

Something To Remember

Something To Remember

Tunku Abdul Rahman

Eastern Universities Press (M) Sdn. Bhd.

First published 1983

Copyright © Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

EASTERN UNIVERSITIES PRESS (M) SDN. BHD.

106, Boon Keng Road #07-05, Singapore 1233.

39, Jalan SS20/11, Damansara Utama, Petaling Jaya, Selangor, Malaysia.

Printed by Richard Clay (S.E. Asia) Pte. Ltd

ISBN 967-908-024-2 (Cased)

ISBN 967-908-025-0 (Limp)

937600
Hadiah

4 MAR 1998
Perpustakaan Negara
Malaysia

23
2

FOREWORD

This book that will be launched about the time of Merdeka day 1983, contains my Monday articles in the *Star*, beginning from that of June 15, 1981 to June 21, 1982.

It follows the pattern of my other books published previously by Antara Pustaka, Heinemann and Eastern Universities Press.

I have been writing regularly, for eight years, so one can imagine how hard it is to choose subjects that can prove to be interesting to my many readers in this country.

I must confess it has not been easy to record events for this generation and for the generations to come. It is the future generations that will really benefit.

I could have written as a columnist and that would not have taken much time but it will not serve my purpose to keep the future generations informed of what is happening today.

My articles will continue for as long as I can write. Perhaps one day some chapters of the book could be used for reference purposes.

I have now published *Looking Back, Viewpoints, As a Matter of Interest, Lest we Forget* and now *SOMETHING TO REMEMBER*. It has not been a financial gain to me because these books have been pirated and there is no way of preventing it.

Immediately a book proves popular, one finds pirated copies flooding the book stores. It is so well pirated that it is difficult to tell which is the genuine and which is the fake. These book pirates have been prosecuted but it took four years before they were brought to court. As a result, it was difficult to get sufficient evidence to convict them. Prosecution witnesses had, by then, forgotten the facts and so the pirates were let free.

Nevertheless, I feel duty bound to write for the sake of posterity and I will continue to do so.

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| ①. UMNO Polls Results won't affect Government Policies | 1 |
| ②. The Crises UMNO has Faced | 7 |
| 3. It's Time to Close Ranks Again | 16 |
| 4. Give the Students their Say | 23 |
| 5. The Sound and Safe Policy to Follow | 28 |
| 6. Tunku or Commoner, it Makes No Difference | 33 |
| 7. Towards Greater Islamic Brotherhood | 38 |
| 8. In the Spirit of Hari Raya | 43 |
| 9. The Syces' Demands | 47 |
| 10. My Childhood Days | 50 |
| 11. English — the Language of the World | 57 |
| 12. College Insult which Sowed Seeds of Independence | 63 |
| 13. Narcotics — Evil Influence from the West | 72 |
| 14. My Twin Joys | 77 |
| 15. Our Vital Links with the Commonwealth | 81 |
| 16. Jockey's Woes | 87 |
| 17. Mentris Besar Crises | 91 |
| 18. Of Monarchs and MPs | 98 |
| 19. Honour the Honoured | 102 |
| 20. Crime in Malaysia | 107 |
| 21. The Greatest Ruler of All | 112 |
| ②②. Football in Malaysia and Singapore | 118 |
| ②③. Two Hours Ahead of Tokyo Time | 124 |
| ②④. How All Races Made the Merdeka Dream a Reality | 129 |
| 25. Looking Back on 1981 | 135 |
| 26. The Arab Dilemma | 140 |
| 27. Arabs Must Make a Defence Pact | 143 |
| 28. The Way to Racial Harmony | 149 |
| ②⑨. Another Birthday for Me | 155 |
| 30. Of Dogs and Cats | 159 |
| 31. No Danger of Break in Ties with the British | 163 |
| 32. Where Money Makes the Election | 166 |

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 33. | The Long Struggle for Independence | 170 |
| 34. | Muslim Marriages and New Names | 177 |
| 35. | Where Barisan's Toughest Battle will be Fought | 180 |
| 36. | A Matter of British Pride | 184 |
| 37. | Polls Sabotage Must Stop | 187 |
| 38. | Don't Let Vanity get to the Head | 191 |
| 39. | My Visit to China | 195 |
| 40. | More Observations on China | 201 |
| 41. | Of Snakes, Rows and Dignity in the House | 206 |

UMNO Polls Results won't affect Government Policies

THE HOTTEST TOPIC in high places, clubs and coffeeshops today appears to be the UMNO General Assembly to be held on June 26. The main question on everyone's mind is: 'Who will be elected deputy president in place of Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohammad when he moves up to the top as president?'

The non-Malays, particularly those in the business community, appear to be jittery. They feel that if Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah is defeated he will relinquish his post as Finance Minister.

There is no cause for concern here because whoever holds the finance portfolio will have to carry out his duties in accordance with the Government's declared policy. This policy was laid down by the first Government of independent Malaysia and it has brought about economic stability, progress and prosperity to the country.

If there is a change of policy, then such a change must be declared before the next general election, or by a referendum held to ascertain the wishes of the people.

No one can, on his own, alter the course of democracy to suit his own end. The people should therefore not be unduly disturbed as to who will be the Deputy Prime Minister or for that matter who will be the Finance Minister.

The choice lies entirely with the leader of the party, the Prime Minister. This, Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir had made clear when he said that as Deputy President of UMNO, it does not mean that the incumbent will automatically become Deputy Prime Minister.

This was so with him; he was appointed by the Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Onn as the deputy though there were other members more

senior to him.

As luck would have it, he will now succeed to the highly coveted post of Prime Minister and executive head of the nation.

Unfortunately, the position of Deputy President of UMNO has been intricated by the undue publicity in the Press which has made rivals of two good members of the party. To the best of my knowledge this has never happened before and so the candidates vying for the post have no choice but to fight it out to the bitter end. I hope, however, that both men will agree to carry on, win or lose, if UMNO members and the Prime Minister make a request to them to do so.

There are those who think that the party leadership would be better balanced if Tengku Razaleigh were to come next to Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir. That may be so, but I wish to remind the people that



Datuk Musa Hitam — the Deputy Prime Minister.

Malaysia is a democratic country and as such, is ruled by the people and for the people and is not therefore to be dictated by the leaders whom they elect.

The next matter I wish to bring up here is the position of former Selangor Menteri Besar, Datuk Harun Idris. The amendments to the Societies Act provide that a person incapacitated through imprisonment for any criminal act cannot be put in a position of trust. This, therefore, would prevent Datuk Harun from holding office in the Government. UMNO, on the other hand, does not prevent him from contesting any post in the party, even that of President. Assuming that he is voted in, would he be eligible to hold office in the Government? To this I say: "No". In the party, however, it is for the party to decide and UMNO being the party in power may decide against him. He is contesting as a member of UMNO, no doubt with the object of redeeming his popularity and prestige which he had lost as a result of his incarceration.

The real worry, if any, is on the result of the national election if it is thought that the prospect of the party in power winning the election is slim. A victory for the Opposition would certainly bring about a major change in the Government.

In democratic countries each party has its own policy, which is written in its manifesto, or to be correct, in the constitution of the party itself.

For instance, in this country there are three parties which have divergent and distinct political views. The original party, the Alliance, now the Barisan Nasional, is made up of many political partners, Malays, Chinese and Indians and they have agreed on a broad-based policy of free enterprise and tolerance in matters of race and religion. Then we have other parties, such as Party Islam, which base their politics on archaic and narrow religious and racial concepts. The DAP and others are more inclined to the Left being a socialist party.

There lies the distinction between these parties. If any of these parties, other than the Barisan Nasional, were to gain power in this country, one must expect a drastic change and there will be cause for concern and even alarm; but it should not be so when the changes in the UMNO election affect only the fate and fortune of the leaders. The actual policy and administration will remain the same. Those who assume the leadership must toe the party line, and this is an established practice.

It is so with other democratic countries. Britain, which we know best, has three major parties, the Conservatives — the party now in power, the Labour Party and the Liberal Party. Each has its distinct policy, par-

ticularly in respect of business and commerce. The Conservatives believe in free enterprise while Labour in nationalisation of big industries and enterprises.

American politics show even greater differences between parties. If one party takes over power, the senior and important Government officials and members of the diplomatic service also have to make way for the officials and diplomats of the winning party.

The change of leadership in UMNO will make no difference to the policy or administration of this country. Barisan Nasional will still be the party in power and they will continue to run the administration just as they have been doing since 1957.

This country actually has had five changes in the high office of Prime Minister. I was Prime Minister from 1957 to 1959. When faced with a serious political crisis in 1959 I resigned to prepare for the general election and Tun Razak took over as a full-fledged Prime Minister. On my return after the election I took over as Prime Minister again and stayed on till September 1970. After my retirement Tun Razak took over and when he died in 1974, Datuk Hussein Onn succeeded him. Now Datuk Hussein is retiring and Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir will no doubt succeed him.

So why worry as to who will be the next Deputy Prime Minister? No single Minister can introduce any change in the day-to-day business of the Government, less still the policy of the Government. Under the principle of collective responsibility, any change must be agreed to by the Cabinet as a whole and confirmed by Parliament.

There is therefore no ground for the nation to be jittery on the outcome of the forthcoming UMNO General Assembly. One can show like or dislike for individual Ministers; that is only natural, but to think that a change of Ministers can cause a breakdown of the Government machinery or a change of policy in the Government is an illusion.

Businessmen, as usual, are very nervous. They think that a change of Finance Minister will bring disaster to the country as this will drain their pots of gold. Since Independence there have been three Finance Ministers — Tun H.S. Lee, Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tengku Razaleigh. How have these changes in the office of Finance Minister affected their businesses?

There has been a great increase in the number of houses and skyscrapers in the skyline. New businesses and industries appear to be growing everywhere. There is so much prosperity evident throughout the length and breadth of this country. The confidence in Malaysia's economic stability and industrial growth is expressed by visitors to this



Tengku Razaleigh — Finance Minister and a contender for UMNO's No 2 position.

country, most of whom have come to do business here or to study the prospect of doing business here. Can a change in the holder of the finance portfolio reduce this confidence in Malaysia?

The duty of every Finance Minister is to find ways and means of increasing the revenue of the Government. So much money is required to finance the many Government projects, most of which are to help the Bumiputras, who without Government help will find themselves completely lost. No one appreciates this better than the Bumiputras themselves.

Those who lived in the colonial days realise the changes that have taken place since Independence. Thousands of miles of roads and many bridges have been built; many houses and buildings have also been put up throughout the country. In fact it is difficult to single out any one project for mention. One thing I can say for certain is that there are more multi-millionaires today than ever before.

So many things are happening in so many places at the same time. No race of people could have wished for anything better.

The only legitimate complaint one hears is the rising cost of living, the inflation that is affecting the life of the ordinary man in the kampongs and streets.

This, no doubt, is bad, but it is not of our making. The blame must be laid at the doorstep of the oil-rich nations. If the price of oil is reduced by half, then inflation will be reduced accordingly.

No man, not even a wizard, can manipulate finances to reduce inflation and the high cost of living. The rising cost of living will continue, so a good Finance Minister must be the one who can find the money to meet the challenge.

No new man, with any common sense, can take over the portfolio and start to cut down the expenditure or do anything that is likely to cause a loss of confidence in the Government.

No one, I say, should lose any sleep on the choice of Deputy Prime Minister at the forthcoming UMNO General Assembly.

For the sake of peace, the duty of every good citizen is to accept the situation calmly and with good grace. This country will never go to the dogs unless the people will it. So it is for them to keep it safe and free from trouble.

Allah be praised.

The Crises UMNO has Faced

THE PRESENT BATTLE for the UMNO No. 2 post is not the first serious crisis UMNO has met. But it is sad as it threatens to split the party because both the contenders for the party's deputy Presidency have a strong following. The inevitable defeat of one may sour relations between the supporters of the two leaders. Most of the followers of Education Minister, Datuk Musa Hitam are school teachers, while, Finance Minister Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah's are conservative members. But there are the neutrals.

The worst crisis the party ever experienced, perhaps, was in 1949. It was created by the teachers who were disgruntled over the salary scheme for the Malay teachers. When the Government could not put them at parity with the English school teachers many left the party to join the Opposition.

A letter was simultaneously circulated by the Teachers' Association threatening to break up UMNO. According to them, if the teachers could support UMNO, they could also "paint it black."

The teachers have always been among the strongest members of UMNO when it reformed under me on August 25, 1951. They are scattered in schools throughout the length and breadth of the country, and so are accessible to people in the kampongs. Their threat then to paint UMNO black was not taken lightly. Quite a number of the teachers, of course, did not share the views of these dissidents. They remained to continue the good work in UMNO. Among this lot was Encik Ghafar Baba.

I had to meet that threat and fight it. I therefore resigned as Prime Minister and became, once again, the standard bearer of UMNO in our defensive fight against this new enemy. I travelled far and wide at all



Tun H S Lee —
former Finance Minister.



The late Tun Dr Ismail —
former Deputy President
of UMNO.

hours of the day and night all through the country: the general election was not too far off.

I sweated and toiled for the cause of UMNO.

Then in 1959, the MCA, our partner, walked out on us because of the distribution of seats within the Alliance. According to them, their number was insufficient. In my absence, the MCA had asked for 34 seats but UMNO contended that half the MCA seats they wanted were in constituencies with predominantly Malay voters. This, they argued would cause UMNO to face a strong opposition in Party Islam. To accede to the demand of the MCA would jeopardise the party's chances in the forthcoming election. So when the split took place, I received an urgent call from Tun Razak, the Prime Minister, and members of the Alliance, among whom were Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tun Ong Yoke Lin.

I rushed to Kuala Lumpur by train from Penang and arrived early in the morning. There, on the platform, were Tun Razak, Tun Dr Ismail and other members of the Cabinet — Siew Sin, Yoke Lin, Tun Sambanthan, and they all looked gloomy, so different from the merry men I had left behind.

When I saw their faces I burst out laughing. They asked me what was there to laugh about; we were facing a very serious crisis. First, we had the open revolt by some of the teachers and now we had to contend with the clash with the MCA leadership led by Dr Lim Chong Eu and Colonel H.S. Lee. All I said to them was, "I am hungry and I need a little breakfast and a cup of tea, as I had nothing to eat last night and this morning."

We then proceeded to Tun Razak's house where we were served a refreshing cup of tea and a good breakfast.

At the end of the meal, we sat down to the serious business of the day, that of tackling the split among members of the Alliance.

The main worry, according to them, appeared to be that if UMNO representing the Malay populace and MCA, representing the Chinese people, were to fight one another at this forthcoming general election, it might easily lead to a clash between the races.

So this was a real danger we faced. After telling me this, they lapsed again into a solemn and gloomy mood.

I told them, as I have always said before, that even if there were five members of the Chinese left in the Alliance, I still would uphold the Alliance of UMNO and MCA.

"Let these people go, if they want to go, but let us continue to fight the election in the name of the Alliance."



Encik Khir Johari — Chairman of Yayasan Tunku Abdul Rahman

It was Tun Dr Ismail who shouted with glee at my statement, "Of course that is the right thing to do", and then the faces of those present lit up with hope.

They declared: "We will do exactly that but then who is going to lead the MCA now?" one asked.

I replied, "Siew Sin, of course". There was general approval for Tan Siew Sin to take over the leadership of the MCA.

Then someone said: "Siew Sin is unable to speak the Chinese language, how therefore, can he address Chinese meetings"?

Another said: "What matter is that, Chinese in the Alliance are Malaysians and they are expected to know Malay and English."

In the face of this crisis in the Alliance, the teachers' revolt was forgotten and in fact I too forgot to brief my colleagues on what I had been doing for the last eight months.

During election campaigning, Siew Sin and Yoke Lin went into the fray with determination and with a 'do or die' spirit. On my part, I used the phone and told some of the old friends in the MCA, now estranged from the Alliance, that they had stabbed me in the back. So it was with that that we went all out to fight the election with this major crisis on our hands.

Datuk Lee San Choon



Tun Tan Siew Sin —
former leader of the MCA.



On the night of the election I was in the Balai Besar, Alor Star — the audience hall which had been my playground in my boyhood days. On the *padang*, in front of the hall, were thousands of people; upstairs and downstairs and inside were hundreds more.

The results started to come in over the radio sometime after 10 pm. With each announcement, shouts of "*Merdeka*" rent the air. By 2 am the next morning, most of the results were in and we knew that the Alliance had already won the elections. Nevertheless, we stayed on to hear the rest of the results. What made everybody happy was the defeat of the breakway MCA members who had fought under the banner of the Democratic Party, and also the defeat of Party Islam and PPP. All of them were powerful parties which had challenged the supremacy of the ruling party, the Alliance.

We were all overjoyed and in fact overcome with emotion: some cried openly.

After this severe test of strength at the polls, I returned to Kuala Lumpur and was met at the station by my happy colleagues. I thought: "What a difference this is from the time when they met me after the split with the MCA not many months before."

This time we all adjourned to the Residency instead of to Tun Razak's house. So, I was back again in office — welcomed as the Prime Minister of Malaya.

