



# LOOKING BACK

MONDAY MUSINGS AND MEMORIES

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ



PUSTAKA ANTARA,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA.

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## FOREWORD

This engaging book contains 53 of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra's articles published fairly recently in *The Star* newspaper. They are partly an autobiography of a remarkable statesman, and partly a biography of the young years of the Malayan and later the Malaysian nation — for the Tunku played the leading part in their births and early growths. The book does not recount his own life story in chronological order, for its chief emphasis is on the development of Malaya and Malaysia. The earlier articles are therefore concerned with those historic events. In later articles the author looks back to his own childhood in Kedah, where his father was the Sultan, and to his boyhood, young manhood and early career inside and outside that State. They give fascinating glimpses of the way of life in the Malay States in the early decades of this century, recounting many events throughout the periods when he was a "naughty little boy" at school, a not wholly successful undergraduate in England (because he was more inclined to enjoy play than to suffer work), a youthful and rather frustrated government officer in Kedah, and a very courageous loyal Malay official during the cruel Japanese Occupation of Malaya and Singapore during the World War.

When British Imperial rule was restored there after the war he decided that his so far rather unpromising career had little chance of even modest success unless he could pass the law examination which he had failed to do twenty-five years earlier in England. He therefore returned to London to become once more a student, at the age of 43. This time he succeeded, and was called to the Bar in the Inner Temple. He returned to Malaya, and filled some moderately important posts in the Attorney-General's and the Chief Justice's Departments.

Then the miraculous revolution in his life occurred. In 1951 a crisis arose in the United Malays National Organisation. The members of that extremely important political party suddenly lost their leader, and needed a new one. Providence smiled on the man who possessed the great qualities required in that Man of Destiny — Tunku Abdul Rahman. He was chosen as UMNO's new leader. Allah be praised!

The previous leader was Datuk Onn bin Ja'afar. I knew him well, because through several years I had worked very closely with him during the negotiations which changed the Malayan Union into the Federation of Malaya and in various subsequent tasks, including the often very difficult discussions in the Communities Liaison Committee where he as leader of the Malays, Tan Cheng Lock as leader of the Malayan Chinese, and the leaders of the Indian and other different racial communities laid the foundations of the harmonious co-operation between those previously rather discordant groups which enabled a multi-racial Malayan nation to be eventually formed. His and their great work is little known because the Committee was an unofficial body, and all its meetings — which continued throughout two years — were held in private.

Datuk Onn was a dynamic, courageous and almost always wise man, but sometimes he became too self-assured and stubborn in his views. The Tunku rightly pays high tribute to him as the creator of UMNO, but refers to the crashing mistake that he made in 1951. Soon after the Communities Liaison Committee had reached unanimous agreement on all the problems which its variegated members examined concerning the political, economic and other relations which should exist between the Malays, Chinese, Indians and other peoples as partners in a united Malayan nation Datuk Onn thought that they should abolish their separate ethnic parties such as the United Malays National Organisation, the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress, and join together in one political party. One evening in a private talk with me he told me of his idea, and sought my opinion, probably expecting me to agree with it. I did not. I expressed the view that he was trying to go "too far too fast", and that a great majority of the Malays would wish to keep their own UMNO free from any non-Malay members, so that they could pursue whatever policies they wished without undue influence from non-Malays. I added that probably at some time in the distant future, if co-operation between the different racial groups developed well in the meantime, a political party in which they all joined could be formed, but that for the present the best chance of their friendly co-operation continuing was for the UMNO, MCA and MIC to remain separate parties collaborating in some sort of coalition together.

Datuk Onn disagreed, saying that he would carry a great majority of the UMNO members with him. So he launched his plan — with the consequences that the Tunku relates in "Looking Back".

The Tunku was elected as the new President of UMNO. It was a wonderfully happy choice. For the next almost eighteen critical years

he led not only the Malays but also the Malayans and later the Malaysians through that vitally important liberating and in other ways creative period in their history. He describes the succession of events in this book — the formation of the Alliance between the UMNO, MCA and MIC; the gaining of national Independence by the Malayans; the nation's subsequent expansion into Malaysia; the refusal of Brunei to join Malaysia; Indonesia's violent "confrontation" against the enlarged nation; the Philippino government's effort to extract Sabah from it; the defeat of both those unfriendly attempts; Singapore's later separation from Malaysia; and other ups and downs in the Malaysians' onward progress.

The Tunku writes about many other important developments inside and outside Malaysia, such as certain Commonwealth matters, his concept of an international partnership of Muslim nations, and the founding of the economic association between Malaya, Thailand and the Philippines called ASA which was the precursor of today's wider ASEAN. With characteristic candour he expresses his opinions on the series of events and problems, and on the principal personalities involved in them. Readers will not necessarily agree with all his comments; but they are extremely important coming from him. Historians will attach great significance to them because his fine qualities as a leader of men made decisive contributions to the course of events. A dedicated Malay, he was also a true Malayan and Malaysian convinced that it was in the enlightened self-interest of all the different ethnic communities to co-operate as fellow-citizens in one nation. If the difficulty that he initially experienced in passing a law examination indicated that he was not endowed with a first-class intellectual brain, his achievements in the supreme fields of statesmanship showed that he was blessed with a far more valuable gift — first-class human wisdom. Various elements in his character were enormously helpful: his modesty and yet self-confidence, his outward going friendliness to peoples of all classes, races and creeds, his shrewd understanding of his fellow-men, his readiness to be tough when necessary, and his absolute sincerity as a servant of great causes. Other of his traits which helped to shape many fine achievements come out frequently in his writing — his gay sense of fun, his happy nature, and his warm-hearted humanity.

I am delighted to write a Foreword for this book by "Bapa Malaya", who was the Father not only of Malaya but also Malaysia.

Malcolm MacDonald.

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are undernourished has increased from 600 million to 800 million.

There are a number of reasons for this increase. One of the main reasons is that the world population has increased from 5 billion in 1987 to 6 billion in 2000, and is projected to reach 9 billion by 2050.

Another reason is that the world's food production has not kept pace with the increase in population. In 1987, the world produced 1.8 billion tonnes of food, but in 2000, it only produced 2.1 billion tonnes.

There are a number of reasons for this. One of the main reasons is that the world's agricultural land is being degraded. In 1987, 1.8 billion hectares of land were used for agriculture, but in 2000, only 1.6 billion hectares were used.

Another reason is that the world's agricultural production has become more dependent on fertilizers and pesticides. In 1987, the world used 1.8 million tonnes of fertilizers and pesticides, but in 2000, it used 2.1 million tonnes.

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## BY WAY OF EXPLANATION .....

In bringing this book to the public I wish to make my object quite plain. I wrote these articles in The STAR because I felt strongly that something had to be done to bring home to our young people, in particular students of politics, the historic significance of events since World War II which led to our Independence and nationhood.

Oddly enough no attempt has been made to give our youth any real idea of how we won Independence. One academic author did write a book in Malay on Malaysia's Independence, a work which was actually distributed to schools for our boys and girls to read, but the author had completely omitted to associate me with events leading to Independence. My service needs no more to be remembered — I am a "has been."

Perhaps I am getting on in years, a 74 for the course so far, but I seem to remember that there was a time in my life when I was acclaimed "Bapa Malaya", and later "Bapa Malaysia". I had always thought these endearing terms were meant to indicate the role I played in the birth of our nation. Perhaps I am mistaken; if so, I hope this book will serve to correct any basic errors and be useful for reference as well. At least it comes straight from the horse's mouth, so to speak, a metaphor I like as a life-long fan of horse-racing.

I cannot say, however, that I have had complete access to information in working on my articles for I have had to dig here and there. All the papers I had kept were lost during my years of moving about for the Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah from 1970 to 1974. But what I have related about all the events in my book are as true as one could wish them to be. To my mind there is nothing to hide. All that I have said is intended to give historic data, facts and figures, for our young Malaysians. So I hope they will understand the basic value of this book.

My thanks go to several persons - Mr. Jee Guan Huat who left his family in Kuala Lumpur to join me in Penang where I have retired, to help me in my work, and whenever I am in Kuala Lumpur, which is fairly often, Mr. Cheah Phee Cheok assists me



there. The editing has been done by my old Press Secretary, Mr. Frank Sullivan, working with Mr. Cheah. These are my old "faithfuls" and they still remain as ever "yours faithfully" all these years.

I also wish to express my special appreciation to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, PC for his Foreword. It is such a high tribute that I am rather abashed. The compliments he has paid me make me feel I have done something really worth while, but he too has played his part in Malaya's independence - a very important part indeed, having helped the people of our country to feel aware of their belonging to Malaya, and not just a place to eke out a living.

The publisher is my friend, Datuk Abdul Aziz Ahmad of Pustaka Antara, Kuala Lumpur, and between the two of us we have tried to bring the book out as cheaply as possible, so that it can be available and within reach of the pockets of all. It is my fond hope that this book will have the desired effect I have in mind.

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA

Penang and Kuala Lumpur,  
Malaysia.  
March, 1977.

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ARTICLE 1  
(16 December, 1974)

THE RISE OF SUARA UMNO

**M**y first active association with journalism in Malaya dates back to August 26, 1951 when I became the leader of the United Malays' National Organisation, UMNO, the late Datuk Onn bin Ja'afar, its founder, having left the party to form another more to his liking.

Part of my inheritance was Suara UMNO, the weekly party journal — one could hardly call it a newspaper. Nevertheless it was the official political mouth-piece of our party. At that time UMNO was trying to assert itself in the struggle for the rights of the Malays in their own country, and to do so with the objective of ultimately winning Independence.

Datuk Onn had originally started publishing Suara UMNO as a news-letter, but towards the end of his term of office in UMNO, it was providing party news to members on cyclostyled sheets. Even so, it still cost money to produce and send out to members and party branches, which seldom made good their promises to pay.

"VOICE"

When I took over Suara UMNO it was being issued free of charge! Under the new leadership, and being my responsibility, it was nevertheless essential to continue publication. The change in UMNO's political drive for independence must have, I considered, a potent and popular "voice".

The British Colonial Government controlled Radio Malaya (there was no television in those days). The daily newspapers, being in private ownership, would, of course, report any important statement by UMNO as news. Therefore if UMNO members were to know everything the Party was doing, Suara UMNO had to see to the job, and the more effectively the better.

The nature of the contents and format of Suara UMNO must be altered accordingly. I had Syed Ja'afar Albar as my assistant; later on Encik Annuar held the job.

Due to lack of funds, Suara UMNO continued to come out in cyclostyled form, but gradually the image of the paper improved with the changes in its format and substance. It became a true political paper using the weapons of words to fight for UMNO's aims to get the rights of the Malays recognised in the country of their birth and for the rights of all the Malayan people to rule their own land in partnership with the Malays without British interference or influence.

### BATTLE

Suara UMNO definitely began to show a marked change in UMNO's struggle, and, jointly with the Malayan Chinese Association, MCA, and the Malayan Indian Congress, MIC, helped them make forward and realistic moves towards independence.

The proof was there for all to see, as the Government took a strong line against Suara UMNO and made use of all the media at its command to fight the paper.

We waged our first battle against two Malay papers, the Majlis in Kuala Lumpur and the Qalam magazine in Singapore. They made severe and relentless attacks on me, insinuating that I was leading the country to a bad end, and advising the Malays to be careful and not be misled.

That was the beginning of the rise of Suara UMNO. We immediately changed its name to Suara Merdeka. Circulation rose from a few thousand to many thousands, and demands poured in for more and more. Suara Merdeka became a great success, selling more than any other Malay weekly.

Qalam magazine became even more violent in carrying on its fight against UMNO, but the result was that Suara Merdeka became even more popular with independence-minded people.

Our other rival Majlis had a worse fate. When the Malays started to boycott the paper, it had to close down.

In October, 1953 many hundreds of UMNO members and sympathisers took part in a big demonstration in Johore Bahru against Qalam. Speakers condemned Qalam and another paper, Warta, for being the mouthpieces of our colonial masters.

I decided to make a bonfire of both Qalam and Warta, and after all the fiery speeches on the town padang I lit the match to burn them out.



This was how the October 30, 1953 issue of the Straits Echo and Times of Malaya reported the event under the headline, "UMNO Demonstration, Coffin Burned in Public."

"JOHORE BAHRU: Copies of Warta and Qalam, two Malay vernacular papers published in Singapore, were placed in a coffin and carried in a procession from the UMNO Headquarters here this evening to the padang opposite the railway station and burned in public.

"The demonstration by 500 UMNO members was staged in protest against articles in both papers criticising UMNO and Tunku Abdul Rahman.

"The members also carried in the procession slogans in Malay and English: 'Qalam is the enemy of the Malays. Malays must boycott Warta and Qalam. We shall conquer our enemy.'

"These slogans were also placed in the coffin and burned together with the papers.

"Before setting the coffin alight, Tunku told the gathering that the papers firstly published certain articles which aroused much indignation in religious circles and that the Religious Department prohibited the reading of those articles.

"It showed that both papers had been directing merciless criticisms against him and UMNO.

"Because the criticisms were decidedly mischievous and damaging to UMNO, it was felt action should be taken.

"It appeared the object of the criticism was to alienate the feelings of supporters against UMNO and so undermine the organisation."

## VICTORY

After that Qalam closed down — a triumph for the people against their colonial masters, a decisive victory won by the people.

Subsequently Suara Merdeka bought a printing machine and set up a Press in Johore Bahru, publishing its own papers with circulations running into thousands.

Many times threats were made to close down Suara Merdeka but we were careful to keep on the right side of the law, and continued publishing anti-imperialist articles until finally the Alliance won the Legislative Council election in 1955.

I then moved to Kuala Lumpur and left publication of Suara Merdeka to be run by Encik Annuar as best he could, and his best was not good enough.

A country like Malaysia needs support from all people and therefore honest reporting and common sense must be used to bring about a happy understanding between all sections of the community.

I am happy to be Chairman of The STAR. It will be an additional interest in my life, and I hope I shall be able to devote much of my time to this paper.

I am also happy to put on record my memories and to write about events that occurred when I first entered politics, of my 13 years in office as Prime Minister from 1957, and lastly important episodes and personalities, both in Malaysia and overseas, since I retired on September 22, 1970.

Now The STAR has come to me as if by accident, but in fact it has fallen from Heaven and at an opportune time. What it portends we will see, as I write my weekly articles on "Looking Back", and others which are to follow.

ARTICLE 2  
(23 December, 1974)

## TUNKU'S HISTORIC TALKS WITH CHIN PENG

What appears to be a topic of general interest at all levels of society — those who hold the reins of power at the top, or financiers, traders and manufacturers, or the man in the street — is the role of the Malayan Communist Party, MCP, in the current unrest among Malaysian students.

According to the Government White Paper, published on Thursday, December 19, the University of Malaya Chinese Language Society was chosen to act as the spearhead in a propaganda offensive launched by the MCP to win public support for their so-called revolutionary aims.

The White Paper stated that "it was necessary to expose the threat posed to national security by MCP elements, acting in and through groups in institutes of higher learning, particularly in language societies, so that the people should be made fully aware of any similar approaches — meaning, of course, by subversion from within."

The Paper went on to say that "the society's aim was to take over the Government, and in their efforts to do so they must win over the support of the people, the students and the rural classes."

On the other hand, to get such support, they must try to dramatise the social conditions in the country in a manner calculated to portray the Government as oppressors and exploiters of the people.

According to the White Paper, university students at present are being used by the MCP or their associated organisations.

In the interests of the public, therefore, I feel it necessary to set on record my views of some very important events in our recent history that will give the people of Malaysia an insight into the MCP's aims, objectives and struggle to take over this country.

I can think of no better way to do so than to give an account of my meeting with the Secretary-General of the Malayan Communist Party, Chin Peng, in Baling, Kedah exactly nineteen years ago. Also I propose to lay the facts before the people so that every Malaysian or resident in this country will have a general idea whether the MCP really had anything to do with these student disturbances.

Student troubles are not confined to Malaysia alone; they are rather widespread in South-East Asia, in the Middle East, in Europe and the Americas. One general conclusion can be stated without any fear of contradiction, and that is the fact wherever internal troubles begin the Communists are always ready to cash in, find some way to take part, or turn it to their advantage. In other words they are behind, along with or in the forefront of the movement. Whether, however, they are actually the people who organised these troubles of ours is a question which the people of this country can judge for themselves.

#### MEETING AT BALING

I first met Chin Peng on December 19, 1955 in what was known as the Baling Talks. At the time I was Chief Minister of the Federation of Malaya.

I still consider that the Talks were epoch-making in the history of our nation. In 1955 the Emergency had been going on for seven years, and there was no knowing when the shooting-war would end, nor how it would turn out. It seemed that the more you shot Communists down the more they grew.

I felt then I had to wrest the initiative from the MCP and its "Commissionaire of Violence", and try to make my presence felt throughout the country as the people's elected leader.

But in those seven years of suffering there was one approach that had not been tried. "Why not", I thought, "meet face to face? Have it out once and for all round a table. Then we will know just where we stand". The direct approach, that was the answer.

The Communists were always declaring they were fighting for Malaya's independence. I would go and meet their leader, stress the fact in the public interest that my presence there was as Malaya's elected leader of the people to gain independence from the British — in short, to give the lie to the MCP and Chin Peng's assertion that it was he who was trying to liberate Malaya.

At the end of the two days of talking, however, it was quite clear where the sentiments and loyalties of the MCP lay. For the first time the Communists became directly aware that they were not dealing

with an imperialist-elected representative, but with a national leader who commanded popular support throughout the country.

When Chin Peng decided that he would not lay down arms, it became obvious to the people of Malaya that he intended to continue with his acts of violence and terrorism to achieve his own political ends, no matter how much suffering he might cause thereby.

I assured Chin Peng that I was going to get independence. As a first step I would obtain control of both Internal Security and the local Armed Forces, and I would also have the power to grant a general amnesty. So I wanted him to agree to lay down arms and leave the country.

I told him that I was on the point of going to London to discuss taking over Internal Security and full control of the Emergency. If it was the common aim of MCP, as it was of all good Malaysians, to achieve independence, then he had no choice but to agree to stop fighting.

I gave him time to think my words over, but next day when the Talks resumed he said definitely he would not surrender. In other words, he would not accept the amnesty because it meant surrender.

## DIFFICULTIES

So the war went on; but what the public knew very little about at the time was how difficult it had been for me to get the British authorities to agree to a meeting with Chin Peng.

A few months before I had received a letter signed Chen Tien, obviously a *nom de plume* for a Communist agent. He asked for a meeting with me, writing that if I agreed to do so to communicate with him through the "Personal Column" in the Press. When I approached the High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray, and the Director of the Operations Council, Lt. Gen. Geoffrey Bourne, they were reluctant to allow me to meet him.

I tried to convince them of the importance of making contact with the MCP so that the people could have a better idea of Chin Peng's state of mind and his real motives in terrorising the country.

They were most unwilling to give in to my request. After much pleading and persuasion on my part they finally agreed, provided that we met first at the Commissioner-General's Office in Singapore to discuss "surrender terms".

The meeting was arranged, and to strengthen my hand, I asked Mr. David Marshall, the Chief Minister of Singapore, to join in the

discussions. He came, but he did not give me the support I expected, because he was rather influenced by the argument that meeting Chin Peng was a show of weakness. Despite this feeling, he accompanied me to Baling and remained throughout the Talks making some useful contributions to the discussions.

The domestic aspects of the Talks were carefully planned. The code name for the Baling meeting was to be "Operation Pink Gin". Chin Peng was given Army rations, but in addition he received chicken, eggs, fresh vegetables and rice, anything he wanted in fact, so that his men could prepare their own food.

They were given approval to make their purchases in the Baling market and buy themselves anything they needed. Chin Peng's first requests were for singlets, tooth-brushes, tooth-paste, shoes.

The Straits Times of December 29, 1955 reported from Baling: "Chin Peng arrived here .... looking fatter than was expected from his Emergency photograph. But he looked pale, and was obviously taken back by the size of the crowd that had gathered to see him .... With them in the truck were two of Chin Peng's lieutenants, Lee Chin Hee and Tan Kwee Cheng.

"In the second truck were Chen Tien and two other Communists .... Abdul Rashid bin Mydin, a man who had escaped from the Malacca Detention Camp in March 1951; the other was a man named Sanip. This was 12.36 pm nearly two hours after Tunku Abdul Rahman, David Marshall and Datuk Sir Cheng-lock Tan had motored in from Kulim.

"As soon as they arrived, Chin Peng and his party moved into their first "brick home" for seven years and smiled at the cleanliness of everything. At 2.15 pm Tunku Abdul Rahman, David Marshall and Cheng-lock Tan entered the Conference Hall.

"From the opposite end of the sealed-off area, Chin Peng accompanied by Chen Tien, Abdul Rashid Mydin and Mr. J.L.H. Davis entered the Conference Room by the back door."

#### TERRORISTS

Even while the Talks were going on, terrorism was still being reported in the South. In the Renggam area, Johore, a Communist terrorist was killed by the First Battalion, Northern Rhodesian Regiment, the name of the dead man, Yap Soon, being withheld for security reasons. On Gan Tien Estate in the Pagoh area, Johore, Police fired on five terrorists.

Terrorists also slashed rubber trees on Nyor Estate in the Kluang District, Johore, and attacked the Salak North Camp, "C" Coy., 2nd Malay Regiment.

In Penang, Chin Peng's father, Mr. Ong Seng Peow, a bicycle-dealer told the Press that he was not interested in his son's "shooting business". He said, "I am only interested in my bicycle business".

### PRESS REACTIONS

In the meantime the British Press was full of misgivings on the object of the meeting with Chin Peng. The Talks evoked a good deal of comment — mostly adverse, and very few in favour. The Manchester Guardian (Liberal) claimed that the Communists' attendance at the Talks was a move in their political manoeuvres, and in their editorial commented:

"It is a delusion to think that the Communists in Malaya are coming to today's conference with Tunku Abdul Rahman in order to discuss surrender. Their coming is a move in their political manoeuvres.

"Everybody is tired of the seven years' war in the jungle, and if the Communists dress up their peace proposals plausibly they will expect that the Federal Government will be under a good deal of public pressure to accept them, or at least to negotiate a compromise arrangement.

"By their letters yesterday ..... their aim is to be taken into a Popular Front organisation. By this means they stand a better chance of continuing the war in the jungle.

"The Communists will try to contrive that if Tunku Abdul Rahman rejects their proposals it can be represented that he is doing so at British instigation and he is a tool of the British. This would put the British in an odious light and simultaneously weaken Tunku Abdul Rahman. The Federation Chief Minister has a difficult hand to play .... His future career depends on what he does in the discussion in the next two days."

### WELL-MEANING

The Daily Mail (Conservative) while hoping for peace in Malaya, stressed that it must not be at Chin Peng's price. That price, according to the Daily Mail, might be too high for Tunku Abdul Rahman to profess a detestation of Communism. Although his notions of political decorum "are manifestly at odds with ours in Britain, we must acknowledge him as a well-meaning democrat.

"But to be well-meaning alone is not enough when it comes to dealings with the Reds. If the Chief Minister tries to appease the tiger, he may well be among his future victims".

The Yorkshire Post said that "while neither party has much room for manoeuvring it is very much to be hoped that everything possible will be done to reach a settlement. If only peace is firmly established, Malaya could provide an even more striking example of the way in which so-called colonials work to the benefit of the local inhabitants.

"The conditions have been created for providing Malaya with a form of Government making co-operation easy once the disorders have been brought to an end".

In Hong Kong the British-owned China Mail hoped that "the confidence held by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of the Federation, about the negotiations with the Communist terrorists is not misplaced."

### GO BACK TO GOD!

As the Communists were about to enter the conference venue, Rashid Mydin's brother, Encik Shahrudin, came within 150 yards. All they could do was to raise their hands to one another: but they had no opportunity to talk. Shahrudin burst into tears, but in between his sobs said he was happy his brother was healthy.

Shahrudin explained that his brother was anti-British. When his third child was born, he held the child up to the rising sun, saying, "If you want to live under British rule, then go back to God!"

What he said turned out to come true, but not in the way he meant. My meeting with Chin Peng can be truly said to have been God-sent, for it was through this encounter, which I had arranged, and the reports of our meeting that we were able to win the hearts and minds of the people.



ARTICLE 3  
(30 December, 1974)

## THE BALING TALKS CHIN PENG SHOWS HIS HAND

All the mass media, both local and overseas, were loud in their comments opposing the meeting with Chin Peng. They made every attempt possible to discourage me from discussing terms with him.

Added to this was the fact that I had to go to Singapore to discuss the matter with all high British officials and their military advisers.

It was no surprise that Chin Peng came to the Talks full of doubts. Nevertheless he felt the meeting with me would enhance his prestige in the eyes of the common man and might gain some sympathetic support from misguided people.

I realised this only too well, so I was extremely careful to ensure that I did not overplay my hand. If it should turn out that the meeting was unsuccessful, it might be said that I caused the breakdown; I might even be accused of acting as a stooge for the Colonial power. As the meeting was my idea, I had to win, otherwise the sceptics would crow and the Communists mark up a major propaganda victory.

### WELL-PLANNED

Throughout the Talks I was very polite with Chin Peng. I opened with a well-planned move, saying that I appreciated his objective and intention, but I too had the same objective; but his method was not mine. While his was to shoot it out and spread terror in the country, mine was to win independence by constitutional means. If he would lay down his arms, and show everyone he honestly wanted to serve the cause of independence, then I could not see why we should not be able to work together.

But he must come out of the jungle, accept the terms of surrender, and then take part in the political movement in a normal way, just as all the other parties were doing. I also said I was not in a hurry for his answer, but I would suggest that as soon as I became

head of the Defence Ministry and had full control over Emergency operations, then he would lay down his arms. In fact that was the answer I wanted him to give me.

Unfortunately, for some reason or other, Mr. David Marshall did not appeal to Chin Peng. I informed Chin Peng that Mr. Marshall had come to join in the Talks at my request, but in the final outcome I was the only person he would have to talk to and deal with. I added that if he had any other terms to suggest, I was prepared to listen to him.

One result of the meeting in Baling stood out clearly, and that was the people's chosen party was able to wrest the initiative from the MCP. It was obvious that the Communist campaign of terror and destruction had created a general feeling of revulsion, which with a little care and proper handling could bring the whole country down on the Communists.

I recall very vividly what happened in Palestine. There the Jews fought the British and the Arabs remained neutral, but when the British were hard-pressed they made terms with the Jews, giving the whole of Palestine to the Israelis. This might easily happen in the Malayan Emergency, if the fortunes of war were to go against the British. No colonial power would bother to take into account the feelings of the "natives" if the results were against their interests or likely to endanger the lives of their people. The offer from Chin Peng to meet me, therefore, came as a gift from Heaven, and I immediately seized my opportunity.

We had already proved that popular elections had produced leaders who could not only talk the language of democracy but could speak out with authority. The sweeping victory the Alliance won in the Federal and State elections made it clear, as clear as daylight to the Communist leaders, just where the true sentiments and loyalties of our people lay.

When I gave Chin Peng time to consider the terms offered for his surrender, I also made it clear that I did not want him to surrender now, because there was no point in pretending that I was not under pressure by the Colonial rulers. So, if he had to surrender, he could do so when I had full power or in a position to offer him terms. That would be very soon, as I was going to London shortly to discuss independence with the British Government.

I made another offer to the Communists — those who wished to give up the struggle now and would agree to go to China would not be subjected to any discomfort or to the "disgrace" of being inter-

rogated. Chin Peng replied that he had not been given a mandate by the Central Politbureau to accept this proposal.

I then said those who did not want to go back to China could remain here, but they would have to report to the Police from time to time. Chin Peng said that would mean "surrender". I said it was one of the terms of peace.

"The ideology of violence is in conflict with our ideology of peace", I said. "We cannot accept the Communist Party as lawful and legitimate after the damage they have done to the people and the country".

The meeting with Chin Peng brought very good results. For the first time Malaysians realised what Chin Peng was after — not democratic self-rule but a Communist-dominated Government of Malaya. It was out in the open for all the world to see, plainly obvious to our people that this country would not accept a dictatorship of the Communist-type. They had a clear choice — if they wanted democracy they must take sides with the Government of the day, and this is just what they did.

The support that the Government now received readily from the people changed the whole course of the war. The Communists retreated from all their fighting areas. In the months that followed it became obvious they could no longer hold out hope of any victory. So Chin Peng and those of his hard-core followers who did not surrender drifted north to and across the Thai frontier — the remnants of a lost cause. Chin Peng had spurned the will of the Malayan people, so they rejected him.

### CASUALTIES

By the end of July 1960 they had lost in the twelve years of war 6,710 men killed, 1,286 captured, 2,702 surrendered and 2,819 wounded. As against these casualties we had 511 regular Police killed, 701 wounded, 593 Special Constables killed and 746 wounded. The Auxiliary Police lost 242 killed and 154 wounded. The Military Forces suffered 519 killed and 959 wounded. A total of 2,473 civilians were killed, 1,385 wounded and 810 missing. This is the total sum of casualties suffered during the 12-year Emergency, but the amount of money spent in prosecuting this war in Malaya can never be accurately calculated.

On August 1, 1960 the Government declared the Emergency "over and ended". Free Malaya was inundated with congratulatory messages from all over the world, in particular from the US, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. President Eisenhower had this

to say: "The people of the United States join me in expressing to Your Majesty and the people of Malaya our sincere congratulations on the termination of the Emergency.

"This action signifies Malaya's victory over armed Communist insurrection and terrorism, and we applaud Malaya's continuing determination to oppose terrorism."

Mr. John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, cabled: "Heartiest congratulations for the splendid victory won by the Malayan people under your leadership which is symbolised by the ending of the Emergency.

"We rejoice that Malaysians may now turn their energies to the task of further developing their country".

Mr. Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand, sent this message, "I pay tribute to the wisdom and courage you have shown in directing the campaign to rid Malaya of terrorism.

"The mounting success of your efforts through these long years has been an inspiration to free peoples everywhere....."

Mr. R.G. Menzies (now Sir Robert) Prime Minister of Australia, declared: "The Federation Government's resolution and determination in eradicating Communist terrorism in Malaya is a tribute to your distinguished leadership and a source of inspiration to us all .....

## INITIATIVE

So ended the Communist terrorism, which had plagued our once-happy country for twelve long years. The only good thing the Emergency produced was my meeting with Chin Peng. Because of those Talks of mine in Baling we were able to wrest the initiative from the Malayan Communist Party, then sit at a conference table in London to negotiate our independence with the British, and win our freedom as a nation. Baling led straight to Merdeka.

Our independence, enjoyed since 1957, has been a striking example to all the world. We have made the best possible use of our freedom, not wasting our wealth, natural resources and talents in useless bickerings and squabbles of any type, keeping the kind of Government we want most beneficial for this country.

Under the democracy we practise the people have the complete say in running the country. They chose the Alliance Government from 1955 to 1974. Now they have chosen the Barisan Nasional, a coalition of most of the parties, as the Government for the next five years — let's hope for the best!

The continued progress made in our Development Plans has had useful results, but recently there has been talk of hunger and starvation, and this we all know is not true.

Nevertheless the country is now going through serious hardships and difficult times as a result of inflation and the high cost of living. This economic strain is worldwide, but the people of Malaysia who have always had good times, take it rather badly; and so the students in the universities, rightly or wrongly, took up their complaints and unfortunately carried out hostile demonstrations against the Government much too rashly and unwisely.

In the Government White Paper they were accused of being closely associated with the Communists. I for one feel that they have nothing to do with the Communists because they are well aware of the danger of being caught up in a Communist trap. A few of them no doubt are Communist-minded and a few others too may have gained inspiration from Communist ideas of the social equality of men, but the great majority of students are certainly not influenced by Communism.

They are quite naturally part of the student "ego" movement that is widespread throughout the world. They like to be known, they like to be seen, and they like to be heard just like grown-ups, whereas in fact they are young. Unless their parents pander to their whims and fancies, they cry or throw things about to give vent to their tempers.

And the professors and lecturers, like the bad nurses they are, fail to attend to their needs, or may even have spurred them on to do the wrong things for reasons of their own. It might well be worth holding a little inquiry into their part in the students' troubles.

## POLITICS

I would like to suggest that perhaps one or two seats could be given to the Universities so that their members can participate in Parliament and play their part in the country's politics. In this way they may get some of their demands and satisfy their egos.

I also know that many of our youths, attending political courses abroad, have been taught a lot about politics, particularly of the violent revolutionary type, and when they return they pass on their knowledge to others.

There are also some Malay youths who have been unable to get along in the past with life in their own country, and these are the disgruntled lot who help to foment trouble.

In fact, University students were actually taught to stage demonstrations against me in 1969. All these added together have brought to

the surface the present restlessness and rebelliousness among the students — aspects that showed out in the recent outbursts of violent demonstrations.

They also maintain, "Why should Ministers and Deputy Ministers be heard every night on the Radio and Television to the exclusion of all other news of interest, why can't they too be seen and be heard?"

## SANITY, PEACE

I feel that the student issue must be tackled as one on its own, and not confused with the Communist problem. In this way we might be able to bring sanity to the students and peace to the country.

My own view is that personal attention must be given to students when they enter the University though they are men and not boys any more. Men means they are on terms of equality with the professors and others who run the Universities and Colleges. The only difference is that they are under-graduates, having joined the University to find for themselves useful careers in life.

Close supervision with a tutorial system gives each student the opportunity for a regular tete-a-tete with his tutor on terms of social equality, and this can be an education in itself.

The University should have a Disciplinary Body or Board, which will attend to student complaints and difficulties. At both Cambridge and Oxford the students are all well-looked after in this respect.

I would also like to see a system of dining, in which all undergraduates sit at tables in Hall at evening meals, with tutors and professors on one side and the students on the other. At Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates wear gowns, which give them a proper sense of propriety and good behaviour at table, but here, perhaps, simple but good and tidy dress might meet the need.

Discussions in Unions should not be confined to any one political ideology, but open to all free-thinkers. The Unions should invite important men of standing from time to time to take part in their debates and this practice will help to give an outlet for their egos when they discover that VIPs can find time to mix with them.

To achieve these ends, the number of students in a University should be limited to provide for effective control. In these ways, I am sure, our students will become less fractious, more amenable to discipline, and emerge from their courses with better results and future prospects to take their place in this competitive, practical world.

ARTICLE 4  
(6 January, 1975)

**ALLIANCE TUSSELE OVER  
ELECTION AND A WALKOUT**

**T**he year was 1953. Malaya had been anxiously waiting for the Government to decide on a National Election to the Legislative Council, an election promised to the people after a series of Town and Municipal Council elections, in which the UMNO-MCA Alliance had swept to landslide victories.

The results of all these elections had obviously scared the Colonial Government. Instead of heeding the popular demand they decided on tactics of delay, a political ploy that taxed the patience of the people, and in particular the Alliance.

I had to take action, otherwise I might as well quit as the people's leader, so I called upon all the Alliance Members to quit in protest from not only the Legislative Council, but also the Municipal and Town Councils as well. Except for a handful of treacherous members, all true Alliance members walked out.

That was a challenge the Government least expected. We had two men in the Cabinet, Dr. Ismail Abdul Rahman (the late Tun Dr. Ismail) and Col. H.S. Lee (Tun Sir H. S. Lee), who were not informed of our intention previously but nevertheless they too walked out in loyalty to the Party. They did so during a Cabinet meeting without as much as saying, "Excuse us, gentlemen".

The walk-out really jolted the Government; their quandary was severe, their predicament serious, because now they found themselves with a double-sided problem — they had to deal not only with the Communists but also without the Malayan people who had given them their support.

Arms alone could not bring victory against the MCP; they appreciated this plain fact well enough. They knew they must have the help of the people; now they had lost even that support. They had to

make a quick decision. Each moment lost meant a vantage point to the real enemy of the nation.

The Alliance had asked for a two-thirds elected Legislative Council. It was only natural that the Alliance should have sought a mandate from the people to help run the country.

## REACTIONARIES

The British Colonial Government was not keen to give way, and won the Malay Rulers and reactionary elements to their side. They said the country was not ready for an election.

My retort was that if they and these reactionaries were allowed their say, "The country can never be ready for anything except to stay on as slaves with a few mandores and yes-men at the head."

Some "mandores" insinuated that "Empty drums speak much too loud" and that I should be ignored. They said, "His voice will vanish into thin air". I shouted a bit louder, and they suggested I should be dealt with "appropriately".

The longer the delay, the more the UMNO-MCA members conferred. The Alliance called a conference of UMNO-MCA at the Majestic Hotel on August 24, 1953 to discuss elections and independence.

Mr. K.L. Devaser, head of MIC, and Mr. Ramani, head of the Indian Confederation, refused to join us, neither would Encik Mohamed Sophe, head of the National Labour Party. They and other parties decided not to attend, but to skip the Conference.

## DETERMINATION

We held the Conference anyway, and pledged to achieve a Malayan National Election in 1954, with Independence to follow. We called on all the various political parties or groups to join us in getting Independence for Malaya. None answered the call, save one — the Peninsular Malayan Union. The PMU, however, proved to be more an embarrassment and a pain in the neck than a help, for they went on to suggest that there should be a round-table conference with Singapore as well.

We refused this, declaring such a conference would leave the position of Malaya's independence completely undefined, and the people still more remote from our objective. So the only other party to attend our Majestic Hotel Conference also left us.

At a subsequent meeting in Malacca, the UMNO proposed and declared our determination for independence within three years.



Perak, which had the largest UMNO membership, nine divisions, walked out of the Conference, but one man whom I can never forget was Encik Ghazali Jawi (now Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi, Menteri Besar, Perak), the head of the Bagan Serai division. He stood up, announcing his division's support for UMNO. "Perak can leave", he said, "but Bagan Serai will sink or swim with UMNO".

This was a noble and courageous gesture for he was a "small-fry" in the Government service. To have taken such a decision against his own Menteri Besar, Datuk Panglima Bukit Gantang, one of the powerful Malay leaders of the day, was indeed a suicidal act according to many people. Collision came when Datuk Bukit Gantang, a forceful, stubborn man, later formed the Perak National Party to fight UMNO.

Soon afterwards all the Menteris Besar sponsored a National Conference, introducing a "blueprint" for elections in 1956. Their idea was that until then the membership of the Legislative Council should be increased from 75 to 90 Nominated Members, with nine Appointed Members in the Inner Cabinet, led by the High Commissioner.

## REJECTION

The Alliance rejected this proposal outright, calling it a retrograde step and a deliberate attempt to hold back Malaya's political progress. In our view their "blueprint" denied the people their genuine desire to share in the responsibility of fighting the Communist terrorists and any say in the administration of official Government business.

I asserted that if these recommendations were accepted, then bureaucratic rule would become more firmly entrenched in the hands of a favoured few, who would be perpetuating white supremacy with local yes-men and stooges acting as their spokesmen.

This gibe angered some of the reactionaries even still more; they said I had gone too far. "Far", I retorted, "but not far enough; come and take me." But when General Sir Gerald Templer, the High Commissioner, called me to his office he declared, "Why should I make a martyr of you?"

Deep in his heart the old General was with me, for he had always maintained, "To beat the MCP you must win the hearts and minds of the people."

While the big people lazed about in the comforts of their homes and their easy chairs, the soldiers, both Commonwealth and

Malayans, the Police and the Special Constables were slashing their ways into the jungles and wading through swamps and being sniped at by the Three-Sta.s guerilla army.

Templer's mind was bent on winning the war and he could not win it with only the help of the upper few — that he knew for certain. He must get the active support of the people through their chosen leaders, so he suffered my tirades in silent discomfort, but confident in his belief that I was right.

That year Sir Gerald Templer was called away from Malaya to be Britain's Chief of the General Staff and Sir Donald MacGillivray took over as High Commissioner. Before Sir Gerald left he made one thing certain, that I was not to be arrested. Looking back now, it is clear that he knew what he wanted, that the support of the people was a fundamental requirement for our success. And as I was their chosen leader my incarceration would jeopardise our cause and rob the Government of a victory.

On May, 7, 1953 Sir Donald MacGillivray announced amidst acclamation of satisfaction from all the reactionaries, a plan for election to an appointed Council. He said it would be drawn up by a Committee, its members including nominees of State and Straits Settlements Governments and representatives with substantial interests in the Federation of Malaya.

### PEOPLE'S DESIRE

Immediately the UMNO-MCA Alliance set up its own committee to prepare another blueprint at a meeting to be held in Malacca two days later. In doing so we demanded that the "official" Committee should not disregard the people and their declared desire for a general election to a Legislative Council with an elected two-thirds majority.

On March 4, 1954 the Federation Government announced the names of 50 Unofficial Members of the interim Legislative Council — "interim" because their Committee had not completed their work. The Alliance Party, however, had already decided and declared they wanted the election held by the end of that year, or, at the latest, early 1955.

The "official" Committee did not accept our demand. Instead the Government appointed parties to the "interim" Legislative Council seats as follows:- Party Negara, 17, the UMNO-MCA Alliance, 14, and the Labour Party, seven. In addition there were nominees of the MIC and the Federation of Indian Organisations as well as 25 ex-officio members from the States and Settlements. We agreed to accept this as "a temporary expedient".

The Straits Times (March 5, 1954) reported: "The new Federal Legislative Council suggests that Party Negara can count on at least 34 votes out of 75, both Official and Unofficial".

The Alliance reiterated its demand for an elected majority as recommended by the Rendel Report, but both the Government and the Rulers were dead-set against this. The Rulers' letter to Whitehall opposing our demand was strongly criticised.

The Sunday Times on April 4, reported: "Tunku Abdul Rahman said there was no democracy in the Constitution of the Federal Elections Committee, as UMNO-MCA were represented by only seven in the Council, while they actually represent 90% of the people".

### TO LONDON

On that same day the UMNO-MCA decided to send a three-man team to London to put their case before the British Government. Actually only T.H. Tan and I made the trip to meet the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, as Sir Cheng-lock Tan would not travel by air.

Just as we were about to board the aircraft, we were informed that the Colonial Secretary would not meet or talk with us. We took no notice of this message but went ahead anyway.

Throughout Malaya thousands of people held demonstrations condemning the British Government for being most unreasonable in not agreeing to meet "the delegations of the Alliance".

When we reached London I immediately called on my old friend, Mr. David Rees-Williams (now Lord Ogmores) who was previously the Under-Secretary of State for Colonies, and he arranged for me to meet nine sympathetic Members of Parliament. These were old Members who were actively involved in the newly-formed Movement for Colonial Freedom.

Mr. Tom Proctor, another Labour MP, also worked very closely with us, introducing me to Members of Parliament of all political denominations, and I spent hours giving lectures to various people in chambers at both Houses of Parliament.

On the whole, I felt I had managed to convince them of the mistake the present Government was making in denying our people their right to political freedom. This attitude would greatly obstruct any chances of success we had in our fight against the Communists.

The Members of Parliament brought pressure to bear on the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton (now Lord Chandos) who finally agreed to meet me alone. This I refused, saying,

"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 is a representative of the MCA". Finally Mr. Lyttleton agreed to do so, and we had quite an interesting meeting. His attitude of "couldn't care less" soon changed.

By the end of two hours' of discussions 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 party to function effectively was being frustrated by a deliberately destructive minority, then the High Commissioner must take steps to remedy it".

### SERIOUS

The London Times, June 15, 1954 stated editorially: "The political dangers in Malaya are now serious. The powerful Alliance of the United Malays National Organisation and the Malayan Chinese Association has decided to withdraw its members from Administrative Councils at all levels before June 23".

The paper continued, "The Constitution of 1948 was originally designed to allay Malay fears of Chinese domination ..... There is a good case for a new independent inquiry into constitutional reform. Mr. Lyttleton is asking the High Commissioner and the Sultans to consider the proposals, but this will take time."

ARTICLE 5  
(13 January, 1975)

**DRAMA OF NIGHT PARLEY  
ON HMS ALERT  
I THOUGHT IT A STRANGE  
PLACE FOR A MEETING**

I was glad to leave London for two reasons — one national, the other personal. I was going home with T.H. Tan at last, both of us knowing that we had accomplished what seemed to many in Malaya to be "Mission Impossible".

Tucked away safely in my pocket I had a letter from Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the key-man we had to convince. It had not been easy. At first he refused to meet us, then he agreed to see me alone, and finally he talked about Malaya with both T.H. and myself together. After listening to what we had to say he saw the virtues of our case.

Flying home, it was pleasant to recall what we had done, what we would have to tell the people of Malaya. That was the national reason I was glad to leave London. The personal one concerns T.H. Tan.

I was relieved to end the agony of having to spend all those nights trying to sleep in the same bed with him. Never in my life have I known a person who can snore more lustily than T.H. Tan. How quickly he can do it is a marvel. No sooner than his head hits the pillow, then off he starts snoring away happily.

On the very first night I woke him up to say the man in the next room was complaining about the noise he made. After several sleepless nights, I arranged a compromise. I asked T.H. to sit up in a bedroom chair until he was sure I had begun a peaceful slumber.

This worked quite well for a time, but then he began to feel so comfortable in his chair, he was snoring almost even before I could close my eyes. I had one crumb of comfort; at that distance he was less disturbing than when sleeping next to me.

I doubt very much if any country has ever sent a mission to London with so little as we two had. As "guests" we were unwelcome, and we had no official backing from Malaya. As for money, it was a

joke. When we arrived, we did not have enough in our pockets to take separate rooms, even at a good reasonable hotel.

The little money we had between us was the small sum UMNO-MCA members in Malacca had collected to help us out, after paying for the fares. Some came from Malay pockets, the rest had been thrown from the balcony of the Meng Seng Association, or raised by women in the Kaum Ibu and others who assembled in large numbers in Malacca to hear the Alliance leaders speak on our need to make this journey to London. Everyone wished us "Goodbye and good luck".

Certainly we needed both, but, as Mark Twain wrote, "Cheerfulness always kept on breaking in". We might be poor in pocket, but our hearts were rich in hope. A first-class hotel was out of the question; we would have to make do with what money we had. So we went to the Gloucester Road Hotel, and found there a wide and spacious room with a large and ancient double-bed. We looked at each other, grinned, and decided we would have to put up with its obvious discomforts. What other choice did we have?

Nevertheless, our trip was a success. Datuk Abdul Razak (now Tun Abdul Razak) joined us on his way home from the United States where he had been on a visit, and took part in the talks at the Colonial Office with Mr. Oliver Lyttleton. So now there were three of us, instead of two to speak for Malaya. The help we received, from Labour Members of Parliament in particular, was most spontaneous, stimulating and encouraging.

Mission concluded, we came home to Malaya to be greeted by a spectacular and tumultuous welcome from Alliance Party members, sympathisers and everyone who wished us well.

#### ASSURANCE

There were, of course, some people who were not quite so happy with what we had achieved in London. In the first place they did not expect us to succeed, and still less that we would return with a letter of assurance that our demands would be considered — though not as fully as we wanted.

I give here the gist of a personal letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton:

"Dear Tunku,

I enclose the letter which I promised to let you have when I had been able fully to reflect upon our talks last week. I very much hope that you will agree with me that it shows that there

is between us no real difference of substance and very little even of degree.

I believe that my letter will clarify for you all the main issues at stake and reassure you not only about the intentions of the Conference of Rulers, the High Commissioner and Her Majesty's Government, but also about the effective translation of those intentions into practice. I have no doubt that, if we can so agree, we shall be following the best course open to us in the interests of all the peoples of the Federation".

The text of the official letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. Lyttleton, says, *inter alia*:

"I can, however, assure you that no effort will be spared to hold the election at the earliest practicable date in 1955. I now come to your request that at least three-fifths of the new Legislative Council should be elected members. You put it to me that the matter was one only of degree and not of principle .... You put forward two arguments in support of this contention. Firstly, you said that if the majority of the elected members were not more than was at present intended the people would not think it worth while participating fully in the elections; and, second, you said that, as no party could hope to win more than seventy per cent of the seats, the present proposals would allow the victorious party too small a majority for it to function effectively in Government, since it could not always be sure of the substantial support from non-elected members of the Council upon which it would have to rely to secure approval of policies.

"I fully appreciate the sincerity of these apprehensions but I believe that ..... you will surely recognise that we have no anxiety upon either of these counts, and that as the responsible leaders of your party, you will be able so to persuade your supporters. There is already convincing evidence of the readiness of the peoples of Malaya to play their part in elections without insisting upon an elected majority larger than that at present contemplated.

"Finally I am sure that whatever party wins the election it will set itself with a high standard of purpose to pursue sober and progressive policies, and if it does I have no doubt that it will enjoy the dependable support of a large number of the other nominated members.

"To think otherwise is to imply that the majority party might pursue such unreasonable experiments or so mishandle

the conduct of public business that it would be unable to carry with it any members of the Council outside its own ranks.

"I should, however, like to reinforce this by giving you my assurance that, if it were found in practice that the ability of the majority party to function effectively in Government was being frustrated by a deliberately obstructive minority, I should at once ask the High Commissioner to consider with the Conference of Rulers what steps should be taken to remedy the situation and that in order to give effect to such a remedy, I should be prepared, if necessary, to agree to further amendment of the Federation Agreement without waiting until the end of the four-year period for which the present proposals provide. I think you will agree that this important fresh assurance finally removes any anxiety which you may hitherto have felt upon the whole question ....."

After our return a group of twelve British Labour Members in London, including Lord Ogmores, Lord Sheppard, Mr. James Griffiths, the Labour Government's Colonial Secretary, Mr. Tom Proctor, Mr. Stan Awbery, Mr. Fenner-Brockway and Mr. Gilbert Longdon, called on Parliament to take steps to ensure that self-government for Malaya would be worked out immediately.

#### DANGER

According to these twelve MPs the situation in the country had changed very much, as the two peoples who formed the majority of the population had come to a definite agreement for independence. It would appear that they would not compromise on any terms except to get independence by constitutional means and any delay would spell danger.

According to them the political crisis that had developed constituted an ultimatum to British Colonial policy. The Constitution had been drawn up to provide a sense of security for the Malays, and also security for the minority communities and groups.

It seemed to them that all the Malays, except for the Rulers and the Government servants, had made their own security arrangements with the Chinese through their chosen leaders. They were prepared to face any eventuality to gain their political objectives, and it also appeared that the Chinese were happy with the arrangement and "have so much faith in the new Malay leadership under Tunku Abdul Rahman".

"The boycott of the Alliance members in all the Government administrative bodies, over one thousand persons in all, has deprived



the Government at one blow of even a semblance of popular representation, and it is more isolated from the people than ever.

"The vital issue, therefore, is whether Malaya will rapidly pass under the control of its own people imbued with the will and possessed of the means to defend its own independence, or whether it will remain a virtual autocracy, indefinitely buttressed by British troops and voiceless in deciding its own destiny".

The Sultans were adamant and refused to give in. They were frightened about what might happen to them if the people had control of the country. They feared to share the fate of Heads of States, as happened in India, Pakistan, Indonesia and elsewhere, where the people had chosen self-rule.

I had to think and plan very carefully, because at all costs I wanted to avoid having a split with the Rulers. Whatever faults the Sultans might have had it was an undeniable fact that the Rulers of the non-Federated Malay States had safeguarded the interests of their Malay subjects well, while at the same time showing consideration for the rights of others. Without the protective influence of their Rulers the Malays would lose whatever semblance of belonging they might have in the land of their birth.

If the Alliance Party decided to make an issue with the Rulers in the conflict of political ideas there could be no doubt who would win the day, but the relationships between the people and the Rulers could never be the same again. So we conferred together on how best to overcome our many difficulties with the Rulers.

### PETITION

I was in Johore, and decided the best course was to call on the Sultan to present a petition requesting him to agree to a national election and independence. We led a procession of thousands to the Istana Johore, including all the Alliance leaders, Tun Cheng-lock Tan, Tun Leong Yew Koh, Tun Dr. Ismail, Tun H.S. Lee and Datuk Sulaiman Abdul Rahman.

We marched in the sun and reached the Istana at noon. Sultan Ibrahim stood at the top of the Istana steps to greet us, looking over the lawns below at the thousands of Alliance members of UMNO-MCA. In front of the vast crowd, I presented our petition, and when the Sultan took it in his hands from all around there rose a shout in salute, the words of homage, "Daulat Tuanku", repeated three times.

I could see that the Sultan was visibly moved and affected by this demonstration of loyalty, yet at the same time he sensed the firm

determination of his people, who had always been his quiet and docile subjects.

After the meeting with the Sultan of Johore, I issued instructions to UMNO-MCA members in all States to arrange similar demonstrations and to hand over petitions to their own Rulers.

There was an incident in Selangor about that time. It was reported that when the late Sultan Hishamuddin entered the Lake Club, having been invited there by the British Resident of Selangor, some members took offence and lodged an objection to the Committee for allowing an Asian in the "sacred" precincts of this exclusive white men's club.

The news leaked out; local UMNO members threatened to march to the Club and burn it down, and I had some difficulty stopping them from doing so.

This incident cleared a path for a meeting with the Sultan of Selangor, who was rightly offended with the way he had been treated by these Colonialists. At the same time it caused the other Rulers to realise, Sultans though they were, they had no social standing in the eyes of these ultra-Colonialists. The "colour bar" recognised no rank, not even Royalty.

Now that the Sultans of Johore and Selangor had given a lead, we had no difficulty in gaining audiences with the rest of the Rulers. At these meetings, political obstructions melted away; the Rulers were now prepared to discuss terms with us. We were optimistic; we did not expect any more obstacles.

On July 16, 1954 the High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray, conferred with the Rulers. They discussed the appointment of the Commission the Alliance had asked for to review Constitutional reforms.

The Sultans, however, did not agree on the wisdom of appointing an independent Commission. They suggested instead that a locally-appointed Committee should go into the question of reviewing the Constitution.

Whenever the High Commissioner and the Rulers met in conference, the Rulers would be accompanied by their own Menteri Besar. Usually, of course, any Ruler and Menteri Besar would have similar opinions. But this all-important conference proved to be far removed from the normal routine of mutual discussion and agreement.

Four of the Menteri Besar took the unprecedented step of voting against their own Rulers and in support of the Alliance Party's views. They were Datuk Seth of Johore, Datuk Kamaruddin of Trengganu,

Datuk Sheikh Ahmad of Perlis and Tengku Muhammad of Pahang, who was no doubt influenced by the young State Secretary, Tun Abdul Razak.

Their opposition, quite unexpected at this highest level of authority, created a new crisis, causing much alarm in the country. The British Government was very worried; they had reason to be, faced as they were with internal disagreement in four of the nine Sultanates. They instructed the High Commissioner to try and reach a compromise, as they could not allow the political situation to grow worse while they had a Communist insurrection on their hands.

Mr. Michael Hogan, the Attorney General, and Mr. David Gray, the Acting Chief Secretary, approached Col. H.S. Lee and Dr. Ismail to use their good offices to discuss a compromise solution with me. They agreed and asked me to meet Mr. Hogan and Mr. Gray. I agreed.

The time fixed for the meeting was July 2, 1954. On that day I received a message from Col. H.S. Lee stating that he, Mr. Hogan and Mr. Gray would be going to Johore Bahru and that they would like me to come to the residence of the British Adviser, where we could dine and afterwards meet the High Commissioner "at an appointed place".

### WHAT TO DO?

I agreed, saying I would bring Dr. Ismail with me. At 6 pm we all met, dined, and had a long and fruitful discussion, though it was not until well after dinner that we reached any agreement.

At 10.30 pm Dr. Ismail and I learned that the High Commissioner was waiting for us aboard the war-ship HMS "Alert", moored in the Straits of Johore. I thought it was a strange place for a meeting. But what to do? It was all arranged. So we drove as requested across the Causeway to the British Naval Base in Singapore.

I remember the night was pitch-dark, with the Base looking very deserted indeed; in fact the only people we saw were those on duty at a series of guarded gates.

It was rather like entering a prison. As we arrived at each gate, it opened, we were waved on, and the gate closed again. Clearly all the guards had been told earlier of our coming. I could not help thinking, "What an unusual way to have a meeting with the High Commissioner, and at such an unearthly hour? Will I have to walk the plank in the true tradition of British seamanship?" Despite all the mystery, I had to brave it, come what may.

When we reached the vessel I was led on board to the Admiral's Quarters where Sir Donald MacGillivray, the High Commissioner, was waiting for us. The questions we discussed were: (1) The need for an Independent Commission to look into Constitutional reform; and (2) The first Election.

On this latter point, the Committee had recommended that among the Appointed Members in the Council there should be nine representatives of vested interests. I said these particular Members should first be approved by the winning party, and not by the High Commissioner, as I considered this procedure the only basic principle possible for self-government. The High Commissioner agreed, and I left the "Alert" with a heart-felt sigh of relief.

When we got to my house in Johore Bahru, we saw many worried and anxious faces. All the people waiting rushed to hug and kiss me. It appeared they had heard that I had been taken to the Naval Base, so they had all come to find out if it was true. My wife said it was, and she expected me back at 11.p.m.

By 2.00 in the morning, as I had not yet returned, everyone naturally suspected the worst had happened. Who would blame them for thinking so? I had felt rather chary myself.

After meeting me the High Commissioner sailed for the East Coast, but when he got there he flew straight back to Kuala Lumpur to an emergency Executive Council meeting to inform the members of the compromise we had reached aboard HMS "Alert".

Sir Donald MacGillivray sent the Executive Council's decision to me in these words: "It is therefore my intention to consult the leader or leaders of the majority amongst the elected members before making appointments to these seats. I hope that with this statement of intention you will find yourself able to co-operate in the establishment of the new constitutional arrangements and to give your support to Legislative Council members".

Immediately on receiving his letter I called a meeting of my colleagues and got their consent to it. Then I promptly sent off a reply to the High Commissioner to the effect that my party agreed to co-operate with the Government on the terms mentioned.

We called off the three-weeks' old boycott, and reverted to "Operation Status Quo". That is how the crisis which threatened to blow up the country ended so amicably.

Is it not obvious to all now as then, that firm determination pays dividends? Is it not true, now as then, that in dealing with the destiny of a nation, everything depends on the unity and common will of the people?

ARTICLE 6  
(20 January, 1975)

**T. H. TAN'S REFLECTIONS ON  
THE LONDON MISSION**

Reflecting further on the success of our London mission, I remembered having seen bundles of notes and memoranda sent to T.H. Tan by the late Tun Leong Yew Koh, Secretary-General of the MCA; they were lying in a corner of our bed-room.

When we were about to leave for home, these parcels remained unopened. T.H. did not even bother to glance at the place where they were stacked, though we were packing our bags to return home. Curiosity got the better of me, and I asked him what they were.

"Don't bother about them, Tunku," he said. "They are memos from the MCA which set out the Chinese case for the attention of the Colonial Office and MPs. If I hand them over to the Colonial Secretary and MPs it will only give the British Government grounds to split the Chinese and Malays further. Now that we are getting so near our objective, why spoil it by giving the British grounds to defeat us? When I explain to them at home, they will understand."

T.H. Tan (now Tan Sri T.H.), Secretary-General of the Alliance, has played a great part in Malaya's independence. He didn't want to be a Minister, though he could have been. He simply said he liked "business better". In fact he did quite well, but, unlike acute businessmen, the more money he made the more money he spent — I used to be able to tell his successes by the number of fine new cars he bought.

Originally he was a journalist, but now he is a leader in business, and has become President of the Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce, and I might say he carries his honours modestly. However, that's T.H.'s character — let him go his own way, if it makes him happy. Nevertheless, he is one of the outstanding men to whom this nation of Malaysia owes a great debt of gratitude.

I set out below a few pages of his impressions of our mission to London. Here they are:

"Reflecting on the Alliance mission to London, I was convinced that the visit, though brief, was of immense value.

"In the first place, the delegation managed to rouse sufficient interest among MPs — Conservatives, Labourites, Liberals, Socialists and Independents alike — that the Alliance could now count on a large number of influential supporters in London.

"Conservative MPs could not be expected to attack the decisions of their Secretary of State for the Colonies openly but in their own way. I felt the progressive Conservative MPs would do all they could to make Parliamentary democracy in the Federation a reality.

### FAVOURABLE

"The Labour Party appeared to be in favour of allowing the Federation to take a bigger step forward than envisaged by Mr. Lyttleton's proposals, and as far as I could gather while in London, I felt that if necessary the Labour Party would take the question of giving an effective, working majority to the party returned to power at the Federal elections to the floor of both Houses of Parliament.

"If a real, first-class crisis broke out in the Federation, Mr. Lyttleton's proposals would probably be debated in both Houses of Parliament. After all, having conceded the principle of elected majority, why should the Conservatives grudge the Federation effective application of the principle?

"Perhaps the greatest achievement of the mission was to get public recognition of the Alliance as the spearhead of a moderate national movement in the Federation.

The Economist, in its issue of May 15, had this to say: ..... 'there is just beginning to be some risk of falling into the old trap of failing to recognise the strength of a genuine national movement soon enough.'

"And the paper urged the British Government to look upon the Malayan problem as a question of balancing 'caution with liberalism.'

"To my mind, there was caution alright but not enough liberalism — to judge by the attitude of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"MPs in England were gratified to see that Chinese and Malays had come to London together to plead for Parliamentary democracy for the Federation. This created a tremendous impression, especially after British sojourners following flying visits to Malaya, had written

to tell the British public that the moment Malaya became independent, the Malays and the Chinese would be cutting one another's throats!

"When they were told that the Alliance had won 85 per cent of the seats at the elections held thus far in the Federation, the MPs realised that the Alliance enjoyed popular support.

"They realised, too, that this meant that collaboration between the Malays and the Chinese in the realm of practical politics had been achieved.

### GREATEST HOPE

"The MPs saw in the Alliance the Federation's greatest hope for the future. They realised that Sino-Malay unity would be achieved through political collaboration, and this unity would serve as the rock foundation of Malayan unity.

"Surprise and, in some cases, disgust were expressed by MPs at the presence in the Federation of elements who were obviously opposed to political progress — elements who thought the way of getting self-government was through an appointed majority in the Legislature.

"Often recurring in my mind are the words of Mr. Justice van Lare of the Gold Coast, whom Tunku Abdul Rahman met at a private party in London.

"Mr. Justice van Lare, who was then drafting a new Constitution for the Gold Coast, told the Tunku: 'The way to self-government is not through the Colonial Office: it is usually through the prison gate'.

"In other words, unless nationalists were prepared to go to gaol, their aspirations, however just, were not likely to be fulfilled.

### ACHIEVEMENT

"Looking back on our mission to London, I was filled with a sense of achievement, though not very tangible at that time.

"The delegation managed to win the friendship and support of more MPs than we had dared to hope when we set out on our journey that fateful day in April, 1954.

"Perhaps the greatest achievement of all was that the British MPs now realised that from an UMNO-MCA experiment in Council elections had emerged a national movement spearheaded by UMNO and MCA, the only two political organisations that could claim to have contributed materially to the fight to restore peace and order in the Federation of Malaya.

"This national movement, based on Sino-Malay collaboration, unity and friendship, was recognised as genuine by the independent British publication, *The Economist*, which wielded considerable influence on public opinion and on MPs in England.

"To my mind, the Alliance would have made a grave political blunder if it had not sent the delegation to London. At least now, the British Government could never say the Alliance had not been constitutional in every possible way; we went all the way to London to negotiate constitutionally with the Secretary of State for the Colonies (although he had turned down our request for an interview) and we tried constitutionally to get the support of MPs and the British public.

"Never could the British Government exclaim: 'We were not told', if, in spite of our advice and exhortations, British stubbornness, lack of commonsense and goodwill should plunge the Federation into an unprecedented political crisis, with all its ghastly consequences.

#### "WOE BETIDE US!"

"The Alliance does not believe in violence. This question by a London editor hit me between the eyes: 'A national movement is usually violent; why is yours so moderate?' (He was referring to our ridiculously small demands, and wanted to know what action the Alliance was willing to take to back them).

"The rise of nationalism breeds all kinds of political types, among them the extremists. Woe betide us if our moderate leaders have to give way to them!

"As Secretary to the Alliance Round Table, I am convinced that the Alliance, unless forced with their backs to the wall, would go about the business of getting independence for Malaya in a constitutional way.

#### NO PROTEST?

"MPs and newspaper representatives in London asked the Alliance delegation why there was no protest against the obviously unfair representation of the Alliance in the Federation Elections Committee, and why at least the Alliance supporters did not hold a mass-protest against the recommendations of that Committee.

"I said that the fact that the Alliance did not protest against the inadequacy of its representation in the Federal Elections Committee should serve to show the extent to which the Alliance was willing to compromise and to co-operate with the Government.



"I also said that there was no mass-protest by Alliance supporters because our supporters did not wish to prejudice the negotiations which the Alliance delegation was instructed to undertake in London. Moreover the Alliance did not want to embarrass the Malay Rulers.

"I pointed out that MCA and UMNO branches and Chinese and Malay organisations had supported every resolution adopted by the National Convention which was sponsored by the Alliance.

"In Parliamentary circles in which the Alliance delegation found itself, I discerned a genuine desire to avoid political crisis in Malaya.

"Right-wing Labourites and progressive Conservatives conceded the point that Malaya could not remain much longer a colonial territory, surrounded as she was by countries which had, since the last World War, attained the status of independent nations.

#### DOLLAR-EARNER

"Only the dyed-in-the-blue imperialists, who feared the impact on British economy of the 'loss' of the Commonwealth's biggest dollar-earner, were reluctant to allow the Federation to take 'too big' a step towards independence.

"But even these imperialists recognised that a friendly independent Malaya could be infinitely more helpful to the Commonwealth and to Britain than a Malaya made hostile because she had to fight for her freedom.

"No honest Malayan would deny the benefits of British rule; at the same time, no self-respecting Malayan, living in the centre of new-born free Asian nations, would want to continue to be protected, spoon-fed 'colonials'.

"Turning matters over in my mind, I thought the best course for Britain to take, was to apply the Charter of Human Rights to the peoples of Malaya. Britain, as a member of the United Nations General Assembly, endorsed that Charter.

#### INSPIRATION

"Malayans noted that Britain granted self-government (or a greater degree of it than offered to the Federation) to African and West Indian territories which were far less advanced than Malaya.

"This observation, of course, is not intended to belittle the achievements of those territories. On the contrary, their achievements

have been a source of inspiration to us in Malaya, who feel strongly the urge to hold our heads high among the free nations of the world.

"I sincerely believe that Malaysians would want their country's future strongly embedded in the principle of co-existence, on the basis of equality of the different races living in the country.

"There is room aplenty for Malaysians and their friends; there are opportunities for all. Malaysians only ask to be allowed to govern themselves. Is this not a perfectly legitimate aspiration?"

#### DIRECTIVE

"When General Sir Gerald Templer was appointed High Commissioner for the Federation, the British Government's directive to him stated, inter alia, 'You can assure the Malayan peoples of all communities that they can count on the powerful and continuing assistance of Her Majesty's Government not only in the immediate task of defeating the terrorists but in the longer-term objective of forging a united Malayan Nation.'"

ARTICLE 7  
(27 January, 1975)

**WAY CLEAR FOR FIRST GENERAL  
ELECTION**

**T**he way was now clear for our First General Election. On August 18, 1954 the Federal Legislative Council passed a Bill unanimously to amend the Federation of Malaya Agreement Act to allow for the introduction of Federal Elections.

Mr. Michael Hogan, the Attorney General, said it was unlikely that the Federal Election would be held before the middle of 1955. I and my colleagues politely accepted this statement without demur.

All the large parties began to make intensive preparations for the election. I would like to recall at this point my meeting with the late Datuk Sir Onn bin Ja'afar, because without mentioning his part in Malaya's progress towards independence my story would be incomplete — after all he was the first Malay leader to attain political eminence in our own country.

FOUNDER

Whatever faults he may have had, he was still the first man to weld the Malays together. He founded UMNO, and it was his leadership that made UMNO the premier political party in the whole country. Under his guidance, too, UMNO gained such strength and prestige as to win great respect from friends and foes alike.

So, World War II being over, when Datuk Onn decided to form a movement to get home rule for this country with independence as the ultimate aim he won rapid support all-round. But later on he went too far too quickly, when he decided to form a new multi-racial Independence of Malaya Party and to disband "the old faithful", UMNO. By nature and tradition Malays are slow in taking to changes.

UMNO members, not surprisingly, resented his decision, for to them UMNO had become a special symbol of Malay strength and

unity, and they were proud of their party and what it had already achieved. In their view, to dissolve UMNO and form a new party with others would rob them of the one tie which had brought them all together. They now refused point-blank to follow Datuk Onn.

At first the Malays pleaded with Datuk Onn to change his view, but always a stubborn man when he had made up his mind, he refused. The Malays, therefore, decided to carry on with UMNO without him. Good though his intentions might have been, his sense of timing was wrong; it was far too soon. However, Datuk Onn was so sure of himself, and he was confident that the Malays would follow him blindly. As he saw it, they always had, so why not now? That was the mistake he made.

### MACDONALD

There were many high officials together with the leaders of other races who rather influenced his judgment. I should make particular mention here of the Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, Commissioner-General for South-East Asia. I first came to know him well in January, 1962, when I was a member of the Malaysian Solidarity Consultative Committee. As Chairman he possessed a very rare quality, being able to get his way without seeming to press his views on others, and yet doing so nicely.

His speaking voice interested me, as it was exactly like the inimitable Charlie Chaplin's. In fact if you asked him to step into the next room and repeat some of Chaplin's words no-one could tell the difference.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's informal, easy-going ways raised many eyebrows among the die-hard "Colonel Blimps" but his friendly example caused changes in behaviour, making the British people in Malaya realise that the peoples here have their own civilisation, culture and customs, which are not to be despised. Mr. MacDonald mixed freely with people of all races in Malaya, Singapore, Borneo and Sarawak.

When a paper published a photograph of Mr. MacDonald gallivanting with two Dyak maidens, the die-hards were shocked. Obviously they had not yet felt "the winds of change". I remember the occasion well, for I was with the High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray when he first saw this issue of the paper. Obviously from the expression on his face he did not like the photograph at all. I just smiled to myself.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald was a man whom I thought could well bring about a political change for the better in this part of Asia, and

he certainly did his best to do so. His basic proposal was a step forward from Colonial to "Home Rule" first, but I for one would take nothing less than Independence. While Datuk Onn accepted "Home Rule", I rejected it.

Many slow-to-change people thought UMNO was dying, but they reckoned without realising the strength and nature of younger Malay leaders who had been lying low during Datuk Onn's leadership and great popularity.

### NEW UMNO

A new UMNO party emerged, taking the country by surprise, and subsequent events proved to be the late Datuk Onn's undoing; the loyal UMNO members decided to fight him, and new blood joined the party.

Various leaders from Perlis to Johore visited me. From Pahang I received a letter from Datuk Abdul Razak asking me to take over the leadership of UMNO. I replied, saying I would be happy to do so provided that UMNO members played honest politics and did not behave like monkeys up a post.

I meant they must remain staunch and loyal to the party, for we had a very difficult task ahead of us. Unless they were prepared to sink and swim with me, I would not be prepared to take on such a highly responsible job. Datuk Abdul Razak agreed, and so did the others, so I accepted the offer to lead the party. Datuk Suleiman and Dr. Ismail, the leaders of the Johore Malay Graduates Association, were already with me, in fact they were the main opposition to Datuk Onn's policy when he showed early signs of political instability.

### MEETING

UMNO appointed me to succeed Datuk Onn at a meeting in the Majestic Hotel, Kuala Lumpur in 1951. I was elected by a great majority of votes against another nominee, Tan Sri C.M. Yusof. The Alliance victories in the Town and Village Council Elections, which followed after my appointment, gave me great feelings of confidence in the political potential of the UMNO-MCA Alliance, founded on positive ties of friendship and goodwill between the Malays and Chinese.

I felt, however, that we should get other parties to join us and so ensure a smooth passage to independence. I discussed this question with Datuk Sir Clough Thuraisingham, who promised to arrange a meeting with Datuk Onn.

One night we both met in Datuk Thuraisingham's house. With Datuk Onn there were the late Mr. Ramani, the late Mr. Yong Shook Lin, among others. Because I had received short notice of the meeting, I had to call hastily those closest to me and to UMNO and MCA who were living in Kuala Lumpur. They were Encik Ismail Ali (now Tan Sri Ismail Ali, Governor of Bank Negara), Datuk Yahaya and Col. H.S. Lee.

At the meeting, I said to Datuk Onn, "For Malaya's sake it is necessary for us to sink our differences and form an alliance of all political parties, and after independence we can go our own separate ways, but until then let us stick together".

### REFUSAL

He bluntly refused, suggesting instead that I should get the UMNO-MCA Alliance Party to affiliate with his Independence of Malaya Party (IMP).

I replied that I had been entrusted to take over the leadership of UMNO. To safeguard UMNO's interests and identity as well as to uphold its prestige, I could not therefore merge with any other political party. However, I was prepared and willing to form an alliance with any other political party working for Malaya's independence, as I had already done with MCA.

He answered that I could either come in as an affiliate of IMP, or I could forget it. And so we broke off. I must admit I was disappointed, but at the same time I felt even more determined to fight the IMP at every level.

I recall this episode in our political history for the benefit of those who might think that I brushed Datuk Onn aside or dropped him like a hot brick when he decided to form his new party. The truth is that I made every effort to work with him for I could not overlook the fact that it was Datuk Onn who sounded the clarion cry to bring the Malays together for the first time in the history of our race.

### NATION-WIDE CALL

Straightaway we sent out a nation-wide call to prepare every UMNO division and branch to register voters and to take stock of our election chances. For me, the maddening question was how to get funds to fight the elections.

I wrote letters to individuals everywhere, but got a poor response, except from Bangkok where the late General Phau gave us some financial aid; not very much but nevertheless a help.

Syed Ja'afar Albar, our Information Officer, suggested that he would like my permission to collect money from Arab millionaires in Singapore. I readily agreed and gave him my blessing. He came back with only \$50. When he returned from Singapore a second time he had managed to collect another \$75; the total amount raised was \$125. I also had an abusive letter from one Arab telling me to forget about independence for Malaya.

We had to make the best of what we collected from the people, obtaining in the end about \$150,000 to fight the campaign. I am happy to report that we spent even less than that sum. The MCA paid for their own candidates and also helped with transport for the voters. Compare these humble figures with what is spent on election polls today!

Next we established a National Executive Council, with supreme authority on behalf of the Alliance and powers to deal with policy and any other matters connected with elections. I became Chairman, with Tun Cheng-lock Tan as alternate Chairman, should the need arise.

#### SAILING-BOAT

At an Alliance meeting in the Chinese Assembly Hall, Kuala Lumpur, we adopted as our election symbol a sailing-boat, designed by Encik Ismail Bontak, a comedian in Radio Malaya. He was a Sergeant in the Auxiliary Police Force, but also a very serious and dedicated UMNO worker.

The Alliance sailing-boat has ventured on high seas, weathered many a political storm, and endured violent lashings of winds from the opposition, but she always emerged with colours flying. Alas, we see her no more now; the good old boat has served her purpose.

On November 18, 1955 Sir Donald MacGillivray announced that the elections would be held in mid-July, and stressed the fact that the new Government would have to take care of the Budget.

The Financial Secretary, Mr. Eric Himsworth, when making his Budget Speech, warned that whatever political party came into power would have to deal with a most important problem over the next few years, balancing the country's Budget.

It would be a long, hard road ahead, he said, as expenditure was mounting more rapidly than revenue; the country's economy was a prey to vagaries in world prices for rubber and tin; and there was also the need to obtain an enormous influx of foreign capital.

The picture Mr. Himsworth painted was indeed gloomy, but I had no doubt it was really intended to frighten us, and also to rally all

who depended on British financial manipulation to keep the country a going concern.

This speech was an effort to deter us from assuming responsibility for Government if we won. It was also meant to cause nervousness throughout the country and so turn voters away from our party.

Having this kind of psychological warfare coming from Colonial officials made us work with great zeal. I travelled far and wide, lived in trains and rest houses most of the time, and made as many as fifteen speeches a day stretching far into the night and early hours of the morning. We had to counter all these warnings and threats of difficult times ahead; it was all hard work no doubt, but we succeeded.

At the same time we had to face up to difficulties in travelling. Trains were being derailed at the whim and fancy of the terrorists. From time to time the roads were blocked, often it was unsafe to travel, or there would be a complete ban at night.

## POWER

At a joint interview, Sir Cheng-lock Tan and I outlined some of the Alliance blue-prints for Malaya if we succeeded in the elections:-

".... On gaining power, the Alliance will press for a fully-elected Legislative Council and early independence. Malaya should be independent, irrespective of whether terrorism is crushed first or not. If necessary, the Alliance will seek the support of South-East Asian territories to get an amnesty for the Communist terrorists."

In one interview I had with the Straits Times held on January 13, 1955 the following points emerged:—

"When asked for the Alliance's view on the future of the Malayan region, federation first with Singapore and then with other territories to form a Dominion within the Commonwealth, the Tunku said — 'I don't want to get Singapore's back up first.'

"We are fighting the elections as one party, but in areas where the electorate is not sufficiently literate to vote on party lines, a Chinese candidate will not be put in a Malay-dominated constituency, and vice versa," he said.

"Both leaders (Sir Cheng-lock Tan and I) agreed that Alliance women would be eligible to stand as candidates.

"One of the first things when the Alliance gains power will be to campaign for a fully-elected Legislative Council. 'That is of prime importance', the Tunku said.



"He did not consider that independence should be achieved after the crushing of Communist terrorism. That I don't think should be a condition precedent to Malaya getting independence. This was proposed by the Conservative Government, but rejected outright by the Alliance.

"The presence of militant Communists will undoubtedly irritate us, but we should certainly get independence in spite of them", he added. Malayan troops, according to the Tunku, could take charge of the Emergency.

"Sir Cheng-lock Tan agreed: 'Too many Chinese are still sitting on the fence. The public seems indifferent to the Emergency. Getting them off the fence is the problem, and I think that if those who want it are given a stake in the country, that will be the answer'.

