27 years after independence and four successive Prime Ministers.

We had no dearth of good men in the civil service, as for instance, Tun Razak who was then State Secretary, Pahang; Datuk Kamaruddin, *Mentri Besar*, Trengganu; and Datuk Nik Ahmad Kamil, *Mentri Besar*, Kelantan. These were the already known Malay leaders but they had no strong political views nor were they prepared to take any decisive stand on the issue of independence. They preferred to wait and see what the general reaction was and therefore were prepared to stand around with Dato Onn for the time. When the independence movement gained momentum they immediately joined us.

The MIC, which had given its support to Dato Onn, now turned round and joined the Alliance. The Government had agreed to hold general elections in 1955 and Nomination Day was fixed for July 27:

Many Malay government officers resigned in order to offer themselves as candidates, among them Dato Abdul Razak, who was then acting *Mentri Besar*, Pahang.

As Nomination Day approached, Tunku was plagued by demands that a high proportion of the candidates should be Malays - some UMNO members wanted the proportion to be as high as 90 per cent. Tunku brought the matter to the next UMNO Assembly and urged the members to adopt what he called a policy of racial unselfishness.

He reminded them that:

It was only with the support of the MCA that UMNO had obtained elections in 1955 and it was because of the wholehearted co-operation of the MCA that the boycott had succeeded; and if the first federal elections injure our racial harmony, our hope of early independence may be jeopardised.

These are some of the observations found in this book by Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard. He has covered a wide area and on many

subjects, right from the time of the Kedah system of government, and the control of State revenue and expenditure, which were feudal and autocratic, and had not been changed for several centuries. All income was poured into the royal coffers and the Ruler could spend as much as he liked without consulting anybody. The State went broke after the wedding of the Sultan's first five sons and daughters. Preparations for the wedding began in 1903 and were completed in 1904 with such extravaganza unprecedented in all the history of Kedah.

The State became bankrupt and at the request of the Sultan's brother, Tunku Abdul Aziz, King Chulalongkorn of Thailand was prepared to lend some money. The King, however, thought it prudent to enquire what the reaction of the British in Singapore would be before giving Tunku Aziz a favourable reply. The terms for the loan were then explained and were provisionally accepted by the Raja Muda. He then returned to Alor Star and caused a letter to be prepared in the name of the Sultan, asking the Siamese Government to grant Kedah a loan of \$2,600,000. In return, Kedah would accept a financial adviser, appointed by the Siamese, who would have complete control over the financial administration of the State until the loan had been fully repaid.

For years after, people still discussed that great festival of the marriage of the five brothers and sisters.

Where the imaginative Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard outdoes others was that his account of the celebrations was not obtained from reports locally available but from the office of the Illustrated London News, 1904. According to him, the most spectacular cache was discovered in the library of the Illustrated London News, the century old periodical, which published four full pages of photographs in September 1904, covering the Million Dollar Wedding in Alor Star. The source was discovered through the Registrar of the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle to whom Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard had written. He even went to the trouble to obtain a picture of the ship "Rhesus" on which I sailed to England in 1920, from the Archives of the Blue Funnel Line with the help of W.J.V. Cook, and what's more I saw for the first time in my life an extract from the University Examination Registrar, June 1926 showing my examination results when I obtained the BA degree.

It appeared that he had made mistakes in giving wrong captions to the pictures but it was found later that actually the errors were

made by the publishers. However, I have been assured by the publishers that the mistakes will be rectified in the reprints. All the other pictures which appeared in the book are well chosen, showing the other members of my family and the picture of the Japanese garrison in Kulim.

He wrote at some length on the abduction of the Sultan of Kedah. This episode will forever remain as one of my proudest achievements and I give thanks to God for having cleared the way to enable me to "snatch" my father from the British military security. If the convoy had remained together I would not have been alive today to tell the story and what I had done to save my old man would have just been forgotten.

My life at Cambridge was described at some length. By coincidence Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard was my contemporary. If we had been at the same college, he might not have been a very good friend because he was a patriotic Briton while I was a nationalist Malay patriot. However, things turned out right and we met as fellow Muslims and became the best of pals, sharing the responsibility of looking after the welfare of have-nots, the sick and the aged.

One thing I learned while at Cambridge was what it meant to be a British subject. We were derided and despised. One thing that turned me against British imperialism was the snub I received at the hands of my tutor, the Rev. Chator, Dean of the College. When my turn came to stay at the college, he refused to give me a room. His words rankled in my mind for a long time. "If I give you a room in this college the Englishmen will not like it." I reported the matter home, and when Sir William Peel, the Advisor of Kedah went home on leave, he went to see the tutor and protested over the insult hurled at the son of the Sultan of Kedah, one of the oldest Malay sovereignties.

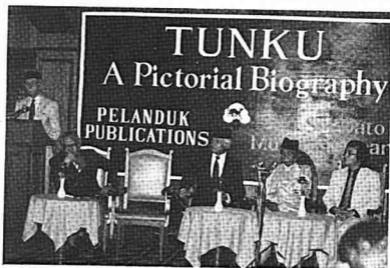
After that I was asked to see the Dean and was offered a room. "Why didn't you tell us you were the son of the Sultan?" said the Dean. I said I came to study in Cambridge as a student but not as a prince. I politely refused the offer. It was that insult which urged me to go all out for independence.

The publishers, Pelanduk Publications, under the untiring and efficient management of its Managing Director, Mr. Ng Tieh Chuan, have spared no efforts to make sure that its pages will hold the interest of a vast range of readers. I feel that success is assured. All that Mr. Ng has to watch out for are the "pirates" who are bound

to seize the opportunity to make easy money. This book is the first volume and the second volume will probably be out soon. However, this is a very good book and I am proud of the efforts and frank way in which Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard expressed his views.

This book will make a very useful contribution towards the pages of Malaysian history. May it open the hearts and minds of our old and young people whose duty will be to give their undivided loyalty to Malaysia. It is for everyone to put their shoulders to the wheel and help make Malaysia a happy and glorious country, a home of which we can all be proud and one that will serve not only those who live today but for those others who come after us and for all time.

Lastly, I offer my heartiest congratulations to Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard for having undertaken the work of writing and presenting the pictorial biography of myself and for having done it so well.



Launching of Tunku: A Pictorial Biography by HRH Sultan of Perak.

Some Men Are Born Great

(7 January, 1985)

I MADE A *FAUX PAS* when I said in my article on January 1, that the Sultan of Johore succeeded the Sultan of Kelantan, when in fact he succeeded the Sultan of Pahang. *

I can't understand how and why I made that mistake. It must have slipped my mind as I had so much thinking and work to do that particular week.

In fact, I was so occupied with other things that I forgot to write my weekly article for *The Star* which had to be submitted by Sunday for Tuesday's publication. Some of my friends attribute it to my old age.

In actual fact, my memory and mental faculties are still good. It was sheer carelessness on my part that I gave the wrong information. For this act of negligence I ask His Royal Highness Tuanku Ahmad Shah to forgive me.

Tuanku Ahmad Shah was one of the outstanding Yang di-Pertuan Agongs, and made his mark in the minds of all Malaysians as a very popular, magnanimous and kindly man.

Everybody admired him for his qualities as our Head of State. He and his Consort would stand for hours shaking hands with those people who filed past them during the festive occasions. I was there once to witness it on one Hari Raya day. I said to those near them. "It must be very tiring for their majesties to have to shake hands with thousands of people, big or small, old or young. It would have been a sufficient gesture for them to wave to the crowd as they filed past in front of them while sitting on the chairs." Those around me

Note: This error has been corrected in the Tunku's article in the Star (1 January, 1985), reprinted in this book.

agreed and said that he was not the man who would shirk his duty, though at that moment he was not quite so well, having just recovered from a heart attack.

He stayed as King for the full course of five years, and brought credit to the throne. He retired in April last year in glory, fit and well, as when he ascended the throne.

He was a well-known sportsman, and could count himself among the best polo players in the world. He also played other games, and his standard was well above the average in his heyday. He showed his magnanimity when he accepted the post of president of FAM in place of Datuk Hamzah who still remained as president of the Asian Football Confederation.

He must have been satisfied with his achievement as King of this country, as much as we were happy to serve him as our King.

His late Royal Highness Sultan Yahaya Putra of Kelantan, whom Tuanku Ahmad Shah succeeded, was a man of entirely different calibre. He was quiet, dignified, and hardly played any game. He never completed his term of office as the Yang di-Pertuan Agong for he died halfway through his reign.

I remember having taken a pleasure trip with him on board the Queen Elizabeth. We used to take light exercises on board the ship - mainly walking around and gazing through the shop windows, looking at the goods on display, and buying a few souvenirs to take home to the family and friends.

His Royal Highness the Sultan of Selangor, Tuanku Abdul Aziz, was also on this trip. It was a motley crowd of people, and a good time was had by all on this trip.

But one thing I feel I should relate here was the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Sultan of Selangor's meeting with President Marcos of the Philippines.

When we arrived in Manila, the Malaysian Ambassador came aboard to meet the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Sultan of Selangor. He invited them to pay a courtesy call on President Marcos.

I said to him that a timely advice should have been given before such a call was arranged. According to him the arrangement had already been made, and President Marcos was waiting to receive the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Sultan of Selangor. I presumed therefore that this arrangement had been approved by our Foreign Minister.