A crisis, which was even more serious than the 1959 partial MCA breakaway, happened in 1951. Then UMNO's President, Datuk Onn bin Jaafar, decided to resign and form a new party — a non-communal one. According to him, only such a party could be entrusted with winning self-government for Malaya.

The leaders of the party were made up of all the well-known leaders of the Malayan community, like Sir Cheng Lock Tan, Datuk Sir Clough Thuraisingham, Datuk Zainal Abidin, Encik R. Ramani, Mr K.L. Devaser, Raja Ayoub, Mr Menon and other well-known political figures of the time. The development sent shock waves throughout the country and, according to these leaders, UMNO would die within six months.

However, UMNO diehards stood firmly behind the party. They declared: "If UMNO dies, we die with UMNO."

I then received a telegram from the Malay Graduates Association of Johore, headed by Tun Dr Ismail, Datuk Suleiman, Haji Hassan Yunus, and Dr Awang Hassan, asking me to take over the leadership of UMNO. At the same time, a telegram was also received from UMNO divisions and branches from Pahang, Kedah, Negri Sembilan, Johore

and Perlis promising support for me. Datuk Sheikh Ahmad and Datuk Ali Raya, D.O. Tangkah, together with their friends, personally visited me at my DPP office in Kia Peng Road, Kuala Lumpur. I accepted their proposal to lead UMNO and resigned from Government service.

A general meeting was called in August 1951 at the Majestic Hotel, and I was unanimously elected. My opponent, Datuk Yusof bin Sheikh Abdul Rahman, later became Datuk Bendahara and Speaker of Parliament.

In my speech after the election, I spoke about the loyalty which I needed to make a success of UMNO. Then as a direct attack on the new party, I asked pointedly: "Who are Malaysians? Some of the leaders of the new party belonged to the Indian National Congress and some of the Chinese ones to the Kuomintang Party. So who are Malaysians — who are the men ready and willing to die for Malaya?"



Dr Lim Chong Eu — Chief Minister of Penang.



Tun Datuk Omar Yoke Lin Ong

Today I am equally concerned with what is happening to the partner of UMNO and member of the Barisan Nasional, the MCA.

Press reports indicate that some MCA members have decided to leave the party and join the Gerakan — the other partner in the Barisan Nasional.

The MCA, as we have known right from its birth, is a purely Chinese political party. It was recognised as such by the Colonial Government and given all the rights and privileges to speak for the Chinese population.

It was this party which made an alliance with UMNO to fight for this country's independence and share the credit and honour with UMNO in liberating the country from colonial rule. Its close alliance with UMNO has brought peace and prosperity to the country, so the Chinese give their support to the MCA.

It was the loyal MCA members, under Tun Tan Siew Sin, who won the Chinese votes at the polls in 1959. And it is necessary for the MCA members of today to hold together and continue to enjoy the confidence of the Chinese.

Datuk Lee San Choon, the present leader of the MCA, and his colleagues are dedicated men. But dedicated men can also make mistakes. For instance, they frowned upon members who contested the election for the party's leadership. Their constitution provides for free elections and hatchets should be buried after the elections.

Our other partner, the MIC also have problems. This party commands the loyalty of Malayan Indians.

When Independence was conceived, the Indians formed themselves into two main parties: the Indian Congress and the Federation of Malayan Indians.

Later on, Mr K.L. Devaser, the leader of the MIC, decided to join the Alliance. When Tun Sambanthan took over, the MIC became a full-fledged member of the Alliance and shared, with the other partners, the glory of Independence.

The MIC has a lot of trouble within its rank and file. This is perhaps due to over enthusiasm to win places in the party leadership and hierarchy. This, when overdone, can cause a split in the party and weaken the MIC.

It is necessary, therefore, for its members to keep together and help to strengthen the party. In this way the Barisan Nasional of UMNO, MCA, MIC and Gerakan can continue to enjoy the confidence of the Malaysian people and stay in power.

The Alliance, and now the Barisan Nasional have held the reign of power in this country from 1957 until today. There is no likelihood of another party taking over this country unless the Barisan Nasional decides to relinquish power.

This can happen if it is torn apart through party bickering and squabbles.

For Malaysia's sake, they must keep together and each individual party must keep up its strength in order to be of service to the people and the country.

It's Time to Close Ranks Again

I DON'T REMEMBER any UMNO General Assembly which has created as much nation-wide interest as this last one. I don't know whether the tension is good for the party and the country. Which ever the case, it indicated that the members of UMNO are politically conscious and very mature in their thinking and deliberation. They also appeared to be more belligerent.

Preceding the General Assembly, the divisions and branches throughout the country held their own meetings and a number of resolutions were adopted. The resolutions must have been wide-ranging in nature, covering every aspect of political and religious, as well as social and commercial activities in this country. This, to my mind, was a healthy sign of political consciousness by members.

How does this compare to what we faced in the days when I was President?

The main attention and concern of every UMNO member then was the achievement of Independence. They entrusted the task of winning it to the few leaders and they gave their all out support and made it easy for those leaders to lead them.

There are so many leaders now that it is hard to pick the right ones or the best of them. Every one has an equally good claim.

The trend of political activity in the old days was concentrated on the fight for Independence and Malay rights, which were so much neglected under colonial rule.

I remember that in our campaign, we talked mostly about Independence and how to achieve it. I remember, too, the day I was called by Sir Gerald Templer, the then High Commissioner for Malaya and

was told to talk less about British misrule, and to exercise a little restraint on what I had to say about the British Raj.

I said if I were to eulogise British rule, then I might as well give up the struggle for Independence, because the first thing the people would ask me would be that if the British were so good, why then fight for Independence. In fact, that was the opinion of many people at the time.

I was prepared to face the consequences, even to the point of going to prison. I would not be muzzled. It was then that Sir Gerald said that he could send me to prison for what I had been saying but to do so would make a martyr of me.

Sir Gerald was a man of great principle, broad-minded and fair. On the other hand, he could be quite ruthless in the fight against the Communists.

As an administrator, he showed much understanding.

I used to campaign extensively and so when I attended his Executive Council meetings I sometimes brought the wrong papers. On one occasion I spoke on a certain subject and after listening to me attentively Sir Gerald blurted out: "We dealt with that subject last week."

I remember UMNO general meetings of yester-year, first as party leader and Independence fighter, then as Chief Minister and Prime Minister.

How we went through the items on the agenda smoothly and peacefully, except when we dealt with the question of *jus soli* where, our partner, the MCA demanded as a price for their co-operation, the privilege of giving every Chinese born in this country citizenship rights. UMNO at first objected, but when convinced that Independence could not be won without Chinese support, they gave in.

The appointment of office-bearers posed no problem in those days. I had been returned every year unopposed and so was Tun Abdul Razak as Deputy President.

Only once was Tun Dr. Ismail's name put up as a candidate against Tun Razak for the post of Deputy President. That, I believe, was in the first election and Tun Ismail lost. He took his defeat gamely and remained as Vice-president until Tun Razak became Prime Minister. He then became the Deputy President of UMNO. However, he died before Tun Razak and never became Prime Minister.

Today, the contest for office-bearers in UMNO has become so extremely keen that not only UMNO members, but members of other political parties and the business community, are interested in the proceedings — even the bookies lay odds on the results.



The late Tun Abdul Razak — former Prime Minister of Malaysia.

I have tried to use my good office as an old man of UMNO to persuade, through my weekly column in the *Star*, the contestants for the post of Deputy President to be sporting enough to accept defeat with good grace and to remain in UMNO.

The party needs good leaders and both Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah and Datuk Musa Hitam are among the outstanding leaders of the party. It would be a pity if UMNO were to lose either of them.

Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohammad has said that "the present contest for Deputy Presidency appeared to have many implications, was very heated and things had been done which should not have been." He said that "sometimes it appears as though we are fighting with a candidate from a different party."

- iznie -



Dr Mahathir at Tun Hussein's farewell.

Last Wednesday night (June 24), I received many calls telling me that the situation in UMNO was getting out of hand. Charges and counter-charges were being made by the supporters of both contenders. So many things had been said, as stated by Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir, which should not have been said. This had never happened before.

If this state of affairs is allowed to continue, it might injure UMNO's prestige and standing as the leading political party in this country. As a result, it might well lose the confidence of the people who have been behind UMNO since its founding.

The cause for all this trouble which I have seen mounting all the years after I left the Government is one amendment of the UMNO Constitution. That amendment was made to provide for elections once in three

years; hence election of office-bearers has become a triennial affair.

The voters have now to think deeply as to who they should vote to the posts in the party hierarchy. In the old days before the amendment, the election was held annually and so those who lost had not long to wait to try their luck again.

This year, the election fever has reached the height of intensity never experienced before with no holds barred in an attempt to win places in the party's top posts. It will become even more serious in future elections.

To prevent the situation from worsening, the position should revert back to what it was before. UMNO must stand united, otherwise its strength will dissipate and the power which it has held all these years will vanish.

The business people of course are concerned whether there will be a change of the holder of the post of Finance Minister. It is immaterial as, I told them, whoever the Minister is, it is his duty to toe the party line. Nevertheless, they still appear uneasy.

The Prime Minister, as usual, had said nothing. That, as I said before, is his way of tackling a problem which he says would resolve itself amicably and therefore, the less said about it the better.

He may be right again. Let's hope he is.

Many old politicians share his view, for according to them, if they interfered they will only get their fingers burnt. Long-standing UMNO members are visibly worried and feel that this sort of antagonism within the party has gone too far.

The election has been held. I have never seen the likes of it. So many people were present that I had to have the help of the young members to push my way into the ante-room of the hotel to wait for Datuk Hussein Onn.

When Datuk Hussein arrived he too had to jostle his way into the room.

Some were squatting on the floor, others were blocking the passage ways for they could not get in as the hall was already filled to capacity.

They came to see Datuk Hussein and to hear his farewell speech. "I am leaving", he said, "because my health would not permit me to carry on." They also came to see who would be voted Deputy President.

For Datuk Hussein, it was a sad farewell. Whatever faults he may have, he was a honest and dedicated leader. May he live long and enjoy life with his family to the end of his days.

He has left the top-most post of our country, and he will be happy to know that he has also left a glorious name. He will go down in history

as one of this country's greatest sons and patriots.

The other important item on the programme during the General Assembly was the choice of Deputy President. It was Datuk Musa who won it. Then came the choice of three Vice Presidents: Encik Ghaffar Baba, Datuk Harun Idris and Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen.

What must have been a surprise to many was the choice of Datuk Harun as Vice President while he is still serving his sentence in prison not for a political offence but a criminal one. This surely is unprecedented in the history of an election in the democratic world.

However, I offer my warmest congratulations to the successful candidates, in particular to Datuk Musa who has won the election by a big majority and has automatically become Deputy Prime Minister. He has shown his mettle and deserves support.

I also offer my congratulations to Encik Ghaffar Baba who continues to enjoy the confidence of UMNO members and also Datuk Harun and Tengku Rithauddeen.

Tengku Razaleigh may not have received the sufficient number of votes to win. But UMNO members and the Malays must appreciate his great service to the party and the country. He has, on his own initiative, collected money and built a monument for UMNO which will stand for all time as the biggest party headquarters in the world. It symbolises UMNO's strength and solidarity as the premier political party in Malaysia.

Tengku Razaleigh won for UMNO Kelantan State which had previously been the stronghold of the Opposition for longer than one cares to remember. He paid out money to help lift the Malays from social and economic backwardness. He built mosques, *suraus* and religious schools. All this he did without offending the other communities.

Though UMNO members have "rejected" him, they must not forget him and his great work for UMNO. His community may have overlooked him but Allah will surely shower His blessings on him.

In connection with the new UMNO headquarters, I must mention the donation made by Sabah through its Chief Minister, Datuk Harris Salleh. Datuk Harris handed over to the head of the party, Datuk Hussein, a cheque for two and a half million ringgit as part payment of the ten million ringgit promised as Sabah's donation for the headquarters. This is indeed a most generous gift and the biggest single donation received by UMNO.

Well done, Datuk Harris and UMNO will remember this generous gift for all time.

I pray that UMNO members will honour its past, its good name and close ranks once more for the good of the party. The tension the election had created, will no doubt settle but the consequences will remain for a long time.

The UMNO voters have made their choice. All we can do is to ask the candidates for the post of Deputy President to forget about the whole business of election tactics. The party requires both men to continue as loyal members; they should heed the members' wishes. That's easier said than done. Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir has said that both men will continue to serve the Government. Let's hope that it is so.

The meeting has ended and so until the next one, let all of them join together for the good of the party. Those who were less successful might have to swallow the bitter pill but let them accept their defeat with courage and fortitude for "he who fights today will surely live to fight another day."

Give the Students their Say

THE SPEECH I MADE at the convocation of the University Kebangsaan recently contained some vitally important matters which is of immense value to students. Unfortunately, it was not given sufficient space in the Press.

Hence I feel it my duty to elaborate further on the points I made in my speech.

I stressed the need of the students taking part in extra-mural activities which have become part of the curriculum in all universities. At the same time, under the new world order, it is unavoidable that students would also take an interest in politics. I advised moderation in this particular field.

The danger of students going into politics is that they can get worked up very easily and can lose their heads and do things which they will live to regret afterwards.

The trend today is for political activists to infiltrate student movements and instigate them to acts of violence. Being young and high-spirited, students do not think twice before they start trouble.

I remember in 1969, when the students of the University of Malaya were asked to hold hostile demonstrations against me, the Federal Reserve Unit had to move in to stop them from getting out of hand. Years later, when I was in Jeddah, some members of the Opposition party came to stay with me at the Islamic Secretariat, and one man told me that he was one of the leaders of the students' demonstration.

I asked him what he had to demonstrate about. He replied that in actual fact there was nothing, but they were asked to do it in order to discredit me and the Government which I led. The students who took

part had to work themselves up to show their resentment.

The demonstration by the students fizzled out and nothing serious occurred beyond the shouting of slogans. Things never really got out of hand. On the whole, our students did not go overboard, so I did not allow any action to be taken against them.

Then, there was another demonstration by students in another university to support the Baling people who had earlier held a protest march against the Government for some imaginary wrong. The show of force by the students got completely out of hand and when confronted by the Police Riot Squad, they took shelter in a mosque and even locked up the mosque officials.

For this riotous behaviour, the university had to be closed down, disrupting the students' studies. Some of the ring leaders were expelled from the university and lost their prospects of a good career.

This demonstration by our students in fact was not as serious as that which happened elsewhere. In Bangkok, the students in one university demonstrated against the Government and many were mowed down by machine gun fire and the university had to close down. As a result of their action the Government changed hands.

Look at what has happened in Iran. It was the students who started the violence which led to the overthrow of the Shah. The change of government in Iran has brought nothing but trouble and more trouble. The new Government which proclaimed a state of emergency mercilessly killed and massacred those who had worked in the previous government.

President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr had to flee for his life.

The students are still on the rampage. The universities have ceased to function and the students' education has been disrupted.

This regime under Ayatollah Khomeini has not been able to restructure, or rehabilitate the country and another revolutionary force has started acts of terrorism by violence. When will all these end?

I recount my student days in Cambridge. Both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had student unions. In these unions, discussions and debates were held on subjects ranging from politics to domestic affairs. The standard of debate was very high and Prime Ministers and Ministers have attended and participated. They let themselves go and spoke without fear or favour. Sometimes it ended in a real rough house but it seldom got outside the union hall.

I remember one incident when a Parsee, Mr Saklawala, the communist Member of Parliament for East London, came to Cambridge to give a talk. The union members turned out in large numbers to stop

him. At the railway station, a scuffle broke out between the Indian students who had invited him, and members of the union.

Unfortunately, other Asian students who turned up to oppose Mr Saklawala were also set upon by the white students and a free-for-all ensued. Finally, the police had to be called in and Mr Saklawala was asked to return to London.

It is not possible to stop university students from taking part in politics and opportunities must be given them to talk and air their political views to their hearts' content.

They should therefore be encouraged to form a university union similar to that of Oxbridge in Kuala Lumpur and other state centres. The Government should put up suitable buildings for them for this purpose.

It is hard to know how to organise such a democratic body. One way is to send a few representatives to Oxford and Cambridge to study the working of the unions at these two leading universities.

In this union students can discuss anything and they should be given full freedom to talk about politics and other matters of national interest without hindrance. In this way they can be kept away from undesirable elements which are trying to use them for their own ends.

Another matter which I brought up in my speech last week was on the behaviour of students abroad.

Some of them are religiously inclined and find the new surroundings not congenial to their way of life and beliefs. So they keep to themselves and mix very little with others. This is a great pity because the idea of sending them abroad to study is not only for them to be academically qualified — that they can attain here — but also to broaden their outlook.

I explained at the convocation that if the Malayan leaders at the time of our struggle for independence had not gone abroad for their education and had not mixed freely with others, the independence of this country might never have been won.