"On the present Federal Constitution, they asserted there were quite a number of clauses that required revision. The most obstructive were the High Commissioner's power of veto, and the Rulers' prerogative of assent to every Bill before it is debated in Council. These must go when the Alliance gets into power".

Such were typical campaign points emphasised by the UMNO-MCA Alliance, but I had another task to tackle now.

#### INDIANS JOIN

Just a week before 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, came to me immediately afterwards through 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 was at last complete with the Malays, the Chinese and the 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.

ARTICLE 8  
(3 February, 1975)

## ALLIANCE WINS THE FIRST ROUND IN ELECTIONS SHOUTS OF 'MERDEKA' FILL THE AIR

The Alliance Party had to tackle many problems before actively contesting the first Federal Elections ever to be held in Malaya. Some problems were delicate, others tough; some old, others new; some immediate, others sure to emerge later. There was only one common factor, all had to be faced and solved, and the sooner the better to ensure lasting strength for the Party in the trials ahead.

By far the most important issue was achieving complete understanding between the three major elements of the Alliance — UMNO, MCA and MIC — the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians working in harmonious trinity, one for all and all for one. The goals should be harmony within each party and unity in the Alliance.

It should be remembered that for generations past the three races had led differing lives, living together in the same land but separately, all victims of the basic tenet of Colonialism — "Divide and rule".

So life had been for years in Malaya, but it was not so now that the Alliance was an active political force. For the first time, each race could turn to a local, home-grown "power-tree" for sustenance and support.

The members of the Alliance had to be certain they did not look to the Party in vain. It was essential, however, that we establish mutual trust and faith in each other from the outset, so that all could be sure of working in perfect understanding, like the component parts of a smooth-running machine.

Not an easy task to work out satisfactorily in the brief period of time before the Elections were upon us all. Each race was wary of the others, each wished to preserve its own identity, safeguard its own interests. Any suggestion of immediate and complete merger was out of the question; it would touch off political fireworks. The mistake Datuk Onn was making with his second new party, Negara, had to be

avoided by the Alliance for the ultimate good of the country and the people as a whole.

The crux of the problem of unity in diversity was simple to state but not easy to solve; it meant patience, tolerance, confidence and quiet persuasion, and such necessary qualities must be given and shared by all.

To illustrate, take the question of nationality — just how and in what way could it be defined and operative to everyone's mutual satisfaction. Nationality, the right to citizenship, was essential in any self-governing country, such as we were aiming to achieve. It was no use waiting for an answer to fall from Heaven on a silver plate. We had to work it out ourselves, and when we began, it seemed to bristle like cactus-palms, the difficulties too prickly to touch.

The Alliance tried its level-best to find a way through, and quietly, conscientiously and honestly smooth out whatever differences, minor or major, there might be.

#### DEBATES

Intellectuals in UMNO were quite prepared to accept the principle of "jus soli", whereby people born in Malaya and owing her allegiance could be accepted as common equals in the country and entitled to Malayan citizenship.

The Malay masses, however, were feeling particularly nervous about the question as Datuk Onn was playing up the idea it portended danger. So I frankly rebutted this, not with soothing syrup, but warning the Malays that if they did not give in on this point, how could they expect to win support from the other races for the Party's political victory and ultimate independence for Malaya.

I have never under-estimated the basic common-sense of my own people; they always understand a frank 'either, or'. There were long, drawn-out debates, of course, that is the Malay way, but in the end, they agreed. There were two roads they could travel — one leading to conflict, confusion and chaos (just what diehard Colonials wanted), the other to peace and harmony. They chose the right road, and made basic Alliance understanding a reality.

The Colonial Government was facing the same problem of defining citizenship. Frankly they sent the Attorney-General, Mr. Michael Hogan, on a mission to London to discuss the matter with the British Government, as it was necessary to reach accord between Britain and the Malay Rulers in view of the existing treaties they had signed.

Down at his home in Malacca, Sir Cheng-lock Tan was stressing emphatically the need for a single unity. In his view, the people of this country should have not only a material but also a moral stake to nationality to create a sense of belonging, of being Malaysians. "Jus soli" would, therefore, go a long way in bringing the people together.

Preparations for the forthcoming Elections went on with ever-increasing fervour. The major contesting parties were the Alliance, Party Negara, the Malayan People's United Labour Front (Labour Party) and the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (Parti Islam). Meanwhile the Government deferred the State elections until the Federal Election was over.

### TOUGH

Before the Election took place two top members of the Alliance and I, who were serving on the Federal Executive Council, resigned. This was due to the defeat the party suffered in the Legislative Council on May 7, 1955 which debated the restricted use of the number of motor vehicles allowed on Polling Day.

Party Negara which had a good following in the Nominated Legislative Council introduced the resolution restricting the use of cars and won by a single vote. The Attorney General, Mr. Michael Hogan, incurred the displeasure of the Alliance when he abstained because he had agreed in discussion with the Alliance members to allow unrestricted use of cars at polling stations for transporting voters.

This (he had said when he introduced the Election Bill Ordinance a year before) was necessary in order to help voters to come to the polls, and consistent with democratic elections. When it came to the time to vote on it, however, he abstained, so I stood up and walked out, followed by the others.

The following day, May 8, I received a telephone message from Sir Donald MacGillivray, the High Commissioner, asking me and the other two Members, Dr. Ismail and Col. H.S Lee, not to resign from the Cabinet. I replied that I could not go back, as apart from the defeat my party had suffered in the Council, I did not trust a Government that did not stand by its word..

On the defeat and the restricted use of cars, I said we would endure any inconvenience, and if necessary walk on foot to cast our votes in order to redeem the honour of Malaya. I described the motion as "a calculated conspiracy to cripple the Alliance at the polls."

The Manifesto which the Alliance issued for the Elections contained many good ideas. Among various strong points in the Party "platform" were the following:—

A general amnesty for the terrorists.

The appointment of an Independent Commission to review constitutional reforms.

A call for a two-House Legislature.

Land reform, with financial assistance to the rakyat (peasants) through Land Banks.

Opening up more land for peasants and improving the Rubber-Replanting Scheme.

Provision of more and better educational facilities for children, and the establishment of National Schools.

Carrying out extensive development in towns and rural areas.

Giving more help to fishermen.

Encouraging local business; attracting foreign capital and raising local loans to finance new projects.

Cheaper housing for the lower-income group.

Improving the conditions of the labour forces.

Better health services and the building of more hospitals.

In addition, the Alliance wanted two immediate steps forward to be taken. These were to abolish the High Commissioner's power of veto and the Rulers' prerogative of Assent before Bills were brought to the Legislative Council.

#### LINE-UP

On Nomination Day, June 15, the Alliance fielded 52 candidates, one for each of the 52 constituencies, while the Party Negara named 30, the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party 11, the National Association of Perak 9, the Labour Party of Malaya 4, the Perak Malay League 3 and the Perak Progressive Party 2, with 18 others standing as Independents.

There were six four-cornered contests, 14 three-cornered and 31 straight fights. According to Press views, "The Alliance would be badly affected by split votes in some of the four-and-three-cornered contests".

Trouble soon started between the Alliance, the Party Negara and the Government on a new disagreement. The Government said it would only allow certain selected persons to use radio for electioneering. Party Negara introduced the restricted use of Radio Malaya, as they had control of the Government Information Services. This ruling also restricted the time allowed "on the air" for other parties.

This decision put the Alliance at a great disadvantage, but we considered any further delay would only help the Government and the Opposition, so we refused to quarrel any more, declaring we would go ahead and fight it out in the Elections.

At once I got in touch with Encik Khir Johari, then Secretary-General of UMNO, and told him to get on rapidly with preparations for the Election. My instruction was 'Full-speed ahead', and he acted immediately — a tough job he had but he tackled it most competently.

The other political parties refused to speak over Radio Malaya at all on the grounds that the allocations of times set for the broadcasts were unfair. In the end result, the radio restrictions recoiled on Party Negara, as everyone knew that they were the only party able to "air" their views. So the only listeners they could count on were their own supporters, and anyone else who had no party affiliation, and might want to know what Party Negara was saying.

Party Negara had sole access to radio, but was also using its party journal to attack the Alliance. One issue flashed a headline that our "Sailing-Boat" election emblem was symbolic of a "sell-out" by the Malays to the Chinese. The Chinese emigrated to Malaya in sailing boats; now they had gained concessions from the Malays through the "sailing-boat". But Party Negara's emblem "Padi" represented something indispensable and very dear to the heart of every peasant in Malaya. Therefore, "Vote 'Padi' and save your rights."

Another issue charged the Alliance with behaving in an unruly manner at Election rallies and for having thrown rotten eggs at the Party Negara's Seremban candidate, Encik H.T.Tan, in Labu. It stated: "Today they will throw rotten eggs, but tomorrow they will throw bombs. However, Party Negara, take heart; the unruly behaviour of the Alliance is a sure sign of defeatism, for they realise that the tide is turning against them".

The publication also made other attacks, one being that kampung heads were abusing their positions by openly taking sides with the Alliance. Commenting on a statement by Sir Cheng-lock Tan "that the Tunku will be Chief Minister if the Alliance wins the Elections", the journal declared: "This clearly proves the death-grip which the Chinese MCA has over its partner, the Malay UMNO, and the type of 'Just obey, don't question' dictatorship ruling the Alliance camp ever since its formation".

Within UMNO itself a minor purge had begun here and there to rid the party of disloyal elements. At the same time certain UMNO members embarrassed us by demanding more seats and fewer for our MCA partner.

At a rally in Malacca I told them we wanted independence, so we should be united in our fight. We must honour the pledge we made to our partners, and be prepared to make sacrifices.

Another kind of attack came in a chain letter, written by a so-called "Creation of God", who claimed he had a message from Hang Tuah (the Malay hero of fact and legend) who appeared in a dream urging him to tell the people to vote only for Malay candidates "or misfortune will befall them".

I was then living in Johore Bahru, where UMNO headquarters were. When the Government announced Nomination Day, Datuk Onn immediately issued a public challenge to me to fight him in Johore Bahru. I accepted, but Datuk Suleiman Abdul Rahman came all the way from Batu Pahat to tell me to go back to Kedah; he would take on Datuk Onn because he was also from Johore.

If anything were to happen to me, Datuk Suleiman said, the whole Alliance Party would suffer, and that was a risk the Alliance could ill afford to take. I knew that if Datuk Suleiman fought the Election in Batu Pahat he would be returned unopposed, and I told him so, but he refused, and immediately took up Datuk Onn's challenge.

When Election Day arrived on July 27 T.H. Tan and I went to Kedah, where I cast my vote early in the morning. I then moved south, stopping at all the main polling stations.

#### ARGUMENT

When I reached Tikam Batu I entered the polling station to greet my election agents. As I did so, an Elections Officer, the State Conservator of Forests, rose from his chair and with a threatening manner asked me to leave. Naturally I was very annoyed, and told him I had every right to be there.

An argument followed which nearly ended in blows. He shouted for the Police, who rushed in, but when they saw me they refused to intervene. I knew all Government officers manning the polling stations were anti-Alliance, but on this key day they had to tolerate us, except this particular officer; he went out of his way to display openly his hostility towards the Alliance. The Tikam Batu station was

full of people lined up to vote, every one of them for the Alliance, and this only added to his anger.

Then we kept on driving down the Peninsula, stopping at all the main towns — Butterworth, Taiping, Kuala Kangsar, Ipoh, Tanjong Malim — and finally entered Kuala Lumpur well past 11. pm. By that time many of the results had already been declared.

The crowd on the Selangor Club padang was so great that it was impossible to move. It was most encouraging to hear cries of "Merdeka" filling the air as each result came through. I knew they were all shouts of victory for the Alliance.

Let T.H.Tan recall that evening: "It was nightfall by the time we reached Kuala Lumpur. I was then a boarder at the Eastern Hotel in Ampang Road, occupying an attic room on top of the car-porch. Tunku and I sat by the radio, listening to the Election results. A very happy man was the Tunku, when by midnight it became clear the Alliance Party was the choice of the people".

As we sat and heard the results coming over the airwaves, it was clearly a great victory for the Alliance. When the full results were known, a break-down showed that 1,027,211 people had voted, representing 84.86% of the electorate. The Alliance won 818,013 of the votes polled, equivalent to four times as many as the votes for all the other parties combined. Thirty Alliance candidates had majorities of over 10,000 votes, and nine even better with majorities of more than 20,000. Forty-three of our opponents lost their deposits.

I want to say that of all the results the one most satisfying to me was the victory of Datuk Suleiman Abdul Rahman, who defeated Datuk Onn, and in doing so collected the largest number of votes for any candidate in the whole Elections, more than 35,000.

With the great majority we had won, 51 of the 52 seats contested, we could call on at least nineteen other Nominated Members in the Legislative Council for support, giving us altogether a total of 70 seats in a House of 98 members. So it was a very happy ending to a hard-fought battle for the constitutional rights of the people of Malaya to choose the form of Government they wanted.

As if this was not proof enough of the correctness of Alliance policy, the State Elections, which followed subsequently, endorsed the national results — the Alliance won a 100% victory in all the eleven States of Malaya.

I would like to quote a tribute paid by T.H.Tan to the UMNO leaders:—

"They stood willingly in favour of Chinese and Indian Alliance



candidates. Not only did they forego seats which would without question have been theirs, but they worked tirelessly, unselfishly, for the Chinese and Indian candidates. And it was notable that not a single Chinese or Indian, 17 of them in all, lost his seat. I salute those UMNO leaders who made the sacrifice and a contribution of incalculable value to the cause of Malayan independence".

Mr. David Marshall, Chief Minister, Singapore, sent me a very nice congratulatory message which read:—

"I salute the champion and congratulate you on your amazing victory. My personal affection and esteem for you through the years make me look forward with pleasure to our co-operation on common problems affecting the welfare of our brotherly peoples. Merdeka".

#### MESSAGE

I also received a message from Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Secretary-General of the People's Action Party, in Singapore. It read: "We congratulate you and wish you every success, particularly in your fight for self-government within four years. Your victory has been a lesson to all those who waver and vacillate in the fight for freedom".

Similar messages poured in from within Malaya and the world without. All the Labour Ministers in the United Kingdom who had helped us earlier to get the British Government to accept the holding of elections were very elated, judging by the tone of their messages.

I returned immediately to Johore Bahru on July 30 to make a public statement, declaring I would work at once to get the High Commissioner's power of veto abolished, saying it must end within two years. If the Government did not abolish the veto, the Alliance would walk out. We were ready to hold discussions on self-government and independence with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, either in London or in Malaya.

For me, however, there was one result which towered over all others — the Elections victory brought mountains of understanding between the various races, who had willingly linked arms to fight the campaign, sinking whatever differences of interest they might have had for the glory of Malaya, our own country, soon to become a nation free from the fetters of colonialism that had enslaved us for so long.

Together we had proved our right to nationhood, and we had done so, as all along we said we could and would, entirely by constitutional and democratic means. No wonder Malaya was a land of smiles in that victorious year of 1955, just twenty years ago. The road to our future, our destiny, lay open.

ARTICLE 9  
(10 February, 1975)

## PLIGHT OF THE ALLIANCE LEADERS IN COLONIAL TIMES

**H**ow does one feel in the hour of such a resounding triumph? When the full results of Malaya's First Federal Elections became known the next day, I sat back in a chair, quite at loss for words, unable to express myself, or even think clearly, except to feel an overwhelming glow of gratitude to all who helped make this landslide victory possible. I kept repeating to myself, "Allah be praised!" over and over again.

I had worked so hard and for so long, that physically, mentally, emotionally I should have been exhausted, but I was not. Instead I felt relaxed and relieved, the arduous campaign had ended in such tremendous success.

I must honestly confess, however, that deep in my heart I always had an instinct that because our cause was just and right we would win. That I expected, but what I did not foresee was that we would wipe the slate clean 99 per cent, coming out on top in 51 of the 52 seats contested, and even losing that solitary one, not to any Opposition party but to an Independent.

But words cannot relate nor any feelings convey how deeply thankful I was to God, how much in debt I felt to all my colleagues, friends, and members of the Alliance and all their supporters who had gone to the polls to give such a sweeping vote of confidence and trust. The people had spoken, had declared their faith in the Alliance, its ideals and ultimate goal — independence for Malaya.

What more could any leader, any political party ask for, than this remarkable demonstration of the country's hopes?

Reflecting in my seat, my thoughts turned to the Kaum Ibu, the women's branch of UMNO, who exceeded every expectation by going out at all hours of the day and night, regardless of weather or personal discomfort throughout the entire election campaign. They swallowed

insults and braved threats from any who opposed the Alliance. Often they went without food or drink, their indomitable courage a revelation to all.

The Malay youths and elders, too — Pemuda and Kaum Bapa — played their part magnificently, showing great enthusiasm and dedication to duty in face of all difficulties. They fought the campaign without thought of any reward, but victory for the Alliance and freedom for the country.

All three parties of the Alliance set out to win the hearts and minds of the people, and this they did in combined co-operation to ensure that when the election counts were completed the Alliance would top the polls and win.

While I was repeating, "Allah be praised!" one of my ardent colleagues had more mundane and extreme reactions. Wildly excited, and in vindictive mood, he suggested to me that our first action should be to chastise certain Government officials who had gone out of their way to penalise the Alliance.

I replied at once, saying "In this hour of triumph our duty is not to punish but to give thanks to God for our victory; but in future if Government servants fail in their duty to the country then appropriate action can be taken against them"

### SUCCESS

I went to Radio Malaya — I could do that now — and immediately broadcast to the nation my thoughts in the same vein, declaring that I expected everyone to carry out his duty for the good of the country.

Looking back, I think the Government servants as a whole reacted to my broadcast rather well. They worked as they were expected to do; after all they knew, as the saying goes, "The proof of the pudding is in the eating", and they were also aware that Malaya was winning world-wide acclaim for the Alliance success in guiding the country on the right path to peace and independence.

The Malay teachers in particular risked a great deal in supporting the Alliance. They were the spearhead of our campaign in the most remote areas, so they felt a great sense of relief when the Alliance won, for if the party had failed they realised they would have had to pay the piper.

For these teachers I had in mind a change in their schemes of service, but because of their lack of academic qualifications they could not hope to be put on the same footing as the English school-teachers. The country could not raise sufficient funds to

provide this parity yet, but nevertheless we did survey their schemes of service and pay which were looked into immediately and improvements made.

The day after the Elections the High Commissioner invited me to King's House, his official residence. I remember the day well — it was July 28, a Sunday. Sir Donald MacGillivray and I discussed the formation of the Cabinet. He wanted to know which colleagues I had in mind for Ministerial posts in coalition with the Government party. I asked for eleven Ministers with five Assistant Ministers.

On that occasion I also discussed with him general proposals for constitutional reforms, saying I had no intention of pressing home my point at this stage, as I had agreed to accept office in the framework of the Federation of Malaya Agreement, and I was prepared to bide my time.

One point I felt was absolutely necessary — to bring about changes in the Constitution in respect of any matters that could help impel the country forward to ultimate independence; this review could only be carried out by an Independent Commission.

A Committee or Commission appointed within the country could not be expected to work impartially, as such members were bound to be influenced by local politics or interests and pressure from Colonial administrators and the Rulers. I felt that a Commission with Members drawn from other Commonwealth nations would be far more suitable.

The High Commissioner agreed to discuss this question later on, but at present he proposed that we should concentrate on the immediate appointment of a new Cabinet and on the administrative tasks ahead. He would not commit himself on my proposal for a Commission, nor would he discuss any matter relating to the Federal Constitution. He appeared to be on guard.

On August 2, 1955 I met the High Commissioner again to let him know the names of my colleagues, together with their portfolios, as follows:—

1. Tunku Abdul Rahman — Leader of the House and Minister for Home Affairs.
2. Datuk Abdul Razak bin Datuk Hussein — Minister for Education.
3. Datuk Suleiman bin Datuk Abdul Rahman — Minister for Local Government, Housing and Town Planning.

4. Dr. Ismail bin Datuk Abdul Rahman — Minister for Lands and Mines.
5. Col. H.S. Lee — Minister for Transport.
6. Encik Sardon bin Haji Jubir — Minister for Works.
7. Mr. V.T. Sambanthan — Minister for Labour.
8. Mr. Leong Yew Koh — Minister for Health.
9. Mr. Ong Yoke Lin — Minister for Posts and Telecommunications.
10. Encik Abdul Aziz bin Ishak — Minister for Agriculture.

I also named two Assistant Ministers — Encik Khir Johari, the Secretary-General of UMNO, and Mr. Too Joon Hing, the Secretary of the MCA. Under reservation of the High Commissioner, I nominated five Alliance members — Col. H.S. Lee, S.M. Yong (Legal Adviser to the Alliance), Mr. Foo See Mooi, Mr. K.L. Devaser and Mr. M.N. Cumarasami.

On August 3, when I arrived to assume office as Chief Minister I found to my surprise, dismay and annoyance that no house had been reserved for me nor for any of my colleagues. Nor were any cars provided for us or office space allotted.

The Deputy Chief Secretary told me that all these necessary facilities had not been provided for because at the time they did not know who was going to come in and form the Government.

#### LEADERS

I remarked that whatever the Election results might have been, they should have expected new people to take over the administration, working jointly with the Colonial Government. To make no provision for offices or housing accommodation was, I said, an unforgivable omission and an act of disrespect to the incoming leaders.

He then drove me to see Government quarters, which he said were available. When I saw the house I was so disgusted I refused to accept it; with only two bedrooms it was intended for Clerical Service officers and was not even fit to allot to a lower-echelon MCS official.

So he promised to look for another house, and next day took me to view a big house at No. 1 Hose Road. Though it looked antiquated, nevertheless I accepted, thinking it would do for the time being; so I moved in.

On the question of cars the Government refused to give us any. They could not expect me to use mine; it was worn out after miles and miles of travelling during the election campaign. My car was a

Plymouth, which had seen its best service, and I was happy to retire it, hoping to get a new Government car. However, I finally managed to persuade the Government to lend money to me and my colleagues to buy new cars. When they agreed, I bought an Austin.

All the arrangements made for our reception, whether office accomodation, cars or anything else, showed complete disregard for us; nothing had been planned. I thought that if this was going to be typical of the attitude of the Colonial Government towards us, then we must be prepared to face a very hard time, so I warned all my colleagues. But I was to find the worst was yet to come.

#### STORM VOW

The weather changed, and down came the rain. Only then did I realise why my house had not been occupied for a long time. It was leaking, letting water in everywhere, so I had to get basins and buckets to trap the water, which dripped and seeped through every part of the house, both upstairs and downstairs.

One night during a severe storm, the roof developed multiple leakages. At three in the morning, I woke up to find myself wet through. My wife and I had a lot of trouble trying to find a dry spot where we could push our bed. For the rest of the night it was impossible to sleep.

Thereupon I decided that I could not put up with the Colonial Government any more. I would not wait four years for independence. At that late hour in that damp house, I made a vow to win our freedom in half the time — in two years, not four.

This bedroom incident takes my memory back to Johore when I was first in residence there as President of UMNO. I hired part of a house in Kampung Yahaya Awal, but as it was bare of furniture I had to borrow some old cane pieces from UMNO headquarters and a double-bed from a close friend, now the Governor of Penang, Tan Sri Sardon Haji Jubir. It was the best I could do in the circumstances.

I noticed, however, that the bed was old and rickety, and one night, it was very late, when I was fast asleep it collapsed with a thunderous sound. We had to pull out the mattress and lie on the floor to get back to sleep. Next morning we found a rope, and tied the bed pieces together again, and made it serve for the next few days until I could buy a new one.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, came to Malaya to attend the first meeting of the partially-elected Legislature. Meeting me some days later, he voiced an objection and complaint by the High Commissioner that I referred to the Government of the Federation as "My Government".

I retorted that since I had no decent house, no decent car, and no decent office to call my own, the only pleasure I had was to call "this indecent Government, my Government". The whole of his six-foot seven-inch and three-hundred-pound frame shook with laughter.

On August 8, the Alliance decided to present a petition to the Colonial Secretary with a request for the British to agree to a constitutional reform. We also asked that an official Alliance Delegation should go to London and hold talks with the British Government.

Encik T.H. Tan, the Alliance Secretary has noted: "Many were the arguments in that Committee, and never was the spirit of conciliation (the motivating power of the Alliance and its forte) more in evidence. Every single point was threshed out; debate was at its best, but never with any undertone of harshness or overtone of racial interests.

"The impression left on me even in those early days was that every Malay, Chinese and Indian leader acted as a Malayan, and genuinely wanted unfettered independence for the country and her people.

"We discussed at great length the principles of federalism, the vital question of citizenship, the special position of the Malays, the reserved rights of the States, and a hundred-and-one other matters. Above all, the Constitution must preserve for all time the sovereignty of Their Highnesses the Rulers".

On August 23, 1955 officially I met Mr. Lennox-Boyd as Colonial Secretary, and handed him our petition. We discussed many matters I considered urgent. Among these were — a fully elected Council in two years, the appointment of an Independent Commission to make recommendations for constitutional reform, and matters of policy on nationality, the economy and taxation.

Another point was the powers of the High Commissioner. I asked that he should act on matters of important State policy only after consultation with the Chief Minister.

#### INDEPENDENCE

On September 1, I addressed the first meeting of the Federal Legislative Council, which Mr. Lennox-Boyd had come to attend in person.

I stressed the fact that the British Government and the Malay Rulers had no choice but to help foster the growth of genuine nationalism, granting independence to the Federation of Malaya as soon as possible, within four years, or else "hand over this country to the Malayan Communist Party". If independence was delayed

beyond this stipulated period of four years the Communists would thrive and flourish on colonialism.

Every few sentences exuberant members of the Alliance punctuated my speech with cries of "Merdeka".

I then requested that the Legal and Judicial Services should be Malayanised at once, and that elected Ministers should take control of Internal Security, Defence, Finance and expenditure. I also asked for an Independent Commission to review the Federal Constitution immediately.

"If self-government and independence are not realised within the time we have stated," I said, "we will then be asked what purpose can be achieved by our remaining in this Council, because our mandate is definite and clear — 'Get independence or get out.'" (Loud shouts of 'Merdeka!')

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd spoke at the conclusion of the debate. "Her Majesty's Government", he said, "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."

In a Press interview later Mr. Lennox-Boyd declared his dislike for time-tables. On the question of an Independent Commission, he suggested that this could be worked out later; he himself would try his best to bring about a meeting in London as soon as it could be arranged.

The final impression he gave of his visit was most encouraging, for he said, "The underlying unity of all races creates a genuine hope for the emergence of a new, united Malayan nation".

After his return home, the Colonial Secretary agreed to hold talks in London on January 28, 1956.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd's dislike of time-tables suited me as well as he, as I didn't like them myself. Though I had promised to wait four years for independence, I had in the meantime changed my mind, having already vowed to achieve it in two years. But this vow of mine I kept locked away in my heart.

There were only five more months to go until the London talks. That would be the time to play diplomatic cricket with the British. I could wait, for I felt in my very bones that could be a "Test Match" we would win.



ARTICLE 10  
(17 February, 1975)

## PRELUDE TO MERDEKA WE WERE ALL ELATED WITH THE PROGRESS OF THE TALKS

**B**efore any "Mission from Malaya" could possibly attend the "Independence Talks" in London there were a number of important questions which we should clarify among ourselves and so reach mutual understanding — in other words defined, and coming to a concrete proposal that could be laid on the table as our agreed views.

We had to review the Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948 to make changes and other constitutional reforms, which we considered necessary to prepare our country for self-rule and nationhood within two years.

We knew the task would be far from easy, it would be difficult. After all, we had to overcome the sense of false security in which the various races had lived under British protection for generations past. Some people were scared to death over what might happen, either to themselves or their own communities — their attitude was, "Why should we change?"

We worked as cautiously and as conscientiously as possible. First, we arrived at a definite conclusion that the special position of the Malays must be protected. Second, in return, we agreed that the other races should have citizenship rights based on the principle of "jus soli", as well as other safeguards for their interests.

In November 1955, Alliance Party members — Dr. Ismail, Datuk Abdul Razak, Mr. V.T. Sambanthan, Col. H.S.Lee and I — held talks with representatives of the Rulers. Their representatives were Datuk Panglima Bukit Gantang of Perak, Datuk Seth bin Mohd. Said of Johore, Encik Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Majid of Selangor and Datuk Nik Ahmad Kamil of Kelantan, with Encik Abdul Kadir bin Shamsuddin and Mr. T.H.Tan as Joint Secretaries.

The main topics centred on financial control, Malayanisation, internal security and constitutional reforms. The various meetings

took time and utmost patience until we could all be agreed on what the main points should be to form a firm basis for fruitful discussion in London.

We all agreed that we should leave for London on January 1, 1956. New Year's Day seemed an auspicious day to begin our journey on behalf of the people of Malaya. Judging by the discussions already held, deep in my heart I was not convinced that we had reached complete understanding yet. We must have unity of mind and outlook. We must not allow any rift to develop. If we were divided, we would lose.

Already there were glimpses of danger that in London there might not be full accord among us on some subjects for discussion, particularly those relating to State administration and finance and the posts of British Residents and Advisers in the various States.

### VOYAGE

"Take a boat and emplane in Karachi", I said. "We should be able to clear up all points as yet unsettled by the time we arrive in Karachi". Everyone considered this suggestion a good idea. Privately, I felt that, if we went to London speaking different "languages" on any subject, it would be fatal for our mission. Simply stated, "Either speak with one mind, or turn back".

We embarked on the M.V. "Asia" from Singapore, with a heart-warming farewell from many UMNO members who came all the way from the Federation and joined with the Singapore UMNO, MCA and MIC — such was the very touching send-off I received that I was overwhelmed with emotion when I addressed the crowd from the gangway.

During the sea journey to Karachi we held talks every day. Like most passengers on ships we came to know each other very well, so by the time we arrived in Bombay we had reached maximum accord. I was happily satisfied that agreement was complete.

One proof of unity showed out in the talks. During a discussion on the posts of British Advisers and Residents, the late Datuk Seth, Acting Menteri Besar of Johore, declared that his Sultan had ordered him to fight and retain the office of British Adviser in his State, but he himself, speaking as a Malayan representative and a patriot, would not support his Sultan on this issue.

Datuk Seth agreed with the rest that the posts of British Advisers and British Residents must go. To ensure that this would happen, Datuk Seth said he was prepared to accept whatever punishment his Ruler might decide to impose on him. This speech thus revealed the

extent of the understanding we reached during this significant shipboard voyage. Today it cannot be done on a supersonic "jumbo jet".

When we reached London the Rulers' representatives issued the following Press statement:—

"Ever since we have been travelling together on board the "Asia", we have had fuller opportunities of discussing common problems with Alliance Party leaders than we have ever had previously.

"We are convinced of their sincerity. Since they place the welfare and prosperity of the country and people above all things, in the same way as we ourselves do, we are resolved more than ever to work and co-operate with them and to speak in one voice on this mission."

### ARRANGEMENTS

The Colonial Office issued a statement to the Press out-lining the arrangements made for the Conference as follows:

"The British Government has collected experts on Malayan affairs. There are ten Federation delegates and there will be another 35 persons present at the talks, representing the British Administration in the Federation, the Colonial Office, the Defence Ministry, the War Office, the Treasury and other departments.

"Tunku will sit at the centre on one side of a huge four-sided table in Lancaster House, the scene of countless colonial talks. Flanking him will be Col. H.S.Lee, Datuk Abdul Razak, Dr. Ismail Abdul Rahman and the Rulers' representatives, who are Datuk Panglima Bukit Gantang of Perak, Datuk Nik Ahmad Kamil of Kelantan, Datuk Seth of Johore and Encik Abdul Aziz of Selangor.

"Behind each delegation will sit their secretaries, a Malay Civil servant, Encik Abdul Kadir for the Rulers and Mr. T.H.Tan for the Tunku. Behind them will sit constitutional advisers whom they are engaging in London.

"Facing the Tunku will be the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, flanked by his Minister of State, Mr. John Hare, and his permanent officials.

"The High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray, sits at one side of the table; with him will be Mr. David Watherston, the Federation Chief Secretary. Mr. Oscar Spencer, the Federation Minister for Economic Affairs will also be present.

"Facing them, representatives of Ministries affected by the talks — the Treasury, the Ministry of Defence, the War Office and constitutional experts from the Attorney-General's Department.

"It is likely that after a main opening session, during which general principles will be discussed, a number of sub-committees will be formed which will go into details under each head that Tunku has indicated he will raise."

I must confess that Mr. Lennox-Boyd was a good, able and friendly Chairman, and so were his colleagues who chaired the various committees.

Discussions were not always serious; we had fun, too. I cannot forget one instance. On a Friday in the middle of a long debate which seemed to have no prospect of producing agreement, I said with as solemn a face as I could muster, "Well, gentlemen, I think we will have to adjourn". Amid general alarm, I smiled, and added, "So we can all go to the football at Wembley tomorrow". General laughter and hearty agreement. So we went, and when the talks began again on Monday, we were all in a most cheerful mood.

On another occasion when we were not able to agree as both sides had put up an equally good case, I suggested the spin of a coin to decide the issue. I wonder whether this suggestion has ever been put before or since in Lancaster House where so much history has been made.

We had as our advisers Lord Ogmores, Mr. D. Jay on Finance and Mr. Woodrow on Constitutional matters. What I sought most was to get control over Defence, Finance, Commerce and Trade, and, of course, the Administration. I also wanted the transfer of expatriate officers to be under the aegis of the Executive Council and not the Secretary of State. Finally, and the most important demand of all, Independence on August 31.

#### GOLDEN CHANCE

"Now is the golden opportunity," I declared "for the British Government and the British people to show their sincerity towards Malaya by taking her as an equal partner into the great Commonwealth of Nations. A proper and just settlement of the problem must be faced by both Britain and Malaya".

The Conference set up several committees to deal with Defence and Security, Fiscal Control and Malayanisation of the Civil Service.

On January 21 the Colonial Office announced in London that the Merdeka talks were going in top-gear from 9.30 am to 5.30 pm daily.

On January 22 there was a further announcement stating that Britain accepted concessions which the Federation's Merdeka Mission had asked for in a Joint Memorandum submitted at the beginning of the Lancaster House talks.

"All that remains now is for us to work out the details which result from these concessions", I said.

While the Committees sat to discuss their own agenda, Mr. Lennox-Boyd and I held a special meeting at Church House to deal with matters that could not be covered at Lancaster House. These included the High Commissioner's power of veto in the interim period prior to Merdeka.

While this power existed I considered all the arrangements being made unworkable. If there was an honest intention on the part of the British Government to grant us independence on August 31, the power of veto must go.

Another matter we discussed, one I considered was a necessary and immediate step to be taken was the abolition of the post of British Advisers. Our private meeting proved most successful; Mr. Lennox-Boyd showed every sign that he was prepared to go along with us.

On January 28 the British Government announced its agreement on the appointment of an Independent Commission to work out a Constitution for an Independent Malaya.

On February 2 the Lancaster House statement declared in effect that:—

1. Tunku will announce the date of Merdeka.
2. A Ministry of Defence and Security will be created as part of the Chief Minister's portfolio, and a War Council established over which the Chief Minister will preside; the Director of Operations to be a member of the Council; the War Council to be responsible for broad policy on the conduct of the Emergency, but all the forces will remain under the operational command of the Director of Operations. After independence a Mutual Defence Treaty will be negotiated.
3. A Malayan Minister of Commerce and Industry will replace the present official.
4. A Planning Committee will be set up under the Cabinet.
5. Malaya will be represented in the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference as a full member, even before independence.
6. The principle that an independent country must have its own Public Service is accepted.

Naturally everyone in the Malayan Mission felt greatly elated with the progress of our talks in London. The British Press gave us the fullest coverage, and in between talks I gave interviews and held meetings with anyone interested in the political development of Malaya.

For instance, I addressed about 500 Malayan students in London, but I had better quote the Straits Times, January 24, 1956:—

"No doubt that the Federation will get everything it asked for, including the vital date for Merdeka and abolition of the High Commissioner's power of veto" — Tunku blurted this out to 300 Merdeka-shouting students in Malaya Hall. He said, "Our terms of reference of a Constitutional Commission have been agreed upon. It only remains now to choose the members of the Commission".

Continuing, the Tunku said, "We pray God that a new nation will soon be born on this earth. Our delegation speaks with one voice".

### AGREEMENT

Finally, on February 8, my 53rd birthday, the Agreement was signed, but this did not occur by design. The original idea was to sign it on February 7, but though the Committees were working all hours, day and night, they could not get their work completed in time.

So the conclusion of the Conference was celebrated with double joy — a very special birthday for me. In London I could hardly wish myself "Many Happy Returns", as now I would not need to come back — not until I became Prime Minister.

The final section of the Draft Report by the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference is as follows:—

"We have arrived at certain constitutional understandings affecting the position of the High Commissioner and Executive Council, the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils and the withdrawal of the British Advisers. Those affecting the position of the High Commissioner and Executive Council require amendment of Clauses 31 and 32 of the Federation of Malaya Agreement, and agreed amended versions of these Clauses are set out as Appendix E.

"With regard to the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils, we have agreed that Clause 23 of the Federation Agreement shall be amended to make provision for the office of Chief Minister, and to provide that the members of the Executive Council other than the Chief Secretary and the Attorney-General shall be appointed by the High Commissioner after consultation with the Chief Minister.

"We have also agreed on the following Ministerial changes:—

- (i) There will be an Unofficial appointed as Minister of Finance and the Financial Secretary will cease to be a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils. There will be an additional Nominated Member to take the place of the

Financial Secretary in the Legislative Council, thus increasing the number of Nominated Members from seven to eight, on the understanding that the additional seat will be used for the same purpose, and appointment to it made in the same manner as applying to the other Nominated Members.

- (ii) There will be a Minister for Commerce and Industry who will be an Unofficial, unless the Chief Minister should wish the post to be filled by an Official, and he will take the place of the Minister for Economic Affairs.
- (iii) An Unofficial Minister for Internal Defence and Security will become responsible for these matters in the Executive and Legislative Councils and the Secretary for Defence will cease to be a member of either Council.

"The Chief Secretary will be responsible for matters relating to the Public Service, for the administrative work involved in the constitutional changes which will be taking place, and for External Affairs.

"Any Executive Council Papers on External Defence will be submitted by the High Commissioner, who will have a Senior Official to work to him on that subject. The Chief Secretary will speak in the Legislative Council on External Defence and will be a member of the External Defence Committee.

"For the sake of greater flexibility in forming the Executive Council, the minimum number of Appointed Members will be altered from 12 to 10.

"As a result of the changes recommended above, Clauses 23 and 36 of the Federation Agreement will need to be amended. These amendments, together with other consequential changes in Parts III and IV of the Federation Agreement, are also set out in Appendix E.

"We have considered the timing of these changes and have agreed that, where no amendment of the Federation Agreement or other legislation is required, these should be made as soon as possible after our recommendations have been approved by Her Majesty's Government and the Conference of Rulers.

"We also agree that the proposed changes in the Executive Council and Legislative Council should be made as soon as the Federation Agreement can be amended to permit them. Until these amendments have been made the composition of these Councils will remain unaltered.

"The Conference considered the request of the Malayan Delegation for the withdrawal of the British Advisers. It was explained that the collective view of Their Highnesses the Rulers was that the time had come when the British Advisers should be withdrawn. Her Majesty's Government does not wish to oppose this view.

"We have agreed in principle that, subject to the concurrence of Their Highnesses the Rulers, the British Advisers will be withdrawn. This will involve amendment of the State Agreements, and consequential amendments to the State Constitutions and the Federation Agreement.

"Subject to the agreement of the Rulers it is desirable that all the State Agreements shall be amended at the same time, but provision will be made to enable the amendments to come into force on different dates.

"The date for withdrawal of each of the British Advisers will be agreed by the High Commissioner and each individual Ruler in the light of the circumstances in each case, though it is understood, subject to the agreement of the Ruler concerned, that the withdrawal will be completed within about a year.

#### COMMISSIONS

"In accordance with the agreements set out earlier in this Report, provision should be made in the Federation Agreement for:—

- (a) an independent Public Service Commission with executive authority;
- (b) an independent Judicial Service Commission with executive authority;
- (c) an independent Police Service Commission with executive authority;
- (d) a compensation scheme for loss of career;
- (e) the Federation Armed Forces Council.

"In respect of each of the Commissions detailed provisions not appropriate for inclusion in the Federation Agreement itself should be made by regulation or rule. We think that such regulations or rules should be made by the Commission concerned and approved by the Executive Council.

"We have agreed upon recommendations for the composition and terms of reference of an Independent Constitutional Commission and that this Commission should be appointed as soon as possible. In accordance with previously accepted procedure, these recommendations are being submitted to Her Majesty the Queen and to the Conference of Rulers. The final decisions will be published later.



"We have further agreed that, in view of the Malayan Delegation's desire that full self-Government and Independence within the Commonwealth should be introduced at the earliest possible date, consistent with the importance of the task before the Constitutional Commission, that every effort will be made by Her Majesty's Government and the Federation Government to achieve this by the time proposed".

## DEVOTION

What must be placed on permanent record is our grateful recognition of the devotion shown by all members of the Malayan delegation. They faced up to their tremendous task with hard, honest toil, not sparing themselves in time or effort. Often situations or methods of procedure might be difficult or delicate. No matter, the job must be done, and thoroughly as well.

Never before had Malaysians gone outside their own country, certainly not to the very heart of the Empire, to deal directly with Ministers and officials of the British Government, men of deep and varied experience in world affairs and critical issues, whereas we had little or none; we were, so to speak, just out of our "coconut shells".

All we knew was we had a sacred duty to carry out for our people and our country. So every member gave all his heart and mind to the task. For us it was "Do or die", if we were to return home with honour, all colours flying.

Our dedication to duty had, I felt, won the admiration of members of the British Government so they helped make the discussions less complicated for all of us.

Our two Secretaries, Encik Abdul Kadir (now Tan Sri) and T.H. Tan (now Tan Sri Tahir Tan) did more than their normal and fair share of work.

## CLAUSE BY CLAUSE

As T.H. Tan noted at the time, "Even such strong opponents as Tunku and Datuk Bukit Gantang themselves stayed up late at night to approve all the memoranda. Often the Tunku had to rush back from dinner parties to work with us; occasionally he would relieve the pressure and reward us by taking us to supper at a nightclub or a restaurant off Piccadilly.

"It was in Committee meetings that the real work of going through the draft Constitution, clause by clause, took place. Top-

notch legal draftsmen were called in to polish up the wording of the drafts."

### WELCOME HOME

Our task completed, after a few days' rest in London we returned home to find tremendous welcomes awaiting us in Singapore and later in Malacca, the old town that has seen imperialisms come and go. There we were carried in a motorcade from the Meng Seng Association, scene of many of our early political deliberations, to the Padang, where huge crowds lined all the streets around the open space.

Waiting there to welcome us were Encik Ghafar Baba and Alliance leaders. The size of the Malayan crowd was unprecedented in our country's history, a sea of faces everywhere one looked, all gazing at us, all men, women and young people who had trekked from the north, the south and the east of Malaya for this unforgettable day.

I was overwhelmed by the warmth and enthusiasm of their welcome. While shaking hands endlessly, I kept thinking, "You must not lose your head or show any kind of emotion". I tried my best, but I never expected to be given the Kris of Hang Tuah, Malacca's legendary hero.

Then I addressed the huge crowd. Shouts of "Merdeka! Merdeka!" rang out everywhere, so many times that my speech ended quickly, much to my relief. Never had I experienced before the great throb of mass emotion pouring out from thousands of hearts together, and in Kuala Lumpur, we had more welcomes, more speeches, more handshakes, more claps on the back, more warm greetings from happy people.

### PLACE IN THE SUN

I was tired out but content in heart, for a new nation would soon be born to take its place among the free countries of the world. Oh, Allah be praised! In that hour of triumph I gave my thanks to Him, "Lord of the World and the Hereafter. May He continue to shower His Blessings upon us and help guide us towards our goal of independence and freedom and a place in the sun for our people."

ARTICLE 11  
(24 February, 1976)

## MERDEKA! ELATION, EMOTION AND SHOUTS OF 'BAPA MALAYA'

**H**er Britannic Majesty Queen Elizabeth II sent her Uncle, HRH the Duke of Gloucester, to represent her at the Independence Day Celebrations. He brought with him a personal message from Her Majesty in honour of the occasion, a message which I reproduce on the next page.

During the actual Independence Day Ceremony, the Duke also read a personal message of his own. Among other things he said: "Today not only does Malaya wear the jewel of Independence, but that jewel is mounted in the unrivalled setting of the Commonwealth. I know that Malaya will play an important and creative part in that unique association of free peoples, and that in this setting the jewel of Independence will shine with its greatest lustre".

On the night of August 30, 1957 thousands of people jammed on the Selangor Club Padang to wait for the twelve chimes of the hour of midnight from the illuminated clock in the tower of the Secretariat, the seat of British rule in Selangor, to wait for the new flag of the Federation of Malaya to replace the Union Jack.

Motor vehicles stood bumper to bumper along the approach roads to the Secretariat building. Every inch of space on ground, on roofs and balconies (even children in the trees) was packed by crammed masses of every race and description. The weather was ideal; the sky blue-velvet, stars glittering in the clear air. Following is Tan Sri Tahir Tan's account of that historic evening:—

"At one minute to midnight on August 30, 1957 the Tunku arrived, escorted by Police and Alliance Youth motorcycle outriders. He mounted the dais and addressed the thousands that filled the 10-acre sports ground. His speech was short — perhaps the shortest of his political career. Elation, emotion lit up his face. Shouts of 'Bapa



I have entrusted to my Uncle the duty of acting as my representative at the celebrations of the Independence of your country. This is a great and memorable day for you; my thoughts and my good wishes are with you as you take up the great and stimulating responsibilities of independence; and 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. May God bless you and guide your country in the years that lie ahead.

*Elizabeth R*

31st August, 1957.

Malaya' ('Father of Malaya') rent the air, and echoed into the stillness of night, as the Secretariat clock began to strike the hour of midnight.

"With each chime, the Union Jack was lowered from the flag-mast in front of the dais, and simultaneously the flag of the new, independent Federation of Malaya was hoisted to take its place. Promptly on the last stroke of twelve, the flag of the young nation fluttered in the slight breeze, and the thousands of Malaysians saluted.

"Then followed a rush, almost a stampede, to shake hands with the 'Father of Malaya'. It was with great difficulty that the Police and Alliance Youth managed to hold back the wildly, enthusiastic crowds to enable the Tunku to reach his car to return to his official residence, less than a mile away, for a short rest before the official celebrations began within a few hours.

"The scene at the Merdeka Stadium where these official celebrations took place, on the morning of August 31, 1957 was gay but solemn ..... To hand over authority from the British to the Prime Minister of the new, independent Federation of Malaya was the Duke of Gloucester representing Her Majesty the Queen.

"The handing-over took place in the presence of Their Highnesses the Rulers who were seated on a red-carpeted dais. The ceremony was simple, yet august. Tunku Abdul Rahman read the Declaration of Independence.

"The hearts of Malaysians welled with pride, with gratitude to Tunku and his colleagues for having led them to freedom, which was symbolised by the release of hundreds of pigeons as the finale to the celebrations.

"Free ..... Independent ..... Sovereign ..... that's the Federation of Malaya, as of this day! It was, however, only the opening of a new chapter in the history of a young, hopeful nation. Ahead lay an enormous amount of work of putting the house in order, (after all, the State of Emergency was not over), of development, of nation-building, of creating a new society with one loyalty to King and country".

After Independence we all enjoyed peace, happiness and prosperity, unparalleled in the history of Malaya. The depression the Emergency had brought about quickly began showing signs of clearing.

Chin Peng and his Communists began to evacuate Malaya for a safer retreat somewhere astride the Malaya-Thailand border. There they were licking their wounds, perhaps thinking and planning what they could do next.

For time to time we heard of his presence in China, where he made his political speeches, but these carried no weight with the people of Malaya, who felt they had enough of twelve years of war and terrorist atrocities, not to mention the extreme boredom of having to be confined to their homes in any areas under curfew.

The close co-operation the Alliance Government received from people of all races in free Malaya I can never forget. I was a very happy man indeed, so much so that I would often boast of being "the happiest Prime Minister in the world". I took plenty of time to think of the best ways and means to turn our new Malaya into the centre of cultural, social, trade, economic and other activities in South-East Asia.

### FRIENDSHIP

In March 1958 ECAFE held its meeting in Kuala Lumpur. Representatives from all over the world attended, Communists and non-Communists alike. They fraternised with one another in a genuine spirit of friendship, irrespective of differing ideologies.

We in Malaya were very happy to be the host-nation. On one merry evening I gave a dinner at the Residency, my official "home", for the Russian, Nationalist Republic of China, Thai, Indonesian, British, American, Australian, Indian and Pakistani representatives, as well as delegates from other lands.

The Russian Minister, Mr. Firubin, led the way in making the occasion happy and enjoyable. Even today Mr. Firubin still remembers me, occasionally sending me caviare with a note to say he has not forgotten that night.

With Merdeka we had to plan afresh for the well-being and happiness of the people. We had promised to preserve Malay rights and at the same time protect the legitimate interests of other races, so we had to work hard to give the Malays in the rural areas all the help they deserved to improve their living standards and conditions, while at the same time encouraging commerce, trade and industry in every way to boost our national economy.

### POLICY

It is great to win freedom but the responsibilities of running a new nation, raising its standards, maintaining peace and security, winning friends abroad, and, above all, ensuring happiness and content are greater by far.

My policy, which I always expressed aloud at every opportunity was to provide the people food instead of bullets, clothing instead of

uniforms, and housing instead of barracks. True to my word, I always gave full effect to this policy; so when the Minister of Agriculture, Encik Abdul Aziz bin Ishak, asked to be allowed to go to India to study the pattern of Community Development there, I readily agreed. When he returned and established a Community Development Centre, the Government gave him all the help he wanted, but the project did not turn out as successfully as I had hoped.

I then called upon Tun Abdul Razak to try and improve on Encik Aziz's plans, proposing that our Government should finance all land development projects. Tun Razak went enthusiastically to work and with his usual thoroughness started the famed "Red Book" for rural development, filling each page with all-round development plans and goals of every description, covering every district in all the States of Malaya.

Jungles were hewn down, canals dug and roads cut across vast territories of the country, changing the face of the map to give highways, water, electricity and other necessities and amenities to the villages. Money was spent plentifully, machines and equipment imported to develop all rural areas.

#### FIVE-YEAR PLAN

We initiated a Five-Year Development Plan, one of its main objectives being to provide facilities and opportunities for the rural population to improve their levels of economic and social well-being.

Industries started up and areas zoned for industrial development, focussed in the centre on Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya and Ipoh, in the north on Penang and in the south Johore Bahru. Malaya began to attract investment finance; in fact money poured in.

Business activities became so heartening that they brought new problems. Country people started to stream into the capital. Petaling Jaya, which General Templer once started as a "squatter" settlement suddenly sprang to life, growing visibly day by day into the biggest and most important new industrial and residential area.

Then by the Grace of God the whole country was finally safe from the Communists, and we were able to declare on July 30, 1960 the end of the Emergency. So Malaya which had been plagued for the last twelve years with Communist insurrection had found itself at last — not only independent but free from acts of terrorism.

But nation-building cannot be confined to home affairs alone; the country must play a role in international affairs. We joined the United Nations, began and gradually built up our own diplomatic service. Malaya's prestige slowly grew. As events came about, less

than three years after Merdeka, we were moving in the world's spotlights. The year, 1960, with our Malaya only two-and-a-quarter years old, saw many milestones pass.

### SHARPEVILLE

My first meeting with Commonwealth Prime Ministers was in May, 1960. That conference in London was a very important event indeed for me because earlier I had condemned very strongly the massacre at Sharpeville in South Africa, in March that year. A peaceful demonstration met a hail of bullets fired by white South African Police; their fire killed 71 and wounded 182. What for? Just for making a public protest in a peaceful manner!

In normal circumstances, such an act would not have been countered by a show of force by the Police of any country in the world; but it did happen in South Africa, which practised unscrupulously the cruel policy of apartheid. So at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers I strongly condemned this act as inhuman brutality wherever committed, and even more so in a Commonwealth country.

"How can we sit around this table", I asked, "with a country that practises such an unhuman and brutal policy?" After much heated argument in the general debate, Mr. Harold MacMillan, the British Prime Minister, requested Mr. Eric Louw, the South African Foreign Minister, to have private talks with me, President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and President Nkrumah of Ghana.

At the time we were three of the none-white leaders in the Commonwealth, but Mr. Walter Nash of New Zealand and Mr. John Diefenbaker of Canada joined us in protest.

Mr. Louw was trying to explain how kind his Government had been to the blacks, but made no excuses for the massacre at Sharpeville. In reply to a question of mine he even said that the Commonwealth was not competent to discuss the Police shooting in Sharpeville.

Admittedly 71 persons were killed, he said, but Police action was necessary to maintain law and order. He cited India, where he said 75 people had been killed in a public riot. "Why didn't we take action against India?", he asked.

I pointed out the incident in India was different, because the demonstration there was violent, and demonstrators had shot at the Police, but in South Africa the Negroes were unarmed and their demonstration peaceful.

As no useful purpose could be served by these private talks with Mr. Louw, I left in a huff, and acting quite contrary to normal



procedure and practice I issued a Press statement in London on what had taken place in our meetings, a statement that made headline news round the world. Visitors from the African and British organisations who proposed South Africa's apartheid policy inundated me.

Anyway, I thought the action I took was enough to expose the wicked, inhuman crime of apartheid. Following this protest, in 1961, the Commonwealth voted to expel South Africa as a member-nation. Malaya backed its protest with action, a complete boycott of South African goods, and other countries opposed to apartheid followed suit.

## MUSLIMS

During the 1960 visit to London I attended Hari Raya prayers at the Woking Mosque. Members of the congregation, many thousands, spread all over the grounds heard about my presence there and requested I should make an address. I did not feel qualified to speak on religion, so I talked of the first thing that entered my mind — why not have a Commonwealth of Muslim Nations, rather like the British Commonwealth? The idea met with applause and approval, especially from Pakistanis who kept up shouts of "Allah Hu Akbar!"

When I returned to Malaya I sent a delegation to visit Islamic countries with my proposal to form a Muslim Commonwealth. Some nations supported my idea, some asked that the question should be deferred, and a few showed no interest at all.

Ten years later in 1970 when I retired, was it a strange coincidence that I should be asked to be the first Secretary-General of the Muslim Commonwealth, formally called the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (and Heads of States)?

This organisation had brought Muslims from the four corners of the world together. As a result of that meeting of minds, the setting-up of an Islamic Development Bank is now agreed. Its object is to provide funds to develop poor Muslim countries, with the hope that through mutual help and understanding Muslim peoples can depend less on foreign aid.

King Faisal of Saudi Arabia told me, "God has given us wealth for some purpose, and I agree with you that one of these purposes is to help our poorer Muslim brothers throughout the world".

As I am reminiscing, I consider 1960 one of the most eventful years in my life, as in that same year I received the Honorary Degree of LL.D. from my own alma mater, Cambridge University, an honour which I value greatly.

Never could I have dreamed that the day would ever come when that great place of learning should bestow its highest degree on me, when as an undergraduate I was sent down for being late for my degree examination. As a result of this penalty, I lost twelve months and had to take my examination a year later, scraping through.

I had returned to Malaya for a quick holiday, taking two months in sea travel and three weeks at home, so I was actually absent on the Convocation Day, not appearing in person formally to receive my degree. And now I am an L.I.D. (Hon)!

#### ASA

In 1960, too, I visited the Philippines for the first time, having been invited by President Garcia. When I was in the mountain resort of Baguio, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Serrano, gave an official reception for me, set for 7.30 pm, but my host did not appear until 9.15 pm, the other Philippines guests having started to arrive at 8.30 pm. I had spent time thinking about what I intended to say in my speech.

I put forward the idea of forming a South-East Asia Cultural and Economic Organisation. Six months later it was formed in Kuala Lumpur, being styled ASA and consisting of Thailand, the Philippines and Malaya. Later ASA expanded to include Singapore and Indonesia, and today the organisation is known as ASEAN.

At the dinner I gave in the Residency when Mr. Serrano visited Kuala Lumpur for discussions on ASA, I asked his wife to guess Tun Razak's age. Immediately Mrs. Serrano replied that he was probably 60 years old. "Oh!", I said, "You are paying him a great compliment". Mrs. Serrano answered, "I was only being polite."

At that time Tun Razak was only 35 years old, but his "scowling", serious countenance and receding hair belied his age. The other guests burst out laughing to the great embarrassment of Mrs. Serrano when she understood what my joke was about.

The official ending of the Emergency, attending my first Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and my assault on apartheid, proposing a Commonwealth of Muslim Nations, the bestowal by Cambridge University of an Honorary L.I.D., visiting the Philippines and my idea of forming ASA — what a year for Malaya! And, even more extraordinary when one realises that 1960 is the genesis of both the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference and ASEAN, both known and active international organisations today!

ARTICLE 12  
(2 March, 1975)

## FORMATION OF MALAYSIA THE TREND TOWARDS MERGER CANNOT BE REVERSED

**M**erdeka brought such happy years to Malaya, such peace, progress and prosperity, that it was only natural that other States in the region, which were still "British" should look towards Kuala Lumpur, the glint of freedom in their eyes, thinking of ways to come into closer association.

I refer, of course, to Singapore, Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei. The first three had all become Crown Colonies in 1946, and little but wealthy Brunei (oil first oozed up there in 1929) had a special position as both a Sultanate and a British Protectorate, such as various States in Malaya used to be.

Malaya and these States had much in common from the days before World War II with links of varying degrees with Britain, sharing British-type administrations, British practices in law, and most of their trade going to the United Kingdom.

Their mutual orientation was to London unlike their neighbours — all Indo-China orientated to Paris, all Indonesia to The Hague, and the Philippines to Washington — only Thailand being independent. They all shared another common link, the suffering of the Japanese Occupation.

So I was not surprised at all when leaders from these areas should come to Kuala Lumpur and want to talk with me about how to become free like Malaya.

If there was to be any common future between these "British" areas, there would have to be much deep thought and diplomacy. Take Singapore, for instance, with its predominantly Chinese population; any decision in that direction would not be easy. If some kind of "merger" took place, the new Malayan nation would be thrown off-balance with a Chinese majority. Questions on "Why this?" or "Why

not that?" would come up, especially in respect of Malay rights and other special guarantees under the Constitution.

My good friend, Mr. Lim Yew Hock, had become Chief Minister of Singapore in 1956, after Mr. David Marshall resigned following the breakdown of his "independence" talks with Britain. Yew Hock was very eager to join with Malaya for many reasons, all sound and plausible. But I remarked that other leaders who followed after him in Singapore might not share either his views or his policy.

And new leaders did follow. In 1959 the People's Action Party (PAP), under its energetic Secretary-General, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, emerged astoundingly victorious in the elections, winning 43 out of the 51 seats in the Legislature. But Lee Kuan Yew wanted to be "in" with Malaya, too. He used to declare "independence for Singapore" was impossible without Malaya. After the victory, his Government announced that one of their objectives would be "to get early reunification with the Federation". (Whether there had ever been any "unity" before was a moot point for historians to argue about).

#### MERGER?

Lee Kuan Yew knew Singapore needed it badly, as owing to a break-up in his party, the left-wing extremists had formed a new party, the Barisan Socialis, and he could foresee himself having a lot of security trouble on his hands. "Merger" with Malaya would help settle that problem.

The Chinese are materialistic as a race and a practical-minded people. Generally, they were not interested in local politics, they liked to live in places where law and order reigned, and with a minimum of interference, so that they could go about their business, merely to make money. If any had political ideas at all, they looked to either the right or the left — the Kuomintang or the Communists — just as the Chinese were doing in China. Most did not; as a minority they would live quietly, but if they became a majority, finding their strength they would be quick to assert themselves, be heard and felt. Serious problems might then arise, difficult to defend with a Constitution characteristically Malay-based as befitted Malaya.

The Malays, on the other hand, are a simple and contented people, used to their own way of life, their distinctive traditions, their deep Islamic belief in God and the Hereafter, and respect for their Sultans. Sons of the soil and sea, they lived close to Nature in a bountiful land. Why bother to work so hard? "Allah will provide,"

they would say. So economically they could not hope to compete with the industrious morn-noon-and-night Chinese for whom the hereafter is an extension of the present so the better off you are on earth the more so it will be in the world to come.

It was obvious, therefore, that the Malays might, without the protection of the Constitution, find themselves at a total loss in the only homeland they had. This eventually might well mean trouble as the outcome. And who wanted that? Not the Malays, to be sure, and the Chinese neither; local "trouble" is not good for business. So Singapore vis-a-vis Malaya was not as simple a problem as idealists might think.

### TUN MUSTAPHA

Others had equally strong views on joining with Malaya, Tun Mustapha of Sabah for one. I first met Encik Mustapha, as he was then known, when he attended the ECAFE Conference in Kuala Lumpur with members of the delegation from British North Borneo in 1958.

During the Conference he came to see me, and put forward quite forcibly his ideas of a "merger" with the Federation. In fact, he appeared to be unwavering on the subject. He asked generally about politics, how to form a party in Sabah; he wanted to fight for Sabah with Malaya "hammer and tongs".

Was I yet "old hand" enough to tell this dedicated tyro anything useful? He seemed to think I was, so I gave all the information I knew from experience. My main advice — the only way is to be determined and prepared to make sacrifices. That's what I had had to do. I told him how I had to sell my houses and properties to build up the UMNO Party to fight for independence.

He replied he had neither money nor property, but I reminded him he had certain timber concessions, so if he really wished to win success in his political career he must be ready to cut down his trees and sell his timber to finance his party. Later on I heard this was just what he did do.

Today he has proven himself to be one of the most forceful, outstanding and popular personalities in Malaysia. He has not only cut down his own timber, but "has cut other people's (political) throats as well to help build the party" and put Sabah on the map of Malaysia.

With him in Kuala Lumpur at the same time came Donald Stephens (now Tan Sri Ahmad Fuad). At first he was opposed to the

concept of a larger Malaya, but in the years that followed he became a very staunch fighter for the cause.

It should be remembered that such talk of the future was only a balloon in the air, being bounced about in winds of various minds. There was nothing positive as yet, no way to bring it down to earth.

### SULTAN

Another person who was an equally keen juggler on this theme was not a politician but a Ruler, Sultan Sir Omar Saifidin of Brunei, now styled Sri Bagawan since he retired. He was very persistent indeed about joining Malaya, so much so that to make his presence felt he built a magnificent "palace" with golden domes in Kuala Lumpur so beautiful and modern in style it became one of the "sights" of the city: it still is. He flew over to Kuala Lumpur quite often, pursuing persistently his wish to join the other Sultans in the Federation of Malaya. He talked so much that he made me dream about it day and night.

I knew, however, that Brunei revealed many traits of old Colonial weaknesses. Its leaders had shown little sign of any capacity to adjust themselves to the trends of political changes in South-East Asia. There could be no comparison, for instance, between public thought in Brunei with Sabah and Sarawak. These two States felt they had had enough of Colonialism. Sultan Sir Omar, however, was trying to relive the "glories" of Brunei's past.

### GUSHERS

Encik Mustapha was a keen and progressive thinker and felt sincerely that the destiny of Sabah was inseparable from that of the other Malay States but the Sultan wanted not only the Crown on his head but also to retain all the wealth gushers of oil had earned for his State — in other words he wished to join Malaya and at the same time keep all he had. He simply had no idea that being in a Federation meant sharing alike.

Later on, Encik Tan Siew Sin (now Tun Tan Siew Sin) our Finance Minister, viewed the collapse of frequent talks with Brunei this way:— "The talks broke down on the question of Brunei's contribution towards the defence of the country, and also on their contribution towards the national coffers such as borne by the other States.

"Brunei's terms and conditions, if accepted by this country, would mean that Malaya would have to subsidise Brunei. This would

make its financial position very favourable — in other words, Brunei would be far better off financially in Malaysia than on its own. Therefore, it was impossible to agree to their terms”.

Admittedly Brunei's terms were hard and uncompromising as Encik Siew Sin said, and what's more he did not want to wait his turn in the Order of Precedence among the Rulers to become Yang Dipertuan Agung, but expected to obtain the highest position in the nation, the Throne itself, as the "first" in priority — hardly a proposition likely to prove popular with the other Rulers, who understood what Constitutional Monarchy meant.

In Sarawak the young people with Tun Datuk Patinggi Tuanku Haji Bujang, now the State's Governor, and Datuk Patinggi Haji Abdul Rahman together with Datuk Bandar and Datuk Temenggong Jugah were as equally keen on closer ties with Malaya.

Insofar as Sarawak was concerned there was no problem, except that right-wing Chinese elements were reluctant to join, on the grounds that they were better off under the British. Likewise on the left — the Communist elements, also Chinese, opposed any form of union, perhaps because we had crushed the MCP uprising, which had officially ended in July 1960, the year before all these new ideas started floating about.

### SPEECH

The balloon finally came to earth on May 27, 1961. On that Saturday I was the guest of honour at a luncheon in Singapore given by the Foreign Correspondents of South-East Asia at the Adelphi Hotel. To make the reception as happy as possible, it had been arranged that copies of the text of my speech would be made available immediately the luncheon was over, so that everyone could enjoy themselves and not feel they were "working for their supper".

The time for speechifying came; I was chatting away, cracking ad lib jokes now and then — one historian was to write later describing my remarks as being "disarmingly casual". I said:—

"Sooner or later Malaya should have an understanding with Britain and the peoples of Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak. It is premature for me to say now how this closer understanding can be brought about, but it is inevitable that we should look ahead to this objective and think of a plan whereby these territories can be brought closer together in political and economic cooperation".

That did it. Suddenly everyone was sitting bolt upright, hardly believing their ears. The atmosphere was electrifying, as I sat down

calmly to a thunder of astounded applause. We rose, and I was making for the door, I noted from the corner of my eye, with a chuckle, distinguished correspondents diving for copies of the speech at the other end of the room.

Later, I heard, two or three of them were "scooped", as they left the luncheon early to attend a friend's wedding at St. Andrew's Cathedral across the road.

My reference so discreetly but publicly to "Malaysia" took all the territories by storm. As the same historian, Sir Richard Allen, would write later I had "hinted at a change of course which was profoundly to affect his country and her neighbours".

Many people spoke out for and against this "merger", but generally it was obvious that the majority opinion was in favour in the areas concerned, but — as later events showed — not with our immediate neighbours.

When I returned to Kuala Lumpur, the first person to come and see me was the Sultan of Brunei. He showed great excitement over my speech and urged me to carry out the plan for merger without delay. I promised him I would do everything I could, and started the ball rolling.

Once the movement to establish Malaysia got under way, it proceeded so rapidly that I had little opportunity to plan as carefully as I would have wished; everything had to be taken in its stride, the momentum being so swift in developing.

## REACTIONS

Press and political reactions were at first rather mixed. Though they supported the plan, some wanted to get a merger on their own before joining Malaya. From my point of view this suggestion was unnecessary since Malaya was already a Federation, and any State could come in on its own if they really wanted to join.

In Kuching, Sarawak Tribune stated: "The Tunku's speech is brimful of importance". In Jesselton, the North Borneo News and Sabah Times described the plan as "well-timed".

In Brunei town, Encik A.A. Hapidz Laksamana said: "We are not in favour of becoming another state within the Federation of Malaya, we favour a partnership of equals.

"The Tunku's plan is also that of the Brunei Party Rakyat. We urge the Tunku and the Malayan people to support the national struggle of the Borneo Territories for independence. Only by first achieving an independent united Borneo can the aim of a Confederation of Malaysian states be achieved".



The major political parties in Sarawak hailed the plan, but agreed that a merger of the Borneo Territories should come first.

### BORNEO FIRST

The Party Negara issued a statement, "The difficulties in tying our three territories together have yet to be solved before pursuing the issue of Confederation .... Singapore and Malaysia should solve their merger problem, too, in view of this long-term policy.

"The Tunku should use his influence to urge Brunei to have a closer association with Sarawak and North Borneo. When the time comes for a Confederation it will be better for the three Borneo Territories to merge into one individual unit, and not as three separate political entities".

The Sarawak United People's Party, predominantly Chinese, aired its views through Mr. Stephen Yong, its Secretary-General. He said there could be no objection to closer co-operation in political and economic fields, but before merging with the Federation and other States, Sarawak should first attain self-government and independence.

"We should first work for closer association of the North Borneo Territories", he said. "Only then can we consider a Federation with Malaya and others. Because of political disparity — Malaya independent, Singapore semi-independent and Sarawak a colony — no conference can be satisfying at present. Like Malaya, Sarawak cannot stand alone. But we cannot see any immediate advantage to us, whatever advantage the plan will hold in the future".

### CAREFUL

In Johore Bahru, the former Chairman of Party Rakyat in Brunei, Encik A.M. Azahari Mahmud, said the Tunku's proposals needed "very careful and deep study".

"We should be convinced that there are no ulterior motives behind the plan. We must be assured that the proposals will benefit the national interests of the Borneo Territories".

As reported in the Sunday Times, June 4, 1961 Mr. Lee Kuan Yew pledged Singapore's support for Tunku Abdul Rahman's "mighty Malaysia" plan — if it meant a faster, easier merger with the Federation.

Addressing a vast National Day Rally on the city's Padang, the Premier declared, "Independence through merger in a larger unit is now clearly before us, and will be achieved sooner than anyone

imagined two years ago. Let us rally together to achieve this noble task of building a Malayan nation". Cheers swept over the Padang.

Mr. Lee also said: "By the ties of sentiment as well as of business, we in Singapore have always been close to the Federation. If merger and independence can come sooner and easier through the Borneo Territories joining us in political integration, then we support it, for it would mean that we should have a large and more powerful economic base for our new nation.

"Enlightened leaders, however, can heighten and increase the tempo of political advance. For this reason we welcome and support the Tunku's declaration that it is inevitable that we should look ahead to this objective of closer political and economic association between the Federation, Singapore and the Borneo Territories.

"It will be to the advantage of all of us and to the advantage of peace and stability in this region, if we can keep together in close political and economic association, as we find our place in the comity of independent nations. If we all demonstrate our undivided loyalty to the ideal of a Malayan nation, we are sure to succeed".

Mr. Lee said that two years before no-one could have envisaged this change in attitudes in both Singapore and the Federation. The doubters and the impatient had altered their lines, but the Government had marched towards the goal of a Malayan nation with freedom and equality for all, regardless of birth, race and religion.

#### REPERCUSSIONS

He predicted that independence for Singapore without merger would be disastrous, for an independent Singapore meant a Communist Singapore and there would be repercussions all round both in the Federation and other territories .....

"If the British block merger, a really massive campaign will be mounted against them which must lead to trouble. That is inevitable ..... If economically we are set on, if politically we are conscripted, and constitutionally we are splintered, we shall go back to the masses".

Six days later on June 10, the Straits Times reported that Dr. Toh Chin Chye, the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, said the demand would be for "complete independence through merger with the Federation, or with a larger Federation".

"Those who now raise the cry of an independent Singapore, or an independent Singapore under U.N. protection, are not only out of touch with political and economic realities, but are embarking on a course of action which has no future for the people and can only bring disaster.

"The trend towards merger cannot be reversed", he said. "It is part of an inevitable historic process. Singapore independent by itself is the cry of those frightened by the idea of a Federation of Malaysian States.

"Insofar as the Prime Minister of the Federation conceives our future in terms of a Malayan Federation, the PAP is with him. It should do everything in its power to hasten the development of this larger Federation".

Dr. Toh likened the five territories to the five fingers of a hand which, together could achieve great things, but which could accomplish nothing on their own.

Lord Selkirk, the Commissioner - General to South-East Asia, described Tunku Abdul Rahman's "mighty Malaysia" proposal as a "sound, long-term plan .... No one suggested it to him. It would be absolutely untrue to say that I, or someone else, gave him the idea. If the proposal can bring benefits to North Borneo and Sarawak, then we must carefully consider it, as we have done in the case of Singapore and the Federation"

#### COMITTEE

In the meantime the political situation in Singapore had changed considerably; Lee Kuan Yew was keener than ever. He wanted me to have "sounding-out" conversations with representatives from Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei, who all happened to be in the city attending a Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting.

So we did get together and decided to form a Malaysian Solidarity Consultative Committee to try and devise a plan for Malaysia. The British Government reacted to this action and our proposals with some caution; in fact initially they were quite non-committal.

#### COMMISSION

On November 1, 1961, I went to England to have talks with Mr. Harold MacMillan, and at the end of our discussions we were able to agree on the principle of merger between Singapore, Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei on an agreed stipulation that the "United Kingdom would be granted the right to retain bases at Singapore for the purpose of assisting in the defence of Malaysia, and for Commonwealth defence, and for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia".

We also agreed that "a Commission made up of Malayan and British members should be appointed to ascertain the views of the

people of North Borneo and Sarawak on this question and .... to make recommendations before any final decision was made".

Lord Cobbold, a former Governor of the Bank of England, became Chairman of the Commission, consisting of Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie of the Ministry of External Affairs, Datuk Wong Pow Nee (now Tan Sri), Chief Minister of Penang, Sir David Watherston, the last British Chief Secretary of Malaya and Sir Anthony Abel, a former Governor of Sarawak, visited Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore, and held interviews with various peoples and associations.

Brunei, being a British Protectorate, was not directly included in this inquiry officially, although the two Governments undertook to seek the views of the Sultan.

The object of the Commission was to sound out the people to help bring Malaysia into being on August 31, 1963 subject to the necessary legislation being passed in the Parliaments concerned.

Talks followed in London between me and the Prime Minister, Mr. MacMillan, and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Duncan Sandys, with the following result, as reported in the Straits Times, July 23, 1962:

"Discussions between the Tunku and the British Government in July 1962 after the submission of the Cobbold Commission's Report ran into difficulties because of a British preference for an indeterminate transitional stage, during which North Borneo and Sarawak would be prepared for self-government and merger. The British finally gave way".

They had to give way on their idea of a "transitional stage". What the British had in mind was to get us first to help build these three States, and later on merge them in happy contentment, a kind of colonial rule by Malaya, not at all what the peoples of the future "Malaysia" wanted.

## TROUBLE

In the meantime President Soekarno reacted in an astoundingly hostile way. The rattling of sabres and the rumbling of war chariots could be heard louder and louder across the Java Sea. President Soekarno charged that the Malaysia to be created was a neo-Colonialist creation imposed upon the people of these Territories without reference to their wishes.

I still took things quietly. I tried to appease his wrath, if wrath it really was, but deep in my heart I knew it was pure jealousy, as all along he had viewed with envy Malaya's rise to prosperity since independence and the progress she had made, as compared with what

was happening in his own country — political infighting, over-spending, mismanagement and the rupiah sinking in value.

However, any war with our neighbour would be disastrous to Malaya, and victory to either would bring nothing but political discredit, as we were both peoples of the same race and religion, and any cause for quarrel was very petty.

The effects of such a war could bring ruination to a new, emerging country, which had already undergone twelve years of violent Communist terrorist activities, and so I tried in every way possible to make peace with Soekarno.

The Prime Minister, Dr. Djuanda, was sympathetic, and so was General Nasution, but Dr. Subandrio, the Foreign Minister, and confidante of Soekarno, was strongly opposed to the idea. Both Soekarno and Subandrio had personal grudges against me over West Irian.

In 1960, when I was visiting Europe I tried to find a basis for peace between the Dutch and Indonesians over the question of West Irian. The terms and conditions for a peaceful conference had already been accepted by Dr. Djuanda and General Nasution before I left for the Netherlands.

When the Dutch finally concurred after a slight amendment, Soekarno and Subandrio attacked the terms of agreement, charging that I had exceeded the mandate given me as negotiator — the vehemence of Subandrio's outburst seemed quite disproportionate to the alleged transgression.

### DISSIDENTS

Remembering this Irian incident which produced their grudges, I knew at once the irrevocable determination of Soekarno and Subandrio to obstruct any possibility of the formation of Malaysia. After this, dissident elements appeared to be active in all the territories that were to join with Malaya.

Most pronounced was a dispute appearing in Brunei, led by Encik Azhari Mahmud, who in 1956 formed the Party Rakyat of Brunei. The Party started to make trouble, boycotting every approach for elections in the District Councils and urging other constitutional reforms. In August 1962, the Party swept into victory in the first Brunei elections to the District Councils with the loss of only one seat.

Thus 54 out of the 55 seats in the District Councils were won by Party Rakyat, and it gained further success in that it won all the 16 elected seats out of the total of all contested in the Legislative Council.

This later victory, however, did not give Party Rakyat a majority in the Council, as the Constitution provided for a majority of Nominated Members.

## REVOLUTION

Thus Party Rakyat, for some reason or other known to themselves, strongly opposed the Sultan's leaning towards Malaysia. When the Sultan proved adamant in rejecting their counsel, they started a revolution in December, which proved a failure from the outset.

The revolution began on the morning of December 8, 1962. I had information two days earlier that it was going to start, and I informed Lord Selkirk, then British Commissioner-General to South-East Asia, to that effect. Immediately he went to Brunei to find out for himself, but he was not satisfied that my information was all correct.

Just as he was telling me this view on his return to Kuala Lumpur news came that the revolution had broken out, led by an army called the Tnku in Brunei town and Seria, and there were also acts of violence reported in areas near Sarawak and North Borneo at Sibuti, Limbang, Lawas and Weston.

At the time as the revolution was going on the "brave Azahari" was having a good, comfortable time in Manila as the guest of Mr. Nicasio Osmena, who claimed North Borneo for the heirs of the former Sultanate of Sulu. He was giving out Press statements to the effect that they had seized most of the towns, and that they expected to take over the whole of Brunei, and part of Borneo and Sarawak within the next few days.