What happened at the meeting was related to me afterwards, and



Tunku with King of Thailand

I must say I was disappointed with the cold reception given to them by President Marcos. I heard that the President never came out to meet the King, but remained in his official chair, and only got up to take the King's hand when the latter extended his hand in greeting.

On the other hand, the Sultan of Selangor was stopped at the gate of the Malacanang Palace, and was told to get out of the car and walk to the palace.

The Sultan was naturally annoyed, and said that as his car was not allowed to be driven in he would not go in himself. After a hurried consultation, the palace official finally permitted the Sultan's car to be driven in.

When the King was taking his leave, the President's wife was courteous enough to walk a few steps to see the King off; and according to report the President called her back. He himself never took a step forward to say goodbye to the King.

I remember his official visit to Malaysia in 1969. Tuanku Ismail Nasiruddin Shah was at the airport to receive him. Any other Head of State would have returned the courtesy, but not President Marcos. How different he is from any other Heads of State whom I know.

I quote some instances: on one of my unofficial visits to Bangkok, the King of Thailand, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, gave me a luncheon party. When he was reminded that according to protocol it was not correct, he retorted, "To hell with protocol. I always look upon Tunku Abdul Rahman as a friend, so if I choose to receive him as such it is nobody's business."

And on another occasion, when I presented myself at the Prince of Songkhla University to receive the Honorary Doctorate of Law, His Majesty who was the Chancellor of the University came himself to present the degree to me. During the convocation, when the orator was saying his piece, I had to stand up; and at the end of the speech, His Majesty turned round to the orator and said that the Tunku had to stand too long.

He is a great man, born great, always considerate. I remember when His Majesty was holidaying with us in the Cameron Highlands and he had to listen to Encik Khir Johari's stories. I drew to his attention that Encik Khir could be very naughty, so I had better take him away. But His Majesty said, "No, leave him here. I like his stories." And on that occasion too, when the army and air force officers who accompanied him were rendering a song in Thai, and they

were a bit out of tune, he said, "Look at my army and air force. They never harmonize."

I have also had the honour and privilege of dining with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth and the Prince Consort in their own private dining room. They make you feel at ease and comfortable in their presence.

I remember, too, Queen Juliana of Holland who entertained me to lunch. When I gave her a present of table-runners she was so taken with their beauty that she told her protocol officer to lay the table again using the table-runners which I had presented to her.

In fact, all the Heads of State that I have had the pleasure of meeting were courteous and friendly, and never put on "sides", but acted as ordinary human beings.

Take General De Gaulle for instance. When I met him in Paris, and asked for leave to withdraw after having taken up much of his time he said, "No. You stay on. I like to talk with you."

And so it was with Sir Winston Churchill. He was very friendly. The Presidents of the United States of America with whom I have had lunch, i.e. President Eisenhower, and then President Nixon, were very polite, courteous and hospitable.

And there are others whom I met in the course of my career, in particular the former King of Saudi Arabia, King Feisal, who were very magnanimous. Every time I had an appointment with King Feisal, he would collect his uncles and his brothers to meet me. It was a strange thing therefore that an Asian president of a neighbouring country should be so different.

On the other hand his predecessors, President Garcia and President Macapagal with whom I stayed in the Macapagal Palace were hospitable and friendly.

The Sultan of Johore's accession to the throne came after the retirement of the Sultan of Pahang. I am glad to say he seems to have mellowed down quite a lot.

His installation was the only one I missed. I have been through seven of them before. Of course, he was a bit late for the ceremony, but nobody took notice of it except perhaps the guard of honour who had to stand in the blazing hot sun all morning, and I was told the Sultan of Selangor was dying to visit the loo.

I had to give it a miss because I was not well enough, and having to stand and sit down with the entry of each Ruler and his Consort would have been too much for me.

I witnessed the ceremony right from the start on the TV, and felt happy and contented that the ceremony was carried out in the best of true Malay tradition.

All's well that ends well.



V. Reminiscenes

“One of the most important episodes in my life was the way I “kidnapped” my father. I snatched my father from the British convoy which was taking him to Penang en route to Singapore in the period before the Japanese invasion. Fortunately, the convoy decided in Gurun to change plans and moved at intervals of five minutes because of the threat of Japanese aircraft which had been bombing Penang since early that morning. I did not know about this, but I was in luck. From where I stood, I could see the convoy, with the vehicles moving towards Penang at intervals of five minutes. Then I saw my father’s yellow Rolls Royce. I rushed on to the road with my steel helmet and pistol in my hand. I stopped the car, jumped in and directed the driver to go to Kulim instead.”

Tunku Abdul Rahman
17 January, 1983

How I was Elected to Lead UMNO

(16 August, 1982)

OUR SILVER JUBILEE of Independence is of great importance to our people, particularly to our young men and women who were too young or not yet born at about the time of Merdeka to know much about it. I have written about our independence struggle many times, but some facts which are equally important have been inadvertently omitted. To recount them in sequence is not easy as I have kept no diary at any time in my life. Despite my advance in age, I can still remember them, but not the exact dates when these incidents took place. I feel that our youth should know something about them and so I will try my best to set them out here.

One of my experiences nobody would believe has a bearing on our independence set-up. This happened in my student days in England. The Malay students of Britain decided to form a society in 1927 and Tuanku Abdul Rahman of Negeri Sembilan was elected the president while I (Tunku Abdul Rahman of Kedah) was elected the first secretary. A strange coincidence it was that 30 years later, to be exact 1927-1957, Tuanku Abdul Rahman, as Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan was installed the first Yang di-Pertuan Agong while I became the first Prime Minister of Independent Malaya.

One cannot brush this aside as being an accident or a mere coincident of fate, because I repeat that here was re-enacted something which happened though in different form many years ago. As Muslims we believe in fate and everything that is going to happen in one's life is decided at one's date of birth and nothing will change it.

I remember vaguely the story I read in the Arabian Nights which emphasised this point. A soothsayer predicted to the King that his

son would die by a knife at a certain age and on a certain day. The king, who believed in this soothsayer, was visibly disturbed as this was his only son. He immediately gave orders that when the time comes, the prince should be kept in the room alone and the room was to be locked and guarded by his trusted guards and servants. No food should be served with any knife or any sharp instrument and the room was not to be opened except for giving the young prince food.

After the specified time they opened the door and found a knife stuck in the boy's heart. No one could make out how this could have happened as nobody had entered the room. But as it turned out, there was a knife tucked away somewhere in the room between the ceiling and the wall and as the boy moved about the vibrations released the knife which fell on him and pierced his heart.

I recounted this to show that how strange fate is, though it happened in the story book. As it turned out Tuanku Abdul Rahman became the first Yang di-Pertuan Agong and I the first Prime Minister.

In 1939 in Kulim an Indian astrologer rolled brass dices to tell my fortune in front of many people and predicted that one day I would be the first Prime Minister of Malaya. This prediction amused many people, including myself. Nevertheless I can't help having a sneaking regard for his prediction because I was a patriot at heart and who knows I might well be the Prime Minister of my country. At the time of the Japanese occupation I faced dangers which sometimes threatened my life but because of what the astrologer had said I thought to myself: "If it were the will of God that I should be made the first Prime Minister of my country, then God would certainly preserve me for the future role I was to play."

After the war Malaya was in the melting pot of political unrest with the communist terrorists uprising and the British attempt to colonise Malaya with a Malayan Union plan in October 1945. This plan was the turning point against British rule for it turned most of the Malays against the British. No Malay had any more trust in the British and they decided to fight against the union to the bitter end.

Some of the points worth remembering against the union were that the whole country was to be administered by the British through their Governor and Residents and the British civil servants. Singapore was to have a separate government with Christmas Island, Cocos Island and Keling Island under a Governor. The Rulers were to be



Tunku with the first Yang di-Pertuan Agong

just heads of the religion in the State and Malay custom and all other powers, administrative and executive, were to be vested in the hands of the British through their State residents.

Politicians were busy trying to shape their political career with Dato Onn bin Jaafar. There was a big scramble by political leaders at the time to show themselves by pretending to fight against the Malayan Union and set up an independent Malaya. I, too, took part in it but found the leaders were rather self-centred with their objectives rather conflicting. While they cried for *Hidup Melayu* they were prepared to accept a colonial status. This I found was unworkable.

I found my career in the Government service had become rather intolerable and I could not fit in with the political movement. I had to do something about myself. I was not content to sit back and lick my wounds, so I went to London to try my luck at law again. I said to myself: "If I fail again I will not return home." That was 25 years after I had first joined the Inns of Court — the Inner Temple. I got back to my second student days and this time with a determination to do or die in the attempt. That was the final plunge I made at law studies.

I had left it so many years ago and to return to it at my age of 43 was considered as too much by even the most optimistic people. Some told me to leave law alone and be content to remain at home. By the grace of Allah I got through in September, 1948 and came home with my head up.

When I returned to my state, Kedah, I said to myself now that I have redeemed my reputation the Government might look more kindly towards me. But alas, instead of that they became more hostile. I was attached to the Legal Advisers Office without any work to do, and I was treated just as I was when I first started work as a cadet in the legal advisers office in 1931. This, one might say, was the straw that broke the camel's back. I just took my seat at a table in a little room outside that of the legal advisers and figured out what I should do next.