Some of our present students even refuse to eat in a restaurant because, according to them, the meat had not been slaughtered properly and was not, therefore, *halal*. They also say that the pots and pans were used to cook all kinds of meat, *halal* and *haram* alike.

When the Prophet in his days spoke about education, he said how important it was for Muslims to seek knowledge. If such knowledge could not be obtained at home, then go elsewhere, to China if need be. He knew that there was no meat slaughtered the right way in China at the time; he knew the conditions of life in China was different from the life

in Muslim countries. Nevertheless, he told them to go and to endure the hardships as best they could for the sake of their education.

As a result of Muslims visiting China, many Chinese became Muslims such that during the reign of Emperor Ch'ng, China had one of the largest Muslim populations in a single country. The generals, statesmen and scholars were Muslims and so was the Emperor, who was a great Muslim scholar himself.

The Muslims went by land and sea and across the mountains to the four corners of the world to learn and to spread the religion of Islam. They won adherents, and Muslims are now found everywhere.

So it is not for the students to feel guilty about small transgressions against the laws of Islam. The knowledge which they stand to gain is of benefit to themselves, their country and their religion. These are the compensations for the little wrong that they may have committed in the course of their studies.

One of the things I mentioned, too, was my scholarship (the Tunku Abdul Rahman Award) which is awarded to allow bright students to go for further studies abroad. This Yayasan Tunku Abdul Rahman started in a modest way, but the treasurer of the foundation, Mr Lim Sun How, and Encik Khir Johari, the Chairman, wisely invested the money.

From a meagre \$700,000 originally collected, it has grown to \$13 million.

The foundation has been set up for a noble cause and so it must be used for a good purpose, one of which is to help finance students studying abroad.

What I have written above formed the main points of my talk at the convocation ceremony but because of the time factor I was not able to elaborate on all the points fully. I was not able to distribute the text of my speech to the Press because I often deviate from the main text while speaking.

I am averse to prepared speeches because they normally lack substance and the audience loses interest.

Even if I had given the Press a copy of my speech, only a small meaningless part of it would have been published. So I take it upon myself to write about it and say what I have to say in my weekly column in the *Star*.



Tunku Abdul Rahman — the author

The Sound and Safe Policy to Follow

THE INTERVIEW GIVEN by Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir to Tan Sri Dr Tan Chee Khoon, has helped to clear the air a bit. Everybody has been so concerned as to what would happen to this country when Dr Mahathir takes over the premiership and Datuk Musa Hitam becomes the Deputy Prime Minister. Both these men were reputed to be the "ultras" in UMNO and were inclined to be partial in the matter of Malay rights.

Recently a newspaper report was interpreted to say that Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir had referred to the other races as "foreigners."

This wrong interpretation was passed on through the grape vine. It should not have been taken to mean that the non-Malays are foreigners in the strict sense of the word.

In the *New Straits Times* of Friday June 26, it was reported that Dr Mahathir "chided those who refused to do work which was a little heavy and dirty, however attractive the income. These jobs to them could be done by foreigners. We must not soil our hands — just enjoy the fruits of other people's labour."

This statement was in reference to Malays who shun hard work and leave it to others. I cannot believe that Dr Mahathir with all his experience would say it with the intention of casting a slur on other Malaysians by calling them "foreigners."

He has been a member of UMNO all his life and according to him "as far as UMNO politics is concerned there was no radical change in the direction in UMNO so as to allow us to say that this is a watershed, which implies the changing of course.

"I have been misinterpreted and misunderstood even at the time

when I was labelled an 'ultra'. I feel that the labelling was a political gimmick and that image is unacceptable to a large majority of Malaysians..... All I was saying was that the Malays should have a fair share in the country's wealth, no more than that."

Dr. Mahathir said he was following the policy and following the line as set by his predecessors. He stressed that he and Datuk Musa Hitam are not much at variance where past policy is concerned. "It is only in terms of implementation that perhaps there may be a change of style.

"As you know, even as a Deputy Prime Minister, I have been more concerned with the running of the Government, which means having direct contact with the implementation. Although now I am going to be Prime Minister, I'll continue to have this kind of approach towards implementation and I am quite sure Datuk Musa Hitam, too, is very much concerned about the carrying out of the policy and not so much of our confirmation of policy. I think the policy, as far as we are concerned, is all right.

"That is the part which will make the Government, the new Government, different from the previous one. Otherwise it will be the same."

All I say here, is that in implementing the policy he must take care not to ram it down people's throat, but to do it with wisdom and caution, so as not to frighten away big business enterprises from Malaysia.

To attract big businesses was in fact, the previous Government's implementation policy which, according to him, was not right, although it had proved a success and brought prosperity and peace and confidence in this country, at home and abroad.

Whatever may be the views and fears arising from the *New Straits Times* report, the political power has been vested in the hands of the Malays by democratic voting. We have the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the rulers and Islam as the official religion. These undeniably are our credentials and stakes in the country. The other communities have never contested the fact that the Malays have their rights and these are written in the Constitution.

In administration, the ratio in the Malaysian Civil Service recruitment is four Malays to one non-Malay, but in other categories the non-Malays are the majority.

The economic power, however, has been in the hands of the non-Malays. In most democratic countries, the power that controls the economy of the country is the power that holds the reins of government.

Our country, however is different. The economic and political powers are in different hands. Each is conscious of its own strength and has pursued it with pride and great perseverance to the extent that they

have been monopolised by the respective communities which hold on tenaciously to their power.

The Chinese are essentially business-minded people. They are not attracted to government service. Many of them stay long enough but when an opportunity presents itself, they leave the Government for better prospects.

Indians, too, are essentially professional people; they make good doctors, lawyers and do well in the technical field.

The Malays are essentially agriculturists, politicians, soldiers, sailors, airmen, policemen, administrators and office workers. Some enterprising Malays venture into business: a few succeed and become billionaires, but many others fall by the wayside.

Each race of people appears to be interested in their own particular pursuit and in this diversity of interests they have managed to maintain and uphold peace and prosperity in this country.

I found that the Malays do better as planters and tillers of the soil. During our first five-year-plan, we started off by giving Malays and non-Malays alike about ten acres of land which the Government helped them develop.

This plan met with great success and the late Tun Razak who was put in charge of the second development plan went a step ahead by creating greater business opportunities in the hope that it would close the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots". The Malays were put in business under the many projects and it was hoped that they would make a success of themselves, in business.

Unfortunately, many did not, and millions of ringgit were lost. However, compared with the lot of the Malays under the colonial rule we have gone far ahead, though it is not far enough. It is never expected that they would rival other Malaysians. Nevertheless the Government will continue to do everything it can to help them.

On the other hand, the Malays are in control of the country, politically and administratively. The non-Malays agree that the Malays deserve all the help, but the policy pursued must not upset the apple-cart which can cause economic and financial set-back to this country.

Dr. Mahathir said: "I am not saying that the Malays should be given a status so superior that they will suppress others and I don't think anybody will disagree on the issue that Malays and Chinese and Indians should have each their fair share in this country's wealth."

Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir, being an intelligent man and having a good educational background, must know what to do under the prevailing circumstance. We inherited this state of affairs from the British and no

government could do better than what the Malaysian Government — under three successive Prime Ministers — has done all these years.

Everybody under the Constitution has the right to be protected, in their person, in their pursuit and in their religion. No person holding power in this democratic country can do things to suit his whims and fancies. His duty and the duty of the Government must be to perpetuate the economic and political stability of this nation and to ensure that peace will continue for all time.

There should not be this anxiety about what will happen when Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir takes over as the executive head of the Government.

He can do no more and no less, I repeat, than what has been done by the previous Prime Minister. It would be different if he were to proclaim a dictatorship, or military rule, but nothing like that has ever been conceived.

He owes it to Malaysians to run this country under a democratic system and create opportunities for all Malaysians to make the best of their lives and for the good of Malaysia.

The Constitution provides a safety valve for the Malays, and the Government has set up many statutory bodies to help Malays make a success of themselves in business, with the objective of reducing the disparity and economic imbalance among the races here.

I do not think anyone should worry about the change in the offices of Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister. I am sure the non-Malays with all their experience, background and business acumen can well take care of themselves. We depend on them to help build up this nation's prestige and wealth with which to finance the essential services.

Datuk Hussein Onn will be leaving us and in his quiet way, he has done a very good job for this country. He exuded confidence in his leadership. I am sure that if he had been well and was able to continue as Prime Minister, he would have done so. But he is a sick man and needs a little respite from hard work, for heavy is the head that wears the crown.

It was he who chose Dr Mahathir as his successor in place of someone more senior to him, so I think we all can rely on his judgment and can trust Dr Mahathir to do the right thing. Datuk Musa Hitam, too, is a well-educated man with a good background and I cannot believe that these two men will undo the country.

It will make Datuk Hussein Onn, who is leaving us, a happy man if the people of this country will promise their support for these new leaders. As the Malay saying runs: "*Patah tumboh hilang berganti*" — when an old branch breaks a new one will take its place.

According to latest reports, all Ministers will remain at their former

posts. This is encouraging news. It is expected that Tengku Razaleigh will remain as Finance Minister and Datuk Musa Hitam will continue as the Education Minister.

The *Star* reports that there will be no reshuffle of the Cabinet except that one Deputy Minister will be promoted to full ministerial rank.

Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir himself will continue to hold the portfolio of Trade and Industry. According to reports, "he has put in a lot of effort in getting foreign investors into the country and has also got several projects which he wants to see through in the ministry." In addition to this, he is likely to take over the Defence Ministry, held formerly by the Prime Minister.

My personal opinion is that the Prime Minister should not burden himself with too much work. The Ministry of Trade and Industry should be sufficient for him. He has too much on his plate already as Prime Minister. There are the duties of party leader which require his attention, and he must make himself available to the party and to others at all time and his presence will be required anywhere, anytime and he must be there.

He is taking over as Prime Minister on Friday (July 16) on a good pitch and good wicket and we can be sure that he and his Cabinet Ministers will carry on as successfully as did the previous government of Datuk Hussein Onn.

I quote the words and command of Allah in *Surah* 10 verse 109 of the Holy *Quran*: "Follow thou the inspiration sent unto thee, and be patient and constant, till God do decide: for He is the best to decide."

This is a sound and safe policy for the Government of this country to follow. Datuk Hussein must be remembered as a patriot and a national leader and he must not be treated as I was in those days as a "has been". I would also like to thank him for the many kindnesses and consideration accorded to me by him and his colleagues during the term of office as Prime Minister.

While we say goodbye to Datuk Hussein Onn, let us welcome the new leader, Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad and wish him the best of luck in handling the affairs of state.

*Tunku or Commoner,
it makes no Difference*

EVENTS OF THE PAST few weeks have been most thrilling, exciting and sometimes worrying. Nevertheless, they have posed many questions about the future of our beloved country for the younger generation to think about.

The contest for the post of UMNO Deputy President had created so much tension and excitement. For the first time that I know of, supporters of both contestants, Datuk Musa Hitam and Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, had gone round the country campaigning for their man. The vote for Datuk Musa was decisive, he won by 205 ballots.

This election was in keeping with party principles but the unfortunate part of it all was that some people were heard saying that "this is the end of the Tunkus".

For a country as small as Malaysia, where the indigenous people barely form the majority, the question of whether a leader is a "Tunku" or a "commoner", should never have arisen.

Any person who can be of service to this country and its people should be accepted as a patriot and given recognition for his service.

When I came into the political scene as the leader of UMNO, I did not talk my way to winning the leadership, but was elected by the will of the people to lead the party which had been discarded because it was thought that it had outlived its usefulness.

All the leaders had left to join Datuk Onn bin Jaafar in the Independence of Malaya Party, which he formed to replace UMNO. Its membership was open to all races.

I was elected UMNO President and was returned unopposed from 1951 to 1970, after which I gave way to Tun Abdul Razak.

At the time of my appointment, I was a judicial officer in Kuala Lumpur. I was then not very well-known in political circles, although in 1946 Datuk Onn, Datuk Bukit Gantang and I were appointed by UMNO to go to London to hold talks with the British Government on the rights of the Malays in the Malayan Union. The trip never materialised. In 1947 I left to complete my legal studies in London and returned in 1949. I was then appointed Kedah UMNO chief, but left in 1949 to take up my appointment as a Deputy Public Prosecutor in Kuala Lumpur.

The task which we faced in our struggle towards the goal of independence was formidable. By the grace of God we succeeded. The individual who was bitter against the Tunkus mentioned in his writing that it was Melan who made me Prime Minister.

In the first place, no one individual can make another a Prime Minister. It rests with the people.

What Melan did was to help me with my vocabulary when I prepared my speeches. There were at least two occasions when he did so, one of which was the speech I made when I was appointed UMNO President. This was because my *Bahasa* was poor.

But it was not my speeches which made me Prime Minister. I was destined to be by the will of God and elected by the choice of the people.

The speeches were my own. All I wanted was the correct words to use. In the same way I had to seek the help of Syed Jaafar Albar and Sheikh Annuar with the correct words to use for my written speeches.

People used to say that *Suara Merdeka*, the UMNO mouthpiece, was the work of Sheikh Annuar. When it reached the height of its success they could not believe that it was I who directed the publication.

When I left to take up my appointment as Chief Minister in Kuala Lumpur, Sheikh Annuar was left on his own to run it. Within six months it had to close down. The printing machine which we bought with the profit from the paper was sold to pay off our debts.

Tengku Razaleigh is another member of the royal family who had been derided as an unwanted Tunku. But if one remembers his work in Kelantan, one cannot help but admire him for what he did for UMNO, and the sacrifices he made to restore UMNO back to power in the State.

He did all these using his own resources. He spent his own money to build up UMNO's strength and image. He spent years working at it and never sought recognition.

He could have been made a State Councillor; he could have won a seat in Parliament and what would have been more easy was for him to be appointed a Senator. But he wanted none of these.

All he wanted was to see UMNO back in power in Kelantan and he

devoted all his energies and time to this end.

When he became MP he was appointed the Finance Minister. In that capacity he spent millions of Government dollars to help finance business and build *suraus*, *masjids* and religious schools in this country.

He may have lost the election for the post of UMNO Deputy President, but certainly he does not deserve to be branded "the Tunku whose days are numbered."

Whether a person is a Tunku, a Syed or a Wan, he is the son of this country. His rank or title should not be used to belittle his efforts in the service of the country.

Any person who shows patriotism and loyalty for the country of his birth is a patriot and he must be honoured as such.

The people who made these remarks against the Tunkus belong mostly to the extremist group who failed to make an impact on the political scene when we were struggling for independence.

When I retired and when Tengku Razaleigh lost the contest for the post of Deputy President they were exhilarated because they felt the time had come for them to take over. But the leaders and the men entrusted to run this country know their business. They know the people whom they have to watch out for, whose only claim to distinction is that they can besmear the character of others by the use of their foul tongues and vicious pens.

The businessmen who were anxiously and nervously waiting for the result of the contest for UMNO Deputy Presidency have now become consoled and reconciled with the situation. They have heard what the new Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, has said and in particular, the policy which he intends to follow.

Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir has stressed that he would not depart from the time-honoured policy of his predecessors which has been adopted with success.

Datuk Musa Hitam has also given the assurance that he would work closely with the new Prime Minister. In other words whatever he is asked to do, he will do. Therefore, there is no reason why we should not accept his words. He is a very honourable man.

According to reports, Tengku Razaleigh is definitely staying on as Finance Minister in Dr Mahathir's new Cabinet.

It is well for young people to know that when we took over the Government from the British, we had nothing with which to work on, except with our hearts and minds and the love we had for Malaya.

This helped to overcome the many obstacles, among the worst were the communist insurrection and later, the fight against President

Sukarno of Indonesia and President Macapagal of the Philippines.

What was worse were the fifth columnists, the quislings and the spies that swarmed this country at the time. Among them was an ex-Minister.

The excitement over the activities of the Russian KGB who used one of the members of UMNO as their agent is at fever pitch. The police have done good work in cornering the suspects and sending them back home. The culprit, Siddiq Ghouse, has been apprehended and will no doubt be punished for the treacherous crime he has committed against his own country. There must be others involved and this no doubt will come to light in the course of the police investigation.

I can say for certain that all big countries have intelligence departments whose work and activities are to send home reports on the situation prevailing in the country in which they operate.

Some countries would do no harm to us because we share their political outlook; others whose politics is opposed to us can be highly dangerous.

This is the first time that actual action has been taken against another country for spying. I remember at the time of the confrontation with Indonesia, their diplomat accredited to this country had the audacity to go round asking the members of the armed forces to take up arms against our government. On one occasion he went to the sentry guarding the gate of the Chief of Staff of the Malaysian Armed Forces and told him to shoot the general. The sentry immediately loaded his gun and turned it on him and that sent the diplomat helter-skelter for safety.

The guard then made his report and that was how we came to know of the incident. We did not "bundle" him off or close the embassy but took time to explain to the Indonesian Government that we could no longer put up with this diplomat and asked them to recall him.

We made no fuss to cause embarrassment to the Indonesian Government and I hope in this case of the Soviet KGB activity, we should quieten down a bit for the same reason.