## CRITICISM

Some people severely criticised me for sending Police Forces from Malaya to help the Police in Sarawak, Borneo and Brunei in fighting the rebels. They said it was unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of Brunei, but my answer was that I was protecting the lives of Malaysians working in Brunei.

By December 16, the rebellion was over, a total of 3,000 rebels being captured. The Party Rakyat members and the Tnku Army became the guests of the Sultan behind bars. Their "eight-day" blow-up was over. But why did they label their army Tnku, pronounced as I am correctly called? I think it was done on purpose to annoy me: thank Heaven it did not survive for long!

According to Subandrio, the rebellion was characterised as "national, a spontaneous manifestation of the subject people of the

three British Dependencies to break away from their colonial chains, which had held them in bondage for decades", but soon the matter of the Brunei revolt was forgotten. In fact, Azahari never did get the support he expected and was promised from Indonesia.

Indonesia had taken an "about turn". In the previous year, 1961, as reported in the Straits Times of June 14, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Subandrio said his country was not interested in the Malaysia plan. "It is a matter for the countries to decide for themselves. So long as no Indonesian territory is involved and there is no conflict of interest, we are not concerned with it".

### CONFRONTATION

Dr. Subandrio went on to say his country believed in its present "bilateral co-operation with friendly countries. It would consider a larger alliance only at an appropriate time".

Yet only a short period of six weeks after the Azahari Revolt petered out, it was this same Subandrio who would declare Indonesia's open, armed hostility to Malaysia, for which he coined the word "Confrontation", a term that was to find its way permanently into the language of diplomats all over the world. What was to happen to Indonesia's Confrontation and to its coiner Subandrio, the future would soon reveal.

ARTICLE 13  
(9 March, 1975)

## CONFRONTATION HOSTILE DEMOS STAGED IN PHILIPPINES INDONESIA AGAINST MALAYA

**A** 7. pm on August 1, 1962 the British and Malayan Governments formally signed in London the Agreement for the Formation of Malaysia. For Malaya, I put my signature to the historic document, followed by Tun Razak and Tun Tan Siew Sin, while on the British side Mr. Harold MacMillan, the Prime Minister, Mr. Duncan Sandys (Lord Duncan Sandys), the Earl of Lansdowne, Sir William Goode and Sir Alex Waddell signed their names.

Under the Agreement, the Federation of Malaysia would become a lasting reality on August 31, 1963 with the transfer of sovereignty over North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore by the British Government to the Malayan Government — five years to the day since Malaya became a free nation.

Before Malaya with its 11 states could become Malaysia, a Federation of 14 States, however, it had been agreed that there should be a period of transition, during which major constitutional arrangements would be worked out, so that Malaysia could be brought into being on the date stipulated. Within this period, too, all the Governments concerned would conclude, *inter alia*, formal agreements to provide for changes in sovereignty over North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore.

To ensure that the new Federal system could be introduced smoothly as affecting these three States, Malaya and Britain agreed to establish an Inter-Governmental Committee, led by Lord Lansdowne.

With great enthusiasm the three Governments of Singapore Sabah and Sarawak supported Malaysia simultaneously in separate ways. In September, Singapore held a referendum to enable the people of that State publicly to choose the type of unification with



Malaya they desired. The referendum, the first ever in Singapore, gave the voters three choices:-

1. Federation with Malaysia as a unit, while retaining autonomy in Labour and Education.
2. Complete and unconditional merger, which would mean enfranchisement of more than half of Singapore's 642,000 citizens of voting age.
3. Merger on terms less favourable than those offered to the Borneo Territories.

In this referendum 71 per cent of the people of Singapore came out fully in support of alternative (1), while the rest supported (2); no one voted for (3).

### SABAH

In North Borneo — soon to be renamed Sabah — the Legislative Assembly on September 13, declared its full support of the plan for the North Borneo Territories to enter Malaya to form Malaysia. Datuk Mustapha bin Harun proposed the motion, seconded by Datuk Donald Stephens.

The people of Sabah welcomed firstly the establishment of Malaysia, provided that the terms of their participation and constitutional arrangements would safeguard their specific interests as a State. The Assembly, therefore, appointed its representatives to the Lansdowne Committee.

Meanwhile, in Sarawak the Legislature in Kuching also supported their State's entry into Malaysia on the same terms and conditions as Sabah, and also named representatives to the "Malaysia" Committee.

The Inter-Governmental Committee, established on February 28, 1963 immediately set to work on the constitutional arrangements for the States of North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei to join Malaysia.

### SPECIAL CASE

Brunei, as I mentioned previously, was a special case. Consultations would be held with the Sultan. As it turned out, three months later, in June, Brunei decided not to join in the proposed new Malaysia. It would stay out, preferring to continue its special protectorate arrangements with Britain.

The Committee's Report, therefore, directed its sole attention to North Borneo and Sarawak.

When submitting their Report, the members of the Lansdowne Committee recommended full safeguards for the special interests of these two states, covering religious freedom, education, Parliamentary representation, the special position of indigenous races, and control of immigration in these States.

### DEVELOPMENT

The British Government also agreed to grant \$12,750,000 a year for five years towards the development of North Borneo and Sarawak. At the same time the Malayan Government agreed to provide Sarawak \$300,000,000 spread over the next five years for development.

Malaya also recommended that representation in the Parliament of Malaysia should be increased from 105 to 159 members; this would enable North Borneo (Sabah) to have 16 seats and Sarawak 24 in the Dewan Ra'ayat (Lower House), and the normal Constitutional quota of Senators in the Dewan Negara (Upper House).

The first Heads of State for Sarawak and Sabah would be nominated before Malaysia Day jointly by His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Agung and Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, to hold office for two years in the first appointments. This proposal was put forward to please Sarawak which wanted to have a Governor, as in Penang and Malacca. North Borneo liked the idea of having a Yang Dipertua Negara as the title of its Head of State.

In relation to the nomination for Sarawak's first Governor we ran into a slight difficulty over choosing the right man. Mr. Duncan Sandys thought that the best choice would be our mutual friend, Temenggong Jugah. I agreed, but mentioned one drawback — Temenggong Jugah could neither read nor write, and was hardly able to sign his name as a Paramount Chief. How, I asked, could he possibly read the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the State Legislative Council?

Mr. Duncan Sandys insisted, so I agreed to concede the choice to him, if he could name to me one other single Governor in "the Empire on which the sun never set", as in all its history had there ever been a Governor representing the Crown who could neither write nor read?

To this question he had no reply, though he turned his head this way and that way, looking everywhere for some bright support from his advisers. They all laughed heartily, and he too managed to grin amiably. When Malaysia was finally formed Temenggong Jugah became Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs.

It will be remembered that Dr. Subandrio had declared in Singapore that he would accept Malaysia, provided it did not intrude on the sovereignty of Indonesia, but when he saw that the Malaysia Plan had already gone so far and so well, he went back on his word before the Lansdowne Committee began its task.

### "ABOUT-FACE"

For no reason that one could conceivably imagine, suddenly he turned a complete "about-face", making a violent speech attacking Malaya.

Now we had Subandrio declaring Indonesia would carry out "confrontation" against Malaya, which he claimed was a country representing "neo-colonialist and neo-imperialist forces".

He went on to say he regretted having to carry out this confrontation against a neighbouring country, but nevertheless he emphasised that from that time on, that is February 1963, Indonesia would take a hostile attitude towards this "neo-colonialist, neo-imperialist enemy".

He had completely forgotten, or now preferred to overlook, that less than four years before, in April 1959, Indonesia and Malaya had signed a Treaty of Friendship in Kuala Lumpur.

Meanwhile across the Sulu Sea the President of the Philippines, Mr. Diosdado Macapagal, also joined in the attack on Malaya, declaring his support for Indonesia.

"The Philippines", he said, "cannot be expected to sit down and accept Malaysia's authority over North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei. This new set-up will endanger the Philippines, as its Southern frontier would be exposed to Communist infiltration and domination, if Malaysia succumbed in course of time". (He seemed to have forgotten that Malaya had been victorious over the Communists, and he still had the problem of the Hukbahlakaps on his hands).

### REASONS

His Vice-President, Mr. Emmanuel Pelaez, however, listed detailed reasons why the Philippines objected to Malaysia, the main ones being:-

- (a) The Malaysia concept was a stumbling block to peace in South-East Asia.
- (b) As a result of this formation, both Malaya and Singapore are outwardly hostile towards the Philippines.

Following these objections by Mr. Pelaez and Dr. Subandrio, hostile demonstrations against Malaya took place in both Indonesia

and the Philippines. Our own University students and UMNO Youth retaliated by holding a demonstration against President Soekarno in Kuala Lumpur.

President Soekarno followed through after Subandrio, officially declaring in February, 1963, "a state of confrontation" against Malaya. He called upon all his forces to be ready when the time came to safeguard the interests of Indonesia in South-East Asia. He stated: "The enemy is besieging us; therefore keep on the alert, and I order you to keep your weapons in your hands".

The Indonesian Navy received orders to fire upon any Malayan fishing-boat found trespassing in Indonesian waters, and seized one near the island of Jamur Padang.

### EXCITEMENT

In Malaya, excitement grew high, and that is putting it mildly. I had to address a crowd of 20,000 people at the Merdeka Stadium. There and then I answered Soekarno, "We are ready to guard and defend the country from enemy attack with whatever power we have at our disposal and with our lives".

Things were looking pretty grim for us, but in spite of all threats I was determined to go right ahead with Malaysia as planned and as I had promised Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak (and Brunei) to merge and form Malaysia.

So we left it to God to protect us, and to our friendly countries in our Defence Treaty Agreement — Britain, Australia and New Zealand — to help us, if the war of words should escalate into a shooting-war. We were destined to encounter both.

Recriminations in most vicious tones and other forms of abuse against Malaya continued, particularly on the Indonesian side. One Indonesian magazine had a "scoop" accusing me of running away with somebody else's wife!

As she happened to be the wife of a famous actor, and herself well-known as a singer, the poor girl, for fear of her life, had no other choice but to leave her handsome husband for me, that devil of a dictator and a tyrant.

Quite a story, if true! I have often wondered what they thought about that juicy yarn.

I felt that we had to find some way of bringing about a reconciliation between President Soekarno, President Macapagal and me, because the situation was getting too serious and there could only be one result — an out-break of acts of violence detrimental to peace in the whole of South-East Asia.

I had already refused to attend an ASA meeting scheduled to be held in the Philippines, because that country had given refuge to Azahari, who directed from there his abortive "revolt" in Brunei in December, 1962. I rightly considered this to be a hostile act against Malaya.

But now that Azahari had left the Philippines, a way out of that impasse seemed possible. I managed through "channels" to get an invitation to Manila, and while there I suggested that the Philippines should arrange first a meeting of Foreign Ministers, and then only could the three Heads of State be ready to meet at a "Summit", as the Press likes to call such conferences.

One June 11, 1963 the Foreign Ministers of the three countries did get together in Manila. Representing Malaya was Tun Razak, Indonesia Dr. Subandrio, and the Philippines Mr. Pelaez. The atmosphere of the meeting turned out to be cordial and friendly, giving promise of a fruitful outcome for the "Summit" fore-shadowed in July.

At that preliminary meeting President Macapagal mooted the idea of forming a Confederation of the three nations, — Maphilindo, an acronym of the three countries — and had it accepted as a basis for discussion.

## REFERENDUM

By the time the meeting ended the three Foreign Ministers expressed their satisfaction with the results achieved, though of course, Tun Razak was quite conscious that this understanding would have the effect of delaying the creation of Malaysia. Nevertheless, in order to play for time, he went along with the others and acquiesced. After all, who knew what might happen?

Another suggestion was that a referendum could be held in the Borneo Territories to find out whether the peoples there really wanted to join with Malaya. They suggested that it should go forward to the United Nations as a gesture of good intentions on the part of Malaya, for the UN would be able to ascertain the views of the Borneo peoples.

Tun Razak told them that a United Nations envoy, Mr. Narasinhham, had already visited the Borneo Territories in April at the request of the North Borneo Government, so that he could ascertain for himself and for the benefit of the UN Secretary-General the desires of the people of Borneo.

If there was any further need for UN intervention in this matter, then the Heads of State could meet and decide the question. It was not for him to commit his Government there and now, he declared.

However, they prevailed on him to agree to what was styled the "Manila Accord", which contained many clauses. The most important of these were:-

Clause 10:-

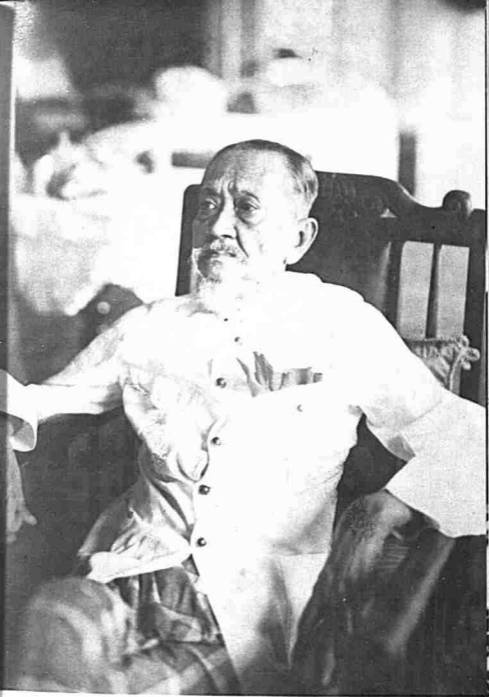
The Ministers reaffirmed their countries' adherence to the principle of self-determination for the peoples of non-self-governing territories. In this context, Indonesia and the Philippines stated that they would welcome the formation of Malaysia provided that the support of the people of the Borneo Territories is ascertained by an independent and impartial authority, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, or his representative.

Clause 11:-

The Federation of Malaya expressed appreciation for this attitude of Indonesia and the Philippines, and undertook to consult with the British Government and the Governments of the Borneo Territories with a view to inviting the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative to take the necessary steps to ascertain the wishes of the people of these territories.

#### SHADOW-PLAY

Of course, the preliminary Manila Meeting was all shadow-play. Indonesia and the Philippines were aiming at delaying Malaysia in every possible way, but these same velvet voices were those that were threatening us. Malaya wanted to get Malaysia as quickly as possible, by constitutional means just as Malaya had managed to do, but at the same time keep the peace. We had uttered no threats against anyone, let alone our neighbours, and we did not want bloodshed or violence. Peace, yes, but not at any cost. Who was going to win out in this diplomatic confrontation? Only time could tell.



*Tunku Abdul Rahman's father — HRH Tuanku Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah.*



*Tunku Abdul Rahman's mother at the age of 55.*





*Tunku Abdul Rahman's parents — Sultan Abdul Hamid and his consort.*

# PERKUTUAN

67

# TANAH MELAYU

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful  
Praise be to God, the Lord of the Universe and may the  
blessings and peace of God be upon His Messengers.

WHEREAS the time has now arrived when the people of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu will assume the status of a free independent and sovereign nation among the nations of the World

AND WHEREAS by an agreement styled the Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1952 between Her Majesty the Queen and Their Highnesses the Rulers of the Malay States it was agreed that the Malay States of Johore, Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Terengganu and Perak and the former Settlements of Malacca and Penang should as from the 31st day of August, 1952, be formed into a new Federation of States by the name of Persekutuan Tanah Melayu

AND WHEREAS it was further agreed between the parties to the said agreement that the Settlements of Malacca and Penang aforesaid should as from the said date cease to form part of Her Majesty's dominions and that Her Majesty should cease to exercise any sovereignty over them

AND WHEREAS it was further agreed by the parties aforesaid that the Federation of Malaya Agreement, 1952 and all other agreements subsisting between Her Majesty the Queen and Their Highnesses the Rulers or any one of them immediately before the said date should be reborn as from that date and that all powers and jurisdiction of Her Majesty or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom in or in respect of the Settlements aforesaid or the Malay States or the Federation as whole should come to an end

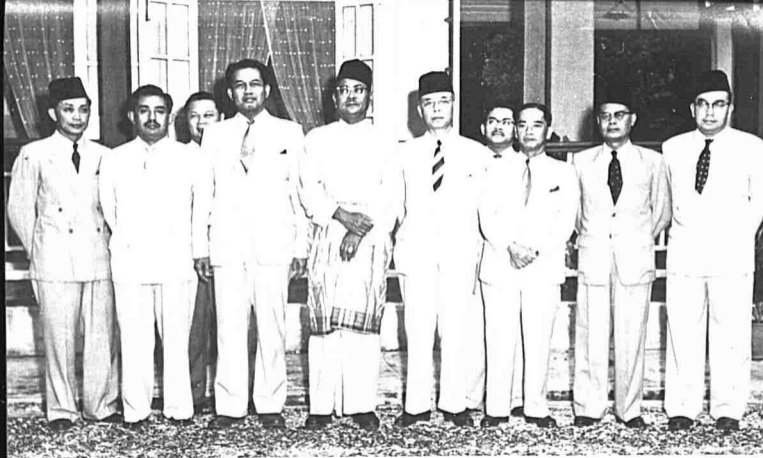
AND WHEREAS effect has been given to the Federation of Malaya Agreement 1952 by Her Majesty the Queen, Their Highnesses the Rulers, the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the Legislatures of the Federation and of the Malay States

AND WHEREAS a constitution for the Government of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu has been established as the supreme law thereof

AND WHEREAS by the Federal Constitution aforesaid provision is made to safeguard the rights and prerogatives of Their Highnesses the Rulers and the fundamental rights and liberties of the people and to provide for the peaceful and orderly advancement of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu as a constitutional monarchy based on Parliamentary democracy

AND WHEREAS the Federal Constitution aforesaid having been approved by an Ordinance of the Federal Legislatures by the Enactments of the Malay States and by resolutions of the Legislatures of Malacca and Penang has come into force on the 31st day of August 1952, aforesaid

NOW In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful **TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA** thus **AL-MARHUM SULTAN ABDUL HAMID HALIMSHAH, PRIME MINISTER OF THE PERSEKUTUAN TANAH MELAYU**, with the concurrence and approval of Their Highnesses the Rulers of the Malay States do hereby proclaim and declare on behalf of the people of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu that as from the thirty first day of August, nineteen hundred and fifty seven, the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu comprising the States of Johore, Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Terengganu, Perak, Malacca and Penang is and with God's blessing shall be for ever a sovereign democratic and independent State founded upon the principles of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of its people and the maintenance of a just peace among all nations.



*Delegation to London for Merdeka Talks.*



*Malaya Constitutional Conference — Final Meeting.*



*London: Colonial Minister Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd speaking at the Final Meeting of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House. Seated on his left is Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Chief Minister of the Federation. The report of the Conference was signed by delegates during this Final Meeting.*



*Tunku Abdul Rahman shaking hands with Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd during the final meeting of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House. The Report of the Conference was signed during this final meeting — 8th February 1956.*



*Welcoming Tunku Abdul Rahman to Malacca, after the successful London talks on Independent Malaya.*



*MERDEKA! The shout of Independence*





*Representative from Her Majesty The Queen handing over the copy of proclamation of Independence to Tunku Abdul Rahman.*



*MacMillan, Razak and Tunku Abdul Rahman.*



*Sir Alec Douglas Home and Tunku Abdul Rahman.*



*Returning from London — Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Sambanthan. "See the new man, Sambathan; how smart and handsome he now looks?"*



*Returned in triumph after London talks on Malaysia.  
Left to Right: Lee Kuan Yew, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tun Abdul Razak.*





*Malay Society Dinner in London 1947.*







*Formation of ASA*



*Mr. Kishi returned compliments when Tunku Abdul Rahman visited Japan as his guest. In the picture, Tun Sharifah Rodziah and Madame Kishi.*



*Prince Sihanouk warmly shook Tunku Abdul Rahman's hand after bestowing Highest Order of Cambodia.*



*Meeting with Chin Peng, Tunku Abdul Rahman, David Marshall and Tun Tan Cheng Lock at Baling Talks.*



*Chin Peng*



*UMNO General Conference, 23/24 January 1971. Tunku Abdul Rahman's Farewell Address before retiring as President UMNO.*

ARTICLE 14  
(17 March, 1975)

**SOEKARNO SPURNS MALAYSIA  
OBSERVERS WITH PROPAGANDA  
LEAFLETS CREATE TROUBLE**

**T**he chronology of subsequent events, especially the Summit Meeting in Manila in July, 1963 showed clearly that President Soekarno had made up his mind never to accept the idea or the fact of a nation of Malaysia. To justify his actions, he put the blame on many people and many factors but none made sense. Nothing he did or said could be called correct; in fact they were the rantings of a demented person.

He was unpredictable, irresponsible, so irrational that everything relating to Malaysia annoyed him and his over-weening super-ego. He would agree disarmingly to have a Summit Meeting, and then behave or argue abusively in such contradictory ways that it was obvious he was deliberately aiming to destroy any hope I had of the Summit's becoming a success.

On the other hand, there was President Macapagal, a man not only determined to prevent the formation of Malaysia, but also to get sovereign control of Sabah by any devious means managing to manipulate events. Though his manner was friendly, his manoeuvres were patently the opposite. His open behaviour belied his hidden aims.

And myself, what did I want? Two objectives — to create Malaysia out of Malaya, despite Soekarno, and to deny any Philip-pines' ambition, hidden or open, to get hold of Sabah. I wanted Malaysia, and I had to have Sabah, because without Sabah, there could be no Malaysia. And, on top of this, there was my own honour — I had given my word.

Look at the map of the whole island of Borneo. Before World War II, the British and the Dutch shared imperial control — Britain on the North Coast, the Dutch all the South over the other side of the main mountain range.

If Soekarno, Macapagal and Sultan Sir Omar got their ways and Tunku Abdul Rahman did not, then Borneo would be controlled not by two but by four nations — Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaya and the British in their direct watch-dog control of Brunei and its oil. Obviously this result would be worse than the old Colonialism, a breeding-swamp for endless disputes, disagreements and discord.

Such an eventuality I could never accept, and so it became a "confrontation" of my determination against theirs; yet I had to try and talk over both these opponents. Soekarno and his egomania were well-known throughout the world, but President Macapagal was a comparatively new figure in the international arena, having succeeded President Carlos Garcia in December, 1961 and had been in office only eighteen months. So it will be useful to recall some of my encounters with him as these reveal the man and his mind.

During the Summit period in July, I spoke to President Macapagal about the poor treatment meted out to 3,000,000 Muslims in the Philippines; they had neither a place of worship nor a burial ground in the nation's capital.

All he said in rebuttal was that he realised this was true, but to allow Muslims to have either a mosque or a cemetery in Manila would only anger the Christians, who were predominantly Catholics.

Could he name any place in the world, I asked, where people were not free to practise their religion or to bury their dead, just because they happened to profess another religion? How could he expect North Borneo, with its many Muslims and religious freedom to join another country like the Philippines, which did not tolerate other forms of religious worship or the rights of people to live their lives as they chose?

"Oh", he said, "Sabah used to belong to the Sultanate of Sulu". I replied, "But the Sultanate does not exist any more".

He answered that it was necessary for him to have Sabah to better his own political position — so I countered by saying that I would hold on to Sabah, not only to better my political position but to fulfil the promise I had made, as well as to protect Sabah from the Philippines taking over, an act that would deny freedom of worship to a happy people.

At the end of this particular discussion I laid stress once again on the absence of a place for Muslim worship, saying, "I want to see a mosque in Manila, for when I come here I would like to pray, as well as to play".



The dire plight of Muslims in the Philippines caused a wave of revulsion in recent years, when a Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers in Benghazi was to learn how badly they suffered. Muslims had their lands taken away on the grounds that their names did not appear in the Register of Titles at the Land Office, so lands they had occupied for generations were given to Christians. Homes were burned, and what was far worse, there had been a massacre in a mosque.

So if Sabah had ever been handed over to the Philippines, its people would have suffered a terrible fate. Thanks be to God, it did not happen; and now the people of Sabah are among the most progressive and richest in Malaysia.

### CONCEPT

Right from the beginning President Soekarno had shown all along his animosity towards the concept of Malaysia. As early as 1956, when I was only Chief Minister and Malaya not yet a free nation, I tried to win his friendship by visiting Indonesia to pay him my respects.

In the course of the many talks we had then, I made it quite clear that Malaya was only a small country. The Malay people looked to Indonesia for guidance and help, although we maintained that independence and sovereignty were our heritage. As we were too small to stand alone, our only hope for security was to live in close association with Indonesia in particular, and other countries in South-East Asia in general.

I mentioned how hard we had to fight against the Communists. Having exhausted much of our wealth, we had now to plan for freedom, peaceful living, national development and economic progress.

### GLOOMY

I also told President Soekarno I was prepared to grant an amnesty to the Communists, so if Indonesia showed some friendship for us the Communists might accept the amnesty we offered, and live in peace in our midst.

When the concept of Malaysia first began taking shape, I noticed from President Soekarno's utterances he had lost a great deal of balance. He had always been a charmer of crowds, the larger the better. Now he had become inconsiderate, boastful and very arrogant. By the time the Summit Meeting came to be held in Manila, his continuous condemnation of Malaysia had made it almost certain we would get nowhere, either with him or President Macapagal.

In fact, the Conference opened in a most gloomy atmosphere. In a statement to the Press, President Macapagal said he had "suspended confrontation for the moment, but only for the moment; much depends on how the conference goes".

In his opening address on Tuesday, July 30 President Macapagal eulogised the brotherhood of Maphilindo, and spoke of the need for all to respect the terms of the "treaty" drawn up by the Foreign Ministers.

When President Macapagal finished his speech, President Soekarno refused to say anything, so there was no need for me to talk either. The ominous signs of tension between all of us were blatantly obvious, so rather than say anything which might provoke each other, we tacitly — or should I say tactfully or tactically — decided to remain silent. However, we did approve the Manila Accord, already agreed by the Foreign Ministers at their June meeting. That decision was, at least, one sign of agreement, so it could be said for the record "something" was achieved.

Both the Presidents promptly invoked Paragraph 10 of the Accord which stated "that the wishes of the people of the Borneo Territories should be ascertained by the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representatives".

We invited Mr. Alfred Mackenzie, the Canadian Head of the United Nations Technical Aid Mission in Manila, to attend at the end of the Conference, asking him to make contact with the Secretary-General, U Thant, with a request to agree to send a team to discover the views of the people of Borneo.

Pending a reply from U Thant, we postponed the Summit Meeting indefinitely, and stayed in Manila many days waiting for an answer. We could, therefore, enjoy the highlights of society life in the Philippines.

## GUESTS

Reporting one function Mary Prieto of the Philippines Herald wrote on August 2: "The invitation was for seven o'clock. Bung Karno arrived promptly at five of. And the one hundred and fifty or so guests, trickled in anywhere from seven thirty to nine".

Actually President Soekarno and I arrived about the same time, but our Presidential host and his wife had not yet arrived. During dinner President Soekarno asked if "it is the custom of the people here to arrive late". He added, "In my country, if the guests have not arrived at the appointed hour they are kept out of the dinner".

I noticed President Soekarno trying to grope around for chillies, but he could find none. The Vice-President's wife, Mrs. Pelaez, said, "We do not eat hot stuff, Your Excellency, we don't need it".

On another occasion, Carman Perez of the Manila Bulletin, reported: "At dinner the guests arrived early, but the President of Indonesia arrived two hours late. Hanging on his arms, left and right, were five Filipino girls, who were not invited to the function".

This caused some natural embarrassment, but President Soekarno did not seem to care. His attitude obviously was that they did keep him waiting last time, so it was his turn to reciprocate the compliment. I was the one caught in the crossfire of this war of social etiquette. The dutiful reporter wrote: "A number of eyebrows practically shot up 'summit high' at this unexpected incident, making one party wit size up the situation as a 'social crisis'".

#### LIGHT-HEARTED

In fact the guests had waited three hours, sipping drinks and nibbling fondeau beef-cubes, before Bung Karno arrived with his party, which also included his Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, his deputies and other aides.

Apparently in a light-hearted mood, the 62-year-old President was heard to hum along with the female soloist as she sang the popular Tagalog ballad, "Ikaw", to band accompaniment. After that song, President Soekarno just left with the girls and his aides, without as much as taking a bite.

#### REQUEST

Frequently the British Charge d'Affaires would visit me to find out the current state of affairs. When told about the request to U Thant, he gave a statement to the Press, saying in effect that Malaysia would be formed on August 31, 1963 no matter what happened. This report started President Soekarno off on another fit of temper.

On the following Thursday, August 8, the reply from U Thant came in. Immediately both Presidents tried to turn his stated intention about to suit their own ends, so we decided to send another telegram seeking clarification. When that answer arrived, the two Presidents were still not satisfied, so U Thant received another request.

Finally all parties at the Conference accepted his offer to assess Borneo opinion on Malaysia, but it was not agreed to quite happily by President Soekarno, who still insisted on a referendum to be held on a

later date than the one proposed by the UN Secretary-General for Malaysia.

U Thant proposed to assess the views of the Borneo people, and for this purpose he suggested that Malaysia Day should be postponed by two weeks, but President Soekarno expected it to be six months. However, delegates prevented a diplomatic breakdown, and had the Manila Accord finally signed — reluctantly all round, I might add.

#### DEMANDS

According to Mr. J.A.C. Mackie in "Konfrontasi", "The Tunku's negotiating position was an extremely difficult one. He had to be conciliatory enough to draw President Soekarno away from his initial unfriendly stand without giving in to any demands which might imperil Malaysia's formation. At Wednesday's session he made a considerable concession in agreeing to leave the detailed form of an ascertainment to U Thant to propose, without imposing specified conditions about what was acceptable to Malaysia".

However, when the Secretary-General agreed that the UN should carry out assessment in Borneo, he made it specific — all parties would have to accept his decision.

In doing so, he stated: "It is my understanding that neither the report of my representative nor my conclusion will be subject in any way to ratification or confirmation by any of the Governments concerned".

#### ISSUE

An American, Mr. Lawrence V. Michelmore, formerly Director of Personnel in the UN Secretariat, led the nine-man Mission, including a Czech official from the UN, Mr. G.V. Janacek. The Mission had to decide:-

- (a) Whether or not Malaysia was a major issue in the last election in the regions concerned;
- (b) Whether the electoral registers were properly compiled;
- (c) Whether the votes were polled and counted properly; and
- (d) Whether the elections were really free, and without collusion.

Several complications resulted. One was that the time taken in completing the task would delay our "Malaysia Day" until September 16. This did not suit us, but Malaya did not object. Then at the last minute, Dr. Subandrio requested the presence of Indonesian observers.

This did not please us at all. I knew it for a ploy: an Indonesian trick. But Malaya agreed.

As it turned out, these observers were to cause a lot of trouble for the Mission — first, with regard to their number, and second, in relation to their function. They came in large numbers, many openly carrying leaflets — Indonesian propaganda.

A security check of those "observers" had to be made. Finally, a few were approved, but they had all their leaflets confiscated. Not till this was done could the Mission begin their work. Considering the physical difficulties involved, the Mission made their survey and conclusions thoroughly and rapidly.

#### VERDICT

On September 14, U Thant issued his findings, based on the UN Mission's Report, and his verdict favoured the formation of Malaysia.

There was no "rigging" in the elections, he found. The people of Sabah and Sarawak had chosen to join Malaysia of their own free will, without collusion from any source or authority.

Later reports came in that I could well believe — U Thant's Report made President Soekarno very angry indeed. In typical fashion he reserved the right to say what he thought when an opportune time arrived.

Malaya's path of peace through open diplomacy was certainly correct. We had every right to be pleased, but we took the decision quietly and soberly. Even though the Malaysia concept had the approval of the United Nations, neither Indonesia nor the Philippines were showing any positive signs of friendship. Obviously more ill-winds would blow against Malaysia; "Confrontation" was not over yet.

ARTICLE 15  
(24 March, 1975)

## SOMBRE MALAYSIA THE HOSTILITIES RAN SHORT OF A WAR

Despite President Soekarno and whatever he might say or do, Malaysia did become a *fait accompli*, and in a surprising manner that must have taken him aback and added to his ire. Officially Malaysia Day to honour the new nation was set for September 16, 1963 if the findings of U Thant, the United Nations Secretary-General, approved.

But the three States discussed in all the debates and arguments so far, that is the peoples most directly concerned by any decisions being made, showed what they thought of Soekarno and spoke out in their own way — not by words, but deeds. What they did told the world their wishes and in particular for the information of President Soekarno.

Sabah and Singapore celebrated Malaysia Day on August 31, the original date Malaya and the soon-to-be Malaysians had named themselves, the anniversary day of the birth of the parent-country they wanted to join, Malaya. Sarawak acted likewise, declaring her own Malaysia Day before September 16. U Thant's report, coming later, thus confirmed in total effect what the peoples of these three States wanted.

Malaya, however, being right in the middle of all the international discord, diplomatically waited till U Thant had reported formally on September 14, and celebrated Malaysia Day two days later, September 16.

But not in the same spirit with which we had greeted Merdeka so joyously six years before. By comparison Malaysia Day was a formal affair in Malaya (now no more) — subdued enthusiasm, but no excitement. An air of deep concern lay at the back of everyone's minds, a feeling of foreboding of worse to come.

How can one explain the bellicosity of Soekarno? Over in Indonesia the most vehement denunciations of Malaysia came from

D.N. Aidit, leader of the PKI, the Indonesian Communist Party. From 1962 onwards the PKI membership increased steadily. Soekarno could not ignore them, even if he wished to do so. In fact, by 1965 he had to admit them as members of his Nasakom Party, a coalition; but that lay in the future.

In 1963 the PKI claimed to have over 2,500,000 members, one of the largest Communist parties in the world. Whatever their numbers may have been, it was admitted they were well-organised as a political party. Although they had no direct control in Government administration, they had a big say in the affairs of Indonesia. Actually, the large Cabinet included two PKI Ministers.

According to the PKI, they could count on vast support among the peasants, whom they claimed were at their beck and call. While Malaysia was in the making, they were most vociferous and militant in their opposition to the plan and in some way they seemed to have influenced President Soekarno's thinking.

Meanwhile, in Malaysia Islamic and Socialist groups, the PMIP and Party Rakyat, began to show support for Soekarno. There was also Encik Aziz Ishak, a former Minister of Agriculture, who resigned from the Cabinet in 1963. He had made every possible attempt to bring all in opposition together, with a common programme of no confidence in the Lansdowne Report, the earlier sounding of Borneo opinion.

Aziz Ishak called for a referendum in Borneo, condemned the Government for arbitrary arrests, and put the blame on Malaysia for her troubles with Brunei and Indonesia. He wanted self-determination for Singapore and the Borneo States, and asked for intervention by U Thant, the UN Secretary-General.

#### VOLUNTEERS

The Indonesian Communists exploited the Malaysia issue to the full, declaring that it was an imperialist design. In their view, its objective was to get back for the imperialists what they had lost by way of direct rule in Malaya, by creating a "pseudo-independent" Malaysia. They even charged their Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, with being soft and giving in too much to Tunku Abdul Rahman during the Manila talks. Another insinuation being propagated was that American money was the reason for Subandrio's "soft" attitude towards Malaysia.

The forebodings felt on Malaysia Day in September turned out to be true; Indonesia would carry on with its policy of "Crush Malaysia". On December 15, Indonesia declared that it would not

recognise Malaysia. Emotional outbursts occurred in Jakarta in two violent demonstrations — one burnt down the British Embassy, and the other against Malaya severely damaging the Malaysian Embassy. Instigated by the PKI, the Indonesian Government then announced a "take-over" of British firms. Malaysia had no other choice but to break off diplomatic relations with Indonesia.

With the long days of Confrontation passing into weeks and months, the situation looked very serious. Armed Indonesian "volunteers", so-called, were beginning to make incursions into Malaysian territory. The worst "invasion" occurred in Kalabakan, near Tawau in Sabah in December. Indonesians attacked one infantry platoon and two sections of "C" Company, Third Battalion, Royal Malay Regiment, who were guarding timber concessions there.

At about 8.55 pm Indonesian raiders, guided by local Indonesians, mounted a surprise attack on this military position with hand-grenades and machine-guns, just as the men were about to perform their Ishak prayers, the last of the day.

Eight Malaysians died in the attack, including the Company Commander, Major Zainal Abidin. The others killed were later identified as Lance-Corporal Abdullah bin Abdul Rahman, Pte. Abdul Aziz bin Ghani, Pte. Ismail bin Mansor, Pte. Ismail bin Mat, Pte. Mohammed Zain bin Yasin, Pte. Shamsudin bin Yasin, and Pte. Yusof bin Sulong.

During the raid, the radio-operator refused to leave his post, continuing to send messages to Battalion Headquarters at Tawau. All they could hear there was, "Contact, Contact, Contact", and the next moment he was mowed down by machine-gun fire. Simultaneously, another party of Indonesians attacked a Police station nearby, but the Police fighting courageously succeeded in driving them off.

Though the sudden attack had caught the Malaysian troops by surprise, the rest of the soldiers quickly took cover in their trenches, fighting off the Indonesian invaders until day-break. In spite of the repeated Indonesian calls to "surrender", they remained steadfast and shot it out through the night. By daylight the Indonesian forces had disappeared into the deep jungle.

Days later Malaysian forces surrounded them all; they were too ill and too weak to offer much resistance. Carrying insufficient rations, they had gotten lost in the jungle. All were taken to hospital for treatment, and kept in custody until the end of the Confrontation. According to these captives, they had been told to expect help and food from the local people, who were discontented with Malaysia — but they got none at all.



In case anyone should wonder about the attitude or actions of the British and Commonwealth countries at this dangerous time for us, I must mention that throughout Confrontation their neutrality remained untarnished.

In January, 1964 following the break-off in relations between Indonesia and Malaysia in December, the late Mr. Robert Kennedy, then US Attorney General, came to Kuala Lumpur to see me. He needed very little persuasion to agree to arrange peace talks with President Soekarno for he was well aware that it was not Malaysia who was confronting Indonesia but the reverse. Hostilities ran just short of actual war, but obviously if attacks were allowed to continue the whole situation would escalate, even get right out of control. It was in everyone's interest to turn off the heat.

### SUCCESSFUL

Mr. Kennedy went to Jakarta after visiting Kuala Lumpur and must have had successful diplomatic talks with President Soekarno for the Thai Government asked me to agree to a peace discussion in Bangkok. Tun Abdul Razak went there in my place, acting as Foreign Minister, and the two sides reached an agreement to call for a cease-fire so as to establish a more cordial atmosphere for talks between myself and President Soekarno.

One aspect, however, struck me as being rather odd. While President Soekarno agreed to a cease-fire, acts of confrontation still went on unabated, even continuing with greater vehemence. President Soekarno maintained, however, that although he had agreed to a cease-fire, he had not agreed to end Confrontation. I countered this double-tongued remark by saying I could not tell the difference between the two. A cease-fire and "confronting" at the same time would be detrimental to "peace". Nevertheless, I would agree to meet him if the shooting would stop. "Otherwise NO!"

The PKI started a new bout of verbal confrontation, making violent attacks against the "weakening of the Indonesian Government's attitude towards Malaysia". "The fight must go on", they said. "Don't listen to Robert Kennedy, and don't be influenced by the USA".

In January, too, President Macapagal of the Philippines made an approach for peace. He proposed that we should set up Consular relations; we agreed. He also mildly protested to Indonesia against her attacks on Malaysia. In his opinion, opposition to Malaysia should not be taken to mean an open breach of peaceful relations between the two Maphilindo countries.

Dr. Subandrio had agreed in the Bangkok talks to withdraw "volunteers", but qualified this gesture by saying he would confirm by cable when he returned to Jakarta what the President's decision would be. The message that finally came through from Jakarta was that Indonesia wanted permission to drop supplies to their forces operating inside Malaysian territory. Naturally, this took the Foreign Ministers in Bangkok by surprise, the agreement being they should be withdrawn. When the Malaysian Government was informed, we refused to give any such permission.

Then another message came in, saying that the Indonesians would drop supplies in any case, without waiting for permission. To this the Malaysian Government replied that we would close all air space to Indonesia; any incursions into Malaysian airspace would be intercepted with force. This declaration had the desired effect.

Immediately the Commonwealth Air Force began patrolling the skies over East and West Malaysia. Our Royal Malaysian Air Force was only in its formative stages at that time, and we had no fighter-craft. I said by the time our planes had taken off the enemy would have gone to bed.

Another Bangkok Conference had been planned for March 4, 1964 but before the meeting was due to begin Malaysia insisted that Indonesian forces should completely and immediately withdraw from Malaysia, otherwise no talks would be held. The Foreign Ministers of the Philippines and Thailand, Mr. Lopez and Mr. Thanat Khoman, tried to break this deadlock with a compromise proposal. It came to nothing: the Conference never took place.

#### ELECTIONS

With "Confrontation" still unresolved Malaysia took no chances. The Government launched a massive call-up of lads between 21 years and 29 to meet any eventuality that might arise. When Confrontation broke out, Malaysia had a Standing Army of 10,000 Regulars and 5,000 Reserves, an Air Force of about 30 transport planes, and a Navy of only ten old vessels. The Government decided to devote more time to the 1964 General Elections and leave the Armed Forces to deal with any positive hostile acts of confrontation.

Then Elections took place in April 1964, with the Alliance Party scoring an overwhelming victory, increasing its majority. With this resounding win, the people of Malaysia made it clear to the world that they stood united behind the Government. Any party in the Opposition which showed signs of support in sympathy with Indonesia lost heavily.

Abdul Aziz Ishak was so certain he would win his seat that he bought a piece of land and built a house in Morib, only to find to his sorrow that he had made a blunder. Contesting the Kuala Langat constituency, he was soundly defeated. Having lost the election, he sold his house to the Sultan of Selangor, and by an irony of fate the Sultan sold it to me.

On May 13 after the election, Mr. Lopez, the Philippines Foreign Minister, announced that he would persuade President Soekarno to meet him in a "Summit" talk in Tokyo in a few days' time, but the arrangement resulted in a decision that the Foreign Ministers would meet first to pave the way. The reason was quite definite — Malaysia had made it quite clear that while acts of hostilities persisted there would be no talks.

Indonesia then agreed to withdrawal of their forces which would begin simultaneously with the Ministerial Conference, but it would not be a general withdrawal. According to President Soekarno, that order would be tantamount to admitting defeat. Indonesia suggested that withdrawal should take place at two points, with Thai observers stationed at both places to check the movements.

We agreed on this compromise, but as it turned out later the operation was a complete farce — Indonesia sent troops in at these points and brought them out again.

#### LAST TIME

President Soekarno went to Tokyo on June 8, but I did not go until I was quite satisfied with Indonesia's honesty and sincerity. I had enough of false promises and turnabouts. But on June 15 I finally arrived in Tokyo to find that Soekarno was not in a happy mood. Tension set in as soon as the talks began, and from the atmosphere that prevailed throughout the whole of the first morning of the "Summit", I could see straight-away that the Conference would lead nowhere.

President Macapagal insisted on having further discussions. President Soekarno said he had an appointment, but would return in an hour's time. Three hours passed by, we were still waiting. Finally he turned up, obviously having been to a party. He marched peremptorily into the Conference Hall, wearing the black uniform of a Field Marshal of Indonesia, and then after only a quarter-hour of discussion we broke up as we failed to agree. That day was the last time I was ever to see President Soekarno.

Next morning Mr. Lopez called on me with a request to meet President Macapagal, who had a further proposal to make about the

Philippines claim on Sabah. I replied that I had much more important work to attend to than to discuss this subject, which had been settled once and for all.

Mr. Lopez then said that President Macapagal had another idea to bring up in order to end the Maphilindo deadlock. An Afro-Asian Conciliatory Commission could be invited to try and provide "an Asian solution to an Asian problem". This proposal was that each country would select one referee with another three referees to be supplied by the Afro-Asian Group.

This four-man Commission would recommend measures to reconcile the differences between the three Maphilindo countries within a specified time, but pending their report all acts of re-creation and hostilities must cease.

According to Mr. Lopez, President Soekarno agreed to this Commission, but I rejected the idea outright, as I considered any question relating to the formation of Malaysia would be "ultra vires".

It should be remembered that Malaya had been denied admission to the Afro-Asian Group. Therefore, to appoint members from that Group to adjudicate over our affairs could have only one possible result — a decision against Malaysia. So ended any attempt to bring about a personal settlement between President Soekarno and myself.

Maphilindo, originally formed between Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia, had been designed as a consultative body to resolve all differences and problems that might arise between the member-countries, which had in common the same Malay racial origin. One result of Confrontation — Maphilindo landed on the rocks, wrecked beyond repair. To myself, I said "Good riddance!"

Tun Abdul Razak in his report to Parliament on Malaysia on July 6, 1964 has this to say:-

"The agreement to hold Ministerial and Heads of Government talks in Tokyo did not appear to inhibit the Indonesian Government's "Crush Malaysia" campaign. Anti-Malaysia propaganda increased rather than diminished in volume; new attacks were launched across the border from Indonesian Kalimantan, resulting in further casualties among members of the Malaysian Security Forces; and a combat Volunteer Brigade was despatched from Jakarta for a much publicised build-up of Indonesian troops in Kalimantan .....

"President Soekarno said that Indonesia could not accept Malaysia, because of the undemocratic process of its formation, and because the procedure of ascertainment by the Michelmores Mission was not in accordance with the terms of the Manila Agreement. He

described Malaysia as a British creation, and asserted that Malaysia must be opposed by Indonesia as a consequence....."

".... Our Prime Minister explained at the Meetings that he could not understand the objection of President Soekarno to the formation of Malaysia on the grounds that it was created by the British. He further explained to the Meetings that Malaysia came into being in the same way as other countries in the Commonwealth, through negotiations with the metropolitan power, that is the British Government.

"The same process had taken place when Malaya became independent in August, 1957. Indonesia did not object to Malaya, nor did she object to the presence of the British in North Borneo and Sarawak before September 16, 1963. The formation of Malaysia received further authentication of the desire of the peoples concerned from the Secretary-General of the United Nations. President Soekarno failed to adduce evidence that the Secretary-General had not fully implemented the Manila Accord .....

#### PRESSURE

".... The imposition of Indonesia's will on Malaysia by means of force, and the threat of force, cannot be justified under any circumstances, and is condemnable by the Charter of the United Nations and by the Bandung Declaration, of which Indonesia claims to be the champion.

"The Honourable Prime Minister in his reply to President Soekarno said that Malaysia, though small, would not succumb to any form of military pressure. He was elected by his people for the onerous duty to protect and defend his country.

"In solemn terms he told President Soekarno that we would rather be crushed and perish in defence of our rights and our way of life, than succumb to any form of military pressure ....."

So "Confrontation" continued, and was to do so for another two years, but gradually withering away, as other historic events in 1964 and 1965 would occur to alter the destinies, not only of President Soekarno and Indonesia, but also of Singapore and Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

But finally, under a new regime led by President Suharto, Indonesia and Malaysia agreed in Bangkok in May/June 1966 to end "Confrontation" forever.

ARTICLE 16.  
(31 March, 1975)

## TROUBLE FROM SINGAPORE DIFFERENCES BEGIN TO RISE TO THE SURFACE

As if Malaysia did not have continual trouble from without — with Indonesia fomenting "Confrontation" in every possible way, and the Philippines repeatedly making their illegal claim on Sabah — in 1964, we also had to face difficulties from within, as Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, began opposing the constitutionally-guaranteed rights of the Malays.

To say the least, the political situation at home was not at all pleasant with Mr. Lee conducting an internal "confrontation" of his own.

Contrary to his earlier promise to uphold the Constitution, Mr. Lee was now insinuating that the concessions to the Malays embodied in the Constitution were unreasonable. Later, he took this line even further, coming out with his slogan of a "Malaysian-Malaysia", calling for the abolition of all reserved rights.

### CHANGES

Mr. Lee's speeches touched many people in Malaysia on the raw. In a nation of people of many racial origins, he had raised a most sensitive issue — a racial one — bringing it right to the fore.

Any man of goodwill and genuine tolerance respects his fellowmen for themselves, not for their race. It was one issue I always avoided — frankly afraid of racial discord — even though I knew that we had lived together amicably for hundreds of years without any conflict between races.

A perfectly natural reaction, I would think. After all, if one sees a high-voltage tower and words with a notice, "Danger: Keep Out", a prudent man keeps his distance. In effect, Mr. Lee was openly taking the notice down, and saying everything would be alright. Like many other people, I was full of doubts.

Everybody had pursued his own way of life free from interference. Malaya had always been a happy home for all. If anyone felt mischievous enough and tried to spark off racial trouble, nothing would be easier, though it had never occurred. However, when such a fuse-primer happens to be Prime Minister of one of the States of Malaysia, then something must be done, and done at once, to prevent any breach of racial peace. Everyone feared such a situation: they knew its dangers.

Before Independence we had studied all aspects of the problem and were mutually agreed. We studied the problem again before Malaysia was formed. There are a thousand-and-one difficulties facing any nation with a multi-racial society, so to bring up a single sensitive issue for one's own political ends is decidedly bad.

This was the situation we were facing at home, yet deep in their hearts everyone wanted peace, because they knew that in Malaysia they could live in harmony.

Then an event took place that surprised us greatly. Pakistan huffily and definitely decided all of a sudden to break off diplomatic relations with Malaysia. The reason Pakistan gave was that our representative at the United Nations, the late Mr. Ramani, had thoughtlessly dealt with the question of Kashmir, just as an Indian would (so it was said) and his speech angered Pakistan. So we lost another "good friend". Taken all round, 1964 was indeed a troublesome year.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's new stance was clearly not in the spirit of the Malaysian Constitution, which provides ..... "And whereas by the Constitution aforesaid provision has been made for the safeguarding of the rights and prerogatives of Their Highnesses the Rulers and the fundamental rights and liberties of subjects, and for the promotion of peace and harmony in Malaysia as a constitutional monarchy based upon parliamentary democracy .....

" ..... And whereas the Constitution aforesaid having been approved by a law passed by the Parliaments of the Federation of Malaysia and of the United Kingdom has come into force on the 16th day of September in the year 1963 ..... I, Prime Minister of Malaya, with the concurrence and approval of His Majesty the Yang Di-pertuan Agung, His Excellency the Yang Dipertua Negara of Singapore, His Excellency the Yang Dipertua Negara of Sabah and His Excellency the Governor of Sarawak, do hereby declare and proclaim Malaysia".

It would appear evident, therefore, that if the member States did not agree with the Constitution, Malaysia would never have been

formed; or at least it would have been formed but not including Singapore, because it was clear when the Sultan of Brunei refused to subscribe to the Constitution in June, 1963 he was welcome to opt out, but Singapore, however, behaved as the staunchest champion of Malaysia and everything that joining Malaysia implied.

In Singapore on Malaysia's Merdeka Day, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew slowly intoned — "Now I, Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, do hereby proclaim and declare on behalf of the people of Singapore, that as from today, the 16th day of September, 1963, Singapore shall forever be a part of the sovereign and independent State of Malaysia, founded upon the principles of liberty and justice, and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of her people in a more just and more equal society". Then the flag of Malaysia was raised to the shouts of "Merdeka" and the musical strains of "Negara Ku".

#### CONFIDENCE

On the very next day, September 17, 1963 the Yang Dipertuan Agung named seven symbols of the foundation of Malaysia. Speaking at a Children's Rally he called on all children to reaffirm their faith and confidence in their new Malaysia. The King enumerated these symbols as:—

1. The Parliament Building — it stands as a monument of our faith in Parliamentary democracy based on the people's choice.
2. The National Mosque — it is a monument to freedom of worship, as people of all religions and races subscribed the funds for its construction, apart from the monies the Government had given.
3. The University Colleges and other institutions of learning — they signify our faith in education and the enlightenment of the people.
4. The Stadiums Merdeka and Negara — these symbolise our belief in the maxim of a healthy mind in a healthy body, and in the promotion of friendship through sport.
5. The National Monument — looking over the Lake Gardens, it stands for the spirit of sacrifice in the defence of our country.
6. The Language and Literature Agency — it is symbolic of the rich heritage and special position of the National Language, which is the official language of Malaysia; and
7. The National Museum — it serves as a focal point for the development of national culture.



Winding up the debate on the Budget in December, 1963, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew had this to say in the Parliament of Malaysia: ..... "The events of the last six months, since Tokyo in June till now, have taken place with such rapidity that the full significance of the positions taken by our neighbours and ourselves has not really sunk home.

"The first significance that has not really sunk home, principally with those who still criticise the formation of Malaysia, or the manner in which Malaysia was formed, is that there is now no going back to the status quo ante — no going back to what it was in 1961, however tempting such a thought might be that we could all go back to what we were; North Borneo and Sarawak — peaceful backwaters, life went on, timber trade good; Malaya all rosy in the garden; Singapore full of strikes and civil commotions, otherwise bustling and making money. There is no going back to that, and there is nothing we can do to reverse the events of the last two years."

#### LABOUR

The first signs of real trouble began when Singapore refused to honour the promise it had made to help finance projects in the States of East Malaysia. According to Singapore, this failure was due to the fact that the quantum of Singapore labour to be employed for development of these States had not been agreed upon.

The intention of the agreement, however, was to help the backward States of East Malaysia to keep pace with the developments that were taking place in Singapore and Malaya, and not to provide an outlet for employment of Singapore labourers.

To be fair to Singapore, my original concept unfortunately was altered beyond recognition when the terms of Singapore's entry into Malaysia were negotiated.

The Federal Finance Minister insisted on obtaining various financial powers he considered necessary to give leverage on government in the State of Singapore. What he succeeded in getting went far beyond my idea, for not only did the Central Government exercise important powers in the State's administration, but Singapore found itself committed to financing development in the Borneo States on a very substantial scale.

This was the result of thinking of the new arrangements, not from insight into the political factors that would operate after forming Malaysia, but from the narrower angle of Civil Service administration.

I felt that once we were enmeshed in Singapore's day-to-day life and administration, and controlling the finances of the State, the inevitable consequence would be that the Singapore Government would want to take a full share in the Malaysian administration; and if we were not prepared to give Singapore this right, then Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's attack on Malaysia was justified.

### MISUNDERSTANDINGS

From then onwards, all kinds of misunderstandings, real or imaginary, began to arise. Singapore contested the 1964 General Elections at Federal and State levels in various constituencies. In Malaysia their name was Democratic Action Party, DAP. All their candidates, save one, were defeated, many having to forfeit their deposits. It was a debacle for the DAP, and my faith in Singapore's merger into Malaysia was shattered as Mr. Lee's vehemence against us increased in volume.

For the sake of peace and equanimity within Malaysia I made a new proposal. My object was to arrive at a new arrangement that would maintain a stable equilibrium with Singapore. My idea was that Singapore should handle her own domestic financial, economic and social affairs, but the Central Government would retain the ultimate levers of power, namely, Defence and Internal Security.

In this way, I envisaged that Singapore would continue, when the new plan was working, to enjoy the benefits of a Malaysian common market, and in return for these benefits Singapore's political parties would refrain from taking part in activities outside their own State.

I did not want to have to amend the Federal Constitution, as such action might be construed abroad as representing the first stage in a break-up in Malaysia. An alternative to amendment would be to arrange for powers to be delegated — the Constitution allowed for such a contingency — whereby the State Government would assume control over Departments formerly under its charge, except Defence and Internal Security.

The details could be worked out by a Joint Committee, consisting of Federal and State officials, once the intention of this exercise was made public.

Of course, there were bound to be some complexities in details when the Departments were unscrambled. Establishment matters were likely to be complicated, too. There were other problems as well, such as the relations between the Central Bank and the State Government. Singapore would have complete financial autonomy, and the power to make changes in any taxes, which were not under Federal authority, for example, entertainment tax.

As the drift apart seemed to be taking place at a rate I thought alarming, it was, therefore, most important that discussions at Ministerial level should commence immediately to resolve the major policy issues. We did not want these talks to take the form of negotiations from a bargaining position, but rather to be carried out in a spirit of joint exploration to find mutually acceptable solutions. So flexibility was necessary; both Federal and State Ministers should be free initially to put forward any proposals as possibilities to be explored, and not to be considered as offers or counter-offers that would be binding.

#### LETTER

On March 2, 1965 I sent a letter to Mr. Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister, who appeared very concerned about what was happening in Malaysia. I wrote ..... "What I have in view is that there should be a rearrangement of State and Federal powers as between Singapore and the Central Government without affecting the status of Singapore as a member-State of Malaysia.

"We have found that out after one-and-a-half years of experience in the working of the Constitution and the smooth running of the Administration. It would not change in any way Singapore's relations with the Central Government. On the other hand, it will give Singapore greater autonomy with which to administer the State, having in mind the peculiar situation obtaining in that State. The changes, if any, will be worked out in easy stages, without giving any indication that there is any conflict of interest between the State and Central Governments.

"I am convinced — so is the Prime Minister of Singapore — that this reshuffling of State and Federal powers will bring about better relationships between the State and Central Governments .....

Once again we had set out to achieve peace through negotiations. In this way we had united and brought Malaya into being bloodlessly. We were endeavouring to limit our current conflict of interests with Indonesia to talks around a table, not a "war" on land, sea or air. The first effort had succeeded; our second with Indonesia, seeming at times to be coming our way, was still undecided.

Surely, therefore, if Singapore really meant what it had preached for years past, that independence for Singapore was impossible without Malaya, then our differing ideas of who should exercise control, when and how, could be smoothly ironed out. Well, optimists can hope, pessimists pull long faces of warning, but in the end who decides? Malaysia, I believed, would survive. Would I be right or wrong?

ARTICLE 17  
(7 April, 1975)

### THE MOUNTING CRISIS EVENTS THAT LED TO THE SPLIT WITH SINGAPORE

When considering what course to take in trying to settle the discord and difficulties Mr. Lee Kuan Yew was creating with his repeated outcries for a "Malaysian Malaysia" an agreed reshuffle of State and Federal powers seemed to be the best solution. Though I did not think this course would be plain sailing even in calm waters, I never expected a rough passage and stormy seas.

We had hoped a rearrangement of powers would bring about better relations between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. Instead the discussions produced bitter squabbling on both sides, quarrels without any particular aim but finding fault with each other, resulting in more ill-feeling, like a first-class blow-up inside a family. With such resentment in the air, what chance could common-sense and reason have?

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew suggested that most of the differences could be overcome by combining in a coalition with the Alliance Government. I refused to accept this, saying the only coalition was what we had agreed before Singapore entered Malaysia. That was that Singapore should carry on with its own administration and Malaya would mind its own business, except in matters of Internal Security and External Affairs, which being of national and common concern to all would be vested in the Central Government. He had never questioned this essential authority, in fact he had agreed to it all along the line.

On all important matters, however, I was ready to consult with the Singapore Government. Even with Confrontation going on with Indonesia, forming a Coalition Government would need some deeper basis of mutual concern than the violent outbursts coming from President Soekarno. If a nation had to form a Coalition Government, it could only come about if our common security was in danger; in

other words, if we were involved in a real war. My answer did not satisfy Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. He continued to make speeches about his concept of what a Malaysian-Malaysia should be. And he did direct his remarks to the people of Malaysia.

When he went on a visit to Australia and New Zealand, he made derogatory statements about the Central Government and the policy we advocated. He gave our friends "down under" the impression that it had been a mistake for Singapore to have merged with Malaya as the Chinese were being treated unfairly.

One of my objections to Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and his way of doing anything was that he was always giving out statements to foreign correspondents, whom he cultivated assiduously, frequently ignoring the local Press altogether. Often such statements could cause great embarrassment for the Central Government. His Australia-New Zealand tour was a case in point. As a result of his remarks in these friendly countries, even the Singapore and Malaysian students, taking courses there, began to feel ill-will for one another. Always in the past they had gotten on well together and had a common association. Now they started to split up into two separate bodies.

One basic reason why Singapore had always been so keen to join Malaya, even before Malaysia was conceived, was to get us to help check Communist activities in their State. They had never really managed to do so on their own. I might add, just for the record, that the Central Government, not Singapore, incurred the odium of the Communists and their sympathisers for the oppressive measures we were forced to take to deal with them. Security was a Federal responsibility, outside the authority of Singapore as a State.

We had done that well enough with the co-operation we received from the Singapore Security Forces, and also because of the good understanding that existed between the two Governments in the initial period of the Malaysian merger, but as time went on Singapore was able to deal with the Communists themselves. As proved later, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew knew how to ride that "tiger" without being eaten alive; he has boasted about it often enough.

At the time of merger, some people felt Malaysia would leave Singapore open to Communist and other subversive activities. If the Communists controlled Singapore, this would be like having "a second Cuba" in this region of Asia, a highly undesirable prospect, not only for Malaysia but also for our neighbours. Therefore, it became a main duty for Malaysia to police the State of Singapore.

To ease the mounting tension, I considered the immediate solution would be for Singapore to forego the political opportunities

that were hers by right under the Federal Constitution, in return for complete autonomy in her own domestic affairs. At the same time Singapore must contribute towards the costs of Defence, External Affairs and Internal Security. Meanwhile the political disengagements could be worked out. Events, however, did not turn out as planned; the situation continued to grow worse and was rapidly tending to get out of hand.

The straw that broke the camel's back, however, was a speech Mr. Lee Kuan Yew made in Parliament, when he moved an amendment to "the motion to thank the King for his speech in May, 1965". He brought up many issues which disturbed the equilibrium of even the most tolerant Members of the House. All I need say of that lamentable episode was that I felt very awkward when I had to rise and reply officially.

Nothing said or done after that speech of his could improve relationships between Mr. Lee and some of our Party members who grew very bitter about him, and became much too restless.

## RESPECT

Of the Malaysians, he said, "None of the three major racial groups — Chinese, Malays and Indians — can claim to be more native to Malaysia than the others, because all their ancestors came to Malaysia not more than 1,000 years ago".

According to his version of history, the Malays began to migrate to Malaysia in noticeable numbers only about 700 years ago. Of the 39 per cent of Malays in Malaysia today, about one-third of them were comparatively new immigrants, such as the Secretary-General of UMNO, Datuk Syed Ja'afar Albar, who came to Malaya from Indonesia just before the World War II, when he was more than 30 years old. "Therefore", he said, "it is wrong and illogical for a particular racial group to think that they are more justified to be called Malaysians and that the others can become Malaysians only through their favour".

My own submission is that he may be right in regard to the Singapore Malay population, and even in his reference to Ja'afar Albar, but he was certainly wrong in respect of the other States in Malaya. My own family, for instance, were Mongols from India, shipwrecked on the coast of Langkawi more than 1,200 years ago when on their way to China. Marong Maha Wongsu founded the dynasty and the Sultanate of Kedah has lasted to this very day, though greatly reduced in size.

The north of the original State is now part of Burma, Thailand and South Perlis, and other areas are now Penang with its mainland Province Wellesley. In those ancient days, industry meant plenty of rice, spices and cattle. Kedah, or Langkasuka as it was then known, was a flourishing State. So for Mr. Lee Kuan Yew to suggest our population is comparatively new is, to say the least, quite incorrect. The name Kedah appears on the oldest maps showing the Malay Peninsula, and often it appears alone.

By the same token the United States of America, on declaring her independence from Britain in the 18th century — July 4, 1776 to be exact — had immigrants pouring in from Europe in great numbers, especially towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. All settled down to the American way of life, learning to use English as their mother tongue.

But here in Malaya this was not so, because the immigrants retained patriotic attachments to their countries of origin. So to suggest oneness, without giving a single thought to the conditions prevailing in the country, was to my mind rather shortsighted and circumscribed. However, it was Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's way of saying what's mine is mine and what's yours is mine.

Mr. Lee also criticised the Central Government for action taken with the concurrence of all the other States, including Singapore, to curb Communist activities by prohibiting strikes and rallies in areas considered to be "danger zones". He declared the Government was exercising control over the Malaysian Trades Union Congress (which must have been news to them). Then he went on to propose that the Privy Council should be requested to hear appeals on any matter affecting the Malaysian Constitution.

#### SPEECH

"It is time the country took stock of the situation and begin to face up to fundamental issues", he said. That, if accepted, would make us dependent once more on the United Kingdom. Naturally, his criticisms aroused great resentment in all quarters, save his own party. Needless to say, his amendment was soundly defeated after having evoked firm and sturdy replies from Alliance Members, Chinese and Malays alike.

On June, 1, 1965 the Straits Times reported on its front page Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's speech given at the Delta Community Centre in Singapore, entitled "Alternative Arrangements".

Should unconstitutional methods be used to prevent a Malaysian-Malaysia, he suggested that the States of Singapore, Sabah,

Sarawak, Malacca and Penang should get together to force the issue, and decide whether there was going to be a Malaysian-Malaysia.

He stated, "Another reason why it is necessary to decide now, and not later on, is because it is easier for us, if they do not want a Malaysian-Malaysia, to make alternative arrangements in some other ways".

"The agreement in the Constitution must lead to a Malaysian-Malaysia", he continued, "and if they want to stop it, they must use constitutional methods to do so".

"So I say if they want to do that, do it now. It will be easier for us to make other arrangements. If that is what they want, we have got other ideas of looking after ourselves".

Then he went on to say that if the Malays were daily exhorted to unite on the basis of race and not nation, in five years' time it would be very difficult to change the thinking on the ground.

"Singapore had never agreed to Malay rule when it joined Malaysia", he declared. "What it agreed to was Malaysian rule. Somebody is making a grave error of judgement if he thinks the people agreed to Malay rule in joining Malaysia."

I was glad, however, to learn quite soon that the States of Sabah, Sarawak, Malacca and Penang did not subscribe to his views at all. He stood alone. Today these States are among the pillars of strength that make Malaysia what she is in the modern world.

Just after that session of Parliament, I went to England to attend a Prime Ministers' Conference in June 1965, but I landed instead in the London Clinic with an attack of shingles, a nerve disease of racking, unbearable pain.

I had never been in a hospital bed in my life and I never knew before what it felt like to be stretched out on a bed without being able to move one's legs or to turn to one side or the other for days on end. Every movement caused grinding pain, but my mind was alive and active; so as I lay there, I was thinking of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. And what I thought did not drive the pain away, but made it worse.

## ACTION

The more pain I suffered, the more I directed my growing anger at him pitying Singapore for all its self-imposed problems. Whichever way my restless mind turned, I could not help but come to one conclusion — and that was to cut Singapore adrift from the rest of Malaysia. At the same time we should make Singapore a member of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations, as well as a partner in



the Defence Treaty, which could be tripartite between Britain, Singapore and ourselves.

On July 1, 1965 I wrote to Tun Abdul Razak from the London Clinic, saying inter alia, "I have given myself time to think about Lee Kuan Yew and have spoken to Datuk Dr. Ismail on the line of action which I think we should take in facing his confrontation. Perhaps it would be a good thing to talk with him now, but ultimately I fear we will have no choice but to cut out Singapore from Malaysia in order to save the rest of the body from gangrene.

"There are a few points worth studying now. The Defence Treaty should be tripartite, i.e. British, ourselves and Singapore. No one unilaterally can give up the base".

#### REPLY

In his reply on July 22, Tun Abdul Razak wrote that he had had a talk with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. "It lasted for nearly two hours, but we did not get very far. We went round and round, and he definitely said he had to take a position against what he calls the 'ultras' in UMNO .....

"I told him that if he wanted to fight our 'ultras' in UMNO there would be trouble. He must leave it to us to handle members of our parties. He said quite clearly he had no confidence in the leadership of UMNO, other than yourself, to handle the 'ultras'.

"It is clear, as we believe, that he will continue with his campaign against us, or as what he calls a crusade against a feudal Malay-dominated Alliance Party .....

"Early last week Dr. Goh Keng Swee, after his return from medical treatment in Germany, came to see me to talk things over ....., Keng Swee strongly believes that the only way to stop a head-long collision between us and Singapore is to separate Singapore from the Central Government.

"I told him that if this was his view we would be ready to discuss this, and that I would consult my senior colleagues, i.e. Datuk Dr. Ismail, Siew Sin and Sambanthan, and that he should first go back and consult Kuan Yew and his colleagues. I did not at this stage commit ourselves one way or the other.

"Last Tuesday he came again, and Datuk Dr. Ismail and I talked to him; Siew Sin was ill. He said he had consulted Kuan Yew, Lim Kim San and Barker (the Minister of Law) and they all agreed that this would be the best way to avoid collision and trouble ....., Of course, I told him I would have to consult you first".

On July 25, 1965 I wrote to Tun Abdul Razak from the spa at Aix-les-Bains, France, where I was undergoing treatment. I expressed concern over the troubles with Singapore, which might cause misunderstanding among the non-Malays.

### PEACE

I said, "We have got to convince the Chinese ..... particularly in Malaya, that when Singapore is out of Malaysia they can live in peace and harmony and friendship with the Malays. They can rest assured that our Party, or any other party that may come into power in years to come, will not be stupid enough to create a division between the various races in the country.

"Our future lies in the peace, security and well-being of Malaysia. We must make it our duty to look after our country and those who will live in it for generations to come".

I also mentioned to the representative of The London Times, who came to see me, that it was incorrect to regard Lee Kuan Yew as a representative of the Chinese. In fact he was in conflict with the Barisan Socialis (the Socialist Front) in Singapore, the Malayan Chinese Association in Malaysia, and the Communists (MCP) as well.

"All these are Chinese parties", I said, "and the number of Chinese behind these three parties are very much larger than those behind him, so it is wrong for foreign correspondents to project Lee Kuan Yew as the head of the Chinese".

When I look back on that period of my career, I can still feel the pain of shingles and it will always be connected with the added pain of my decision, to tell the people of Singapore through the Prime Minister that their island-State would have to leave Malaysia.

ARTICLE 18  
(14 April, 1975)

## THE FINAL BREAK NO CHOICE BUT TO GO OUR SEPARATE WAYS

**O**n my return to Malaysia in August, 1965 I wrote to Dr. Toh Chin Chye, Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, who was then in charge in the absence of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, and told him "that I have given the matter of our relationship with Singapore my utmost consideration, and I find that in the interest of our friendship and the security and peace of Malaysia there is absolutely no way out except a break-up".

In his reply on August 8, he said — "I thank you for your letter explaining your position and your solution to the present difficulties that have arisen between the Central Government and the Singapore Government. It is indeed sad that in your view our problems can be solved only by asking Singapore to quit Malaysia, and this barely two years from the day Malaysia was inaugurated.

"My colleagues and I would prefer that Singapore remain in Malaysia, and we felt that there could be other solutions to the present impasse. However as you have indicated that the situation does not lend itself to any other workable settlement, and as you have impressed upon me that Singapore remaining in Malaysia will lead to a situation you may not be able to control, we have no alternative but to be resigned to your wish that Singapore leaves the Federation of Malaysia"

### MESSAGE

On August 11, I immediately sent a message to Mr. Wilson, the British Prime Minister, to inform him of the break-up, in which I wrote: "I must apologise for not advising you beforehand that I would be taking this step to set up Singapore as an independent country. I was afraid then that if my intentions were to become known there would be trouble within the country, and so I had to force a

measure through as quickly as I could. I can assure you that the step which I have taken is the right one, bearing in mind the internal situation .....

"We have now agreed to set up a Joint Council of Defence, and the arrangement provides that the Singapore Government will afford such assistance as may be considered reasonable and adequate for external defence .....

"The Government of Singapore will afford the Government of Malaysia the right to continue to maintain the bases and other facilities used by its military forces within Singapore. It has also been agreed that either party will undertake not to enter into any agreement with any foreign country, which agreement might prove to be detrimental to the independence and security of Malaysia.

"We consider that the arrangement we have made with Singapore is adequate for our purpose, as it precludes Singapore from entering into any relationship with any country which is unfriendly to Malaysia .....

"I have given my fullest consideration to the implications of the action taken by my Government, but I could not see any other way out. I would, therefore, request you to bear with us, and it is needless for me to assure you that we shall always remain your good friends.

"I propose to sponsor Singapore's admission to the United Nations and also as a member of the Commonwealth, and I hope you will be willing to give your support".

#### SORROW

I also sent identical messages to the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand and to my friend, the Foreign Minister of Thailand, Thanat Khoman, informing them of the break-up.

On August 13, Mr. Wilson replied as follows:- "As you will understand, I much regret what has happened, and it does create problems for us which we have not yet fully examined. But I would not wish you to think that we do not have a sympathetic understanding of the difficulties with which you have been faced. I know you will agree that what we must all do now is to look ahead to the future.

"It is our strong hope that what has been done will provide the opportunity for the Federation and Singapore to establish very friendly and co-operative relations particularly in the fields of Defence, External Affairs, Trade, Industry and fiscal matters, where the interests of the two countries are so closely linked .....

"I am very glad to know that you are sponsoring Singapore's application for membership of the Commonwealth and of the United

Nations. We are giving this our full support in the hope that will be possible to secure the speedy agreement of our Commonwealth colleagues”.

In fact everybody in Malaysia and in Singapore itself felt very sorry about the break-up. The Prime Ministers of Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada all expressed their profound sorrow, but they realised it could not be avoided.

The psychological battle had gone on much too long, and had gone too far. Any attempt to repair the breach would, so to speak, tear the fibre to shreds.

### DILEMMA

When facing this dilemma, I found that only two choices lay before me. One, take positive action against Mr. Lee Kuan Yew; and, two, break with Singapore and save the nation from a bloodbath.

So I chose the second course. The UMNO “ultras” did not like it at all. They wanted me to take Mr. Lee Kuan Yew to task, suspend the Singapore Constitution, and administer the State until such time as the crisis had calmed down.

With the Army and other security forces at my command, I could have taken these actions with ease, but the effect of any such drastic measures in the foreseeable future would undoubtedly lead to misgivings. An enemy would seize the opportunity such actions might give him as an excuse to start violence. My policy was to get and maintain peace, and at any cost, as the essence I placed on the relationship that should exist between Singapore and ourselves was goodwill and friendship, the only correct road to the future. I believed that keeping amity and goodwill should be honoured more so at this time than ever before. If we could not agree, then we had no choice but to go our separate ways.

My decision to bring sanity to the confused minds of all our people in Malaysia naturally brought me in direct collision with the “ultras”, but what mattered most to me was to contain the people as a whole and get them to accept the inevitable and so maintain peace in this country of ours.

“Ultras” charged me with being soft, but it was not a question of my taking on Lee Kuan Yew in single combat, like knights of old, or of letting our forces fight it out with Singapore soldiers. What was of immediate concern to me was to prevent any possible outbreak of violence that would cause the loss of innocent lives in both territories. Nothing is worse than civil war.

I had seen enough violence and slaughter happening in neighbouring countries, where hundreds of thousands of lives were lost, just because the leaders wanted to "act big", without apparently giving a second thought for the lives and safety of the peoples under their charge.

While such leaders lay comfortably in their beds, through their thoughtlessness and recklessness, other people are driven from their homes and forced to seek shelter elsewhere, anywhere, to save themselves from the fury of the enemy. The leaders, on the other hand, go about freely, protected by bodyguards and armoured cars, while the masses of human derelicts fleeing from dangers have to face severe hardship and suffering, as well as other potent and latent enemies, even death.

I could not allow myself to be consciously and knowingly accountable for loss or damage, either to lives or property, in any of the States of Malaysia. My duty as a leader was to ensure the safety of all those in my care. They elected me their leader; I must look after them. The right path of duty is simple, even if hard, if you look it straight in the face, and follow it.

#### NEED

That is why when I first began to shape Malaya, right from the very beginning, I always kept on harping on the need for understanding and goodwill among all men, no matter what their racial origins or creeds might be. Malaya, afterwards Malaysia, had opportunities for all, provided we respected everyone's rights and ways of life. We felt so strongly about this question of mutual respect that we embodied these rights in our Constitution. Mr. Lee Kuan Yew when he came wooing me, begging me to take Singapore into Malaysia, promised to respect and uphold the Constitution of Malaya.

I can reveal now that I only accepted Singapore because of Britain's unequivocal stand, which was that unless we could take Singapore in they would not relinquish their hold on the island-colony, as they were too deeply immersed in Singapore's welfare in respect of defence, trade and its economy. So it is evident I had no choice.

On August 17, 1965 after the break-up, I sent another message to Mr. Wilson, the British Prime Minister, in which I wrote: "Now the Central Government and the Government of Singapore have reconciled themselves and have settled down to normal business. The States of Sabah and Sarawak, where you have so many of your Armed Forces, are calm in spite of the efforts made by the Communists to whip up emotion .....

"I can assure you that with peace and calmness in the country we will be in a better position to tackle any enemies, be they at home or abroad. To me the future of this country looks bright".

Now that Mr. Lee Kuan Yew has Singapore, he can run it to his own liking. With his intelligence, he has to adopt a policy of good neighbourliness, because without such goodwill there can be no peace in this region of Asia.

Malaysia wanted peace more than anything else in the world. We had plans for our development which would make the country prosperous and the people happy. We needed every cent we earned to finance all the projects we had on hand. We could not afford to waste a cent on armaments. So it was for these reasons that I declared my policy of "food rather than bullets, clothing rather than uniforms, housing rather than barracks". And I always tried to carry out that policy.

#### NO DOUBTS

We had on our hands both Indonesian Confrontation and the Philippines claim to Sabah. Therefore, could we at the same time have trouble internally which could have only one result, endless disorder inside Malaysia? Such an outcome was not to be borne.

Bearing in mind all these factors, a break with Singapore was a better policy, for in time to come the two countries could work hand-in-hand again on terms of friendship and goodwill for the good of South-East Asia.

I put a question in an earlier article, forecasting the gradually mounting trouble that was blowing up from Singapore. It was, "Would I be right or wrong?" Today, I have no doubt at all that the decision I took on a sick-bed in London was, and is still, right.

ARTICLE 19  
(21 April, 1975)

## RAZAK'S DREAM A GOOD OMEN FOR PEACE

Can dreams foretell the future? Some people believe they can, others are sceptical. Without taking sides on this theme, either for or against, I can say that I have had dreams at times which I considered as either portents of disaster or good omens of better things to come.