The next thing I knew was the then Attorney-General, Mr. Foster-Sutton turned up at my little room and offered me a job as DPP in Kuala Lumpur. I accepted saying: "I might as well take it as otherwise I would forget whatever law I had picked up." That was February, 1949, and I have never looked back ever since. Mr. Foster-Sutton, who later became Chief Justice, again tried to help me and

this time he offered me a judgeship. But as I had already given indication that I would stand as UMNO leader in place of Dato Onn who had left the party to form a new party — Independence of Malaya Party — I had to decline and soon after left the service.

The UMNO general meeting held on August 26, 1951, found three contestants for the leadership of the party. Encik Yusof bin Sheikh Abdul Rahman (Datuk Bendahara, Perak) and Haji Ahmad Fuad of Party Islam (UMNO wing) were the other two contestants. It was Datuk Bahaman bin Samsuddin representing Seremban, who introduced me and to the amusement of those present said: "I don't know much about him except that he is my friend and I believe he can fill the post as president of UMNO." The other two candidates were introduced by leading UMNO members, including Raja Ayoub bin Raja Bot and others.

Haji Rejab, representing Kedah, was given the mandate to vote for me but turned about by speaking and voting for Encik Yusof. Those who supported Encik Yusof took two hours to eulogise Encik Yusof's great qualities as the most suitable man to take over the leadership of UMNO. Many on my side were rather worried of my chances, but as it turned out all those who came had made up their minds to elect me. So it was that I took over as president of UMNO.

Amongst other things, Dato Onn's parting words were that UMNO was formed in Johore Baru on May 11, 1946, in the palace of the Raja. It was no mere coincidence therefore that the new head of UMNO was a blue-blooded descendant of a Raja. In my reply I said I was taking over the leadership of the most important and biggest political party in this country. I added that it was an honour to undertake this work and said that Dato Onn's name would live on forever in connection with the successful role he had played as UMNO leader. I would try my best to play my part and pray Allah to help me succeed.

By coincidence it was (Datuk) Yusof who succeeded me as president of the Malay Society of Great Britain and was also responsible for closing it down. After the war, in 1947 the society was again revived by me with the help of Abdul Razak (later Tun), Taib Haji Andak (Tan Sri) and Mohamed Suffian (Tun).

The Struggle for Independence

(23 August, 1982)

CONTINUING HIS SPEECH, Dato Onn said he was disappointed that UMNO had refused to admit Malaysians other than Malays as members. UMNO only agreed to open the door half-way to admit them as associate members. This, according to Dato Onn, would harm UMNO's political standing.

In reply I said we had no grouse against the non-Malays. In fact we had been living together in this country for 250 years in peace and in the best of goodwill. When we fought the Malayan Union they considered this our battle and would have nothing to do with it. Their only interest in this country was to live in peace and do business and they were prepared to leave politics to the Malays. Under the British rule they preferred to remain Chinese and Indians with divided loyalty to both Malaya and their father-land. It was for this reason that they opposed the Barnes Report on education.

My view was that the Malays had always regarded them as people of this country and they had no dislike for them or have any ill-feeling towards them. As far as the Malays were concerned they were willing to continue living with them in peace and goodwill. UMNO, however, was essentially a Malay political party.

Now with regard to the rulers, they must not allow themselves to be made use of by the colonial powers. They must remember that we broke up the Malayan Union plan and restored the rulers to the throne. Now we were out to destroy the Federation of Malaya government and set up in its place, an independent Malaya of our own making. We would not be satisfied with anything less than that, so may Allah help us. The rulers must work with us and not be persuaded or instigated by the imperialists to take their side. Neither must the non-Malays be wary of our good intentions. We had to get

together and work together to safeguard the security of the country and the interests of all the people who live here. That, in short, was my reply contained in *Majallah UMNO 10 years*.

It was obvious that it was never UMNO's intention to take this country for the Malays in complete disregard of the rights of others. I realised that Dato Onn's open-door policy for UMNO would not be wise because the Malays were still backward and would lose out in the rat race. This would only create trouble.

The best thing was to try to build up unity through diversity which means that UMNO would represent the Malays, the MCA, which had been formed under Tan Cheng Lock (Tun) would represent the Chinese and the MIC, the Indians. These parties should come together in a coalition and make Merdeka our common cause. To merge as one party, with the Chinese and Indians being divided in their loyalty to this country, would not satisfy the prerequisites for a united front. We did not have to wait long, for Tan Cheng Lock (Tun), as head of the Malayan Chinese Association, was saying the same thing. He was a true Malayan, a Chinese baba born in Malacca who could not speak a word of Chinese.

MCA having thrown in their lot with UMNO to fight the Kuala Lumpur Municipal election, was deprived of its right by the Government to run the MCA welfare lottery on the ground that MCA had acquired political status. MCA took it stoically and decided to go all out, do or die, for Malaya's independence. The man who took the initiative for this alliance was Ong Yoke Lin (now Tun Omar Yoke Lin) and Datuk Yahaya bin Abdul Razak. They held several meetings between the local leaders of UMNO and MCA. On the MCA side were Col. H.S. Lee (Tun), Mr. Ong Yoke Lin (Tun Omar), Mr. S.M. Yong (now Tan Sri) and on the UMNO side, Encik Yahaya, Encik Ramli and Ali bin Taib, the father-in-law of the Prime Minister and T.H. Tan (now Tan Sri Tahir) was the secretary.

There was unanimity on all matters, so the alliance of UMNO-MCA went to the polls to fight the elections, united and determined. They then issued a joint statement declaring that inter-racial harmony was a prerequisite to any successful administration and close co-operation among all the elected councillors was necessary for an efficient municipal council. Purely local interests of the Municipality did not call for activities of a political character.

The president of UMNO Kuala Lumpur, Datin Mariah Puteh, who was still very loyal to Dato Onn, opposed this alliance. I then call-

ed out upon these who opposed the alliance of UMNO-MCA to resign or be prepared to face expulsion. I knew those people. They were being planted by our political opponents in all our divisions and branches. I said that UMNO had a duty to its loyal members to carry out the promise we made for independence but these turn-coats in our midst would damage our prospect of success.

In the municipal election that took place in 1952, the Alliance won 11 of the 12 seats. T.H. Tan, in his book *The Prince and I* said: "It was a resounding success that dictated the course of Malayan politics for the next two decades. It was a success which gave heart to ideals. It was immediately apparent that UMNO-MCA cooperation would be the tide for the future of Malaya." I personally was very elated with this success. We had a few more elections to fight in Johore and Malacca. In all these places the results followed the Kuala Lumpur pattern, i.e. the Alliance swept to complete victory. This clearly showed that the people had responded to our call for unity of the Chinese, Malays and others to fight for the independence of Malaya.

Then it was decided to call for a national conference to form the alliance at national level between UMNO and MCA. So far the alliance had been at state level. The first meeting was held at the Selangor Miners' Club in Kuala Lumpur on February 3, 1953. Quoting from T.H. Tan's book, *The Prince and I*: "Those present were Tunku Abdul Rahman, Datuk Sir Cheng Lock Tan, Col. H.S. Lee, Mr. Leong Yew Koh, Mr. S.M. Yong, Mr. Ong Yoke Lin, Encik Sardon bin Jubir, Encik Bahaman bin Samsuddin, Dr. Ismail bin Datuk Abdul Rahman, Encik Syed Nazir bin Ismail and Mr. T.H. Tan (Tan Sri Tahir) as secretary.

"That first meeting was a complete success. Tunku told the press later, and it formed the basis of Sino-Malay friendship and collaboration as symbolised by the UMNO-MCA alliance today.

"A meeting with Dato Onn to reconcile political differences took place at the house of Sir Clough Thuraisingham one evening on the intermediation of Sir Clough himself who suggested that it might be a good thing if Dato Onn and the Tunku could get together to try and work together for the good of Malaya.

"Tunku said nothing would please him more than that for, after all, he was not working for himself but for the country. If he wanted to work for himself, his legal profession would give him more remuneration and peace of mind than shouldering the burden of the

movement of independence.

"Tunku met Dato Onn that evening. On Dato Onn's side there were Yong Shook Lin, Ramani, Thuraisingham, Zainal Abidin, Raja Ayub and one or two others whom Tunku could not remember. On Tunku's side were H.S. Lee and Ismail Ali. Dato Onn was rather brusque in his behaviour towards us. He (Dato Onn) told us in no uncertain terms that would he agree to any coalition with the Alliance but that if Tunku was serious about independence, he (Tunku) would have to dissolve the Alliance and join IMP. Tunku told Dato Onn that would be asking too much and he (Tunku) would never agree to it, but if there was room for compromise he would be happy to consider it. So Dato Onn pooh-poohed him. Tunku was naturally roused and he told Dato Onn that if that was his attitude then he (Tunku) would go all out to fight him and his party to the bitter end or die in the attempt.

"In a speech later on the question of nationalism, Tunku said that Malayan nationalism had to be forged out of the major impulses of the Malays and Chinese. The narrower nationalism of these two communities were the beach-heads on which a Malayan nation could be forged. They could also be nettlesome, and if intensified on the basis of opposition to each other and mutual suspicion, make smithereens of the entire country. The UMNO and MCA worked hard against often overwhelming odds to prevent any polarisation of races. It was the legacy of the two parties that they made possible a Malayan nationalism in the early 50s. From there, they were but steps to freedom.