Another matter which is of grave concern to the people of this country is the so-called animosity between the two partners of UMNO, the MCA and the Gerakan. There doesn't seem to be a way out of this impasse.

These two parties are members of the Barisan Nasional which are entrusted with the running of this Government. I feel some action must be taken to settle the differences and to effect a compromise before the matter gets out of hand. This will relieve the anxiety of the people, particularly the Chinese, as both are Chinese parties.

I remember that in the Alliance we used to meet very often to discuss matters of interest to the country and to iron out any differences that the

parties might have. In this way we achieved a great deal of understanding and worked together in an atmosphere of cordiality for the good of the country.

Tun Hussein Onn mentioned that his greatest achievement "is to get the National Front to work together."

I am out of politics, and I don't know how often the Barisan Nasional meets or the leaders sit together at the round-table, but if they have not done so, I would like to suggest that they do so now.

The UMNO President was the Chairman of the Alliance by the unanimous decision of all the partners in the past. I presume it is so today with the Barisan Nasional. I feel they must take steps to smooth out the differences between these two partners of the Barisan Nasional. Unless this is done it would cause a split in the Barisan and this will impair the strength of the ruling party.

The people, on the whole, are now more or less settled after the severe political tremor that shook this country over the events of these past few days. The formation of the new Cabinet has given the assurance that all is well. Let's hope that the new Prime Minister will steer this nation to even greater glory. Good luck to him.

Towards Greater Islamic Brotherhood

WATCHING THE *QURAN* READING COMPETITION can be quite revealing and sometimes amusing. Those interested in the fine art of *Quran*-reading must also find it somewhat disturbing at times. One need not be an accomplished reader to know that some, especially those from Africa, do not make the grade.

The aim of holding the competition is to enliven the evenings of the fasting month.

This kind of entertainment was started in Kedah as long ago as I can remember and reached the highest pitch of interest just before the outbreak of the Second World War.

It was run on an inter-district level but the crowd that came to attend this competition filled the two big *padangs* (fields) and completely closed the main roads of Alor Star. Some came to listen, while others came to join the crowd and the fun. People came from their kampongs; some women carrying their babies along to enjoy the evenings without understanding the meaning of the verses. The competition lasted nearly a week and it did brighten up the evenings of the month of *Ramadan*. After a day of fasting this entertainment really revitalised one's soul.

I introduced this competition for UMNO members in the State of Johore and the standard of reading was not quite so high as in Kedah and the rendering of the *Quran* was plain and not tuneful. Nevertheless, it created a lot of interest and people in Johore Baru thronged the esplanade along the Straits of Johore to listen.

When we celebrated our independence, we introduced it in Kuala Lumpur and it immediately became an unqualified success.

The best readers were of course from the three States of Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu. They won, in turn, the honours in both the men's and women's sections for years.

From then on it became a national institution and international readers were later invited to take part. The competition became a popular national and international attraction. Eventually, it caught the interest and fancy of the whole Muslim world and Kuala Lumpur became the Mecca of *Quran* enthusiasts.

I regret that the national competition was not held in the Federal Capital this year. It will be held, from now on, in each State on a rotation basis. In fact, the States have their own State competitions and in some States like Kedah, the splendour with which it is held and the interest it creates is as great as the national contest.

The intention to hold the national competition in rotation in States is well meant. One of the reasons for the decision is to enable the people of the State to witness the competition. But this is a fallacy because the people can see the competition even better on television — closeups and all — from beginning to end. They can also witness the opening ceremony performed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and the Prime Minister at close quarters.

What is even more regrettable is that it was not held in the month of *Ramadan* but instead in the month of *Shuaban*.

Holding the competition outside the month of *Ramadan* and outside the capital city of Kuala Lumpur defeats the very purpose of this great religious festival and loses its impact.

This competition should be held in the month of *Ramadan*, a week or ten days before the start of the international competition. It will augment the importance of the month of fasting.

We hope the organising committee of the national competition will reconsider their decision and perhaps return the event to its former status. The Competition Committee led by Tan Sri Syed Nasir did a fine job and their success must set the standard.

The standard of reading in this inter-state competition is very high and the keen contest has provoked greater interest throughout the country than the international competition.

This international competition has been an eye-opener to the Muslim world. It shows the Arab nations that the Muslims of South-East Asia are equal if not better than some of the readers from the Middle East. It follows therefore that Muslims in this part of the world are well versed in the observance of Islam.

It is interesting and sometimes amusing to hear the participants from

other parts of the world read the *Quran*. The *Quran* is read in varying styles according to the countries in which the readers live.

For example, a competitor from an African state reeled off the *Quran* in half the time allotted her and appeared happy when her turn came to an end. Another competitor, also from Africa, picked up the *Quran* from its support only to falter at the words of the Holy Book. Listening to her, I thought, at first, she was reading a version translated in her own language until I put my ears close to the television and caught a few Arabic words. It was amusing to some but to me it was a tragedy and a revelation to learn how poor their knowledge of the *Quran* was.

The readers who were sent to compete presumably were picked from among the best in their countries but unfortunately the best was not good enough.

It was for this reason that Perkim had advocated the setting up of regional *dakwah* (missionary) and welfare bodies throughout the world so that representatives from these associations could meet once a year or as often as necessary in the Holy Land of Mecca.

At these meetings, matters of common interest and of mutual benefit could be discussed. Perhaps, they might eventually agree to set up a body and call it the World Muslim *Dakwah* and Welfare Body with headquarters in the Holy Land.

Such an organisation should aim for firstly, the unity and brotherhood of Islam, secondly, the enhancement of the understanding of Islam, and thirdly, the provision of assistance to the needy Muslims.

When I was Secretary-General of the *Mukhtar Al-Islam* (The Islamic Nations Conference), we formed the Islamic Council of Europe with its headquarters in London.

It is my ambition to see the setting up of such councils throughout the Muslim world.

Unfortunately, however, our effort has not been well supported. I am not discouraged, however, because I know this is the way of Muslims. They can never support any movement which originates from insignificant and small countries.

Rabitah Al-Islam, whose function it is to organise Muslim *Dakwah*, started an organisation for this purpose for the whole of Asia, South and South-East Asia, with its headquarters in Karachi. Unfortunately, however, it fizzled out without getting anywhere. This must be a disappointment to them. However, in a joint venture with Rabitah we started our Islamic Council for South-East Asia and the Pacific successfully. The task is difficult because except for Indonesia and Malaysia, all Muslims in this part of the world are in the minority.

I am encouraged to see the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and Fiji giving support and encouragement to the Muslim minorities which have helped to make a success of the Islamic movement in these countries.

What we had done here we hope can be done elsewhere. The millions who watch the live telecast of the international competition must now realise how very necessary it is to help others to better their religious education.

In the Muslim countries of Africa, there are Muslims who need help and it is our duty to see that they get it. God has given wealth to the Muslim countries which have never known so much wealth before. There must be a purpose for this and one of which must be to help the Muslims wherever they may be.

Two Arab countries, Saudi Arabia and Libya render aid and millions are given away for many purposes in the cause of Islam. Rabbitah has now joined Perkim to co-sponsor the Organisation of South-East Asia and the Pacific. This is a new joint venture and it has proved successful, working on the principle of "God help those who help themselves."

This golden rule must be adopted for all future aid to religious movements which apply for funds. They must first organise themselves and then show by deed that they are able and capable of carrying out their objective.

Libya gave us a loan of up to \$12 million for Perkim building project. But because of the increased cost of building material and labour, Perkim could not complete the building. Libya has now agreed to provide a further loan of \$9 million. However, before Perkim had asked for this further aid it had provided land for the building and had collected \$6 million for the project. Libya is therefore satisfied that we are sincere and have determination to build our new headquarters from which we expect to get an income of at least \$2 million a year. This income is to meet the expenses of our activities.

The principle of helping those who help themselves must apply to all organisations asking for money, otherwise so much of the donation given them would be lost.

Our Government has experienced the bitter disappointment of how the money we had donated for the building of mosques in foreign countries had been squandered for other purposes.

Both Rabbitah Al-Islam and the Libyan Call-To-Islam Society have responded to the demand for help from Muslims throughout the world but as I said, they must first make sure that the money can be properly accounted for before it is given.

Many people are inclined to use the religion for their own personal benefit.

In summing up, the *Quran*-reading Competition revealed that much help is required in some of the countries, particularly Africa.

Obviously, some of those readers have never been properly taught the *Quran*.

It follows, therefore, that there must be other shortcomings in other departments of the religion in these countries. The best way is for *dakwah* bodies to be set up in these countries and good care must be taken in its organisation.

I am convinced that in order to serve Islam adequately and objectively, regional bodies should be formed immediately to bring Muslims closer together and to work together for Islam. So much good could come from a get-together like this. This is the only way we can best serve Allah.

And those who strive
In our (Cause) —
We will certainly guide them
To our paths
For verily God
Is with those
Who do right

(Chap. 29 — Verse 69)

In the Spirit of Hari Raya

THE FASTING MONTH is now over and Hari Raya has come on again. I have seen and celebrated Hari Raya for eighty years according to the Islamic calendar as I was born in 1320 A.H. and it is now 1401 A.H.

Those were the good days and we were happy to receive 10 cents as a Hari Raya present but today kids sneer at \$5. What a difference time has made in our mode of living.

Inflation has made life very hard indeed for the parents and for those who have to give presents to their dependants and their employees. This is something that they cannot avoid, and I am sure most parents have to skimp for many months in order to make up for the increased expenditure.

Before Hari Raya, there is the fasting month which is ordained by God in the Holy *Quran*, "so they should answer my call by fasting and believe in me so that they may find the way to me". (2:186).

The Prophet said, "fasting is a shield, so the faster should not indulge in foul speech and sin and surely the breath of a fasting man is pleasanter to Allah than the odour of musk" (Bukhari 2:28).

No temptation is greater than the temptation of satisfying one's passion, yet this temptation is overcome not once or twice, as if it were by chance, but day after day, regularly for a whole month with a set purpose of drawing closer and closer to the Divine Being. In addition to its spiritual and moral value, fasting also has a social value more effective than that which is realised through prayer. Rich and poor, great and small, people are brought together on equal terms. Kings and Princes and the beggars desist from eating and at the break of the fast every man

is given food.

In Malaysia every mosque supplies food for the breaking of fast.

Only the sick, pregnant, suckling mothers, and the aged and infirm, are exempt from fasting but all others have to observe the fast so that they know what it means to be hungry.

The month of *Ramadan* is especially important to Muslims because the first verse of the *Quran* and many others were revealed in this holy month. Twenty five years were needed to compile the Holy Book and it was done by his companion Saidina Osman after the demise of the Holy Prophet.

Muslims are required to fast for 29 or 30 days in the month of *Ramadan*. The exact number depends on the appearance of the moon. Fasting commences with the sighting of new moon in *Ramadan* and ends on the appearance of the new moon of *Shawal*.

The Missionary Foundation has taken a stand on the sighting of the Moon for the beginning and the end of the fast and the start of Hari Raya. They have submitted their views to the rulers.

Under the Shafie sect, if the moon is sighted by a reliable source, all countries should accept it.

This should be the case but somehow it does not appear to be so. Even countries in our region fast and celebrate Hari Raya on different days just because the new moon is not sighted on the same day.

The Holy Prophet is reported to have said: "We are people who neither write nor do we keep account and so the fasting may be for 29 or 30 days depending on the sighting of the new moon," (Bukhari 30:11:M.13:2).

Accounting the fasting period by the actual appearance of the new moon was an easier method for the masses living in distant places but the Hadith quoted above also allows for the appearance of the moon to be computed mathematically.

So I support the stand taken by Tan Sri Syed Nasir Ismail and the Missionary Foundation for the formulation of an agreed principle for the sighting of the moon.

I recall a conference held in Kuala Lumpur in 1969 where all the religious leaders were gathered to discuss this very important matter. Unfortunately, if I remember rightly, the decision they took was rather vague.

For Malaysia, one way to decide on the start of the *puasa* and Hari Raya would be for us to fall in line with Saudi Arabia, the country which is the heart of the Muslim world. Apart from everything else, the countries in the Middle East, such as Saudi Arabia, are in a better position to

sight the moon because of their cloudless skies.

As soon as the new moon is sighted, Saudi Arabia should communicate by telex to the rest of the Muslim world.

The situation as it is today makes a mockery of our religion. We must take a decision to adopt a better system which can bring about unanimity among all the Muslim countries, in particular, with regard to the observance of our religious rites.

This year, for instance, Indonesia and Singapore, our next door neighbours celebrated both the *puasa* and Hari Raya one day ahead of us. This should not be so.

The Holy Prophet said that if you are uncertain on any matter affecting the religion then seek the guidance from the Holy *Quran*. If the answer is not there, then seek the advice and views of the *alim ulama*.

The rulers in conference must look into this matter of the beginning of fasting and Hari Raya.

Ramadan is a hard and trying month. Business drops and normal activities slow down but not enough to cause a nose-dive in the share market. Many reasons are said to contribute to the falling stockmarket index. Two examples are the uncertainty of Government policy and the unrealistic and inflated value of goods and other products, land and building materials. However, I am sure business will improve at the end of the fasting month.

In spite of the situation of the stock market, the prices of the essentials, like clothing and foodstuffs, which are in demand, will remain high and people will have to pay inflated prices because of Hari Raya. Immediately after the celebrations are over, I am sure the prices of goods will slide down. So those who are buying Raya gifts and clothing should try and buy only what is necessary. People must know how to live within their means and if they do that they should find no difficulty in adjusting themselves to the prevailing condition.

The wage earners and salaried people will find that the economic recession will help to lower the cost of living, which will be of help to them. For these last few years people have been living beyond their means. Now they face reality and they must adapt themselves accordingly.

The Hari Raya mood, however will continue for the next few days through out the country with friends and relatives exchanging visits. Those who live away from the kampongs will have made their way back in order to be with their families. This is a custom which has existed from time immemorial and it is a good custom because it keeps family ties strong.

Then there are the ladies, among whom are wives of Ministers, Government officials and officers of the Armed Forces, who have formed themselves into societies to prepare cakes and pack them off to the men on duty and away from home. These cakes could have been bought from shops but the kind gesture and thoughtfulness of these ladies show the generosity and sympathetic spirit of our women-folk for the welfare of serving menfolk. This gesture is well appreciated by the men who receive these hampers.

Hari Raya comes but once a year so let's enjoy it while it lasts with prayers in our hearts for more Hari Rayas to come. At the same time we must thank Allah for His kind mercies and for granting us our happiness.

How lucky we are to be able to celebrate it with eating and feasting, while many others outside of our country are starving. Our hearts go out to them when we read of their plight.

So many of them are driven from their homes and wander about aimlessly without hope. Men, women and children show it all in their appearance with sunken eyes and distended stomachs. We pray for them and at the same time pray that such misfortune will never befall us.

We must ensure that peace in this country will continue forever. Much as we like to have everything our own way and everything for ourselves, we must appreciate and understand the lot of others and respect their rights. In this way and this way alone can we be assured of eternal peace. Pray to Allah that there be goodwill among all men in this country always.

The Syces' Demands

HORSE RACING HAS CEASED to become a past-time both for the owners and the racing enthusiasts. It has in fact become a national industry.

When I first entered the fraternity, the aim was to encourage racing and to get for the government revenue more consistent with the importance and popularity of the sport in this country.

When we took over the government, the income from racing was \$4 million a year. We thought then that if a country such as New Zealand with a population of two million, can draw an income of NZ\$18 million a year, Malaysia can get at least half that amount if racing is properly managed and suitably encouraged by the government.

One of the things I introduced was a 12 per cent discount on bets of \$50 and more. This helped to do two things. Firstly, it increased the big betting; secondly, it reduced the activities of bookies who were making money without paying any tax.

Next, I introduced the three digits lottery, then the four digits lottery. With those introductions, the government revenue shot up. Racing made big strides and what's more it brought in a new group of owners, the small-time ones, myself included. We set up a tote board to collect tithes from racing from the turf clubs. With this income we were able to help amateur racing which made good progress. The tote board also helped to increase the stake money and other essentials that go with racing.

With the advancement of racing, related problems developed: one of which was the syces' dilemma. What they never had before they felt they must have. It started with the demand for increase of pay. They then

demanding better living conditions, then outstation allowances.

All these have been met. Sometimes the turf clubs took a little time to meet the demand and the syces went on a "go-slow" or went on strike.

When I first entered racing as a small-time owner it cost me \$250 to maintain a horse a month. Now it costs more than that so that the cost has driven out the small-time owners. If this game of making demands by syces continues it will also help to drive out the big owners. Let's hope that this will not happen. One thing that has happened now is that the Malaysian trainers have moved their stables to Singapore where strikes of any kind are illegal. I am sorry that this industrial unrest has had to happen in our country where progress is shown in all fields.

I use to consider racing as one of the most successful industries and an enjoyable past-time. It provides the Government with revenue of over \$100 million.