In 1960 Tun Abdul Razak told me about a dream he had relating to the late Tuanku Abdul Rahman, the first Yang Di-pertuan Agung of Malaya who died in 1959.

In 1965 early in the year — I do not remember what date — I recalled Tun Razak's dream and my reactions at the time.

Tun Razak had dreamt that he accompanied the first Agung on a State visit to Jakarta. When they arrived at the Merdeka Palace they saw a dais with an empty seat. Officials invited the Agung to sit on the empty "throne".

When I heard the story of the dream from Tun Razak himself, I interpreted it as one of good omen, an overture by Indonesia for peace and goodwill between peoples of the same origins and blood.

Six years later, in 1965, why should I have recalled this dream, coming to me as it were out of nowhere? The coincidence was too striking to dismiss. "It is a prophecy of peace," I said. "Let us pray that it will come soon as we have had enough of Confrontation with Indonesia".

Looking at Confrontation objectively, it was quite purposeless; there was no cause, rhyme or reason for its happening. We had done nothing to provoke such enmity; in fact we had a Treaty of Friendship, mutually and freely signed with all the best of goodwill six years before in 1959.

Why then the sudden eruption of Indonesian hostility? Obviously our formation of Malaysia was only an excuse. There



could be only one explanation why Indonesia embarked on its campaign of Confrontation in utter disregard of the consequences that might result from such a policy of deliberate ill-will and actual invasions of our sovereign territory by land, sea, and air.

Soekarno started Confrontation to distract attention from his own troubles within Indonesia, to cover up his failings as a man who could have achieved greatness for his nation — yea, more — a man who could have done much for the whole of South-East Asia.

Yet President Soekarno chose to beat his chest and rail against the people of Malaysia who had committed no wrong against either Indonesia or himself. We in Malaysia, especially those of his own blood and religion, would have been happy to have worked together with him for peace and economic well-being throughout South-East Asia, our regional homelands.

No, he decided to vent his fury on Malaysia, calling our new nation "neo-colonialism", and our people "neo-colonialists".

#### ORATOR

In fact, Soekarno was a very fine orator, a charismatic crowd-handler, one of the best in the world; that is, if one admires that particular brand of talent. How cleverly he could coin words, how adroitly mislead people with verbal presentation of his ideas! He could hold hundreds of thousands spellbound for hours with his oratory, charm and win their hearts and minds so that they believed every word he uttered without going to the trouble of weighing his subject-matter carefully.

They would travel miles by bus, train, cart or on foot to hear his speeches, rapt in a trance by his remarkable oratory. If he suddenly stopped in mid-flow or at the end of a peroration to cry out "Crush Malaysia", they would follow him blindly, echoing and chanting the words "Crush Malaysia" over and over again.

If you asked any Indonesian present at his giant rallies, "Why?", none could give a reasonable reply. They could not explain the emotions he aroused. He was "Bung Karno"; that was reason enough. Of course, part of the truth was they all remembered his fight for their nationhood; for that achievement alone, they could forgive much, and also forget his failings.

Once when I was in Jeddah as Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, I had occasion to call at an Indonesian friend's house. An Indonesian lady opened the gate. When I explained who I was, she just stared at me, astonished, so with some difficulty I told her the reason for my visit.

She went inside, and in a few moments my friend invited me to come in. When I sat down, he said, "Do you know, Tunku, what that lady said when she found out who you were? She asked me if you were the Tunku Abdul Rahman that Soekarno wanted to 'ganyang (crush)'. I said, "Yes, he is the person", and she replied, "Why did he (Soekarno) want to 'ganyang' such a nice man and 'ganyang' Malaysia?" My friend answered her, "I don't know why; perhaps it was the fashion of the time, but I am glad all that is over now."

No one gained any satisfaction at all while Confrontation was going on, no one except perhaps the Communist Party, both in Indonesia and Malaysia. Naturally they welcomed this dangerous situation as an opportunity to win political power in these two countries, and then finally to gain control of all politics throughout South-East Asia. With this common dream of a "Red Empire" of Communism in the region, a sense of strong understanding existed between the two Communist Parties, though their spheres of operations were divided.

A large number from Malaysia had gone across the border in Borneo or over the Straits of Malacca to Indonesia for training so that they could join our enemy forces there and be ready when the right time should come to invade Malaysia.

## INFLUENCE

As Confrontation continued the Indonesian Communist Party in particular made their intentions obvious. They held President Soekarno very much under their influence, and so in the early hours of October 1, 1965 a bloody coup took place in Indonesia, partly inspired and instigated by the Communist Party.

Though it was a bitter and bloody event, nevertheless the aftermath marked the beginning of the end of Confrontation, for it led to the destruction of the PKI and a radical shift to the right in the balance of power in Indonesia.

The main facts came to light next day, revealing acts of brutality that shocked the world. On the fatal morning in the early hours, seven trucks containing armed soldiers left Halim Airbase, six bound for Jakarta and one for Kebajoran.

In surprise attacks, they overcame the guards on the homes of their intended victims. Three generals, Major-General Parman, Major-General Suprpto and Brigadier-General Sujoto, were captured and later killed. Their mutilated bodies were found in a hole, which came to be known as Lubang Buaya ("Crocodile Hole").

Brigadier-General Pandjaitan, Major-General Harjono and General Yani, the Army Chief of Staff, were all killed in their homes. Another target, General Nasution, however, managed to escape, but his daughter was mown down by a hail of bullets.

Jakarta Radio, now under the control of the conspirators, announced that Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, an officer of the Tjakrabirawa Regiment, had acted to forestall an Army coup against the President. This Army coup, the Radio said, was planned by a "Council of Generals" and was scheduled to take place before Armed Forces Day on October 5.

The Radio announced that they would set up a Revolutionary Council in Jakarta with Regional Revolutionary Councils throughout Indonesia. It also said that President Soekarno was with them and he was safe, though Colonel Untung did not associate Soekarno with this coup d'etat.

#### REPORT

That night the President was sleeping peacefully in Dewi's house at Slipi. When told of the coup in Jakarta, he went to Halim Airbase, arriving at 9 o'clock in the morning. There he found waiting for him D.N. Aidit, Secretary-General of the PKI, Air Vice-Marshal Dhani, Colonel Latief and General Supardjo. At Halim General Supardjo reported to Soekarno what had occurred that night.

Early in the morning, General Suharto, Commander of KOSTRAD, learned of the coup; in fact he heard shots in the evening without realising that a coup was taking place. As the coup did not have the complete support of the Armed Forces, he promptly negotiated with some of the rebel groups and the Government Forces and moved to neutralise the opposition.

Suharto made contact with these officers through the Army's own communications system and secured their support. By the evening of the same day, he had won the initiative and put it to the fullest use.

Early in the morning of the next day, October 2, General Suharto's forces took possession of Halim Airbase. With that capture the coup was virtually over. Then President Soekarno took steps to detach himself from the rest, and drove that evening up to Bogor. Aidit flew to Jogjakarta and took shelter there.

On reaching Bogor, President Soekarno announced that he had taken over leadership of the Army into his own hands, and had appointed Major-General Pranoto to take charge of the day-to-day administration of the Armed Forces. This action of Soekarno's,

however, did not stop General Suharto's advance to the top, or his assumption of real control of the situation.

Such is a brief record of the coup in Indonesia. Undoubtedly our next step was to watch and wait for any change in the attitude of the new regime towards Malaysia.

If there was any indication of Tun Razak's dream coming true as a prophecy for peace, a change in attitude would show. The plain fact was that in Indonesia the Government had virtually changed hands, though Soekarno remained as President.

The following months were to reveal a gradual reversal of Soekarno's policies, and also the beginning of a movement towards a peaceful end to Confrontation.

On October 3, Soekarno appointed General Suharto as being solely responsible for the restoration of security and order in Indonesia, and then also named him Commander-in-Chief.

#### ATTACKS

On October 8, the PKI Headquarters at Jakarta was attacked and burned. Then other attacks on PKI property followed. Finally, on October 18, the Army banned all Communist Party activities, and followed up this announcement with mass arrests of Communists. Unfortunately, however, large-scale atrocities and violence occurred, some being committed by civilians, others by the Army.

Within five more months, on March 11, 1966, Soekarno signed an Order delegating to General Suharto authority to take all necessary steps to guarantee security and calm and the responsibility of running the Government and the course of the Revolution, and also to preserve the personal safety of the President.

The very next day, March 12, General Suharto, acting under this Order, issued a Presidential Decree dissolving the PKI. Six days later, on March 18, no less than 15 members of the Cabinet, including Foreign Minister Subandrio, were arrested.

On March 27, Indonesia had a new Cabinet, which included as three of the six Deputy Premiers, General Suharto, Dr. Adam Malik and Sultan Hamengku Buwono. This triumvirate was destined to shape Indonesia's new policies, which set Indonesia's course towards peace and economic well-being. Though Soekarno still remained as President, it was only in name; he had surrendered his powers.

On May 3, 1966 President Marcos said, "There are no obstacles to the Philippines' recognition of Malaysia. I believe the Indonesian Government will not feel offended if the Philippines now recognised Malaysia". Meanwhile, in Hong Kong, his Foreign Minister, Mr. Ramos, said that the people in Indonesia would now like to abandon

their "Crush Malaysia" policy. Mr. Ramos then initiated a diplomatic move to bring about discussions in Bangkok between the Foreign Ministers of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

According to Lt. Col. L.B. Moerdani, this move began in Hong Kong only one week after the left-wing coup in Jakarta had taken place, that was about October 8, 1965.

Officials of Indonesia and Malaysia had come together for talks in Hong Kong, holding six secret meetings, four in Bangkok and two in Hong Kong.

The man behind this move for peace in fact was Lieut. Col. Ali Moertopo while I appointed Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie to represent the Malaysian Government in all the discussions.

The Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and the Philippines, Dr. Adam Malik and Mr. Ramos, met for two days in Bangkok to discuss Confrontation, and afterwards they declared that it was Indonesia's wish that Confrontation with Malaysia should come to an end.

On his return to Manila, Mr. Ramos mentioned that conditions for ending Indonesia's policy of armed confrontation towards Malaysia had been relayed to Kuala Lumpur, and he was certain of an agreement on a peaceful solution.

## TALKS

In the meantime, according to a report we received, Dr. Adam Malik returned to Indonesia and was faced with President Soekarno's wrath. President Soekarno called him in, declaring "We want to stage a war with Malaysia, and you want to end it". Unruffled, Dr. Adam Malik replied, "Well, Bung, if that is the way you feel about it, you can dismiss me".

In the meantime, it was reported that Britain was having talks in Indonesia over our affairs. I declared that issues affecting Malaysia were this country's sole responsibility, and no other power in the world could speak for us. "I wish to state here and now, "I said", that the British Government has no authority whatsoever to speak for us".

Then came the final change for which we had waited so long. On May 24, under pressure from the Army, President Soekarno altered his views and agreed to peace talks being held in Bangkok. He gave his approval in Merdeka Palace at a meeting with Dr. Adam Malik.

I had expected it, for earlier on February 28, Indonesia's eight-member Army Mission, led by General Moertopo, visited me in Alor Star. I regarded this special visit as a happy augury indeed for future good relationships between our two countries, which had been disrupted for almost three years.

General Moertopo's party was a mission of peace, unexpected and most welcome, so much so that I described it as the fulfilment of Tun Abdul Razak's dream, for they had come to say, "We pray that friendship and brotherhood in the true spirit of Islam will return to our two countries".

I was greatly touched by the respect and regard shown for me by the Indonesian Government in sending this Mission all the way to see me in my own kampung home in Alor Star. Elated and relieved, I turned on a buffet lunch and our meeting took place in a most cordial atmosphere of mutual goodwill and friendship. It was like old times; I knew now the "war" would soon be over, that Soekarno would have to give in.

### PACT AND TREATY

A Peace Pact between Indonesia and Malaysia was signed in Bangkok on June 2, 1966 thus bringing to an end three years of unnecessary and hostile Confrontation. The signing ceremony took place between Tun Abdul Razak and Dr. Adam Malik at Manangkasila House.

The actual Pact itself consisted of a simple acceptance of an exchange of letters between the two Deputy Prime Ministers, which called for a recommendation that mutual relations should return to normal, subject to ratification by Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta.

Finally, a Peace Treaty was signed between Malaysia and Indonesia, and its three main provisions were:—

(1) Malaysia has agreed to give the people of Sabah and Sarawak the chance to reconfirm, as soon as possible, their position in the Malaysia Federation through independent and democratic General Elections;

(2) Both countries have agreed that diplomatic relations be restored immediately; and

(3) Both have agreed to cease all acts of hostilities.

Thus ended the purposeless acts of hostilities which brought no glory to either Government, and according to Dr. Adam Malik, "no victor and no vanquished. This is a great victory for the Malay race".

And according to Tun Abdul Razak, "It opens a new era in relations between peoples of one race, and the Friendship Treaty of April 17, 1959, can be revived and implemented".

As for me, I gave thanks to Allah for the return of peace and goodwill between our two peoples and nations. At last, the long years of difficulties and worry, of having always to be ready for everything, not knowing what the next day might bring, were over. Praise be to God!

ARTICLE 20  
(28 April, 1975)

**PEACE AT LAST  
HEADS OF STATES BEGIN TO VISIT  
THE COUNTRY  
WHY TUNKU SUPPLIED ARMS TO PRESIDENT  
NGOH DINH DIEM**

**A**fter long periods of trouble from one quarter or another, peace had returned to Malaysia at last.

First, we had experienced an internal struggle with the Malayan Communist Party, which had lasted for twelve long years, coming to an end officially on July 30, 1960 a victory that cost Malaya heavy losses in lives and property.

Then we had an interlude of peace at home for only three years, but when we began to conceive and develop the making of Malaysia in 1963, from that time on we had to face "Confrontation" from without — to put it mildly, Indonesia and the Philippines were no longer "friendly neighbours".

For three more years "Confrontation" blew "hot" or "cold", depending from which quarter the winds of hostility came against Malaysia — "cold" from the Philippines, "hot" from Indonesia.

With the Philippines "Confrontation" throughout the period was a "war of words", an open diplomatic offensive to obtain control of Sabah. The arguments continued around international tables in cities as diverse as Manila, Bangkok, Phom Penh and Tokyo.

Not so with the "hot" winds from Indonesia, which conducted its "Confrontation" with open violence, actual invasions, subversion, using the slogan of "Crush Malaysia", determined by any physical means to break up the new nation-in-the-making by any means short of actually declaring war.

Nor was the struggle against both opponents merely regional; it aroused international concern, our "enemies" demanding that the United Nations should investigate opinion in Sabah, and when this turned out in our favour, neither Indonesia nor the Philippines were pleased; both broke off diplomatic relations with Malaysia.

They still carried on "Confrontation", each in its own way, the Indonesian conflict being the worse.

We had to endure three years of Confrontation from Indonesia, hostilities which caused much suffering and concern to peace-loving peoples in both our nations, a conflict which no-one had any power to bring to an end without embroiling other countries not involved. Only President Soekarno and his clique, who began it, could stop the hostilities. And he and they never showed signs of wanting to see a peaceful conclusion.

But authoritarian leaders like Soekarno do not always get their own way. As events turned out, his own connivings brought about his downfall — not by Malaysia but from within Indonesia.

The bloody Communist-led October coup in Indonesia in 1965 recoiled in a successful counter-coup by General Suharto, and gradually, step by step, he crushed the Communists and reduced Soekarno to a "figure-head" President.

So it was not until the emergence and rise of General Suharto that Confrontation could come to an end, and nine months after October, 1965, in June 1966, peace came at last. Malaysia and Indonesia were friends again, and how glad everybody felt on both sides of our common borders of land or sea.

Subsequently President Macapagal of the Philippines called off his claim on Sabah and resumed diplomatic relations with Malaysia. At least he decided to shelve the question, for we have heard no more about that claim right up to this day. It is our prayer that the Sabah "claim" will remain shelved for all time, so that our two nations can live and work together in peace and friendship.

Then came another pleasant surprise. Pakistan decided to resume diplomatic relations with Malaysia, and we were delighted indeed that this had come about. We had never been happy about this unfortunate break in the amity and close ties we shared.

All told, the latter half of 1966 began a period of real joy for all in Malaysia. Except for the brief respite between 1960 and 1963, we had never had such peace and happiness since Merdeka. Even Chin Peng decided to keep quiet in the jungles astride the Thai-Malaysia border. As the saying goes, "We never had it so good".

With peace, the Government and the people alike started to plan for growth and development. All kinds of business enterprises sprang up in both the public and private sectors.

We could now direct the money spent on war material towards peaceful development. Malaysia built roads and bridges, estab-



lished more universities, and watched proudly as areas formerly marked out for industrial use came to life all over the peninsula, from Johore in the south to Kedah in the north.

For instance, Petaling Jaya, adjoining Kuala Lumpur was meant to be a rehabilitation area, originally planned to accommodate the poorer people and "squatters". Suddenly, it seemed almost overnight, it became the popular area for the middle-class, expanding in all directions.

Houses of every type and design, unparalleled in any part of South-East Asia, came into being. Malaysia as a picture of contentment and happiness was there for all to see. People visiting Malaysia, who had formerly lived and worked here, confessed themselves astounded with the transformation; they could not find their way about, as in the "old days".

Unfortunately with prosperity other enemies came to life, the scum and parasites, gangsters and thugs who prey on society everywhere. They kidnap, rob, murder and steal for gain. We could do very little against them at first, as the country was ill-prepared and equipped to fight outbreaks of crime of the American type and what was worse was that witnesses feared to come forward and testify. In other words, the citizens failed to play their part to combat crimes.

Today they are still active, and almost feel free to do as they like. Though the number caught is small compared with those still at large, the Police are active in their war on crime, but their success is insignificant.

## ACTIVITIES

However, progress continued at a rapid rate and the people were happy. Malaysia had become a hub of business activities for the whole of South-East Asia.

Now we had peace at last, I for one had the opportunity to do what I wanted, that is, enjoy myself, in both my work and play; able to take an active interest in a big way in football, racing, golf and other social engagements, without any worry about having to be called to an urgent emergency meeting in the middle of my recreation. The country was running well, full steam ahead.

Tun Razak was given a free hand to go ahead with a new Five-Year Plan for rural development. He accomplished this task so well that this achievement became an example to the world.

We carried out social and charitable activities of all kinds. Many organisations, voluntary or Government-sponsored, came

into being to help the needy, all those distressed or poverty stricken, orphaned, disabled or physically handicapped, such people as the deaf, dumb, blind or maimed.

Heads of States or Executive Heads of Government paid visits to Malaysia, one after another; they came to see and went away conquered. We made so many friends abroad that I wish to give my impressions of a few distinguished leaders.

### VISITOR

Let me begin with the late President of Vietnam, Mr. Ngoh Dinh Diem, an early visitor to our country. President Ngoh Dinh Diem was a simple, religious and honest man. I think it would be hard to find a Head of State anywhere as fine and as conscientious as him. We immediately took to one another, I to him and he to me.

What we shared in common I do not know, because he was a staunch and pious Catholic, whereas I am a dedicated Muslim. But at that time, 1961, we both faced a common enemy, though we were miles apart in our ways of life. He would not look at a passing beauty or a good race-horse; he couldn't tell an ace of spades from the four of clubs. Although he had been to school in a Catholic monastery in Penang for a brief while, he could hardly express himself in English. However, we became very good friends.

When we were winning our battle with the Malayan Communist Party, he was only starting his fight against the Communists in South Vietnam. While in Malaysia he visited our various ramparts (jungle forts), built to defend the country against the Communists.

He was very impressed with our defence plans, but most of all with our efforts to win the hearts and minds of the peoples, as well as our Rural Development Plan and the success we had achieved in both public and private enterprises.

He said he started similar plans in the Mekong Delta, but there was much he could learn from us and put into practical effect in Vietnam.

### PICTURE

At his invitation I went to Vietnam on an official visit, stayed there for a short time. I will never forget one occasion. I kept looking at a painting hanging in front of his private study, admiring its lacquer work of most exquisite design. I asked him about this picture, but he said nothing at the time; he just smiled.

Next morning when I woke up, to my surprise I found the lacquer painting leaning against the foot of my bed. I am a light sleeper, and the slightest movement will wake me, but how that picture was placed against my bed without my waking up still puzzles me, and remains a mystery to this day.

When I thanked him most warmly for his beautiful gift, I casually mentioned among other things that there were very beautiful girls in Vietnam. He didn't appreciate my joke, I regret to say, because he was a man trained to be ascetic in his life, and remained a bachelor to the day of his death.

During the time he was President, Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem kept the Communists in the North to their side of the 17th Parallel. He organised the armed forces himself, travelled extensively all over the country to see that every man did his duty, and so the Communists were never quite able to make any inroads over to his side in South Vietnam. A tireless leader, he was omnipresent and always vigilant.

#### SOUTH-NORTH

Of course, fighting was going on, but President Diem also put the American generals in their place. He maintained that the fighting in Vietnam was a struggle between the South and the North. While he appreciated American help, he objected to American interference. I think this was one reason why the Americans never quite took a liking to him. He made it quite clear that Vietnam was his country and he the leader of his people.

They tried to put much of the blame on him for the corruption that was naturally rampant in Vietnam, a country which had seen so many years of war. Corruption was rife and beyond his control. It was openly admitted that his own brother was not too scrupulous, but no one could deny that President Diem was an absolutely honest man and a redoubtable fighter for South Vietnam's freedom against the North.

I visited Saigon twice during his term of office, receiving from him Vietnam's highest honour. I had great respect and admiration for President Diem. He impressed me so much that when our fight against the Communists ended in July 1960 — I confess it openly now — I decided to send him all the arms, war materials and equipment we used against the Communists in Malaya. When tackled at the time I denied doing so, because it was against the terms of the Geneva Agreement. Actually we had clandestinely been giving "aid" to Vietnam since early 1958. But now that the

battle is nearly over and the question no more arises, I can admit it freely.

I took this action in all good faith and with the best of intentions to help a great and fine man defend his country against Communist aggressors. That is a good enough excuse for me.

#### ATROCITY

I was most distressed to learn that President Ngho Dinh Diem was killed by rebels in South Vietnam. It was one of the most atrocious acts of cruelty ever perpetrated by men and that too with the connivance of the Americans who could have saved his life if they had wanted to. He had sought refuge and shelter inside a monastery, and had asked for American protection while he was there, but the American Army refused to give help, so rebels dragged him from the monastery, decapitated him and defiled his corpse most ignominiously.

It was a very sad end for a good man. But it is strange that his death seemed to have brought down a curse on South Vietnam. Whatever they did, despite American help, they could never get the better of the North Vietnamese. Somehow or other, the war went all wrong, so when the end did come it was an uneasy peace that made no one happy.

Now they have started the battle all over again; what the consequences will be, we have to wait and see, but I have no doubt in my own mind what the result will be.

ARTICLE 21  
(5 May, 1975)

## THE KISHI SCARE I PRAYED HARD FOR THE SAFETY OF OUR IMPORTANT GUEST

One of the most queasy experiences I have ever had occurred when Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, Prime Minister of Japan, visited Malaya in 1957, soon after Merdeka when we were only a nation newly-born.

At that time, the feelings of the people towards Japan were still bitter. Resentment was strong, our thoughts severe, because of the sufferings we had endured during three years of Japanese Occupation. It was hard to forget that period when so many Malaysians and our Allies lost their lives. The war was ten years in the past, yet our memory of Japanese tyranny and acts of atrocity had still not faded from our minds.

Our policy, then and now, is to be at peace with the world, so when Mr. Kishi expressed a wish to come to Malaya, I naturally welcomed the idea. I believe that the past should not dictate the present and future. If you can't forget, you can still forgive. Let bygones be bygones is the best path to peace.

The British, who were still strongly in control of Singapore, indicated that they would not receive Mr. Kishi as a State guest, but they would not object to his going there as an ordinary visitor.

So when Mr. Kishi arrived in Kuala Lumpur, as host nation we gave a reception befitting a man who held the high office of Prime Minister of Japan. In these very early days of freedom, however, we did not yet have proper facilities for lavish entertainment, so we had to hold the State Banquet at the best and largest hotel available.

The banquet was well-organised, the menu excellent, and the food prepared and served with taste and style. It was a friendly party, held in an atmosphere of gaiety with the normal set speeches, except, of course, the Royal Toasts. I ended my speech with a personal toast wishing good health for our State guest, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi. After

rounds of drinks and dancing, the dinner ended and everyone left for home in the best of spirits.

At three o'clock in the morning I heard groans from the direction of my wife's bed. She was in terrible pain, writhing in agony. Immediately I rang for a doctor who came at once, attended to her, giving the treatment necessary.

The doctor informed me that the General Hospital had received many calls from Ministers and their wives, as well as from other guests who attended the banquet, all with the same complaints.

The diagnosis was food poisoning; the Hospital staff was up throughout the night attending to all these patients. And not only the Hospital; all medical practitioners in town had had a busy time as a result of this "epidemic" of poisoning caused by eating bad food.

### POISON?

It might be rumoured that we were trying to poison Mr. Kishi, since many people in Malaya still harboured great resentment of the sufferings incurred during the Occupation; perhaps they had used the banquet as a chance to poison Mr. Kishi.

I was worried to death and could not sleep for the rest of the night. When dawn came, the time for the first prayer of the day, I prayed with all my heart for the safety and well-being of our distinguished guest, fearing that if anything happened to Mr. Kishi, we might face serious repercussions.

When I saw Mr. Kishi next morning at the airport on his departure for Singapore, I expected to see him holding his stomach. The first remark I made was, "Are you alright?" To my relief, he replied, "Yes". He must have wondered why I asked in such a concerned way.

I went on at once to ask if anyone in his party suffered any stomach upset, and he said, "No". So I was a very happy man when we said goodbye!

After seeing him off safely, watching his plane go out of sight, I sighed with deep relief. If he were to feel any after-effects later, the worry would be Singapore's look-out — mine was over.

That was an experience which I hope will never happen again. Nothing like that has ever occurred, and Malaya/Malaysia have given many banquets since then.

In 1964 I had another important visitor — Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia. A nice, polite man, he has such winning ways; from the manner in which he talks, his way of expressing

himself, no one in the world would think he was capable of even hurting a fly, let alone starting a war.

Apart from the usual round of official functions and public dinners, we had private ones as well, both in his hotel suite, and in my own house, the Residency.

His wife, Monique, is a most charming lady, gifted with looks that outshine many local beauty queens. Half-Belgian, she is a fine hostess; whenever Sihanouk and I discoursed on matters of politics or State affairs in South-East Asia, she would quietly withdraw from the scene, leaving us alone.

Prince Sihanouk came to Malaysia trying to find a way out of our political dispute with the Philippines over Sabah and our Confrontation with Soekarno.

I will never forget our discussions on the Vietnam war. I spoke about the intrusions of the Communists and their aggressive policies in South-East Asia, and he talked of the intrusion of the Americans and their interference in this part of the world.

Naturally, one comment would lead to another in reply. I enlarged our subject, saying "that between the two evils I prefer the Western democratic way of life to Eastern Communism. At least individually and collectively we are free to pursue our ways, and live our lives as we choose; and our country is free to shape the course best suited to its people.

### UNTHINKABLE

"For instance, in Malaysia it is unthinkable that the people here would prefer a regimented life; naturally they would never accept any policy that would restrict their right to choose the form of Government they like or follow a way of life to which they are not accustomed.

"This is a land where there is plenty of scope for everybody; only one-third of our total area is under cultivation; another third is planned to be cultivated in the course of time, and the balance will remain uncultivated for a long, long time: it will provide for future scope of development.

"Nobody need starve in this country, as one can just stretch out one's hand and pick one's own food. There are fish in every river, food in abundance on the land. Even the forests yield animals and vegetables that can be eaten.

"All one has to do is to use a little energy, a little brain-work and one can get what one needs. That's why my people are said to be lazy.

because they don't have to work, and less still struggle in order to live".

I added a question. "Why must you be inclined towards Communism? All your policy seems to favour the Communists, while your country and people are exactly like mine."

He turned towards me and replied: "I am a prince and you are a prince. We are not Communists. You can never be one. I, too, can never be one".

"Then why do you go close to them and follow their policy?" I asked. "Why do you play their game and call out odds in their favour, as against the Americans?"

"I am neutral", he said. "I am not a Communist, though I believe I can depend more on the Communists than on the Americans, and I think it is for the good of my country for me to be friendly with the Communists because I cannot trust the Americans".

"I think you are wrong", I continued. "At least you know the Americans and all their faults, and I am sure you don't know the Communists enough, because you have not spoken of their faults. They must have plenty, as they have caused misery to so many people and so many countries. Both in Europe and Asia. So when you don't know what their faults are, how can you say you can trust them? At least I know the faults of the Americans, and, comparing the two powers with all their faults, I have more trust in Western democracy than Eastern Communism.

"One thing I can say — if the Communists take this country by force, my suffering will end quickly. If they take your country, you will die a long and lingering death". He didn't seem happy with what I said.

## INVITATION

We had occasion to exchange views at subsequent talks I had the following year, but he seemed adamant, so finally we decided to keep our political thoughts to ourselves, while at the same time keeping our mutual friendship alive.

He invited me to visit Cambodia, and I went there and met President Macapagal in Phnom Penh. Obviously Prince Sihanouk's purpose in inviting us both was to try and settle the Philippines' claim to Sabah for the last time.

He must have been arranging this surprise encounter through connivance by President Macapagal himself, or through his Foreign Minister, Mr. Lopez. But if Sihanouk had done so, he took no part in the discussion. I then called Tun Mustapha and Tun Ahmad Fuad



(Donald Stephens) from Sabah to join us in Phnom Penh. Prince Sihanouk left us alone, all being the parties directly concerned.

A most generous host, he looked after us lavishly, giving banquets and other forms of entertainment. One of the most impressive events I have ever seen in all my life was the Regatta he arranged on the Mekong River — hundreds of beautiful decorated boats with crews in colourful uniforms took part. Unlike other boat races, the crews rowed in different postures; some would be sitting down, others standing up, yet all paddling in perfect rhythm and unison.

Cambodia left another lasting impression on me — the way the people showed their love and respect for Prince Sihanouk. Whether their affection was spontaneous I don't know. Perhaps they were well-drilled and disciplined; no matter, they stood and clapped their hands and shouted his name whenever he passed and wherever he went.

#### TOPPLED

Once I turned round to Sihanouk to say, "In my country my people are nowhere as demonstrative or as enthusiastic as your people are when I go by; perhaps they think I am just one of them". He just laughed.

Never at any time did I think that Prince Sihanouk, who had given up his Crown to be Head of State, would be ousted from his high perch as the leader of the Cambodian nation. However, that is the way of the world. So many Heads of State have been toppled by their own people, the very same people who worshipped them at the height of their glory.

During this visit, Prince Sihanouk bestowed upon me for the second time Cambodia's highest award (he had given me the first when in Malaysia). So clearly had he shown regard and liking for me that I couldn't help but like him. Apart from the talks with President Macapagal — I departed without being able to settle the Sabah question with him — that visit of mine to Cambodia, I recall as a very successful and interesting one.

Soon after I returned to Malaysia, Prince Sihanouk came back again without giving me any warning, apart from a telegram saying he would be arriving. His impetuosity was part of his charm. But at that particular time we had as our State guest Mr. Robert Kennedy, the U.S. Attorney-General. I knew from past experience that Mr. Kennedy did not like Sihanouk, nor did Prince Sihanouk like him. So with both of them in Kuala Lumpur at the same time my position as

host became most untenable and highly delicate. Talk about walking the high-wire of protocol, how was I to handle this situation?

Mr. Kennedy was an official guest, whereas Prince Sihanouk had come on his own, unannounced, and he was a Head of State. I had to divide my time and attention between them without offending either one or the other.

I thought I was managing this double-act quite well, trying to avoid what seemed inevitable — their running into each other.

The critical moment came when I was seeing Mr. Kennedy off. My Protocol Officer informed me that Prince Sihanouk would be leaving the airport at about the same time.

I was indeed in a predicament, so when placed in such a situation the best way out is to be frank about it all. I decided to tell Mr. Kennedy that Prince Sihanouk would be arriving in the next five minutes.

I asked Mr. Kennedy. "Would you mind if I leave you for just a moment to receive Sihanouk? Would you like me to bring him in to meet you?"

Mr. Kennedy gave a diplomatic smile, and said, "Even if I like to meet him, he might not like to meet me". But he added that I was, of course, free to go and receive Sihanouk, which I did. When the Prince arrived I told him that Mr. Kennedy was in the VIP Room — the only one we had in the old airport.

### GENEROUS

Prince Sihanouk most diplomatically replied. "Never mind, I will sit in the car; you go and see him off, while I wait here". No harm done and no loss of pride or prestige to either guest — I felt absolutely relieved.

Mr. Kennedy had come to try and bring about a peaceful reconciliation and settlement between Malaysia and Indonesia, which he had been doing on his own in a private capacity. It was generous of him. In fact he went further, for not only did he try to bring an end to our trouble with Soekarno, but he also spoke with President Macapagal on the Philippines' claim to Sabah. So when he left us on the same day as Prince Sihanouk, Mr. Kennedy was on his way to visit President Soekarno. Though he did not achieve his goal, he was one of the world's politicians and statesmen who showed genuine personal concern for what was happening in this region of Asia.

Mr. Robert Kennedy had become a good friend of mine. I recall one occasion when I was in Washington, and he was busy campaigning 140 miles away, yet he found time to come all that

distance in his private plane to see me, have a cup of tea, and immediately rush back to complete his work.

It was a sad day for me, and for the world, when a man of his high calibre, a man of such acumen, in good political standing throughout the democratic nations, should have his life ended under such tragic and cruel circumstances as assassination.

Prince Sihanouk lives on, but he has had a very rough time, putting the blame for his misfortunes on the Americans. While he lived in exile in China, his country was set alight by the fires of revolution, taking toll of many innocent lives, and causing so much misery to his country-men, not to mention the vast destruction that civil strife brings in its wake. What a sad thing to happen to a people whose only desire was peace!

#### OUSTED

He was ousted in March, 1972 but now the fortunes of war have turned in his favour. The Khmer Rouge have taken control of Cambodia, and the war can be said to be over. What Sihanouk's position will be in the light of this Communist victory will be interesting to know.

"I am not a Communist", he often repeated, yet he was happy to live with them. He has said over the Radio and in statements to the Press that he does not want to be a puppet of the Communists. He is not a Communist, but on the other hand the Khmer Rouge have declared him Head of State of Cambodia.

If he accepts, I have no doubt who will run Cambodia — and it will not be Sihanouk. It is unlikely that the Khmer Rouge, having won the victory, will surrender control of the country to him.

If my assessment of Sihanouk's mind is correct, then he is in for trouble. The question then is, "What will happen in Cambodia?" The situation is fraught with uncertainties, which can threaten the future peace and well-being of Cambodia. Prince Sihanouk may well have to think afresh without taking account of his own likes and dislikes.

I said to him so many years before, "A leader must think first of what's best for the country and the people". That's the policy Prince Sihanouk must eventually follow, or else stay out. I for one pray that Cambodia will have PEACE.

ARTICLE 22  
(12 May, 1975)

## NEHRU — A GREAT MAN UNWELCOME TO GOVERNMENT BUT HAILED BY MALAYANS

One of the most interesting world figures I have ever had the privilege to meet, to know and call my good friend was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We met in very unusual circumstances. In 1934 the Indian community managed to induce the British Government to allow Mr. Nehru to visit Malaya, and also Penang, then one of the three Crown Colonies in the Straits Settlements, the others being Malacca and Singapore.

The British feared Nehru, regarding him as "an undesirable person". I was then District Officer, Sungei Petani in Kedah, and I was 31, very young for a man acting in such a senior posting.

One morning I received a call from the late Mr. G.H. Goh, a Penang lawyer, and his sister-in-law, Mrs. B.H. Oon, telling me that as they were going to have Nehru as their guest, they would like me to meet him.

A Reception Committee had been set up, with Mr. N. Raghavan as Chairman, and the late Mr. Goh, Dr. N.K. Menon and Mrs. Oon as members. They regretted they had not been able to get a Malay on the Committee as yet, and asked whether I would like to join as a Malay representative.

### OUTWARD SIGN

Naturally I jumped at the idea, although I knew it would mean throwing away any chances for further promotion. Nevertheless, I felt honoured to be included on a Committee to receive such a great man. He might be "undesirable" in the eyes of the British, but young aspiring politicians very much regarded Nehru a most desirable pillar of strength.

At the time I was very keen on politics, although I displayed no outward sign of being a "politician". less still any prospect of future

achievement as such. As a student of politics, tyro or not, I admired men like Nehru and Gandhi already famous as true nationalists.

When we first met at Mr. Goh's house in Butterworth, Mrs. Oon looked after all the arrangements for Mr. Nehru's comfort, and I couldn't help noticing at times that she seemed too over-anxious to please her distinguished guest.

Not till 32 years later in 1976 was I to learn why. I had just published this article, and Mrs. Oon sent a letter to *The STAR*, a very interesting foot-note to history. None of us knew, she wrote, that accompanying Mr. Nehru was his beloved daughter, Indira Gandhi. As she was not at all well at the time, and Mr. Nehru was worrying about her — although he showed no outward signs of concern to the Malayan people — Mrs. Oon was also attending to her "private patient" upstairs, and she now feels honoured to have been of personal help to "a future Prime Minister of India" — and rightly so.

#### INCIDENTS

To revert to 1934 — a huge throng of all races turned out, crowding the padang to its limits when Mr. Nehru first spoke to Malaysians at Butterworth. I was sitting on the platform — rather proudly, I admit — with all the other Reception Committee members.

Mr. Nehru's visit lasted only five days and, according to Mrs. Oon, a couple of very interesting incidents occurred. One happened when he was crossing from Penang on the ferry to Butterworth. The Superintendent of the Ferry, Capt. Shipwright, asked Mr. Nehru to get out of his car.

This request annoyed the Reception Committee, for they felt that a man of Nehru's standing in the political world (whatever he might be in Capt. Shipwright's opinion) should be treated with proper respect as a VIP. Capt. Shipwright, however, insisted that he must get down and walk about like all the other passengers.

The Committee Members then appealed to the jagas (guards) and the ferry-men, who all put up a hostile front in favour of Mr. Nehru, threatening to make trouble on the boat. Not till then did Capt. Shipwright relent, and give in. So Mr. Nehru was asked to remain in his car, to the great delight of all the passengers and the ferry crew.

Another incident, but this was a happy one. When Mr. Nehru was staying with Mr. Goh, the Tamil gardener became so worked up that he refused to sleep in his quarters. He insisted on standing guard under the window of Mr. Nehru's bedroom all night, to express his absolute devotion, for he "worshipped" this great man of India.

The show of love and respect displayed for Mr. Nehru throughout Malaya caused the British to become even further annoyed than they already were. They ordered Mr. Nehru to leave the country without delay, and well within the time allowed, five days.

Mrs. Oon recounts with pride what Mr. Nehru once told her jovially. He and Mrs. Oon, he said, were both members of the Inner Temple. He remarked that he was called to the bar twelve years after Mahatma Gandhi, and now Mrs. Oon had also been called, twelve years after him. "So, we are buddies", he said. If Mrs. Oon blushed with pleasure on hearing this compliment, I would not be surprised. I was called to the Bar of the Inner Temple 20 years after that.

### AGGRESSORS

After Penang, Mr. Nehru said he was on his way to China to see Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek whom he admired for his heroic stand in fighting against the aggressors from Japan. Though the General was ill-equipped to oppose the Japanese, most of his men being untrained and undisciplined, nevertheless he fought China's enemy with such courage and fortitude that he won the admiration of the world. Not only was he able to break through the Japanese embargo, but he also managed to keep in constant contact with the world outside China.

Mr. Nehru came to Malaya again in 1946, this time as a world leader, respected and feared by the British authorities. This time, however, he was an honoured guest, a VIP, treated wherever he went with the greatest of respect by the same Colonials, who had once despised and regarded him with contempt. Now he had returned as the triumphant leader of his nation, India, soon to be free.

He was welcomed, therefore, with tumultuous acclaim by all Government officials and people of all races in Malaya. His speeches were very free, and one statement that impressed me was about "the changes to come".

### IMPERIALISM

Imperialism, he said, was doomed. Sooner or later Asian countries would be free of imperialist domination. Whether it came sooner or later did not matter; it was bound to happen.

When he came to Alor Star I was Chairman of the Reception Committee; the huge Indian crowd was so excited they swamped me, and I got lost in a seething sea of people, completely wild and out of control, shouting "Jai Hind!, Jai Hind!", over and over again.

Mr. Nehru was led to the platform, but I was not there to give the address of welcome. Everybody was looking around, trying to find

me, but it was Mr. Nehru himself who first caught sight, recognising me. Loud speakers blared my name. I was trying to push my way through without avail, so I decided to cry out "Jai Hind!" at the top of my voice. Only then did the crowd spot me and let me through to the dais.

Is it not strange? Although Mr. Nehru had not seen me for eleven years, still he was able to recognise me in that huge crowd. I have always thought of this recognition as unusual and quite extraordinary. It is such a quality as this, I suppose, that distinguishes a great man from the ordinary run of men.

Subsequently I met Mr. Nehru several times at Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meetings, and again on my official visit to India in 1962. I always noticed that Mr. Nehru usually wore a red rose in his button-hole at every meeting. One morning he took the rose from his button-hole and gave it to me to wear.

I didn't think much about this pleasant gesture at that time, as I thought I would be meeting him again and often, but sad to say — and I was last to know it — that was the last time we ever met. I wish now that I had kept that rose, as a souvenir of a very great leader, whom it was my pleasure and privilege to count as my friend.

During Malaysia's trouble with Indonesia Mr. Nehru spoke out forcibly in defence of Malaysia, and what he had to say counted a lot. When he died, a truly great man left the world, but his name will linger on, remembered for all time.

It was Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru who began the great Asian movement towards independence, and both deserve to be remembered, not only as the leaders of India's Independence, but also as the liberators of all other emerging Asian countries, including Malaysia.

### PROTOCOL

I have never forgotten the time when I went on a State Visit to India. Once Mr. Nehru came in his small car and waited for me so that he could take me out on official business. His thoughtful kindness touched my heart, so I said it was not for him to come and wait on me; I could meet him at the appointed place. He replied, "What's protocol as between friends?"

Those were the words of a great man. Subsequently, these words came out of my mouth. It happened when I went to receive a personal friend from England who came to Kuala Lumpur for the Malaysia Day Celebrations. When I arrived at the airport officials said it was against protocol for me to come, and without thinking I answered in

exactly the same words Mr. Nehru had used to me, "What's protocol as between friends?"

It is worthwhile, perhaps, for some young officials and those in authority in Malaysia to remember that sometimes it is nicer to be less officious and more human. After all, we must always remember that those who climb up to the top of the ladder eventually will come down by the same steps.

## NIGERIA

Another outstanding man whom I remember as a close friend was the former Prime Minister of Nigeria, a nation in remote Africa, - Sir Abu Bakar Tafawa Balewa, whose free country was the largest in the Continent in both size and population.

Nigeria had become a member of the Commonwealth soon after Malaysia, and as the order of sitting is arranged alphabetically his "N" comes after my "M", so the Prime Minister of Nigeria sat next to me, from Malaysia. It was then that I came to know him and to like him well. As distinct from some other African leaders, he spoke very quietly and with dignity and grace. We used to visit each other in London, and dine at each other's tables.

Sir Abu Bakar was also a very religious man. At one conference, held in mid-Summer, he would not break his fast until the sun had set. This meant nearly 10.30 pm, and as the sun had risen early, about four in the morning, he had fasted for nearly twenty hours.

I asked him to break his fast early about 8. pm, as we were dealing with very important matters at the conference, but he gracefully declined. The meeting went on and the time was well past 10. pm but he still refused, yet appeared to have plenty of energy in reserve and was able to discuss the items on the agenda with agile mind on terms of equality with others.

## DEFENDER

During Indonesia's "Confrontation", he was one of Malaysia's strongest defenders. When other African and Asian leaders around the Conference table, all members of the Non-Aligned Group, spoke out in favour of Soekarno, he wanted to know how could it be said that Malaysia, being such a small country as compared with Indonesia, could be considered as the aggressor?

If we, who were members of the Commonwealth, could sit around that table and accept aggression by a country against a member-country as justified, then what value was there for us all to be in the Commonwealth? he asked, and then declared that what the



British were doing to defend Malaysia, they must continue to do and for the sake of justice and human dignity, as it was a duty for all who valued freedom to support Malaysia.

That, I thought, was a noble speech from a man of noble character. When he invited Commonwealth countries to hold a meeting in Nigeria in 1964, I was one of those who was looking forward keenly to going, but alas I never went because I was busy as Prime Minister for some months campaigning in our elections. The last meeting I had with Sir Abu Bakar was the one in London.

### REBELLION

Then the next news of Nigeria I heard was that in January 1966, when a rebellion broke out among the Ibo tribesmen of the South-Eastern part of Nigeria, Sir Abu Bakar was taken away. He has never been heard of since.

The early victory of the Ibos, however, did not last long, for the Army moved quickly to bring peace to trouble-torn Nigeria after a bloody struggle which took a heavy toll of lives and property.

Now Nigeria has prospered under military rule, but under democratic rule when led by Sir Abu Bakar Balewa it held every promise of being a great nation. The Government may have changed, but the man who was responsible for making Nigeria a new nation was Sir Abu Bakar Balewa, whose name should live for all time.

Great men come and great men die, but their true greatness goes on living long after they have passed away.

ARTICLE 23  
(19 May, 1975)

## WHY ASEAN FAILED TO ACHIEVE GOAL

One day I was on a plane coming back from Singapore. Quite by chance, sitting beside me was the Philippines' Foreign Minister, Mr. Carlos Romulo, so we shared reminiscences of old ASA days for half-an-hour while in flight.

That night I stayed in Kuala Lumpur. Next day, as I was leaving the capital by the afternoon plane for Penang, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Adam Malik, arrived by air from Jakarta to attend a meeting of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers. "What a coincidence?", I thought.

My memory went back to the formation of ASA, and I reflected on the reasons why ASA was formed, and how it had so often gone astray for lack of sheer co-operation and honest intent.

When I first wrote about the beginnings of ASA in *The STAR* on February 24, 1975 I mentioned the dinner given by the former Philippines' Foreign Minister, Mr. Serrano, in Baguio in 1960, and how the idea of regional co-operation in permanent form entered my mind.

I am prompted to talk about the current "get-together" of all South-East Asian countries now, because they seem determined to make ASEAN a going concern, although ASA the parent-body came into being almost fifteen years ago.

When ASA started, its aims were to build up a form of Common Market for South-East Asia to strengthen the economy of these countries, and to prevent them from being exploited by the greater and stronger capitalist nations.

These countries of South-East Asia are potentially very rich in natural resources. Their combined natural wealth, with tin, rubber and other raw materials at their disposal can be a source of strength to industrialised nations.

Without these potential resources of South-East Asia, the capitalist world could be almost completely deprived of many raw materials essential to modern industry. So it should be clear as day to all how important it is that these South-East Asian countries should be saved from falling into Communist hands.

### LOOSE FORM

ASA originally consisted of Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia. At the start we invited Burma and Indonesia to join us, but they did not consider it timely. Now Indonesia and Singapore have both joined the group and the name of the organisation has become familiarly known as ASEAN. As I said, the initial object was to form an economic grouping — a very loose form of association in fact. No idea of defence crept in; each country wanted to pursue its own course, and be left to its own devices. The main mutual concern was to come together, and thus show the world outwardly that they were trying to co-operate effectively for the common weal of each and all. •

Of course, with each country's own security assured in one way or another, things did not quite work out as we had expected at first. I repeat, each nation followed the course best suited to its own ends. In other words, ASEAN was more or less a showpiece for some time.

Many events have happened since those earlier days which have changed the face of South-East Asia, naturally causing grave anxiety, even perhaps fear, among these defenceless nations.

The United States, which had made herself the protector and defender of small nations in South-East Asia, and had spent vast sums of money on defence is no more with us. America had managed to stay the Communist advance in Indo-China, but now it has left S.E.A., its forces are gone from these strategic areas.

### MARCH

Despite an agreement reached in Geneva in 1954, under which North and South Vietnam were to keep within their own separate areas, divided by the 17th Parallel, North Vietnam over-ran the South as soon as Americans and their troops withdrew in 1975. Within ten weeks or so, that is to say, only as long as it took them to march, the Communists from the North soon captured Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, and took over the whole country. The civil war in Vietnam was over, the Reds in power.

Malaysia immediately recognised the new regime; and no doubt others will follow suit. All the South-East Asian nations are shaken to

their foundations, fears for their own safety and well-being posing a very serious and immediate problem. The leaders of the ASEAN countries are beginning to sit up and take account of what has happened, and are each speculating on how best to save their own countries from suffering similar fates.

### WEAKNESS

I have no doubt at all that much serious thought and planning is being given to this question of their own safety. Malaysia has declared, and so have the other countries — Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines — that they are neutral, and that they are anxious to remain so. In other words, what they are saying is tantamount to an admission of weakness.

Some leaders have already started to make their way to China to pay homage to the great Mao Tse-tung and the Communist regime, and to profess their friendship for that great man and the great nation of Communist China. "We are your friends", they say, "because we are peaceful nations. We want to be left alone, and we want to live at peace with your help".

Embassies have opened in some of these countries, but the rumblings of guns are still being heard in remote areas of Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines, caused by Communist insurgents. Their presence in all these countries is being felt, and is likely to be felt for a long time.

So when leaders from these small peaceful nations met the "great man" and pleaded for peaceful co-existence, did the great Mao promise, or offer his services, to stop these uses of violence, smatterings as they might seem to be? No. Not as I understand it; all he said was, "The trouble is domestic, and you should deal with it as best you can".

### HEGEMONY

So the position, as I see it, is "status quo". No assurance of peace, or even of peaceful co-existence is given. The policy of establishing hegemony still persists in Communist China's plan to dominate South Asia.

The Thai Prime Minister, Mr Kukrit Pramoj, has given an indication that American forces will be withdrawn gradually from Thailand, and so has President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, who suggested that he would review the situation again; presumably of course with a view to American withdrawal, if he is assured of being left alone.

Malaysia and Singapore have Defence Agreements with Britain, Australia and New Zealand, so this, too, will have to be considered for the sake of friendship with the Communists. Only Indonesia is without any defence agreement with any other nation, but is she strong enough to defend herself against a powerful aggressor?

Knowing the expansionist policy of Communism, can Asian countries give up their only means of defence in return for a doubtful and negative gesture of friendship from the Communists?

#### SAFETY-VALVE

Whatever may be the agreement they will reach, as among themselves, either in Kuala Lumpur or anywhere else for that matter, for the maintenance of their neutrality, they must never forget that a safety-valve will be required for their own good.

These countries rich with their natural resources are too tempting a morsel to be left completely alone by the great powers. If one leaves, another must step in, and it would make matters much easier for the Communists with other power bases gone. If the Communists decide that for the good of their regime they must assume control of South-East Asia, then there is nothing to prevent them from doing so. After all Russia has her satellite States, so why not China?

It must also be remembered that the Communist take-overs in South-East Asian countries did not start with either outright invasion or a forthright declaration of war from outside. Each began with Communist uprisings inside each country, the rebels obtaining their support and arms from the Communist powers (there is no secret about it), and with that support they made their victorious headway.

#### FURY

To prevent a Communist take-over, and working on the "domino theory", the Americans and their allies came to help in the defence of these countries. The war in Vietnam went on for many years, and its severity was intense and terrible while it lasted.

All the efforts of the Americans and their allies to hold back the Vietcong failed, because of the fanatical fury with which the war was fought. While the Americans remained they were able to hold off the onslaught. It was only after they were gone, that a take-over in Vietnam became possible.

The countries of South-East Asia in the ASEAN group are very much involved with the Communist activities. They are clearly worried, particularly on the presence within their countries of large numbers of Mao's followers, who are at the moment lying quiet and biding their time.

When the Vietcong and South Vietnam agreed on peace, with the result that the US withdrew its forces, the Vietcong took over the whole of Vietnam without giving a moment's thought to the agreement.

The Asean policy of live-and-let-live is a simple and good policy, but it must be well-based. ASEAN nations should not be duped like the fly, invited by the spider as a gesture of friendship to "come into my parlour".

This meeting of ASEAN countries is the most vital one to be held since its birth. Many important matters must be looked into in the light of new developments and recent events. So now, besides discussing the mechanics of political and economic well-being, it might not be out of place, perhaps, to discuss the mechanics of defence as well.

### DEFENCE

Tun Razak offered ASEAN's hand of friendship and co-operation to Vietnam and Cambodia, and expressed the hope that they would work with other countries in the region in building a strong foundation for peace.

It is our earnest desire, he said, to have friendly and neighbourly relations and that irrespective of their political ideologies they could work together for peace and prosperity.

This no doubt is a sentiment shared by all other ASEAN countries. This appeal for peace and friendship shows the extent of Tun Razak's concern and anxiety.

Malaysia has had her own troubles with Communist insurgents, but she has also had the good fortune of keeping their activities down, although she has never been able to subdue them completely. From time to time the Communists have shown their hand, and in these last few months they have been a source of worry in Malaysia.

### NOTHING

Malaysia offered her hand of friendship to Communist China with the hope that China would use its influence to calm down these insurgents, but China said nothing.

So what Chin Peng said to me, when we met in Baling back in 1955, is still very vivid in my memory — "As between you and the Communists there can be no co-existence".

Mr. Carlos Romulo, the Philippines' Foreign Minister, is very cautious, too, and has sounded a note of warning at the possibility of being left undefended. He considers that the partial withdrawal of the

US forces is bound to create a vacuum, which others will doubtless try to fill.

He further said that in the flush of victory the Communists might think that the time was opportune "to increase their influence in this area, but it should be clear both to Indo-China and to ASEAN that in a world of sharpening options in regard to development and progress, we have no alternative to co-existence". He obviously knows all the dangers.

#### VITAL

When the fate of millions of people of South-East Asia is at stake, the time for serious thinking and planning has become a vital matter. There is no time to waste on platitudes. A spade must be called a spade.

In saying this, I am not trying to scare anyone unduly but, with my heart and soul so deeply rooted in the peace and the well-being of these millions of people, it is not too much to ask that a Council of Peace in South-East Asia should be set up, and that all leaders interested in peace should be invited to discuss the matter under the auspices of ASEAN.

ARTICLE 24  
(26 May, 1975)

## **MEN WHO HELPED TO SHAPE THE NATION (1) MY FRIEND DATUK SULEIMAN**

**I**n the wake of the changes taking place in South-East Asia, an air of uncertainty prevails in international circles abroad, and also here in Malaysia. Speculation predominates topics of conversation, but commentators are not so confident in predicting the trend of future events.

The recent ASEAN talks in Kuala Lumpur did not appear to help clear the atmosphere. Everywhere people are asking, "What will happen next?" Nobody knows. Muslims leave everything to God, though our Holy Prophet, Muhammad S.A.W. has reminded us, "Believe in God, but tether your camel".

In other words, one has to be prepared to meet all exigencies and eventualities. The Government must put themselves in a very strong position to do so, getting the people on their side, ready to back them with all their hearts, even to a bitter end.

However, I do not think there is cause to be unduly despondent, as we have faced worse situations before. We came through all these trials and tribulations very well. We have good reason to thank our lucky stars for our success, because as a people and nation, we were very united.

In the Cabinet we worked together as one though we were Malays, Chinese and Indians, elected representatives of a three-party Alliance. The only difficulty we ever had came from a Malay.

Despite that episode, we were all satisfied that the principle of collective responsibility in the Cabinet was correct, so we were able to face up to and tackle all our problems with complete success. A Cabinet must always stand united; there should be no misunderstanding among members — once that happens the country can lose confidence in the Government.



There are signs of differences breaking out among members of the Barisan Nasional. They may be small at the moment, but unless these divergences are attended to and corrected in time, they may well lead to other difficulties, and at all costs this is a situation that must be avoided.

Perhaps I am going out of my way when I talk about all these matters. What I want to convey to all, and to stress, is that we must show a united front. This was the good fortune I enjoyed in the days gone by, and I want Tun Razak to enjoy the same blessing.

He knows as well as I do that it was through this unity and understanding among my colleagues and the leaders of the Alliance, that we managed to shape the course of this country towards independence, to win ultimate victory over our adversaries and to achieve peace.

In my time as Prime Minister I had some very close associates, whose memory I still revere and whose friendship I still treasure with all the warmth of my heart. One such man was the late Datuk Suleiman bin Abdul Rahman.

#### DREAM

Some time ago Datuk Suleiman appeared to me in a dream. Attired in Malay dress, he sat down quietly beside me, but said nothing. Turning to him, I said in Malay, "You must have a purpose in coming to see me". He just smiled. "Otherwise", I said, "why should you come to see me?" Again he smiled.

When I woke up I realised, of course, that he was dead, but my dream was so vivid I thought there must be some special reason for dreaming about Suleiman. He was a great friend of mine, one whom I loved dearly.

Three days later Datin Tom, his widow, came to see me with her daughter. She told me that the son, who was a doctor, wanted very much to marry a Thai girl who was studying in Australia. He had become very attached to her and had asked the girl's father for permission to marry. The father, however, would not accept his suit, unless someone "high up" in the political hierarchy of Thailand or Malaysia would apply formally for the hand of his daughter.

Tun Dr. Ismail was an uncle of the son, but Datin Tom said that he knew nobody in such high circles in Thailand. So she had come to seek my help. It struck me immediately that this must be the purpose of Suleiman's visitation in my dream.

I told Datin Tom that I would do all I could to assist her. This I did, as I have many intimate friends in Thailand, so finally the young couple became happily married.

Datuk Suleiman was a kind but ultra-generous man, and, like me, he was very fond of horses. In fact it was in partnership with him that I first owned a race-horse in this country and together we met with some success. Suleiman was so devoted to horses that on the race-course he felt in no mood to talk to anybody; he spent his whole time concentrating on the horses.

If he spoke at all, it would be to suggest not to disturb him or waste his time, but direct your own attention to the horses just as he was doing.

He had a small house, Malay-style, in Batu Pahat; there was plenty of space but only one bed-room. In those days from 1951 on when I was campaigning for UMNO, after I had taken over from Datuk Onn, I used to rough it out wherever I went. When I was in Batu Pahat, however, I always slept in Datuk Suleiman's house, occupying his only bed-room, for he would not have it any other way. He himself would sleep in the open space.

#### HARD-UP

My two children were in school then, but they never bothered to come to me for pocket-money. One day I asked my son, Ahmad Nerang, how was it that he never spoke to me about money. He replied, "You have already given me the money through Datuk Suleiman".

That was the kind of man Datuk Suleiman was, for he had been giving my children their allowance without telling me anything about it. He knew I was hard-up, and that whatever little money I could spare I used for the Party.

The most noble and selfless action Datuk Sulaiman ever did was to take on Datuk Onn in Johore Bahru, when Datuk Onn challenged me to fight him there in the first elections in 1955. If Datuk Suleiman had contested in Batu Pahat he would have won hands down, and most likely without any opposition at all.

The election results showed that Datuk Suleiman polled the largest number of votes returned in any constituency in the whole country. Though he became Minister of the Interior, even at that early stage he had already suffered a heart attack, and showed signs of some strain.

One most amusing incident occurred when I made a State visit to Japan. It must be remembered that Datuk Suleiman had a bushy moustache, but it had turned grey. When we were going to luncheon with His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan, I took my wife's black eye-brow pencil and asked him to darken his moustache.

While I sat next to the Empress, Datuk Suleiman sat opposite on the left of the Emperor. During the luncheon, every time he had reason to wipe his mouth, he unwittingly removed a bit of the black from his moustache. I tried to make signs to him just to dab his lips, not to wipe his moustache, but he did not understand me.

### MIRROR

By the time luncheon ended three-quarters of his moustache had returned to its original grey, and parts of his napkin were black. I could hardly stop myself from laughing, so I regret to say I had to hurry when wishing goodbye to His Imperial Majesty. In the car, no longer able to control myself, I burst out laughing, and asked Datuk Suleiman to take a look at his face in a mirror from my wife's handbag. At first he was annoyed with me for having asked him to paint his moustache, but soon he, too, was laughing as loudly as me.

As a colleague and friend it would be very hard to find a man more loyal than Datuk Suleiman. At meetings of the Cabinet he displayed his special talent for dry humour, often raising much laughter during a most difficult session.

He was a friend to all and an enemy to none, but, alas, as time went by his heart trouble began to tell on him severely. Despite all the medical aid and new facilities available, we found it impossible to get him cured.

Finally the Government sent him to Australia as Malaya's High Commissioner, but he was not there long. Despite his failing health, he attended to his duties most conscientiously. Then one day when he stood up at a public luncheon to reply to a speech, he collapsed and died.

We had Datuk Suleiman's body flown back to Malaya for burial in his own State, Johore. Though he is dead, his memory will long remain as one of the sons of this country whose name should be written in the annals of our history as a great patriot, a man who gave most devoted service to the cause of our independence.

Always courteous and considerate, Datuk Suleiman was a lawyer by profession, a nobleman by birth, and a gentleman by character.

In those early days when the Cabinet was formed, we had as colleagues men who stood together and thought alike; men who were prepared to sink and swim together; and, above all, men whose loyalty and dedication to duty was beyond any doubt.

There was one exception, as I mentioned earlier, and that man was not originally a member of UMNO, but in our struggle for independence we had to bring him in to the Party in order to get the

support of Utusan Melayu, the Malay paper his family controlled and which he helped to run.

## PARTY

UMNO was then in a state of rehabilitation and reorganisation, so we had to have the support of this paper. Encik Abdul Aziz Ishak agreed to join the party. He was given a post in the Cabinet, but he was the only one who was not with us; and in the end he had to work his way out.

Another man, who was quite a character in the Cabinet, was Encik Khir Johari, now Malaysian Ambassador in Washington and also the United Nations. A man with a great sense of humour, with bags of tricks in his pocket, he used to tell funny stories, sometimes even out of place and a little too risqué.

When His Majesty the King of Thailand came to Malaya on an official visit, we gave a private party to Their Majesties the King and Queen in the Cameron Highlands. It was a very informal gathering, full of fun. At dinner, of course, selected guests sat at the main table, but, before anything could be done, I found Khir Johari sitting next to His Majesty the King.

So I went up to the King, saying, "Your Majesty had better not sit next to this man, because he might tell you unsavoury stories".

The King replied that he had asked Khir to sit next to him, because he wanted to hear his stories. So I left them alone, and throughout the evening the King was laughing; obviously Khir Johari had dared to tell His Majesty all the spicy stories he knew, or had picked up, or even invented on the spot.

When Khir Johari was Secretary-General of UMNO, we were informed one morning after the Koran Reading Competition the previous night, that the head of Kaum Ibu, Puan Khadijah Sidek, had been taken ill. Both Khir and I rushed to her house, gently and kindly removed her to the hospital, and asked the doctor to take care of her, and to give all the attention necessary to make her well again.

When she recovered and was well enough to talk, the first thing she said was that Khir had tried to poison her. Khir was struck utterly dumb with surprise because he had never had anything to do with the food served the evening before.

## FEVER

Of course, the lady may have said this at an unpredictable moment when her state of mind was disturbed. This is often the case when a person has high fever: the patient tends to be delirious.

I have never seen Khir feel so hurt in all my life. He could usually keep any party alive with his fund of jokes culled from books or heard from his acquaintances. On that occasion, however, Khir had no joke on hand ready to tell.

We used to have a lot of fun in Cabinet, and after each session we would adjourn to a colleague's residence for lunch, and also to discuss any matters not settled earlier. Each colleague in turn would give lunch best suited to his own taste. Chinese colleagues would give a Chinese lunch. Tan Siew Sin would give a mixed Baba Malacca and Chinese lunch.

Tun Sambanthan, however, would spread out his lunch on banana leaves in true Indian fashion with the best Brahmin food possible. He, too, had a sense of humour. Often he became a target for jokes from his other colleagues, but in his quiet and gentle manner he would bat one back to the amusement of the company.

In this way we used to end our Cabinet sessions in good humour and with a mutual sense of belonging — one for all, and all for the country we love so much.

One night in London I told Tun Sambanthan to wear a suit that we went to buy him earlier in the day for a dinner we were attending with Sir Gerald Templer. When we were all ready to go, Sambanthan appeared in his dhoti and a scarf.

#### AUDIENCE

I said nothing, but as soon as we entered the house I removed the scarf from his shoulder, and politely handed it to Lady Templer as a present from us all. At first Lady Templer refused to accept it, but Sambanthan in all good humour, said — "Yes, it is for you". It was after that incident that he began wearing a suit with a fashionable London tie and shirt.

Another colleague I will never forget is Tan Sri Sardon, now Governor of Penang. On one occasion he had to address Javanese members of UMNO in Tangkak. I had gone ahead of him to address the Malay members first.

Sardon came late. Before I could speak to the Malays, Sardon arrived and without saying as much as "Good morning", immediately proceeded to address the audience in the Javanese language.

I tried to tell him that they were Malays, but he did not appear to be taking any notice. After an hour of "jabber-jabber", he finally finished, and sat down.

Then I told him that the people whom he just addressed in Javanese were the Malay crowd; the Javanese group had not yet

arrived. He said, "Why didn't you tell me earlier?" I replied that I had been trying to tell him all the time, but he would not listen.

Such can be the "hazards" of being a political leader. Politics is a serious business for those who are genuine in their consideration for the welfare and happiness of the people, but, just as there is among the people, there are also moments of rich humour to recollect that can make political life well worth remembering.

ARTICLE 25  
(2 June, 1975)

**MEN WHO HELPED TO SHAPE  
THE NATION (2)  
THREE ALLIANCE STALWARTS**

**W**ith regard to the two Chinas my policy was simple. No one could deny that the Communist regime was — and still is — in power on the China mainland, or that the Republic of China, led by the late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who had retreated to a reserved position in Taiwan, is no more than a shadow of his past. Despite all the support the Republic of China received, nothing on God's earth could change its image.

It was my prayer that at some time perhaps the reality of the situation would be accepted; that the powers that be would declare the Republic of Taiwan an independent sovereign state; that China itself would come out in all its glory as the Government of the People's Republic of China; that these agreements would end the China charade once and for all, and thus peace could return to the Chinese people at last.

When I visited America in 1960 during the term of office of President Eisenhower, I made known my views that I would support the admittance of Communist China into the United Nations, while allowing Taiwan to remain in the UN on these terms. I was informed, however, that the UN Charter could not admit two Governments from the same country to be represented in the United Nations.

I maintained that it was just as easy to amend the law, as it was to make it. After all, neither is in the same country — one is Taiwan, the other mainland China, the two being separated by the Straits of Formosa and the China Sea. The effect of such an amendment as mine would help to solve the long-standing feud between the two Chinese leaders, but only America could get them to agree to this proposal.

Unfortunately, however, the People's Republic of China refused to accept any compromise, and neither would Generalissimo Chiang

Kai-shek. Communist China demanded a complete withdrawal of Taiwan from the United Nations before they would agree to join. On the other side Chiang Kai-shek maintained that he would return as overlord of China one day.

### NO WARNING

When American newsmen interviewed me, I said I supported the admittance of Communist China into the United Nations but at the same time the other China (Taiwan) should be allowed to remain a member also, as the Republic of Taiwan.

On my return home, Tun Dr. Ismail, who was then Foreign Minister, was very annoyed with me because he said my policy, as I had earlier declared, had been not to admit Communist China. When I made this recent change, I had given him no warning, whereas he had made a statement in Hong Kong supporting my earlier policy statement. As a result, he wanted to resign from the Cabinet.

At once I realised my mistake, but when I made the Press statement in America I had done so on the spur of the moment. I had no chance to warn him previously, nor did I think such a slight departure from policy could cause such an upset. After this explanation, Tun Dr. Ismail left my house in a huff.

He came again to tender his resignation officially, but I had told my house-boy earlier that if Dr. Ismail arrived he was to inform him that I was out. And this he did.

After three or four such visits, Tun Dr. Ismail came no more, so I realised that he had cooled down. I was very pleased to see him in the Cabinet again, as if nothing had happened. But he was that type of man — short in temper and easy to take offence — but if he was allowed to reflect and calm down, he would recover his equilibrium as quickly as he had lost it. Above all, at heart he was a very loyal and faithful colleague.

I first met him on his honeymoon being introduced by a mutual friend, and from then on our friendship grew, becoming very staunch indeed. Right through the toil of rebuilding UMNO, forming the Alliance, and finally in the struggle for independence he, like his brother, Datuk Suleiman, went all out to fight the rival party led by his step-mother's brother, Datuk Onn bin Ja'afar. Neither of them would give way: they went for one another hammer and tongs; and in the end Datuk Onn had to give in.

On another occasion when we were about to break with Singapore, at a midnight meeting in my house, he had a heated argument with Aziz Ishak. The latter challenged him to go outside



and fight. The little doctor got up to take on Aziz Ishak, a bigger and stronger man. At the height of this verbal fracas, and knowing that Dr. Ismail had heart trouble, I shouted to Aziz Ishak to sit down or get out of my house.

### KINDNESS

Dr. Ismail's last and final act of kindness to me was during the trouble of May 1969. He had already retired from Government service to be the head of the Guthrie Group of Companies, in which post he was earning a salary three times that of a Minister.

When he saw what was happening, and realising the attempts being made by young UMNO extremists to embarrass me, and to oust me, to be more correct, he came and asked that he be taken back into the Cabinet. When he returned, he used his own dynamic personality and strength to the full to rout these elements.

On his own initiative, he went on the Radio declaring that "anybody who had any design on the personal safety and dignity of Tunku Abdul Rahman would be arrested". That broadcast had a great effect on the extremists, who quietened down.

He was a true friend and loyal colleague indeed. In the early days he had given up his medical practice in Johore to help build the nation we all live in and love so much.

It is only when you are in trouble, and in a serious one, too, that you can tell who your friends are, and I am happy to be able to say that most of my friends remain firm and true to me in times of trouble.

### MALACCA BABA

In contrast, another close friend was Tun Sir Cheng-lock Tan, a kindly old man who brought the Chinese together as the Malayan Chinese Association and later joined with UMNO. Our partnership was the beginning of the Alliance. Though he took no part in all the conferences and other deliberations that were taking place, his was the spirit behind the unity of the two races, the Malays and the Chinese.

A real Malacca Baba, he spoke no Chinese and very good English, but he was not very well versed in Malay. For example, in appointing a candidate for a Parliamentary seat, he said in Malay, "Angkat orang baik taruh atas kerusi di dalam Parliamen," whereas the correct Malay is "Pilih calon untuk Parliamen".

Malay is his lingua franca, but the Malay he spoke at various rallies did not sound impressive, and more often than not was grammatically wrong. He used "bazaar" Malay, and people used to

rock with laughter at his ways of expression. Nevertheless, he was highly respected by all Chinese, whether Straits-born or China-born.

It was Tun Sir Cheng-lock Tan who urged the Chinese to look upon Malaya as their home and the object of their loyalty. He said the Chinese had to accept and live with reality.

As his son, Tun Tan Siew Sin, put it later, "What my father was trying to say was that it should be obvious that what the MCA wanted was not necessarily what the Alliance would agree to.

"On many issues there had to be a policy of compromise, a policy of give and take. But it was maintained, however, that the policies eventually agreed upon were on the whole fair to all communities, bearing in mind that in a multi-racial society no community could have its own way".

During the Emergency, Tun Cheng-lock went out of his way to attack the terrorists. So it happened that one day when attending the funeral of a friend, the terrorists threw a hand-grenade, severely injuring him, as well as the late Tun Leong Yew Koh. Tun Cheng-lock never tired of showing any guests in his home the blood-stained shirt, with all its tear holes from grenade splinters.

He was very fond of giving Malacca food to his guests. His main dish was nasi lemak, with all the ingredients that go with it. We used to enjoy the meal, and when it was over he would produce his famous cigars, which had been stored away, perhaps for years, as he himself was a non-smoker.

He kept these special cigars for his guests, but in the meantime the moths made their usual havoc. When one smoked, the cigar would be very difficult to draw, because of the damage caused by these little pests. So we had to use all our fingers, as if playing a flute, to block the many holes in his cigars so as to get the minimum draw of smoke. He would turn round, remarking "These are nice cigars?" I would reply, "Yes, they may have been — once upon a time".

Another great source of pride to Tun Cheng-lock was his ancient Chinese furniture, especially his grand-father's iron bed. He would never allow me to stay at the Rest House, so whenever I was in Malacca and in need of a rest I had to use his ancient grand-father's iron bed.

But it proved impossible to sleep on because with every movement the poor old bed would cry out in pain. When I did get up he would ask me if I had a good rest. I would say that I could have, if the old bed had not creaked and groaned so much.

When he first decided to join the Alliance, his son, Tun Tan Siew Sin, was in an opposing group, the Independence of Malaya Party headed by Datuk Onn. At one meeting the Alliance held in Kuala Lumpur in the Chinese Assembly Hall — in fact the very meeting called to launch the Alliance Party — we waited a long time for Tun Cheng-lock to appear.

To our dismay we found that he could not come. He had been spirited away earlier by Siew Sin and we only came to know of this the next day. Then we heard that Siew Sin was saying his father did not want to join the Alliance.

The meeting went on, and despite the absence of the MCA President, it was an unqualified success. Representing the MCA were H.S. Lee, Ong Yoke Lin, T.H. Tan, Leong Yew Koh, S.M. Yong and many other MCA leaders.

### ELECTION

In February, 1952 the first Municipal Election was held in Kuala Lumpur. The two parties fought on the Alliance ticket and when the results were in, the UMNO-MCA Alliance had won nine seats out of the twelve contested.

This victory gave the Alliance the necessary push, political prestige and uplift that were needed so much at that time. As a result of that election win, every State accepted the Alliance, which thereafter went forward from victory to victory in any polls.

It was soon after we had won in Kuala Lumpur that the "kidnapper" of Tun Cheng-lock Tan, Encik Tan Siew Sin, joined the Alliance to become one of its champions. After the demise of his father, and the split that occurred later in the MCA in 1959, Siew Sin took over as President, and ever since then had been one of the pillars of strength in the Alliance Party.

His earlier objection to the Alliance was because he misunderstood the question I put in the first speech I made at the Majestic Hotel in Kuala Lumpur in 1951, when I was appointed President of UMNO. I had asked — "Who are the Malaysans?"

It was a fair question because the so-called Malayan people at that time consisted of people who owed allegiance either to China, India, Indonesia or Ceylon, and there were also the Straits-born Chinese, who owed allegiance to the British. It was difficult, therefore, to know exactly, apart from UMNO members, who were true Malaysans at heart.

There were actually some leaders in the MCA who openly professed to be members of the Kuomintang, such as Tun Leong Yew Koh and others. The only person, whom I knew to be utterly Malayan

at heart was Tun Cheng-lock Tan, as well as the members of his family, because he always considered himself a son of this country.

So, if we were to fight for our independence, the people must first declare their loyalty to Malaya, and to Malaya alone, and renounce any allegiance they might have to their country or countries of origin. Only in this way could the battle for the independence of Malaya be fought and won.

True enough, after we formed the Alliance all our concentration was directed towards a Malayan loyalty and outlook, and when people began to shout with one voice, "Merdeka", I knew the battle was over. Victory was ours.

When I took over as President of UMNO, this was not the general feeling. I had no intention of carrying on just as UMNO President, and, likewise when the Alliance was formed with the MCA, it was not my intention either to hold on to being leader of the Alliance.

### CONCERN

My whole concern was to free our country and ourselves from British rule, in keeping with the slogan I have always used, "Di Bebaskan", which means "To liberate".

I had inherited from my father his personal seal, which was a ring embossed with a Sphinx. The story of this Sphinx was that it had destroyed a number of Egyptians as they entered the gates of the city, because they were not able to answer the riddle he put to them.

One Prince decided to challenge the Sphinx. When the Sphinx gave the riddle, he answered correctly. Then the Sphinx hurled himself down from the top of the gateway to self-destruction. So that was how this Prince freed the people of Egypt from the tyranny of the Sphinx.

By coincidence, from among the many sons my father had, I received the seal. Whether my father foresaw the days of independence when he bought the seal in Paris at the turn of the century, it is difficult to say, for towards the end of his days he was very sick and infirm. In fact, I received the ring after he died.

Years later, I put this question to Tun Tan Siew Sin — "Why did you become such a staunch leader of the Alliance when in the early days of its formation you were so bitterly opposed to it?" And what he had to say — very interesting. I am not a Sphinx, expecting a reply to a riddle, so I will give the answer in his own words next week.

**ARTICLE 26**  
**(9 June, 1975)**

## **TAN SIEW SIN'S HISTORIC DECISION WHY HE BECAME A STAUNCH LEADER OF THE ALLIANCE**

**Y**ears later I asked Tun Tan Siew Sin this question: "Why did you become such a staunch leader of the Alliance when in the early days of its formation you were so bitterly opposed to it?"

He sent me the following reply:-

"It will be recalled that the late Datuk Onn bin Ja'afar, in early 1951, as far as I can remember, proposed that UMNO should throw open its doors to the non-Malays as well, and admit them as full members of that organisation. This move was strongly opposed by UMNO as a whole, with the result that Datuk Onn left UMNO and formed the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP).

"I for one felt that Datuk Onn's move was both appropriate and timely, because even then I was strongly of the view that the sooner we forgot about our being Malays, Chinese, Indians and so on, the better for all of us. I was therefore very unhappy when he had to leave UMNO because of this.

"You succeeded Datuk Onn as UMNO President, and I well remember one of the first speeches you made as its President. You asked, "Who are these Malaysans?", and I must admit that this remark really worried me. I regarded this remark as implying that the non-Malays in this country had no right to call themselves Malaysans. Not unnaturally, I came to the conclusion that it was not possible for the MCA to work with UMNO under its new leadership.