"Among the first of the dramatic steps was the holding of national conventions. The first took place at the Hotel Majestic in Kuala Lumpur on February 23, 1953. From the British there was perhaps only studied contempt. For Malaysians the conventions were a chosen instrument to bring about national self-respect.

"Participants to the convention were UMNO, MCA, the Peninsular Malays Union, the Persatuan Islam sa-Malaya (PMIP) and the Persatuan Melayu-Malaya Kelantan. "The delegates represented 90 per cent of the entire population of Malaya. Registered membership of the participating organisations totalled at least 350,000. There was massive enthusiasm. The signals were already there that a new destiny was being forged out for Malaya.

"The convention provided the first opportunity for representative organisations of the major communities to get together. No

unusual demands were made at the meetings. In the words of Datuk Sir Cheng-Lock Tan, leader of the MCA delegation, the convention only demanded the 'elementary right' of the people to elect their own representatives to the federal legislature."

As chairman of the national convention, I stressed that a strong urge for self-determination was finding its way into the hearts of the people of Malaya and the people felt that it was time that they were given bigger roles to play in the political affairs of the country. That part can only be given them with the institution of popular franchise. There is no option left to us but to demand an early election.



Datuk Cheng-Lock Tan

Paving the Way for a General Election

(30 August, 1982)

I MENTIONED in my article dated January 13, 1975, in *Looking Back* how Mr. Oliver Lyttleton (later Lord Chandos) agreed to Independence "as soon as the various races in this country were united". From that moment on we were determined "to show him and the rest of the world that we can and we shall be united". We realised that suspicion and mistrust still existed between the various races in the country at the time. We felt that, that was due to our early upbringing and the policy of divide-and-rule. But independence was our goal. We noticed too that in recent years there had been a very strong evidence of a political awakening among Malaysians.

But there was as we knew it another anti-independence movement backed by the British which aimed at introducing certain reforms in the federal legislature which were opposed to independence. They were not prepared to recommend any amendment to our Constitution which would function in the interim period to strengthen our claim for independence. We called for a National Convention.

The National Convention was determined to do more and to demand for an early election. We decided on 1954 as the target date because by January 31, 1954, the life of the existing Federal Legislative Council would end and with it the life of the new Council would begin. The Special Committee to the National Convention invoked Clause 65 of the Federation of Malaya Agreement 1948 which read as follows: "His Majesty and Their Highnesses, the Rulers declare that it is their intention in due course, to cause to be introduced into the legislative council, legislation providing for the election of members to that council."

We demanded the implementation of that particular clause and asked for elections to be held in 1954. We were backed by other Malayan

organisations, the Pan-Malayan Labour Party, the Malayan Indian Congress, and the Perak Progressive Party. We approached the rulers by way of petition to agree to a review at an early date the Federation of Malaya Agreement with a view to their adaptation to new circumstances. In particular, the introduction of general election throughout the country.

For this purpose the petition asked for the appointment of a special independent commission to enquire into constitutional reforms in the federation which would conform to the wishes of the people and would be in the best interests of the Federation of Malaya. Members of such a commission should come from outside of Malaya, independent of any local prejudices, and should be completely impartial in the enquiry and in their recommendations. The people of this country were now united as never before, and so we were demanding and expecting the Government to agree to it.

Instead the Federation Government and the Rulers offered us an Election Committee comprising 46 members representing the Rulers, the Government, the Chambers of Commerce, UMNO-MCA and other associations. Out of the 21 appointed to the Working Committee UMNO-MCA were allowed only six representatives. It was obvious therefore that the Government was determined to have its own way and was not prepared to give in to our demands. With regard to these 21 members appointed to the Working Committee, they were the same people who had recommended earlier for delayed election and they were known to be bitterly opposed to the Alliance.

We decided on sending petitions to the Rulers, the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, telling them how one-sided this committee was. We wanted an impartial independent commission. The Secretary of State was arrogant and adamant and declared that the power to make a decision rested entirely with the Queen and the Rulers. We felt that the colonial government and the Secretary of State had exceeded their authority. The world must know how unfair they had been to us by refusing to accede to our request for democratic election which had been agreed to in the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya Agreement.

I felt I must go to London and explain fully the situation faced by us here. We called for an emergency meeting of UMNO-MCA in Malacca on April 18, 1954. At that assembly I asked for the approval to allow Tan Cheng Lock (Tun), T.H. Tan (Tan Sri Tahir) and I, together with Abdul Razak (Tun) to go to England to brief

the British Members of Parliament and the British public on our plight. The assembly agreed that I should lead the delegation to England but when the time came for us to leave, Tan Cheng Lock (Tun) for health reasons, had to back out and Tun Razak had to go to America on Government official duty. In the end, T.H. Tan (Tan Sri Tahir) and I went.

The meeting held in Malacca was a most impressive and touching one. The Chinese guild where the meeting took place was filled with UMNO and MCA supporters, and I told them that if we did not succeed in our quest for democratic election, then we might as well give up all hope of independence. The only thing we needed now was money and we did not have enough even to pay for our passage to England. Then it was that the womenfolk started throwing their gold ornaments, bangles, necklaces and rings on the floor of the guild and the men followed by throwing coins and notes. It took some time for us to collect all these gifts. The spirit and enthusiasm shown was enough to tell us that the people were behind us and that we would succeed in our mission.

We made our preparation and proceeded to London. When we arrived Mr. Oliver Lyttleton refused to meet us and not even as much as to give a reason for it. And so it was I who got the help of Lord Ogmores, my old friend and Mr. Tom Proctor, members of the Labour Party, to help us. They managed to get for us the chamber in the House. There we gave talks to Members of Parliament and to all political parties interested in Malaya's political awakening. One thing I must say about these Members of Parliament was that they appreciated our predicament.

According to most of them it was for a just cause and commensurate with British intention to give the independence through popular franchise. So through their intercession, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton gave me an appointment alone. I refused to meet him alone and said, "I came with a friend, Mr. T.H. Tan, and if he agrees to see me, he must also agree to see my friend, who was a representative of the MCA." Finally, Mr. Lyttleton agreed and Abdul Razak (Tun) who had come from America joined us. We had quite an interesting meeting. His attitude of "couldn't care less" soon changed.

At the end of two hours of discussion he agreed to give me a letter to bring back to Malaya and deliver in person to the High Commissioner. He showed me the letter, the gist of which was "that if in practice it was found that the ability of the majority-elected par-

ty to function effectively was being frustrated by a deliberately destructive minority, then the High Commissioner must take steps to remedy it." I insisted that there must be elections and that three-fifth of the members should be elected and the nine official members to be appointed should have consent and the approval of the Alliance. It was on this question of the nine official members that there was disagreement but the Secretary of State suggested that we should try it out.

This was the catch. The nine official nominees were to be government men and business tycoons. This I could not accept. However, we reached agreement on all the other points. I maintained that until this particular matter of official nominees was cleared, I would not accept any compromise. I then knew the standing and views of the British Government. I came back and met the High Commissioner who said that he would carry on the election with the nine official nominees. I had no choice but to disagree with him and left him without even a hand-shake.

I then directed the Alliance members to withdraw co-operation with the Government by walking out of all councils, including the Legislative Council. This immediately threw the Government into confusion and put the administration into severe predicament because it had the communist terrorists fighting the Government on the one hand, and on the other we had the anti-communists who were behind the Government and who were now forced to withdraw their co-operation and support for the Government.

Placed in such a quandary it didn't take the Government long to make up its mind and so it was that they made approaches to settle this unfortunate affair. On July 2, 1954, I was invited to meet the High Commissioner on the British frigate HMS Alert at the naval base, Singapore. Dr. Ismail (Tun), Col. H.S. Lee (Tun) and I met the High Commissioner. The main point of contention — official nominees — was discussed and it was agreed that the nine representatives of vested interest should first be approved by the winning party, and not by the High Commissioner, as I considered this arrangement was the only possible solution to our differences on the question of election.

The High Commissioner agreed as a face saving device for the Government and I left the Alert with a sign of relief. Then the way was clear for general election and the ground would be broken for the birth of a new nation.

The Long Road to Merdeka

(6 September, 1982)

IN THE MEANTIME, our opponents were busy campaigning with lies that the British had won the day by obtaining the right to appoint the nine officials and Merdeka was but a dream. Some became frustrated with UMNO and my leadership, particularly as they were told that UMNO had been sold to the MCA and Tan Cheng Lock had been crowned head of the Alliance and as evidence of this he was given a Malay cap. The Merdeka we would get would deprive the Malays of the rights they were now enjoying under the Federation of Malaya Agreement, our opponents said.

I immediately called a general meeting of UMNO in Penang on October 16 and 17, 1954. I told the meeting that our pursuit of Merdeka had reached the point where there could be no turning back. There were people who tried to frighten the others away with lies. I reminded them that Merdeka was not easy to get and that we should have complete confidence, faith and courage to fight for it. I likened the quest for Merdeka to walking across a smouldering fire, and if one faltered then one would get oneself burnt. Therefore one must have faith in one's mission. We had now come to that point where we were about to walk the fire. If you faltered you would be burnt, but I was going forward and those who had faith must come with me.