In Hong Kong racing has become so successful that Hong Kong racing clubs make donations to many charitable organisations in the colony.

More than that, they also contribute hundreds of millions of dollars towards the Government coffers.

We were hoping to emulate Hong Kong but with all these troubles on our hands the hope is a forlorn one and the turf clubs will have to do their best in order to keep racing going.

The public has shown more interest in racing and the people must be served. Demand by the syces has got to be considered quickly and not left to the last moment when nothing can be done to save the situation.

The demand by the syces in Ipoh for outstation allowance is a current problem. I regret that this demand has taken the form of blackmail. The syces or their union waited for the time when racing was about to take place before they pushed ahead with their claim. On the other hand, the turf clubs must know that this has always been the tactic and they should have acted promptly rather than wait for the last moment to meet the demand.

Now the Hari Raya racing in Penang has been severely affected by the absence of horses from Perak and Selangor. The programme has to be cut down because of the reduced number of horses entered.

The syces are demanding better accommodation.

The unfortunate part of the affair is that, according to Penang race officials, their former claim for accommodation *or* accommodation allowance of \$20 per day has been changed to accommodation *and* an allowance of \$20 per day.

It is not too late for the parties to get together and think how best they

can smooth out their differences. One cannot do without the other. If racing is stopped in this country, the syces will become jobless and the Government will lose much revenue.

Racing must be considered as one of the most important industries in this country. Racing clubs must be more accommodating and so must the syces.

I am happy to support the innovation proposed by Datuk Yeoh Cheang Lee to improve racing in Perak. Instead of following the time-honoured afternoon schedule, Perak now proposes to have evening races like Hong Kong. This change of time would enable businessmen and office workers to attend after office hours.

I have given him encouragement by writing to the Government but to date the Government has said nothing.

Working on the principle that silence is consent, I took it upon myself to write to Datuk Yeoh telling him to go ahead with his plans for night racing. At the same time, I assured him that I hold myself responsible for any adverse consequences that might follow.

We have seen what damage the closure of racing has done to some of the countries famous for racing.

Malaysians must be progressive in their thinking and so they must help to support racing and continue to make it a going concern.

My Childhood Days

THE WRITING OF MY LIFE STORY is something which is not easy for me to do as I don't like to talk about myself. So my friends asked me that if I myself wouldn't do it, who would? This is true enough, unless of course, I commission someone to do the job for me.

Aziz Ishak approached me to undertake the work for which I had to bear the cost. This included the services of a writer while he would do the research and collect the material for the book. It started off well enough but before things could go far, it became a cropper because Aziz Ishak refused to allow me to read or approve the manuscript before publication.

I cannot say much more about this as litigation is pending in court over the matter but that was the beginning and the end of my life story written by a third person.

Perhaps it would be a good thing for me to write in my Monday column of what I think are important events in my life.

The opportunity is presented to me this week as I have nothing of topical interest to write about. Thus, I am devoting this article to one chapter of my early childhood.

I must admit that as a young boy, I was playful and naughty (beyond control, according to some) and had little liking for school.

When the first English school started in Kedah in 1909, I was sent there, not so much to study but to be kept out of mischief.

The school was housed in a small timber building on the site where the High Court now stands. It was painted green with a few steps leading up to the doorway.

The first teachers came from Penang and the man appointed as the

headmaster was Master Mohamed Iskander, father of the present Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamed. Master Abdul Manap was the number two man and Master Hassan, the number three man.

Yes, there were only three teachers to teach as many boys as those who cared to go to school.

The first batch of the boys who joined the school were of various ages. Some, like Johari, the father of Mohamed Khir and Syed Omar, the father of Datuk Syed Noh were old enough to be married. I was perhaps the youngest of the lot.

One of the amusing things I can remember about Johari and Syed Omar was that they used to rush to the windows whenever they saw any pretty woman passing by. The headmaster had to warn them because their behaviour was unbecoming and damaging to the school which had only just started.

I remember being carried to school on the shoulders of a old palace retainer by the name of Pak Idris. I was all dressed up in a gold-studded cap and royal dress.

Master Mohamed Iskander later objected to my wearing the gold-studded cap on the grounds that if it was lost or stolen, he would have to bear responsibility for it. He much preferred that I did not wear the regalia of royalty in school. Reluctantly, my mother had to listen to him and substituted it with an ordinary cap.

The next thing I remember was that my teacher, Master Hassan complained that I was making too much noise and disturbing the other pupils. So the headmaster, placed my chair at Master Hassan's table where I had to behave myself — it spoilt my fun too. However, I put up with it for a time and then left school.

I was running wild again with my playmates and used to swim in the river behind the palace where crocodiles abound. So my mother decided to send me to a Malay school. The building still exists today and is now being used as a Tamil school.

The same thing happened to me in this school. Only this time I was given a chair at the headmaster's table and before long I refused to go to school although I stayed long enough to learn to read and write.

In the meantime, the authorities had found a new house behind the central police station for a new English school. New teachers were recruited from Penang to run it. The headmaster of this school was a much stricter man by the name of Mr Ismail Merican.

The former teachers Encik Mohamed Iskander, Encik Manap and Encik Hassan all left to join the Government service. Encik Iskander

joined the Audit Department and Encik Manap joined the customs service, while Encik Hassan joined the clerical service.

I was sent to this new English school and my teacher was a Chinese. Because of my naughtiness he gave me a few strokes of the cane on my palm. I immediately returned home and told my mother and the teacher was sacked.

One thing I must admit, I made myself a nuisance in class and exhausted the patience of my teachers. There was nothing else they could do except to tolerate me or get the sack.

In the year 1914, when I was 11 years old, my brother, Tunku Yusof, returned from England but he refused to work in Kedah as he found it difficult to put up with the British Adviser, Mr George Maxwell.

As my brother was married to an English woman, Kedah was too restrictive for him and his wife. The British officials were naturally opposed to the mixed marriage because it belittled them.

In any case he would not work in Kedah because he was awarded a King's scholarship to enter Rugby school and later he studied in Woolich where he graduated as a royal engineer. He decided to go to Bangkok.

When he was told of my unbecoming conduct in school and the wild life I led, he decided to take me with him and put me in Tebsurin School.

We had a nice house in Bangkok, away from the main road with a lonely path leading to the street. There were no buildings on either side of this path. It was a very dark path at night and we were not allowed to walk down it after dusk. Today that path has become a street with shops on all sides.

The once quiet area is now chock-a-block with people of all kinds: some are good and some bad and some are religious. There is a mosque and a Muslim graveyard in the vicinity.

I spent a happy year in Bangkok. It was a nice and quiet city with canals all over.

There were pony-drawn carriages plying as taxis, some with a single pony and others with two. I used to pedal all over the town on my bicycle after school hours with my very good friend, Thavil, and a few others.

All good things must come to an end but in this case it ended tragically, for my brother died of pneumonia. I had no choice but to return home.

I was again sent to a Malay school for a year and after passing out I was sent to Penang to join the Free School. I was then 13 years old and a bit wiser.

I was put in Standard Two with hardly any background in English but

I learnt quickly under a good teacher, a Mr Goh. After the sixth month examination, I was promoted two standards. Within two years I was already in Standard Seven.

I had always been known as Tunku M Putra and only took the name of Tunku Abdul Rahman when I went to England.

The Penang Free School had some of the best teachers in the country, among them were such famous names as Mr Pinhorn, a disciplinarian and the headmaster of the school, and Mr H.R. Cheeseman, a great educationist.

There were a few English teachers, to wit, Mr Hamilton, Mr Davies, Mr Macdonald, Mr Engersoll, Mr Butler and Mr Star. There were also Asian teachers who were equally good.

Mr Star was a race-horse trainer as well and it appeared that he was more interested in racing than teaching. It was he who took Teh Say Leong, the father of Teh Choon Beng, as his protegee and taught him all he knew about horses. From Teh Say Leong's success in later years — and now son's — Mr Star must have been a good teacher on the race course.

I fared badly as a pupil in his class and was transferred to a very good teacher named Cheng Hup. He put up with no nonsense and made me work. He used to correct my mistakes, particularly in arithmetic with the whack of the cane on my palm. Being weak in the subject, my palm was always sore but I did well enough to get through my exams.

I was also keen in sports, particularly football and played with those of my age group. As I grew older I did even better in the game.

The school's sporting and extra-mural activities were divided into divisions and not houses as it is today. When I left school, I was playing for the "F" division first team.

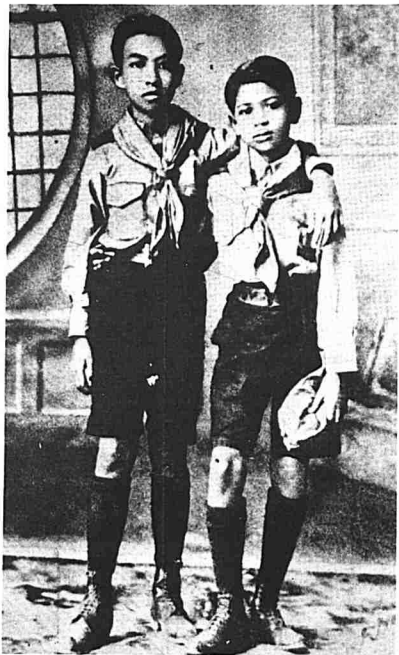
When the school suddenly decided to introduce badminton, I was made captain of my division though in truth I had never handled a badminton racket in my life.

I also became a patrol leader in the Scout movement.

Then, when Mr. Cheeseman decided to combine the Scout and the Cadet Corps, I was appointed section leader, which was something like a patrol leader. However, I did not hold the post for long because there was a scramble for my place by a couple of boys anxious to take over from me and they could not wait their turn.

So I left giving the excuse that I had to leave for England.

I must mention that I had shown greater interest in my studies in the Penang Free School and the teachers who had a hand in my education were Mr Goh, Mr Cheng Hup, Mr Thien Chin, Mr Butler, Mr



Tunku Abdul Rahman and boyhood friend in Bangkok.

Hashinmbhal and Mr Chong Weng.

I was given a scholarship by the Kedah Government to England. I had to go to Singapore to board the cargo vessel, "*Rhesus*", which stopped a few days in Port Swettenham. There I caught malaria.

During the next seven weeks of the trip, the fever got worse and at one stage of the journey I thought I would not survive but by the grace of God I got to England safely. But I continued to suffer from malaria for the summer months from June to September. The disease disappeared in winter, and I began to regain my strength. When I first arrived in London in June 1920. I was taken immediately to Huntingdon by train. From the station, I travelled by horse-driven cart for three miles uphill and down dale to reach my destination, the little village named "Little Stukely".

There was nothing to learn as my tutor, a clergyman, with whom I boarded was not a qualified teacher in the real sense of the word. His family were kind people and they made my life pleasant and happy.

There was no electric light in the house and only one tuckshop to serve as a post office and everything else in the whole village.

I played football for Little Stukely, then for the Big and Little Stukely combined side. Life was pleasant but I was not getting anywhere with my education.



The Tunku at the age of 25.

I was determined to enter Cambridge University which was only 14 miles away from Little Stukely. For that, I was required to pass the matriculation (Little Go).

At the slow rate of progress I was making, I did not have much of a chance to enter the university.

I decided then to go to Cambridge and my guardian, the Crown Agents, found for me a home and a tutor who knew his work, a Mr. Atkinson, who later became a Don of Magdalene College.

He put me through my paces and within one year I passed the Little Go and was accepted by St. Catherines College for the 1922-23 term.

English — The Language of the World

I RECALL AN UNUSUAL INCIDENT which took place when I sat for the Little Go examination which I feel is worth recounting here. I remember the matter so vividly and I have often mentioned it to my friends.

Take what I have to say for what it is worth, but in my opinion it is worth a lot; in fact, it deserves a wider attention than the audience we have here.

In Cambridge, Literature consisted of ancient and modern languages. Latin, Arabic and Chinese formed the former part, and French, Spanish and English for non-English students were the modern languages.

For English, we used *Corbett's Rural Rides of England*, as a text. However, we could choose a general subject in place of the text on which to write an essay.

The one that had caught my fancy was "International Language" and I picked that as my subject instead of *Corbett's* although I was more familiar with that prescribed text.

When I returned home after the Little Go, Mr. Atkinson, my tutor, took a look at the papers and beaming said, "You must have done well."

"Yes, indeed", I replied with a smile.

Mr. Atkinson added, "Subjects on *Corbett's Rural Rides* appear familiar as you have done a lot of home work on it."

"No," I said, "I chose the International Language."

"What do you know about Esperanto?" he screamed.

"Esperanto?", I said, "What is that?"

"That's what I said, what do you know about Esperanto, the Interna-

tional Language," he retorted.

"I thought they wanted to know what language should be made an international language," I told him. "I eulogised on English as an international language for half an hour."

He was flabbergasted and told me I might as well forget about entering Cambridge that year. "You have failed" he said.

That's all he had to say and left me utterly shattered. I never felt so miserable in all my life. I had all the subjects of *Corbett's* at my command and I knew them so well, yet I had picked on this International Language — Esperanto — of which I had not even heard of for my essay.

I was sure that my hope of entering Cambridge was gone, at least for the 1922/23 term.

When the results were posted at the Senate House one month later I didn't even bother to go and look at them. Then Mr Atkinson's sister burst into my room and congratulated me on my success.

"You got the first", she said. I rushed on my bicycle to the Senate House and true enough, my name appeared first on the list of successful candidates.

After a second glance I knew why. The names were listed in alphabetical order and my name entered as "Abdul Rahman Tunku" had to be first.

Looking at it 60 years later, I am of the opinion that I had picked on English as the International Language for a good reason.

After all, no nation in the world used Esperanto as a national language. On the other hand, almost half of the world's population speak or know English.

I now look upon the mistake as a phenomenon. It had been placed in my hand by some unknown power as if to ask me to take it up someday, somehow.

I had not done anything about it or even given it any thought when I was Prime Minister. Only now I am awakened to it with the realisation that I must do something about it.

English is a simple language which is widely used. It is clearly understood inspite of local variations and accents.

Once I emplaned in Tokyo on a Japanese airline. When we took off, the plane developed mechanical trouble and we had to turn back to Tokyo. But before doing so, the plane emptied its tanks for a crash landing.

Needless to say we were frightened and fortunately the plane landed safely. After three hours of repairs, we took off again for Hong Kong.

When we landed, a voice from the cockpit welcomed us and said, "We hope you enjoyed the flight" meaning of course the flight. That's English as used by the Japanese.

English is such a rich language used a great deal in the political, business and entertainment world. While nations have their own national languages, most countries teach English as a second language.



Datuk Senu Abdul Rahman.

In former British colonies it is used to good purpose. Malaysians find places at universities and other places of higher learning because of our command of English.

In developing countries it is important for the nations to give their students the right education. Strife and violence occur in most countries because of poor education, which leads to poor leadership.

Our country is too precious to be entrusted to leaders with little or no education at all.

The Conference of Muslim Nations agreed to use Arabic, English and French as the official languages. During proceedings, there were simultaneous translations. In a prepared speech, the translation done beforehand was well delivered, but in the course of the debates the poor translator found difficulty in keeping up. There were times when the speaker later denied that he had said such a thing and the poor translator had to bear the blame. When I was the Secretary-General of the Conference of Muslim Foreign Ministers, I had plenty of trouble having to put right the mistakes, or what the speakers alleged to be mistakes, made during translation.

If we all could only speak English all this would not happen.

The Arabic language is beautiful, no doubt, but it is hard to learn to speak it properly and fluently. The Arabs use it at conferences and speak quickly and sometimes at great length. The poor translators get lost as a result and what's worse we are none the wiser after the debates.

Once an Arab said to me, "Our language is the language of God". "That may be," I said, "but we are humans."

English is not a difficult language to learn and I, with my fat head, could pick up enough in six years.

I am sure many others with less fatty substance in their heads can do likewise, particularly the clever politicians, capitalists, businessmen and journalists.

Take the case of Datuk Senu bin Abdul Rahman. He was a Malay school teacher when he decided to find his way to America where he found a job in an Italian restaurant in New York.

To cut the story short, he came back a different man, speaking fluent English, and became the Secretary-General of UMNO and later a Minister.

According to him, he studied hard after attending to the dishes in the kitchen. The Italian proprietor of the restaurant was so proud of his protégé when as a Minister, Datuk Senu called on the old man and was royally entertained by the proprietor, the waiters, and I presume waitresses as well. All this fine treatment when once upon a time as



Senator Datuk Syed Kechik.

"Ramon", his only place was the kitchen.

It was the same with Datuk Syed Kechik. He too left home and found his way to London where he continued to study English until he qualified for higher education.

He joined the Inns of Court and was called to the Bar.

Now, he is said to be one of the most successful Malay businessmen in the country. There are many others like these two from Asian countries.

The Asean nations are using English as their official language. Though they have not achieved much all the years they have been together, at least they have spoken much during conferences.

This they do in English, the language with which they are all familiar. They use it as the language of Asean nations.

Their example could well be followed by other international organisations and bodies.