"Datuk Onn then formed the IMP, and with these thoughts in mind, I naturally strongly supported this Party, as I felt that it was the only hope for the future.

### **MUNICIPAL ELECTION**

"Then came the February, 1952 Kuala Lumpur Municipal election, the first election to be held in the history of this country. Tun

H.S. Lee, who was then the Chairman of Selangor MCA, wanted to fight this election on an MCA ticket.

"He approached my father, who laid down only one condition, and that was that he had to have a Malay partner, because my father felt that it would be disastrous to start fighting elections on purely racial lines. The IMP under Datuk Onn had already declared that it would fight this election.

"My father, therefore, felt that it was undesirable for a purely Chinese party on its own to fight a multi-racial party like the IMP. If, on the other hand, it had a Malay partner, then it would not be a racial conflict but an ideological one, and that was all right by him.

"Tun H.S. Lee, therefore, persuaded the Kuala Lumpur UMNO leader, Datuk Yahaya, to join forces with him, solely for the specific purpose of contesting the Kuala Lumpur Municipal election. Agreement between the two parties was duly reached, and this, as you know, marked the birth of the Alliance.

#### REQUEST

"The late Mr. Yong Shook Lin and Mr. Khoo Teik Ee and I, however, felt that the MCA should not ally itself with the UMNO for even this limited purpose, for the reasons given above. In fact, we felt that UMNO was the worst possible partner for us, and we were determined to fight this move. Hence, at the request of Datuk Onn, I campaigned for the IMP in Kuala Lumpur.

"I remember Tan Sri Omar Ong Yoke Lin attending one of our election rallies, at which both Mr. Shook Lin and Teik Ee spoke. Mr. Teik Ee called the UMNO-MCA Alliance a marriage of convenience, while I attacked UMNO, you and Tun H.S. Lee.

"I also remember vividly sitting beside the radio at my house in Malacca on the night the election results were announced. The newly-born Alliance won nine seats out of 12. I was so fed up with the news that I turned off the radio straightaway, and went to bed. I was aghast, as I thought that the results were disastrous for the country.

"Gradually I came to know you and the late Tun (Dr.) Ismail better, and felt that you were not so bad after all. Although Tun Abdul Razak became a member of the Federal Legislative Council in 1951, having taken his late father's place, he kept a low profile politically outside the confines of UMNO, as far as I can remember, largely because he was then still in the Malayan Civil Service, as it was then known.

"By 1954 I had known the three of you well enough to feel that we could probably make a go of the Alliance up to a point. I decided to stand by you in the famous 1954 walk-out from the Legislative Council, when we could not agree with the late Sir Donald Mac Gillivray on the question of the quantum of an elected majority in the forthcoming 1955 Elections to the Legislative Council.

"I even took the trouble to sign an undated letter of resignation, which I handed to my father, as I knew that if the walk-out came about, it would take place when I was overseas on holiday. I therefore ensured that I would resign with the other members of the Alliance in the Council, even though I would not be likely to be in the country at that time.

"At this point in time, I was, however, still not certain how far I could go with UMNO. What convinced me that UMNO and the Alliance were worth supporting to the hilt were the events of 1956.

"When the British Government announced that independence would be coming soon, I made a statement, in my capacity as Chairman of the Publicity Sub-Committee of the MCA, that UMNO must concede to the non-Malays the right of *jus soli*, i.e the right of non-Malays to become citizens by operation of law by reason of birth in this country.

"UMNO straightaway countered that they could not accept this suggestion, and this was also published. You realised then that this was an explosive issue, and formed a committee of the Alliance to go into the whole question of the major provision of the Constitution of an independent Malaya.

## VIEWS

"The Reid Commission was then at work collecting views from the people, but this was a purely Government body and would naturally look at things from the purely official angle. Our Committee, on the other hand, would have as its main task the reconciliation of conflicting views on major issues between the member-parties of the Alliance.

"You will also recall that my father, though still nominally President of the MCA had, in fact, been out of action since the accident and illness which overtook him in 1955, and which had incapacitated him mentally. This Committee was headed by Tun Abdul Razak, and consisted of representatives of UMNO, MCA and the MIC, which joined the Alliance only in 1955.

"A Working Party of the full Committee was formed, but I could not sit on it, as I then lived in Malacca. The members reached

agreement on the citizenship provisions, and these included those who represented the MCA. When I saw the agreement I was horrified, as I felt that the concessions made by UMNO fell far short of what I regarded as the essential minimum.

"When the Plenary Session of the Committee was held, I therefore warned the UMNO leaders that, although the whole of the MCA had agreed to these provisions, I was determined to fight them to the bitter end, alone if necessary.

"What made me so determined to fight was that at about this time a Malay newspaper (which has since gone out of existence) by the name of 'Warta Negara', published a statement to the effect that from that time the Malays must ensure that they become the master-race of an independent Malaya.

### SAFEGUARDS

"In fact, I wrote to you on this matter and stated that this statement reminded me of Hitler, and therefore I felt the non-Malays should insist on certain essential constitutional safeguards to ensure that they would not be left behind in an independent Malaya.

"That was why I concentrated on two issues in this Committee, citizenship and the special position of the Malays. The original Article 153 was a compromise, which was hammered out as a result of this understanding.

"The Malay leaders also made concessions on the matter of citizenship, even though they knew I was alone, and even though the MCA had committed itself to something far less satisfactory from the non-Malay point of view.

"I must say that the magnanimity and understanding of the UMNO leaders impressed me deeply. After all, these were vital issues to them as well, and yet they showed considerable understanding and foresight in such an emotional and explosive atmosphere.

"I thereupon decided that to the end of my days I would support you and UMNO to the hilt, as you and your colleagues had proved your sincerity beyond any shadow of doubt when it came to the acid test. You proved it by your actions. We could not have asked for more.

"It is obvious, however, that in the last analysis what converted not only me, but many other Chinese, was your magnificent leadership. It is no exaggeration to say that had anybody but you been at the helm of the Alliance in the early years of independence, the history of Malaya, and later Malaysia, could well have been different.



"I well remember a long discussion I had with Tan Sri T.H. Tan, who was then Executive Secretary of the Alliance, in the early Fifties. I still had some doubts about it and its future course.

#### FACTOR

"The decisive factor, so far as I was concerned, which removed those lingering doubts was your personality. I was convinced without any persuasion that, so long as you are the head of the Alliance, we could not have a better leader, a warm, human personality who is generous and loyal to a point which sometimes becomes an embarrassment even to yourself".

I would like to comment on Tun Tan Siew Sin's reply.

Datuk Onn did form the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP). His object was to have a party, which was non-communal in its composition. This was in fact an ideal concept and a move in the right direction, but I maintained that the people who made up the population of Malaya were not yet ready to accept fully their responsibilities as Malaysians.

Under Colonial rule we were divided by the British in such a way that each community was conscious of the fact that they belonged to the Chinese, Indian or Malay races. Vernacular schools were established for this purpose, i.e. to divide them.

When I was District Officer in Kuala Nerang in 1933, there was only one Malay school, and all the Chinese boys went there, and so, no matter whether they were Malays or Chinese they grew up together. As a result, they understood one another; and from this Malay school the boys were then sent to special classes in an English school in Alor Star.

Then in 1934 a new education policy was introduced. This was not to admit Chinese boys into Malay schools. The Chinese were asked to build schools for themselves.

#### COLONY

When the Japanese came here they planned a Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Their plan was that every country in Asia was to get independence, and then work together for the prosperity of this region under the aegis of Japan — except Malaya, which, according to the Japanese, would have to remain their colony because the people were divided, and in consequence they were confident of colonising Malaya for all time.

Then when the British returned in 1945 they had ideas of liberating the nation under their rule, but Malaya was to be only a

self-governing Protectorate. Even then the people must form themselves into a united whole, and Datuk Onn was asked to undertake the task of uniting them. So the IMP was formed.

That move would not have succeeded in making them single-minded. My idea to form an Alliance was the best way. Gradually in this way we could lead them towards one goal of loyalty to Malaya, and that was how the Alliance came into being and met with such great success.

The UMNO-MCA Alliance was tested in the first Municipal Election in Kuala Lumpur and won the immediate approval of the electorate. It was Ong Yoke Lin (now Tan Sri Omar Ong Yoke Lin) who got together with Datuk Yahaya and decided to form an Alliance to contest this election.

I was then in Province Wellesley, and received a message from them to come to Kuala Lumpur and give my blessing to this Alliance. The first thing I did on arriving in Kuala Lumpur was to get the views of one of the leaders of IMP as to what he thought of this proposed Alliance. He immediately condemned it as being unworkable and foolish.

#### GOD-SEND

I thanked him for his views, and immediately rushed off to meet Datuk Yahaya and Yoke Lin and told them to go ahead with the Alliance. It was a God-send, and, if well organised and managed, could well lead the people to Malayan-mindedness. This Alliance received the blessing of Tun Cheng-lock, Col. H.S. Lee, S.M. Yong and T.H. Tan.

There is nothing else I can say except that Siew Sin is a colleague whose friendship I value greatly. Here is a man who speaks no Chinese, but belongs to a great race of people, the Babas, whose customs and language are absolutely Malayan, and who owe allegiance to no other country but Malaya.

If we just had Babas to contend with, the idea of Datuk Onn forming one non-communal party would create no problem. But, unfortunately, in the years between World War I and World War II there was a great upsurge of Chinese nationalism, the first under General Chiang Kai-Shek, and the second under Mao Tse-tung. The Malayan Babas, the Straits-born, were no match for them.

These new Chinese easily got control of Chinese minds, and prevailed upon all to accept China as their object of loyalty. The Babas and Straits-born, like Tun Tan Cheng-lock, were not able to

fight off their influences, and as a result the Malays were afraid for their own safety and for the country's well-being.

### POLICY

After World War II, the position of the Malays became even worse, when Indonesia became independent. Many in Malaya of Indonesian descent started to look to Soekarno and Indonesia for leadership.

Malaya was in a state of great uncertainty. As Datuk Onn's leadership was based on British support, it followed he would have to continue to depend upon it. This would only make a mockery of independence, with Foreign Policy, Defence and Finance entrusted to the British.

My policy was more straightforward, practical and direct — to get rid of British influence once and for all, as I strongly believed that, while the British remained in this country in any shape or form, the Malays and the other races would never be free to work out their own salvation. They would always look to the British for guidance and protection.

Under those conditions they could never learn to think of themselves as Malayans, and so we scattered all our previous ideas to the winds, and went all-out for independence. And this policy paid great dividends. We attained our unity and aim to get the goal we all desired — a free Malaya.

ARTICLE 27  
(16 June, 1975)

## TUN SAMBANTHAN AS PEACEMAKER IN FIJI

One of my happy memories is my friendship with Tun V.T. Sambanthan. He was a lovable character, gentle and very easy-going, so easy that what he could do tomorrow he would leave until next month, for in his view the morrows went on forever.

On one occasion, when he was Minister of Health, an outbreak of cholera occurred in the Thai-Kedah border. Tun Sambanthan requested his Director of Medical Services to investigate the epidemic, but he was a European officer, a most uncooperative man, who treated Sambanthan as if he did not count.

When Sambanthan told me of his behaviour and attitude towards him I asked him to submit a report, and he replied he would do so immediately. At that time I was sick in bed, the report never came, not even after I was well again.

Three weeks later, still remembering the incident, I asked Sambanthan about the report. He said, "Never mind, Tunku".

I then told Sambanthan that we could not allow expatriate officers to think we were still their Colonial subjects. If they chose to stay after the British had gone, then they should remain as Malayan officers, and not as British expatriates.

So we had to terminate the services of this European expatriate as Director of Medical Services on the grounds of disobedience, neglect of duty, incompatibility of temperament and insubordination.

Tun Sambanthan would never do anything likely to prejudice a person's career, but there was a principle at stake in this case, that was, if an expatriate officer could not adjust himself to change, then he should go.

I am happy to say, however, that the number of expatriate officers who stayed back after Independence worked extremely well, giving the Government their maximum co-operation.

We did have a little trouble here and there, that was only to be expected, as administering a nation is a vast operation. On the whole, Malaya in the early days of independence found herself well-served by expatriate officers, particularly those in the Armed Forces and the Police.

Maybe some people objected to Sambanthan because of his persistence in wearing a dhoti, but this was no reason for going against the authority of a Minister. In fact, Sambanthan was very proud of his dhoti. He wore it in London when he went walking for exercise. I am told he even wore a dhoti when playing badminton, although he had to wrap it around his waist.

When walking with me in London, he was always trailing behind because he could not step out far enough to keep pace or catch up with me; or perhaps I walked faster on purpose. One day when we were out for a walk, I led him into Simpson's men's store in Piccadilly. On reaching there, I said, "Come in; I want to choose a suit", so he followed me inside.

#### TAILOR

In the Tailoring Department I asked the tailor to fit Sambanthan with a good ready-made suit. He protested, but only briefly, accepting the inevitability, and came out looking a new man — a brand-new suit, West-End tailored, brand-new shirt, new tie, new shoes and socks. When he left that store he was a changed man. He could hardly believe the difference it made to his appearance, but he never was a vain man.

On the way back to the hotel he was not only able to keep in step with me; in fact, I had to chase him. After that he was not satisfied with just one suit; secretly he went out alone, and bought a few more for himself.

His father-in-law, who was holidaying in London at the time, remarked to me: "I have been trying to advise Sambanthan to buy European suits, but he always refuses. How did you manage to convert him?" I answered, "It is the will of God".

Sambanthan was the first to walk into the Legislative Council clad in a dhoti — a costume that was taboo in the British days. According to him, "It makes the average man feel happier". The dhoti was accepted as Indian community dress, but when it became too closely associated with Indian nationalism, and not Malayan, Sambanthan began to feel less comfortable wearing a dhoti.

At the Convocation Dinner in Penang recently given in my honour by the Raja of Perlis, who is Chancellor of the Universiti Sains

Malaysia, His Royal Highness mentioned that when he was the Agung, he was proud that all Ministers worked together as a team in happy harmony. That was what we used to feel ourselves — real comrades-in-arms.

No Minister, of course, can always get things his own way, but Sambanthan's understanding and patriotism exudes great confidence. Of course, we had differences — who doesn't? — but these were usually centred on disagreements in opinions about each Minister's particular paper put before the Cabinet for consideration. Ministers naturally wanted to get everything possible for Departments under their portfolios, but other than this rivalry for "a slice of the cake" we had no private quarrels or personal feelings against one another.

### EMISSARY

In 1968 I sent Tun Sambanthan to Fiji as an emissary of peace. Ratu Mara, the Chief Minister of Fiji, was a personal friend of mine. His problem was to try and get the Indians in Fiji to co-operate with the Fijians for the ultimate independence of the country.

According to Ratu Mara, all the Indians cared for was their business, their community well-being, and working for their own self-interests. Their politics were aimed to serve these interests, and no more.

Ratu Mara had formed his party on the pattern of our own Alliance, because his country had a population with an Indian majority and they were very well-to-do businessmen.

He used to make frequent trips to Kuala Lumpur to seek my advice on how best to cure these ills. It was fortunate that on one of these trips, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was here, so I brought him face-to-face with the Indian Prime Minister to ask her for help.

As the leader of India she might well bring some influence to bear on the Indians in Fiji to make their best efforts to co-operate with Ratu Mara and so win freedom for Fiji. I am glad to say that this is what she did, so I, on my part, sent Tun Sambanthan to visit Fiji to talk with the Indian community.

I quote what he said:— ..... "It was providential that Ratu Mara should have come here, and should have taken a liking for you. The ties grow stronger over the years. Also the historic meeting with Indira Gandhi, which was arranged for both me and for him, and the follow-up by Indira Gandhi herself when she sent a few persons to talk to the Fijian Indians — all these made the Fijian leadership decide to opt for freedom...."

And from Ratu Mara, I received this letter from his Kuala Lumpur hotel, dated June 2, 1968 in which he wrote, among other things: "... The main purpose of my visit was to come and personally thank you, Tunku, for the great success of the delegation you so kindly sent to my country recently, under the superb leadership of Tun Sambanthan.

### PULSE

"You have a great disciple in Tun Sambanthan. He lost no time in putting his finger on the political pulse of my country. He made his diagnosis of our political disease, and provided the remedy in a most eloquent manner, that only he could deliver. We have never heard such oratory; his poignant words hit the nails so hard on the head that the opposition to the Alliance began to crack and disintegrate.

"The world is now beginning to realise the tremendous impact of your wise leadership, Tunku. I am sure you will be pleased to know that your colleagues have carried the inspiration of your devotion and dedication wherever they go. The world needs more of this, and I hope you will not be sparing in sending them wherever they are requested to go.

"My Indian problem in Fiji, only 250,000 problems, not one million, or 425 million. I notice I have more grey hairs than either you or Mrs. Gandhi, even though I have only a quarter million. It was indeed most providential that I dropped in, as it were, during her visit to Kuala Lumpur.

"I came here because I feel I cannot express adequately on paper my debt of gratitude to you, Tunku. I do enjoy being in your wonderful country, because I feel at home here, and because I feel it is my spiritual and political Mecca".

### PROBLEM

His problem reminded me of my own, when I first became President of the Football Association of Malaysia, which had two or three Indian members. At every meeting they would find cause to quarrel among themselves. At one session when the situation got worse than ever, I had to shout and bang the table for them to stop talking, exclaiming "I have the greatest admiration for Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru".

The late Mr. S.E.Singam asked: "What have they got to do with our meeting?"

I retorted, "At least they can control 500 million Indians, and I cannot even control the two of you". That fixed it — from then on, they were very quiet — comparatively speaking.

Tun Sambanthan's personality and tender ways won him many friends. When those who took exception to his dhoti came to know the man better, they began to see him, and not his dhoti. Does not an old adage say, "It is not dress that makes the man."

## MINISTER

When I was preparing to go on official visits to India and Pakistan, one host country suggested I should bring a Malay Minister. My reply was: "A Minister of the Malaysian Government is a Minister, and he is my friend and colleague, and if they don't like who I bring, then I don't go".

Naturally, I took Tun Sambanthan with me. He deported himself so well and made so many friends that the Governor of Lahore presented his wife, Toh Puan Sambanthan, with a silver salver.

Tun Sambanthan did not find the going all smooth when he became the leader of the Malayan Indian Congress. Before he began to lead the party, the President was K.L. Devaser, a man who kept on changing his mind and his associates.

One day he wanted to join the IMP, on another the Alliance, then the next day some other party. Of course he was thinking on the lines of what would be best for the MIC to hitch on to for its own good. At the same time, he would be shouting that the Alliance was a communal party.

He did join the Alliance Party, however, in time to share the laurels of the Kuala Lumpur Election. But the next difficulty was to try and prevail upon the MIC throughout Malaya to follow his example, and this proposal met resistance here and there.

In the midst of all this political instability and upheaval in the MIC, Tun Sambanthan came on the scene as President.

## FIRST SPEECH

Making his first speech as President on May 5, 1955 he said, "At the last annual session at Prai, the MIC decided to contest elections alone.... This resolution meant in practice that the Indians would be isolated from the other communities.

"Fortunately this decision was reversed at the Delegates' Conference at Kuala Lumpur; it resolved to join the Alliance .... It was a step in the right direction because, it brought inter-community



co-operation ..... It will result in their becoming increasingly Malayan in outlook ....."

### SPECIAL

When the Reid Commission assessed the views of the various communities, clubs and associations, Mr. Devaser proposed that the special position of the Malays, which was in the Constitution, should be scrapped. The MCA and UMNO were both strongly in favour of retaining this clause, as it would give the economically-handicapped Malays a feeling of security.

The objection some MIC members raised against this clause could have caused untold harm, even the possibility of wide-spread anti-Indian feelings, but Sambanthan then stepped in declaring that Devaser's views did not reflect those held by the MIC.

He felt this particular clause was a legacy inherited from the past, and far too delicate a matter to be raised with the Reid Commission. For stating this opinion, the Selangor MIC took him to task, passing a vote of no-confidence in him; but in other States, MIC branches gave him their full support.

That was his first unpleasant experience as President. He had faced a really serious threat to his leadership and emerged unscathed. This achievement helped to keep the MIC in the Alliance right up to 1974; now it is in the Barisan Nasional.

Tun Sambanthan had another experience, which we used to joke about, to his discomfort. Before we left for England for the final talks on the Constitution, the MIC held a heated debate. One delegate in particular lost complete control of himself, pulled out a knife, and tried to kill himself. Luckily however, he kept the knife poised long enough for someone to grab it away from him.

### SUCCESS

After all these early excitements, uncertainties and testing experiences the MIC, under Sambanthan's leadership, began to settle down, and the Alliance moved smoothly forward from success to success.

In 1959, when the MCA decided to leave the Alliance in protest against the number of seats allotted to the party, the MIC stood firm, and other MCA members took over the party leadership. Headed by its new President, Tun Tan Siew Sin, the MCA won every seat the party contested in that election, except one. And so did the MIC.

The 1959 victory was the biggest landslide victory ever scored by the Alliance up till that time, yet just before the election was held the Alliance had to face the hardest crisis in its history. The victory proved how well the leaders understood one another, how high they placed the cause of the nation above their own personal or party interests.

### EXPERIENCE

Tun Sambanthan had to leave the MIC, just as I have had to leave UMNO. Tan Sri Manickavasagam has taken over in his place. He, too, is a man of experience, having been a staunch member of both the MIC and the Alliance from the time it became a three-in-one party.

Age must give way to youth, that is only natural; but when Manickavasagam took over from Sambanthan he had been the MIC's "Number Two" man for a long time. With the experience he gained, and with his own aptitude and loyalty to the party, the MIC is in good hands, and the country is assured of being well-served.

ARTICLE 28  
(23 June, 1975)

## EVENTS THAT POSED A THREAT TO UMNO

The first important task I had as President of UMNO in 1951 was to undertake the defence of the seven men under sentence of death in Singapore.

The only name of a sentenced man I now remember is Osman Ghany. The seven men had taken part in violent rioting in protest against the forcible conversion to Christianity of Maria Hertogh, otherwise known as Nadra.

This British act had hurt the religious sentiments of Muslims to such an extent that the only way out seemed to them to display their feelings in open demonstration. This led to rioting, which caused loss of lives and injuries to hundreds of people.

Before the riots were finally brought under control, Datuk Onn and Tun Razak, who were then on their way to Colombo, had been asked to try and use their influence to calm down the rioters. They tried to do so, but had to make a quick escape, as the rioters refused to listen to reason, instead they became aggressive and hostile.

After the severe rioting, a few of the leaders were charged before Mr. Justice T.A. Brown. Seven received death sentences, the remainder terms of imprisonment. As I recall the events today, they were more or less as follows:-

Mr. Justice Brown, who heard the case on December 2, 1950 ordered a 13 year-old Eurasian girl, Maria Bertha (Nadra) Hertogh, to be returned to her natural mother. It should be remembered that Cik Aminah, her foster-mother, had looked after the child when her mother gave her to Cik Aminah for adoption, before the Japanese invaded Malaya.

The girl grew up as a Muslim but when the British saw the child, who looked white, they agreed to send her back to her natural parents at their request but against the girl's wishes. Cik Aminah

arranged her marriage to Mansor Adabi to prevent her being taken away. This marriage led to the court case, and the violent rioting that followed.

Eighteen persons died and 173 were injured. At the end of the three days of severe rioting, many arrests had been made, 82 of those apprehended being taken from the compound of the Sultan Mosque.

On January 7, 1951 the UMNO party, to which an appeal had been made to intervene, held a secret meeting and decided to have nothing to do with the case.

My first disagreement with Datuk Onn occurred over this case. I felt that the action of the British in forcibly removing the girl from the custody of her adopted mother, Cik Aminah, and putting her in the Convent of the Good Shepherd to be reconverted to Christianity, was a direct insult to all Muslims.

I maintained that it was the duty of UMNO, as a Malay party, to take up this matter with the British, and to show by some overt act how injured our Muslim feelings were.

Datuk Onn disagreed, on the grounds that this was a matter in which the law had to take its course. According to him, the condemned men had been given a proper and fair trial, and they must accept punishment. He refused to accept the moral of my argument that this case was different from any ordinary legal case.

There was nothing I could do, as a result of the Party's decision, except to harbour my own feelings quietly, but from that time onwards I had no more confidence in his leadership.

## FUND RAISING

Then, by the grace of Allah, on August 26, 1951 I became elected President of UMNO. One of my first actions was to start a fund-raising campaign for the defence of these seven men. There was nothing that could be done about Maria Hertogh herself, as she had already been removed to Holland.

I moved to my quiet kampong house in Telok Ayer Tawar in Province Wellesley with a single clerk to help me. I immediately called publicly for funds to help the condemned men in their appeal, which was still pending.

Money poured in from all quarters, and we were able to brief a lawyer, Mr. David Marshall, to appear in their defence. I travelled to Singapore to work with David Marshall on the case.

I was greatly impressed with the way David Marshall devoted himself so conscientiously to this case. On the night before the appeal.

he worked on the case without sleep, going straight from his office to the Court. There he made an eloquent and impassioned appeal on behalf of the condemned men.

Everyone was aware that the whole Muslim population was now behind these men. The Appeal Judge, while upholding the law, tempered it with mercy, and commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment.

I was overjoyed, considering this result my greatest triumph, and I believe David Marshall in some way associated himself with this sentiment, for when it came to paying for his services, he refused to accept any fee. He was amply rewarded later, by becoming the Chief Minister of Singapore, in fact with all the contentment and prestige of being the first Chief Minister Singapore had ever had.

## HISTORY

On the course of UMNO's long history, I have already recorded many incidents — a glowing account of the party's fight for independence, how we won over the Chinese and Indians to our side, the part UMNO played in bringing about happiness and harmony among the various races of Malaya, and how we worked to achieve the formation of Malaysia.

But there are other incidents of equal importance that threatened our very existence, causing most serious concern to UMNO at that time, incidents on which nothing has been written. After they were over and done with, no one appeared to give them a second thought.

One such incident was a rebellion by Malay school-teachers, who were among UMNO's strongest supporters. As teachers they were forbidden to take an active part in politics, but they undertook underground activities to help build up UMNO, and I, as the Party leader, was very well aware of the important part they played.

Though I was grateful to them for their support, they tried to put pressure on UMNO to meet their demands, which were many. When they could not get what they wanted, they decided to withdraw their support for UMNO, and not only their support but their membership as well.

Encik Mohamed Khir Johari, who was then Minister of Education, made a statement on the dispute on February 27, 1958: "I have read a directive issued by Malay teachers in Malacca asking its members to work against the Alliance candidates in the Rural Council Election there next May".

This directive added that Malay teachers wanted to dye UMNO in any colour they chose. On the other hand, the leaders of the Malay

Teachers' Association, while not denying the fact, said that the Malay teachers were going to remain neutral. This was followed by a report that Malay teachers had resigned en masse from UMNO in Penang and in other States.

This action of the Malay teachers caused me a great deal of concern because in the early days of our movement they had been among our most devoted and dedicated fighters for independence. They wanted special treatment, but I maintained that this would take time as their standard of education was far below that of the English school-teachers, and great improvements had already been made in their salary scales.

Although it was appreciated that there was some justification for their request, it was not possible to grant it, nor was it possible to give them what they were asking for without upsetting the whole service principle. While some of the Malay teachers understood our attitude, many resolved to stay out, and gave their support to other parties.

Another factor in their opposition to UMNO was their demand that Malay secondary classes should be set up immediately. On February 18, 1958 Datuk Onn was quick to seize the opportunity to level an attack on UMNO.

At a conference of Party Negara that day, he described the Malay teachers' walk-out from UMNO as "an eye-opener to all Malays" of the blunders the Alliance Government had committed since it obtained power.

Addressing the Party Negara delegates at their Annual Conference, Datuk Onn said, "The Malay teachers today have realised the folly of the Alliance Government's education policy. Party Negara was aware of this since 1955, and has warned the Malays of it".

He said that in recognising Kuo Yu and Tamil in the education policy, the Government had not only hindered the progress of making Malay the national and official language of the country, but had also hindered Malay education.

#### A SHADOW

Party Negara's policy would be to make Malay the sole language, with English as a secondary language. Tamil and Kuo Yu could be allowed to continue in schools, but such schools should not be given financial aid by Government.

He hoped however that Malay teachers would hereafter work together with Party Negara. But what Datuk Onn forgot was that, whereas in his IMP set-up there was one party, non-communal and

non-racial in composition, the Party Negara he formed after the dissolution of the IMP was only a shadow of his former party; it had no policy on education.

Believing that the rebellion of the Malay teachers within the ranks of UMNO would topple the Alliance, the Party Negara decided to ally itself with Malay political parties outside UMNO, in order to win the 1959 Elections.

Datuk Onn said, "The object of the new move is to save the Malays, to align itself only with parties that can have this common objective. Our foremost interest now is to win many seats in the next election; and this we must not hesitate to work for from today".

On the same day this meeting was taking place the first Negara candidate, Encik Taib bin Haji. Ismail, won the Town Council election in Kuala Trengganu, polling 257 votes against 240 for the Alliance candidate, Wan Mohamed. Party Negara indulged in ostentatious display of exuberance, and the report of the teachers' walk-out made headlines in the Press. According to Party Negara, UMNO was doomed.

A further exodus of teachers resigning from UMNO occurred all over the country, but I was not perturbed, accepting the inevitable with calm dignity and confidence.

In 1966, after the break with Singapore, there was a quiet whisper of discontent from a group of young UMNO members working their way into the party leadership. They received an equally quiet rebuke from me. I said there was no haste for them to feather their nest; they were not yet ready for top posts. Old people must give way to the young in time, but they must not be forced out, as the country still needed them.

Debates at the Annual General Meeting of UMNO that followed were quite normal, and there was no unpleasant incident at all. However, the new rival group of UMNO youth, led by a few hot-heads, went on campaigning in kampungs and other places to gain support from the people.

In 1968, I made known my intention to retire when my nephew, the Sultan of Kedah, should take over from the Sultan of Trengganu as the Yang Dipertuan Agung. In fact, I made no secret at all of my intention to do so, and in various speeches I reminded the people that Tun Razak would succeed me when I left.

In normal circumstances this should have been sufficient assurance and the rival group could have felt happy and contented, but they regarded my open remarks as an occasion to show their strength.

They increased the tempo of their campaign, and when the violence of May 13, 1969 exploded, they laid the whole blame for the troubles on me, circulating thousands of letters in their attempts further to blacken my character.

Their efforts did not go far. I remained in office until the actual day the Sultan of Kedah became the Yang Dipertuan Agung. But the whole smear campaign left a nasty and unpleasant atmosphere in UMNO itself. They continued making ungracious references to "old guards", complimenting themselves on setting-up a new order in UMNO.

I had remained loyal to the "old guards", as these youths chose to call them, for they had served the party well and had proved their valour, loyalty and devotion to both UMNO and the nation.

Everybody knew that the May 13 riot was started by the Communists and their sympathisers. Though the violence rocked Malaysia almost to its foundation, it subsided quickly, but the experience was a bitter lesson for all. We thanked God that it had spread no further than within the bounds of Kuala Lumpur, and, to some extent, Penang. Pray God it will never happen again!

In my book "May 13, Before and After", I wrote about a dream I had before the Election. I told how sewer-rats and blue-bottle flies swarmed in a dirty lane behind the shop-houses through which I had to pass, trying to block my way. To some extent, they are still present in the rank and file of UMNO today.

Tun Razak is well aware of this, for the Press reported on June 20 1975: "Tun Razak has warned party members to be on the alert against groups which use our national platform to disrupt the Barisan Nasional from within .... Anti-national groups use such tactics in order to gain the confidence of party members. They also resort to tactics based on class struggle through the process of democracy to cause disruption, with the result that members will no longer have faith in the present leadership.

## FACTIONS

"They would make use of a leader to help capture the party, and after succeeding, the leader would be discarded, and this group would control the party; their strategy would be more successful when the organisation was very large, but the members disunited .....

"The members should be alert, and be aware of the situation that can threaten its position. Members should, therefore, prevent such factions from infiltrating the Barisan Nasional". — THE STAR, June 20.



Tun Razak, in fact, is in a most firm, strong and secure position as the leader of this country, and has no reason to be afraid of any unsavoury element. Actually he has no rival, and no immediate successor. There is no one they could choose to take over from him, as they had in my case. Whether they like it or not, he must continue to serve this country as Prime Minister, as head of UMNO, and also of the Barisan Nasional.

He should, therefore, have no fear of those elements he spoke about, but take effective measures to deal with them. It is too much of a risk to put temptation in the way of these men, and if they choose to abuse their positions they cannot be blamed. After all, their political leanings and back-grounds are well-known.

#### POSITIONS OF TRUST

While it is easy to talk about enemies within the Party, something must be done to keep them out of positions of trust, where they could do the Party harm. Tun Razak is in a strong position to deal with them. Now that he has spoken openly about these dissidents, he should use his authority to exercise control over all undesirable elements "who are out to disrupt the party".

UMNO was the predominant partner in the Alliance, just as it is now in the Barisan. The leader is entrusted with its safe-keeping, and as such he must be prepared to protect its well-being.

Admittedly UMNO is a large party, and the bigger it is the harder it becomes to keep track of what goes on within. So the leader must depend to a great extent on the Party men themselves to help him. Therefore, the underlying principle that should govern the party's policy is the loyalty of the members.

If the majority of them are loyal, the party is considered safe. As I see it, at this moment, the majority are still loyal to UMNO and to Tun Razak, and UMNO appears to be safe for a long time to come, but proper control and discipline of the members must be maintained.

Past experience has shown that it pays to keep constant vigilance in the interests of the party, and members must remain united and loyal.

ARTICLE 29  
(30 June, 1975)

## MEMORIES OF THE OLD HAUNTED HOUSE FORMER RESIDENCY WITH PROUD HISTORY

**A**n old house still haunts my memory, bringing back feelings of nostalgia in my retirement — the Residency in Kuala Lumpur, on a hill-top over-looking the capital, on Jalan Datuk Onn, a road I had renamed in his honour as a national leader.

I moved there, because I wanted to escape from the discomforts of the neglected dwelling in Hose Road, which leaked like a wet sponge whenever it rained. The British Government had nothing better to offer me except a house which nobody wanted.

I had chosen a site above the Lake Gardens when I became Prime Minister; the new official residence was planned in Californian style, with the best of everything — a spacious, airy mansion with large rooms and a lovely view looking down on a beautiful lake and flowering gardens in the valley below.

When the big new house was completed, and the time came for me to move there, the old Residency which I had chosen as my temporary residence on Independence held me back, a feeling I could not explain. Old-fashioned it might be, but I had already grown to love the place; it had an "air", a character all its own, a "certain something" that made it inviting — quite undefinable, but nevertheless there. Thinking it over, I decided "Let me live here".

So I told Tun Razak, the Deputy Prime Minister, to live in the new house; "Sri Taman" it was called.

Neither of us knew then, when we discussed the move, that we were predicting our future. I was destined to live in the Residency until the day I retired from being Prime Minister; Tun Razak to live in Sri Taman, and within its romantic walls and scenic beauty, to become the father of another son, and Prime Minister.

When I was living and working in Jeddah after my retirement as Prime Minister, I heard that the Public Works Department had

"condemned" the old Residency, built in the Eighties of the last century, on the grounds that it housed an incurable and apparently indestructible army of white ants! So I returned hurriedly to Malaya and went straight to Tun Razak to plead for its life.

I asked the new Prime Minister to preserve the old house as a national monument for Malaysia. I said white ants could not destroy any part of the old place, else how had it survived so long? All the ants had managed to do was to eat away the soft linings of the new air-conditioning ducts; they could not get at the hard timber or the concrete beams.

On the other hand, there was no residence in this country, I said, that could boast of as proud a history as this old place could. It had housed the first British Resident, the first Chief Minister of Malaya, and then the first Prime Minister of Malaysia.

"Keep it", I asked Tun Razak, and so he has done for the nation. Has there ever been another house that generated such a feeling of contentment, harmony and happiness such as this historic house has done? Now it is Tun Sambanthan's office, and the congenial atmosphere suits his temperament.

### FRIGHT

When I first went to live at the Residency there were all kinds of stories spread about it. Some said it had an apparition — a white lady dressed in white robes roamed the corridors after mid-night and in the early hours of the morning.

In all the fifteen years that I stayed there, I never once saw an apparition — be it white, black, brown or yellow — and I moved about the house very freely at all times of the day and night.

Only once did I get the fright of my life. Suddenly I was awakened by voices near my bed. I switched on the light, sweat dripping all over my forehead, and found that I had not replaced the telephone back on the receiver, and the operator at the other end was talking all the time trying to advise me to do so.

I then understood that the phone of a Prime Minister is constantly under watch; if it goes wrong or "out of order" a red light shows up, and it did on this occasion; so the poor operator had to find out exactly what the trouble was. That was the only "ghostly voice" I ever heard in the Residency to wake me in fright.

Another story from the early days relates to the hill on which the Residency stands. Like a castle or a fort, its terraced hill — ideal for garden parties — had a row of cannons.

Down in the town below and across the river, occasionally clan warfare would break out. When clashing factions started smashing each other's kongsis houses, the Residency cannons would fire a salvo. The roar of the cannons usually had very good effects, sending the battle-happy warriors running helter-skelter for cover.

Numerous interesting events took place within the walls of the Residency; some were serious, but most were pleasant. On quiet evenings I love to look back on the life I had in that house of so many happy memories. Many important visitors came there, either to dine or to chat, to dance or discuss affairs of state and related problems.

Frequently Ministerial or party Executive meetings were held there after office hours. On one occasion, there nearly was a set-to between that serious thinker, Tun Dr. Ismail, and the unpredictable Aziz Ishak.

### FUNERAL

The Residency witnessed weddings and births, but only one funeral, and that was for a Chinese lady, a Mrs. Lam Tong, who on her death-bed in hospital asked to be converted to Islam. At that time I was in Singapore, but I directed that her body should be brought to the Residency and that she be given a grand funeral from there.

Although she was a dear friend of my family, she had never confessed her leanings towards Islam, until she was about to draw her last breath. I rushed back to attend to the arrangements for the funeral.

Among the VIPs who visited the Residency was HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, on his way to Singapore in 1956. In fact, he had to change plans and stop over in Kuala Lumpur, because there was trouble in the island. I went to meet him on the Royal Yacht "Britannia" at Langkawi, and together we flew down to Kuala Lumpur.

When I reached the Residency, there was a familiar, unsavoury smell of durians, then in season. Quickly I ordered the fruits to be moved out as the Duke was coming for lunch. I ordered European food to be served.

When the Duke arrived I told him about the durians. "Where are they?" he asked. "I want to eat some".

I said I had given them away to the servants. He went straight down to their quarters, with me following him, to try and salvage some, but the servants had already made a feast of the durians; only the thorny skins were left.

Then came luncheon. When the Duke saw what was being served, he said, "Tunku, why must you give me European food, when

you know how I love curry? In fact, on the "Britannia" I cooked curry myself, and I was looking forward to having your Malay curry. Now you give me European food, and on top of that deprive me of the pleasure of eating durians".

Naturally I apologised profusely, but before I could make amends by giving him another meal of curry and durians, the trouble in Singapore cleared up, and he left the same day.

### TAXES

Two other important visitors were Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester. It will be remembered that the Duke was here for the Merdeka Celebrations as the Representative of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

The last time he came with the Duchess was to visit Commonwealth troops stationed in this country. Though he looked sick and tired, at the end of dinner he was admiring my jade curios. I went up to look, too, and he turned round, saying "I used to have plenty of these, but I had to sell them to pay my taxes".

So I offered him my curios, but he said, "Thanks, Tunku, but I would have to sell them again to pay my taxes, so you had better save them". Now I myself have had to sell them to pay my own taxes.

Then there was Princess Marina, the Duchess of Kent, whom I always remember as the gracious lady who constantly invited me to sit next to her at the Wimbledon Tennis Tournament.

Other Royal visitors were the Earl and Countess Mountbatten of Burma, who used to come quite often. Lady Mountbatten had her last dinner with us at the Residency, before leaving for Sarawak on her St. John's Ambulance Brigade work, and there she suddenly passed away with a severe heart-attack.

### TORTOISES

The Kennedys, too, were there, Robert and Edward, with their wives. Also President Johnson and wife, President Park Chung Hee of Korea, the President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan, ex-King Leopold, the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Kishi, and Princess Margaretha, a beautiful and charming lady, who is now Queen of Denmark.

As Prime Minister I was also host to the Crown Prince Albert of Belgium with his Princess, and Crown Prince Akihito of Japan and his Princess.

With all these visits many gifts were exchanged at the Residency. I remember giving a pair of tortoises to the Crown Prince of Japan, who said he would like them for his children, as they had asked him especially for tortoises.

When I visited Osaka for the great Exposition there in 1970, the Crown Prince invited me to a private dinner at the Palace with his family, and there were my gifts — tortoises crawling all over the floor playing with his children.

One happy occasion in the Residency I can never forget was the dinner I gave to the Heads of Delegations attending the ECAFE Conference in 1957. Present, to name only a few, were the Russian representative, Mr. Firubin, the Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand, Mr. Witchit and the British representative, Lord Carrington. It was a gathering of VIPs from Communist and non-Communist countries.

When they first arrived, the atmosphere seemed cold and very tense, and no-one seemed to know what to say to each other. They were all very much on their best behaviour, afraid to say anything in case they should be the wrong things, and there I was in the midst of it all as host.

#### MERRY

I knew both Mr. Wicht and Lord Carrington very well, so I invited them to drink, but the good peer was afraid to. The Thai Deputy Prime Minister, however, responded, and turning round to Mr. Firubin, the Russian representative, invited him to join in. After a few more drinks, everyone became merry, friendly and talkative, and the party ended in much gaiety and fun.

There was only one unhappy incident which took place at the Residency in all those years, but fortunately it did not concern any members of the household. I was staying in Alor Star, and dreamed that I saw a drowned child being carried out and laid down by the Residency swimming pool. In the dream, so many people were gathered round, it was not possible to identify the child, but definitely it concerned me a lot.

When I woke up, I rang the Residency immediately, asking the servants if there had been any accident. They said, "No, Tunku", so I asked them to drain the swimming pool straight-away; I would be returning to Kuala Lumpur. That evening there was a celebration with fireworks display in the Lake Gardens.

On arriving at the Residency later after the fireworks, I was told there had been an accident — a child drowned in a little pool, used for watering the plants.

It turned out that the child's mother had come to the Residency, where she had a cousin on the household staff. While her mother was chatting in the twilight of the evening, the child climbed up one hundred steps, and down another twenty steps towards the pool, and falling into two feet of water, was drowned.

I had a large household with domestic staff, gardeners, chauffeurs, living inside the Residency compound. They in turn had so many children that it was impossible to count their number. Every year there were additions to the families; no sooner had you finished counting, more came.

Once I reckoned out that their number rose to almost like a hundred. Their voices, either crying or laughing, filled the air, morning, noon and night. They were indeed pleasant sounds to hear. One of my staff called their quarters "Kampung Tunku".

### PARTIES

My adopted daughter, Mariam, was then a small child, and so was Suleiman, and towards the end of my stay I had two "additions" to my family, Faridah and Noor. There was never a dull moment in my life at the Residency. We held parties on the children's birthdays and at Hari Raya; all would run round screaming away with delight over the presents and balloons they received. All of them were happy, making the adults happy, too.

The servants had many amenities — TV sets, ping-pong tables and other indoor games, but in the evenings most of them would crowd around the television.

My valet, Ah Seong, looked after my bedroom and clothing. If one vest or shirt was missing on my return from any trip abroad, Ah Seong would bring the matter to my notice.

He always had ready two lists of things to take with me on my journeys, written out in Chinese — one for home-trips, another for journeys abroad. Even if new things were added, he would still include the old ones. Inevitably this led to bigger and bigger bags, and more missing things on each return.

### FORTUNE

The verandahs of the old house were very cool, and I spent many happy times early in the mornings or evenings looking down at the bright lights in the whole of Kuala Lumpur below.

Often I used to look at the hills far beyond, thinking to myself how nice it would be if they were developed into health resorts. As events turned out, Genting Highlands soon came to life, not as a health resort but a place where thousands of people flock to seek their fortunes. This popular resort is the accomplishment of the efforts of one man, Datuk Lim Goh Tong.

Day in and day out people go there by road or helicopter to try their luck at the tables. Some come down laughing, others with long faces, but they all enjoy themselves. There are others who go up to

Genting Highlands just to enjoy the beautiful climate and the scenic beauty, and after a few days spent there, they come back fitter and happier.

### PARTING

All good things must come to an end, so when I retired as Prime Minister, I had to move out from the Residency, and my servants left to go their separate ways.

I could not take them all with me, there were too many — only Kalimuthu, my driver, and Samad, the Police bodyguard, followed me to my new home in Penang.

It was a sad parting as leaving loved places always is. As long as I live I will never forget the many happy days, months and years my family and I spent in the Residency — the old "haunted" house. It is not, of course, but for me it is — haunted with happiness and fond memories.



ARTICLE 30  
(6 July, 1975)

## MALAYSIA'S MONARCH DEMOCRATIC SYMBOL AND BASIS FOR STABLE GOVERNMENT

**T**he Raja of Perlis, as Chancellor Universiti Sains Malaysia, speaking at the Convocation Dinner on June 6, 1975 reminisced on events that happened during his term of office as Yang Dipertuan Agung.

Stressing "We were a happy family", he said there was great understanding between the Cabinet and the Agung, and also Government officials. He also said he had spent the best time of his life during his five years as Malaysia's Agung.

Coming from the little State of Perlis, he received his education as a boy at my old school — the "Penang Free". With his well-rounded frame, he has the build of a sportsman. Given the right height, he might even prove a worthy rival to Muhammad Ali, though not as an opponent.

As a golfer he used to whack the ball for all it was worth. Within only a few days of taking up the game, he proved quite proficient, at least good enough to take on HRH the Sultan of Selangor, no mean opponent, for a few dozen balls each time they played; and by a stroke of good luck, and with the right choice of partner, he invariably got the better of the Sultan. There was no end to the petty and friendly squabbles they had as a game went on, accompanied by much merriment.

One story told about their fraternal rivalry on the links is that at the little green called "Table Land", (No.17), the Sultan's ball went over to the other side by a hill, but the Agung's lay on the near side. They both went ahead to play their next strokes, but without the Sultan knowing, the Agung followed to watch how the Sultan would hit his ball from the other side. He was just in time to see the Sultan in the act of picking up the ball, presumably to throw it on to the green.

The Agung exclaimed, "Ah, I caught you". So the Sultan had to hit his ball. When they reached the green the Sultan found the Agung's ball already there.

"How", asked the Sultan, "could your ball have got to the green when you never hit it?" So they both laughed, called it "quits", and agreed to share the hole.

This is the story as I heard it, but I have had no opportunity to check it. Knowing both of them intimately, however, I can well believe the tale. They would always play in this jocular way. The end result was the Agung was richer by many hundreds of balls.

In the same Convocation speech HRH Tuanku Syed Putra mentioned how he had learned a few things from me. I remember when it was first suggested that it would be a sporting gesture if he would grace the Selangor Turf Club with his presence, he refused point-blank, saying he had never been a gambler, and racing was not his idea of sport.

When the club started the "Agung Cup", naturally they asked His Majesty if he would present it to the winner. He agreed. It was the first time he had ever visited a race-course, and as a sportsman he found the races thrilling and exciting. After that occasion, he became a regular visitor, and it was a real joy to me when our Alliance horse, "So Blessed", won the Cup. He was there to join in the thrill of winning, but as I told him our horse had a "poor chance", he had not placed a bet.

Nor would he ever join in card games or drinking, yet he never refused his guests hot or cold drinks; he himself never touched any drink that was not "soft". The joyful times we spent together at the Istana Negara are pleasant memories of very happy days.

## SUCCESS

His reign covered most interesting years, historically speaking, with a number of momentous events, either one following on the other, or all occurring at the same time.

These were the formation of Malaysia, Confrontation with Indonesia and the Philippines, the break-up with Singapore, but everything that began well ended well. His reign proved an unqualified success, and a glorious one.

The first Yang Dipertuan Agung, Tuanku Abdul Rahman, was another good sportsman, but he did not enjoy the best of health during his reign. In his young days, he was the Malay students' tennis champion in England; I was "runner-up". He was also the first

President of the Malay Society of Great Britain, and I the first Secretary.

By coincidence we both have the same name; even the "Tunku" is spelt in the same way. So when the Malay Society was formed, and I took our coat-of-arms to be embossed, the printers said, "We don't have this arrangement in our country, wherein the President and the Secretary are one and the same man. You should have another man as your Secretary". When I explained that we were different persons, they laughed and apologised.

Both of us were at the Inner Temple, but when he was called to the Bar, I was inundated with messages and letters of congratulations, as well as many requests to hold a "celebration dinner." By a curious coincidence he became the First Agung in independent Malaya, and I the first Prime Minister. So to avoid confusion, I had to add "Putra" to my name, this being what I was usually known by as a boy.

### CONCEPT

One Manila newspaper, when making an attack on me, suggested that I was a dictator so avaricious as to be both Head of State as well as Prime Minister.

One Middle East country became angry with me in 1959. While I was away on a few months' leave, an emissary came to ask the Agung to sack the Prime Minister. His Majesty Tuanku Abdul Rahman replied, "Alas, I can't sack him; he is elected by the people, and as Prime Minister of the country he can sack me".

That answer astounded the foreign envoy who found the whole concept of kingship in this country inimical, and entirely contradictory to that in his own. Their Kings and Amirs are absolute monarchs in the true meaning of the word, with powers of life and death over their subjects.

Here in Malaysia, we have a Kingship which changes every five years. At the end of his term, the King vacates the Throne, and the next King is installed. In English constitutional law there is a saying, "The King never dies", in the sense that the next incumbent succeeds to the Throne automatically.

It is true to say that in this country, too, the Throne, the symbol of kingship, is never empty. The authority of the Crown is vested in the King, but the executive power of the monarch is exercised by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

Our concept of monarchy has found favour with the people, and has proved itself both as a basis for good and stable government and

as a bastion of democracy. The King is the Head of State, and all Government acts are carried out in his name, and by his authority.

He has a Civil List, which provides for his personal and household expenses, but when this is compared with the incomes of the Presidents of republics with absolute power and authority, the size of the Civil List in Malaysia is indeed very small.

Some Presidents wield very great powers. We hear of people being incarcerated for calling a President names; one man was sentenced to death for saying, "The President is a tyrant".

## YOUTH

Once when I was in the Middle East, a Youth Conference was being held, and most of the subjects discussed were revolutionary. On learning that there were some Malaysians attending, I said, "If the idea of this Conference is to start a revolution and overthrow the King, the Malaysian representatives can have nothing much to say, for our Kings hold office only for five years. By the time the plan is hatched to overthrow him, the next King will have been appointed in his place".

If any had ideas of scrapping the Constitution altogether and of installing a Republic, they would have to show that the Malaysian system of administration was cumbersome, unworkable and unacceptable to the people. But Malaysia is a country that grows and grows, industrially, economically and politically, keeping pace with the trend of world progress.

Looking at South-East Asia and the Far East, when we compare Monarchies and Republics, one cannot help but feel that a Constitutional Monarchy gives more stable service to the people than a Republic does, though the only monarchies left in these regions are Japan, Thailand and Malaysia.

Malaysia has found it more congenial and agreeable to carry on with the present system of government, because of the unusual composition of her population. Allegiance and loyalty to King and country appeal best to the Malaysian mind and taste.

When HRH Tuanku Syed Putra became Agung he refused to walk up the stairs of the Istana Negara until all the Royal Regalia and other paraphernalia of office of the King had been removed to the Treasury, because he maintained that these were objects which should be revered, and not trampled over.

HRH The Sultan of Trengganu, Tuanku Ismail Nasaruddin, succeeded to the Throne after the Raja of Perlis, and he was most meticulously careful about the concept of Kingship and anything

connected with his high office. He would not leave Trengganu, until he was satisfied that the road was clear and the signs propitious.

During his five years in office, he insisted that the customs and traditions of Malaysian Kingship were followed religiously. He would have been shocked beyond imagination, if for instance, he was asked to attend a military parade without official orders and decorations and without wearing the correct uniform.

This is as it should be: a monarchy has a Monarch, it should not be confused with a Republic. We can have one or the other, but not both together. If he felt that he was not being given the respect rightfully due to his high office, he would soon say so; and no excuse would be good enough.

### SIGNIFICANT

During his reign the country enjoyed peace, prosperity and progress. The most significant events were the ending of Indonesian Confrontation and the cessation of disputes caused by the Philippines. Many visits by Heads of State took place, for Malaysia welcomed, for instance, President Marcos and his wife, President Johnson and his wife, the Emperor Haile Selassie (and his dog), and the late King Faisal.

It was then during his visit to Malaysia that the late King Faisal made a proposal to set up an Islamic Secretariat, asking me to take over the post, and also carry concurrently my work as Prime Minister of this country. I could hardly refuse, because I had mooted this idea a long time before, a grouping of Islamic countries patterned somewhat on the lines of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

So when I was asked finally to organise this body I took it on happily. With the wealth of the Middle East, the rich nations could do much to help their poor relations.

Another significant, but most tragic event, during this reign was the violence of May 13, 1969. As I have written before, the Communists and their sympathisers, egged on by local opposition parties and by irresponsible young people, started that day of rioting between Chinese and Malays. Despite this disturbance, however, the reign of HRH the Sultan of Trengganu, Tuanku Ismail, was most significant and successful.

When HRH Sultan Hisamuddin of Selangor became the second Yang Dipertuan Agung on April 14, 1960 he decided to put on the full dress of the Agung, when officiating at the Opening of Parliament, wearing both the Royal Star and the Royal Kris of authority. This was, in fact, incorrect, at least not until he had been installed officially.

But for some reason, unexpected and unknown, it was reported that it was his Royal wish to wear the full official dress on this occasion. It was too late for me to stop him, for he was already on his way to the Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman. After the ceremony, he fell ill, and as day succeeded day, his illness became worse and worse.

Professors Ransome and Monteiro, who attended on him, could not diagnose the disease. Every day his condition declined further, causing deep worry to all members of the Royal Family, the Cabinet and the people.

His Majesty would not respond to any form of drug or scientific treatment. Both professors confided to me that they had tried everything possible to cure him, but they were at their wits' end. They would be only too willing to allow a Malay bomoh (medicine-man) to try a faith cure, and so, as a last resort, we agreed it should be done.

His Majesty was removed from hospital, and taken back to the Istana Tetamu, where he resided. The medical experts stayed on in attendance at the Istana day and night, together with a bomoh, but all efforts were of no avail — his health continued to deteriorate.

I remember his last day very well — it was a Wednesday with the Cabinet in session, when I was called to his bedside. At exactly 11. am on the day and hour, September 1, 1960 the very date and time originally fixed for his Installation, His Majesty passed away.

#### UNCANNY

Can the death of the Second Agung on the date and time of his Installation be attributed to mere coincidence? Or did he do wrong by wearing the Royal Star and Kris before the Installation proper? Did he, perhaps, have an intuition that he would not live long enough to wear the emblems of Kingship, and so decided to do so before he was installed?

I dare not answer these questions, but it was certainly phenomenal and most uncanny that he should have died at the very hour of the day when he would become Agung officially amid all the splendour and honour of Royal ceremonies. His demise was sudden, unaccountable and under circumstances most unusual. It was curious that his favourite topics of conversation with me were nearly always about religion, in which he was most well-informed, and keeping fit and in good health.

The office of Agung, our own synonym of Kingship has come to be accepted by the people as the symbol of supreme authority in Malaysia, commanding our full respect and reverence.

When HRH the Sultan of Kedah, Tuanku Halimshah, became Agung — I was one of his uncles — in September, 1970 he requested me to serve even for only one day of his reign, so I did. The five years of his reign, all peaceful and successful, ended only recently.

Now comes the time of HRH the Sultan of Kelantan, Tuanku Yahya Putra, as the Sixth Yang Dipertuan Agung. He is bound to add glamour and dignity to the Throne. His only concern is for his eyes, which are not good. I assured him, however, that his luck was good — and that is all that matters.

The Prime Minister, the members of the Cabinet, Government officials, the Services attend to all matters of State and so far they have done well. The words of Shakespeare, "Uneasy lies the head that wears the Crown" might have been true in the days of absolute monarchy, but they are not so today. It is rather the Prime Minister who bears all the weight of responsibility on his head, though it is the Agung who wears the Crown.

For seventeen years of independence the Monarchy has proved its worth in Malaysia, and most of our people are satisfied, in fact welcome the sovereignty of Royal authority. The conditions of the country, the advent of greater progress, and the impact of foreign influences inevitably bring new ideas. Younger people as always want change. Whatever the change may be, obviously it must be change for the better, else why want it? Yet there are some hot-heads who want a Republic.

## HERITAGE

Any Malay who sees it this way is like a ship-wrecked man, who pushes away a floating log that comes his way, one to which he can cling to save himself from drowning. The same applies to all true Malaysians. Malays in particular are great believers in Royalty and all that the Crown symbolises; it is an integral part of their heritage.

The young may be inclined to scoff at the idea of monarchy, but in the long centuries of successive foreign dominations, their faith in God and in their Rulers were the only hopes that kept the Malay identity alive.

Whichever way they turn, there can be only four forms of government in the world today — Constitutional Monarchy as we have here, a Republic as in America, military Dictatorship, or Communist dictatorship as in China and Russia.

Whatever faults there may be in our system of government, there are faults in all systems — such is the nature of men. Here, however, we are free to pursue our way of life and religion without hindrance,

and so long as we keep within the bounds of propriety and the law, we are able to eat and sleep in peace and in security. And all this under a concept of Constitutional Monarchy, of which we should be rightly proud, as it is unique in the world.

Of course, there are thugs in Malaysia just as there are in other countries, and parasites who plague our society just as they do elsewhere, but barring these bugbears, we are free and happy. And I, for one, am confident that it will always continue to be so as long as our Monarchy endures.



ARTICLE 31  
(13 July, 1975)

**THE RULERS AND THEIR  
RESPONSIBILITY  
INSTITUTION MUST BE PRESERVED  
WITH HONOUR AND DIGNITY**

**M**alaysia has people of many racial origins, professing every kind of belief known on earth, so in a nation with such divided interests I have already suggested that the concept of monarchy can be a stabilising factor, whereas a republic would not suit such a diverse population as ours.

In such a conglomeration of religions and customs, a Constitutional Monarchy is more benign, as it has advantages that nurture the spirit of democracy.

What the Agung can do and what he cannot do is clearly defined by the Constitution. One fact is certain, the Royal Prerogative is exercised by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, as representing the electorate, hence the people have a lot of say.

For instance, under Clause 34-35 of the Federal Constitution, the Yang Dipertuan Agung cannot even leave the country for more than fifteen days without the approval of the Conference of Rulers, so the Rulers also have a voice as well on the ways an Agung should behave.

On the other hand, the Rulers have more power in their own States than the Agung has in the nation, and who is to oversee how they behave? The Rulers are hereditary Heads of States, while the Agung is appointed by them to fill the role of King for five years.

In the days before Independence, each State had its own Constitution, hence there were three types of governments in Malaya. First, the Unfederated Malay States, "protected" by the British, who had control of all their external affairs, but the Rulers had sovereignty over religion and other affairs, as set out in each State's Constitution.

In the Unfederated States, the Rulers were Presidents of their State Executive Councils, and therefore they were the Executive Heads of State as well. In later years, the British planted officials on the Rulers as their "Advisers".

Then there were the Federated Malay States, which were directly under British control, with British Residents as Executive Heads. So in these States the British were complete masters of internal administration as well as external affairs. In the third category were the Crown Colonies of Penang, Malacca and Singapore, each under direct rule by the British. Collectively these were administered locally as the Straits Settlements.

This complicated arrangement was found anywhere and everywhere, where the population was Malay. The people preferred to set up small States under Sultans, rather than join together under one head, so this system of small Sultanates spread right across from the Malay Peninsula through Sumatra and Java to the Philippines.

These splinter Sultanates could offer very little resistance to any foreign power, which had designs on any of these States. Divided, they fell like ninepins. In 1957, and for the first time in the history of our Peninsula, a Malay nation was born. Brunei preferred to remain a "Colony" of Britain, but all the rest joined together to form an independent nation spreading down the Straits of Malacca to the China Sea.

In older days, Malay Rulers would make war if they could save their States, or make peace if they could save their Crowns. For that very reason, small European countries like Holland, Portugal and Spain were easily able to establish colonies in South-East Asia.

With the advent of independence the position of the Malays changed, and the status of the various Rulers was defined and safeguarded by the Constitution. Indonesia became a Republic with the abolition of the Sultanates there.

Under Section 71 of the Constitution, the Federation guaranteed the right of the Ruler of a State to succeed and to hold, enjoy and exercise his constitutional rights and privileges in accordance with the Constitution of his State.

The Constitution also provided under Clause 3 for Parliament to see that each State Constitution was respected and carried out. Parliament also had the right to see that essential provisions in the Constitution were observed in each State.

One control, however, appeared to have been forgotten when the Constitution was drafted, and that was how to deal with Rulers, who ceased to enjoy the confidence of their people. What is the exact nature of any offence or offences which can cause such a loss of confidence?

It was not actually a question of forgetting so much as our own anxiety to carry the Rulers with us in our struggle for Independence.

Parliament can still rectify any omission or mistake in the Constitution, if the need arises.

It can be assumed that, while the Rulers enjoy their rights and privileges, they must live within these rights. It is expected that the Rulers will not commit acts that are likely to contravene the laws and, while they remain within the confines and limits of these rights, no quarrel can be found with them. But what guarantee is there that they will not exceed their powers?

There are innumerable temptations, however, that could come their way; so like all human beings they could easily succumb. The Menteri Besar and the State Executive Councillors are supposed to be the "watchdogs"; their duties are to see that the Rulers do not commit excesses, but they, too, having to keep in favour with their Rulers, are inclined "to close one eye".

Once or twice I had occasion to step in to prevent a Ruler of a State from abusing his position, because the Menteri Besar dared not stand up against his Ruler. I issued a directive that all applications for land in the State by either the Ruler or members of the Royal family should first come to the Prime Minister, before being considered in the State Executive Council. For a time this directive was respected.

One Menteri Besar, however, realised that the matter was the concern of the State Executive Council, so conveniently he reverted to the more expeditious method of disposing of the subject in "Exco", or, if he chose to turn it down, blamed the Prime Minister for not accommodating the Ruler.

When I came to know the facts, it was already too late to do anything, and large tracts of valuable land were alienated to the Ruler. Such an abuse of power by a Ruler with the connivance of his "Exco" is one that must be avoided.

The Federation Government set up a Land Council which was to attend to land policies. It was intended that the Council should look into any controversial matters affecting land policy, but unfortunately it was not asked to investigate any malpractices.

### CRITICS

This country is full of intelligentsia, fault-finders and critics — none of whom have any responsibility to administer the nation. The Rulers are very much in the public eye, so students and politicians find them easy targets for attacks at meetings held inside and outside this country.

Students of politics level their criticisms and charges against the Sultans and individual Rulers rather indiscriminately and recklessly.

Some may be true, but many are imaginary, intentionally concocted to make a case for destroying the concept of "Rulers".

The Rulers have to be extremely cautious so as not to give these people grounds or cause to get their way. When attacks are made too often — whether true or false — the sum total of the charges will tend to be believed.

Menteri Besar and Members of Executive Councils are duty-bound to see that the Rulers keep well within their charter, the Constitution. Recent student demonstrations vented much of their fury on Their Royal Highnesses. They find it more convenient to use Royalty as a target of attack. The Ruler can hardly "answer back", and no one is there to correct the irresponsible students.

I say with all sincerity and with the best of goodwill and intention that under the upsurge of the new nationalism, the Rulers must be constantly on the alert. They must set the best example, or show in Kingship as well as Sultanship that there is much they can do that can be appreciated and expected by their people.

#### MESSAGE

The students merely gave expression to what they had heard, and to what they were made to believe; from them one "got the message". It is said that from the mouths of innocents one hears the truth. It is also said that you cannot teach your grandmothers how to suck eggs. Student demonstrations, however, have brought out some revelations, which can well serve as important lessons to us all. On the whole, however, and in actual fact the students have very little to cavil about.

For one thing the public will resent any extra privileges being accorded to the Rulers. As Heads of State, the Rulers are in a position to impose their will on their Menteri Besar and members of the State Executive Council, as they have the final say in choosing a Menteri Besar. The poor Menteri Besar has to concede to the wishes of his Ruler, sometimes as a matter of convenience.

I remember on one occasion a Ruler came to see me, saying his Menteri Besar had not considered his application for mining-land, and he would like him replaced with someone else who would be more amenable.

I told the Ruler that the Menteri Besar was the elected representative of the people. It was his duty to uphold the Constitution and to carry out the administration with honour and fairness. If His Royal Highness could prove that he was not doing his duty, then he could be replaced; otherwise he was there until the people chose to displace him.

The Rulers, in fact, have many privileges, all carefully worked out by their representatives and legal advisers. The Civil List provides household expenditure, and if there is any land outside that which they possess but which they propose to acquire, then they must pay for it in the same way as others do.

They must understand that in independent Malaya it is very necessary for the Rulers to conform to the terms of the Constitution, even more strictly now than ever before.

To be quite honest, this is the only country in the world that has carried on with the institution of the Sultanate, and the nation accords the Rulers sovereignty and dignity as befitting their rank. It is for them, therefore, to guard and uphold their position.

### DYNASTY

Perhaps I am the only person who can say all these things without fear of contradiction, because I come from one of the oldest Ruling Houses in Malaysia. My ancestors first established the dynasty over 1,000 years ago, and I have had the opportunity and good fortune to hold executive power for fifteen years.

I think the institution of Rulership suits our people, but it must be preserved with honour and dignity. As with all good things people can get tired, and want a change if they feel that all is not well with the institution of Rulers.

The best of food can also turn sour; likewise good medicine can do harm if an overdose is taken. So is it not better to keep an eye on one's diet, and follow out exactly the prescription laid down for any good medicine?

Under our Constitutions, either Federal or State, the Ruler is the fount of authority, and as such guardian of the Constitution. Just as the Constitution ensures that his office is respected, so too must a Ruler respect the Constitution.

ARTICLE 32  
(18 July, 1975)

## THE RIGHT WAY TO DO THINGS A QUESTION OF CONFIDENCE TUNKU TELLS OF POWERS OF CHIEF MINISTERS

**T**wice in previous articles I have written about the Agungs and the Rulers and their position vis-a-vis the Constitution, and I mentioned that the Executive Head of State was the Prime Minister. It follows, therefore, that in the States the men who hold functional power are the Menteri Besar and the Chief Ministers.

What happens then if a Prime Minister abuses his powers? That can only be decided by a vote on a motion of "no confidence" formally proposed in Parliament. The loss of such a confidence motion will topple the Prime Minister; and so it is with Menteri Besar and Chief Ministers.

In 1966, we had trouble with one Chief Minister, Datuk Kalong Ningkan. He was the first Chief Minister of Sarawak and proved to be a most difficult man to control. On June 12, 1966 the Alliance Party made a move to oust Kalong Ningkan from his post as Chief Minister. A Council Negeri meeting would be called in Sarawak so that a vote of "no confidence" could be brought against him.

In fact, this was the third time that Kalong Ningkan, as Chief Minister, had faced a political storm. On this occasion dissident factors in his ruling Sarawak Alliance Party had made a joint petition, demanding that the Chief Minister step down as Executive Head and as leader of the State Alliance.

The individual party strength in the State Council was Pesaka 15, SNAP 6 (his own party), SUPP 5, Perjasa 5, Panas 3, SEA 3, Independent 1.

On June 13, twenty members of Council Negeri, all members of the Alliance Party, arrived in Kuala Lumpur to confer with me. They reiterated that Kalong Ningkan would not call a meeting of the Council Negeri, so that they could bring in a vote of "no confidence".

In the meantime Kalong Ningkan had sacked three of his Ministers, who were members of the Alliance, and he and his own clique had withdrawn from the Alliance. To top all this, he had made very violent attacks on the Prime Minister, and he was ruthless in his behaviour towards other members of the Council. As a result of my meeting with these members of the Sarawak Council Negeri, I made a statement in which I said that, if Ningkan resigned peacefully and constitutionally, I would not relate all the charges that "had been made against him".

"The Council Negeri is prepared to nominate a candidate as Chief Minister to take his place, a man who comes from his own race", I said. "This nomination will be submitted to the Governor for consideration. There can be no compromise with Kalong Ningkan. He is asked to resign because the Council Negeri and the people of Sarawak in fact have no more confidence in him".

#### TEMPER

When Ningkan received the news that he was deposed, he went into a fit of temper, became very abusive, and declared he was determined to fight it out. He had already rallied support from the First, Second, Third and Fifth Divisions of Sarawak.

"I know the Tunku feels bitterly disappointed with me", he said, "because he did not succeed in making me a stooge to make Sarawak a colony of Malaysia, because I opposed his plan to get the Sarawak Civil Service Malaysianised and also I refused to accept Malay as the national language.

"Undeniably, the Malaysian Prime Minister's plan for a greater Malaysia is a plan in disguise for the transfer of the British Borneo Territories from Great Britain to the Federation of Malaya. He intends to dominate a small country so that he can establish his long-acquired accomplishment of putting everything under his control. Sarawak is for Sarawakians. If he thinks he can make Sarawak a colony of Malaysia, he is suffering from a terrible illusion".

I never knew I was such a tyrant, until I heard what Ningkan had to say about me. I was not angry with his conduct, only disappointed, as I knew what kind of a man he was, but I did expect that as Chief Minister of the State of Sarawak he would shoulder his duties and responsibilities with dignity and honour, and that he would be conscious of the weight of office as Chief Minister.

But he had some expatriate officers who supported him and gave him wrong advice, though they themselves would never have tolerated such conduct from any officials of their own.

I asked Tun Dr. Ismail to go to Kuching to talk with the Alliance members and also Ningkan, and he declared on arrival, "We have decided to ask the Chief Minister, Ningkan, to abide by the party's decision, to cooperate with the party by resigning, and give way to another Iban, who is also an Alliance member".

In a statement made on June 18, Kalong Ningkan said: "I cannot accept the arbitrary position of the Executive Council of the Malaysia Alliance Party that I resign voluntarily as Chief Minister of Sarawak. I will remain as Chief Minister, as the people of Sarawak still want me".

Under the State Constitution Article 7(1), it is provided that if the Chief Minister ceases to command the confidence of the majority of members of the Council Negeri, then unless, at his request the Governor dissolves the Council Negeri, the Chief Minister shall tender his resignation to the members of the Supreme Council.

Under Article 6(3) the State Constitution empowers the Governor to appoint a Chief Minister who has the necessary qualifications and who in his judgement is likely to command support in the Council Negeri.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

On June 16, the Alliance National Executive Council announced that Penghulu Tawi Sli would be the next Chief Minister of Sarawak. This same announcement immediately called on Ningkan to resign.

"If he still refuses, proper action will be taken against him", the announcement stated. But Kalong Ningkan still maintained he would abide only by a ruling of the Court, and by no other.

When asked for my own opinion I had this to say, "Our experience shows that Ningkan's conduct was never a credit to the Alliance. It is better, therefore, that he sits outside the party than inside. This way he cannot lower the good name of the Alliance any further".

Kalong Ningkan answered my charges, stating, "The Prime Minister is on record as having shown scant respect for treaties by his conduct in pushing out Singapore without consulting even Britain; after having got the Borneo territories from Britain under the pretext of containing in Malaysia the Chinese of Singapore with the help of the natives of the Borneo Territories".

Ningkan's lawyer lodged a statement of claim seeking four declarations and an injunction from the Court. These were:—

1. A declaration that the first defendant as Governor of Sarawak



acted unconstitutionally by not complying with the provisions of the Constitution of the State of Sarawak.

2. A declaration that the first defendant should not have relieved the plaintiff from the office of Chief Minister of Sarawak on the ground of representations made to him on June 16 by members of Council Negeri, who preferred to boycott the sessions of Council Negeri of June 14, 1966 on the ground of alleged loss of confidence in the Chief Minister.
3. A declaration that the purported dismissal of the plaintiff by the first defendant was ultra vires, null and void.
4. A declaration that the plaintiff is, and has been, at all material times the Chief Minister of the State of Sarawak.
5. An injunction restraining the second defendant, Tawi Sli, from acting as Chief Minister of the State of Sarawak.

On August 27 the Alliance accepted Kalong's party's proposal to withdraw from the Alliance Party.

#### JUDGMENT

Mr. Justice Harley gave judgment in favour of Stephen Kalong Ningkan with costs. In doing so, he said that the main arguments for the plaintiff were that the Governor had no power of dismissal, and if he did have a power or discretion it must not be exercised arbitrarily or capriciously.

He quoted Article 7(1) of the Sarawak Constitution in which he said, "The first question which arises is how the lack of confidence is to be expressed. Can such lack of confidence only be assessed by a vote on the floor of the House?"

In the Federal Supreme Court of Nigeria, it was held that the constitutional method of measuring lack of confidence required a decision or resolution on the floor of the House. The Privy Council took the opposite view and held that there was no limitation as to the material by which lack of confidence should be assessed.

According to the Judge, there were many arguments to discourage the Governor from exercising his power of removal, except upon any indisputable evidence of actual voting in the House.

All the Judge had to suggest was that the former Chief Minister of Sarawak, Datuk Kalong Ningkan, was unconstitutionally removed from office. The Court granted an injunction to restrain Penghulu Tawi Sli from acting as Chief Minister. He said Kalong Ningkan's case was unchallengeable.

He did not say how he arrived at his conclusion, except that it was very difficult "with a multiplicity of legal complications", and he suggested that the Council Negeri be dissolved and a general election held to decide the issue of no confidence.

This was a very unsatisfactory judgment for it did not clearly state what loss of confidence means, whereas under the Constitution a Minister who is voted to have lost the confidence of the House which he leads can be sacked by the Governor, whose power, the judge himself admitted, was vast. He referred to Clause 10, in which he said:

Clause 10(i): In exercise of his functions the Governor shall act in accordance with the advice of the Supreme Council or of members thereof acting under the general authority of the Council, except as otherwise provided by the Federal Constitution or State Constitution.

(ii) The Governor may act in his discretion in the performance of the following functions:—

(a) Appointment of a Chief Minister.

(b) The withholding of consent to a quest for dissolution of Council Negeri, but this according to the Judge did not give the Governor the power to dismiss the Chief Minister, or, if he did have a power or discretion, it must not be exercised arbitrarily or capriciously.

In what respect it could be said that the Governor sacked Kalong Ningkan "arbitrarily and capriciously", he did not attempt to enlarge on, but left it at that.

## REFUSAL

The Supreme Council had the right to call the Council meeting, but the Speaker who was Ningkan's man refused to convene the Council. In the meantime Kalong Ningkan took over office, and comfortably settled himself once again in the Chief Minister's chair, saying "There is no reason why I should quit".

So there was a stalemate in Sarawak, as the Speaker refused to convene the Council Negeri and the Governor was bound to accept the advice of Kalong Ningkan, as head of the Supreme Council.

There appeared to be no possibility of the Legislature being made to work in the State. There must be a general election under the Judge's ruling to be held in the State; in the meantime he was there as Chief Minister without support of the Council, and this would make a mockery of all democracy.

And constitutionally there was no other way of removing him,

except paradoxically by suspending the Constitution. So I decided to do just that.

I agreed that the Malaysian Parliament would meet in emergency session on Monday, September 16, 1966 to pass an Act to enable two temporary amendments to be made to the Sarawak Constitution, to restore order and to end the power-struggle in the State.

Amendment No. 1 would give the Governor the power to convene a meeting of the Council Negeri. At that time it could only be exercised by the Supreme Council. Amendment No. 2 would give the Governor authority to dismiss a Chief Minister, who had lost the confidence of Council Negeri.

The Yang Dipertuan Agung accordingly proclaimed a State of Emergency in Sarawak in order to put through these amendments.

At 1.15 pm on September 16, an announcement of a State of Emergency in Sarawak was made, and this came as a shock to Kuching, according to Press reports. "While some applauded the move, others opposed it, but the general public and many officials were bewildered about the fact".

During the night the British Information Services Reading Room, the Borneo Company's office and the Speaker's home were stoned. Penghulu Tawi Sli tried his best to stop any further demonstration.

He dealt with the situation admirably. While most of the papers agreed that the Emergency amendment to the Constitution "is not a practice to be applauded and negotiated or accepted as a matter of course, but in this instance the Federal Government is offering sound reasons for the measures it has taken and proposes to take. The situation in Sarawak is intolerable from the point of view of democratic practice and stable Government, and highly dangerous from the point of view of security".

In Sarawak there was a Government which enjoyed no support. The Chief Minister, Kalong Ningkan, should have resigned, but he refused to do so. He also refused to convene a meeting of the Council Negeri.

## EMPOWER

This unnatural situation obviously could not continue, and so the constitutional amendments would empower the Governor of Sarawak for the sake of good Government to convene the Council Negeri, and if the Council Negeri so desired, he, the Governor, would be permitted to dispense with the Chief Minister, who did not any more

enjoy the Council Negeri's confidence. On the other hand, if Kalong Ningkan could prove that he enjoyed the support of the Council Negeri, he could stay on.

A general election would not solve the problem, as it would take six months at least before it could be held. In the meantime the administration would be in a national state of chaos.

The Sunday Times of London on May 18 strongly criticised the Malaysian Government, and so did the Liberal Manchester Guardian which suggested that "a quality of statemanship will have to be shown, above all in Kuala Lumpur, if the Federation is to work".

After relating the events which led to the present impasse, the editorial adds, "When Governments are unable to oust an opponent by ordinary political and legal processes and start tampering with the Constitution the stability of constitutional Government itself is in danger of being weakened, but Kuala Lumpur certainly has to find a way of breaking the deadlock".