Our enemies were out to try their level best to destroy us by obstructing our path to Independence. It was clear that the Malays and Chinese were united, and with unity we had hope for our success in the election. People outside Malaya who had been told that the two peoples could never get together were now convinced that they could. Between ourselves, we realised that we were seeking our freedom, and we must get it.

We had set up a department in London manned by Lord Ogmore and Tom Proctor, whose duty was to inform the Members of Parlia-

ment and members of the British public of our just struggle for Independence and the progress made.

Our manifestos were being prepared and I gave the assembly the important points, which roughly were:

- (1) To provide for the people in the lower strata of our society;
- (2) To provide the people with land and help to develop this land, and for this purpose we must have land reserved for the Malays and others inside and outside the towns;
- (3) We must plan for the economic and industrial development of the whole country;
- (4) We must help to better the understanding of Islam and make it our official religion while others were free to follow their own religions;
- (5) We had to strengthen our defence to fight the communist terrorists and other anti-Merdeka elements.

We must remember that with Merdeka, we might not get all the help we needed from our friends.

I told them about the election to the Federal Council to be held in 1955, and now we had to get ourselves ready for it. The things we must start preparing for were:

- (1) To find the money for the election expenses. I mentioned it so that they could start collecting immediately. We needed a very big sum of money, at least \$100,000, to fight for the 52 seats. Each State must try their best to find this money. Each candidate would have to spend at least \$2,000;
- (2) We should start registering the voters from October 18 to November 16, 1954;
- (3) It was necessary for the states to send the names of the candidates for the consideration of the National Executive Committee. These people must be loyal, trustworthy and dedicated members of UMNO. They must know English in order to follow the debates in Parliament;
- (4) Names of candidates must be sent to UMNO headquarters, at least two months before the election;
- (5) This election was important for us, for on its success rested the Independence of our country.

A constitutional committee was formed to look into the UMNO Constitution.

I told them that since we had had round-table conferences between UMNO and MCA, our understanding of one another had improved and we were working very well together. We were still waiting for MIC to make up their mind whether to join us or not. I told Mr. Devaser there could be no alternative choice. On January 5, 1955, the Malayan Indian Congress had decided to throw in their lot with the Alliance. That decision, taken at a special meeting, was conveyed to me immediately afterwards by Mr. Devaser, the MIC president. Naturally, we were all very pleased to welcome the MIC into the fold, as it seemed to us that the Alliance make-up was complete with the Malays, the Chinese and Indians, all speaking through their own parties with one voice, seeking together the common goal of each and every loyal Malayan to win the elections and gain Independence for Malaya.

When Mr. Sambanthan (Tun) succeeded Mr. Devaser, the position of the three major political parties became very much more closely knit, and this gave a tremendous boost to the chances of the Alliance at the forthcoming election.

After the Alliance's landslide victory in Johore, Trengganu, the Kuala Lumpur municipal council and other local councils throughout the country including the Penang City Council, we were ready for the national elections. For the national elections, we faced Dato Onn's party, IMP, which was changed to Party Negara with modifications in their political platform to make it more Malay in outlook.

The Election Commissioner, Mr. S.T. Smith, then announced on March 1, 1955, that elections would be held on Wednesday, July 27, 1955, and Nomination Day for candidates was fixed for Wednesday, June 15, 1955. The Alliance fielded 52 candidates — one for each of the 52 constituencies — while Party Negara named 30, the Pan-Malaysia Islamic Party 11, the National Association of Perak (the Perak National Party) 9, the Labour Party of Malaya 4, the Perak Malay League 3 and the Perak Progressive Party 2 with 18 others standing as independents.

At first, we had some difficulties in the distribution of seats between UMNO, MCA and MIC. This was only to be expected. The Malays formed the main bulk of voters, so in order to accede to the request of our partners for distribution of seats, it was necessary to concede Malay areas to them. UMNO members demurred at first, but in the end they were ready to make sacrifices, which in fact was

a big sacrifice for them. UMNO named 35 candidates, MCA 15 and MIC 2.

The Alliance manifesto for the federal election dealt mainly with what I said at the general meeting of UMNO in Penang on October 16 and 17, 1954, i.e. to better the lot of the people. This actually was the beginning of the development plans for those living in the rural and urban areas. The manifesto long drawn out was an honest one which the Alliance intended to carry out with Independence.

It should be remembered that the election would give the Alliance a small part in the administration, while the power would remain in the hands of the British. But we promised the electorate that as soon as we settled down after the first election, we would go all out to fight for Independence. Our task now was to strengthen ourselves to face the general election. We knew that most of the Opposition parties were supported by the Government. The mass media in the country were utilised in the service of Party Negara. They were always mentioned in the papers. In fact, full use had been made by the government of the radio to boost up the ailing party.

We had to depend on ourselves absolutely by using whatever media of communication available to us. These were our Kaum Ibu and Kaum Pemuda. They were a dedicated lot of people and they devoted their time and effort to party work. We had little money and this they knew. So they went to work in most cases with nothing to sustain them except their redoubtable spirit for Independence. Kaum Pemuda was then under Sardon bin Haji Jubir (Tun) and Kaum Ibu was under Ibu Zain, Khadijah Sidek and Puan Sri Fatimah Hashim.

The MCA had no Kaum Pemuda or Kaum Ibu, and neither had the MIC. So they leaned heavily on UMNO for support. They worked very hard and under very difficult circumstances, and I was so proud of the sacrifices they made for the party. Many of them were small-time government servants and school teachers and I felt that they had taken the risk of losing their jobs. They didn't care. Come what may, our duty was to fight for the Independence of Malaya. In this spirit, we went to the polls and this was one of the reasons why we spent so little money then compared to the elections that followed.

On July 27, 1955, the day of election, the government refused to allow the Alliance request to make polling day a public holiday. I took the matter up with the High Commissioner and he later gave way.

I cast my vote in the constituency of Baling. T.H. Tan was with me and we made our way down south, stopping at all the main polling stations. At one centre in my constituency, I met with a very nasty experience. As soon as I went into the polling station at Tikam Batu, the elections officer, Mr. Walker, who was the State Conservator of Forests, tried to drive me out. I refused to move as I knew my right to be there. "Here I am, I am not going out," I said. "You can do your worst." He then called the police to evict me. The police came, but when they saw me they refused to take his orders. Mr. Walker then sat down. After I had gone round the polling station, I went out.

(Years later, at a social function I gave in Kuala Lumpur, one expatriate officer came to me and asked if I remembered him.

"To be honest, I don't," I said. Then he reminded me that it was he who tried to drive me out of the polling station. He was then working in Sarawak as a government officer.

I smiled and asked him if he was happy. He said he was, so I said, "Carry on with your work." and we laughed over it.)

The result of the federal election on July 27, 1955 was that the Alliance swept the board by winning 51 seats out of the 52 contested, and lost that solitary seat not to any Opposition party but to an independent.

After a 13-hour journey from Sungai Petani, we finally reached Kuala Lumpur at 11 o'clock that night. At that time, the election results were coming in and Alliance candidates were named one after another. I knew that we had won the day, so I left the Selangor Club padang for the Eastern Hotel, where T.H. Tan was staying, and had sandwiches. We stayed in front of the radio until the next morning, by which time most of the results had come in. So quietly I dozed off with a happy smile and contented heart, with thankfulness to Allah for His small mercies.

The biggest defeat was suffered by Dato Onn himself. His opponent Datuk Sulaiman bin Abdul Rahman scored 36,000 votes as against Dato Onn's 10,000 in the Johore Baru constituency.

As leader of the party, I was naturally asked by the government to take over the portfolio as Chief Minister of the Federation of Malaya, together with other colleagues in the UMNO-MCA-MIC. Members of my Cabinet were: Tun H.S. Lee, Tun Abdul Razak, Tun Dr. Ismail, Tun Sardon, Tun Sambanthan, Tun Leong Yew Koh, Tun Omar Ong Yoke Lin, Datuk Suleiman and Aziz Ishak.

When I became the Chief Minister, the colonial government did not provide us with any quarters or transport which we rather expected as new Ministers of the government.

I myself was shown a clerk's quarters with two bedrooms which I refused to take. Then I was given an old dilapidated government quarters in Hose Road, and I took it. One night it rained heavily and the roof leaked so badly that I had to shove my bed from one end of the room to another. It was then I vowed that I would drive the British out in half the time.

The rest of our struggle for Merdeka was plain sailing. After our victory at the polls, we were already half-way towards Independence. We had the control of the mass media, which soon played up the cause of Independence. Then, not long afterwards, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, visited us. He came to make a first-hand study of the Malayan situation, and was convinced that Independence was inevitable. This had changed the attitude of the then High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray. He was the head of the Cabinet, but appeared more friendly than he was before. The members of the Cabinet on his side were all expatriate officers, who seemed to know what was expected of them — they were just biding their time, for when Merdeka came they would have to go.

In 1956, Alan Lennox-Boyd invited me to London, together with my colleagues and the Sultans' representatives, the *Mentris Besar*. To cut a long story short, the discussion we had in London went on smoothly. And on February 8, 1956, we signed the document which gave Independence to Malaya on August 31, 1957.

My Kedah Days

(17 January, 1983)

I HAVE OFTEN BEEN asked why it was that I did not write my autobiography. It is difficult for me to write about myself. Firstly, I cannot say anything too good or too bad about myself. Secondly, I have been so long in the public eye and Malaysians know me for what I am.