One thing Asean could do is to consider making it an international language. This proposal could be tabled at the United Nations and moved by the Asean nations with the support of other non-English speaking nations.

I am quite aware that English is very much used at conferences particularly so at the United Nations but that does not make it officially an international language.

The current move to popularise English could go on and on. Perhaps it will win a few adherents but no good permanent effect can be assured.

The approval of all nations must first be obtained to make it an international language. When a resolution is adopted, every nation in the world would be required to use English as a second language or third language in their schools. Within the course of three years, every school boy and girl would be able to read and speak English. It would then truly become an international language in every sense.

The world should have an international language where everybody, black, white, brown and yellow can communicate: an international language — English.

I know of no other organisation that can sell the idea better than Asean. I would strongly recommend the Asean nations to give some thought to this matter, something which came to me by chance, or perhaps by an act of Providence 60 years ago.

I have departed a bit from the subject matter of my article but I consider this matter of an international language so important to mankind that I felt bound to talk about it at some length.

It would help to break down the language barrier among nations. It will even help to pave the way to world peace.

Every nation has its own language and nobody need fear losing it but the matter of international language as a way of international good relations must be given serious thought.

Distances have been narrowed down considerably in this jet age and the world has 'shrunk' so that people find themselves among strangers from different countries every day.

How nice it would be to converse with one another in an international language without having to resort to interpretation.

While we make Bahasa Malaysia our national language and are proud of it, let us be sure of maintaining a high standard of English as our second language and use it as an international language.

We can thus be assured of continued peace and prosperity for our country.

College Insult which sowed Seeds of Independence

IS IT MERE COINCIDENCE that an article should have appeared in *The New Straits Times* on English as an international language at the same time as my article on the same subject in *the Star*?

According to this article, Professor Quirk has been advocating Nuclear English for the last six years. He has stirred up a great deal of interest. As a result he believes that his idea of popularising Nuclear English will be successful and it will become an international language.

We heard nothing of this project of the professor. I had written on this same subject 60 years ago in my essay for the "Little Go". There was no prior agreement between the *New Straits Times* and the *Star* to produce the articles on the same day. But there it was in black and white on Monday, August 24, 1981. The only difference is that the learned professor called his English, Nuclear English.

I am beginning to believe in phenomena and miracles, and this is truly a case in point. The professor is an Englishman and an authority on English at the University College, London. He is also the Vice-Chancellor designate of the London University. I am a Malaysian and use English only as a second language. But we appear to think alike in that it is our conviction that the world needs an international language and the choice of English as that language is most appropriate.

According to Professor Quirk, Nuclear English will do away with ambiguities and will make the language simpler and easier to learn.

According to him "its influence and popularity depends not on Britain or the Old Empire, not even, in the last resort, on the United States (although the US is obviously its chief current reason for international use) but on the fact that there are so many firm bases in both

hemispheres and on all continents, that the language becomes a necessity in manifold sections of the world."

I hold the same view — only in an unsophisticated way.

In general terms I agree with him. But why call this Nuclear English when we can use ordinary English which, with all its "ambiguities", is easy to learn and simple enough to master.

To master it does not mean that one has to hold a degree in English Language or devote years studying it. A three- or four-year course for an adult is sufficient to enable him to write and speak it. There are many English dialects and many slangs that emanate from America, but in the main, the language as taught here and in the former colonies is more than sufficient to meet the needs of an international language.

I take more than an ordinary interest in advocating the idea for acceptance by nations of the world. I might get in touch with the professor because, as I said, it is not a mere coincidence that proposals to use it as a medium of communication have now been seriously envisaged by him and me. Perhaps we might invite the professor to visit this country and give talks on this subject.

If Malaysia could take the initiative, it would be doing a great service to the cause of human understanding, not because we were educated in the English language in the colonial days, but because we know that in English we have a language which is widely spoken in the eastern and western hemispheres and on every continent.

I was asked what is the "Little Go" that I wrote of in my last article. It is an entrance examination into Cambridge University for students who have not obtained the necessary qualification in school to enter the university. In Oxford, its equivalent is called "Responsion."

It consisted of an examination in ancient and modern languages, English literature and mathematics. In the "Little Go," arithmetic, algebra and geometry are combined in the mathematics paper and students need 33½ per cent to pass.

I had confessed earlier how weak I was in mathematics, particularly arithmetic and algebra. An Indian engineering student by the name of Sen taught me geometry. So effective was he that I mastered it completely, scoring 100 per cent in this subject. With that I got through my mathematics.

Latin was harder because I had never learnt it before, unlike English students who had to learn it in school. But Mr Atkinson was a good Latin scholar and he helped me get through.

Having passed the entrance examination, I entered St. Catherine's College for the October term of 1922/23.



The Tunku as a student.

St. Catherine's College was small and had rooms for about 200 students. All, except for the oarsmen and scholars, had to take turns to live in the College for at least a year.

The rest had to live in digs, usually a bedroom and sitting room, with a landlady to look after them. After 10 pm the windows and doors were padlocked and students who entered or left after that hour had their names entered in a register by the landlady.

If one returned after 10 pm the fine was tuppence. Anyone returning after midnight had to make his explanations to the tutor the next day.

The restricted life at Cambridge appeared trying to students who were used to freedom of movement. As a freshman, one had to enter the dining hall for the first dinner session at 6.30 pm. The seniors entered for the second session at 7.30 pm.

Before entering the hall one had to don a gown and enter his name in the register. This went on nightly and if one missed dinner three times in a term there was a lot of explaining to do.

Looking back on it now, I am in entire agreement with the strict discipline and supervision. I even suggested that we should adopt the system here, but found out that without boarding colleges this was not possible.

For some reason, my tutor, Rev Chaytor, did not like me. He continually found fault with me.

Years later, when the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Gilbert Inglefield, entertained the Commonwealth Prime Ministers to a banquet, I occupied a seat of honour at the top table, and — being the doyen of the Prime Ministers — had to reply to the address of welcome by the Lord Mayor.

His wife, Lady Inglefield, was the daughter of this same Rev Chaytor. At the end of my speech she said to me: "My father would have been very proud of you." Yes, I thought to myself, wouldn't he? But to the lady, I just said: "It is a pity that he is not alive now."

He sent me down for six months because I was late for my exams. I was late because I confused the dates and time of the exam. I rushed to the examination hall 20 minutes late but was informed that my exam had started and I was refused entry.

One thing which annoyed Rev Chaytor was a super sports car I owned and used to speed on the highways at unreasonable hours of the day. Because of this, the university introduced traffic laws, one of the provisions of which was to stop under-graduates from using cars during lecture hours.

When I appeared at Cambridge to receive an honorary degree of Doc-

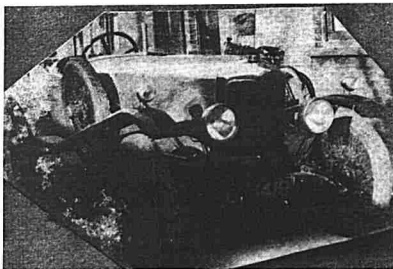


The Tunku, speaking at the Lord Mayor's banquet given to Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

tor of Law in the early Sixties, the orator read in Latin the citation, which was translated into English and distributed to the audience.

One passage of the citation caused everyone in the Senate Hall to laugh. I did not know what it was all about because I was not given the translation, so at the end of the ceremony I asked a friend what was the cause of the amusement.

He showed me the translation in which it was mentioned that I had spent more time speeding around the town in my sports car with red wings and aluminium body than concentrating on my lessons and also it was because of me that the university introduced the new traffic laws.



The first Riley super sports that the Tunku bought at an Earls Court Motor Show.

University life on the whole was a good and exciting one. To get the full benefit of it, one had to play games. My game was soccer.

Though my name was submitted for the freshmen's trial, I was not given a chance. It was, in fact, to overcome my disappointment and frustration that I bought this showy vehicle and made a nuisance of myself to the annoyance of the university authorities.

I will never forget one thing that happened to me about that time. I was denied a room in the College, in fact passed over twice.

When I remonstrated to Rev. Chaytor, he told me point blank: "The College was built for Englishmen. If I gave you a room to the exclusion of Englishmen they would not like it".

From then on, there grew inside me an intense anti-colonial feeling. I was determined to fight for the independence of my country. I started to attend meetings of the Indian students movement for independence of India and joined them in their activities. It was then that I began to admire both Mr Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi.

Meanwhile, I reported this incident to the Government of Kedah. Not many months later, Mr William Peel, who was the British Adviser to Kedah and who later was knighted and became Governor of Hong Kong and then Ceylon, came to Cambridge, saw the Chief Tutor, Mr Rushmore, and remonstrated to him about the treatment I received, particularly denying me my right to live in the College.

Not very long after his visit, I was called by Mr Rushmore, and was offered a room. He also apologised for what Rev Chaytor had said and added that if he had known I was the son of the Sultan of Kedah, he would have given me a room.

I thanked him for the kind offer but politely declined and added: "I didn't come here as son of the Sultan, but as an ordinary student and I expected to be given treatment no less favourable than other students."

I stayed on at my digs at 39 Hardwick Street with a very motherly and kindly landlady, Mrs Jaggard, for the rest of my student days at Cambridge.

I would like to mention here that in 1924, I was persuaded by some friends to join the Inns of Court just to get away from Cambridge during term time.

I never took any exam in those days. I returned home after graduation in 1926 but was forced by the Kedah Government to return to London and finish my Bar. With no control and in the middle of the good Roaring Twenties, I only managed to get through three subjects in three years.

Finally, I returned without finishing the Bar and was branded a failure. I joined the Government service, got married, had two children and forgot all about Bar exams.

On the day before the New Year of 1947, twenty-five years from the time I first joined the Inner Temple, I returned to complete my Bar, which I did successfully in December 1948. In the final stages Eusoffe Abdoolcader worked with me and gave me tremendous help.

Years later when I became Prime Minister of Malaysia, I was honoured by being made a bencher of the Inner Temple, a fellow of St. Catherine's College and an honorary Doctor of Law of Cambridge, and in 1969 Doctor of Letters of Oxford.



Tunku Abdul Rahman receiving his honorary doctorate of law from the Chancellor of Universiti Kebangsaan.

In addition to these two degrees, I also received honorary doctorate degrees from Sydney University, Australia; Chulalongkorn and Prince of Songkla Universities, Thailand; University of Manila and Araneta University of the Philippines; the University of Saigon; Aligarah University, India; the University of Malaya; University Kebangsaan and University Sains, Penang.

All's well that ends well. It is the case of the prodigal son who made good. Praise be to Allah.

*Narcotics —
Evil Influence from the West*

AT A DINNER GIVEN on September 1 by the Thai Consul-General to the visiting Thai delegation led by His Excellency Professor Sanya Dharmasakti, acting President of the World Buddhist Fellowship, I was suddenly called upon to give a talk.

I was taken aback, but rather than disappoint, I spoke on the dangers faced by Asian nations as the result of the impact of the West. I mentioned how easily we are influenced by the Western way of life and culture.

Take a simple case, I said. Years ago when I took office as Chief Minister and was living in Hose Road, Kuala Lumpur, I would jog every morning from Hose Road to Taylor Road and back to the house, or from Hose Road all the way to the old airport.

I did this every morning. I was the only one out jogging in those days and some must have thought I was "nuts" to run about at my age, like a footballer training for a big match.

Then when I started to move around the country to campaign for independence, my exercise became irregular, and finally when the pressure of work increased I gave up jogging altogether. Nobody else took it up, not to the best of my knowledge.

Years later, in the Seventies, America suddenly introduced jogging and everybody took to it, the not-too-old, the middle-aged and young people of both sexes.

In the old days I jogged all alone and nobody took to it, but now all are seen jogging merrily along the roads of our country.

This is proof of how strong the influence of the West on our people is.

The culture from the West is accepted blindly, whether right or

wrong, for good or for worse. Take, for instance, the drug habit which prevails among the young people of the West.

The danger to their health is obvious. So is the moral danger and the mental deterioration and degeneration that follows. Many would even rob and kill to get drugs.

I will never forget how an opium smoker preferred death to giving up his pipe.

At the outbreak of the Second World War when the Japanese invaded Malaya I "kidnapped" my father from the British Forces who were taking him to Penang. When we arrived in Kulim, the Japanese planes were flying overhead in formation towards Penang. A few bombs dropped on estates near by.

I immediately gave orders to everyone to leave the house and carried my father to a shelter under a big tree, but I found his Aide-de-camp missing.

When I returned to the house I found this ADC in a little room puffing away on his opium pipe. I told him that there was an air raid and the Japanese might drop a bomb on the house any moment. He just looked at me and said: "Let it be; I am in heaven now, I will remain where I am".

So I left him alone, shouting "I hope your opium pipe will take care of you."

Addicts, I was told, do not pass motion for days. As a result, they lose their appetite and do not eat, so they get thin and dissipated and become human wrecks.

Why must people pick up this obnoxious and destructive habit?

I must admit it was the East which first introduced the drug habit to the West, and now the West has returned the compliment. It used to be said that Eastern morals were low, but the West's permissive social habits are morally ever lower now.

I did mention in another one of my books that when I reached the age of 70 I would take to opium so that I could be on my own and be in paradise.

However, when I reached 70, I did not turn to opium as it cannot be obtained legally. Then I thought to myself: "Any resolution to do wrong need not be fulfilled." So I thank God that I have not taken to the habit and still remain healthy.

I have, however, taken an interest in the welfare of drug addicts. I am associated with the Pusat Pertolongan, Batu Gajah, and I use religion to cure them.

They are made to get up at three in the morning to pray *kunut* — a

special prayer — then say the first prayer (*suboh*) and the rest of the four prayers. I find that through religion they can be cured. But as soon as they get out, and meet their old acquaintances then they go back to it again. Some return to the Pusat Pertolongan, but many go completely astray.

When I built the Burmah Road complex, I intended it to be used for the rehabilitation of cured drug addicts.

I had planned to set up a service station, to obtain licences for lorries and taxis and to set up work gangs to do any kind of work that the people living in Penang require, such as cleaning houses, gardens and removing furniture.

Before I started, Yaacob Abdul Rahman, who was in charge of the home in Batu Gajah, started a restaurant in Ipoh and employed the inmates of his home to run the restaurant.

His scheme was a success at first but later the business failed for reasons best known to him. So I refused to take the risk as the cost of running my rehabilitation centre would be too high. If these cured addicts were to go back to their old habits my venture would collapse and the money spent would be wasted.

I am now using this building as a commercial and trade school with Goon Institute taking in paying students as well as providing free education for poor Muslim boys and girls.

When we were negotiating the independence of Malaya, I asked that opium smoking be legalised as it had been before the war. The British Government set up a committee to look into the matter. Mr Hare (now Lord Hare), Minister of State was the Chairman.

After many hours of discussion, he finally said that he sympathised with my request but he felt it impossible to change the stand taken by the United Nations, which banned prostitution and drugs.

The effect of this is that there are now more prostitutes than ever before — and more drug addicts, too.

The United Nations appears satisfied with out-lawing drugs. But in the meantime, drug addiction has spread beyond control.

Some countries, Malaysia for instance, make drug trafficking an offence punishable with death. At the same time countries that grow opium continue to produce it and export it in bulk to foreign countries.

Take the case of Thailand. Opium is grown in the Shan States astride the Thai-Burmese border. The Shan United Army (SUA), under the leadership of Khun Sa, do a roaring trade in opium trafficking.

Khun Sa himself was born 45 years ago in Lashio, Burma, of Han Chinese parents and named Chan See-Fu. By 1900 he had emerged as a

major narcotic trafficker. He has since increased his forces to 3,000 with an auxiliary force of 5,000. These armed men are also his workers, traffickers and bullies.

The Thai officials maintained that in addition to growing and transporting opium, Khun Sa and his SUA refines it into heroin. It is said there are between five and ten refineries in Burma, as well as some on the Thai side of the border of the Shan States.

It is reported that they produce between 200 and 300 tons of raw opium annually depending on the size of the crop — a sufficient amount to satisfy the needs of a million heroin addicts a year.

The trouble, according to Thai authorities, is that as soon as they approach the area, this narcotic king moves across the Burmese border and there is nothing that they can do. The gang knows about the raid many days beforehand because people in the locality and their agents elsewhere tip them off.

This opium business has provided the people there with a source of income.

So, while this opium business is allowed to flourish, it is not possible to prevent its sale abroad. The by-products of opium, heroin and morphine, are very popular among misguided young people. They are sold all over Europe, America, Australasia and the rest of the world.

I consider capital punishment for drug trafficking to be much too severe while the growing of opium is permitted to continue.

My suggestion, as I said before in early 1965, is to legalise the sale of opium on medical grounds and then punish those not in possession of a medical certificate with really stiff sentences.

There are many things from the West which threaten our society and, as I said to the delegation of Buddhist Fellowship, the only effective way to combat these dangers is to use religion.

But one religion alone will not be effective enough. All the religions of the world must combine together to fight these evils. For instance, apart from these drugs and immorality, there are also anti-religious forces, the communists, spearheaded by powerful nations like Russia.