Perhaps, it said, President Soekarno ought to be re-activated to stimulate national conditions by a fresh bout of Confrontation. This is an opinion from a so-called friendly country.

#### DEMANDED

In the meantime, the Ningkan Cabinet demanded that a Commission of Inquiry be appointed to come to Sarawak immediately and to find out if there was any emergency in the State, otherwise this action of Parliament directly interfered with the Constitution of the State.

On September 24, at 6. pm Kalong Ningkan received a letter from the Governor, calling upon him to resign as Chief Minister under the amended constitution. If he did not do so, the Governor would sack him.

The Council was convened, and all 23 members of the Alliance group, led by Penghulu Tawi Sli, voted for the motion of "no confidence" against Ningkan. The left-wing opposition SUPP did not attend, neither did the Government ex-officio members, who were expatriate officers.

Cik Abdul Taib Mahmood of Berjasa in a statement said he gave the Chief Minister a free hand and more than ample tolerance in the Government, but there was no consultation between the Chief Minister and the parties which raised him to power.

Nothing made any impression on Ningkan. There were many unpleasant incidents. In one he boasted that he was going to become a millionaire, but how and where did he expect to get his money?

On September 24, Ningkan, the Chief Minister of Sarawak, was voted out of office. His expatriate friends and councillors soon followed suit, and Sarawak was secured against foreign interference at last.

What is brewing in Sabah now is not quite a case in point, as Berjaya would want us to believe. Kalong Ningkan was one in whom the Council Negeri had no confidence, and demanded his removal on a vote of "no confidence". In this case in Sabah, as far as we know, a few members of USNO Party have broken away to form another party.

### OPPOSITION

If Tun Mustapha still enjoys the majority support of the Council members, he will continue to be the Chief Minister. There is no need for him to go to the polls to get the support. This is so in every Assembly, because it is not expected that the Assembly will have a one-party house.

Many states have opposition, and why not Sabah? All that has happened in Sabah is that a few dissident members have broken away to form another party, but the number is not large enough to upset the majority, which Tun Mustapha commands, nor has a crisis arisen.

There is no question of a stalemate in the State administration, for while there is legislature there is law and order in the State.

There is no reason whatsoever for the Federal Government to interfere in the internal affairs of Sabah. There is no call for it.

There is no reason for Tun Mustapha "to demonstrate that he is a democratic leader who holds the reins of Government with the consent and support of the governed". He has that.

I set out to illustrate my point at some length in Ningkan's case. A paper of repute should have been more careful before putting forward a proposal that is at variance with the Constitution, and certainly unwarranted. It sets the people's minds working in the wrong direction, and confuses their thinking, and is definitely mischievous. Those who broke away were as much to blame for what had happened in Sabah as Tun Mustapha.

As I said, they were equally answerable to all the allegations and charges they made against Tun Mustapha, and if one has to face the music let them all stand up and face it together, otherwise don't talk.

ARTICLE 33  
(28 July, 1975)

## SENSE ABOUT SABAH A LESSON AND FOOD FOR THOUGHT

Sabah State has been very much in the news over the sudden breakaway of dissident members of USNO, the United Sabah National Organisation, to form the Berjaya Party. The more sensational the news, the happier the newsmen are in giving publicity; sometimes much too sensational.

Local newspapers have had their say on views expressed by both parties, showing tinges of support for one or the other. The STAR has set out explicitly my exposition of the constitutional aspects involved. While the constitution is clear, the rights of the parties concerned cannot be distorted or twisted to suit one's own ends.

In the circumstances, therefore, the party in control of Sabah affairs is the party now in power, USNO. So Tun Datu Haji Mustapha is still Chief Minister; whatever faults he may be alleged to have, there is no way of getting rid of him except to vote him out constitutionally.

The State Constitution, Article 7(1) provides that if the Chief Minister ceases to command the confidence of a majority of members of the Council Negeri, then, unless at his request the Governor dissolves the Council, the Chief Minister shall tender the resignation of the members of the Supreme Council.

The Article makes provision for terminating the office of a Chief Minister, and the powers whereby this can be exercised are within the authority of the Council Negeri, when it can be clearly shown that a Chief Minister does not have majority support.

Article 6(3) of the State Constitution empowers the Governor to appoint a Chief Minister, a man who in his judgment is likely to command majority support in the Council Negeri.

As Article 6 comes after Article 7, this shows clearly that only when the Chief Minister ceases to enjoy the confidence of the Council can a new Chief Minister be appointed.

Has a serious crisis arisen in Sabah to justify holding an election? So much money will be spent, and so many indiscriminate words exchanged that these might lead to acts of violence detrimental to the peace and security of the State.

It is the duty of Government, and all those responsible for the maintenance of peace and good order, to prevent any possible outbreak of violence. An election cannot, and must not be held, until the proper time falls due or until the Government is sure that there will be no untoward incidents which can lead to disorder and breaches of peace.

### CAMPAIGNS

To this day I have always had one great regret, and that relates to the time when the Opposition decided to boycott the Federal Elections in 1969, and during the campaign unfortunate incidents occurred that led to loss of two lives — one Malay and one Chinese.

When it was evident that the Communists would exploit the situation, I should have postponed the elections, but I was assured that the situation was "well under control". In such circumstances postponement would have been an admission of defeat, clearly a cowardly way out of trouble.

So the elections went on, held on the date set, May 12, with the tragic consequences that can never be forgotten. May 13 should never be repeated: with so much loss of innocent lives and great destruction of property, it was a severe blot on the fair name of our country.

Having had this experience once before, should it be risked again in Sabah? What is the point of Berjaya wanting to hold a referendum? The Constitution on this point is clear. What has happened in Sabah is not new; it is not the same as what happened in Singapore.

If I remember rightly, Singapore held a referendum to decide whether or not to join Malaysia, but not to decide which party should be in power as the result of a "break-up" of the PAP (People's Action Party).

This is not the issue Sabah is facing, though Berjaya seeks to call Tun Mustapha's bluff, so to speak, by using a break-away as a reason for a referendum. There is no question of doubt that Sabah is in Malaysia, and there is no desire on the part of the Sabah Government to secede from Malaysia.

I repeat what I wrote in *The STAR*, July 23, 1975: "It was only an empty boast, and there was no intention on the part of Sabah's Chief Minister, Tun Datu Haji Mustapha, to carry out the boast".

Tun Mustapha, as leader both of his party and of the Government, corroborated my story, when he declared that he had no intention of leaving Malaysia. Even if he should want to do so, he cannot.

#### RESPECT

A suggestion has been aired that a Royal Commission should be appointed to investigate the conduct of Sabah's Chief Minister, and if any act of dishonesty or corruption was disclosed, then he must be brought to court and tried like any ordinary criminal.

This suggestion comes from top-heavy politicians, who have no knowledge of the law — and also from an editorial in the Straits Times, July 25.

How and when can a Royal Commission be appointed? Under the Commission of Inquiry Act 1950, His Majesty the Yang Dipertuan Agung may, when it appears to him expedient to do so, authorise a Commission, appointing one or more commissioners with powers to enquire into (in respect of the Federal Government):—

- (a) The conduct of any Federal Officer;
- (b) The conduct or management of any department of the public service of the Federation;
- (c) The conduct or management of any public institution, which is not solely maintained by a State fund; and
- (d) Any other matter in deed, in which an enquiry would in the opinion of the Agung be for the public welfare. (Not, however, on questions of Muslim religion or Malay custom).

But the Royal power does not apply to the States of Sabah or Sarawak; in respect of these two States only into matters specified in Item 10 of the State List, which does not include the conduct of either the Yang Dipertuan Negara or the Chief Minister.

There were two occasions, when Commissions of Inquiry were appointed, and these were in Johore and Negeri Sembilan. In the first case the Johore State Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry on the Johore Bahru Town Council to investigate reports of corruption and maladministration in the Council. In the second instance, the same procedure was followed in the case of the Seremban Town Council.

In Sabah, however, there is no authority to suggest that the Yang Dipertuan Agung can appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the conduct of the Chief Minister. The personal conduct and behaviour of Tun Mustapha is the concern of the Council Negeri, and one that falls within the purview of the State Cabinet to deal with as they deem fit.



In his book, "An Introduction to the Constitution of Malaysia", Tan Sri Mohamed Suffian on Page 31 states "in respect of the power of the Ruler, that a Ruler though sovereign, has no autocratic powers. A Ruler and similarly a Governor must act in accordance with the advice of the State Executive Council, or of a member of the Council (usually the Menteri Besar or Chief Minister), acting under the general authority of the Council".

On Page 122 of the same book, he writes, "The inevitable conclusion is that, unless otherwise expressly provided under the Federal or State Constitution or any written law, the Yang Dipertua Negara shall act in accordance with the advice of the State Cabinet or the Chief Minister. There is no discretion on the part of the Yang Dipertua Negara to do otherwise, unless authorised by the Federal or State Constitution".

Continuing on Page 125, Tan Sri Suffian adds, "He must accept their advice, and the members of the Executive Council are responsible, not to the Ruler or Governor, but to the Legislative Assembly".

#### MOTION

This exposition of the law by Tan Sri Suffian is adequate to show that the Legislative Assembly is the one authority that can question, censor and vote out the Chief Minister. On the other hand, the Council can under Article 4 of the Sabah Constitution have the Governor or Yang Dipertua Negara removed by the Yang Dipertuan Agung on a motion in the Assembly of not less than two-thirds majority.

There is no justification to act otherwise, and the only wise thing to do is to allow the state of affairs in Sabah to cool down, and for sanity to return.

Earlier I wrote in The STAR that what Tun Mustapha had done, was done with the connivance of those same people who now turned against him: they were equally responsible for all that had happened.

If they cannot get on with him now, then they should fight him in the constitutional way. There is no point in barking up the wrong tree. They have got to put themselves up as the Opposition Party in Sabah, and no doubt if they go about it the right way, they may gain support from the people of the State. There is much need for an Opposition Party in Sabah's Council Negeri.

If, however, it is their intention to remove Tun Mustapha by resorting to acts of violence or acts of subversion, or any other irresponsible act, then clearly they will be at fault.

The Central Government has no cause to interfere in the affairs of Sabah. There has been no breach of the Constitution, and if the Sabah Alliance is not accepted as a member of the Government Coalition Party — the Barisan Nasional — that does not in itself provide grounds for the Central Government to interfere. Under the Constitution, political parties can operate provided these are lawfully constituted.

Barisan Nasional, as a coalition party, is composed of a number of parties, so if the Alliance of Sabah is accepted as a member of the coalition Government, it does not change the face or character of Barisan Nasional. On the other hand, it does not become an unlawful party, if it is not a member.

There is nothing in the law to say that a party is illegal, and should not be allowed to administer Sabah unless it belongs to the Government party. If that is so, then our whole idea of democracy is cock-eyed.

Tun Mustapha may have done wrong. I am not saying that he has not been at fault, but the people of Sabah appear to have taken pride in his impulses, which have helped to put Sabah on the world-map.

As I said earlier, the parties should reconcile themselves, conform to the Constitution of Sabah, and take their places as Government and Opposition in the House. Let them hammer out all their grievances within the walls of their Assembly to their heart's content, and in accordance with the Council Negeri's Rules of Procedure. Is this not the actual reason why the people elected them?

I am sure the people of Sabah will be far more satisfied to have their affairs handled in this way rather than reading reports splashed all over the newspapers and distorted in the foreign Press.

#### HOSTILE

The foreign Press, which has shown a hostile attitude towards Tun Mustapha, should keep their noses out of Sabah affairs, or if they want to report events, then they must be fair and impartial in covering the "story".

I regret having read in the Far Eastern Economic Review, July 25, 1975 a vicious personal attack on Tun Mustapha, under the heading "The Playboy Politician", a statement I record with distaste — "Tun Mustapha a Malay and a staunch Muslim, despite his endless jet-setting and energy for high living, launched a conversion drive that even dumbfounded the nationalistic, Islamic West Malay-

sians. He imported an Arabian Muslim leader, Haji Mohamad, to assist the United Sabah Islamic Association in the conversions".

As to these "conversions", there was nothing new or evil about his actions. What he did was to follow closely the pattern set by the Christian Missions in Sabah. I remember the first encounter he had with the Christian Catholic Mission in Sabah was over the distribution of United Nations aid for very needy people in remote areas of the State.

The Mission went about their business of distributing the aid as if it had come from them; and in this way they converted a number of people to the Catholic faith. Tun Mustapha immediately put a stop to this way of doing things, and his action created ill-will towards himself from the Catholic Christian community.

No evidence has been adduced to prove the charges that Tun Mustapha forced "conversions". He did give them material help, as the Catholic Mission did. They all became Muslims of their own free will; I know because I had been present myself at many of these conversions.

As required under Islamic law, these people were asked three times in front of hundreds of people as witnesses whether they wished to be converted and, if so, whether it was of their own free choice. It is only when they say "Yes" within the hearings of these witnesses that they are converted to the Islamic faith.

These charges of forced conversion are foul, made with malicious intent to blacken the character of a man who now finds himself in trouble with members of his own party.

#### EXTENSIVE

The Arabian Muslim leader whom Tun Mustapha was alleged to have imported to Sabah, Haji Mohamad, is a Malaysian out-and-out; born in Negeri Sembilan, he pursued his religious studies in Cairo.

The Far Eastern Economic Review charged that corruption is more extensive in Sabah than in Indonesia — in what way the journal did not say. It is unwarranted and insulting to make wild accusations against a Chief Minister, who was about to face a vote of censure in the very House that had appointed him Chief Minister.

In comparing Hugh Heffner and Tun Mustapha, this journal states: "Tun Mustapha flew in the most luxurious jet-aircraft in the world, the difference being that Tun Mustapha relaxed in a sauna at 35,000 feet on his frequent trips to London and beyond ....."

I myself have had the good fortune to travel in that executive-jet, which holds only 14 passengers, but for the life of me I never saw any sauna bath, less still see Tun Mustapha relax in one on such a small executive plane. Admittedly, the plane Tun Mustapha proposed to buy was of a larger type that might have come equipped with a sauna, but it is certainly not the one he is using now.

According to the writer of this report, whose source is acknowledged as the leaders of Berjaya, Tun Mustapha bought two planes for no other purpose than "to allow him to gallivant around the world with his women friends".

According to Tun Mustapha, however, no women have used the plane other than his own wife, Tun Razak's wife, the Sultan of Selangor's wife, and my wife, and I can assert that none of them were "gallivanting" with him.

The writer further states, "It has been no secret that in Britain, where for years he has spent much of his time, he has wide-ranging interests, from property to race-horses".

As a racing friend, that was exactly what I had been persuading him to do — to buy race-horses and win the Derby; but he confessed to me that he was not interested in horses, not even mares. So how did this story get bandied about?

By all means write about a public figure, but do not let figments of imagination play havoc with facts. A journal like the Far Eastern Economic Review formerly had a lot of readers in this part of Asia because of its constructive approach to individuals and politics, but this article by Mr. Christopher Lewis is certainly not done in good taste.

Sabah as a State has its own peculiarities — no one can deny that — and the people encouraged by the British to live as tribes know very little of the world outside. Perhaps the kind of rule Tun Mustapha gives them suits their way of life; they all support him.

When Sabah entered Malaysia, the provisions for its entry were made hurriedly and rather loosely. However, the State can at the end of ten years review its Constitution. And the ten-year period is already over.

When the Constitution is being reviewed, I have no doubt that any dents it may have can be smoothed out. What is happening in Sabah today can well be a lesson, and should give the authorities plenty of reasons for deep thought, grounded, I hope, on practical common-sense as exercised in the way of life the people of Sabah best prefer in these times of rapid change.

ARTICLE 34  
(4 August, 1975)

**BERJAYA AND THE BARISAN NASIONAL  
THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS**

**T**oday I present a forum — the theme is one that is occupying the earnest attention of the Malaysian public currently, following the breakaway of some USNO members in Sabah to form a new party, BERJAYA. First comes in a full impression by Professor Dr. Syed Hussein Alatas, followed by comments of my own. First, my friend the Professor:-

"When Berjaya's formation was first announced in the Malaysian and Singapore Press on July 16, 1975 my first impression was that elements from the ruling power in Kuala Lumpur had a hand in it. It is natural for anyone to have sympathy for this or that group, but how one acts is the test of wisdom. Tun Razak's reaction so far is to 'wait and see'. He said in Ipoh on Thursday, 24 July that he would make a statement at the appropriate time.

"Tun Razak's continued silence, after ten days of the formation of Berjaya, is of great interest. It could be due to three possibilities. The first is that he wants to support Berjaya, but would like to see that it stands solidly on its feet first before openly expressing support. The second is that he wants to support Tun Mustapha, but is prevented from doing so now by the Berjaya lobby in Kuala Lumpur. The third is he does not know what to do. The second and the third are unlikely.

**CONSEQUENCES**

"His support for Berjaya will be clear if the Barisan Nasional accepts Berjaya as a member. It is this, which I hope Tun Razak and the Barisan will not do, for the consequences to the political life of our country will be grave. I have no contact with either group in Sabah, and I have no particular antipathy against Berjaya.

"The pronouncements of the Berjaya leaders made it clear that they depended on Kuala Lumpur. When they were in the USNO

Government, they dared not oppose Tun Mustapha because they were afraid of being arrested. To operate as an opposition, they seek the protective umbrella of Barisan Nasional. In other words, at the very outset, they confess their own inability to set aside Tun Mustapha.

"The membership of Berjaya in the Barisan Nasional will create a grave consequence. If Berjaya is accepted as a member, a dangerous precedent is introduced. From then on no Chief Minister or Menteri Besar can be sure of his position in the Barisan. Any minute, a splinter group can form a party and be accepted in the Barisan. In Penang, for instance, it would be possible for members of Gerakan, encouraged by Kuala Lumpur, to form a party against Dr. Lim Chong Eu, and then be admitted into the Barisan Nasional. The same can happen in the other States.

### REALISTIC

"No Menteri Besar and Chief Minister will feel secure in the Barisan Nasional. A reign of fear and insecurity will be introduced in Barisan circles. Resentment against the central authority will develop. The spontaneity of political life in the States will be smothered. The offices of the Chief Minister and Menteri Besar will degenerate into that of willing stooges. The Machiavellian method of disrupting a ruling State party from within, and supporting or using the splinter group, is a tactic which should be avoided by the Barisan, for it will destroy its own moral foundation.

"To be realistic, what should the Barisan Nasional do if it is not pleased with Tun Mustapha? The Barisan should disassociate itself from USNO, and support an affiliate opposition party in the State, just as UMNO had done for several years in Kelantan when it was led by Tunku Abdul Rahman. It is possible under the Malaysian Constitution to have a State governed by a party different from the Federal Government. This arrangement avoids the insincerity inherent in the situation if both Berjaya and USNO are members of the Barisan Nasional.

### POWERS

"If both of them are members, for the Barisan to remain neutral is both insincere and irresponsible. In the State election, who shall represent the Barisan? USNO or Berjaya? One of them has to be in the opposition and the other one in power. Which one is the Barisan? This situation will create more tension and disruptive conflict in the State, and the conflict will be silent and brutal. Suspicion towards Kuala Lumpur will increase. Both parties will not be happy. Each will

spend its time and energy to crush the other under the aegis of Barisan Nasional. Only a mind that wants to destroy Sabah can think of having them both in the Barisan Nasional.

"Whatever is the nature of the issue, the secession of Sabah, mismanagement of the Government, corruption and abuse, the means employed by Berjaya and Barisan Nasional are entirely different things. Barisan should not accept Berjaya as a member. It is like a husband who, displeased by the first wife, marries her rival and brings them both under one roof. This is certainly not a wise act". 26 July, 1975. Sgd. Syed H. Alatas.

In the face of the public interest in the Sabah crisis, comments by intellectuals of such standing as Professor Alatas are food for thought; whether he is right or wrong, that is a matter of opinion. He is not dealing with the law, but with the logic and relevancies of the issues involved.

#### COMMENTS

My comments deal with the legal as well as the political aspects. According to him, the Berjaya leaders feared to oppose Tun Mustapha "because they were afraid of being arrested".

In fact Tun Mustapha has no power of arrest, no right or authority to put anybody in detention. As Chief Minister he is only the executive of the State of Sabah; he is the leader of the State Assembly, leader of the State Cabinet, whose advice must be accepted by the State's Yang Dipertua Negara.

That is the executive function the Menteri Besar and Chief Ministers exercise in their own States; they have no powers of arrest. So on their own initiative they can arrest nobody, detain nobody and punish nobody.

Part XI of the Federal Constitution gives special powers against subversion under article 149 stating: (1) If an Act of Parliament recites that action has been taken or threatened by any substantial body of persons, whether inside or outside the Federation—

- (a) To cause, or to cause a substantial number of citizens to fear, organised violence against persons or property; or
- (b) To excite disaffection against the Yang Dipertuan Agung or any Government in the Federation; or
- (c) To promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different races or other classes of the population likely to cause violence; or
- (d) To procure the alteration, otherwise than by lawful means, of anything by law established; or

- (e) Which is prejudicial to the security of the Federation or any part thereof, any provision of that law designed to stop or prevent that action is valid ....

It is obvious that the power is given only to Parliament to make such laws, and no Minister of a State can on his own enforce any such law and he cannot on his own detain, arrest or imprison any person without trial.

As a result of an enquiry of my own, I received the following reply from Sabah:-

"First of all, no power of arrest or detention under the Preservation of Public Security Regulation 1962, or under any other law, has ever been given to Tun Datu Haji Mustapha in his capacity as Chief Minister of Sabah. In fact, as far as Sabah is concerned that power had been delegated by the Federal Minister of Home Affairs to the Federal Secretary in Sabah.

"However, before anybody was detained, that matter had to be referred to the Minister of Home Affairs in Kuala Lumpur first before the Police or Special Branch Officers would act to arrest or detain under the Preservation of Public Security Regulation 1962 (in Peninsula Malaysia, a person is detained under the Internal Security Act but in Sabah it is under the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance 1962).

## SECURITY

"Under the Preservation of Public Security Regulation 1962, there is an Advisory Committee with a Chairman and three members who are appointed by the Minister of Home Affairs under Regulation 5 of the said Ordinance, who review the case of a person under detention and then advise the Minister whether he is to be detained for more than six months or not.

"During 1974 only seven persons were detained. Four persons were detained for a period of six months, and three other persons for a period of ten months. In 1975 only one person was detained for a period of four months. At the moment there is no detainee.

"It is incorrect to say that Tun Datu Haji Mustapha had powers of arrest and detention. It is incorrect, as claimed by Berjaya, that Sabah had more than 100 detainees who were released recently. In fact, today there is not even one detainee in Sabah".

That's from Sabah; now back to Professor Syed Hussein Alatas, who said, "Tun Razak's continued silence in the matter of this crisis could be due to three possibilities".



Whatever may be the reason, the attitude of the Prime Minister should be that while the crisis continues the Barisan Nasional, which is the Coalition Government, should not accommodate the parties in conflict.

If the Government party has to accept at all as a member of the Coalition, it must be the party in power, because the object of a coalition is to form a Government made up of different political parties that command support in the country or the State.

A Coalition Government is normally formed where no single party is strong enough to run the country on its own, or strong enough to face the national crisis without commanding the support of the population.

When Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, won a landslide victory and his party was returned to power, the first thing he did was to pester me with a request for a coalition.

I told him that, as this country was free from fear or any kind of threat from within or without, there was, therefore, no need for a coalition. The Alliance alone could take care of the nation.

It was as a result of my refusal to have the PAP join my Government as a partner, that Kuan Yew took an unfriendly stand against us and started on his Malaysian-Malaysia propaganda, which finally led to the break-up of the two States.

There is a Coalition Government now in Malaysia, made up of all the parties that have given support in their own States and at national level — PAS and the Alliance of UMNO, MCA and MIC at national and at State level; in Penang the Gerakan, and in Perak the PPP. And so the only link that can be forged with the Sabah Government is through the party in control of the State, and that is USNO.

In Sarawak, there is the Alliance coalition in power, and it is in coalition with the Central Government. But Berjaya is a breakaway party, and if accepted as a member of the Barisan, would create a dangerous precedent, as the writer said.

## OPPOSITION

The writer suggested that "if the Barisan Nasional is unhappy with Tun Mustapha, the Barisan should disassociate itself from USNO and support an affiliate opposition party in the State, just as UMNO had done for several years in Kelantan".

The Kelantan case is not quite synonymous with Sabah's. In Kelantan, UMNO and Partai Islam were rival parties. While Partai Islam was returned to power, it was the Alliance which stood as the opposition party right from the start, and this continued until the

Barisan Nasional formed a coalition with Partai Islam and they automatically merged.

USNO had been a member of the Alliance from the start, and it was only when Barisan Nasional was formed that they ceased to become a full-fledged member, due to a question of technicalities, but they continued to pay their subscription and were accepted by Barisan, more or less, as an associate-member.

During the 1974 General Election USNO made a substantial contribution towards the party's political funds. This was welcomed with gratitude, and much manifestation of "friends in need".

### FATHERLY

What should be done in this case is to say outright that, while there is a crisis and political uncertainties, the coalition should not be considered until the whole trouble has quietened down. This would be a fatherly attitude for the Central Government to take, and it would be accepted with great satisfaction by all concerned.

The Yang Dipertua has resigned his office, as he does not agree with the Chief Minister, whose party commands the majority of the House. The new Yang Dipertua has now convened the Assembly which will meet on August 11 on the advice of the Chief Minister.

There the matter should rest, but there is still too much vituperation being made by one party against the other, and much publicity is being given on the front pages of our national newspaper.

Such matters as the break-up of the betrothal of the daughter of the former Yang Dipertua and the son of the Chief Minister, and the return of the presents, and many other irrelevant items, should have been omitted.

The public are not morons who can be fed with any kind of news. They want to know both sides of the story, and it must be presented to them in an unbiased, fair and impartial manner. It is a matter of public interest, and they have a right to know — but surely housewives' gossip is of no interest to them as the people of Sabah, who are deeply interested, indeed involved, by the political disputes that are taking place in their own State.

Therefore, a matter which is of serious concern to the people of Sabah deserves proper treatment by a fair, impartial Press. That is a national responsibility the newspapers in Malaysia are bound to honour — indeed it is their duty to do so. Let them not fail to forget that duty.

ARTICLE 35  
(11 August, 1975)

**POLICY FOR THE PEOPLE  
HELPING BUMIPUTRAS TO MAKE GOOD**

**M**y policy as Prime Minister was simple and straightforward. I adopted as policy whatever I thought was good for the people and the country.

I always said that as the people had appointed me their leader, it was my duty to care for them as best as I could, and to do everything within my capacity or powers to ensure the people had peace, contentment and happiness, in other words enough food, enough money and a place to live in.

When I first emerged on the national scene as a political leader in 1951, the Emergency that had beset the Malayan people since 1948 was at its worst — deadly ambushes by day or night, curfews, dreadful slayings, open attacks on Police Stations, even grenades thrown into circus tents, a continual state of danger, not knowing when you went out whether you would come back home alive — yet the people bore all these tragedies with heroic stoicism.

It was clear even before World War II that the people of this country were very divided. No one ever gave a thought to such a concept as Malaya. The Chinese looked to Peking, the Indians to Delhi, other races to other lands of origin, while the horizons of the Malays were limited to the boundaries of their own States, even their own districts, or they would dream of going to Mecca.

Nobody thought of freedom, nor seemed to care very much whether they continued to live under British "protection" — a polite synonym for exploitation — or whether they would ever achieve the "Home Rule" so often promised.

In the Government, the Malays were given clerical jobs and employment in the State Civil Services. A few lucky ones managed to get into the Malayan Civil Service; they considered that good enough,

they were among the "Heaven-born", but expatriate officers ran the Army, the Police and the Civil Service.

All races working the land struggled hard to earn a meagre income from their holdings. They had no amenities, no rural roads, no water, no electric light, and little health service. Their only comforts were the simple joy of being alive and of caring for their loved ones. They did not quarrel; each pursued his own way of life as if nothing else in the world mattered. Their attitudes — take life as it comes, leave everything to Allah, or to Providence, or whatever gods they believe in.

### MYTH

After the fall of Malaya in 1942, it was clear to all intellectuals that things could never be the same again, if only because the myth of British invincibility had been shattered. Small groups began to get together, to talk of emancipation, to think of their right to govern themselves. Some formed groups, which expanded into parties. Malaysians, consciously or otherwise, were feeling the winds of change, the spirit of nationalism growing in Asia.

Among the Malays were some extremists who gave no thought to how demoralised the people of this country were after four long years of suffering under Japanese tyrannical rule.

Nor did they think or care for the strength of the Colonial power, now returning victorious, even after terrible beatings at the hands of the Germans or the Japanese. They at least had arms and the pride of victory behind them; any rebellion would be useless against such a force.

Malays, in particular, had no battle experience. Some were soldiers but serving with the British Army. A few, however, had gone abroad, and others were in the jungle under Force 136 (Anak Melayu Setia) during the Occupation period, but what knowledge of modern warfare they might have experienced was not sufficient to organise any armed resistance against the British.

On the other hand, there was the Communist army in the jungle, well-armed and trained. When atomic bombs blasted Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they came out of their hiding places to take over States, towns and villages, ostensibly carrying out campaigns against colonialism even before the ink on the paper of the Surrender Terms had dried. They were not fighting for Malaya, but for Communism.

In Alor Star at the time I had to keep them out; and I thank Allah I was successful in doing so. We formed a Defence Corps to hold the town against the Communists and other unruly elements.

Had they come in, Allah alone knows what would have happened to the people.

The Japanese still had their garrison at the Sultan Abdul Hamid College and their Kempetai (Secret Police) at the State Secretariat, but in view of the impending treaty between the Allies and Japan, they refused to take any action. Why should they care? For them, the War was over, and lost.

Nobody was in a position to do anything, but pray silently for the return of the British, and hope they would attend to and give this country a peaceful administration. That was the general feeling throughout Malaya; meanwhile, in the North, someone among the people had to hold the fort, so I had to see it was done, in fact did it myself.

The Communists had already taken over the outlying areas of Kedah in both districts and towns, and had forced District Officers and other officials to join them on the platform to harangue the crowds and condemn the British and the Japanese.

The "Three-Stars" (Reds) from the jungle told the people to declare themselves on "all fours" with the Communist plan for the liberation of this country. They established headquarters everywhere, and started collecting Japanese collaborators, agents and close friends, to shoot them down before the eyes of a horrified population.

News travels fast. Soon we heard that the Communist forces were approaching Alor Star from the North, had already taken up positions at Batu Duablas and Pokok Sena, and were actively preparing to march on Alor Star; they were only twelve miles away.

Communist supporters in Alor Star were exuberant; in some villages they were even arrogant. At Alor Jangus, a few miles from Alor Star, they surrounded the Police Station and locked up the policemen.

#### MISSION

Immediately I collected a few men, to name only some, Datuk Syed Agil, presently a Judge in Kedah; Tan Sri Mat Jamil, the Chairman of MARDI; Datuk Senu Abdul Rahman, the Secretary-General of UMNO; Tan Sri Aziz Zain, Ex-Federal judge, and Encik Khir Johari, Ambassador in the United States. All were youngsters helping in the defence of Alor Star. I told them to go immediately to Alor Jangus and release the policemen. The Malays rallied around, so their mission was accomplished with success.

As the Japanese officers and our local officers serving under them had left their posts at the Central Police Station in Alor Star, my men took over.

In the meantime I sent six lorry-loads of men to Kuala Nerang to join up with the Malay Force 136 (Anak Melayu Setia) who were about to enter Kuala Nerang under Lt. Col. Hesler.

Two of my own nephews were in the Regiment — Lt. Tunku Osman (later General, and Chief of Armed Forces Staff, Malaysia) and Tunku Yusuf, who had been dropped by a parachute up North to help form the Force.

I followed them the next day. Luckily the Communists let us pass, as they knew we were anti-Japanese, and were on our way to join forces with the Anak Melayu Setia.

When we reached Kuala Nerang, I told the officer-in-charge of Malay Force 136 of the danger of the Communists occupying Alor Star. The Malays were prepared to fight them, but this would lead to a terrible loss of life and would also involve innocent Chinese living in the remote areas.

Lt. Col. Hesler immediately sent one of his officers, Major Maze, that same evening, with a guide I provided, Syed Mansor.

He saw the Japanese Commandant and asked him to order his forces to defend Alor Star, otherwise they would be held responsible to the Allies for anything untoward that might happen — and, he added, the Allies were about to land in Northern Malaya.

#### BAIT

The Japanese took the bait nicely, and immediately ordered their forces to proceed to the area and take up positions along the route the Communists would travel. They were to prevent, at any cost, the Communists from entering Alor Star. We gave thanks to Allah that trouble was averted. With the town saved, the people returned to their homes and kampungs with feelings of great relief.

We came back to Alor Star as soon as we could, and then invited the British forces to come officially to the town. Carrying the Kedah flag and a Union Jack, I came in a car with my men to meet the Force 136 officers at the junction of Jalan Jail, and brought them to meet the Sultan, the Menteri Besar, and a few other high Government officials, who up till then had been in hiding.

After that meeting, the Force 136 officers took over official control of Alor Star. Once again my crowd of supporters had to take a back seat, while high State officials sauntered about like demi-gods as never before. We were in fact ostracised.

According to General Tan Sri Tunku Osman, "Hesler was instructed by Headquarters to take charge of the British Military Administration in Kedah. Being a planter and having had no

administrative experience in dealing with civil government, he was reluctant to undertake the appointment. At this juncture Headquarters sent Major G. Sommerville to assume the responsibility not taken up by Hesler".

### LIFE

Major G. Sommerville used to be the Conservator of Forests in Sungei Patani, when I was District Officer there, but we could not "pull together", as I had to put him in his place on several occasions. So when he came as the State's top officer, immediately he picked upon me to vent his grievances of the past.

Life became quite intolerable until the British Army sent another man, a Mr. V.G. Day, to take over, and his posting proved a welcome change for he was a nice man. Life has its ironies — ultimately when I became Chief Minister, Mr. Sommerville was then serving as an official in Kuala Lumpur; he left immediately on a long holiday, and never returned.

The Communists in Kedah were armed to the teeth. If a fight for Alor Star had taken place, it would have been a bloody massacre, as not a single person in the town had any arms except me — and that was only a pistol given by my friend, Col. Dara, who was in charge of the INA (the Indian National Army). If the British officers had not been able to contact the people of Alor Star just at that very time, then, to put it mildly, the Communists would have given us all troubles galore.

Having had a taste of armed violence myself, I had no wish to see this country torn by disorder through disruptive forces. We could never get independence by armed struggle — of that I was convinced — and so all we could hope for was to make our approach for independence by negotiation and constitutional means.

The MCP, however, had other ideas. Well-trained and equipped as the MPAJA (Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army), they mobilised their forces in armed struggle against "The Imperialist Forces" for independence.

In 1946 the hard-core MPAJA assault forces silently disappeared from public view, and started planning their "war" under cover of the jungle. They sent out orders to all their headquarters to get records and lists of names of members, and to destroy any important Party documents.

### EMERGENCY

After the killing of a planter in Sungei Siput on June 16, 1948 the Communists began their full-scale "war" — the Emergency.

which was fated to last for twelve long years. The end came on July 30, 1960, but the casualties suffered and the damage done to property was immense for a small country like Malaya, whose people of many races shared a common belief in live-and-let-live.

In fact, one might say that (leaving out the Communists) Malaya could be considered one of the happiest countries in the world, where the people led care-free, pleasure-seeking and easy-going lives.

In such a country, what would one expect of a leader? One and all would say, the leader must be one who can mould a nation out of these characteristics into a united whole, for out of our diversities a united Malayan people can emerge.

That I believed, and that was the mainspring of the policy I followed. I kept on repeating that I was happy to be at the head of this nation, and often referred to myself as the happiest Prime Minister anywhere.

My policy was to give the "have-nots" something they could proudly claim as their own, however small it might be; to give enterprising business people scope to expand their activities; and to see that all those with ambitions should have the chance to get on in the world.

Hence we formulated Development Plans with these very objects in mind. These in turn led to prosperity, which this country enjoyed, and continues to have to this day. True, we have heard a lot about recession and inflation, but despite these adverse factors, Malaysia is basically better off than most of the new nations.

## PATRIOTISM

One aim we never lost sight of, and that was to give preference to the "sons of the soil". The indigenous people were served well, but without loud beating of drums and blasts of trumpets. Nobody noticed, or objected, to what was being done for them.

The Government today is asked to push bumiputras ahead to reach the level of others on the principle that what others can do, so can bumiputras. This is a good policy, and, if carried out properly, will help bumiputras get to the top.

It is however a pity to see bumiputras putting all their money into business, in which they have had no experience, no technical training or "know-how", with the result that they fail and lose their money.

Even worse, they may be given a business of which others have had a monopoly, and the next thing we learn is they have sold their rights to these others for paltry sums, or else they receive monthly allowances for the use of such rights.



I have seen such instances of wrong application of the principle in Number Empat Ekor. The directive is that agencies must be given to bumiputras, though bumiputras as Muslims are forbidden by their religion to obtain income derived from gambling sources. Such bumiputras either sell, or rent out, the licences to others in the trade.

#### DOWN TO EARTH

To my mind, there is far too much general exhortation going on, and not enough down-to-earth lessons on how best to benefit bumiputras in business.

I remember that once when Encik Aziz Ishak was Minister of Agriculture he confiscated all the licences of Chinese rice-dealers in Northern Perak and Province Wellesley with which to win over the Malays. But this way of doing things was wrong; it was like the adage, "robbing Peter to pay Paul".

Immediately I ordered these licences to be returned, but any licences that were required for bumiputras should be given without limit. Nobody complained, as no one suffered.

When I spoke at a Lions' Club Dinner in Penang recently, I mentioned that there was too much emphasis being placed on bumiputras, and not enough on Malaysians. Going about affairs this way makes it hard to instil Malaysian-mindedness in the hearts of the people. All the work being done to inspire patriotism among our polygenous population is being eroded as a result of this wrong approach.

Let's see how best men of goodwill and understanding, irrespective of their origin but Malaysians at heart, can contribute their share in helping the bumiputras to make good. More sufferance and less controls will bring better results, for prosperity must be shared by all the people.

ARTICLE 36  
(18 August, 1975)

**PLIGHT OF THE NEW MUSLIMS  
BEYOND THE FRINGE AFTER CONVERSION**

**T**he resurrection of Malaysian society requires foresight on the part of Government and of all concerned with the well-being of this country at heart. Exhortation alone is not enough. It is very necessary that we must win the hearts and minds of all true Malaysians.

Empty words carry no weight, except when accompanied by deeds. Real sincerity of effort must be made, and seem to be so, to do good for the people as a whole. Much money has already been spent by various Goodwill Committees, and gallons of coffee and other refreshments consumed in trying to win over the people to our country's cause, but all to no avail.

From the top of a world of its own the Government continues to send out messages and promises of good times ahead, but spoiling all by insistent emphasis on bumiputras. It is, of course, right to pursue the policy of helping bumiputras, but they need the help of others as well, otherwise the general objective, the main goal, cannot be fully attained. All the "bleating" gives non-bumiputras the impression they are foreigners and unwanted, so why should they co-operate?

Let us face facts. All good citizens of this country are Malaysians and, whether we like it or not, they have every right to call this country their home. If an atomic bomb dropped, we would all be wiped out and perish together. If it is intended to help the less fortunate, then at the same time due regard must be paid to the feelings of others. It is everyone's duty to help, but the Government must give the lead.

When we began to think of how our future independence was to be conceived, the colonial power was certain we could never reach that goal, because of the disruptive forces at work, one of these being to play up, and upon, differences between the people of Malaya.

This was so much evident that a Mr. Cator, a former British Resident Commissioner in Pahang, actually stated in his own handbook that he could not see the day "when either Datuk Onn or Tunku Abdul Rahman will ever be the Prime Minister of Malaya". That was not only his feeling: it was even shared by Rulers.

Trying to rally forces and win support to help the fight for independence was really hard work. Many sneered at my efforts; some expressed pity for me. Only headstrong and determined men of all races, real fighters for independence, rallied to the cause.

### TROUBLE

When Malaya was born as a free nation, it was only a child with a lot of teething troubles, but soon the country grew to manhood, showing promise of a great future ahead. Malaya's own multiplicity of racial complexities and prejudices made even more evident how urgent and necessary was the task of building a happy nation.

It was essential to quieten down all disruptive elements, but they and their sympathisers continued to cause some outbreaks of trouble here and there. The worst occurred in Kuala Lumpur in 1969, and we all pray that we will never see such a tragic event happening again — Amen!

After that, the violence of May 13 that year, we formed Goodwill Committees everywhere to smooth away any hard feelings that might still remain, and to create a society based on goodwill and understanding among all people whose loyalty lay with Malaysia, and Malaysia alone.

That was what the people felt, wanted and worked for at that time, but today somehow things seem to be turning out quite differently. It is not so much the disruptive forces who cause us concern, but irresponsible people, including some top-level officers in the Government itself.

### POVERTY

Datuk Lee San Choon said: "There is concern that our national programme to eradicate poverty is being undertaken without sufficient attention to the provision that it shall apply to all Malaysians, irrespective of race".

That is a serious charge to make against the Government of this country, especially as it comes from a partner in the Coalition.

Whatever programme is planned and projected, Malaysians must be careful at all times to be aware that there are others whose presence and rights have to be considered.

I am head of a Muslim Welfare Society, PERKIM, and as such I have to look after the well-being of Muslims, particularly new converts. When more people become Muslims, naturally we are very pleased, and particularly myself. But our conversions create problems because of Government's policy to provide for bumiputras only without any thought being given to those other citizens, who come well within any definition of "being loyal" to Malaysia.

There are many Chinese who, when they become Muslims, lose the society of their own people and family. In some cases, they lose their jobs; or they are ridiculed so much that they are forced to quit their jobs.

For these people who become Muslims it is my duty, and that of my organisation, to find employment for them, but I regret to say we face great hardships in trying to do so. They are not bumiputras; so while they lose jobs which they had as Chinese, they are unable to obtain employment as Muslims.

## RELIGION

The religion of Islam gains its strength from the ties of brotherhood of the people of the faith. According to the Prophet, as quoted in so many hadiths, one Muslim is brother to another, no matter what his colour or race is. In other words, Islam transcends all barriers of race and colour.

So strong was the Prophet on this point that Osameh bin Sharik reported the Messenger of Allah to have said, "Whoso goes out to make division among my followers, smite his neck". In other words, such a person should not be considered Muslim — he is better dead than alive.

On independence this country proclaimed Islam as its official religion. We were aware at that time how important religion was in bringing the people of the faith together. We were aware that, through generations of foreign domination, the Malays as a race survived many trials and tribulations through their unwavering faith in Islam.

And so it was that when we attained independence we gave thanks to Allah in many ways. We built mosques and schools, carried

out extensive programmes of teaching the religion in every nook and corner of the country.

In 1967, I started the Mubailegh School in a small room, and this school developed itself into the present PERKIM. As a result of this society's good work, many people embraced Islam. The success the society has achieved is most creditable, considering that the Mubailegh (missionaries) had to work under very difficult circumstances.

Now that many of these people have embraced Islam, they find themselves in new surroundings, and also a dilemma. Not only are they lost in the society to which they once belonged, and also lost in the society where they now belong — the Muslims. Our duty as Muslims is to help them, and a Muslim Government must absorb them.

### JOBS

I have tried to find jobs for them, but I was informed that these jobs are reserved for bumiputras. I maintain, however, that these people are Malaysians who are born and bred here. Now that they have embraced Islam, surely they are entitled to be recognised as Muslims. But no, the authority concerned interprets the law strictly; they give no regard to new brothers in Islam.

This attitude is completely contrary to the teachings of Islam, and against both the injunction of the Holy Prophet and the commands of Allah. Something must be done for these people, especially in a country that proclaims Islam as its official religion.

In a seminar held in Sarawak, and at a subsequent seminar held for non-Government religious teachers in Penanti, Province Wellesley, I said I would carry out a lone crusade to fight for these new Muslims, whose cause I will take to the end of my days.

If I succeed I will thank the Government for its understanding, and I will give thanks to Allah for His small mercy; if I lose, I will continue to pursue the matter to the end of my life.

In Part X2, the Constitution states that "except as otherwise expressly provided by this Constitution, the qualification for appointment and conditions of service of persons in the public service, other than those mentioned in paragraph (g) of clause 1, may be regulated by Federal law and, subject to provision of any such law, the Yang Dipertuan Agung, and the qualifications for appointment and con-

ditions of service of persons in the public service of any State may be regulated by State law and, subject to the provision of any such law by the Ruler or Governor of that State in considering appointment to Federal and State services”.

These new converts, born and bred in this country, should be given the same right as Malays; and so too in regard to land reserved for, or alienated to, Malays or to the natives of the State: the word “Malay” should be defined to include these new converts.

Another matter, which is causing me concern, is the need to provide our people with the right type of education, bearing in mind that the official language of this new nation is Bahasa Malaysia.

At this stage of our development, we cannot afford to do away with the core of higher education, to which every parent or studious boy and girl aspire. So whether we like it or not, the study of science and mathematics should be continued in English for a long time — perhaps for many, many years to come.

#### SUPPORT

It is education which helps to build a nation, and if the future of this country is to be safe-guarded, then we must depend on the intellectuals to give their support. The right kind of education is a necessity for the nation.

I risked my political career when I stood firm on the issue of making English the second language of this country. I gave all the reasons why it should be, and finally it was accepted. Though I gave my opponents reasons to attack and denounce me, I stood my ground.

Whatever changes are considered necessary for our new nation to achieve progress, careful thought must always be given to how policies and planning are carried out. One wrong move can bring untold harm both to our people and to our country.

The people have an unquestionable right to expect that the Government and Members of Parliament they elect, and the officers of the Civil Service, whose salaries they pay, shall, in return for the confidence and trust they have received, honour the obligations they have to the people, and that means to all the citizens of Malaysia.

ARTICLE 37  
(25 August, 1975)

## MEMORIES OF THE JAPANESE INVASION HOW TUNKU 'KIDNAPPED' HIS OWN FATHER

Recently a man came to see me in Penang, one whom I had not met since December 1941, when he was the Head of the Japanese Intelligence Corps, the first unit of enemy invaders to arrive in the State of Kedah.

Now 63 years of age, his name is Iwaichi Fujiwara, Chairman of the Fujiwara Asia Research Institute, who served after World War II as the Head of the Japanese Ground Defence Corps.

He said he had come to recall memories of those early days of the War and to meet once again in these days of peace old friends he had not seen for nearly thirty-four years.

I recall my first meeting with him, and I must say it was a most memorable one. Sitting back in my chair, I am thinking of my war-time exploits, and how I kidnapped my own father, the Sultan of Kedah, when he was being taken to Penang in a British convoy on December 21, 1941. At that time I was District Officer in Kulim.

When the convoy reached Sungei Patani, the British Commander must have received information that the Japanese had already landed in Singgora, South Thailand, and might send their planes to bomb Alor Star airfield, then an Allied Air Force base. The British had given orders for the Sultan, who was old and infirm, to go to Penang for safety.

I managed to learn that the convoy would be moving at break of dawn. Together with a friend, Syed Abu Bakar, we had already taken up a hide-out station in a small Indian hut without local British officials being aware of our action, as it was early morning.

I was wearing an Army-type crash helmet, and, luckily too for me, my green ARP uniform. It was green only worn by Defence Corps personnel, as there were no more khaki uniforms to spare, so it was unlikely, I thought, that they would recognise me.

I saw two Police jeeps pass by our hut, followed two minutes later by a yellow Rolls-Royce, which of course I recognised as my father's car. At once I rushed out into the middle of the road, waving my arms, and when the car stopped, I jumped straight in and ordered the chauffeur to drive into Kulim. It was a lucky break for me that when the convoy reached Sungei Patani, the Commandant gave orders for the cars to move at two-minute intervals to avoid Japanese bombing from the air.

When the convoy finally arrived at Butterworth Ferry, opposite Georgetown, the late Regent of Kedah, Tunku Badlishah and his family, as well as officials, suddenly found that the Sultan was not there. They could not imagine what had happened to him.

The convoy's Commandant said they would go across on the ferry first, and as soon as they reached Penang he would find out where the Sultan was, and how he had managed to disappear under their very noses. Sure enough the Sultan was not in Penang. The British contacted Kulim and were told that the Sultan of Kedah was with me in my house there.

#### POINT-BLANK

Soon after 9.am I received a telephone call from my brother, the Regent, who asked me to deliver my father to Penang immediately, or else face arrest. I told him point-blank that the Sultan must remain in Kedah with his people, and that he could only be taken away over my dead body. That was that.

No sooner had I finished talking to my brother than the drone of war-planes could be heard overhead. The Japanese dropped a few bombs near Kulim; then we saw smoke rising from the direction of Butterworth, where they bombed the oil installations and other important military targets. Soon afterwards we received news that they were bombing Penang.

Then I knew that what I had done was timely and correct. At about 4.p.m the same day I received another telephone call from the Regent, but this time he seemed apologetic. He said Penang had been bombed severely, and he would try to come to Kulim with his family, to seek shelter with me. His family included the present Agung, his eldest son and Tunku Malik. I replied that I would be very happy to welcome him, and give all the protection I possibly could.

In fact, as soon as he arrived I would see that he was taken into Kampung Sidim, right in the heart of the Kulim rubber jungle, where hundreds of kampung people, all armed with whatever weapons they could get hold of — changkols, parangs, crises, spears and single-



barrel guns — were looking after the Sultan of Kedah. All these men had left their homes to protect my father, the Sultan, with their lives.

## WAR

By that evening the Regent arrived with his family and went to join our father; there they would all be protected from the violence of war. The kampung people of Sidim provided food and shelter in the truest spirit of Malay loyalty to their Ruler, keeping constant guard over the safety of the Sultan, and also the Regent and his family. Their leader, Penghulu Manap, played his part like an old warrior from a book of legends; I can never forget him.

How did I know that my father was going to be taken to Penang? This is one of the strangest of strange things; it came to me in a dream a week before the actual incident. In the dream my father was calling, "Putra, tolong aku, tolong aku". So I rushed out to the balcony, and down to the grounds of the Istana in time to catch my father as he was about to fall off a tree.

When I woke up, I immediately told my wife about the dream I had and my feeling of ominous foreboding. That very same day, I went by car to Kampung Sidim in the hills, and told Penghulu Manap to prepare a place for the Sultan in case he decided to come and live there to escape the horrors of war, which were bound to take place, if the Japanese began to overrun Kedah.

I asked Penghulu Manap to call all the men from his kampung and the neighbouring mukim to meet me next day. Then I told the people what I feared might happen, and if it did happen, I would bring the Sultan there, leaving him in their care, so they must be prepared to guard him with their lives. Everyone swore that they would look after their Ruler. Then I left to return to Kulim, spending most of my time there at ARP Headquarters.

## CALL

At midnight on December 8, 1941 my brother-in-law Syed Omar Shahabuddin, who was Kedah's Under-Secretary of State, telephoned to tell me that he received information that at 5.am the Sultan would be taken to Penang with the Regent and his family and other officials. From Penang, he said, the Sultan would be handed over to the Army and taken to Singapore, so that he would not fall into the hands of the Japanese.

I strongly resented this move, as I maintained that the Sultan's place must be with his people; the British could not use him for their

propaganda, as he was too old and infirm to be moved about. I was even more concerned that his flight from the country might cause him undue excitement, considerable alarm and severe strain.

I told Syed Omar I was going to stop the move with all the power at my command, small though it might be. At 5.am that day I took Syed Abu Bakar Al Idrus with me, and instructed my Assistant District Officer, Encik Abu Bakar bin Suleiman, to pass word to Haji Ahmad bin Mat Ali, my chief clerk and an officer in the ARP, to follow me at once with a platoon of force members to Kepala Batas, to which I was going immediately. Bakar, however, gave the wrong instructions and Haji Ahmad and his men went to Titi Perkaka instead; so if a fight had developed, both Syed Bakar and I would have been wiped out. Anyway, my dream proved to be a true omen, and I fulfilled my role.

### JAPANESE

Three days later, the first Japanese troops arrived in Kedah; they included Fujiwara's men, led by Lt. Nakamia. Kulim was the only district in the whole State that was free from looting. Other than minor offences, no violence of any kind took place.

All the Police discarded their uniforms to join the ARP force and a riot squad I formed with Ramdan Din, a Lieutenant in the Volunteer Forces. In charge under me, he kept law and order going. Before the Japanese arrived, I told all of them to discard their weapons and uniforms and to don civilian clothes, because the Japanese would behead anyone caught in a British uniform.

The first Japanese troops arrived in the late afternoon, about 5.p.m. and started looting here and there, taking cars, bicycles, anything they could lay their hands on. As we were so accustomed to Japanese politeness, we were shocked by the barbarous behaviour of these Japanese.

Luckily Lt. Nakamia was with me, as I had to take him along to stop the atrocities that followed the Japanese entry into Kulim. We had to save my Tamil interpreter, Manan, as the Japanese were on the point of slaughtering him, because they found pictures of King George V and Queen Mary hanging on the verandah wall of his house.

### SITUATION

Before the British evacuated Kedah, they destroyed the electric power-house; Kulim was left in utter darkness. They also took away all the petrol from the various depots in the district, leaving us with no

fuel to transport food-stuffs from other areas to Kulim, and it was a town particularly short of rice, as it was the centre of a rubber district.

So naturally I was rather worried about the food situation. Unless we obtained supplies within the next three days, we would be short of rice. Then I heard the British were intending to remove rice from the Government mill at Bagan Serai, and so I mustered the only lorry available, filled it with petrol I had tucked and hidden away behind my garage, and called two policemen, whose courage was their strong-point. One was Arshad Hussein, nicknamed Chatjawa, the other Haji Hashim. Both were good footballers and played in my team.

### GET RICE

I told them to take the lorry and get the rice from the Bagan Serai mill in whatever way they could, by hook or by crook, by peaceful or forceful means. They went, and next day to my great relief they brought back a lorry load of rice.

After they had a bath and a meal, I sent them off again to get more rice. They told me they had had a pretty rough time trying to get this lot. Luckily, however, there was one official there who knew me, and respected my note requesting rice.

However, they went back to Bagan Serai, but I heard nothing from them for five days, and was beginning to think the worst of them. Later in the evening, they turned up without the lorry, and looking very much the worse for wear and tear, showing signs of extreme exhaustion.

### PRISONERS

They said that as they were loading the lorry with rice British Army soldiers took them prisoners. It was impossible for them to explain, as they could not speak English, and none of these Army people could speak a word of Malay.

Luckily they were not manacled, so as their army truck was going up Bukit Berapit and rounding a corner they made a jump out, and trudged all the way back to Kulim. Theirs was a most courageous exploit, so I gave them five gantangs of rice each as a reward.

I thanked God that most of the people with their wives and daughters had already been sent away into the hills, where I had built evacuation camps with sufficient food to last them through a month. I stationed ARP members, Chinese, Indians and Malays to look after their respective community camps.

Late through the night Japanese troops were continuing to arrive, but we heard nothing untoward but shouts and calls of "Banzai" or

other victory cries at first. However, they broke into houses, ransacking them, I found out later, but not mine, as luckily I had Lt. Nakamia staying with me.

## RETURN

Fujiwara himself came two days afterwards. Earlier he had installed my brother, Tunku Mohamed Jewa, as Regent of Kedah, in the absence of both the Sultan and the Regent, Tunku Badlishah. He told me to bring the Sultan back, and gave me a pass to ensure safety for me and members of the Royal Family. However, I took the precaution of asking Lt. Nakamia to help me as the military, from what I had already seen of their conduct, would be bound to give us trouble.

It was the rainy season, and all the roads were full of mud and broken up by the Japanese tanks that had rolled over them. The bridges were also destroyed. So when I started driving to Sidim, we would get stuck here and there, and it was several hours before we finally managed to reach the kampung.

The Sultan was well, and so was the Regent and his family, having been looked after, served and fed by the kampung people with extreme devotion. I told all my family it was necessary to get ready for next morning to move on to Alor Star, as there were so many Army vehicles and tanks on the roads, and the bridges were down. We managed to leave Bukit Sidim by 1. pm, and finally arrived in Alor Star after a great deal of trouble and having to stop at different places. It was a dreadful journey, as we saw many dead bodies in the canals by the roadsides, some of them without their heads. Rubber estates were badly damaged by shells, and the villages and towns all along the way already showed signs of the scars of war.

## DARKNESS

Although it took us seven hours to get to Alor Star, the Royal town was in complete darkness, but we proceeded to Anak Bukit Istana where we safely installed the Sultan, the Regent and his family in their homes.

For ten hours my old father had taken no drink or food for we had none, but still he looked calm and composed, and appeared to understand the situation, though he never moved a muscle nor said a word. He was very happy to remain with his people; this I could see in his face.

Some months later, late in 1942, when I was having a nap, I had another dream. I heard my father calling me — "Putra", he said, "I

am sick". That's all I heard. When I woke up, I got hold of a car, filled it with petrol I had saved, and with my wife by my side drove straight to Alor Star.

At the end of a five-hour journey we arrived, and I went straight to the house of my brother-in-law, Syed Omar, and there picked up another brother-in-law, Syed Ali, to proceed at once to the Istana Anak Bukit, where my father was staying with the Regent.

### MYSTERIOUS

When we arrived at the Istana, we found that the Regent was on holiday at Tanjong Dawai with his family. Straightaway I asked the people in the Istana how my father was, and I learned from them that he had been ill.

Immediately I went to his bedroom. He never saw me; his eyes were closed tight, never to open again. Mysterious it was how I should have heard his voice calling me in my dreams — first to ask me to save him, next to tell me that he was dying and to come before he passed away.

These were two of the strangest and truest dreams I have ever had — and both forewarnings of key events in my own life. How right it is, "There are more things in Heaven or earth . . . ."

I had an inscribed stone erected at Kampung Sidim to commemorate the occasion of the Sultan of Kedah's stay there during the period of the Japanese invasion and to say how loyal and well he was served by his devoted subjects.

ARTICLE 38  
(1 September, 1975)

**WINNING HEARTS TO FIGHT TERROR  
HOUSES INSTEAD OF BARRACKS,  
CLOTHING INSTEAD  
OF UNIFORMS, FOOD INSTEAD OF BULLETS**

**F**ive days ago on August 26 bombs planted on the National Monument in the Lake Gardens, Kuala Lumpur, blasted off with terrific force causing extensive damage, and shocking our whole nation and people to their heart's core.

That dreadful act of desecration was a grim warning to all Malaysians that the Communists are still active within our easy-going society even though the Emergency ended fifteen years ago.

The National Monument honours all those who died during the Emergency and two World Wars that we might live in freedom and peace.

Eighteen years after Merdeka — the never-to-be-forgotten day we won our freedom as a nation, August 31, 1957 and fifteen years since July 31, 1960 the official conclusion of the Emergency — we are violently reminded, yet once again, that the condition for liberty is "eternal vigilance".

For many people Merdeka and the Emergency may seem to have happened a long time ago. The young will not remember at all — were not even born, or only children. Only people forty years of age or more will have a clear recollection of those days, dangerous to all, civilians and service-men alike.

Those years I remember well — dark and difficult days they were, atrocities and terror so much a part of our daily lives that we existed in a state of war. No-one called it that, but nevertheless the Emergency was a "war" — one which seemed as if it would never come to an end. We had to suffer it, and, thank God, we endured to win victory over the Malayan Communist Party.

That was how we thought then of the ending of the Emergency. Now that our lasting tribute to our honoured dead is damaged, we

have to think again, and it is well that we should do so; that is why I want to recall those days now.

The Emergency started in June 1948 with the killing of a European planter in Sungei Siput; it did not end until 1960. Up to 1957, it cost the British Government millions upon millions of dollars to fight the Communists.

From 1957 onwards, the Malaysian Government (and it was Malaya then) took over the main burden from the British, but not complete responsibility in fighting the insurgents. British and Commonwealth forces, firm friends indeed, still helped us in our struggle.

The British Government set up the best Intelligence Service possible to deal with the Emergency. A small group, seldom exceeding four in number, but occasionally augmented, would produce a thoughtful paper on the instructions of the Director of Intelligence.

Such papers were circulated to all Operation Committees — these covered all States and Districts — and these Committees in return provided a "feed-back" of whatever fresh information they could glean from contacts among various sections of the public.

It was indeed a painstaking and difficult job to penetrate the Malayan Communist Party and the Min Yuen, as its supply line members or non-members were called; they had to ensure supplies of food, medicine, ammunition, weapons, and, above all, information to the jungle-hidden MCP forces.

### BRIGGS PLAN

Under the Briggs Plan, the Director of Operations, a Federal War Council and a chain of State and Settlement War Executive Committees were set up. The Federal War Council was a small and manageable Committee of half a dozen men. These were the Director of Operations, the Chief Secretary, the General Officer Commanding, the Air Officer Commanding, the Commissioner of Police and the Secretary for Defence.

The Federal War Council's responsibility was to produce and provide all the resources required, which could be made available. The execution of their policy and the actual fighting against the terrorists came under the State and Settlement War Executive Committees.

These, in the general concept, were also small, comprising the Menteri Besar or Resident Commissioner, the British Adviser, the Chief Police Officer and the Senior Army Commander, together with a full-time Secretary.

Organisation on the Government side to fight the Communists could be said to be perfect. Pro-Government civilians, Civil Servants, the Police and the Army all co-operated to the best possible extent.

At the shooting end, the forces employed every means possible to cripple the MCP — planes, helicopter, armoured cars, bazookas, guns, cannons, flame-throwers, in fact everything but the atom bomb, were used. But the war still went on, with violence unabated, the conflict growing fiercer year by year.

In the still of the night most roads and towns were either under curfew or closed to traffic. No-one enjoyed those turbulent days. Estates and tin mines kept constant watch, alert day and night, ready for instant action should an attack come. Millions of dollars were spent to stop the terrorists damaging their properties. Some owners of estates and mines even paid "protection money" to the terrorists, hoping in this clandestine way to keep them off.

The Communists derailed trains, causing passengers great inconvenience. Travelling in a train one night, I experienced an ambush. The Police escort shot it out with the Communists, and the battle caused much excitement and concern among all the passengers.

The late Sultan Yusof of Perak was one of the passengers. When I heard the shots his safety was my first concern. When the shooting started I immediately went to look for him, and was glad to see him safe, even amused, with his face protruding from underneath a bunk.

Another incident involved the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan, our first Agung. His train was derailed and wrecked, but luckily he was unhurt.

## PEAK

On October 6, 1951 Sir Henry Gurney, the British High Commissioner, left Kuala Lumpur with his wife to spend the weekend at Fraser's Hill. When they passed the Gap, a few miles after the beginning of the one-way road to the peak, they ran right into a Communist ambush.

As they rounded a bend, the Communists opened fire from two sides, badly killing or wounding all in the escorting Police Land-Rover, except a sergeant. All the members of the escort were "sitting ducks"; each had only a carbine or a rifle, none had automatic weapons.

Opening the off-side door, Sir Henry Gurney stepped into the road to reach an overhanging bank, but as he reached it, he fell dead



into a deep gutter. The Communist fire riddled the car; it had thirty-five bullet holes, but Lady Gurney, who had crouched down in the car, and the Private Secretary were safe, luckily.

Many horrors were committed on citizens, and in those days prior to the first election — Kuala Lumpur Municipal in 1952 — the morale of the people fell very low. I quote from a memorandum Sir Henry Gurney himself wrote in early October 1951; it reflects his exasperation with the Chinese community as a whole.

"They refused to co-operate with the British", he wrote. "The Government wished to recruit up to 10,000 Chinese for service with the Police. There was full prior consultation with the Chinese leaders, but they got no response. The Chinese were paying out protection money to save their skins.

"With a few notable exceptions, the Chinese have done absolutely nothing to help their own people resist Communism. They can spend \$4,000,000 on celebrations in Singapore, but can spare nothing for the MCA anti-Communist efforts. The Chinese labour force lies wide open to Communism. Leading Chinese have contented themselves with living in luxury in Singapore etc. and criticising the Police and the Security Forces for causing injustices.

"These injustices", Sir Henry declared, "are deplorable, but they are the fault, not of the Police, but of the Chinese themselves".

How did we win over the Chinese to our cause, which led ultimately to victory? When I was elected President of UMNO in 1951, my first reaction and concern was to get the Chinese on our side. I realised that without their co-operation and support it would be futile to expect the war to end quickly.

### AMBUSES

The Communists were fighting under two covers — the jungle, and tight-lipped people. Just shooting it out with them could not give us victory. The Government forces had to act in the open; as such they became easy targets for Communist traps and ambushes.

Their standard guerilla tactics were to stage ambushes at all the awkward parts of winding roads or the banks of rivers. The physical characteristics of Malaya make this type of tactic particularly advantageous.

On uphill bends, where a speed of 15 m.p.h. would be hazardous, an unarmoured truck or jeep was practically a sitting target. When automatic weapons, Bren guns in particular, could be brought

to bear from concealed positions overlooking any target, the wonder is that there were not more ambushes than those actually recorded.

Again, those who spoke out against the Communist terrorists were just taken from their homes "for a ride" — one such incident happened to a school-mate of mine, Dr. Ong Chong Keng — or else shot down in their own homes.

It was impossible for the Government to protect every life, every estate, every tin-mine. If the war against the Communists had to be won, it must be done with the support of the Chinese people. Nearly all the terrorist forces were from the Chinese community.

It was not at all easy for the Government to defeat the Communists. While they could depend on help from certain sections of the Chinese community, most gave assistance either through fear, intimidation or personal interest.

On the whole, the Chinese of Malaya realised that their lot lay not with the Communists but rather with the democratic West. Through fear of reprisals, however, they preferred to sit on the fence. Such people had to be won over; otherwise the war could go on without knowing how and when it would ever end.

It was a most serious situation, and this was one primary reason why the Alliance Party was formed — to bring together the races who owed loyal allegiance to Malaya. The Alliance fought the election on a manifesto which was clear, unequivocal and to the point. We must unite, with one heart and mind, to save Malaya — "Our Home".

#### AMNESTY

Finally, we won our demand for partial election to the Legislative Council. In July, 1955 came the first Federal Elections, resulting in an Alliance victory. I had previously proposed amnesty terms for the Communists.

After the election I received a letter, posted from South Thailand, under a pseudonym, Ng Heng, who stated he could come to an agreement with our party to obtain independence for Malaya. He suggested abolition of the Emergency Regulations, and permission for the Communist Party to come out into the open.

Ng Heng wrote that the Malayan People's Liberation Army, (MPLA) was willing to accept the proposed amnesty, unsatisfactory as it was, as a basis for peace negotiations. It would be an illusion to attempt to force the MPLA to surrender.

The Government replied that they must surrender and accept our terms; we were not prepared to bargain. I was sure by then of the

support I was getting from the "fence-sitters". The MPLA did not respond.

When I became Chief Minister I again offered an amnesty, indicating that I would be happy to meet the MPLA leader, Chin Peng. The MCP issued a Manifesto, sub-titled "Struggle for Materialisation of the Independence, Democracy and Peace of Malaya". It set out three items — (1) An end to the war through negotiations with reasonable terms; (2) Repeal of the Emergency Regulations; (3) Equal status to be accorded to all political parties.

Finally, we did meet in Baling, Kedah, in December, 1955. I repeat what Chin Peng said, because this was the stand which the MCP would always take. "As between you and I, we could never co-exist; you are non-Communist and I am a Communist".

Actually this is the very principle which symbolises the big difference between the MCP and the democratic Government of Malaya, and we could not bridge the "gap". All we could hope for was to get Malaya's various communities to give complete and undivided support to the Government.

The basic reason why I went to meet Chin Peng was to win the people over to our side by proving to them publicly that all this MCP talk about "liberating" Malaya was sheer boasting without any honest intention on their part to carry out this promise. Their sole aim was to set up Communist rule — and this the Malayan people would not accept.

## POLICY

When Chin Peng told me that we could not co-exist, it was clear to all that we could not work with the MCP, nor could we expect them to accept our form of Government. We must confine our Malaya to those who shared our policy and our ways of thought, but certainly not Communist ideas.

We called upon all the Malayan people who had genuine interest in this country, intending to make Malaya their sole home to join us in a war against the MCP. That was the beginning of the policy to win the hearts and minds of the people.

Readers today, especially those who did not share our experiences, must appreciate what steps were taken to fight the Communists. We exploited intelligence to the full to detect their movements; we used weapons to try and kill them. We took action to deny all food reaching them. Even one grain of salt or rice given to the MCP could mean severe penalties under the Emergency Regulations.

Nevertheless, the war continued. A few Communists accepted the surrender terms, but many refused to consider the offer. One point made itself patently clear, demanding serious consideration — how best to gain the people's full co-operation and thus win the war.

When I first informed the British Government I was going to meet Chin Peng, they disliked the idea. They considered such an approach was a sign of weakness, but I asserted it was the only way to win the people over to our side.

I felt the people had to know exactly what the Communists were fighting for, so it was my intention to prove that the Communists were fighting only for their own political ends; a meeting in Baling would prove my point.

Only after the Baling talks occurred did the people begin really to understand the situation. It was a difficult job at first, and progress was slow, and it was not until Malaysians took over complete control of the Government after Independence that we were able to get any lasting results.

## DUTY

I tried to make everyone feel that Malaya was his home, and that I expected every man to do his duty to this country, irrespective of what his racial origin might be. Though Malaya accepted Islam as its official religion, every man was free to worship God in his own way.

For every acre of land reserved for the Malays, an equal acre was made available for others. For instance, if 10,000 acres were set aside for Malays, then 10,000 acres were also available for use by other races.

Although quotas for admittance to the Malayan Civil Service were made, there was none in respect of the Clerical Service or any of the other services. Our Constitution was carefully worked out to give all the people a sense of belonging.

Among the communities here, some, like the Chinese, are far more advanced than others in trade and commerce. The Malays are mostly employed on the land as agriculturists; the Indians predominate in the rubber estates, but also in both trade and the various professions.

So it was evident that every possible step should be taken to encourage the Malays to go into business, and it was on this basic understanding that the policy which we adopted became successful.

My oft-repeated statement of "Houses instead of barracks, clothing instead of uniforms and food instead of bullets" went down

well — plain aims in simple words. The Government opened up large tracts of land at its expense, giving the areas out to Malays, Chinese and Indians for rubber and palm oil, with "cash crops" planted in between.

Under this policy, the Malays "never had it so good". We built thousands of miles of roads into their kampungs to make transport easier. We supplied water, electricity, health services and other amenities of life that kampung folk had never enjoyed before.

We lent out money to small traders and fishermen to improve their lot. Often loans were written off, because, they were unable to pay back the loans or advances made; but still the Government continued to give them every encouragement and help.

Never a word was said about bumiputras. This phrase was introduced to play up the differences between people, those who were indigenous and those who are immigrant. We had Malays, Chinese, Indians and others before, just as the United Kingdom had Englishmen, Scotsmen and Welshmen, but the word "Bumiputra" goes deeper. It tends to split our people, and to turn back the status of Malaysians to the position we were in before under our imperialist masters.

I fear that the policy of winning the hearts and minds of the people will suffer a severe set-back unless care is employed in the use of the word "Bumiputras".

After the defeat of the democratic regimes in Indo-China, the Communists in Malaysia are trying hard to make a "come-back". We must be prepared to use every possible means at our command, as from now, to fight them.

## DEFEAT

Too many unpleasant incidents are taking place now, and these must be causing the Government very serious concern, just as it causes concern among responsible and peace-loving people in this country. These incidents are "created" to show the Communists' potential strength, their striking power, their capabilities — and their might. All are threats to the Malaysian concept of how to live.

The recent attempt to blow up the National Monument has a much deeper meaning than first meets the eye. It is not an act of mere wanton destruction, but it is in fact done to show the Communists' power and their will to fight back. A monument symbolising their defeat must be destroyed, and, what is more, it must be done before

the nation celebrates Independence Day. And that is exactly what they did and why they did it.

Since the end of the war in Indo-China a considerable quantity of arms has reached Thailand and this country. In Thailand it became so bad they decided to do away with licences, but here in Malaysia there is no knowing the extent to which arms have got into the possession of the undesirable elements. So they seem to have started to throw out challenges to test our reactions, our strength and our will to resist.

This situation is very serious, and we must prepare ourselves now to meet the challenge of these terrorists. We must muster all available machinery to defend this country against the enemy.

First and foremost, we must win over all the true Malaysians to the Government's side, and that means we must win their hearts and minds. May Allah protect us!

ARTICLE 39  
(8 September, 1975)

## RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN SABAH RACIAL UNITY FOR TRIBES THROUGH ISLAM

Members of USIA, the United Sabah Islamic Association, have appealed successfully to Tun Mustapha not to give up his leadership of their organisation, according to a report I read in *The STAR* five days ago.

I can well understand the reason why they asked him to remain as USIA Chairman, because his are the brains of the organisation. Nor is that all — actually he founded USIA, he gives such devoted and inspiring leadership that USIA dwarfs all similar organisations in the Islamic world.

Through his own personal effort and initiative Tun Mustapha has carried out Islamic missionary work, which never existed before his day in Sabah, winning converts by the thousands. In this field of missionary endeavour, in my opinion, he has no equal.

According to Tun Mustapha, all the indigenous people of Sabah are people of one race, but they became ignorant and backward because they had been taught to live as tribes rather than as one race.

For instance, under the British, areas were marked out where the people of Sabah lived as Malays, Bajaus, Dusuns, Dyaks, Kedayans, Orang Sungei, Bisaya, Sulu, Tidong, etc — the old basis of imperialism, divide and rule. They also permitted various Christian missions to have a free hand to carry out conversions. In the towns, they established mission schools, which were able to promote the Christian religion to the younger people, thus winning many new converts.

Most Sabahans in older days had no religion of their own, but the Catholic missionaries were very active, more so than others, in distributing food and other essential commodities to the people.

So, to Tun Mustapha's way of thinking, if these Christian missionaries were able to convert the people, he too could do the same

by converting them to Islam. But the essential difference in his approach was that he could create one racial outlook with the religion of Islam as the base. The Christian missions could win converts to Christianity but they were not able to make the people feel themselves as one race. They might still remain divided, but all could be Muslims. Islam breaks through all barriers of race and colour, so they could become Malays.

### HULLABALOO

That is why Tun Mustapha's success became the envy of all the other missions. When Tun Mustapha asked nine Roman Catholic priests to leave in 1972 as they had overstayed the period of their employment, there was quite a hullabaloo.

The priests, all of whose passes expired in 1972, were Joseph Hass, whose work-pass expired on May 14, and his special pass on July 27; Patrick J. McDonald (May 21 and July 27); Anton G. Lampe (May 17 and July 27); John T. Tijssen (April 24 and August 7); Lambert J. G. Visschedijk (February 27 and April 21); Johannes A. A. (January 16 and March 23); Van Gastel Wilhelmus (July 1 and September 24); Francis W. Frerichs (June 12 and September 24) and Johannes H (December 23, 1971 and May 6, 1972).

There was no need, according to Tun Mustapha, for the people of Sabah to seek assistance and guidance from an outside source, when such guidance could be obtained from within the State. The imperialist mentality and outlook should not be allowed to continue after independence, whether relating either to politics or religion. Co-operation and understanding could be achieved through goodwill and friendship.

### REPORTS

Therefore the work of winning over the people in Sabah to Islam was carried out by Tun Mustapha and his able helpers with conscientiousness and determination. As a result, no less than 96,400 Sabahans have become Muslims, but other religions are free to carry on their missionary work, just as they had been doing before.

None have stopped doing so; no-one has been detained for following his own creed or practising his own religion.

In the Christian world, however, much wrong information was given out. Some reports were that Tun Mustapha had imprisoned priests, prosecuted Christians, and refused to allow any other religion than Islam to be practised in the State of Sabah.



Strange how these stories get about, and stranger still how they can be believed, when a cursory glance at the real situation in the State will reveal all the information one needs to know.

### CONFERENCE

I attended the Council of Christian Churches Conference in Geneva 1971 in my capacity as Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah. The purpose of the Conference was to promote closer understanding between the great religions, as it was realised that their joint effort could do much to create better human understanding in today's giddy world.

After the preliminary session, when talks on various aspects of human understanding were discussed, the conference fizzled out. The Council made one enquiry of me; they wanted to know about the "persecution of the Christians in Sabah".

I tried to explain that there was nothing abnormal in that State, and that they were welcome to visit Sabah to see for themselves.

What really was of the greatest concern to all thinking men today, I stated, was the concept of human rights, as advocated by the United Nations and all civilised countries, which was being shamelessly violated in Sabah's next-door neighbour State, the Philippines.

There Muslims had been attacked in their own homes and in their places of worship; and driven out of land they had occupied for generations to provide room for Catholics. This was something the Council of Christian Churches could well devote their time to investigate in the cause of humanity.

It is unthinkable that there can be a country in this modern world, where in the capital city of Manila there is not one Muslim mosque, nor is there an acre of land to bury the Muslim dead, and yet there are four million Muslims in the Philippines.

When I visited Manila in 1960, I took this matter up with President Macapagal, and his reply was — "I can do nothing about this because the Christians would be angry with me". I was in Manila on an official visit, and had with me Tan Sri Wong Pow Nee, then Chief Minister of Penang, himself a very devout Catholic. He was very shocked indeed to learn about the President's remark.

By curious coincidence, when Tan Sri Wong Pow Nee was our Ambassador in Rome early in 1973, I had an audience with His Holiness the Pope and again I brought up the Philippines "affair" for his attention. Unfortunately, however, he had been given other versions by the Government of the Philippines, so during the course of

our conversation I could see for myself that he was inclined to believe these "other sources"

### MOSQUE

I remember very well that at the end of the Maphilindo Conference, I said, in my concluding address, "I came to this country not only to PLAY, but to PRAY too. Unfortunately, however, there is no mosque in Manila where I can pray".