In my column on Mondays, I have mentioned some of my experiences as a civil servant in Kedah and the unfair treatment I received from the Kedah Government. As a result, Datuk Sri Syed Nahar, the *Mentri Besar*, checked up on my allegation and made retribution for the wrong done to me. I am most grateful to him. It was nice to know that the Government of the people accepted the blame for an offence committed in the colonial days.

I said the 'Government of the people' because that in fact is what it is. Since coming into power, the Alliance has continued to give the people a fair and just government and peace and prosperity though the premiership has changed hands three times. Now, as my 80th birthday approaches, the Barisan Nasional with Datuk Lee San Choon as chairman has proposed to hold a party in my honour.

Sometimes I am asked: If you had to live your life all over again, would you change it or change some parts of it? I would not change much. Except perhaps I would pass my Bar examination earlier. But on reflection, if I had been more successful as a young man, I would not have gained the experience that served me during the struggle for Independence and when I became the country's first Chief Minister (in 1955) and the Prime Minister (in 1957) for a total of 15 years.

When Harry Miller wrote his book *Prince and Premier*, he consulted me on my life. I told him that I was treated badly by the

Government, oppressed and victimised, but, in his book he said I was not a very good government servant. That is a complete turn-about. Everybody knows that when I was district officer in many districts in Kedah, I lived with and worked for the people. I travelled into the remotest parts of the districts to places where no district officer had ever been before. I travelled on foot, on elephants and by boat. It was a great comfort to travel by bicycle, particularly in Langkawi.

In Kulim – where I served the longest – first as assistant district officer in 1931, then district officer from 1938 to 1943 – the people still remember me, whether they be Malays, Chinese or Indians. I was there during the difficult days between the British evacuation and the arrival of Japanese occupation troops. Every district in Kedah was looted but no shop in Kulim was broken into except one liquor shop – which was broken into by some retreating British soldiers. When the Japanese arrived, all the womenfolk in the main towns were evacuated to camps up the hills. The state government evacuated from Alor Star to Kulim. The treasury money from Alor Star and Kulim was safely kept in the Kulim treasury vault with Syed Omar the state treasurer taking charge of the treasury. There it remained until the Japanese came. Then Oyama Kikan, the military governor of Kedah took them.

The opinion expressed by Harry Miller that “I was a bad government officer” is not supported by facts. It is only the opinion expressed by some of the British officers, some of whom never liked me.

Apart from the work of maintaining law and order in my own district, I also had to take over Province Wellesley at the request of the Malay and Chinese leaders. They asked me to use my good offices to maintain law and order in Province Wellesley and this I did until the Japanese came.

One day I was ordered to go to Penang by the Japanese Governor. In a threatening manner, he blamed me for the loss of the valuables from European estates and asked me to render a complete account. I told him I was the district officer of Kulim and not of Province Wellesley and that I went there only to keep peace among the people. The local members of the Peace Council who were at the meeting supported me and so he let me go free.

On another occasion, I sent eight lorry loads of silverware and other valuables from estates in Kulim together with a complete list of the goods sent. When the valuables reached Alor Star, I was call-

ed by the Japanese official, Hanga. He accused me of being a thief, for, according to him, nine knives were missing from the list. I told him that if I had wanted to steal I would not have entered all these articles in the inventory. I might as well have kept them because no other district officer had sent any valuables to him. I was the only one who had done so and now I was called a thief.

Then Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu were transferred to the Thai government. I was brought back from Kulim to run the Education Department as Superintendent of Education. There it was that I first met Datuk Senu Abdul Rahman, who was one of the staff. He was already thinking of politics and it was he who dragged me to form Seberkas after the reoccupation period and brought Khir Johari into it as well. But before that, we were running a destitute home to care for the human wrecks who had trickled into Kedah from the Siamese Death Railway.

Before the British returned there was an administrative vacuum too. It was then that we had to organise the defence of Alor Star but it was too late to attend to the other districts of Kedah. The communists had already taken control of South and Central Kedah and were already surrounding Alor Star, waiting for the opportunity to come in. Some of the communists in the Kota Star district had already started operations. In Alor Jangus they had taken over the police station and had put all the policemen in the lock-up. I had them released by our young members of the Defence Corps who were sent from Alor Star for that purpose. The communists were warned that if this happened again we would take severe action against them.

The young men who rallied to my call were sent to reinforce those Force 136 men who had arrived in Kuala Nerang. Among them were my two nephews, Tunku Osman Jawa and Tunku Yusoff Kassim from England, who had parachuted into the jungle to join them. We managed to stop the communists from entering Alor Star until Force 136, commanded by Col. Hasler, entered the town. He then forgot all the help we gave him and didn't even pay back the money I spent transporting the reinforcements of Force 136 from Alor Star to Kuala Nerang. Such is the way of human-beings.

Then came the Malayan Union. Then came Datuk Onn who called on the Malays to fight the Malayan Union with the battle cry, *Hidup Melayu*. I attended the first meeting in 1946 on behalf of Persatuan Melayu and Seberkas Kedah. After that I decided to continue with my law studies. The political situation had got out of hand

and it was hard for me to control Seberkas. They were all scrambling for recognition and I decided to let them have their way and left for England in December 1946.

After all those years as a government servant, I was suddenly whisked into the political arena in 1951 when I was chosen to head the party – first UMNO and then the Alliance which eventually won Independence for Malaya. Then when I was about to retire as Prime Minister, the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, during an official visit to Malaya, asked me to organise Muslim unity. The result is what was eventually established in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, and is known today as the Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers. Before I resigned as secretary-general of this body, I formed the Islamic World Development Bank.

When King Faisal asked me to undertake this task, I said to him "Your Majesty, I am not all that you think me to be. I am most grateful to you for choosing me to undertake such an important organisation." And he replied: "I know all about you and I am not asking you to be the *imam* of Islam. I know you can bring about Islamic unity." So it was that I became the first secretary-general of the conference.

Now I am about to receive the Hijrah Award, being given for the first time by the Pakistan Government and then the King Faisal International Prize of Service to Islam award. These are honours which I least expected. I never knew I was going to be working for Islam after the life of a playboy and politician. It is strange how the wheel of fate has spun my life around. God is great and all-knowing and all-merciful. May He be praised. Allah-U Akbar, Allah-U Akbar.

One of the most important episodes of my life was the way I 'kidnapped' my father. I snatched my father from the British convoy which was taking him to Penang en route to Singapore in the period before the Japanese invasion. Fortunately, the convoy decided in Gurun to change plans and moved at intervals of five minutes because of the threat from Japanese aircraft which had been bombing Penang since early that morning. I did not know about this but I was in luck. From where I stood, I could see the convoy, with the vehicles moving towards Penang at intervals of five minutes. Then I saw my father's yellow Rolls Royce. I rushed on to the road with my steel helmet and pistol in my hand. I stopped the car, jumped in and directed the driver to go to Kulim instead.

My Childhood Days in Bangkok

(24 January, 1983)

STARTING MY memoirs, I must first mention the circumstances of my birth. I have mentioned it in brief in my article 53 in *Looking Back*, entitled "A Mother to Remember".

I was born on 12 November, 1320 Hijrah, corresponding to the English date 8 February, 1903. According to my mother, she lied to my father that she had conceived, in order to save the lives and limbs of members of the family of the Keeper of the Sultan's seal, who according to her, had misused the seal to enrich the family coffers. The punishment was very severe, involving capital punishment for the offender and amputation of the thumbs of the family members. The wife and children rushed to seek my mother's help to save them from the punishment. So it was that she went to my father and begged him not to proceed with the punishment as she had conceived and if the child was born it might not have thumbs.

The punishment was stayed for an indefinite period. In actual fact, she had not conceived at that time but it happened soon after. When I was born, I was of a darker hue than the other members of the family and according to my mother it was because "I had lied to the Sultan, but it was a white lie in order to prevent the sufferings of innocent people". Sometimes when I went out of my way to help others, my mother would always say that this was my birth-mark and it was hard to remove it from my character.

My mother was a pure Thai born of a father named Luang Nara Borarik. He was the district officer of Nonthaburi in the reign of King Rama V. She was also the niece of Luang Raman-Nantaketadi, whose surname was "Nontanakorn". This surname had connection with other famous families such as "Panyarachua" and "Kochaseni", the descendants of Chao Phya Maha Yota (Cheng)

and Khun Yin Sup (Lady Sup). Chao Phya Maha Yota was the head of the state of Mataban, bordering Burma.

During the Burmese invasion of Thailand, the family withdrew to Ayudthia, the Siamese capital in 1774, which again was attacked and devastated by the Burmese. The family fled to Bangkok, the new capital. My father's aunt adopted my mother and her sister and they were given the names of Menjalara and Menjawangi respectively and their Thai names were Nearng and N'dea.

My mother was of a different calibre to the other wives of my father because she was particularly intelligent and business-minded. As a result of that she amassed great wealth in Alor Star. At times she was criticised for this but she always maintained that all the wealth she had accumulated was for the benefit of the Sultan's own children and not for herself. In fact, my father respected her for this. When he confiscated Tunku Zainuddin's land and house in Bukit Tinggi, he gave the property to my mother. When his sisters protested, he told them that "If I give the property to you, it would be sold the next day or else mortgaged because you have not been able to keep anything for yourself or for the members of the family. You have gambled away everything you had."