Religions of the world should be aware of these dangers and should make a serious effort to fight them. Unfortunately, there are countries which are using religion to destroy their own people because of religious differences.

The peoples of the world are entitled to practise their own religions, and it should not be a cause for friction between them. Instead, they should use religion to good purpose for the common good of man against common enemies.

We have made a lot of noise about the KGB agents we caught spying in this country. How many Red Chinese agents are here? Surely, there are not less than three.

How many more are there in our neighbouring countries bordering Thailand where there are not less than 40 million Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian communists?

The Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Han Nian-long, on his recent visit here was honest enough to say that he would not ask the MCP to lay down their arms.

We are surrounded by anti-God forces who pose a serious threat to our existence. When the first salvo is fired to signal the invasion of Thailand, we must answer the call to help them. Not us only, but all the countries in South-East Asia as well.

If Thailand falls, it would be only a question of time before we too must succumb. Then all we have will be lost — independence, religion, *adat* and customs. Kampuchea is an example. Muslim men were killed by the thousands. Mosques were defiled and destroyed. This must not happen to us here.

I said to His Excellency Professor Sanya that men of faith must get together to defend everything we hold dear. This is not the time when men who believe in God should fight one another. Or the Government constituted with a State religion, or an official religion should persecute their own people of other religions.

Because of religious persecution, thousands of refugees have left their countries to find shelter elsewhere. Thousands of Vietnamese of Chinese origin prefer to face death than to live under communist anti-religious forces. Thousands from Kampuchea left the country for the same reason.

We have taken over the care of Muslims — at least 6,000 of them — and more are waiting to be saved on the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Now the Burmese Muslims have come to Malaysia. They were driven here more by the hard life they lead than religious persecution, but the largest number of Muslim refugees, who have come to Malaysia are those fleeing the Catholic Government in the Philippines. Thousands are being taken care of by the Sabah Government.

These people have suffered because of their religion. No man can help being what he is. He holds on to his religious beliefs because he was brought up that way.

Our duty as civilised men is to live in peace and in the best of goodwill and understanding with one another — particularly those who live together in one country.

My Twin Joys

ON THE STAR'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY — September 9 — my first great grandson was born in a London hospital. So for me, it was double joy, and as a result, I am prompted to write this article because of the connection between the dates of the birth of *The Star* and that of my first great grand-child.

This birth was more than a mere coincidence, for the child was not expected for another two weeks. But the mother was suddenly taken ill and delivered the baby at the break of dawn on September 9.

The mother is my first grand daughter, Sharifah Intan, who is the wife of Encik Suffian, son of Encik Shukor Ali. Encik Shukor is a liaison officer of the NEB in the Malaysian Students Department in London.

All went well for mother and child — and all is going well with *The Star* too.

We are lucky to have as the biggest shareholder, an MCA supported company, and by coincidence, the former head of UMNO, myself, as the Chairman so it becomes in every sense of the word an UMNO-MCA joint enterprise.

At one time Tun Mustapha was the biggest shareholder, holding 1.7 million shares. But when we planned to increase the capital to keep up with the growth of our paper, Tun Mustapha could not meet the increased commitment, so he sold his shares to the MCA. It was formerly owned by Datuk Loh Boon Siew, the Penang millionaire.

It must also be said that the sole reason for taking over Datuk Loh Boon Siew's shares was to prevent the takeover of Star Publications by Datuk Abdullah Ahmad, who wanted to acquire the paper by almost any means.

It was then that Datuk Loh came to see me just as I returned from Jeddah and pleaded with me to save *The Star* from acquisition by Datuk Abdullah Ahmad.

I bought 300,000 shares. That was the only time I ever bought shares in any company. It was not for the purpose of making a profit, because the paper was not making any money, but to defend the right of a free Press to carry on with its business in the interest of the public.

Compulsory acquisition by a Minister of the Government was totally uncalled for, but Datuk Abdullah Ahmad was not a reasonable Minister.

As my contribution, I started to write my Monday article which I called "Looking Back". It is now called "As I See It", and by a stroke of good luck it proved popular.

Through competent management, the paper's circulation increased. With that, the then managing director and editor, Mr. Choong Kok Swee decided to move the headquarters to Kuala Lumpur in January, 1976. It became a national newspaper and acquired a new status too.

It was at this point that we incurred a liability of over \$2.5 million. With the change of management in 1977, *The Star* further increased its circulation and more outstation bureaus were set up throughout Malaysia. We made a clear profit of over \$1 million in 1980.

We were naturally happy because *The Star* glittered as a national newspaper, getting a wider range of readers. Our duty was, and still is, to disseminate news, but more than once, because of our enthusiasm, we annoyed high officials and were asked to show cause why *The Star* should not be closed down.

The only reason we gave was that our responsibility was to give out news and views of interest to our vast number of readers and this, we tried to do as accurately as possible. If we were at fault it is due more to negligence than to design.

There is, of course, a limit to all things, and we realise that. If we overstep that limit then we have to face the music.

However, some of the reasons given for wanting to close us down are not all quite fair. For instance, take the case of a picture of a monkey we published. Nothing more was said other than that it was a monkey.

An official suggested that we were trying to make a monkey out of "Ayatollah Khomeini the great Muslim leader." But we did not say that the money was Ayatollah or Ayatollah was the monkey.

I wrote of the great Muslim leader in my article at some length on Monday, November 19, 1979. I said of him: "I am even more saddened to think that the Ayatollah dons the robe of a Muslim religious leader

and yet shows no virtue as such." It was a surprise then that our Government, while accepting him as a great Muslim leader, did not object to what I said about him.

We made a serious slip during the National *Quran* Reading Competition in Seremban, when our TV correspondent made a remark that evenings for the next few days would be dull.

We were once again asked "to show cause." It was argued in the first instance that non-Muslims would indeed have nothing to see except *Quran* readers. RTM should have provided good alternatives on the other channel but this they did not do.

I think the time has come for a commission of experts to be appointed to review our TV set-up and programmes.

It needs a shake-up, more so now than ever before, as so much progress has been made in the TV world, while we are lagging far behind.

We made another mistake recently by singling out from the Kedah State Supplementary Budget Bill, the approval for the purchase of two cars — one, a Rolls Royce for the Sultan, and the other, a Lincoln Continental, for the Mentri Besar. The report was not well written.

The Mentri Besar later explained in a statement to *The Star* on September 11 that the new car was for the use of Government guests while he himself would continue to use a Mercedes which in fact, was more expensive than the Lincoln.

The paper has accordingly apologised for any embarrassment the original report might have caused him, but maintained that we did it all in good faith.

The Star is not afraid to publish any criticism directed against it so that the readers can read both sides of the story. It is the people's paper and it has made a success of itself because of the support it has received from the public.

We have now decided to increase our authorised share capital from the present \$5 million to \$20 million with the purchase of new premises and new machines. The success of *The Star* can be said to be phenomenal and augurs well for the freedom of the Press in the country.

We have a hard working and dedicated staff. In addition, we have a columnist, one of the leading politicians in the country, Tan Sri Dr Tan Chee Khoo, who writes the column "Without Fear or Favour."

As I said in a previous article, he is also a watchdog for the public. His writing is a source of interest and inspiration to politically-minded young Malaysians.

At the head of the staff, we have Mr H'ng Hung Yong, who is a qualified lawyer and, by instinct, a journalist.

He has, to assist him, Mr Ho Sai Kong, who has been in the newspaper business all his working life. The Group Executive editor, is Mr Gobind Rudra, and the business page editor is Mr P.Y. Chin.

The mentor of this group is none other than the veteran journalist, Mr Khor Cheng Kee, who is stationed in Penang where I am able to consult him at all times.

There are others who have given dedicated service to *The Star*. To the man in the street we can claim to be an important English-language paper, that caters to their needs. We take pride in being able to bring to the public local news, and international news.

This country has its own national language and the national language papers serve the Malay reading public.

It has been suggested that we, too, should produce a paper in *Bahasa*. This is very much in our minds, but we realise the cost involved and we must take time to study this with the view of publishing a Malay-language paper alongside our English-language paper, one day in the not too distant future.

We have every reason to thank our lucky "*Star*" for our good fortune and success and we hope our readers will continue to patronise us.

We cannot help making mistakes at times but our intention is to serve public interest to the best of our ability. So any small mistakes we might make should be passed over as a slip of the pen or the tongue.

Our Vital Links with the Commonwealth

DATUK SERI DR. MAHATHIR'S STATEMENT in respect of our association with the Commonwealth appeared to suggest that he has lost confidence in the Commonwealth.

According to him it is not all that important today because of the behaviour of some member countries. According to the Prime Minister "there is too much talk with nothing tangible." That I must say is common to most organisations.

With Commonwealth conferences this is to be expected because the Commonwealth countries are spread throughout the four continents. They consist of peoples of all races and creeds. They are made up of the former British colonies which were given their freedom after the independence of Malaysia as Britain introduced its "change of wind policy."

The British decided to free all the colonies and bring them into the fold of the Commonwealth association as friends. It did not quite work that way.

The conditions of life in some of the more backward of the former colonies made things difficult. Some were won over by Russia, some remained uncertain and unsettled, joining various groupings of nations. But still they retained their membership in the Commonwealth.

Everyday we hear of trouble — murders and other acts of terrorism — breaking out in these countries. Malaysia has remained a staunch member of the Commonwealth and conditions in this country remain congenial for such an association.

The multi-racial society of Malaysia has great confidence in our association with the Commonwealth countries.



At the Commonwealth Conference, 1966.

We have associated closely with Britain and countries in this eastern hemisphere, Australia and New Zealand, for a long time. We have every reason to be happy because of our economic and defence ties with these countries.

Politicians with political maturity must know how important it is for us to keep in close association with our Commonwealth friends and Asian neighbours. It doesn't seem to have been very long ago when we were threatened by Sukarno's confrontation.

It was only the presence of the Commonwealth forces here that saved us and prevented Sukarno from direct and open aggression against us.

Sukarno was later supported by Macapagal of the Philippines and Mr Bhutto of Pakistan. But Britain, Australia and New Zealand stood by us throughout the periods of the Emergency and the Confrontation. We were then in a tight spot indeed.

I remember an occasion when the Commonwealth forces were having naval manoeuvres in Australian waters. Admiral Sir Varyl Begg, the British Commander-in-Chief called on me, and I asked him to conduct an air exercise over Sabah when the aircraft carrier rounded the Straits of Sulu.

This he did. And although Admiral Sir Bagg faced severe censure from the American and British Governments Mr Macapagal behaved himself after that. The Indonesians too felt they had had enough of Sukarno's pranks and his unhealthy association with the communists. The rest of the story is well-known.

Malaysia was saved not by us alone but, by God and our friends, the Commonwealth countries I have named. Even the Royal Australian Air Force is stationed here today not in their own interests nor for their own benefit but at our request and for our protection.

The threat from our neighbours in the south is over, but there is a serious one looming in the north and east of Thailand.

We must prepare ourselves to meet the new challenge and we must not be caught napping.

Are we strong enough to meet this challenge? No, not by a long way. Don't pass over good deeds as if they don't count now. The Commonwealth countries' past services to our nation cannot be easily forgotten. Like a good and grateful friend we must remember their good deeds always. As a Malay proverb says: "*Hutang mas boleh dibayar, hutang budi dibawa mati*" — a debt of gold can be paid but a debt of gratitude is taken to the grave.

Datuk Suhaimi Kamaruddin, head of the UMNO Youth, has taken up the call and asked Malaysia to drop its association with the Com-

monwealth and instead join the Muslim groupings.

There are so many Muslim groupings and I can say we are in almost all of them. The biggest one was organised by us at the request of the late King Feisal of Saudi Arabia.

We joined the Afro-Asian bloc but not the Arab League. The latter is restricted to the Arab countries.

We have joined Muslim groupings but we have not declared war on Israel. If Datuk Suhaimi wants to do this, then all he has to do is recruit the young braves and send them to the front to fight and exterminate the Jews, or die in the attempt.

Our well-balanced foreign policy is an important factor for our country's well-being and security and I took full responsibility in shaping this policy when I was Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

For our South-East Asian region, we first formed ASA with Thailand and the Philippines. Then the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia formed *Maphilindo* but it didn't work out because of Sukarno's antics.

After Sukarno's downfall and with Singapore's independence we formed Asean. This has brought together Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia.

Though they have done little, nevertheless they can speak and work together and while they are on speaking terms we can expect peace among these nations.

Our most important association, however, must still be with the Commonwealth because we speak the same language and have the same basic administrative background.

When South Africa was expelled from the Commonwealth, or rather withdrew from the Commonwealth, because of its apartheid policy we thought we had succeeded in setting our house in order.

Unfortunately, the emancipation of new nations has brought many problems.

On the whole, the Commonwealth is still the best organised body of nations working, or attempting to work, together for the common good of each and all.

The Commonwealth set up a secretariat some years ago. Its object was to serve the interests of the member nations. It has done much to liaise with member nations, co-ordinate their efforts and make plans for the well-being of the under-developed member countries.

I can't remember off-hand the things that have been done, but a few agencies were established for this purpose, especially in the education and economic fields.

There is some truth in what Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir has said about there being more talk than work. This happens even in the best organised association. When the membership of the Commonwealth increased the problem also increased.

I remember an occasion when I had to preside at a Commonwealth meeting in the absence of Mr Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of Britain.

Sir A.M. Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, took the floor and spoke for most part of the day. When I finally summed up I found no substance whatsoever in his talk, except that he loved to be heard.

Another African Prime Minister took to the floor after him. He also spoke at some length. I could not control them at all and was praying for Mr Wilson to come back but he didn't come that day.

When he turned up the next day, he said to me, "I hope you enjoyed your role as Chairman." I just laughed.

The grouse against Britain and the other advanced members of the Commonwealth is that they have increased their fees in their places of

*With best wishes for
Christmas
and the New Year*

Elizabeth R

Philip

1981

higher learning without giving even a little thought for students of other Commonwealth countries.

The increased fees make it impossible for our young people to enter the universities.

Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie has indicated that he will take this matter up when he attends the forthcoming Commonwealth meeting in Melbourne and we hope he gets the support of other members.

Luckily for most of these students, America has made available places in their universities for them.

According to Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie (*Star* Sept. 7) "fewer are studying in industrialised Commonwealth countries: instead they are going to the United States of America where we have more than 7,000 students."

It is evident that the United States of America is doing much more to help the Commonwealth students. It too was once a colony of Britain, and it would be a good thing if America could come back to the Commonwealth and take over the leadership.

However, Queen Elizabeth II should remain as head of this association of nations. The President of the United States could take over as Chairman of the conference. This would augur well for the future of the Commonwealth.

But this, of course, is an idle dream — a forlorn hope, an old man's fantasy.

America with her large land area and abundance of opportunity could well take in the excess immigrant population which is plaguing Britain's economy and causing embarrassment to Britain.

Britain once ruled an empire on which the sun never set. Today they are paying in full the price of their past glory.

I know Britain well and once considered it my second home. At one time I was quite angry with them but today I am their friend and I can't help but feel sorry for them.

Whatever it is, don't blame the Commonwealth. Instead, consider this: each and everyone of its members can contribute its little bit to make this Commonwealth of nations a success.

Jockey's Woes

I WAS ASKED TO OFFICIATE at the inaugural meeting of the Malaysian Jockeys, Association at the Hilton Hotel on September 25.

This is a step in the right direction — the jockeys are getting together with the object of looking after their own interests and to safe-guard their profession.

Until now there has been no such association. Jockeys had to fend for themselves as best as they could.

There are now many racing associations that have been formed. For instance, the Race Horse Owners' Association, the Syces' Union, and their combined effort has done much for their members.

But the jockeys, having no organisation to look after them, are disunited, weak and entirely at the mercy of the racing tycoons and those in control of racing.

Racing has come a long way in this country since Independence. The income the Government gets from racing totals no less than \$400 million a year. At the time of Independence this barely touched \$4 million.

This increase is due to innovations in racing. For instance there are the three-digit lottery, the four-digit lottery, off-course betting and discount betting. All these have combined to make racing in Malaysia a great success. At the same time, it has ceased to be just a sport. It has become instead a big business enterprise.

The four turf clubs of Malaysia and Singapore control racing. They have done their job well, but racing in Hong Kong is even more outstanding. It has no equal anywhere in this part of the world — a million tickets and more are sold at \$5 a unit for each race.

The turf clubs in Hong Kong have a limited number of horses and this sport is run off in a confined space.

But the clubs continue to introduce innovations to make racing even more popular. They have now introduced night racing to meet the schedules of the shop and office workers and this has won many racing fans.

The progressive Perak Turf Club, headed by Datuk Yeoh Cheang Lee, studied the possibility of introducing night racing in Ipoh and is convinced that it will be popular.

As always, he came to me for advice. I supported him wholeheartedly because it will enable outstation racing fans to attend racing in Ipoh.

The problem today is the difficulty of getting to a racing centre by plane and by train. The times of arrival conflict with the racing times, so Ipoh races are less patronised by outstation fans than the other clubs.