I have heard, as a result of much agitation and appeals from inside and outside, that the Philippines Government have now, as a personal act of magnanimity, allowed Muslims to build a Welfare Centre where they can meet for religious purposes, such as prayers, but they cannot call their Centre a mosque. Is there a country in the world today where religious intolerance is practised so shamelessly and so inhumanely?

In Malaysia the Constitution provides that every man has the right to practise his own religion; and many churches, temples and mosques have been built at the expense of Government. Religious festivals of all races are freely celebrated and equally enjoyed by all.

Tun Mustapha is a notable and well-meaning person, though sometimes he is inclined to be playful. This is a contradiction of a kind, for he is also known to be a religious and devout Muslim. I admire in this man the quality of having tolerance in himself and for others.

When I was living in Jeddah as Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat, I watched people come and go to Mecca, and no man I know visited the Holy City more often than did Tun Mustapha.

When he went to Mecca, he would spend a lot of his time praying in the Mosque, or performing Tawaf and Shaie (in other words Umrah) which involve all the drills a man has to perform to become a Haji.

I know from personal experience that this prescriptive drill is most trying and strenuous, as I felt myself hard put to it when I had to carry out the drill in a vast morning crowd, being pushed about here and there, so that it becomes hard to keep one's concentration.

### WELFARE

Every year Tun Mustapha travels with hundreds of people from Sabah, converts new and old. He himself attends to their welfare, with the result the people of Sabah are well-provided for, well-looked after and well-disciplined. In the performance of the Haj, which involves

millions of people, it is not an easy thing at all to attend to everything necessary to satisfy everyone, yet Tun Mustapha does.

Many parties find themselves lost and separated from one another, and there is no public-address system to announce the "strays" and lost souls, and sometimes one has to wait for hours, even days, to make contact. Once I had occasion to lose my attendant, and it took me two days to find him again. On another occasion, my secretary disappeared in the crowd. All one can do is wait, and expect to see the lost ones sometime.

So it should be a matter of wonder how hundreds of people from Sabah are able to keep so close to each other. Really, however, it is not a problem for Sabah people; they rely on Tun Mustapha's "know-how".

Tun Mustapha was Mutawif to me once. A Mutawif is a man who guides groups of pilgrims around the Holy Shrines — The Kaabah in the performance of the Tawaf, going seven times round the Kaabah, and seven times going up and down the 500-yard-long passage for Shaie, completing a walk of two miles, and repeating the praises of Allah without ceasing.

Once I had no guide as they had all been taken up by other pilgrims, so then Tun Mustapha offered to act as my Mutawif. He produced from his pocket a book in Malay and Arabic, reading aloud as we covered the long walk. He persevered with reciting the prayers in the book, though with some difficulty as the light was fading and at the same time we were being shoved about by the huge crowd.

At one point he called out in Arabic a word which sounds obscene to Malay ears. So I stopped him, and he showed me the actual wording, but found to his dismay that he had mispronounced it; we have laughed over this incident ever since.

Recently I owned a good horse, and at his suggestion I named him "Mutawif"; it has won two races already. The last win was in Kuala Lumpur on the very day that Tun Mustapha won a vote of confidence in Sabah with a two-thirds majority.

### PRIVILEGES

Tun Mustapha has announced his wish to retire. A Bill has been passed, conferring special privileges on him for life after his retirement as Chief Minister on October 31. He is to be given a pension, a house, a Government car, bodyguards, a secretary and Police outriders. He will also take precedence over all administrative officers.

apart from the Yang Dipertua Negara and the Chief Minister, and their respective wives. He can also fly on his car the flags of Sabah or USNO, or any flag he chooses.

In moving the Bill, the Deputy Chief Minister, Tan Sri Mohamed Said Keruak, said the special privileges were in recognition of Tun Mustapha's services to the State, and also as "Father of Sabah".

Whatever the opposition party might say, Tun Mustapha thoroughly deserves the honour bestowed upon him by the Sabah Legislative Assembly. He needs all these small "aids" to add prestige to his work in the cause of Islam.

All parties in Sabah should consider past events as past, let bygones be bygones, and settle down to the task of serving their State, so that Sabah may continue to make its valuable contribution to the welfare of Malaysia as a whole.

### SHOCKING

Since the article was written Berjaya has succeeded in capturing the majority of the seats in the State Assembly in the election held on 5-14 April, 1976 and USNO, for the first time, relinquished its power. After the election a shocking accident occurred which took nine lives, including the Chief Minister and head of Berjaya, Tun Mohamed Fuad, and as a result of this four seats had to be contested in the by-elections.

USNO never contested the by-election because according to the party they were advised against it by a very high authority in the Central Government, and to save their skins and their money they accepted the advice meekly.

Behind the success of Berjaya many reasons were given but the churches played a very big part. Let's hope, however, that religion will not be brought into play and be a cause for a breach of peace among the people who have hitherto lived so happily together in Sabah.

ARTICLE 40  
(15 September, 1975)

## PERILOUS SEARCH MASS GRAVES YIELD AWFUL SECRET OF TERRIBLE MASSACRE

Readers may recall that when I wrote last about the Occupation I dealt with the "kidnapping" of my father from the British, and concluded with his death. But many other interesting events occurred during the early phases of the Japanese invasion of Malaya, which I feel are worth putting on record.

In January, 1941 two weeks after the fall of Singapore, I received an urgent message from Raja Shahar telling me that his brother, Raja Aman Shah, District Officer, Port Dickson, who was a Captain in the Volunteer Force, had surrendered to the Japanese together with his men in Singapore.

Raja Shahar presumed that his brother was now a prisoner-of-war in Changi Prison. He said perhaps I might be able to get permission from the Japanese authorities to have his brother released. The Japanese knew very well the part I had played in preventing my father from being taken away by British troops. And my "exploit" had been widely reported in the Press of Japan.

Immediately I made preparations to leave Kedah, taking Ramdan Din with me to Singapore. We had a serviceable Chevrolet car, and I had already obtained a letter of authority and recommendation from top-level Japanese military personnel in Kedah and also Fujiwara Kikan in Singapore. These letters were all the "arms" we had, so with great trepidation we set off to drive down the Peninsula 500 miles to Singapore.

It was a most hazardous journey to make from Kulim to Singapore at that time, for the British had just surrendered. We were stopped and examined at various odd places, and subjected to all kinds of indignities, despite our credentials. Nevertheless we persevered, staying one night in Kuala Kangsar, another in Kuala

Lumpur, a third in Malacca, and finally found ourselves safely in Singapore.

We went at once to Fujiwara Kikan's Headquarters, and there they gave me a bed in the house occupied by a Japanese named Ohta, whom I knew had once been a barber in Alor Star, and a good tennis-player as well. Next day we drove to Changi Prison, and met the British Officer-in-Charge of all Allied prisoners-of-war, including Malayan soldiers and volunteers. Unfortunately we could not find any POW in their list by the name of Raja Aman Shah.

### FRUITLESS

We searched all over Singapore, visiting every Malay kampung hoping to find him. Although we ran into many others, we did not discover the whereabouts of Aman Shah. Reluctantly, therefore, our search being fruitless, we decided to return, but we could not get any petrol for the journey. I asked Fujiwara Kikan to help but he said they had no petrol to spare me.

As a last resort, we went to see an old friend, Lt. Col. G.Q. Gilani, who was then in charge of the Indian POW Camp. He, too, had no supplies, but he asked his men to empty all tanks in the camp to give me petrol. I have never forgotten the kind generosity of Colonel Gilani and his men.

When we arrived in Seremban I heard that my sister and her children were being looked after by the old Datuk Jelebu, so we immediately made our way to Jelebu. On the journey there we gave a lift to a man with black sun-glasses, who was wearing an over-size coat and a sarong.

When we reached Jelebu we stopped to let him out. Only then did I see him closely, and found he had only one eye, the other having rotted away. All his body was eaten up by leprosy, and he had no fingers at all. I was horror-struck, for here was a leper in the worst stage of physical decay, alive but doomed to die.

At Datuk Jelebu's house, we washed the car inside-out with petrol, which we could ill-spare, doing everything to clean it except set it on fire. We even left all the doors open to allow the petrol fumes to evaporate, and then Ramdan Din washed the car all over again with disinfectant.

### SLAUGHTER

After staying the night in Jelebu we took aboard the car my sister and her family, about eight people in all crammed together, and

stopped the night in Kuala Lumpur, and the next in Kuala Kangsar before going on to Kulim.

On the third day, after a tediously slow journey, we gave thanks to God that we had arrived safely in Kulim at last.

That very same night I received shocking news from my assistant, Cik Esa, who told me the Japanese had taken away forty people, locked up for minor offences, and slaughtered them all.

So next day I went with Ramdan Din to the place where these people were said to have been buried. Sure enough, we found their graves, their awful secret yielded by escaping gas, which, forcing the earth open, emitted the dreadful stench of decomposed bodies.

In the meantime the Police and riot squads had arrested more people, some for quite serious offences. When I came to hear this news, I rushed to the Police Station, ordered every prisoner out, and told the Police not to take in any more.

The next day my interpreter, Loy Sin, came to my office, his face as white as death, to tell me he had heard that the Japanese Kempetai had decided to arrest my two assistants, Encik Abu Bakar and Encik Esa, for possessing a Bren-gun. The penalty for possessing firearms was death.

My two assistants rushed into my house, trembling with fright, having decided to run for their lives that same night, rather than face Japanese torture and death.

I told them to keep calm; I would assume full responsibility for the gun, which was buried in the compound of my house. The three of us would go and see the Garrison Commander, the same man who had earlier ordered the execution of the forty in those graves we found.

### FEARSOME

Early next morning, the three of us and Loy Sin, walked rather unsteadily up the hill where the Headquarters were, to be met by the Commander, all resplendent in uniform. He looked really fearsome; to say we were not afraid would be the understatement of all time. It was all I could do to stop myself wetting my trousers.

As calmly as I could in such critical circumstances I declared that I had kept the gun as a souvenir, my two assistants having nothing to do with it at all. Now I was bringing it to him, so that he could have it with my compliments, as the gun was of no use to me.

Suddenly the Commander's face showed a change. Smiling broadly he said he would accept the gun and that we could all go

home. Quickly we turned about to make for home, full of thanksgiving prayers to Allah. Never in all my life have I felt as relieved as on that day. Today I recall all the people standing silently in the doors of their houses, as we walked down and up that road. All their eyes held the same question, "Would we ever come out of there again?"

After staying in Kulim for a week, I decided to go to Singapore once again to make another search for Raja Aman Shah. This time my two brothers-in-law, Syed Omar Shahabuddin and Syed Sheh Sahabuddin (formerly Menteri Besar, Kedah, and his brother, formerly Governor of Penang) accompanied me.

Ramdan Din, of course, was also in the party; he was a redoubtable companion, doing all the menial work and driving the car to Singapore, where we had to go through much the same experiences we encountered on my first visit.

We spent a lot of time looking for Raja Aman Shah; we even went to a fortune-teller. We also asked some Malays who worked with the Japanese to help, people like Ibrahim Yacob and Ishak Haji Mohamed, but we got little or none from them. Instead they asked, "Why did your brother-in-law work for the British?" After that I refused to meet them any more.

### SAVED MY LIFE

In the end we decided to return, and it was still evening when we crossed the Johore Causeway. When we arrived at the sentry-post, all of a sudden a junior Japanese officer put his hand in the glove compartment of the car and drew out my pistol. Without giving me any chance to explain, he moved three steps backward, and took aim straight at my head.

My brother-in-law, Syed Omar, rushed between us. His action saved my life, as it gave me time to produce a document, which proved I had permission to carry a pistol. However, the Japanese officer decided to arrest me and all the rest of us, so we had to go to his office for further examination and more endless questions.

Finally, having satisfied himself that I was not an "enemy", he reluctantly released us all, but decided to confiscate the pistol. We were only too happy to have our freedom again, and made a getaway as fast as we could for our dear lives. I decided there and then, that, come what may, I would never go to Singapore again under the Japanese.

Not only was the journey hazardous, it was downright dangerous, and all our efforts to locate Raja Aman proved futile. Only after the



War ended did I learn what happened to Raja Aman Shah. A Chinese Volunteer Force officer revealed the awful truth, that Raja Aman was one of the hundreds of POWs the Japanese had massacred.

In the dead of night the Japanese marched them all out of prison, took them to an empty ground, asked them to dig their own mass grave, and then machine-gunned them down.

### GANGSTERS

When I came back to Kulim I learned that some gangsters had severely beaten a few policemen as they were raiding a gambling-den in a kongsi house at Serdang. I got hold of Ramdan Din and my riot squad and went to the kongsi house, seized all the arms there, arrested a few men and brought them back to Kulim to be locked up.

The OCPD, Ibrahim bin Murad, then obtained permission from the Japanese to execute the ring-leaders, and three were put to death by a firing-squad, the rest being given light sentences. After that incident there was no more gambling in Kulim District.

I consider myself very lucky indeed to have escaped trouble during the turbulent period of the British withdrawal and the arrival of the Japanese. Conditions were so perilous, there was no law and order in the country. Unless we took firm control, the situation would deteriorate into absolute disorder and lawlessness.

At the request of the people of Province Wellesley, I took control of that area as well, establishing law and order there, and I was happy and relieved to give it all up as soon as the Japanese came. But when they did, there was more trouble.

### ADULTERATION

One incident I cannot forget involved a milk-vendor, who was charged in Butterworth with selling adulterated milk. He was held in the lock-up, awaiting the services of a lawyer to defend him.

When the lawyer arrived, he was put in the lock-up too, along with his client, and served with the same kind of food — the adulterated milk in question, which by then had turned doubly bad and trebly sour. From all accounts they had a terrible time, both the vendor and his legal defender.

The lawyer, having got more than he bargained for, pleaded for mercy for himself, saying, "I am not defending him". His plea was considered favourably, accepted, and he was released, but his client remained to finish the milk he had adulterated, and in addition served another two weeks' imprisonment as well.

Jockeys and trainers did not escape the famous "water-treatment" of the Japanese, though racing still went on. I remember vividly what happened at one Penang race meeting. They planned a "Kayu tiga" race, allowing a three-legged horse to win, which, of course, paid a handsome dividend.

They pocketed the winnings themselves, but before they could enjoy their ill-gotten gains and celebrate the occasion, they were hauled up before the Japanese officers, who decided to hold an enquiry into the running of the race.

Pails of water were produced, and poured into the mouths and down into the stomachs of the helpless jockeys until they became so distended as to look almost the size of horses themselves; and their trainers shared similar treatment with equal discomforts.

I had always been a very keen race-goer, but when I heard of this incident I gave up racing for good. I must admit, however, after this "poetic justice" racing was very much cleaner, but still I preferred to stay away from the courses, taking no interest and running no risk.

#### FOUR BALES

Once in a while, I would go to Penang. On one of these visits I was lucky enough to buy on the black-market four bales of white cotton cloth, which cost a lot of money. White cotton cloth was not available in Kedah, and it was very much sought after, especially for embalming the dead. One had to have some white cloth in reserve either in case of a death in the family or among close friends.

Feeling extremely pleased with my purchase, I decided to come back in the evening. When I was about to cross in the ferry I met a chetty, who asked me where I was going. I replied, "Naturally I am going back to my home-town; I'm not taking a joy-ride at this time of night".

The chetty told me to be careful when crossing the border to Alor Star, as he had seen one of his business friends being beaten up by the Japanese in full view of the public, and he still did not know whether he was alive or dead.

I asked, "What did this chetty do?" His reply was that he brought in one bale of white cloth, and the Japanese wanted to know where it came from. The chetty replied that he had it all the time, and in fact it was his national dress. Nevertheless, he was badly beaten up because he refused to disclose how he had obtained the cloth.

My legs almost gave way, and I said to myself:- "The chetty had only one bale, whereas I have four. And it is not my national dress, so

what excuse can I give, and what my fate will be I don't know, if I am caught?"

So I decided to go to Kulim instead, and when I reached Lunas by midnight I woke up my old friend, Khoo Ah Pan. He was surprised to see me at that hour of the night and asked me why. I told him the whole story, and how lucky I had been to meet the chetty on the ferry.

Although he was just as nervous as I was, nevertheless he helped me plan an escape route, and I had to return by a remote estate road, by-passing Bumbong Lima, the Customs barrier. Early next morning, I managed to arrive in Alor Star with my contraband goods.

When my sisters heard of my purchase, all three came to ask me for the cloth, so I gave each a bale at cost price, in spite of all my trouble and the risk incurred. I retained only one bale; but right through the Occupation I never had any occasion to use it.

#### LITTLE HILL

When the Japanese Occupation ended, Md. Khir Segara asked me to buy his little hill, Bukit Choras. I said I had no money, but if a bale of white cloth was of any use to him he could have it in exchange for his hill. He accepted it readily, and so for one bale of white cloth I got one hill, 4½ acres in area.

Later on I built my bungalow there and planted some fruit trees, which remain to this day. But in the 1969 elections, the UMNO candidate for Kota Star Selatan lost for want of support from local voters. I decided then to give up the hill, and never to return again. And I never have.

The man to whom I sacrificed my hill was Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamed Iskandar.

ARTICLE 41  
(22 September, 1975)

## HELPING HAND THROUGH RELIGION PERAK'S REHABILITATION CENTRE PROVIDES HOPES FOR DRUG ADDICTS

**I**t was just by accident that I heard of the Rehabilitation Centre for Drug Addicts in Ipoh, which was started by Datuk Dr. M. Mahadevan, who is the consulting psychiatrist, and Brother James M. Scholer.

The doctor mentioned this to me when I met him in Ipoh at a dinner given to Datuk Yeoh Cheang Lee by his colleagues and friends to celebrate his twenty-five years' association with the Perak Turf Club.

I didn't know what it was like, this Centre at Batu Gajah, but I would be happy to go and see the inmates, if they wanted me, I told Dr. Mahadevan.

I would not, however, like to force my attention on these unfortunate people, because some of them can be very sensitive about their affliction. However, the very next day I received a letter from one of the inmates inviting me to visit them.

I went to the Centre on the following Saturday, September 6, 1975 and I was received there by the Director, Brother James and the Board Members and the Yang di Pertua Majlis dan Ketua Jabatan Hal Ehwal Ugama, Ipoh, Y.B. Datuk Haji Ahmad Hisham bin Mat Pia, and the District Officer, Kinta District, Encik Ahmad Harun.

The reception was well-arranged, and the boys put on a "Boria" show with music played by the inmates. After that, I was conducted round the camp and shown the living quarters. Finally I was taken to the Receiving Centre. This is a big hall completely locked up to prevent escapes.

According to the Director, as the addicts come in they are put into this hall with their faces to the square wall and told to meditate and to repent. After they have been resuscitated, they are turned loose

with their backs against the wall, and allowed to move about freely within the camp area.

For the Muslim boys there is a small prayer-room where they perform their religious duties. I asked them if they had anyone to teach them religion, to which they replied, "No".

### ADDRESS

Then I was asked to address the boys, and I must admit that I found this a most difficult thing to do, knowing how sad they already felt over getting themselves into their present predicament.

There is no point, I thought, in making matters worse by hammering on their mistake. After all they know what they have done, and they know they have done wrong. So lecturing them is like adding insult to injury, and nothing is worse than that.

However, as they asked me to talk I had to say something, so I told them that human afflictions were of two kinds — one kind you get without asking, the other when you ask for it. When it happens to be the first kind, one can get medical aid, and in most cases get over the affliction without any detrimental after-effects.

The other kind is where one asks for it, such as in their cases, doping themselves with drugs — ganja, opium, heroin and morphine. No medicine can be prescribed for this habit. The only thing to do is to be brave and strong enough to try and rid themselves of a self-affliction, which turns healthy men into human dregs and derelicts.

One sure way of doing so is to have complete and absolute faith in God, because only through such faith can one acquire the will-power and strength necessary to fight this evil. I know I am one of those who enjoy life, but, because of my strong faith in Allah, I am master of myself; I keep myself free from committing sinful acts — by this I mean never consciously doing anything that will hurt others.

### FAITH IN GOD

Every time I pray I ask earnestly of God to keep me in possession of all my senses, and if praying five times a day for this request is not enough, what is? Similarly, in their cases, once they have acquired faith in God, they can have enough courage to cure themselves of this harmful habit.

Having said my piece, I asked Brother James if he would agree to my sending to the camp periodically a team of my religious workers to live with the boys, and slowly to cultivate their friendship and

confidence, thus helping to relieve their minds of desire for drugs, and guide them on to the path of God. Both Brother James and the boys welcomed my idea.

On September 13, after my visit, I sent Haji Salleh bin Sheik Osman, a Guru from Sekolah Perguruan Islam in Penanti, Bukit Mertajam, with twenty others attending his course there to this Centre at Batu Gajah.

When they arrived they immediately made friends with the inmates, broke fast and prayed with them. They answered all questions they were asked about religion and other social matters.

### CIRCLES

In the three days they were there they performed "miracles". According to the reports I received, the inmates have asked for more visits of this kind by religious workers. I will certainly send another group.

In the meantime Datuk Ismail Panjang Aris, one of the "Visitors" said that he was going to get about twenty University students of their age-group, who would stay with them for three days.

One thing the "visitors" did was to break the inmates up into groups of five. They sit round in circles, each reading the Koran in turn. During the Puasa Month the drill was to wake at 3.30 am for "shoror" (last supper), after the meal to hear talks and have lessons on religion. Then they perform the Tahjud prayers, and the morning prayer, the "Subah". Their regular drills and other exercises as fixed by the Centre then follow until 8.am, when they rest.

One boy there comes from a rich family. He told how he took heroin at the age of 16, due to keeping bad company. When he became an addict, he had to get money to buy heroin, which costs a lot, so he started to steal until his father found out. But the father took his son's affliction kindly and gave him \$50 a day to buy drugs.

### "HOOKED"

When even this did not help the lad, he took him on a world tour, but when he came home he returned once more to his bad habit, spending a lot more money on drugs. He was so far "hooked" that he was prepared to rob or even kill to get money, because if he didn't he felt he would become mentally paralysed. Ultimately his condition became so bad that his mother took him to the Centre for treatment, and he is still there now.

Another bad case comes from Penang — an ordinary car-driver, who started with marijuana and ended up taking every known drug. He spent on drugs in a day or two what he earned in a month. Finally,

he had to scrounge on his wife, spending on drugs the money set aside for their food. At his wife's request he came to the Centre to be cured, and he is not doing too badly now.

There are many others like him, but a sad case is one of a schoolboy who got himself into the drug habit, but when his teacher found out he took him to the Centre.

There is also one inmate who was a Government servant working on the Thai-Malaysia border. There he came into contact with drug-smugglers, and caught the habit, as he could easily indulge himself with the regular supplies he got from the smugglers.

When he was transferred to another area, then his real troubles began. He couldn't get his drugs free, and craving for them drove him almost mad; finally he came to this Centre of his own accord.

Now he has almost recovered, though he still looks pale, and has a long way to go before recovery is complete. By coincidence his father used to be my clerk when I was a District Officer, and he was the man who wrote on behalf of the inmates inviting me to visit the Centre.

### PROJECT

According to Brother James, the site for the Centre was provided by the former Menteri Besar of Perak, Datuk Sri Haji Kamaruddin. He was instrumental in helping to get the first house, and later he gave 20-acres of land near Kampong Bercham, which, after being developed by Ipoh Garden Sdn. Bhd., now has accommodation for 60 residents.

This first building became open solely through the kind assistance of a few philanthropists in Ipoh, who made generous donations towards the project. The Centre is sorely in need of funds, and has to depend a great deal on charity, even to this day; in fact 80% of its finances comes from donations.

With the present total number of residents at 265 in both camps — Kampong Bercham and Batu Gajah — the Board of Directors are facing even greater financial problems. In addition, more addicts are coming forward, asking for help. As a fee of \$100 a month has to be levied only a few can pay. Most can afford to pay only a nominal sum, while the rest are staying free. Despite all these money difficulties, the Centre has not turned away any addict who has gone to their camps for help.

### VOLUNTEERS

The Centre is managed by voluntary workers, with the Menteri Besar of Perak, Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi, himself as Chairman. The Director receives no remuneration, and the staff get only small

honorariums, ranging from \$100 to \$250 per month. The Centre is now in debt to the tune of about \$45,000, and this will increase as time goes on, unless civic-minded Malaysian citizens can come forward and give financial assistance.

If this is not forthcoming, then I am afraid the Centre may have to close its camp down. If and when this happens the good work now being carried out by these voluntary workers will come to naught. This is a serious question and an urgent problem that must concern all human beings, apart from all those who already have an interest in the Centre.

### RELIGIOUS TEACHER

PERKIM is a Muslim welfare body, and is helping in a small way those centres which cater for the welfare of Muslims. It is now taking into consideration the fate of others, who are seriously in need of help.

I am sending a religious teacher to the Centre. He was an addict himself, and formerly professed a different religion. He will work and live there with the inmates and be a permanent member of the Centre's staff.

From time to time I will also send teams of religious workers to this Centre to give the Muslims lessons in their faith so that by the grace of Allah and His infinite mercy they can soon be well on their way to being cured of this demoralising habit of taking drugs, and learn through His blessing how good it is to be a happy and normal human being again.



ARTICLE 42  
(29 September, 1975)

## **IT WAS THE BAR OR 'UGLY MUSIC' AT HOME TOUGH TIME UNDER COLONIAL RULE AS A GOVERNMENT OFFICER**

**O**n September 23, 1975 I received sad news from the daughter of my old and dear friend, Mumtaz Mohamed, telling me that her father had passed away in early September this year — the first day of Puasa. According to her, death was very sudden, although his health was good on the previous day: he died in his sleep of a heart-attack.

I liked Izadeen Mohamed very much. We had been close friends when I went to England in 1947 to complete my law studies. Perhaps if it had not been for his help, I might still be studying law in England today.

It was Izadeen who introduced me to Mr. Gerald Hart, one of the most hard-driving and merciless law coaches in London; and I really needed a man like that to make me work.

I did work at least five days a week, taking the weekends off, but these got me into lots of trouble. Nevertheless, within one year I managed to get through the Bar. So it is that I have never forgotten Mohamed for the help he gave me.

Another man whom I like to remember, too, in connection with my success at the Bar was the present Judge of Perak, Eusoffe Abdoolcader, who used to come and work with me untiringly and persistently just before the examination.

By a stroke of good luck far beyond my dreams, I was chosen to reply to the address of welcome from the Benchers of the Inner Temple on behalf of the new barristers the night we were called to the Bar there.

The accepted practice was that the winner of the Gold Medal among the successful students had the honour of making the reply, but that year, as it turned out, there was no gold medalist from the Inner Temple, and the Benchers decided to give the privilege to the oldest student, and this doubtful distinction happened to be mine.

The Inner Temple, unlike other Inns, had a closed session in the secrecy of its dining hall for the occasion. The only person outside the successful students and the Benchers, who saw the proceedings at all was Abdul Razak bin Hussein (now Tun Abdul Razak). I had tipped the porter to leave the door slightly ajar for him to see what went on inside.

### GOODWILL

We all came to know Izadeen Mohamed, Tun Razak included. He was introduced to us by Mr. K. Somasundram, an ex-teacher who was taking up law and was a close companion of Mohamed. Soma later became Public Trustee, and is now Chairman of the Industrial Court.

I remember Mohamed as the President of the Ceylon Students Society in England, and how proud he was of his country. As leader of the Ceylonese students he exercised a strong influence, in his own amiable way, to bring about goodwill and understanding not only among students from Ceylon but also from other countries and in particular students from Malaya.

How proud he was when he first stood up to drink the toast on the occasion of the Independence of Ceylon. I was one of the guest-speakers, but, although I cannot remember exactly what I said, it went down quite well. Ever since that night, we became very dear friends.

He went back to Ceylon to become a very successful advocate and solicitor. In the Sixties he took "silk" as Queen's Counsel, and was looked upon as one of the most outstanding lawyers in Ceylon (known now as Sri Lanka).

### COURT ACTION

Being friendly with the late Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, and because of his "meritorious service" to the Party, he was made a Senator and Personal Adviser to the Prime Minister. As a result of this posting, he had occasion to take court action against some of the leaders of the present Government of Sri Lanka.

With the new party in power, he found himself ostracised, and so he decided to stay out of politics, and before he died, out of Court as well.

He came to Malaysia whenever he could enjoying himself here among old friends. He admired everything we did, and was most impressed with our successes in the economic, political and social fields. However, he confessed that Ceylon was not quite the same; the

political tendency there was to regard all non-Sinhalese as strangers in their own country.

I remember Mohamed as a man who always said that I was "going some place". I had grown in stature since the student days and made a name for myself as a politician after our Independence, even if I say so myself, though not as I would have liked to be, as a lawyer, but as a politician and a Prime Minister, so I retired a poor man, a proud man given the privilege to declare independence for Malaya.

How did I get to England after I had given up law as early as 1930? To be truthful, the Director of Legal Studies asked me to give up law. So I came back, got married, had children, and carried on for twenty-five years as a most unsuccessful Government servant.

Ordinary men liked me well enough, but the Government did not. Unlike all the other Government servants I was on the black-list and instead of getting an increment once a year, I used to get mine once in three years. One of the reasons given was that I had failed to pass in law.

So for nearly twenty-five years, my assistants, and those who used to serve under me, got seniority over me. The British, in truth, considered me anti-British, just because I loved my State of Kedah and stood up for our rights.

## TREATY

I was outspoken about the capability of Malay officers whom, I said, were just as good as the British, if not better, in administering the affairs of the State.

According to the Treaty between Kedah and Britain, the British were supposed to advise and not to rule the country. Instead they took advantage of their position and started to fill up posts, that could well have been held by local officers, with expatriates. This exasperated me very much.

Kedah sent students abroad to study in the Universities, in those days in Cambridge and Oxford, and when they returned they were given junior posts with small pay, whereas the British officers, with less or lower qualifications, were given higher jobs and better pay.

Any man with pride in himself would not accept the situation, and so it was that I was black-listed as I spoke out my feelings.

My father, being sick and aged, had handed over the reins of Government to my brother, who became the Regent, but the administration of the State was entrusted chiefly to the British Adviser and the Menteri Besar of Kedah, who at that time was known as Secretary

to the Government, a man by the name of Haji Mohamed Shariff bin Osman, who incidentally had no love for me.

He himself was an efficient and clever administrator, added to which his ambition was without bounds. He knew how to keep members of the Royal Family poles apart, so I never had any opportunity to talk business with the Regent.

### AGAINST WALL

I can never forget the time when he asked my brother-in-law, Syed Omar Shahabuddin, to tell me that I was knocking my head against the wall by being inimical to the Government.

I told my brother-in-law to tell him that I would break that wall with my head; it might not be today, but some other day. So it did happen.

When Malaya received its Independence, he was still alive, and so was the British Adviser, Mr. J.D. Hall, who has since retired. We renewed our acquaintance one day at a cocktail-party given by the Malaysian High Commissioner in London, my brother, Tunku Ya'acob.

We talked as if nothing had happened between us, of the good old days in Kedah. In actual fact there had never been "good old days" between us, or for that matter between me and Haji Shariff, or with any of the high officials including my late brother, Sultan Badlishah whose mind they had poisoned against me.

The Government sent me to a malaria-infested area, Kuala Nerang, to "die" presumably. I survived, but my wife died of malaria. They sent me to "drown" in Langkawi, but I survived. Obviously, I had been saved for a purpose.

### SMUGGLERS

One day I learned that smugglers from Thailand had come to get rubber clandestinely from Langkawi, and so I made haste on a slow boat (with a one-stroke Thorneycroft engine), which could not go faster than two or three knots an hour, making for Ayer Hangat on the north side of the islands, facing Pulau Terutau in Thailand.

I caught the smugglers, and we brought them by boat to town, but on the way a storm broke out, and all of a sudden, our slow boat was being tossed about violently in the heavy seas. We had to hold on to prevent ourselves going over-board.

All told, it was an unforgettable journey, with the waves lashing away at our boat; the reason was the boat was not moving at all. What had happened was that the boat we were towing, a Government boat,

had sunk. It was a local-type fishing boat, and its sinking kept us absolutely "dead", at the mercy of the angry sea.

I then gave orders to cut the tow-rope. Only then did our boat move, and we saved ourselves in time from being wrecked. After two or three hours of severe lashing by the seas, the good old boat managed to reach shelter in Selat Panchor; and were we relieved to find ourselves safe!

I reported the whole incident to the Government, and also the fact that we had caught the smugglers, but in the storm we had to break the towing-line and so lost the Government boat. Instead of being complimented on what I had done, the Government asked me to pay for the boat I "lost".

### TRANSFER

When Mr. Hall left Kedah, Mr. Jones took over as British Adviser. He saw my efforts in Langkawi and appreciated them, so he had me transferred to Sungei Patani as District Officer — an acting appointment, because the post was Class II while, because of my triennial increment, I was only a Class IV officer.

As District Officer I had a violent quarrel with the Commissioner of Police over a proposal to implement the Road Traffic Enactment, legislation which provided for a transport monopoly. Most of the people who owned taxi-cabs lived a hand-to-mouth existence and earned a meagre livelihood.

A transport company of the kind the law allowed would not give them any income at all, except a share in the company, and nothing to hope for if the company failed.

So I refused to convict those people, who ran their taxis and refused to give them up. What's more, I addressed a meeting of taxi-drivers in front of the Sungei Patani Rest House and told them not to give in, but to fight for their rights.

### SENTENCE

Within twenty-four hours I was transferred again, this time to Kulim where the new transport system had already been implemented, so there was nothing I could do. Some drivers, who had to give up their cars, came and beat up Sungei Patani transport operators in Kulim, and they were hauled up before me and charged with grievous assault.

They pleaded guilty, and admitted the beatings, but said they were happy to be sentenced by me. Sympathetic as I was to them, I could not help but do my duty, so I had to pass sentence upon them.

Fed up with Government service, I took leave in 1938 to go to England for a holiday, but really in fact to try and finish my Bar examinations. After I passed one examination, Hitler decided to conquer the world, but before War broke out I rushed back to Kulim, and then the War started in earnest.

#### NO OTHER CHOICE

After the trials and tribulations of the Japanese Occupation and the return of the British to Malaya, I decided to return to the United Kingdom and finish my studies for the Bar. I had no other choice — I could get called to the Bar or face very ugly music at home.

I had staged a big demonstration against MacMichael's Malayan Union policy. I had broken away from the Sabrakas, the party which I headed. I had lost the leadership of Persatuan Melayu Kedah, and I had no hope of getting anywhere as a Government officer.

So I had to take the plunge, and in December 1946 I left for England. I was forty-three years old, a middle-aged man, with an adventurous but hopeless past behind me, one without any brilliance, however, and an unknown future before me.

I did not know it then, but my true life was just beginning, and, strange as it may seem, everything I had done as a youth and a young man, and what I was about to do were all to form part of my career in the years that lay ahead.

ARTICLE 43  
(13 October, 1975)

## HELPING HAND FOR HUMAN DERELICTS LOOKING AFTER REFUGEES OF THE DEATH RAILWAY

**T**oday I am writing about inhumanity and injustice I can never forget. Even though the subject is very delicate, being related to individuals well-known in Kedah who are now dead, I must get it off my mind, so I talk about it here.

It may hurt their families to read what I have to say, but one cannot leave out certain individuals from one's life, as this would mean omitting important facts or events in recording one's memories. So for the sake of posterity and in the interest of historical truth I am forced to mention them. If in doing so, anyone should feel I am transgressing, I hope they will forgive me.

Before beginning to relate these incidents, I told Datuk Senu Abdul Rahman I would be writing about my association with Sabrakas and the Persatuan Melayu Kedah; he readily agreed these were part and parcel of the total sum of events that led ultimately to Merdeka.

The year is 1942, with the victorious Japanese in full military control of the whole of Malaya, not to mention the rest of South-East Asia. Their commands were the law; Malayans soon found out the slightest offence could mean the difference between life and death.

To put it mildly, my activities as District Officer of Kulim did not make me "popular" with the Japanese in Kedah. The Military Governor decided to plant cotton in Padang Serai, and I disagreed with this policy because they were going to carry out the project by forced labour.

Because of this, I refused to agree and defied the Governor. Within twelve hours — that was all the notice I had — I found myself back again in Alor Star, transferred to the job of being Superinten-

dent of Education. I knew I would have a lot to do, but also there was the plain fact that no "tools" were available to get the job done.

The general education system was pretty deplorable, though, as usual, the schools in the towns were better run than those in the kampungs. Pupils in town schools at least had clothes to wear, but in the kampungs, owing to their deplorable conditions, many children had nothing to put on except pieces of loin-cloth.

### NO BOOKS

Not long after my being "booted upstairs", the Japanese decided to transfer the sovereignty of Kedah to Thailand, but though strictly speaking we were no more "under" them, the Japanese would still keep worrying us all the time. When I complained to the Thai officials, their attitude was "couldn't care less"; the Thais were quite unconcerned and philosophical; they would say, "Why should we take the bones, and return the meat?"

In these circumstances, there was nothing I could do except to keep the schools going. We had no books, no pencils, no paper. No matter; we had to educate, and as the saying goes, "Necessity is the mother of invention", so the kampung people learned how to improvise at first, and later make, slates and pencils.

As Senu was working under me, that's how I first came to know him. It was through his influence partly that I caught the "political bug" of the time which infected my "temperature" in varying degrees of gravity and attraction, off and on, for a long time.

Meanwhile, terrible things were happening up North. I soon found people trickling down roads and tracks from the old Thai border, begging for food and shelter. With tattered clothing hanging on to skeleton-thin bodies, wasted away by hunger and thirst, these refugees of disaster looked, and were, human wrecks.

### DERELICTS

These human derelicts of all races had escaped from the infamous Siamese "Death Railway", and they truly were in very bad shape and sadly in need of help — it was amazing that some were alive at all — I formed an organisation to look after their welfare. As far as as I can remember from those frightening times, among those who gave unstinted service to these victims were Encik Khir Johari, Encik Senu and Encik Kassim of Muar.

For their welfare we obtained from the Pejabat Zakat a small house in Jalan Pintu Sepuluh, and built an extra shed to accommo-



date them all. Every dollar and cent we received in donations and collections came from sections of sympathetic people, or from staging bangsawan shows.

As time went on our task became more burdensome, for some local people came in, taking advantage of the services offered and extended by this "Home". We did not have the heart to turn them away, so, like it or not, we had to take them in, and try to provide for them as best as we could.

### CUPID WORRY

The women inmates gave us a lot of worry, because Cupid started shooting his arrows in all directions. A few got married, but most of the male inmates worked laboriously and happily without thinking of such a responsibility, reasoning "While we can buy milk, why keep a cow?" This attitude made our welfare task very difficult, even intricate. We were charitable workers, not moral warders, so we had to carry on; none of us felt like turning anyone away, except, of course, those we had to tell to go, the very bad ones.

Members of my own household cooked the food for the inmates with my wife as supervisor. All the cooks caught eczema from the escaped prisoners, with pus forming between their fingers. It was a terrible business trying to get rid of this horrible skin disease, and, of course, this affliction added to our other problems and discomfort made our own lives "a little hell".

Despite all these trials, the voluntary workers gave their services without murmurs or protests, carrying on with their welfare work under the most trying circumstances, doing it well, without any regard for their personal comfort or convenience.

It was wonderful to see these young fellows giving such dedicated service to suffering humanity; and it was with such men as these that I became associated with politics in Malaya. Senu was always impulsive and headstrong, but Khir Johari was not what he is now, a witty man full of fun; in those days he was young, bashful and quiet.

### GOOD WORK

When the British finally returned to Malaya in 1945, a retired high-ranking official, a Malay Judge named Syed Mohamed Idid came to our welfare Home, asking us to relate the history of our organisation, how we organised it, and particularly how we had gone about raising its finances.

As Senu was the Secretary, he was asked to do the briefing. Syed Idid was honest enough, however, to confess that he had been sent by

the Secretary to the Government, Haji Mohamed Shariff, to find out everything he could about this Home, as he was expecting a visit from British officials, who had heard about the good work being done in Kedah for those who escaped from the "Death Railway".

A few days later an official came in a jeep, accompanied by Syed Mohamed Idid, and together they went round the Home, with some of our workers following behind. I was thinking to myself, "What's next?"

My feeling of apprehension was correct. The Kedah Government decided to take over the administration of the Home. All of us had worked voluntarily in the cause of humanity, going through difficult times looking after these suffering people. We had begged for money here and there to keep them fed and alive, either well or on their way back to health, and now that the Government was planning to take over our Home, none of us were even mentioned.

#### NOT TRUE

To say that the Home had been run by the Kedah Government, under the chairmanship of Haji Shariff, was not true. I thought the very least they could have done was to acknowledge our services gratefully and publicly, but this is just what they did not do.

I never thought I would live to see such a rank and outrageous wrong done, and least of all by officials in my own State. I could hardly believe it: you only read of such injustices in story-books; you did not expect to come face-to-face with it in your own lifetime, especially in the case of this Home which everyone knew about locally.

After all, credit should go where credit is due. It was indeed a bitter experience for all of us (and me, I might say) that was to help me much in my future career — recalling the Home always kept me thinking of what is right and what is wrong. At least, that is what I tried to do when I came to hold the high office and authority of a Prime Minister.

The Government recruited new men to administer the Home, men who had no interest in the affairs of its inmates, only "working" to get paid salaries from Government funds. By that time, many of the "Death Railway" inmates were well enough to return to their homes in faraway States.

#### STARTING POINT

Many inmates received "fat packets" for their past services, either in the Armed Forces or in other services. The Home, which we organised and ran in those Occupation days, became the starting point for the future establishment of all welfare homes in Kedah.

During all the time we worked together these young men running the Home during the Occupation naturally displayed keen interest in all the affairs of Malaya, which meant "politics". With the return of the British, they were free to indulge in politics, and, within limits, to stand up and have their say in public.

Promptly, they started organising things in a big way, and, of course, in their own way. They formed a party called Sabrakas, with Senu as Secretary and Tunku Daud, a successful businessman during the Occupation, as President, while Khir Johari and a few others were on the Committee.

They made me the Patron, presumably to attract membership, but not to lead. I suppose they were right, as at the time I showed misgivings about politics. At least I did not take politics as seriously as they did, for I felt that the situation then, with the British back again, was one which ought to be faced out and played "slow". But Senu, as I said earlier, was an obstinate and impulsive man; he wanted to go full-steam ahead, especially as Datuk Onn bin Ja'afar had already established himself as a Malay leader and was accepted as such by the Government and the Rulers. All eyes were on Datuk Onn; aspiring politicians were vying with each other for his favour.

### NEW GROUP

There was another political group in Kedah, with Haji Mohamed Rejab in the leading role and myself as Chairman in its initial stage. The party, called Persatuan Melayu Kedah, had a membership drawn from both towns and kampungs, and became a large one. With everybody trying for leadership, in the end I was left out.

It happened in this way. I had accepted an invitation to chair the Maulud Nabi (Prophet's Birthday) Celebrations in Penang. When the organisers of Persatuan Melayu Kedah heard of this, they decided to call a General Meeting to elect office-bearers.

A friend of mine from Kulim, Haji Ahmad bin Md. Ali, came from there to see me, asking that I should postpone my visit to Penang, as he knew that the purpose of the General Meeting was in my absence to appoint someone else to run the party.

I told my good friend that it was immaterial whether they appointed me or not. If they did I would accept; if they did not, I had better things to do than scramble for position. I had seen far too much of this type of politicking before, and I felt that I had had enough.

During the British Military Administration, one British officer, named Whitfield, was sent to take over the Kedah Department of

Education as Administrative Officer, but I still remained as Superintendent, with nothing to do except dangle my legs and scratch my head.

## MAGAZINE

It was during this time of "sinecure" that I got the idea of publishing a magazine called *Watan*, with money subscribed by my friends from Kulim. As a journal it was quite successful, but unfortunately we had to stop publication in the end because of bad debts.

That was my second connection with journalism. *Watan* was a monthly magazine, dealing with politics, current affairs, economics, and other news of interest. Published in Penang it sold well.

Senu and his group were then publishing another magazine. Its cover had a finger pointing at you, but except for that finger I could not see its contents had anything of much value. Sometimes I had occasion to attack them, and a little internecine war would be waged, with neither side winning.

One particular incident added to the sorry state of our financial affairs. Che Gu Osman, my assistant, was on his way by bus to pay the printers, when he had his pocket picked. After that loss, one thing led to another, and I had no choice but to close *Watan* down and call it quits.

After the failure of *Watan*, not through any fault of mine, I applied for permission to return to England and was given study leave for one year. Deliberately I turned my face to the West. My wife is a witness today of what I said to her before I left Malaya. Briefly stated, I had made up my mind that if I failed once more to get through law, I would never return to this country again.

## PHENOMENON

I left by the Blue Funnel ship, S.S. "Priam". As my wife and I were standing at the ship's rail, I saw a wonderful phenomenon I can never forget — water spouting up into the air in the direction of Telok Ayer Tawar, where my own coconut plantation was.

Only once before had I ever seen such a phenomenon as a marvel. We were returning from Penang to Kulim on a stretch of road about 500 yards from Permatang Pauh Village.

Suddenly there appeared the most dazzling and spectacular sight I had ever seen in my life, a water-spout spurting and thundering huge volumes of water from a height of two-to-three hundred feet,

and slowly working its way towards me as I stood by the road-side. Quite a number of cars were passing by, but no one else seemed to see the water-spout except my wife and I.

I just stood there spellbound, then calling out, "Allah Akbar," all the time as it came nearer and nearer to where we were, and, finally subsiding, fell. Never have I seen anything like it since. Of course I did not know then what it might signify, if anything, but I know now what it portended. Good luck.

After thirty days at sea the ship arrived in Liverpool on December 27, 1946. I then took a train to London to settle down to the serious business of working for the Bar. When I reported myself to the Registrar, he referred to my past record. Looking at me, he smiled, saying, "What, after all these years you have come back to try again? Well, I wish you success".

### BLEAK FUTURE

It was twenty-five years since I last read at the Inns of Court, and I had returned, determined to do or die. At the age of 43, what else could I do? I was not wanted in Government service — that was clear: I had fallen out with my political friends, and now I had either a bleak future, or absolutely no prospects in life. There I was in England, thinking, "Succeed, or suck stone". I decided I had to succeed.

After I arrived, a few other Malayans turned up, including Taib Haji Andak, Mohamed Suffian (now Lord President), Ghazalie Shafie, Syed Isa Al Manoer, the present Sultan of Selangor, his uncle the late Tengku Yacob, and the late Yang Dipertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan, Tunku Munawir.

One day while resting in the afternoon, as I was wont to do, there was a knock at the door. When I answered, standing in the doorway was a young chap, about 22 years old, who introduced himself as Abdul Razak bin Datuk Hussein, from Pahang.

"What a serious, solemn-looking individual he is?", I thought to myself, but I knew his father well. I invited him in, though it meant I would have to miss my nap. After a while he went, and I found he had left his brief-case behind. Next day, he returned to collect it. I found out later that he was a very forgetful young lad; wherever he went, he always left something behind.

When I later became Deputy Public Prosecutor in Kuala Lumpur, Abdul Razak used to come and stay with me whenever he was in the capital. Every time he left, there was always something to send back to him — either his cap, his bag or something else.

Neither of us knew it then, when I opened that doorway in London to see Abdul Razak for the first time, that it was the beginning of a political relationship that would endure for many years, nor that both of us would become Prime Ministers (he succeeding me) of our own country in freedom — Malaysia.

However, the parting of ways had to come about some time. The decisive date was May 13, 1969. There was an attempt by a certain group of people to sever the intimate relationship between Tun Razak and I by displacing me and seizing power. This would have been a tragedy even more serious than May 13 itself, as it would have broken our long association and the regard we had for one another.

If I had not stood firm and stayed on to the day when I said I would, our friendship would have been torn apart, and all the people of our new nation would have been the losers. By this I mean, the spectacle of two leaders of the same party, who had worked together for many years breaking up and fighting one another — all over the trivial question of the time when one should succeed the other.

Such a crisis would have set a very bad example and the trends that might have followed in the years to come would have brought shame on this nation of ours. This is not the way for a new nation to begin its history and for this reason I was even more determined not to leave "like a dog with his tail between its legs".

### SMOOTH TAKE-OVER

The take-over as a result was smooth and orderly and the nation lived on uninterrupted and, for a time, in its policies as well. But with the change of leadership we must expect a change of policies, and this is what has happened — a one-party government, the Barisan Nasional.

The vicious circle I have referred to, however, decided to carry on with their attacks on me, not directly but indirectly by refusing even to identify me with the old party, let alone with achieving independence of this country. This was indeed a conspiracy by this group of people whose main contention was that Tun Razak should not appear to walk in my shadow. Their intention was to create a new image for Tun Razak for their own insidious ends. I think our people are slowly beginning to know the truth, while there are others who do not want to know.

ARTICLE 44  
(20 October, 1975)

**TUNKU RECALLS HIS DAYS AS A LAW STUDENT  
GOOD COMARADESHIP AND SOME HIGH JINKS**

**B**efore I reached England in 1946 on my way there to take up law again, I had heard many tales of the hardships faced by the British people, and I fully expected to see them under-nourished, half-starved and suffering terribly from the aftermath of World War II.

When I disembarked at Liverpool I saw no signs of these; everyone looked well and content. There was austerity, of course, as one must expect following five years of a war that had brought the country to its lowest level of economic depression. Otherwise, England showed only the signs of her battle-scars — bomb-sites, broken walls and holes everywhere; the people themselves appeared normal and healthy.

Immediately I took the train to London, where my "eccentric" brother, Tunku Shuib, met me. He had seen living in England since long before the War, and right through the whole period of that heroic struggle to final victory.

All told, he had been in England for the last eighteen years, living in a small flat in Richmond, but it had no bathroom. "What do you do for a bath?", I asked.

"What bath?" he replied, "I don't remember having one for almost ten years now". Nonetheless, he looked quite clean outside. He was married, and had a really beautiful daughter.

He told me he enlisted during the War, and was put to work in a kitchen. He had a lot of trouble with the cooks, because he peeled potatoes Asian-style, moving the knife outwards, whereas the British used the knife inwards.

When other peelers laughed at his "peculiar" style, he challenged them to see who could peel faster, and won by eight to ten

potatoes. So then they decided to make him a kitchen-boy, and he had to wash dishes instead of peeling potatoes.

I stayed in a small place in Richmond, glorified as a hotel, but in fact just a boarding house. There were no amenities, or any comfort or warmth whatsoever; they still used the old-fashioned jug-and-basin for washing. It was so cold that at times the water in the jug turned to ice, and there were many cold mornings in that December of 1946 when London was under snow for many days. Nor was there any hot water available to take a bath.

After a month being deprived of such simple human comforts and dignity, I rented a flat in Queensway, which I shared with my eccentric brother.

From that period onwards students started to arrive in London from Malaya. Among them was Ghazalie Shafie, who at that time had fuzzy hair. Another one was a comical character, Wan Daud, who grinned and laughed with every word he spoke. His father was my classmate and playmate.

The London Police were very wary of those who arrived from Malaya, as the Emergency had just broken out. One wooden box carrying their odds-and-ends was marked 'Pistol' on the outside. In fact, it was a box for the 'Pistol' brand of soap.

Jokingly I pointed to the label, and the Police pounced upon the new arrivals, starting to interrogate them in a very serious way, until later, after examination, they found there was nothing inside the soap-box but foodstuffs belonging to Wan Daud.

More students began to turn up, among them members of the Royal Families, the present Sultan of Selangor, and the late Yang Dipertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan. In the meantime I had moved to Earl's Court, where I stayed in Burn's Hotel. The present Sultan of Selangor, then Tengku Abdul Aziz, came to stay in my hotel, and attached himself to me.

One habit of mine, which he has often recalled, was that whenever my 1938-model Morris Cowley ran out of petrol, which occurred often, I used to buy lighter-petrol from the tobacconists to get me home. Simple explanation — lighter petrol was not rationed!

### FOOD PARCELS

Later on, I got even wise. I used to ask for food parcels from home, containing butter, dripping, tea, coffee, sugar and other essential foodstuffs — in other words edibles that were almost unavailable in Britain at the time. I would give these to the garage proprietor, from whom I obtained my rationed petrol.



As a result I managed to get the extra few gallons outside my quota, was able to make more use of my car, at least more than most people could. The Sultan used to help me clean the car, and sometimes he drove it too; as a driver he was not bad at all.

From Burn's Hotel I next moved to No.9 Barkston Gardens into a nice apartment looking out into a small garden. I had a small cooker to prepare my own food when I felt like doing so. The house-keeper, Miss Daisy Tullich, was a very kindly person; she looked after me so well that she almost spoilt me. During those years it was not possible to get a taste of either beef or mutton, but Daisy used to share her ration with me. I can hardly thank her enough for all her devotion and kindness.

As the late Yang Dipertuan Besar, Tengku Munawir, and the present Sultan Abdul Aziz were frequent visitors, whenever they came for food I used to make them "sing for their supper". In other words, they had to clean the car first, and this they would do, enjoying their meal afterwards all the more.

### CLEAR LIQUID

I will always remember one occasion when we returned from a cocktail-party given by the British-Malaya Association, where there had been very little to drink. When we reached the apartment, the first thing the late Yang Dipertuan Besar did was to make straight for my cupboard, fish out a bottle of gin, and start pouring some into wine-glasses for me, Tengku Abdul Aziz and himself.

Before I could say anything, Tengku Munawir gulped down this clear liquid with gusto. Then his eyes goggled, and he started to smell around, exclaiming, "There's petrol somewhere!"

"You must have taken the wrong bottle", I replied. "There was some petrol I put in a gin bottle". That was exactly what he had done. He had drunk a wine-glass-full of petrol I was keeping as spare. So then he charged the Sultan of Selangor with putting the bottle in the wrong place to trick him; and actually, that was true.

There were Malayan students of many varying ages, and I remember three girls — Salcha Ali, Fatimah and Rahmah. This was only to be expected as the intervening War period had deprived most of them of the chance for higher education. People like Taib Haji Andak were much older than the others.

There was another eccentric Malayan character, named Kok, who had been in England for twenty years studying law. He kept on "doing" law right through from 1927 to 1947 without a break, and he was also a devoted enthusiast of football pools.

Kok was a great favourite with a lecturer at Gibson and Weldon's, an elderly man by the name of Paterson. At the end of the class, they would work on the football pool coupons, and as a reward Paterson would give personal attention in his work.

Very soon I, too, got interested in coupons, and later became an addict. Kok was my constant companion; after twenty-one years in England, and with Paterson's help, he finally got through law. That achievement was too much for him, and he is still in England, working as a clerk in the City Council, where he formerly was, and is still an ardent follower of the football pools.

Being the oldest among all the students I was looked upon as an "uncle" by all, but to Taib Haji Andak I was more than just an uncle. He used to come every month to borrow money from me, but I always knew his knocks and would keep him waiting at the door.

He would show me photographs of his kids at home, then after melting my heart he would come out with his tales of woe and hardship, and ask me for a loan of \$2. A few days or a week later, he would come again for more. So one day I asked him what happened to his money, because he had quite a good scholarship allowance.

### ALLOWANCE

"Oh", he said, "that is taken care of by Razak", Taib shared a flat with Razak, who used to take all his allowance, giving him only a half-crown a day for pocket-money. According to Razak, no matter how much money Taib had, "he would spend it like a lord, and then go broke for the rest of the month".

So he took care of his allowance, from which he paid for the flat, food and everything else. So anything that Taib wanted, over and above the half-crown, he had to come to me. At the beginning of each month he would settle his account, and three days later he would be back again to borrow more.

Taib was the Secretary of the Malay Society of Great Britain, with me as the President and Razak the Vice-President. We held meetings every two or three months, but Taib never kept the minutes properly, nor did he carry out the decisions of the Committee. He always believed in doing everything tomorrow that need not be done today, so to speak, and tomorrow never came.

At one meeting I became so exasperated that I got everyone's support to demote him to Assistant-Secretary, and we made Mohd. Suffian (now Lord President) the Secretary. As Assistant Secretary Taib worked very hard and conscientiously, but Suffian saw to it that

the minutes were properly kept. The nett result was that the Society really began to make good, and our membership increased.

There are others, whom I feel I must mention. One was from Kuala Lumpur, and he worked in London on the Malay section of the BBC. Ismail by name, he was a member of the Malay Society, when we first started, but when Indonesia was about to get her Independence he resigned, and refused to call himself a Malay. In addition he used to belittle us; he was an Indonesian, according to him, though born and bred in Kuala Lumpur.

Many years afterwards I saw this same person in Penang. He was about to get a job with Radio Malaysia, but he did not deserve any consideration, so I told him. He might now be in Radio Malaysia, for all I know.

### REFUSED

Then there was another man from Singapore, whose father was an Indian Muslim. He joined our Society, but when it came to paying his subscription of six half-crowns a year he refused, saying he was an Indian.

When Queen Elizabeth got married, I received five tickets for the Society from the British-Malaya Association to enable holders to watch the procession from the windows of Malaya House. I raffled the tickets among the members, but by mistake this man's name was included. According to Taib Haji Andak, he insisted on his name being included, because he was once a member, and, as it turned out, he was one of those who won a ticket, without first having been asked to settle his account with the Society.

As I look back, it is very rewarding to me to note that nearly every Malayan I knew in those "second" student-days of mine in London has today achieved the "top" in his chosen career in free Malaysia.

ARTICLE 45  
(27 October, 1975)

## SUCCESS AT LAST NOW I CAN GO HOME AND FACE ALL MY CRITICS

There were many old friends whom I used to know in Britain in the days before the War. One of them was Lord Ogmore (David Rees-Williams), who in former years was a lawyer in Penang. He was a kind man and made his home "open-house" for Eusoffe Abdoolcader and me.

Our personal association lasted right through to Independence, then he became our adviser on the legal aspects of the Constitution. Carrying out his work most conscientiously and well, he helped us very much in the early days of the freedom movement during our negotiations with Britain's Conservative Government.

When I first visited the United Kingdom with T.H. Tan to seek a meeting with the then Secretary of State, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton (now Lord Chandos), he refused to see us. Later Lord Ogmore and Mr. Tom Proctor were instrumental in arranging a meeting, but they had to fight hard to get it. It was through their help that I managed to address meetings of Members of Parliament in Chambers of both Houses in Westminster.

All the time I was in England as a student, his wife and other members of the family never failed to extend their kind hospitality to me. His friendship remains a happy and memorable part of my life.

Then there was Tun Razak; he was one of the Malay members who joined the Malayan Forum, started by some students Left of centre. I refused to join it myself, as I had no trust in the people who initiated the organisation.

When the Malayan Government offered the Malayan students in Britain a hostel, I accepted on behalf of the Malay students but Razak refused. The reason he gave was that to accept favours from the Government would make us "pro-Government". To me this argument was "cock-eyed", as we desperately needed a hostel to house

students who had difficulties in finding lodgings. What was more, most of the Malay students were scholars with little money to spare, so why not accept the offer? After all we had nothing to lose, and so very much to gain.

Razak's attitude in this matter showed, perhaps, the state of mind among members of the Forum, who always chose to be at divergence with the Government of the day, but when any subject concerned the students' well-being, I maintained that we should leave politics alone. That was the only time I ever had occasion to disagree with Razak; apart from that particular difference of opinion our association was on the best terms of friendship.

### REWARD

Another interesting individual who came to study with me was Lim Hong Bee, now an ardent Communist. He was often in my apartment reading for the examination, and I used to reward him with meals for his labours.

I must admit he was dedicated to Communism, and honestly believed it. When he would expound Communist ideologies to me, he would get all worked up, his zeal showing in his face and actions.

One day I told him that it was very well to talk of Communism, and all that it portended from this side of the world. We sit as audience and are thrilled by the performances of those on stage, and we can be emotionally affected and moved by what we see and hear; but if we go on stage ourselves we will soon realise that it's all acting. The show itself may be enchanting, delectable, absorbing, fascinating, even touching, but not real. What's real is what we are.

In Malaya we are Malaysians, and our duty is to achieve independence and a happy home for all — and leave alone what does not concern us. Let those in China live their own lives, but for us nature provides us with all our needs, except one — independence.

One should really visit a country to see for oneself what life is like there, in other words to experience in a Communist country the Communist way of life.

### DEATH

From all the accounts I had heard, thousands preferred to face death rather than remain in the country so that they could escape from the rigours of Communist dictatorship. With its millions of people, with little of everything to go round for everybody, Communism might be good for China, but a country like Malaya with one-third of the land actually under cultivation and two-thirds

untouched, free enterprise and a free way of life were the only acceptable forms for us. That is what I believe, and still do.

I told H.B. Lim to go to China, that was where he belonged, and not in England where 90 per cent of the people were opposed to Communism. There they were free to say and do what they liked, so long as they kept within the limits of the law. If you live in a Communist country you can practise your Communist ideologies to your heart's content, but not in England, or at home in Malaya.

If we wanted to work together, we should keep politics in the background, I said. We had our different ways of thinking, so we had to go our separate ways in politics, but as friends we should forget politics. After that exchange, he never spoke another word to me about Communism; neither did I about democracy to him.

H.B. Lim surprised me in one way — he never got through the Bar, although he was one of the most brilliant Malayan students of his day, having won a Queen's Scholarship to study at Cambridge. I knew exactly how well he was acquainted with Bar subjects, but there must have been something in his answers which displeased the examiners.

Some Malaysians thought he had a "mental block". He was very argumentative, sticking to his views without giving a thought to those of others. He never got his degree at Cambridge — perhaps for the same reason.

## BITTER

I understood from him that on one occasion he and a nephew of mine, Tunku Abdullah, were travelling together on their journey home by way of South Africa. Both went to a hotel and were mistaken for Japanese, but when they were found out they were asked to leave.

This, I believe, had affected his attitude towards life; and he became very bitter about things in general, in particular anything to do with white people. He was the publisher of the *Monitor*, a red-hot Communist journal, well-read by some Malayan students, but which unfortunately also influenced their political thinking.

Another man I used to meet quite often in the one-room library in the Inner Temple was Lim Kean Chye. I did not know what his politics were, but like his father, Mr. Lim Cheng Ean, an old friend of mine, all his children had minds of their own. There were times we did not agree, and it was not infrequent to know that they themselves found it hard to agree with one another on what they believed in. But all are Malaysians out-and-out.

Lim Kean Chye and I sometimes shared a table to study, but his habit was to fall right off to sleep after reading a few pages, emitting

snores to my discomfort. There was hardly any way to escape the noise, as the Inner Temple was badly damaged by bombs during the War, and the finest law library in the world destroyed.

So it was that we had to make do with one single chamber, both as our library and reading room. That was where I used to go every day to work, arriving in the morning, and leaving in the late afternoon when the library closed.

Next thing I heard was that Kean Chye had gone to China to escape arrest, for he was one of the members of the anti-British party, (The Malayan Democratic Party) but, knowing him as I do, I allowed him to return to Malaya after Independence. Now he is enjoying life as a lawyer, and a polo enthusiast.

### FAMOUS "SURGEON"

I used to know Ng Ek Teong and a few other friends, Eugene Seow and Bobby Wee; and there was a serious but learned doctor who shared their flat in Earl's Court. He was a Canadian Chinese, whom I shall call "Dr. King Kong".

According to information, he was a great surgeon, employed by one of the big London hospitals. He used to perform some very delicate operations, and not only well but with distinction.

Ek Teong and his room-mates soon moved away to Putney Bridge where they had a nice flat with a good kitchen, something they lacked at Earl's Court. Every time they got fresh supplies of food from home, they would invite Razak, Taib and me for very delicious meals. In fact, Ek Teong was quite a good cook, and Bobby Wee a good kitchen-boy and dish-washer; so we used to have good times with these Malayan friends as hosts.

One day, long afterwards, I read a report in the News of the World, that "Dr. King Kong" was arrested for passing himself off as a doctor, when in fact he had never obtained a medical degree. Though he had stayed with Ek Teong and Bobby Wee for quite a long time, our friends were duped by the "Doctor's" suave and winning ways. A famous "surgeon" indeed; he had to spend quite some time as the guest of the British Government in one of Her Majesty's prisons as the result of his fraud.

As a student for the second time life on the whole was quite enjoyable, though I missed my family very much. My children were young, and to be separated from them for two long years was indeed a great sacrifice. Nevertheless I had to plan my future — and theirs — so I had to get through my Bar examination. While I played, I also worked very hard.

Ultimately the time came for me to take my final examination, and with all these thoughts weighing so heavily in my mind, naturally I became very nervous before the day. My good friend, Eusoffe Abdoolcader, used to come and help me with my work a few days before the Finals.

One day while having tea with Sir Richard and Lady Winstedt, I confessed my nervousness to her. Being a doctor herself, she knew how I felt about my coming examination. She gave me a few Benzedrine tablets, and asked me to take them on the day of the examination, so that I would not fall asleep. I believe that helped me, as I tackled all my answers without being unduly tired.

I took my final Bar examination at the end of 1948 after I had been in England for almost two years. When the results actually came out, I did not know. Daisy came in with a morning cup of tea for me. As she was unusually early that day, I asked why.

"Just to give you the good news that you have passed your exam", she said casually, adding, "I want to be the first to tell you about it".

She had heard the news from a Pakistani student, who also lived in the house; he had gone to the Daily Telegraph office the night before to get the results. Daisy congratulated me with a peck on the cheek, as over-joyed as I was.

I was so filled with emotion, the tears rolled down my cheeks. All I could say was, "My God!". Then finally I said to myself, "Now I can go back to my country with my head held high, and face all my critics". That was in fact one of the greatest moments of my life — Allah be praised! I said to myself.

### MAKING MERRY

By 10.am that day well-wishers filled my apartment. Daisy did not have enough glasses to go round, so I had to go out to Woolworths to buy some. That evening I gave a big dinner at Freddie Mills' Chinese Restaurant in Charing Cross Road, where we had one of the most enjoyable of parties.

It was money well spent, too, for everyone, just came to join in and make merry. For me it was indeed a great achievement, as at the age of 45 most Malays are thinking of retiring from active life. As I was known as a "playboy", few friends really expected this success.

In January, 1949 I set sail for home in the P & O liner "Corfu", with grateful thanks in my heart to Allah for His great boon of mercy for me. Ahead lay Malaya, but when the ship docked it would not be journey's end, but the beginning of a new life.



ARTICLE 46  
(3 November, 1975)

## HOW THE TUNKU PUT NEW LIFE INTO UMNO

Naturally, when I returned home, happy to be back and "full of beans", as they used to say, I eagerly expected that I would be amply rewarded for my great achievement in successfully being admitted to the Bar. A good posting would be right and just, as I had not had a fair deal as an official in the Kedah Government Service because according to them I had not passed my Bar examination.

What happened was the biggest shock of my life, like being suddenly struck in the face. I received no appointment of any standing at all. They posted me as a cadet in the Legal Adviser's Office, Alor Star. I had to sit at a table outside his office among the clerks, twiddling my thumbs and doodling; I had nothing to do.

Successful or not, obviously they did not want me. The minor post, the decision to put me there, were bitter blows to my self-respect. But there it was — either I would have to knuckle down and put up with such humiliating treatment, or leave, wherever it mattered little — I was free to decide, so I decided to leave the Government.

I realised that I had made one mistake — I had never read in Chambers in London. No, it was not an oversight on my part. I could have done so for a fee of £ 50. The simple fact was I could not afford the money. I reasoned that as I was not intending to practise law immediately I might continue for a time in Government service, so I had not gone into Chambers.

Now, my problem was that if I left Government, I would forfeit my pension rights — they were not due for a long time as I had only seventeen years of service behind me, and I was already forty-six years old. I really was in a bad situation — not wanted, little money to spare, as I had spent most of my own funds during my two years in London, and nowhere to go.

While I was thinking of just when best to leave Mr. Foster Sutton, the Attorney-General, visited Alor Star. He must have heard about my plight from Mr. Boyle, the Legal Adviser, for he came to my table, and began to talk about my joining his Department — perhaps out of pity for me.

Anyway, he asked the Kedah Government straight away to agree to my transfer to Kuala Lumpur as a Deputy Public Prosecutor. They agreed, with immediate effect. I would be paid the same salary I was getting from the Kedah Government, with an additional allowance of \$150 a month.

This proposition showed that the Kedah Government, while allowing me to work in Kuala Lumpur, still wanted me tied to their apron strings. Odd — they did not want me, but at the same time they wished to keep control. Why, I do not know. However, I accepted this arrangement as a temporary measure; at least I would get away from a degrading situation in my own State.

#### CHOICE CASES

I came to Kuala Lumpur in February, 1949 and in my new post I got on well with Mr. Foster Sutton. Life as a DPP was not very easy for any Asian working in those days among expatriate legal officers.

They would insist on having the choice of cases in Court, including appeal cases. I got the residue; some cases I had to deal with had been shelved for a number of months, in fact years.

It was a difficult task I had to undertake. Fortunately for me, I had a very good friend in Dr. Teh Hun Yam with whom I used to live when in England. While waiting to get into Edinburgh University to study medicine, he took up law as a pastime, qualifying within the shortest possible time, only one-and-a-half years.

Though he was a brilliant man, Dr. Teh took life very leisurely, light-heartedly. In the end, though he qualified in medicine at Edinburgh, he did not become a medical practitioner, he practised law instead.

Night after night he would spend time with me, going through all the cases that none of the expatriate DPPs would take on. Together we delved into all the legal problems and intricacies to find right answers.

With his generous assistance, I was able to prosecute these cases, and I believe the way I tackled my duties earned me special consideration from Mr. Foster Sutton. Very soon, however, he had to leave, being promoted as Chief Justice, and Mr. Michael Hogan took his place as the new Attorney-General.

Mr. Hogan, though a very fine speaker, showed more propensity for a political career than a legal one. His wife was an extremely charming lady. Every time she came to see her husband, she would stop by to have a chat with me; most of the time Mrs. Hogan and I talked politics.

At the time I was already being spoken of as a likely successor to Datuk Sir Onn bin Ja'afar. Mrs. Hogan used to say to me, "You fight for your rights, and shame the devil!" She was more outspoken than her husband.

As fate would have it, during the coming years I would have to fight the Attorney-General hammer and tongs, and our battle continued until Malaya won its first democratic elections, then "home rule", and finally Independence.

### SESSIONS COURT

Before those heady years began, however, I had another post, for soon after Mr. Foster Sutton left, I was asked to join his Judicial Department as President of the Sessions Court. I took over from Mr. Douglas Grant, who was posted in turn to the Attorney-General's office.

This was a real promotion for me, as I was Head of the Department, and having all the say in its administration. For the first time I began to feel I was "important", being free of interference from expatriates.

Working with me in the Department at that time was a young magistrate by the name of Encik Harun bin Idris. Well-spoken of by others, he showed great promise. When I asked Mr. Foster Sutton if he would consider sending him for legal studies in England, he readily agreed, so Encik Harun won a scholarship to England, and there he passed his law. On his return he practised for a while as a DPP. Then finally he took up politics, joining UMNO, and he is now the Menteri Besar of Selangor, as well as the head of UMNO Youth.

There was also another magistrate, Raja Suleiman, who spent much time quarrelling with the First Magistrate, Mr. Gray, his immediate superior. I succeeded in settling their differences on a number of occasions, but Raja Suleiman was a difficult proposition with whom to deal.

I had not been long as President of the Sessions Court, when I was asked to take over from Datuk Onn as the President of UMNO, and I agreed. So now, being a prospective politician, I had no choice but to leave Government service. It had to be one or the other, but not both. I chose to lead UMNO.

At about this same time the Chief Justice offered me a judgeship. He had not heard, however, that I was about to become President of UMNO, so when I turned his offer down he was most surprised. He told my wife to advise me to take up the appointment as a Judge, as it was an important one.

I told Chief Justice Foster Sutton that I appreciated both the kindness and confidence he had in me, but, as I was soon going into politics in "a big way", it would be very wrong of me to accept the appointment, and then later have to resign.

When I was finally elected President of UMNO at a meeting at the Majestic Hotel, I left the Judicial Service to enter on a completely new life. I confess I was raw in the sphere of politics, not having proved much of a success so far, so my way ahead into the future seemed uncertain. Now I had to take over a party that was lingering between life and death: Datuk Onn had decided to quit UMNO for good, and left it penniless and powerless.

So here I was, with the huge task of reorganising UMNO, of breathing new life into the party, as UMNO had no money, and hardly much else. I had to put my shoulders to the wheel. In addition we had to face as our main opponent the very man, who had founded UMNO, the man who had organised it from the beginning, making UMNO the country's major political party for many years.

Now this same leader had declared that UMNO was unable to handle the task the country faced amid the new political changes taking place. How then was I to inject new life and create a new spirit into the same party he had abandoned?

#### LEADER

The very leader who formed UMNO now found the party weak, unserviceable and ineffective as a political weapon, and most of the former UMNO leaders, who had helped him run the party, had decided to desert. Difficult though the task might seem, I was not daunted. I left the service to start my political career with a new sense of urgency, the very same feeling I had when I embarked on my journey to Britain to get through law — and that was to do or die.

During the meetings we held in Kuala Lumpur I could "smell" strongly that some of the UMNO Committee members elected at the same General Meeting were not with me. My instinct was right, showing up in their words, deeds and lines of approach. It was difficult to get them to agree to my plan to rebuild UMNO, and to instil new life into the party.

Time after time we would differ on even minor matters, until on Hari Raya Haji Day, in sheer desperation I mounted the pulpit in the

Circular Road mosque in Pudu, and in an out-spoken talk I condemned those who had betrayed UMNO. I declared there and then that I would expel all those members who were disloyal.

My "sermon" went down well with other UMNO members, who started weeding out "undesirables" at Division and Branch levels, and the members of the Central Committee resigned of their own accord. Then only were we able to get the party going again, and work began in earnest to rebuild UMNO as a political force.

For a time I lived in Telok Ayer Tawar in Province Wellesley with one clerk to help me. Then I moved South to take up residence and set up UMNO General Headquarters in Johore Bahru.

Tun Razak joined the party but did not take an active part. Datuk Suleiman, Dr. Ismail and Jasin, all three brothers, were the most dedicated workers in UMNO. Jasin took up the post of Secretary-General and held it right up to Independence.

#### GIFT OF LAND

I had enjoyed my legal work in Kuala Lumpur, because I had the opportunity to practise law, and to make myself useful to my fellow-sportsmen, as well as to Asian society in general. I also made myself useful to the Selangor State Government. Though I had no connection with the Malayan Civil Service, I represented the MCS on the Whitley Council.

Raja Uda, the Selangor Menteri Besar, used to call upon me to undertake various acts for the State, particularly when these involved any meetings with expatriate officers. So before I left the capital, I asked Raja Uda for a small favour in return for my service. He reciprocated promptly, making available to me a valuable piece of land for UMNO Headquarters at a very low price.

The construction of this building brought a big change in UMNO. When it was finally completed, I had something to show all Malaya the progress UMNO was making on the national political scene.

We opened the new Headquarters Building after our success in the 1955 General Elections. At that time it was the tallest building in Kuala Lumpur — although only three storeys high — and what a pride it was to members of UMNO!

Compare it with the imposing skyscrapers we have everywhere now! What a change has come over our capital! We have so many fine and tall buildings, so many big commercial firms, so many banks, and so many bank robberies! What a grand life we are having!

ARTICLE 47  
(10 November, 1975)

## THE TUNKU AT THE MELBOURNE CUP RACES

Only three times in the history of the Melbourne Cup has a horse won twice in a row. Think Big, the winner this year, also won in 1974. The others were Archer in 1861 and 1862, and Rain Lover in 1968 and 1969.

Think Big's victory was the slowest in twenty-three years. 3 mins. 29.6 secs. — understandable, however, as the competing horses raced in heavy showers of rain in the worst conditions imaginable. Apparently Think Big was also a "Rain Lover"!

My part in the victory of Think Big was nothing short of a miracle. My two partners, Rick O'Sullivan of Queensland and Datuk Tan Chin Nam, and I own four horses in Malaysia. One is Pingat Mas — a horse that had never raced in his life before we entered him the first time, and so far has not been defeated! And it was a horse I had chosen myself!

Chin Nam and Rick O'Sullivan, a Brisbane businessman, were so overjoyed with Pingat Mas' performance and my selecting it, that they offered me a share in the best horse they had — Prince of All.

Though the "Prince" had won the South Australian Derby and the Adelaide Guineas, I said, "I would like a share in Think Big instead".

"Tunku, it has already won the Melbourne Cup", said Chin Nam, "and it will be given such an impost that it has very little chance of repeating the performance".

"For some reason", I replied, "I have a feeling, and a very strong one indeed, that this horse will win again".

"The choice is yours", Chin Nam answered, "but the offer of Prince of All is open to you".

"No, just give me a share in Think Big", I said, "and I will be happy; and not only that, I will go down to Melbourne to see it win".

My prediction came true. Against all forecasts Think Big won again, so is it any wonder that I think his victory a "miracle". It was under any circumstances a magnificent achievement.

For me that visit was even more — the biggest thrill of my life to see Think Big suddenly shoot from a pack going full out to win Australia's greatest race, the Melbourne Cup.

And he won in spite of carrying an impost of an extra 6½ kilos on his back that day, and in such squally weather that all racing conditions were against him — truly a great horse, the dream-horse of every owner or would-be owner.

### FULFILMENT

When I first saw the Melbourne Cup in 1959, and noticed the great, almost overwhelming interest this race creates in the minds of all Australians and New Zealanders, I, like all other racing enthusiasts, here or "Down Under", dreamed of the day when I would be lucky enough to own a Cup winner.

So Think Big's triumph is the fulfilment of a long-cherished dream of mine. What else could I say or think, other than that it was the gift of God to me!