As a young boy I was not fond of school but was forced to attend Malay and English schools. I just went there to play and never to study. When my brother, Tunku Yusof, returned from England with an English wife, he decided to go to Bangkok to work. He was a qualified royal engineer from Woolwich and my mother told him to take me with him and put me in a school in Bangkok and see that I studied. I was always playing truant and running about wild with my friends in Kedah. One thing she feared most was my fondness of swimming in the river which was infested with crocodiles.

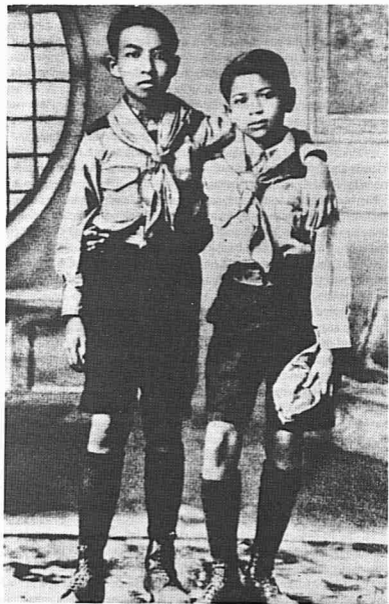
I then left for Bangkok with my brother. It was not quite the sprawling city that it is now but it was a very pleasant place to live in. It was like a magnified Alor Star with a few main street drains (klongs) all over the city. Bangkok was a low-lying swamp and so before a house was built, canals had to be dug to level up the land. The canals were grown with 'kangkong', with plenty of fish and at night the place was buzzing with mosquitoes. Another unsightly thing which I never saw anywhere else were large house lizards called "tokkeh", with white and black markings. They were horrible-looking reptiles but were harmless. They made a sound "tok-keh", hence the name.

The house we lived in belonged to a very rich man called Phya Maha Amat, who was the godfather of my brother. It was a quarter of a mile from the main road with a lane leading to it. At night it was so dark and deserted that nobody dared use the lane. I mention this in particular because if one were to see the lane now one could not imagine how isolated and dark the place was in those days. The house still stands but it is hardly recognisable because the Chinese population almost live on top of one another. The lane itself has become a crowded thoroughfare and no one would remember what it was like before. I was very happy in Bangkok where I made many friends and one boy in particular who was almost like a brother to me was Tavit Guptarak (Luang Tavit).

My brother had some very unlucky experiences with his precious possessions. When he first returned from England his schoolfriend came to visit him in Kedah and my brother gave him some jewellery and money to deposit in a bank in Bangkok. When he arrived there, he found the jewellery had not been deposited in the bank and neither was the money. His friend was also missing from Bangkok. Again, while in Bangkok he sent his Hainanese boy, Ah Seng, who accompanied him from Alor Star to deposit some gold and some precious stones in the bank. This man, too, absconded. One night, at the end of a cinema show I spotted Ah Seng from among the crowd leaving the theatre but when he came out he was lost in the crowd.

There were two cinema halls in Bangkok in those days. They were of a semi-permanent structure and they were always crowded. My brother was always particular about the seating and unless the royal box was available he would not go to the cinema. I accompanied him dressed up in Eton collar, white jacket and black trousers. At the time I was just 11 years old. During the war years all officers were dressed in uniform and it was a strange sight to see high ranking military officers sitting in a row behind the royal box. My brother was only a captain and we were always given the privilege to come out first.

His main duty was to round up the bandits and it was always a worrying time when he had to go away for days in the bandit-infested areas. However, that was the way in Thailand in those days. There were plenty of bandits in the outlying province. On one occasion, when he came back, his uniform had a gunpowder mark where a bullet had grazed the shoulder. He was a captain in the gendarmerie. The duty of this force was to go out and catch terrorists, gangsters



Tunku with Tavit Guptarak

and bandits.

I joined the Scout movement in the Thebsurin school and our duty was to attend rallies, or to receive VIPs when they visited the school. The movement was not run as it was in Malaya, but rather loosely and it was not broken up into patrols with patrol leaders in charge. Rather, it was one big force under a commandant. We were never drilled in small companies but taken as a whole and there were hundreds of us, in fact thousands. So I knew very little about scouting until I joined the Penang Free School.

There were plenty of buggies or carriages drawn by ponies in Bangkok and it was very enjoyable to ride in them and of course there were rickshaws pulled by Chinese. I had a bicycle and the popular routine was to visit the statue of King Chulalongkorn in front of the palace with a wide avenue leading to it, built after the Champs Elysee in Paris.

One of my favourite pastime was to sit at the stalls run by Thai old ladies who were such kindly people and very motherly. There was one such stall near my house on the main road which sold betel nut, oranges and cigarettes. The fashion in those days was for the ladies to chew betel nut and sireh. This eventually was banned by the Thai General Phibun Songkaram. Another thing I used to enjoy was eating satay which was tastier than what we had in Malaya. In addition to the gravy, they also served pickled cucumber and onions. They cost one satang a stick which was less than our one cent.

The school used to start at 8 a.m. and the boys assembled in the main hall would sing the national anthem, afterwhich they would disperse to their respective classrooms. At one o'clock, the school closed and the boys would again assemble in the same hall and sing the anthem, afterwhich they would be dismissed. It was a very good custom because it instilled a spirit of patriotism and loyalty in the hearts of the boys. This should be tried out in Malaysia to see how our boys respond to the call of Malaysia as their object of loyalty.

When my brother returned from one of his trips one day, he had pneumonia. It became worse and he died. So it was that my stay in Bangkok came to an abrupt end. It was a sad day indeed when I had to leave Bangkok because I had learnt to love the country and its people.

Race to Save A Friend's Life

(31 January, 1983)

I RETURNED TO MALAYA by boat. On the boat, there was an evil-looking man and one night, he came to our cabin and tried to be fresh with my sister-in-law. I was 11 years old then and I shouted to him "get out". He pushed me aside and that enabled my sister-in-law to rush out to seek the captain's help. He rushed in with one of the crew and arrested the man, who was locked up for the rest of the journey.

At Singgora, where we disembarked, my mother was waiting for us at the former governor-general's house. The governor-general, who was related to her, had died 12 years ago but his coffin was still lying in state in the hall at the back of the residence. According to the widow they were still making preparations for the cremation ceremony. When the final rites were to be performed, had yet to be fixed, but I was told it would be in a year's time.

I returned to Kedah after two days in Singgora in a big Armstrong Siddeley Daisy car, the official car of my father. In those days, the roads in Singgora were rough and as we approached the bridges, we had to get out to lighten the weight. The bridges were of bamboo and even walking across them was frightening. Only when we crossed the border into Kedah did we get on the metal road. The entire journey if I remembered correctly, took us 10 hours — a distance of about 60 miles from Singgora to Alor Star. I relate this small episode just to illustrate what the conditions were like in those days. Haadyai now has blossomed into one of the attractive towns in South Thailand, drawing thousands of tourists from Malaysia and elsewhere.

My education problem had to be attended to as I returned to Kedah to begin a new life. I was sent to a Malay school in Jalan Baru. Things

had changed for me as I had begun to take more interest in my schooling. So within one-and-a-half years I had completed my vernacular education in Malay. It was then that I was sent to Penang to continue my education.

In 1916, I was too old to enter the beginner's class or Standard One. I was put in Standard Two under a teacher named Mr. Goh (nicknamed "Owl"). He put me through the paces and in the half yearly assessment, I received another promotion to Standard Four under a teacher named Cheng Hup who too made me work with a cane hidden in his desk. Then I went up to Standard Five and then to Standard Six.

In 1919, when I was in Standard Seven, I received a scholarship from the Kedah State government to go to England. I went through rapid promotion in school, to the surprise of everybody, including myself. One thing I must say, the quality of education in the Penang Free School was very high with Pinhorn as headmaster and a very strict disciplinarian, and H.R. Cheeseman, a great educationist, as his Number Two. There were also many expatriate and local teachers who were truly good in their work.

I became a Scout, and became patrol leader of the Wolves Patrol. The Scout movement was under the command of Mr. Cheeseman. What a difference it was from the Thai scouting movement. Here the patrol leader takes charge of the patrol and the Scouts under him were drilled five times a week and given semaphore practice and first aid lessons. There was also a cadet corps under a Mr. Davies but it did not seem to be quite so good as the Scout movement then. Mr. Cheeseman combined the two movements.

I became a section leader with Malay Scouts and cadets under me. Ishak Sultan Mydin, who was my Number Two in the Wolves Patrol, took over from me when I left for England. I learnt a lot during my three years at the Penang Free School both in the classroom and outside of it. I played football and was considered a good footballer. The school decided in 1919 to introduce badminton and I was made the captain of the "F" Division. I had never seen a racket before or knew anything about the game. When it was first introduced I was elected captain of my division. Before we were able to get the game going, I had to leave the school.

During those school days in Penang, I was living with other Kedah boys in No. 63, Northam Road (Northam Court, now demolished). Pak Awang Osman, the father of Haji Shariff, former secretary to

the Government, looked after us as our guardian. He was a very strict man and never allowed us to go out except on Saturday night for a film show, and there were only two cinema halls, one called Victoria Cinema and the other, Capitol. We used to march from the house to Argyll Road (where the present Fraser and Neave is) for the show. I had a bicycle and the younger boys were taken to school in a pony drawn carriage. It was a good time we had in school and in the house where we lived, and there grew up an *esprit de corps* among us, the Kedah boys.