I had the honour to receive, on behalf of our partnership the golden trophy. I do not even remember being led to the microphone; I was so bewildered in that hour of victory I missed saying all the things I had hastily made up my mind to say. Everything I should have said I forgot. All that I came out was, "Thank God for this victory".

One close friend, a Roman Catholic priest, Father Murray, told me that night when we met at the Melbourne Cup Victory Ball in the Southern Cross Hotel, "Tunku, you made the best speech I have ever heard".

"How?" I said.

"In your hour of triumph you said, "I thank God", he replied, "That is the best speech I have ever heard."

Every year Father Murray comes down to Melbourne from Brisbane to see the famous race at the beautiful Flemington course, and to place a little bet. I might add that nearly everyone in Australia does.

On the first Tuesday afternoon in November each year the whole nation literally comes to a stop to see or listen to "The Cup" while the race is run. I am told that even Courts in session anywhere seem to find some reason to adjourn for ten minutes or a quarter-hour!

At the Victory Cup Ball too my good friend, Chin Nam, was nagging me for not having said more. According to him, I had made the worst speech he had ever heard in all his long years of association with me.

At another presentation ceremony during the Ball, I was dragged to the microphone again, but apart from saying how much I enjoyed the victory, how lucky I was to have been brought into the partnership, I suddenly got tongue-tied in the middle of this speech — if you can call it that — and ran out of words, and could think of nothing else to say except to repeat "I thank God for my victory!"

### SHEER LUCK

To me it was truly an act of God that I had won, for I had become a partner in Think Big with these two good friends by sheer good luck. To my mind, Datuk Tan Chin Nam and Rick O' Sullivan are the two greatest sporting men I have ever had as associates in my seventy-two years of exciting life.

To them, defeat or victory matter very little; each goes into "the sport of kings" with all the spirit of a prince. On that big day Rick did not put a dime on Think Big; instead he placed a bet on his stable fancy, Holiday Waggon.

I bid for Think Big in the Calcutta Sweep at the Athenaeum Club. An old and dear friend, the former Premier of Victoria, Sir Henry Bolte, had invited me there; he was the auctioneer.

When Think Big's name came up, he looked at me, so of course I had to bid. In the end Think Big was knocked down for A\$1,300, and when our horse won I received A\$10,000 which I shared with my pessimistic partners.

At the course itself, I placed another bet — A\$50 win and A\$100 place — and that was my total win. The Stake? Yes, that's another matter. We are looking around for another likely winner and the money is being kept in Australia.

### HEADLINES

The papers were full of headlines. The Age one read "LATE START TUNKU SCORES CUP FIRST". And its report went on to say, among other things:-

"Former Malaysian Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman saw Think Big for the first time at Flemington on Monday morning .... little thinking he would be receiving the Melbourne Cup trophy less than 36 hours later.



"Even with Tunku's little knowledge of Australian racing, conditions seemed against the big bay gelding emulating the feats of Archer and Rain Lover ....

"Not that Tunku Abdul Rahman is a stranger to racing. He is one of the leading owners in Malaysia, and his horses won a treble at the Singapore races....

### BEWILDERED

"The other owners, Datuk Tan Chin Nam and Mr. Rick O'Sullivan, were the same, the jockey was the same and, of course, Bart Cummings, is always there. (Bart Cummings is Think Big's trainer).

"Despite his years as a statesman Tunku Abdul Rahman seemed more than slightly bewildered by yesterday's proceedings.

"He smiled politely and spoke to all who offered congratulations, or asked a question, but he had an air of disbelief — as if it wasn't really happening".

The Sports Section of the Brisbane Courier-Mail headlined "SHOCK FOR CUMMINGS. OWNER "HIT" RUNNER-UP", and then reported:- "Bart Cummings admitted he had 'almost given away' Think Big as a winning chance three days before his sparkling Melbourne Cup win.

"The big stable money went on Holiday Waggon, who failed by three-quarters of a length to stop Think Big winning his second successive Melbourne Cup.

"Think Big's Queensland owner (Rick O'Sullivan) admitted he had his 'biggest bet ever' on 7-1 shot Holiday Waggon. Continuing Rick O'Sullivan said, "How could you possibly back him after his Mackinnon run?"

### "THINK HAPPY"

The Melbourne Herald had a special picture of my connection with Think Big with the caption — "Think Happy — That's the Tunku's way to halt the Red take-over. Still flushed with Melbourne Cup victory, the Tunku is going home to give the Malaysian people a few headaches".

"The way you Australians celebrate the event is wonderful. I'm going to show the people of South-East Asia how you do it. They are becoming much too serious, you know.

"If it sounds strange that their former Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, should want to unleash another group of drunks on the world, there is in fact logic behind it.

### EXAMPLE

"The Tunku tried to be the happiest Prime Minister in the world when he was in office. In retirement he goes out of his way to pursue happiness. He is trying to set an example which, he says, will beat Communism.

"I want the people to be happy because only their good morale will stop a Red take-over. I believe the domino theory still exists, and if we take things too seriously and get too wound up, Malaysia, Thailand, Laos and then Indonesia will fall, as Vietnam and Cambodia have".

"Tunku tries to keep out of politics, but says that 'Some people try to make me take a more active interest in politics, but I feel at this stage it is best to leave things to younger people. My stand on Communism and the danger it poses in South-East Asia is too rigid for the liking of most of the politicians of today'.

"His love of life, the horses, golf and soccer have kept him fit and healthy, and he says he is very lucky. 'Horse racing used to be my downfall when I was a young man at Cambridge for study. Cambridge is too near to Newmarket, and I spent a lot of time at the races instead of at my books'.

"But after becoming Prime Minister, he got interested again, and this time not as a punter but the entrepreneur who encouraged racing in Malaysia, as a means of making the people happy and his country richer.

"After I left office "he said," they put a tax on again, and the clubs are complaining because the betting tax is one of the highest in the world. I can't intervene, because I am afraid I no longer have any influence on the Government".

### STREAKER

Another strange thing I saw at the Flemington race-course was a naked chap with nothing on — only a hat on top of his head streaking past the post after the Cup race. The incident was reported with headline. "And Last Home Was Running Bare".

"The streaker dashed up the straight after the Cup was finished. He wore only boots, socks and a wide-brimmed hat. After a 100-yard dash, he was escorted from the course by a policeman on a horse".

One young race-fan paraded around the Enclosure in the garb of an Arab sheik. When asked why, Stephen Kelly of North Balwyn, said, "Why not? They've got all the money these days".

The victory of Think Big with its Malaysian-Australian partnership is a just, fair and a deserving return on the money invested here on Australian horses; in fact Malaysia is the biggest buyer of Australian race-horses. Ever since Australia started holding races — even the smallest towns have an annual event — hundreds of millions of dollars and pounds have poured into Australia.

So this victory by Malaysian owners of one of the most-coveted trophies in the world is, in fact, poetic justice. Among Australian owners many have tried and many have failed, but the new Malaysian-Australian entry with Think Big, which only started racing last year, 1974, won twice — what phenomenal luck!

### FASHIONS

On Melbourne Cup Day fashions galore of every type and kind are seen. What struck me as being quite wonderful was that not even the threat of rain or storm seemed to worry the fashion-conscious women. Whichever way you turn, they appear to be smiling and showing off their dresses — so not even rain can dampen the spirits of Australia's big day.

Unlike the rain we have here, Melbourne will have showers for ten minutes, then bright sunshine for the next ten, followed by another shower, and then another bout of sunshine; but no one seems to take any notice of the changing weather.

One moment you see a sea of umbrellas going up in the rain, the next moment they all close. One moment these women are all out on The Lawn in all their splendour, and the next minute running helter-skelter for cover in the Stand. This goes on all day. An old Sydney-born joke, "If you don't like Melbourne's weather ..... just wait a minute!"

### CHAMPAGNE

Press reports said: "From early morning the fashion-trend setters gambled with the weather. Lady Luck was not on their side, for this year the weather was really bad. Frozen right out of the picture were the traditional rose hats and bare-look Summer fashions, which usually make the headlines ....

"The Members' Car Park champagne parties started early under stripey brollies, with jet-set socialites knocking back the bubbly as early as 9 am....

"Our new Miss Australia, Sharon Betty, of Adelaide, drove down the course, and the socialites boosted their washed-out spirits by packing the Champagne Bar. Trendsetter Susan Peacock looked stunning in navy with a veiled white pillbox hat. Mrs. Jim Keele stole the show in a brilliant yellow outfit she made herself.

"Glamorous actress Delvene Delaney, wearing a pink knit suit with matching little cloche cap, managed a smile, despite the weather.

### "HATS OFF"

"Sydney fashions were not left out in the cold. Setting the trend were award-winning designer, Trent Nathan in a white silk jacket, and model school director June Dally-Watkins, wearing an elegant grey wool outfit; which Trent described as 'a season ahead of her time'.

"Altogether it should be one big 'hats off' to the girls for managing to make this year's wet-look Cup Day so much fun. In spite of it all, Cap Day 1975 was another winner".

This describes the day of days in Australia, the Cup Day. Everything is at a standstill — all eyes are fixed, all ears pricked up for this great race, and all other activities, including the fashions for both men and women are worked up months or weeks ahead for this day, this great sporting event, the Melbourne Cup.

So you can imagine how happy I was to be one of the owners of the winner. I wore a morning coat with a Malay cap, and that, too, attracted attention. I won't be surprised to see some "Aussies" wearing Malay caps instead of top-hats next year.

### ISMAIL'S YARN

All shops, all cars and taxis stop just before "The Race". I remember a story told me by the late Tun Dr. Ismail, who was travelling in a taxi on Cup Day. Suddenly the taxi pulled to a sudden halt, and the driver dashed off with such speed into a shop that Tun Dr. Ismail thought he must have a bad case of diarrhoea, so he said nothing but waited in silence.

After some minutes, in fact many, the driver came out slowly from the shop, opened the door of the taxi, and said, "No luck!"

Tun Dr. Ismail thought he meant he had soiled his trousers, so he said "You could go back and change".

"I cannot change", said the man, "I have already put my bet, and lost".

"What lost?", Tun Ismail asked.

"The horse I backed for the Melbourne Cup".

"Oh that was it!", said Tun Ismail. "I thought you had diarrhoea and had to rush out of the car to stop soiling your pants".

He said, "Nothing like that. I rushed to listen in, but found out that I had picked the wrong horse".

Everybody at the Melbourne Cup seemed to be happy, in spite of their losses, even more happy for their wins, but for me it was the resolution of a hope I have had for many years, brought about by phenomenal good luck.

After all, what is luck? Only one of the many ways Almighty God uses to bestow blessings on anyone of us; so with all humility I thank Him for His mercy, filling my heart with happiness.

### GOOD NAME

It came, too, after Tun Razak's visit to Australia which the Communists chose to turn into an occasion for showing their feeling. The demonstration against the Malaysian Prime Minister was a disgusting exhibition of political excesses and they made Tun Razak really unhappy, and in consequence tarnished the good name of Malaysia as well.

The victory of "Think Big" by accident restored in a wonderful and miraculous way that temporary setback, for everywhere I went I was greeted with shouts of "Good old Malaysia!"

ARTICLE 48  
(17 November, 1975)

## **MALAYSIA'S BOOST TO ASIAN FOOTBALL .... AND THE SAD STORY OF POWER POLITICS**

**W**hen I was working in Kuala Lumpur as a Deputy Public Prosecutor and President of the Sessions Court, I became associated with a completely different sphere of activity — football. Looking back, it might be more correct to say that football became associated with me.

I was already President of the MFAM, Malay Football Association of Malaya, and quite happy with that sporting interest, having always been fond of the game as a boy in school or a student at Cambridge, and a keen fan and coupon addict whenever I lived and worked in England.

So I was not seeking any other office, but by force of circumstances the various offices seemed to seek me out. In Selangor, expatriate officers controlled FAS, the State Football Association. In no time at all, I found myself the new President.

Next I became President of FAM, the Football Association of Malaya — again an expatriate monopoly. So I was the first Malayan to be President of both the FAS and FAM, a rare distinction for an Asian in those Colonial days.

When I left the Government to take up a full-time political career, I continued in office as President of the FAM. As that job was quite enough for one man, I had to give up my other posts as Presidents of the MFAM and the FAS.

I always enjoyed working with my football friends. To name a few, these included the late S.E. Singam, T. Mori, Neoh Boon Hean, Kwok Kin Keng, Lim Kee Siong, the late H.M. Lee, Koe Ewe Teik, Datuk Teoh Chye Hin, and many others as well, such as Datuk Harun and Datuk Hamzah. Throughout my long association they all gave me unswerving loyalty.

I would like to mention in particular my close associate, Singam, who died many years ago. Luckily for him, I was the DPP, when he was found guilty of tampering with the electric meter in his Government quarters.

I knew Singam very well, and I was also aware that he had many spiteful enemies, because he was a thoroughly honest man and always very outspoken. Singam did not live in his quarters, but stayed with his mother most of the time. She fed him when he was not out eating with his friends.

He used his Government quarters as a kind of personal headquarters, where he could always talk football, and only football — the game to him was almost a religion.

### WALL METER

I discovered that Singam's electric meter was attached to the wall of the verandah of his house, and accessible to all. Anyone who chose to enter the house to tamper with the meter, and so get Singam into trouble, could easily do so.

Most of the time the house was empty, except for his boy, Kalimuthu, who usually lived at the back, or perhaps he might be out drinking toddy. The Selangor Football Association employed Kalimuthu as a peon. He had to do everything for Singam — clean the car, polish his shoes, and whenever he felt like it, even straighten up the quarters, which were invariably untidy.

When Kalimuthu ultimately left Singam, he came to work with me and has been with me, mostly as my driver for twenty-five years now. Once he helped to smash up my best car under the influence of toddy, but that was a long time ago, and he still is alive to drive me about.

Under the law with which Singam was charged, the burden of proof was on him; he had to show that he did not tamper with the meter. As he could not satisfy the magistrate, he was found guilty and fined \$50/-. The conviction could seriously impair his service, and stigmatise him for life, so he appealed.

### CONVINCED

I was thoroughly convinced Singam was the innocent victim of an enemy who meant him harm. When I faced the Judge of Appeal, I told His Lordship I was not prepared to support the conviction, giving no reasons.

In normal circumstances, when a DPP does not support a conviction, the Judge has no choice but to throw out the case, but this

Judge seemed bent on a conviction, and I had to argue for a longer time than I thought necessary. In the end, quite exasperated, I reminded the Judge of my right as a DPP saying if he felt otherwise he could dismiss the appeal. Reluctantly he had to agree with me, and gave way.

Singam also happened to have a civil action going on against him, brought by a European whose house he rented; he wanted him either to vacate the house or pay a higher rent. Singam refused to do either.

His refusal led to a protracted legal case, which in fact went on for years. Singam, instead of employing a lawyer, argued the case himself. For this purpose he spent a lot of money on law books, so much that he might as well have paid the higher rental, but he enjoyed the publicity, and so went on with the case.

In the end, it was postponed until I had forgotten the final result, but as his family are still living in the premises, Singam must have won the case.

I never knew any other man, who did not play football himself, to give so much of his time and life to the game. Singam even refused to marry, because in his view no wife could give him as much pleasure and satisfaction as football did. I said, "I don't think any woman could stick to you for long". Singam just grinned.

### SECRETARY

Another connection, and a long one too, was with Kwok Kin Keng of Negeri Sembilan, who remains FAM Secretary to this day. Ah Keng, as I call him, is now a Datuk, a national award given by the Yang Dipertuan Agung, now Sultan of Trengganu, for his services to football.

On one occasion Ah Keng was taken seriously ill, following a heart attack, so severe he was placed in an oxygen tent. Having just returned from Japan I rushed to see him. He was just able to look at me without talking, so I said, "Ah Keng, if you go, I will give up, too".

When I left him, my heart was heavy, knowing how serious his condition was, but a few days afterwards I learned that he had miraculously improved, following my visit. According to the doctor, Ah Keng was well on the road to recovery.

He still remains Secretary of the FAM, yet he is a family man and very much married, a faithful husband and father, so obviously all his work for football has not affected his home life.



Feeling that a younger man could give better service to the FAM, I left in 1970, and I am happy that Tun Abdul Razak has taken on as President with Datuk Harun, Datuk Hamzah and Ah Keng to help him look after the game in Malaysia.

Football in Asia owes a great debt to Malaysia, for it was through the leadership our country gave to promotion of the game that has made Asian football what it is today, a resounding popular success. Like most new ventures the game in Asia started with a humble beginning, the inauguration in 1954 in Manila of the Asian Football Confederation.

For four years the AFC suffered teething troubles, meetings being few and far between, but in 1958 when I was elected President during the Third Asian Games in Tokyo, the AFC began to pick up momentum, Koe Ewe Teik being Treasurer and Lee Wai Tong Secretary.

### UNIQUE IN WORLD

When I initiated the Merdeka Football Tournament in 1957, Malaya received spontaneous support from countries in South Asia, the South-East and the Far East. Koe Ewe Teik served a Secretary for ten years; Datuk Teoh Chye Hin holds the post now.

Malaysia's annual Merdeka Football Tournament, first held to mark our Independence in 1957 — unique in the whole world of sport. It is the only tournament arranged by a national organisation, which invites all contestants, paying all expenses and continuing to do so year after year, and yet always ending "in the black", sometimes with a handsome profit. No other country, no other sporting body except the FAM, can claim such a remarkably consistent achievement in sport.

Now the Arab countries have joined the Asian Football Confederation, the character of AFC is taking on a new look. Kuwait started turning the football field into a battlefield, because of the war between the Arabs and Israel.

At the conference held during the Asian Games in Teheran I had a most difficult and trying time trying to pacify the Arabs, asking them to keep the Arab-Israeli issue where it rightly belonged.

I am a Muslim myself, I told them. I have been Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, and as such my own sympathies are clear; but as President of the Asian Football Confederation my duty is first and foremost to serve the best interests of football throughout Asia.

Today football has become the national game of every country in Asia. It is a healthy sport that can do much to help build a happy society in every nation just by playing the game. That's what I had in mind when I first organised the Merdeka Football Tournament and invited every nation to take part except Israel.

I maintained that all we could do with the Israelis was to bar them from friendly tournaments, but in the Asian tournament they were entitled by right to play, so there was nothing we could do but to let them. Israel, in fact, is one of the founder-members of the AFC, and has competed in the Asian Games ever since they began.

Kuwait attacked me violently; their papers and magazines and other media branded me as "Israel's agent" and condemned me as "a traitor to Islam".

### POLITICAL WEAPON

My concern is to hold the sporting countries together, but I fear that the influence of money and oil will tell against us, having a serious repercussion on football in Asia. Instead of using the game to spread goodwill, they use their potential wealth to make football a destructive political weapon in their hands. Even Malaysia has succumbed to this "power".

An article published in the magazine *Almujtamak*, Issue 220, Kuwait, date October 1, 1974 had as its heading, "The Scandalous Act of Tunku Abdul Rahman in Teheran. The Islamic Secretariat and Its Responsibility in Respect of the Person of That Bad Character Tunku Abdul Rahman". The translation of the article reads:-

"Do you know who he is? He is the former Prime Minister of Malaysia. Regretfully, he is also the Secretary-General of the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference. He showed his true colours at the 7th Congress of the Asian Games in Teheran. His stand as the Head of the Asian Games is degrading in the extreme, and penetrates to the marrow of our bones.

"The truth is that he took the side of Israel openly and with all vigour. As such he opposed the Arab delegations who objected strongly to the entry of our enemies in Teheran, and he refused to take sides with the Arabs. Not only did he support Israel, but, what is worse, he supported Zionism absolutely.

"The whole of Asia has witnessed and heard the man who at one time was the Prime Minister of a country whose people were Muslims, and also the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, standing behind our enemy giving them support and defending them .....

"How can this man be elected as the Secretary-General, who has brought in such a foul element, who speaks at one time in the name and with the tongue of Muslims, and how can a person with such a bad record be elected? Who brought in a man with such a character, and who speaks in the name of Islam as a whole?

"Why do they have to appoint somebody with a bad record such as this in an Islamic institution with such important work in organising that carries the name of Islam? Why Tunku Abdul Rahman?

"This is one blot which should be wiped out, and, to avoid a recurrence such as this, we must take great care when choosing a person to serve in this Islamic organisation. The Islamic Secretariat must be staffed by people who are faithful to Allah, and who are prepared to serve the cause of Muslims only. Those who give support to Israel/Zionism, and support the unjust acts of the tyrants, should not be allowed near an Islamic organisation" .....

"The Muslim world is not short of people who are sincere and competent, who can serve our religion and the Muslim people. Why should an Islamic organisation become an open pasture for such parasites?"

### ATTACK

The attack continued in Kuwait's newspaper under the heading — "Tun's Action at Teheran Deplored". Commenting on Tun (sic) Abdul Rahman's support for Israel at the 7th Asian Games in Teheran, the Under-Secretary of State, Al Rashid, said:

"I don't doubt the Malaysian Government's sincere attitude on the Palestine cause, which is crystal clear and noble. The Kuwaiti sports team managers, Fahed Al Ahmad and Ahmad Al Saadon, are more conversant on sports matters, but Tun Abdul Rahman represents himself and not his Government, and his action shouldn't affect us".

"Although the discussion involved sports matters, Tun Abdul Rahman should not have ignored the political aspect. Only with hard work and unity will we achieve victories. The Kuwaiti team's noble stand is not a pride to Kuwait only, but to the Arab nation at large", Al Rashid concluded.

This was too much for me. For the first time I have been branded a villain, a traitor and a supporter of Zionism. I wrote to the Emir of Kuwait, His Highness Shaikh Sabah As-Salam As-Sabah, in which I said:

"I was for thirteen years Prime Minister of Malaysia and two years before that I was the Chief Minister, and Malaysia has contributed much to the glory of Islam, and as a leader I convened the First Islamic Conference in Kuala Lumpur in 1969.

"I was the first man to organise the unity of Islam, and for three years I served in Jeddah. Before I retired as Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, I formed the Islamic Development Bank, which would provide help to poor Muslim countries and create Muslim brotherhood. The plan for the bank was considered a masterpiece by all Muslim countries, and all Muslim Finance Ministers accepted the plan.

"This article is the most violent, damaging, vicious and wicked attack ever made against any Muslim, and I was libelled for no other reason than that I am the President of the Asian Football Confederation, and as President I conducted the meeting fairly and justly and in the interests of football.

"The vote against Israel was strong, and carried by a comfortable majority, and Israel was penalised. There was, therefore, no reason for any person to feel aggrieved except, of course, Israel. The venting of fury on me is a vicious act and absolutely uncalled-for, and also against all the rules of the game and good sportsmanship".

#### VERY SAD STORY

I asked His Highness's permission to clear my good name in public by allowing me to institute legal proceedings in Kuwait's Court of Justice against the publisher of the magazine.

His Highness acknowledged my letter but permission to prosecute was not given, because presumably the Under-Secretary of State was unintentionally misled into making the attack against me.

This is a very sad story of the state of football in Asia today with politics and power-ploys invading the very field of the game. Every good sportsman, every leader of sport, must come together to save the future of football in Asia.

My biggest disappointment was that the Malaysian Government took no step to clear my good name but instead took sides indirectly with Kuwait, so I resigned as President of the Football Association of Malaysia, and Tun Razak took over.

ARTICLE 49  
(24 November, 1975)

## **IT'S A GREAT COUNTRY ..... AND WE MUST KEEP IT THAT WAY**

**M**any things are happening in Malaysia which cause feelings of insecurity and uneasiness to many people, particularly when members of our security forces are being picked out and killed, either in public places or in ambushes.

Obviously these killings are committed by Communist terrorists. What their objects are, it is difficult to know, except their wish to show their wanton disregard for law and order.

When the Communist terrorists first started their insurrection in 1948, they were fighting, so they claimed, to rid Malaya of British rule. Because of that avowed aim they won quite good support from Chinese and Malay extremists, and also from others who believed what they said.

Today, however, Malaysia has become independent and has made great progress. What then is their objective in trying to strike terror and fear in the hearts and minds of our people? Not for independence, surely!

In only eighteen years Malaysia has come a long way, taking her rightful place among the progressive nations of the world. Her economy is good, and the administration reasonably efficient. The way of life of the people in our country is free and happy.

As Malaysia is one of the very good countries to live in, then why do we have all these killings and acts of terrorism?

The rich here are heavily taxed to provide the funds the Government needs to look after education, hospitals, roads, welfare homes, and the general well-being of the people.

What can the terrorists hope to gain by committing all these acts of atrocity, all these dastardly crimes against peaceful citizens, their own fellow countrymen? Do they hope to take over this country by such foul means as these?

Who in Malaysia will give in to them, less still allow a cowardly regime that has no respect at all for law and order to seize power and rule over us?

Almost 100 per cent of the indigenous people of this country, and 70 per cent of other Malaysians would never accept these forces of evil.

For a country like China with a population of 800 million, with no land or houses to spare, Communism and all it stands for might be good; but I understand from friends who have been there, the population is hardened to its way of life and accepts the Government's dictates obediently.

They are happy to eat what they are given so that there is sufficient food to go round. They do not know what luxury is. More important, they do not know what freedom is. They just do what they are told to do; they dress alike, they even eat alike but there are no family ties as we understand them. The Government is "the family".

They go about their daily chores without a murmur, without any hope of changes for the better. They sleep at the same time, wake up on scheduled time. They begin each morning with professions of loyalty to their dictator; and they give their minds to Mao, and what he thinks.

### PUPPETS

The Chinese are a wonderful people, but in China they are puppets. They work hard day in and night out, with nothing to look forward to except to live on till the time when they can rest in peace. Meanwhile, they sit down and sip their Chinese tea when their day's work is done.

But can a Malaysian accept such a way of life, when the people of this country are born free? A Malaysian does just what he likes, lives how he likes, spends what he likes, and enjoys life as he likes. So long as he does not contravene the ethics of our society or commit any crimes, he is safe and content.

We find people of all racial origins living happily in this country. When their festival days come round, they celebrate lustily, whether they are Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus or Pagans. All told, life in our country is very pleasant, especially in these hectic modern days.

### SHOWING OFF

When I returned from the Middle East after three years of hard work, I gave thanks to God that I was back home. I have seen the world — Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. If anybody is happy elsewhere, I can say that Malaysians are more so.

There are many things here to amuse us. It is regrettable, however, that one of the most popular entertainments, Television has not maintained the standards expected of its programmes.

It is a long time since the 1974 Elections, yet Television still continues without a break campaigns projecting Government activities or showing off Ministers and Assistant Ministers. Too much of a good thing can stultify the efforts of Government.

Television starts off the news with what each Minister is trying to do, and ends up with what the Assistant Ministers are trying to do. Meanwhile, the public are really interested in knowing what is happening not only in Malaysia but in the world. In other words, they want news of interest; instead they are fed continuously with Government propaganda.

Television shows very little about sports or other interesting events. Peristiwa, which only repeats what has been reported earlier, follows next after the news sessions and goes on for 15 to 20 minutes. Most people turn off their sets, and this helps to save electricity, which the Government asks us to do.

I am glad, however, that the new Minister of Information has formed a panel drawn from a cross-section of the community to advise him, so as a consequence we can all expect to look forward to improvements in our television programmes.

## BEAUTY

Despite this particular shortcoming, our country is a lovely place to live in by any standards — with its wonderful settings in the scenic beauty of its hills, lovely forests, green pastures, clear rivers and blue seas. Sometimes we encounter snakes, even tigers, but most of the time everyone is free to walk round or drive wherever they like without fear of meeting tigers and snakes. Communists are our only dangers.

We have cinemas, nightclubs, fun fairs, football and other sports. Sometimes the players quarrel and steal kicks at the referee, but on the whole they enjoy the fun of playing the game. We have mosques, churches and temples for those who want to worship God.

As every day we can look forward to some event of interest, life can be very enjoyable. In open or public places, we see young people with pleasant faces and healthy bodies frolicking, or taking shelter from the hot sun under the shady trees.

They may be black, brown or yellow; it does not matter. Some may have long hair, some beards, while others are clean-shaven with nicely-cropped hair, but whatever their style they all appear happy with life.

Are the Communist terrorists trying to introduce China's way of life to this country? Are our people likely to accept such a drastic change? Will religious people give up their creeds? Will the young people give up their happy lives? Can such a change really bring our people joy?

### FOREIGN WAY

Can our people give up their rice and curry, or their chapati and dhal, or their delicious Chinese mee and koay teow for the bowls of rice-chowdar day-in and day-out that they must eat in China?

I do not think they will. So what is the good of attempting to force on this country of ours by acts of violence a foreign way of life, when we are better off with our own? What is good for the Chinese in China may not necessarily be good for us in Malaysia. We must pursue our own way of life — let the devil take care of others, and may God preserve us!

The Government may have made mistakes; no Government for that matter is perfect. Whatever mistakes there are, they cannot be worse than a regimented life imported from a foreign country.

If we think that the Government is not acting rightly, we have ways and means of voicing our complaints — but not by picking on officials or law officers on whom to wreak vengeance by committing cold-blooded murder — and that is what our Malaysian Communists do.

The Communists carry out acts of terrorism in the only way they know how — they kill and maim our people, terrorise our society. There is nothing in their foul deeds to commend themselves to decent law-abiding citizens in this country.

### SILENCE

Another thing that surprises me very much is the way Communist sympathisers keep silent about vile deeds, and yet are only too ready to condemn the Government for the laws and regulations it passes to prevent such violent disorders. No doubt some of these laws may seem harsh, but circumstances demand resolute action to deal with such abnormal conditions as terrorism.

However harsh they may be, no laws and regulations passed in democratic countries can compare in severity with those passed in Communist countries or other countries under dictatorship rule.

All the laws dictator nations pass are usually cruel, and the actions taken against offenders are drastic in the extreme, yet Communist sympathisers or supporters in Malaysia have nothing to



say about these countries, and their inhumanity or their disregard of individual freedom.

### OFFER

One thing I do know and the Communists and their sympathisers know it, too, is that many people living in Communist countries would prefer to live our kind of life rather than their own, if they only could. Else why do we read so often of defections? Or of people killed trying to escape?

One thing our Government should do is to make an offer, just as I did in former days, to allow all Red sympathisers to go to China — or perhaps now to Vietnam, Cambodia, Pathet Lao and North Korea — and save ourselves and our country from their harassments.

Some of the subjects I have chosen to write about in the Monday editions of *The STAR* have helped to enlighten the younger generation — men and women now, who were too young in past years to experience the events of our Merdeka era, or to understand what we had to do to achieve the independence we all have today, and enjoy, taking freedom for granted.

First we had to work hard to get the people of the country to have faith and trust in one another, and to unite out of loyalty to Malaya to struggle for independence.

Many young men today may have forgotten all these efforts, thinking they are born into a world already made for them. We had to do more than just that to create such a world. Through sheer honesty and determination we managed to come together, to work together, and by doing so we won Malaya's independence.

Then we promised that we would stand together through thick and thin for our country's well-being in independence. We endured severe stress and strain through successive aggressions by enemies on three fronts: one, from Communist terrorism within the country; second, from Confrontation by Soekarno, and from yet a third, the Philippines' claim on Sabah.

But we won through all these various types of opposition through the co-operation and goodwill of the citizens of Malaya and then Malaysia. Working closely with the Government, we emerged victorious in each of these periods of trial and tribulation.

### PROSPERITY

As a result of our independence, and the respect we gained from our friends abroad, we earned what we achieved — peace and prosperity at home and prestige and esteem throughout the world.

What is more, we achieved the distinction of being the first and only country ever to fight and win victory over Communist terrorists. And it is that distinction which is still rankling with the Communists. We learned by hard experience that to fight them successfully, all citizens must get together. Those who remember will never forget the lesson; those who do not should always remember.

We in Malaysia are among the happiest people in the world, and let's remain so. It is sad indeed to realise that we have to revert once again to Emergency measures to meet a new Communist challenge. We have the past to guide us through any present or future peril — but we must be resolute, and never let up, if we want our Malaysia to remain the peaceful, good country we love.

ARTICLE 50  
(1 December, 1975)

## **KEDAH'S WISE REGENT BRINGING UP STATE UNDER COLONIAL RULE**

One of the truly rare individuals in Kedah's history, a man of character with a personality entirely his own, was my eldest brother, Tunku Ibrahim, who became the Regent of the State when my father, the late Sultan, having suffered a stroke, became paralysed from head to foot.

In the year 1909 Thailand ceded Kedah to the British, and the State faced difficult times. Under the British, Kedah became a "protected" State. With this change-over to the British system of administration, the Ruler had to accept a British Adviser on all State matters. The Ruler, however, did not necessarily have to accept any advice which would conflict with either Malay custom (Adat) or religion.

Kedah's language was Malay. There was no English school; only Malay schools existed, and even these were few in number. Those who received education up to the Fourth Standard were qualified to join the administrative or clerical services. Undoubtedly, State administration was below par; nevertheless they managed to get the Government going.

Kedah was rich then in agricultural products; there was plenty of rice to eat, and cattle and chickens to export. Tunku Ibrahim was Regent, presiding over a State Council of about five members.

Tunku Ibrahim thought something had to be done to improve the standards of administration, so he opened up the first English school in the State. Housed in a timber building in Jalan Kanchut, Alor Star, its first Headmaster was Encik Ahmad Iskandar. He and two other teachers, Encik Abdul Manap and Encik Hassan all came from Penang. Their teaching qualifications were low but they got school set up and running.

All the students were teen-agers, but some were very young, hardly of school-going age. They had been sent to the school mainly to keep them out of mischief at home. I was one of them, when I was barely five years old.

### NAUGHTY BOY

According to Encik Hassan, who taught the infant class, I was a naughty little boy, always disturbing the others in doing their work, so he would put me on a chair right next to him. Though the older boys in their late teens were difficult to manage, Encik Ahmad Iskandar tried to do the best he could for them.

As the school was by a roadside, every time a pretty young girl passed by, the older boys would leave their seats and go straight to the windows to wave at the girls. One of the most persistent "window-watchers" was Khir Johari's father.

It was difficult for the Headmaster to stop them, as he realised philosophically that the ways of all young men were the same, and these boys of his were tough. Finally, he left the school to join the Audit Office; the "figures" there were of a different category.

Encik Ismail Merican, who replaced him as Headmaster, was more experienced, so gradually the standards of teaching and learning improved, but he, too, later left to join the Civil Service.

After attending this English school for a few months, I was sent to a Malay school, but I did nothing in the way of study. I went to school sometimes, but most of the time I was a truant. However, in those older days, especially being a member of the Royal Family, we were privileged to do exactly what we liked. Even so, I didn't follow the ways of my elder brothers.

When I was nine years old in 1912, my mother, a Thai, decided to send me to Bangkok to live with my full-blooded brother, Tunku Yusof, who was an officer in the Thai Army. In Bangkok, I joined the Debsirindir School. When Tunku Yusof died, I returned home to Alor Star, and after completing my Malay education for a year, I joined the Penang Free School. That was in 1916.

### HEYDAYS

In the heydays of the Sultanate my father had an Englishman to teach my brothers in the Istana. Under my father's close eye, they had to learn, but their work was most unsatisfactory. According to their tutor, Mr. Ward (also the Sultan's Financial Adviser) they had one hour's lesson a day, yet even then they found it too much.

Mr. Ward reported their behaviour to my father, and they were punished. Coming out of the Istana, they waited at the gate, and

when Mr. Ward arrived, they attacked and beat him up. That was the last of their schooling: Mr. Ward refused to teach them any more.

So they were packed off to Bangkok and England, but Tunku Ibrahim remained behind. His Malay handwriting (Jawi) was only a scrawl, which few could decipher, except those who worked closely with him. But despite his lack of education, he became a good Regent.

In fact in those days he was a character who could never be surpassed. During his term as Regent many developments took place. He made many changes for the better, and in consequence the finances of the State improved.

### ARISTOCRATS

It was Tunku Ibrahim who, as a matter of policy, started sending students to English schools in Penang, and others to England. The administration of the State, however, continued to be conducted in Malay, but one qualification for entry into the State Civil Service was English.

Sons of civil servants and Kedah aristocrats received posts after they acquired the right qualifications, which were either a pass in Junior Cambridge or Senior Cambridge Certificates.

Those who joined the Kedah Civil Service with only Seventh Standard qualifications received \$60/= a month in salary, those with Junior Cambridge \$80/=, and those with Senior Cambridge \$100/- a month. Considering the purchasing power of the dollar then, their salary was quite decent, being paid according to the Hijrah calendar.

Most of them owned cars on borrowed money. Nevertheless they lived well with their cars and their own drivers, who received from \$8/= to \$10/= a month. Even though the drivers often had to work late at night, while these young "masters" enjoyed themselves at the local club, they seemed quite happy.

The drivers would also help with menial work, such as chopping firewood or sweeping the compound. When they were kept late at night, they would get 5 cents or 10 cents extra money as overtime. At week-ends (Thursdays and Fridays), some drivers would stay at the club right throughout.

Their wives were good, too, never complaining, just waiting the return of their husbands from their often-late nights, only too pleased to have them back at home. There was one custom in those days I liked. If a wife felt she was getting too "old" for her husband, she would get a young wife for him. In this way, married life would continue in a happy strain, until death should part them.

Compare this custom with the modern marriage. The wife wants to go where her husband goes, to do what her husband does. Many wives control their husbands, and this invariably leads to lots of trouble, and often to divorces.

One day my wife, when discussing a certain person's matrimonial affair, suggested that he should not do "that".

"Do what?" I asked.

"Marry a second time," she said.

I replied, "Why not? The law allows it".

She answered, "What is good for the goose is good for the gander".

"It is not quite so," I said. "The wife is not allowed to marry a second husband while the first is alive, and if she contravenes that law, her husband will kick her out".

"In that case," she replied, "the wife has the right to kick the husband out".

"Many husbands would love to be kicked out", I answered, "but how many wives would like to be kicked out by their husbands, and who is going to support them"?

### "TERROR"

Tunku Ibrahim was a "terror" to members of the Civil Service, but with his wife he was a meek husband. Though he never had more than one wife, no-one could deny that he enjoyed himself outside her ken and beyond reach of her ears.

He ran the club, where the civil servants spent most of their time. Actually it was more like a "mess" than a club, for many members who stayed too late, and were either afraid or too inebriated to go home, would spend all night there.

I was much too young at the time to enter the club, but like most young boys or lads with long ears I heard a lot of stories about the "goings-on." In the old days people never bothered about what others did, so long as they were free to do what they liked themselves.

Today one cannot sneeze without being corrected, let alone enjoy oneself. That's what politics have done to our society.

### AFFAIRS

I well remember an occasion in Parliament when an Opposition member brought up the question of private misconduct by an official in the secrecy of his "mess".

So I rose, challenging anyone who could say that he had never done anything wrong in his private life, or had never had affairs with

persons of the opposite sex, or had never had a drink, to stand up in the House.

No one stood up except the member who had put the question — he was Dr. Tan Chee Khoon.

Looking at him I said, "There is no one to check on your private life, and who knows that you are telling the truth. If you are telling the truth, then what's the point of living when you don't drink, you don't smoke, and you don't even enjoy the company of the fair sex". That silenced him.

On another occasion when I was Chief Minister in the days of "Home Rule", a member of the Legislative Council brought up a resolution proposing that no drinks should be served to Muslims at public functions.

To avoid having a debate on the resolution, I stood up at once saying, "I accept the resolution". He was so happy with my action, and later on he praised me a great deal in the reception room. That was Datuk Ubaidullah.

Subsequently at an official dinner where there were drinks at the bar I gave orders to the "boys" within the hearing of guests that they should serve no drinks to Muslims. I said that any Muslim who wanted forbidden liquid must serve himself. Result — a great exodus to the bar.

## DISPUTES

Tunku Ibrahim had two disputes with the British Adviser which I remember so well that I think they are worth recounting today. One related to the question of improving the Kedah Civil Service. The British Adviser suggested bringing in Malays from the Federated Malay States. According to him they were all English-educated, and as such would be a great asset to the Kedah Government.

The Regent replied that the Civil Service was quite all right, as Kedah's administration was based on the practices of the Federated Malay States.

"If you think that we have not done properly, your duty as British Adviser was to put us right", he said. "You were never asked to come here to replace our civil servants with FMS officers, even though they are Malays. If you cannot put us right, then just say so, and I shall ask for a new Adviser.

"There is one thing, however, of which I would remind you. That is we want our men to run our own State, because brains alone without loyalty to the State or without love for the country are of no

use to me. You can keep your FMS officers in their own States, where they can be of more use.

### DEVOTION

"My people may not be clever, but so long as they can work and serve the State, that is all I want of them. I am here to direct them. If they do not do their work, or if they are found incapable, then they will go, but when they do go others will take their places."

The British Adviser kept quiet, and had nothing more to say. What could he have said? He knew now, if he did not know before, that the Regent had made him fully aware of the absolute devotion of the people of Kedah to their State. He must have realised, too, that the Regent, who had spoken those words, so sincerely and forthrightly forthrightly was a great man.

Tunku Ibrahim's constant feeling of being close to all his brothers also made a great impression on me. If any were in plight or need, he would always show great concern; he never ignored anything that happened to any one of them. He mixed a lot with his relatives, the Regent, who had spoken those words so sincerely and forthrightly was a great man.

Under his Regency Kedah prospered and continued doing so. Lands opened up, and Administration improved. When rubber-planting came in, the State immediately became more prosperous, developing so well that the British administrators of Malaya wanted to make an important change in executive procedure.

### ADAMANT

The British proposed to bring Kedah into the Customs Union with the Federated Malay States. The Regent was adamant: he would not agree. The discussion he had with the Director of Customs, Malaya, and the British Adviser was memorable. By the end of the meeting no decision had been reached as the Regent refused to give in on any point.

When the Director of Customs left, the British Adviser turned to the Regent and said, "Tuanku, you are wrong. You are making a big mistake in not agreeing to Customs Union with the rest of the country. You must realise that we have the power to impose our will on you. We have our Army, our Air Force, our Navy, and if we like we can force you to accept what we have tried to do in a nice way, but you refused".

The Regent replied, "I know your strength, I know you have all the men and the forces at your command that you can impose your



will by force, but I have my customs, my traditions and my duties to my State. I intend to uphold all these. You may shoot me, and some of my men down, but none of the forces at your command can shoot down our Adat (customs) and traditions and my rights. They cannot die — Allah willing, they will continue for all time!”

#### WISDOM

That was wisdom — wisdom which the British never expected to hear from a man of no education. His heart, his spirit and his courage spoke those words. The British Adviser stood up, bowed deeply, and left, presumably with admiration in his heart.

I was the first Kedah student to receive a scholarship to study in England; others would follow me in the Twenties. When we returned, we would carry on with the administration in Malay, and I for one felt happy and proud that we would be able to apply the knowledge we received in our language to the benefit of our State and people.

When Malaya finally won Independence, the Government had to draw on most officers from the non-Federated Malay States, mainly from Kedah and Johore. In the course of time, and with the spirit of independence prevalent among our young people, our Civil Service was manned by young blood from everywhere in the nation.

The basic principle that must be followed is to give the people of this country the best education available to enable them to give in return their utmost to the nation.

I maintain that the education we give our people must continue to be in English, making full use of the knowledge acquired in that international language by applying it in Bahasa Malaysia to the benefit of the people and nation as a whole. In this way Malaysia as a major producing country can make the best of both worlds, nationally and internationally.

ARTICLE 51  
(1 March, 1976)

**THE KINGS AND I  
MALAYSIANS ARE BETTER SERVED  
WITH RULERS  
A UNIQUE SYSTEM IN OPERATION HERE**

**M**alaysia's monarchical system is unique in the whole wide world. The King ascends the Throne for five years, at the end of which period he vacates for the next senior Sultan to take over. In fact, the next senior Sultan is styled Timbalan Yang Dipertuan Agung (i.e. Deputy-King).

This system of Kingship has never been tried out in any other country before. All monarchies provide for hereditary successors who remain in office until they die, but we are different, and if our system is taken up by other countries, perhaps the idea of Kingship will become once again a popular institution.

Working on the established principle that the King can do no wrong, at the same time he enjoys prerogatives and gives assent to all laws and other Acts of State; he therefore is the Supreme Head. The King in fact is purely the symbolic Head of State, and therefore can do no wrong.

Some people maintain that it is reactionary to keep up with this form of Government and these are the young extremists and anti-Government elements, and according to them, much money is wasted on Civil Lists and other expenses connected with the Throne.

On the other hand, a President spends no less and what's more he wields greater power in law and in fact. In such countries the people have no say but accept the dictatorial edict with calm resignation for fear of what may follow. These virtual dictators with power of life and death over their people are greatly feared.

Countries in this part of Asia with Kings or Emperors are Japan, Thailand, Nepal and Malaysia and they are considered comparatively stable and well-run despite the subversive activities within their borders working for their overthrow.

My personal views are that the Malay people in particular, and other Malaysians in general, are better served with the King as their Head of State than with a dictator or a President.

When one dictator or President dies or the incumbent ceases to hold power trouble begins in their search for a suitable successor. In many cases it ends in violence and bloodshed or exorbitant use of force and money. With Kings, however, when one dies the next man succeeds for "a King never dies".

I am one of those lucky enough to have served under five Kings and have lived to see the Installation of the sixth.

The Throne, the symbol of Kingship, itself does not cost much money to make but the honour and respect for it has inspired loyalty among Malaysians. It took less than a year to make and the coat of arms imprinted on the leather was executed in England.

Admittedly our Malaysian Throne is nothing to brag about as compared with the thrones found in other Kingdoms; it cost little in value or design, but the prestige it carries is no less important and dignified than those of the other Kingdoms.

The Throne of Iran (Persia) is studded with gold and precious stones, but I have not seen any of the others to talk about them. However I presume they are beautiful and expensive.

### CEREMONY

The Kingship carries with it all the regalia and paraphernalia of office but these can only be used after the King has been officially installed, then only on very rare and special occasions — the opening of Parliament, for instance.

I have already related the mysterious and unhappy occurrence that took place when the second King, His Late Majesty Sultan Hisamuddin Alam Shah of Selangor, assumed the Throne on the death of the first Agung, Tuanku Abdul Rahman, the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan, on March 1, 1960.

Although his formal Installation as Agung was not due to take place until September 1, he wore all the Royal regalia, including the Crown and the Kris of Authority to declare Parliament open on April 19. And the following day he fell sick with a lingering condition that could not be diagnosed, in spite of the best medical advice and attention of the finest specialists, and exactly on the stroke of eleven o'clock on September 1, 1960 the very time set for his Installation, he passed away.

Strange it was how this happened and harder to explain for there is a belief among the Malays in an aura of mystery verging on the

sublime surrounding the Throne. So, too, with Royal regalia. Therefore Royal regalia must always be treated with respect and looked after with reverence. Those who do not do so will suffer a severe misfortune which in Malay is known as "Tullah".

In this case, it was said that His Late Majesty wore the Crown before he was entitled to it, and he suffered "Tullah". It was sad, as he had the promise and the making of a good Yang Dipertuan Agung.

### TRANSFERRED

When the Raja of Perlis, Tuanku Syed Putra Jamalullail, ascended the Throne on September 21, 1960 the first thing he did was to ask where the Crown jewels and the regalia were kept, as he understood they were in the Palace. On being told they were kept in a safe underneath the stairs he refused to go up the stairs until all the Royal paraphernalia were removed from under them.

As soon as they were taken out he had them transferred to the Treasury, exclaiming at the same time that these Royal paraphernalia were sacred objects, and should not have been kept under the staircase where every time anyone climbed the stairs he walked over them. That was sacrilege.

He ruled happily for five years, from September 21, 1960 to September 20, 1965 and during his reign Malaysia came into being. Her triumphant march to victory over our enemies, her achievements in the fields of sports, culture and trade and economy were success stories.

The First Five-Year Development Plan was initiated and implemented, under which the landless people were given ten acres of land each for the planting of rubber and other crops.

Large tracts of jungle land were opened up; schools and health clinics were built, as well as roads laid, electricity put in, and other amenities provided to make life comfortable for the farmers and their families.

Development in other fields took an upward trend and industrial centres were opened up in Penang, Ipoh, Seremban and Johore Bahru, besides the big industrial centre in Petaling Jaya.

Foreign capital poured into the country from all quarters at an astounding rate and trade flourished beyond our wildest dreams. All these took place despite the troubles we had with Indonesia and the Philippines.

By coincidence he himself is a good sportsman as well as a successful businessman; also a very good host and a man of understanding and great wisdom. He plays all games well and won

many golf balls at the expense of HRH the Sultan of Selangor.

One of the few occasions he lost to the Sultan of Selangor was when the Sultan was forced to partner me, both with a handicap of 24, while he took Tun Razak with a handicap of 18 to partner him.

Before the match started the result was a foregone conclusion, but as the Malays say, "The ball is round, anything can happen." And that was exactly what happened that day, because both the Sultan and I could do nothing wrong, while he and Tun Razak could do nothing right.

In the end, we won with three up and two to go. It was a most amusing and happy moment for the Sultan and a big disappointment for both the Agung and Tun Razak. The news spread like wild-fire to the great chagrin of both of them.

Before the end of his term he mentioned that he would be willing to continue in office while Confrontation lasted, if the Government felt he should do so, but I told him that it was my sacred duty to uphold the principle underlying the institution of Kingship which meant that the King must leave on the very day of the expiry of his term of five years. On the other hand, if he were re-elected nothing would make the people happier.

### TROUBLE

When His Royal Highness the Sultan of Trengganu assumed the Kingship on September 21, 1965 he continued with the success story. A Second Five-Year Plan was launched and Malaysia enjoyed greater prosperity and gained more friends and fame abroad.

He was not a strong man, nor did he enjoy the best of health, missing the sea air of the East Coast badly. Later on he developed heart trouble. His grandson whom he was fond of was continually ill and at the end of four years he decided to retire and return to his State of Trengganu.

When he mentioned this to me, I said to him, "Tuanku, your term of office as King is for five years and you must not leave until the period comes to an end, and if you leave now I will also have to leave because my nephew will be the next King. As an uncle I don't feel right to continue as Prime Minister to him." And so he stayed on, and despite his illness he remained in office to the last day of his term of Kingship.

He was highly sensitive and temperamental and would not tolerate any slight on his person, either real or imaginary. His Menteri Besar, Datuk Nik Hassan bin Abdul Rahman, my former Private Secretary, found this out too late.

When an RMAF plane could not take him to Trengganu because of the bad weather he refused to use RMAF planes ever again, nor would he wear anymore a uniform of the RMAF Air Marshal, though it suited him well. With all his sensitiveness and shyness he gave this country very good leadership, and I was happy to have served under him.

There was only one incident, sad to recall, which marred his otherwise happy and glorious reign. I refer to the tragedy of May 13, 1969 which caused the loss of many hundreds of innocent lives.

To know who manipulated the violence outside the part played by the Communists, we have to find out who it was who gave permission for the funeral procession of a dead Communist to pass through the streets of Kuala Lumpur.

The incident was followed by the distribution of thousands of letters insinuating that I was the cause of it all. This continues to this very day when an attack was made recently on me in a Malay vernacular paper. God knows best, and those responsible will surely answer for this crime against humanity.

The first Agung was my contemporary in London and both of us were studying at the Inner Temple and at the same time. By coincidence only two States in Malaysia, Kedah and Negeri Sembilan, spell the title as "Tunku", Johore "Tungku", while Selangor, Kelantan and Trengganu "Tengku" and Perak "Raja". This led to a lot of confusion.

When the Malay Society of Great Britain was formed, he was elected its first President, while I was the first Secretary. When I ordered the letter-heads for the Society, with the same name for President and Secretary, I received a rejoinder from the printers to the effect that it was unusual for both these offices to be held by one and the same person. When they were informed that it was not so, they thought it best to add the prefix (1) and (2) to our names.

When Tunku Abdul Rahman was called to the Bar, I received all the congratulatory messages, and demands descended on me to celebrate my success. At about the same time that all these messages were received, I was called to face the Director of Legal Education who asked me to explain the reason why I had fared so badly in my Bar exam, advising me accordingly to give up my law studies and concentrate on fast cars and horses for he knew I was fond of both.

When he became the first Agung on September 2, 1957, I became the first Prime Minister and this was a rare coincidence. He won the first Malay student tennis title and I won the second and the shield is exhibited at Muzium Negara.

On one occasion which I mentioned in an earlier article, I was asked by a member in Parliament why I had not considered accepting an offer of friendship from a Middle East country.

My reply was that I had acknowledged and accepted the offer for an exchange of diplomatic relations with the country in question, but the same request came again, and yet again. Obviously that particular country had kept no record of the correspondence which passed between us.

When my reply was reported to that Government it took offence at what it considered to be an insult to its Government. It sent an emissary to our King with a request for my dismissal. His reply was that the Prime Minister could dismiss him but he could not dismiss the Prime Minister.

Tuanku Abdul Rahman ibni Al-Marhum Tuanku Muhammad, the Yang Dipertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan, as the first Agung set the standard of Kingship that was to be the milestone for the successive Rulers to maintain and uphold.

His period of Kingship from August 3, 1957 to March 1, 1960 was the most testing and stimulating one. The country was faced with the Communists' insurrection at its height, but because of the confidence the people had in his Government and the loyal support they gave it, we were able to overcome our enemies with victory after victory and in the end drove the Communists into the jungle.

### CONFUSION

During his reign much confusion arose because of our names and so I had to add my other name "Putra". Even then, it did not help matters very much. Letters for him or for me and vice-versa got mixed up.

His reign opened the first chapter in the history of this country. It was a glorious beginning for our Merdeka, new as it was to our people. On the other hand countries which achieved independence before us were pulling their own strings or shouting their odds against us but caused no dent in our armour.

President Soekarno was telling the world that he was the greatest man and his country the greatest country with one of the largest numbers of people in this part of the world.

Nkrumah was calling himself a Messiah, yet here in Malaysia was a man so humble and yet so dignified who confessed to another monarch that he could be sacked by his Prime Minister.

He gave pomp and dignity to the Throne but his reign was cut short with his death caused by heart failure in March, 1960. His picture adorns our currency and his name will forever be remembered as the first King of independent Malaya.

When HRH the Sultan of Kedah took over on September 20, 1970 he asked me for one favour and that was to continue as Prime Minister for one day longer, and under him, and so I did. It was my good fortune, therefore, to have served under five Kings as Prime Minister.

During his term of office he was the first Agung to be invited to England as guest of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. This was a signal honour accorded our nation by a British monarch, whose country once ruled us, and now is Head of the Commonwealth.

He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, and as the fifth Yang Dipertuan Agung he was well rewarded. Tun Abdul Razak took over from me, and from then onwards it became his responsibility to attend to the affairs of State including the affairs of "the King's heart."

DYMM Seri Baginda Tuanku Yahya Putra ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Ibrahim was elected the sixth Yang Dipertuan Agung by the Conference of Rulers on June 19, 1975. He attended the Francis Light School, a feeder-school of the Penang Free School and then went to England to continue his studies under a tutor in Oxford. He succeeded to the Throne on the death of his father, Sultan Ibrahim, on July 10, 1960.

On July 22, 1970 he was elected by the Conference of Rulers as the Timbalan Yang Dipertuan Agung, and took the Oath of Office on September 21, 1970.

At one period he had a severe stroke and few expected that he would recover completely from his illness, but he did, and except for his poor eyesight he is considered a very healthy man, able to enjoy life and all that goes with it.

Everybody who knows him realises that he will make an ideal and able Ruler and the people can expect fairness and justice from him. He speaks little but what he says goes a long way.

As a friend I am fond of him, and I pray the Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein Onn, will have a good Ruler to work for and will have a long, happy and successful association with him.

May he live long and enjoy good health, and when he comes to retire may he leave behind him a record of achievements of which we can all be proud. May Allah Bless him!



ARTICLE 52  
(2 August, 1976)

**AFTER MOMENTOUS MILESTONES  
NOW A QUIET JOB AFTER MY OWN HEART**

**I**n this weekly column of mine and in my previous series of articles in 1975, I have referred to many political events and personal episodes in my life. Some of these I can never forget as long as I live, so I am compiling a book, "Looking Back," the overall title I gave the articles when I first started to write for The STAR. This book will include all the articles I have written under that title.

Just as everything in life must have an end, so must a book. That is why I am writing today about some of the memorable incidents of my life and career, even though I may have related the stories before. I do so because they are important to me, even vital. These are milestones I will always remember and they seem to be, for my book, a round-up of some of the paths I have taken in my journey through life.

Being a member of a Royal family how did I ever become associated with politics? My interest in politics started during my early days in Cambridge, when the many Indian students were actively and vociferously voicing their support for Gandhi and Nehru in their struggle for independence.

My Indian friends, patriots all, held frequent talks in private and many discussions and conferences in public on ways to rid India of colonial rule. I used to attend, but never took an active part. I just listened, and more often than not I would be carried away by the force of their arguments. But I maintained a dignified silence.

When I sailed back to Malaya in January 1931 aboard the French Messageries Maritime vessel, "M.V. Chenonceaux", I had a fortunate encounter. Among the passengers were the former Foreign Minister of China, Mr. Eugene Chen, and his beautiful and charming wife, Georgette. By chance the three of us were put to dine together at the same table, and from the first meeting we got on very well indeed.

Eugene was a West Indian Chinese, who spoke very little Chinese but he was a master of English; his writings in the days of Dr. Sun Yat Sen used to frighten the British Raj.

I had heard much of him before this voyage, especially what he had to say when I was a student. Eugene was a man who never minced words, so much so that he even fell foul of his own political leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, and had to retire from Chinese politics altogether. He and his wife then settled down in Paris.

Madame Georgette Chen herself was a very talented artist, with a quietly radiant personality rarely seen in a woman. On board ship we three became very friendly, so I used to get glimpses of his political views, which greatly impressed me. Of course, they were no help to me at the time as I belonged to Malaya, and being under Colonial rule we were not free to talk openly or to discuss politics that was likely to cause trouble.

I was under particular restraint, as I was always aware of my obligations; my conduct or views must not embarrass my Royal father, the Sultan of Kedah, or my family.

#### NO TIGHT LIPS

The most we young Malays could do in those days was to confine our talk to parochial governmental matters, as Kedah my own State was a Protectorate. Even so we in Kedah enjoyed greater autonomy, perhaps, than most other States in Malaya. But the British were beginning to tighten their hold over the State and made several attempts from time to time to control its Administration.

It was not possible for a person like me to be tight-lipped, and so sometimes I broke out clandestinely, using the columns of the Press to express my feelings under a pseudonym. It did not take the Government long to find out who the writer was, because they said my style of English was not typical of a locally-educated man.

So I found myself on the black-list and had to watch my step. At the same time I was incurring very much the rancour of the British officials, and also the executive Malay officials, who thought I was a nuisance in the State.

Talking of British officials, I recall one incident when His Highness the Raja Muda of Perak, Raja Abdul Aziz was staying with me in Kulim. He had to open a fun fair in Bukit Mertajam the next day. The Assistant District Officer in Bukit Mertajam, a Mr. Earle, excluded me from those invited to the dinner in honour of my own house guest. What a snub it was, I felt, particularly coming from a man who was only a petty official.

Then when Pandit Nehru came to Malaya in 1936 I was on the Reception Committee to welcome him. I was with Nehru at the time he was at the rally in Butterworth, and this certainly did not please the British officials. But I did not care. To me it was a real honour and a privilege to be so near to such a great man as Nehru, of whom hitherto I had only read and heard.

#### CONNECTION

After the Japanese Occupation, Datuk Senu and Encik Khir Johari dragged me into their newly-formed party, Saberkas, the main objective of which was to unite the Malays to fight the MacMichael Malayan Union Policy. They made me the Patron of the party, a sinecure job. Later because of the trend towards the left they were taking, I felt it better to resign, so I had no choice but to sever my connection with politics.

I still had to find a way to make the best of my life and look for other opportunities, for I felt that as a Government officer I was a misfit, and as a budding politician I was a nondescript, a tyro neither wanted nor ready.

I then decided to go back to England and finish my interrupted studies, harbouring in my heart an ambition to begin life as a lawyer, and get away from the sickening drudgery of Government service.

Few thought that I would qualify but I did, much to their surprise and that was a very great achievement indeed for a man of my age, 45 and so carefree and playful. I had proved myself despite my critics. In fact being admitted to the Bar was one of the really great moments of my life, because I felt that at last I was a free man, able to do what I liked. I was independent.

When I recall my success at the Bar I can never forget Miss Daisy Tullich, the caretaker of No. 9 Barkston Gardens in Earls Court, where I lodged. She was a kindly soul who shared her food rations with me, and looked after me as if I were her long-lost uncle. The care and attention she gave me, especially her encouragement, helped me to redouble my efforts to get through the examinations.

After I left Earls Court she took in a lot of Malayan boys, and looked after them all like members of her own family. Now I understand she has given up business and is living in quiet retirement.

I think my qualification was the first good turn in my wheel of fortune, that in fact it was the beginning of a new life for me. I came home and the Government could not find me any suitable job. I thought it immaterial, as I was biding my time to find my way out of Government service.

One day the Attorney-General, Mr. Foster Sutton, came to Kedah, and seeing me he asked if I would like to come and work in his chambers as a Deputy Public Prosecutor (DPP). I had no choice but to seize the opportunity, as it gave me the chance to get out as quickly as I could from the State that did not want me and maybe get my foot on the ladder of success, as I would be working in Kuala Lumpur, the hub of power and authority.

The next thing I knew was that I was called upon to represent the Malays in the Government service, and also in sports. Then when Datuk Onn decided to leave UMNO I took over the leadership. But my greatest reward of all, I felt, was to find myself accepted as a leader by all races in this country. As such, I found a new challenge in life. There was no going back now.

### TRUE PREDICTION

My mind switches to an incident in Kulim, Kedah, in 1939, when an Indian soothsayer or fortune-teller had told me in the presence of my friends that one day I would be the Prime Minister of Malaya, much to the amusement of all present, including me. Except for the soothsayer himself everybody thought it was a great joke, for how could a small-time officer be expected to rise so high. He said, "You may laugh but I see it in Tunku's star that one day he will be the executive head of Malaya."

At that time I was a very humble District Officer in Kulim, drawing only a meagre salary of \$400 a month. A few days later the soothsayer wrote to confirm what he had already told me. As events turned out, what he predicted so confidently came true.

On August 31, 1957 as I was reading out the Declaration of Independence in the Merdeka Stadium his prediction floated across my mind. Malaya at the time was going through a very severe time due to the unabated violence of the Communist insurrection. Neither British arms nor diplomacy could beat off or conquer them. Somehow it did not appear to any of us that the "war" would ever end.

"Any rebellion started by the Communists never ends", so they all said, "and when it ends it always ends in their favour". This time, however, we won, and that was an achievement in which I in particular and Malaysians in general could take great pride. We rejoiced in our victory and built a Monument to commemorate the occasion.

Happy days they were, glorious indeed; the years that followed were all happy years. Everything we did turned in our favour. All the

threats of "Bung" Soekarno just passed off like an ill-wind that did nobody any good. Finally the wind blew him off his high pedestal to the great relief of the Indonesians, and many others.

Only the other day, a few weeks ago, Syed Jamil bin Ali, speaking at the closing of the Muslim Calligraphic Exhibition in Johore Bahru, called the period before and after 1966 a golden era of the arts for Malaysia.

It was a golden era of sports, too, for I had become President of the Asian Football Confederation, and Malaya became a focal centre, abounding with sporting and cultural activities.

The land flowed with milk and honey, with industries springing up in all the corners of the country. Then we formed Malaysia, and except for the hitch over Singapore, everything went well.

There is one more memorable incident connected with the Japanese that I would like to mention in this book of mine, as it relates to a defence of my very life. If it had not been for the prompt and brave action of my brother-in-law, Syed Omar Shahabuddin, I would not be living today.

I told most of the story in a previous article when I wrote about the search for another brother-in-law, Capt. Raja Aman Shah, who had been taken prisoner by the Japanese and how I and two other brothers-in-law, Syed Omar and Syed Sheh, went to Singapore to look for him. Now I add more details of that life-saving.

I was well armed with all the necessary letters and credentials from the Japanese authorities in Kedah, together with an authority to carry firearms, for the Japanese cracked down ruthlessly on anyone who had them illegally.

We had to give up our search for Aman Shah, and were on our way back from Singapore when we were called to a halt at the Japanese check-point at the Johore Bahru end of the Causeway. Naturally we stopped and got out of the car.

A junior Japanese officer immediately got into the car, put his hand inside the dash-board and brought it out holding my pistol. Though I was authorised to carry it, I will never forget the look on his face.

Without asking any questions at all, he cocked the pistol, took three steps backwards and pointed it straight at my head. His intent was plain; my end had come. Suddenly, Syed Omar flung himself between the two of us, protecting me. The Japanese roughly pushed Syed Omar away and raised his pistol again to shoot me dead.

Fortunately, Syed Omar's action gave me time to get out my letters and credentials, and most important of all, the firearm permit.

I handed them to the Japanese, who took them, lowering his pistol. The fatal instant had passed — for the moment.

He saw the documents, but was still not satisfied, and took us all into custody for further investigation. There was no doubt he was still intent on taking my life; but after studying the documents I had produced, he changed his mind and decided to release us; but he kept the pistol for himself.

Syed Omar, the man who saved my life, later became the Menteri Besar of Kedah, which appointment he held from 1959 until he died in 1969.

I now have a quiet job, one after my own heart, that is to serve God, and in this work I derive a great deal of satisfaction for PERKIM (Muslim Welfare Association Malaysia), has come a long way since I took over as Chairman.

We have received support from the Central Government, from the Saudi Arabian Government and from the Religious Affairs Departments of the States of Qatar and Abu Dhabi, and for our work in connection with the rehabilitation of drug addicts we have achieved recognition from other bodies who are doing similar work.

The Kiwanis of Canada have shown great interest in our welfare work for addicts and have asked us to say what help we require from them. In connection with our work looking after the Cambodian refugees, the United Nations Refugee Relief Organisation has given us generous financial support.

### TRUTH

All told, "The stars above in the sky so high, have fallen so conveniently upon my thighs". True it is, for as Chairman of The STAR the newspaper has given me the opportunity in my weekly columns to put some of my reminiscences down in writing and also to defend myself against enemies who work relentlessly to obliterate my name from the pages of Malaysian history.

Let them, however, remember that no nation deserving of its place in the comity of the world is without its own history — ancient or modern, glorious or insignificant. Whatever its past may be, a nation can only be true to itself if it takes pride in its history.

**ARTICLE 53**  
**(16 August, 1976)**

**A MOTHER TO REMEMBER**  
**BRINGING UP A FUTURE PRIME MINISTER**

**L**ooking back on my life, I feel that I cannot end this book without recalling the memory of my dear mother, Cik Menyalara, whose love and tender affection will always remain deep-seated in my heart. She it was who brought me up with all her many other children, training me through childhood and the years of my youth.

Maybe it was a deep intuition on her part, but her precepts and example guided me in those formative years for the role I would be destined to play in the unknown future.

Maybe it was because of the strange circumstances surrounding my birth: for I was born differently from my other brothers and sisters; my ways and behaviour certainly differed from theirs. Above all, I was born lucky.

They in their turn regarded me as "the odd one" because I was darker in complexion than all the rest of the family. Not surprisingly, all my elder brothers and sisters nicknamed me "Awang", calling me this until I was 21 years of age.

In Kedah Awang is the familiar way of referring to any kampung boy from the bendang (the rice-fields). Naturally boys in the bendang spend more of their lives in the heat of the sun.

My mother, however, always gave out another story to explain why I was "different", for according to her, I was born out of a lie, a white lie. It came about in this way.

At the time there was a family in Kedah whose name I cannot remember. One of this family had become the Keeper of the Ruler's Seal, but he was misusing the Seal to defraud the people by selling their lands, and ultimately he was found out. The penalty was drastic for integrity was the hall-mark of his office; any misuse of the Seal entailed capital punishment. But what was even more severe than the death sentence was the punishment that could be inflicted on his own

family. Under the law, his wives and children would have their thumbs chopped off.

### ARREST

After the arrest of the Keeper of the Ruler's Seal, the wife and family ran to the Palace to see my mother, refusing to leave until she was able to help them. All were wailing and clinging to my mother's sarong.

Never a woman to turn a deaf ear to those in distress, my mother thought of an idea: the only way to help these people would be to ask my father, the Sultan, to order a stay of execution of the sentences on the guilty man and members of his family on the ground that she herself was pregnant.

According to Malay superstition if any deformity in a person is caused by an act of his parents, the child to be will have the same deformity, so my father had to postpone the sentence until his own child was born.

Much later on, my mother disclosed that I was not yet conceived at that time, and it was only afterwards, and as a result of her "lie", that I was conceived.

By the time I was born on February 8, 1903 the whole case was reconsidered, and only the culprit was tried, being sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, but his children and wife escaped their dire punishment as a result of my mother's intervention.

My mother said this was the reason why I was "different" from her other children. She never tired of telling me that story, even when I grew up. She had twelve children, and she brought us all up just as we should be — the sons and daughters of a Sultan, and at the same time she would never allow us to forget that we owed duties to our people.

Her devotion to her children was all-embracing; she thought not only of our present wants, but looked well into the years ahead, setting by properties for all of us, so each would have something to own when we grew up. My mother knew my father had not saved for himself, and that there was nothing for his children except what he earned from the State, so she set out to provide for all our futures.

### BANKRUPTCY

As a religious man, my father did not believe in amassing wealth for himself, although the whole State was his to do with as he liked. In fact after the marriage of my eldest brother, Tunku Ibrahim, Kedah was in a state of bankruptcy. His own personal allowance was low, yet



when the State prospered he would refuse any increment, saying he didn't need more money as the State had made provision for his wives and children and his only needs were the palm-leaf cigarettes he habitually smoked.

Although he had all the power of an absolute Ruler in the pre-British colonial days he spent his time praying and completely submitting himself to God. When he became ill and infirm after a stroke quite early in life, his eldest son, Tunku Ibrahim, took over power as Regent of Kedah. So the mothers had to look after the children as best they could.

If any should ask my father at the height of his power for land for their children he would not refuse them. In fact they did receive lands, and it was for them to make the best use of such property. Did they, though? Yes, I must say some of them did, but their children wasted them all away.

As was the fashion of the period, many of them spent their time gossiping, chatting and gambling, thinking little of the morrow or providing for themselves or their children.

On the other hand, my mother devoted her time and attention to her children. She was a strong-minded woman, and she developed progressively all the properties my father gave her, but to do so she had to work from morning till night without a thought for her own comfort or convenience so that she could make a success of her trusts; and all for us.

She opened up vast areas of land for rice cultivation and built a number of houses, all for her children. She was so successful that she incurred the displeasure of all my father's family, but it mattered little to her, as she had earned her wealth through sheer hard work, while the others were wasting their assets through conceit and extravagance. She had very little time or thought for such people, but to my father she was all that a loyal and Royal wife should be.

#### SEIZED

To illustrate the high regard my father had for her business acumen and farsightedness, let me mention what happened to the property of Tunku Zia'u'ddin, the uncle of the Sultan, and therefore my great-uncle.

Tunku Zia'u'ddin was the son-in-law of Sultan Abdul Samad of Selangor who was troubled by the rebellious Raja Mahdi staking his claim to the Throne of Selangor. Tunku Zia'u'ddin himself was in trouble with my father's guardians, Tunku Yacob and Wan Mat Saman, as he disputed the Throne of Kedah after the death of my

grandfather, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin. He claimed it for his own son-in-law, Tunku Kassim, the elder brother of my father, but because of his faults (he smoked opium) my grandfather passed him over in favour of my father.

This decision nearly led to a civil war in Kedah and to avoid it my grandmother and those guardians of my father offered Tunku Zia'uddin an army to go and help his own father-in-law to keep the Throne of Selangor. He readily accepted the offer, went with this army and drove Raja Mahdi out, and then set himself up as the Viceroy of Selangor, while Sultan Abdul Samad remained firmly established as the Sultan. Finally because Tunku Zia'uddin ceded Selangor to the British by treaty in 1874, he was forbidden even to return to Kedah, the State confiscating all his property. He lived out the rest of his life in Penang.

#### FOUNDER

Tunku Zia'uddin, however, will be remembered as the man who encouraged Yap Ah Loy to open up Kuala Lumpur, so he can therefore be regarded as a founder of Kuala Lumpur.

However, the cession was not the only dereliction of duty by Tunku Zia'uddin that aggravated the situation. In helping to defeat Raja Mahdi, he had ignored the plight of his own men, failing to look after them. After suffering great hardships, most of his men finally made their own ways back to Kedah by boat, but some went south to found new homes in Bandar Maharani (Muar).

Tunku Zia'uddin's former residence in Bukit Tinggi, ten miles from Alor Star, situated on almost 80 relongs of land (about 60 acres) with all kinds of fruit trees, was one of the properties that fell to the State.

My aunts asked for the estate, but instead my father gave it to my mother, Cik Menyelara, saying that if he gave them this valuable property it would fall into the hands of the chettiars in no time, but if he gave it to my mother he would know for sure that the estate would remain in safe hands.

When my mother herself was only a child she was given in adoption by her own mother to my grandmother, so she had grown up in the Palace, and was given in marriage to my father when she was barely 19 years old. So at that time my first brother her eldest son, Tunku Ahmad, was only 17 years younger than she was.

So vigilant and methodical was my mother in making sure that all her own children were well provided for that when she died in 1940

no one raised a single question on how her estate was to be distributed.

She was a rich woman even when she married for she had inherited property in Thailand. She never forgave her elder sister for fraudulently converting her property in Bangkok to herself. She was so annoyed that she never went back to the country of her birth again, except once.

When I went to school in Bangkok, my mother's only request was that I should never set foot over the threshold of my aunt's doorway. My aunt, however, would come to Tunku Yusof's house where I was and insist on my following her back to her house, and this I could not refuse.

The only time my mother ever set foot again on Thai territory was to come to Singgora to meet me on my arrival there by boat, following the death of my brother Yusof in Bangkok in 1915.

Nevertheless, Siamese Royal connections were close. King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) of Siam gave my mother's cousin in marriage to Syed Sofie Jamalullil, the Raja of Perlis, a cousin of my father. At that time Perlis was still part of Kedah, and so was Setul.

#### CONNECTED

My mother was the daughter of Luang Naraborirak (Kleb), District Officer of Nonthaburi in the reign of King Rama V, and also the niece of Luang Raman-nantaketdadi (Tub), whose surname was "Nontanakorn". This surname is connected with other famous families such "Panyarachun" and "Kochaseni", 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 on Burma, but the family withdrew to Ayudthia, the Siamese capital. In 1774 when the Burmese attacked Ayudthia, devastating it, the family fled to Bangkok, the new capital.

It was in Bangkok that my brother Tunku Yusof, Tunku Mohamed Jawa and I had our education together with another brother, Tunku Badlishah. Tunku Yusof was in the service of the Thai Government. He had brought me at my mother's request to Bangkok to study there.

Regrettably he died of pneumonia in 1915; then I had to return to Alor Star, and Tunku Mohamed Jawa also went back to continue his education at the Malay College in Kuala Kangsar. Tunku Badlishah, however, went to England on a Thai Scholarship, coming back to work for a time in the Thai Government service. I returned to

Alor Star and continued my education in the Malay School in Jalan Bahru for a year, and in 1916 entered the Penang Free School.

After three years I received a Kedah Government Scholarship to go to England in 1920 to study in Cambridge University, my career intended for the Bar. Actually I got a Bachelor of Arts degree, just managing to qualify in history in 1925. I later studied law with many interruptions in my career, finally being admitted to the Bar in the Inner Temple at the age of 45.

### MANY FRIENDS

My childhood days in Alor Star were glorious and happy, as I had so many friends in the Palace and also outside the walls alongside Sungei Raja with whom to play. To be more correct, those outside the walls were all people who had been freed from slave debts.

It was the custom of the period to call this form of slavery "orang berhutang". They were the people who came to borrow money and give their children as security, and when they were able to pay back their debts, they would "redeem" their children.

But it was hard for these children to leave the Palace after they had enjoyed a life of luxury and happiness to return to their kampungs. So most of them would stay on. That was how I had so many friends around me as a boy and how my sisters had their play-mates.

I used to escape from the grounds of the Palace and stay away with some of the people outside the walls. This was a constant worry to my mother who would send out searchers to look for me, and when found I would be carried bodily back to the Palace and given a thrashing by my Siamese nurse.

### OWN LIFE

This, however, did not deter me from enjoying myself the way I chose, so I grew up living my own life unfettered by all the traditions and regimented customs of the Royal family of the time.

My earliest recollection of those boyhood days was in connection with the first cinema show put up by a Japanese in a tent on the padang in front of the Istana. The whole family was invited to go, taking me with them. I remember distinctly the bright red jacket and shorts I wore.

It was a noisy affair with the drums and trumpets blaring at full blast. And I remember seeing the pictures of the story of the Japanese War against the Russians. But after five minutes of it, I was being put to bed at home, but how I got back there I do not recall.

As I grew older I formed football teams of my own and played on the padang in front of the Palace and the Balai Besar. Real schooling, however, was not my lot.

My early schooling was partly Malay and partly English in the Government English School in Alor Star, but it was not for long as I was sent off to Bangkok, and I have already related my education and academic pursuits from then on in my column, "Looking Back".

#### BROAD-BASED

As a boy, and right throughout my life, I mixed very freely with people of all kinds and of varied races, rich or poor. So my friends are counted among all the people of this country and my associations have been very broad-based. I am happy to say I got on well with all of them.

It has been my proud boast that though I may be poor in this world's goods, I am rich in friends. In my retirement I can still find happiness with them. Many have since passed away, but new ones I make are keeping me company.

Though I am no more the happy Prime Minister that I once claimed to be, I live in my retirement in a very pleasant atmosphere and surroundings, so I can claim to be a happy man.

May Allah keep me so until I die! But while I live, whatever knowledge of the world I have, I shall be happy to share with my fellow-men.

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