I entered school in the name of Tunku Putra, which was shortened to "Ku Ta" and I was called by that name in the Kedah house but when we returned to Alor Star they became more formal and called me Tunku again. The greatest excitement was with the start of the school holidays. The boys never slept the night before we started on our journey by train back to Alor Star.

In Alor Star we used to invite the boys to a meal in one another's house. This comradeship lasted all our life. When my friend, Syed Abu Bakar, former Kedah boy who became D.O. of Baling, was taken by the Chinese nationalists for being critical of the Kuomintang, his son Syed Omar, came to me in Alor Star and sought my help to save his father from imminent death. That same evening I went through the communist line to make contact with Force 136 (British and Malays) and asked Col. Hasler, the commandant, to save him. This he did. It was too late, however, to save the *penghulu*, Baling, who was with him as he had been killed earlier.

When I was in service in Alor Star, the company I kept was with those who had been my playmates while we were studying in Penang. The Kedah boys in particular were very good in sports because we had all the opportunity to play games among ourselves. As a result of this we represented the Penang Free School in all departments of games and other sporting activities. On one occasion we had to play football against a team from the Sultan Abdul Hamid College in Alor Star. The 11 players who made up the Penang Free School team were all Kedah boys studying in Penang.

When we grew older, some of the older boys used to creep out in the evenings to go to the cinema, or see their girl-friends. Pak Awang was also getting old and less vigilant and so the boys enjoyed their freedom. But I was not yet old enough to join them.

One thing Pak Awang never allowed us to do was to play any musical instrument, or even to sing or whistle. Why, we never knew.

We could have had a very fine musical band because most of the boys were musically inclined. When I first came from Alor Star, I used to sing and my musical scores used to be the war songs, such as *It's a Long Way to Tipperary*, *Keep Your Home Fires Burning*, and the other boys used to join me in the chorus. Pak Awang soon put a stop to it. So there was nothing to do except to chit-chat. All the boys had to collect in the dining hall after dinner to do their homework till 9 p.m. Only the senior boys used to work but those in my form and of my age spent their time playing or chatting and sometimes fighting.

Pak Awang's son, Mustapha who later became a doctor, was our prefect. One night, he was so angry with me for making noise that he slapped me on the head. Then all the other boys beat him up. He never joined us after that or spoke to any of the boys. He was a good student and received a Kedah scholarship to take up medicine in Hong Kong. When he returned for his holidays he resumed his friendship with the other boys and with me. After his graduation, he became the government pathologist in Kedah. In early 1945, Haji Shariff used to send him to represent the Kedah Malays at conferences held to prepare the groundwork for the Federation of Malaya Agreement. People in Kedah used to laugh because Dr. Mustapha knew nothing about the Malays and never mixed with the people. So how much he knew about the people's likes and dislikes over the terms of the agreement was hard to say. So it appeared to me that most of the people who were chosen to discuss the agreement came from the group who were pro-British and for this reason the agreement was never popular with the Malays. It was easy for me to denounce it when I had to work for Independence. The only thing that I accepted was the flag of the Federation.

Coming back to the school days in Penang, I won a Kedah government scholarship for study in England and so it was in late 1919, at the age of 15, I ended my schooling days and waited for a ship to take me to England. I was rather sorry to have left because in actual fact I rather enjoyed my school life, except that I used to dread the Mathematic lessons. However much I tried I still could not understand, except the simple additions and subtractions. However, with the other subjects like English, History and Geography, I excelled in them. That helped to give me the aggregate marks to pass my exams. Finally in March 1920, I left for England in the boat Rhesus to sit for my entrance examination into Cambridge University.

The Day I Led a Cabbie Revolt

(28 February, 1983)

ON MY RETURN from Sarawak after a very hectic two days of celebration, I went down with the flu and was unable to think clearly, at least of what to write that would be of interest to readers of *The Star*. I was in despair. The last thing I wanted to do was to disappoint my readers, some of whom buy *The Star* only on Mondays. Like a bolt from the blue, my nephew Tunku Ahmad's friend, sent this article written by Mr. Denis Warner in the *Melbourne Herald*. Mr. Warner is probably Australia's best-known journalist on South-East Asian affairs.

What he had written was not altogether correct. Firstly, about my early education where according to him, I "did get to Cambridge where he read law, but not with any success. The Tunku enjoyed himself at Cambridge and returned to Malaya without his degree to become a minor civil servant". As a matter of fact, I graduated with a degree of B.A. of Law and History but I failed to pass the Bar, as a result of which I had to return to London after a lapse of 25 years to complete it. After being called to the Bar of the Inner Temple in 1948, I enjoyed the proud distinction of being made a bencher of the Inner Temple. This was indeed a rare honour. In 1960, Cambridge University conferred on me the honorary degree of LLD and in 1969, Oxford University did likewise by bestowing upon me the honorary degree of Dr. of Letters.

According to Mr. Warner, I was made "a minor civil servant" in the Kedah civil service. This was because of the article I wrote opposing the custom union which the British colonial government intended to implement for the whole of Malaya in 1929, including the non-Federated Malay States. I condemned the British injustice and called it a betrayal of the pact they made with the Rulers of the

non-Federated Malay States. The British colonial government never forgave me for it. They made a second attempt to introduce it and once again I opposed it. As District Officer of Sungai Petani, I led the rebellion of the taxi drivers who were asked to surrender their licences in favour of the transport monopoly which was being forced upon them by the Kedah Chief Police Officer, Mr. O'Connell. This had been accepted in all the other districts. As a result of my opposition to this monopoly, I was transferred with two days' notice to Kulim. Mr. Warner is not expected to know all these and many people in the country knew little about it too. Mr. Harry Miller in his book *Prince and Premier* also said the same thing about me as a civil servant and this was also the view of the British administrators but the people of Kedah know best.

I append below Mr. Warner's article which I am sure the readers would enjoy reading because he writes with complete sincerity and with an open heart. It is nice of him to remember me.

Tunku: Father of a Nation

(This report by Denis Warner was first published in The Melbourne Herald on the occasion of the Tunku's 80th birthday.)

The father of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman, celebrates his 80th birthday today, and his people have a lot to be thankful to him for.

In retrospect, it seems entirely possible that without him, this now stable and prosperous member of the Southeast Asian community might never have come into being.

On his early record, the Tunku seemed unlikely to create anything significant.

As the seventh son of the Sultan of Kedah's sixth wife, a Thai, he was brought up in feudal affluence that did not include much emphasis on study.

He did get to Cambridge, where he read law, but not with any success. The Tunku enjoyed himself at Cambridge and returned to Malaya without his degree to become a minor civil servant.

He worked as a district officer during the Japanese occupation, but kept his record clean by helping to hide prison escapees and maintaining contact with British guerillas.

The war over, he returned to Britain, this time to be called to the bar of the Inner Temple and to enter into an alliance with a much younger student, Abdul Razak, an association that lasted through



his long and eminently successful political life.

It used to be said of him that he was not a thinker, but it was his thoughtful, easy-going, essentially tolerant attitude to life, his personality, that made Malaysia possible.

Malaya was suffering during the late 1940s and early 1950s from a communist rebellion, which depended heavily on the Chinese rural population for support.

Although the Malays out-numbered the Chinese, the margin was slim and the animosity between the two peoples often threatened to erupt dangerously.

To the shock and dismay of many other much less tolerant Malays, the Tunku decided that the only future for Malays lay in the creation of a multi-racial united front.

He went to the Chinese and Indian leaders to persuade them to join him in a new political organisation, the Alliance Party.

Having done this, he now had to persuade his own people. The Tunku toured the country, patiently explaining to Malays in remote villages what he was doing and why.

Most of his fortune went on the effort, and it succeeded perhaps beyond even the Tunku's dreams.

In the 1955 general election, the Alliance won 51 of the 52 seats in the legislature and the Tunku took over as Chief Minister.

The battle against the communists was still tying down thousands of British and Malay troops, but the Tunku decided it was nevertheless time for independence.

He even arranged an extra-ordinary and well publicised meeting with the legendary communist leader, Chin Peng, in northern Malaya in the hope that he might bring him and his followers to support an independent Malaya.

The meeting convinced him that no deal was possible with the communists, and that there was no alternative but to pursue the fight against them.

The Tunku gave his full support to the effort against the communists, and the British pushed the war to the point where the insurgents no longer posed a threat.

With the end in sight, the Tunku now demanded independence, and again went to the people to tell them what it was about.

Independence came on August 31, 1957. The slogan of the new management was "Business as usual", and the graciousness of the British withdrawal was matched by gracious acknowledgements, as

sincere as they were unusual in the days when in so many Asian capitals the colonials spectre stalked long after its physical being had gone.

No former Asian colony ever started life with fewer grudges against its erstwhile master, or with a higher standard of living.

There were many ups and downs, of course – the confrontation with Soekarno's Indonesia, the marriage and divorce with Singapore, and most unhappily of all for the Tunku, the race riots not long before he stepped down as Prime Minister.

For many years he presided over his Cabinet with the aplomb of an English vicar at a parish tea party. In his retirement, he wrote a column for a Penang newspaper full of homely wisdom and gentle humour.