The change to night racing would cost the club a tidy \$5 million so they are scared that it will not find favour with the Government. I assured them that anything that can increase the Government's revenue will find favour with the Government. So they asked me to get an indication from the Government and said if I gave them the word, they would introduce night racing.

I wrote to the former Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein Onn, but he did not reply as he had a hectic time, what with the UMNO General Assembly and his heart attack. So I told them that silence was consent — and to go ahead with their project. In any case, the business of fixing the racing calendar and the time of racing is the prerogative of the turf clubs. But they did not dare go ahead. They asked me to try again with the new Prime Minister. I assured them I would do that.

There are, of course, some people who object to racing — but they are the first to accept donations from the turf clubs.

The turf clubs, in fact have paid out a lot of money to various charities; I have been one of the recipients. With the money I received I gave a lot away to sports and charities.

However, racing in this country has become a very popular sport and millions of dollars are invested on horses from Australia, New Zealand, England, Ireland and in some cases from the United States, Germany and France.

The Tote Board has also opened up stud farms in Tanjong Rambutan and our locally bred horses have done very well indeed. With the importation of new blood from outside we can expect to do even better.

The Government has always given moral support to sports and en-

couragement to the racing clubs. But without the help of the owners, the trainers, the jockeys and above all, the fans, racing would not have been the success it is today..

There are also undesirable elements who have cashed in and made big profits from racing. These are the bookies and the organised gangs. They exercise a great and unhealthy influence on the results of races and the dividends paid. They will try to control the jockeys if they can. In other words they are the greatest menace to racing in this country.

It is in the interest of jockeys to protect themselves against these people, and the only way they can do so is to band together. This association they have now formed is the answer.

Once upon a time, racing used to be called the sport of kings and all jockeys were gentlemen riders. But today, jockeys are all professional riders.

Jockeys play a great part in making racing a success. At the same time their careers are hazardous. Accidents happen all the time. Jockeys have died.

I am also made to understand that ordinary insurance companies are not keen to insure them. As a result, if anything happens to them their dependents will be left without support.

So it is timely that jockeys should form an association and subscribe towards their own welfare, so that if anything happens to any of them the association can take care of them or their families.

The jockeys' grouse which they communicated to me is against the employment of expatriate jockeys. An analysis of mounts and winners ridden by expatriate jockeys as supplied to me is reproduced below. The period is for January 3 to September 6 1981.

**A breakdown of the total number of
races between Jan.3, 1981 and Sept. 6
1981 and winners of expatriate jockeys.**

Total races as at Sept.6 — 577 (pro-am not included)

Total races won by — 286 (49.5 per cent)
expats.

Total mounts available — 6,636
from 577 races

Total mounts taken by — 2,484 (37.43 per cent)
expats.

Total mounts taken by — 1,510
top 10 local riders

Total mounts balance — 2,642

There are 64 licenced local riders. Deducting the top ten riders, it leaves 54 riders for 2,642 mounts. Assuming that the opportunities are evenly distributed amongst them, each will get about 49 rides, which works out to be something like, a gross income of \$480 per month.

Even if all the 6,636 mounts are divided evenly among local riders, it works out to each earning only \$1,016 per month.

Based on this analysis, it can be seen that there aren't enough rides to go round even if there are no expat jockeys.

Another grouse is by the Owners' Association whose Chairman was present at the meeting. He complained that floats for the conveyance of horses from one race course to another in the northern region were undertaken by a private company which did not provide modern means of transport; thus horses suffer a lot on these journeys. When they arrive at their destinations they take time to recover. This does not contribute to the well-being of the horses.

When the owner asks if he can provide his own transport, the turf club for some inexplicable or unknown reason, does not listen.

This is an example of some of the grouses the turf clubs must consider because the owners have paid out so much money to make racing pay in this country.

According to the President of the Singapore Jockeys' Association both the Malaysian and Singapore jockey organisations will co-ordinate their efforts to look after their members' affairs.

According to them, they have not been as well treated as to the visiting jockeys and their earnings have also suffered because of the number of expatriate jockeys based locally.

Admittedly we must have visiting jockeys to ride from time to time as this is done in most countries in the world. This will help to improve the standard of riding in this country and increase the popularity of racing.

The visits of such jockeys as Lester Piggott from England and Peter Sellers from America, and now the two lady jockeys, Miss Pateman and Miss Wagg, have made an impact on the racing fans.

Our jockeys appreciate this too, but their concern is that the number of expatriate jockeys riding here has affected their income.

The turf clubs should give some thought to their complaint. This I am sure the turf clubs will do and hopefully so will the owners.

Mentris Besar Crises

The crisis over the Mentris Besar of Johore and Pahang is causing concern to UMNO members and the people of these two states in general.

This is not the first time that a crisis over state government Heads has happened.

In Sarawak in 1966, in Perak in 1976, and in Kelantan in 1977 the problems resolved themselves after much excitement and nervous tension. Today, they are only past history.

Nevertheless, what happened in those cases could well be employed to deal with the present situation in Pahang and Johore.

A classic case in point is that of Sarawak when Datuk Kalong Ningkan was ousted as the Chief Minister. It will be remembered that he lost the confidence of his own party, SNAP, and that of the Alliance.

When challenged to relinquish his post and asked to call a meeting of the Council Negri for a vote of no-confidence, the Speaker, being Datuk Kalong Ningkan's man, refused to agree.

When I told him that his action was unconstitutional, he retorted haughtily: "I know the Tunku feels bitterly disappointed with me 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.

"Unenviably, the Malaysian Prime Minister's plan for a greater Malaysia is a plan to disguise the transfer of the 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 ambition 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".

He used other epithets to describe me, but they are not printed here for good reasons.

Under the Sarawak 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 Negri, then unless, at his request the Governor dissolves the Council Negri, the Chief Minister shall tender his resignation to the members of the Supreme Council.

Article 6 (3) of 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 Negri.

On June 10, the Alliance National Executive Council announced that Penghulu Tawi Sh would take over as the next Chief Minister of Sarawak. This same announcement immediately called on Ningkan to resign.

The statement added that if he still refused, appropriate action would be taken against him.

But Ningkan still maintained he would only abide by a ruling of the court and no other. His lawyer lodged a statement of claim seeking a declaration and an injunction from the court on the ground that the Governor of Sarawak had acted unconstitutionally in sacking him.

I called Parliament to meet in emergency session on Monday, September 10, 1960 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.

On September 24, 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 take appropriate action against him.

The Council was convened and all 25 members of the Alliance group, led by Tawi Sh, voted for the motion of "no confidence" against Ningkan and he was voted out of office.

Then, we have the case of Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi, who was appointed Menteri Besar of Perak by the late Tan Razak with the approval of the Perak UMNO.

This appointment, however, did not find favour with the Sultan. For this reason, I had earlier withdrawn Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi from

Perak and appointed him as our ambassador to Egypt. But Razak, for some reason saw fit to return him to Perak.

This started the trouble again and the Sultan would not co-operate with him, so both went their separate ways. This was politically bad because the Constitution provides that the Mentris Besar and Chief Ministers are the peoples' representatives and as such, the rulers and the Yang di-pertuas Negri must act on their advice.

Article 71 (1) of the Constitution states "in the exercise of the functions under the Constitution of the states, the rulers shall act in accordance with the advice of the Executive Council or of a member thereof acting under the general authority of the Council, i.e. Mentris Besar and Chief Ministers, except as otherwise provided by the Federal Constitution or the State Constitution.

Under Section 6 of this Article it is provided that if the Mentri Besar ceases to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly and only at his (the Mentri Besar's) request can the ruler dissolve the whole Legislative Assembly.

The ruler, therefore, cannot sack the Mentri Besar who can only be ousted from office by the majority vote of members of the assembly.

By the same token, a ruler cannot refuse to accept a Mentri Besar proposed by the people. What would happen if he does and the legislative council of the state sends in the same man again as Mentri Besar?

In the case of Haji Abdul Rahim of Pahang the Assembly may well return him to office again, or the Central Government, acting under Article 150 of the Constitution, may suspend the State Constitution to allow him to take office.

This, I am sure, the Prime Minister would not do because it would create an undue national crisis. Only in extreme cases would the Prime Minister use his emergency powers.

The unfortunate affair involving the Mentri Besar of Pahang started from his appointment. The ruler had asked for the names of two or three persons so that he could make a choice. It was clear that the ruler was not favourably disposed towards Haji Abdul Rahim but Datuk Hamzah, who was the head of Pahang UMNO, sent in Haji Abdul Rahim's name. So from that moment things did not go right between the ruler and the Mentri Besar. UMNO was right in sending only one name because the ruler has no power of the veto, so whoever enjoys the confidence of the party and the legislative council must be accepted by him. He can only give assent but has no right to choose a Mentri Besar after his own heart.



Haji Abdul Rahim — former Menteri Besar of Pahang.

This is so because the Mentri Besar is the man of the people and if the ruler is given the right to choose him, the Mentri Besar would be the ruler's man and subservient to his will. This will turn democracy upside down.

In Johore, another serious conflict has arisen between the ruler and the Mentri Besar. This came about when the present Sultan was appointed successor to the throne of Johore in place of the Tengku Mahkota without the knowledge of the Mentri Besar.



Tan Sri Othman Saat, former Menteri Besar of Johore.

This, no doubt, was wrong because the Menteri Besar, being the executive head of the state has the right to know of a change in the order of succession, although the law of the state gives the Sultan the absolute power to appoint his successor.

Ever since then, relations between the ruler and the Menteri Besar could be said to have deteriorated.

According to the *Star* report of October 2, the Sultan of Johore has taken over the Bukit Timbalan government complex, the office of the Menteri Besar. The move, according to the *Star*, "would put Sultan Iskander al-Haj in the mainstream of the state government administration as all state departments are located there."

I hope this is not an indication that the ruler of Johore will take over the Government of Johore and exercise the power wielded by the former rulers under the old Sultanate system.

I am sure that being a man of intelligence he must know that the Constitution of this country will not allow such a thing to happen. He must take care, therefore, to honor and uphold the Constitution, otherwise the Government may be forced to act under the provisions of Article 150 of the Constitution.

The crisis in Johore and Pahang can therefore be said to be identical.

Malaysia is fortunate in that it can claim to be the only country in the world where Sultans enjoy the prestige and dignity of rulers and constitutional heads of states.

To the Malays they are the custodians of the Islamic religion and custom. To other Malaysians, they are symbols of unity among the people of all races and creeds in this country.

Since Independence, the people and rulers have managed to pull together well; let this happy state of affairs continue.

But to ensure the continuity of good relations and understanding, the rulers must keep out of politics and remain above it.

The situation in Johore and Pahang is beginning to look serious, and I should hate to see it get worse because it could lead to a severance of the good relations between the rulers and the people.

This may result in an amendment to the Constitution which can affect the position of the rulers, vis-a-vis our constitutional monarchy.

What the Prime Minister does with one he can also do with the other.

The procedure, in the event of conflict between the Mentri Besar and the ruler, is clearly defined in the Constitution. There should be no difficulty in resolving such differences, but care must be taken not to endanger the good relations between the rulers and the people.

If the conflict between the ruler and Mentri Besar reaches the point where the Mentri Besar has to obtain a vote of confidence, such a decision can be highly injurious to the prestige of the ruler.

Our Constitution provides that Malaysia shall be a democratic and constitutional monarchy. The rulers therefore, have certain rights and privileges, but the power to rule this country rests solely and entirely with the people, whose representatives are elected to Parliament and State Assemblies.

In that sense, the powers of the Sultan are limited and their role in the legislature of each state is infinitesimal or symbolic.

Before things get worse I would advise the rulers to call a conference immediately and discuss the situation and give advice to the rulers concerned on what should be done to resolve the dispute because what happens in these two states will affect the others.

Fortunately, however, the Conference of Rulers will be held on October 16 and this matter should be made an item of utmost importance on the agenda.

The UMNO members are not likely to give way because they are aware of their rights and conscious of their duties and responsibilities to the people whom they represent.

Therefore, the rulers owe it to themselves to find a solution to the crisis, which, in fact, is easy to settle if attended to in time.

Of Monarchs and MPs

POLITICS HAS BECOME a RELIGION for some and an obsession for others. Some believe they owe a duty to their people and country to enter politics, while some others consider it a means to an end.

It defies definition, but politics is understood to mean astute policy or constitutional thinking and how best to run a government. They say it was the Greeks who introduced politics, but I think it must have been started with Adam because he started producing mankind.

History tells us that politics changes with time. What was considered good politics in the past may not be so now. For instance, labourers in those days were considered servants and menial workers who served their masters without question, but today the unions dictate terms and the relationship of master and servant exists no more.

Britain's proud boast that "Britannia rules the waves and that Britain shall never, never be slaves" is not true anymore for, alas, Britain today has become the unions' slave.

Where kings once ruled with the power to decide the life and death of their subjects, today, the power has been taken over by the people who act through their elected representatives. The divine right of kings has given way to the democratic right of the people so kings have become the spiritual and symbolic Heads of State while the people rule.

The last absolute ruler to go was the Shah of Iran. When Farouk, the last King of Egypt, was alive, he predicted that there would one day be only five kings left — the Kings of Spades, Diamonds, Hearts, Clubs, and the constitutional King of England.

He could not possibly have foreseen that a monarchy even more constitutional than that of England would come into being one day, and ex-

ist in Malaysia where the King reigns for only five years, after which he will be succeeded by another King.

It will be remembered that when negotiations were being held with Brunei to bring that state into Malaysia, one of the issues which caused the breakdown of the talks was the demand made by the Sultan of Brunei that he should be made the next Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

This of course would have been contrary to our Constitution which provides that the most senior Sultan would be the next in succession.

Many changes took place after World War II and with the emergence of new independent countries, politics has taken many shapes and forms.

Before the War, the only politics we knew was of big powers conquering others and establishing colonial rule. So we heard of wars and conquests.

Hitler's master race theory claimed that coloured man were inferior, only fit to be governed by the White Aryan race. At the other extreme were the Communists who professed the upholding of the principle of equal treatment. The end result was World War II. Although the war brought death to soldiers and civilians alike, it also brought a change in political thinking.

A new type of politics which gave rise to the Declaration of Human Rights emerged. It stated that all men were equal. Under the protective influence of the United Nations, this right has been enjoyed by men of all races and creeds. New nations were born and new governments formed.

There are a number of countries in Asia which have a constitutional monarch but Malaysia introduced, for the first time in history, a system whereby only the Throne is permanent but the King is succeeded once every five years. No other nation has such a Constitution. The system is a manifestation of Malaysia's faith in democracy.

In the states of Malaysia, however, the Sultans are installed hereditary rulers and the spiritual heads of their states. They are above the law, above politics and above all administrative matters. For the last two decades everything about this system has worked well and it is in everybody's interest to see that the *status quo* is maintained for all time.

It is very important indeed for a country like Malaysia to make sure that good understanding between the rulers and the people and among the people themselves must prevail.

This is a country with many races and religions and utmost care must be taken to preserve the harmony and goodwill which exists.

Things can go wrong even in a country populated by one race but hav-

ing different religious beliefs.

In Lebanon, the people are all Arabs, but the differences in religion has brought about endless fighting among the people.

Lebanon can be said to be one of the most prosperous, fertile and beautiful countries in Asia. Today, it is war-torn. No one living there is safe. The once prosperous country has become a graveyard for the living.

There are more examples I can quote, but one is sufficient to show that we must guard against such state of affairs happening here. Malaysia is a land of milk and honey and it is for us to preserve it as such.

The new world order has brought mankind some respite, but how long will it last? Our experience has shown that nothing lasts long. There are powerful nations who still have a secret desire for more power.

Sooner or later it must come out in the open. I don't think there will be open warfare as in the past, but their desire will be manifested in the shape of expansionist movements.

We can detect signs of these powers trying to influence others. Every nation should think very hard before joining any particular power. We can be certain, however, of one thing and that is we cannot remain aloof and alone. On Independence, Malaysia decided to go all out for democracy so she joined the Commonwealth bloc.

Malaysia has achieved great success with its constitutional monarchy and democratic system of government.

On one hand, we have a feudal system of government with the King at the head while on the other hand we have democracy which gives the people the right to administer their country.

These two ideologies work very well together in Malaysia. The great understanding between the people and the rulers has brought prosperity and peace to the country.

When a Malay is asked if he would prefer to remain under a constitutional ruler, or be in a Republic with a President, he picks the King, for a President can be dictatorial and undemocratic. He has a stake in a multi-racial country like Malaysia because of our King and rulers.

Japan and Thailand also are monarchies but they have discarded all the titular heads and chieftains as being out of date in the modern world. The Japanese equivalents of Marquis, Viscount and Baron, have all disappeared. So have the Thai titles, such as Chao Phrya, Phrya and Phra.

Only Malaysia was daring enough to bring back the traditional titles of Tun and Tan Sri and all other Datuks, which in some states during the colonial time had fallen out of use.

The system has been well received by Malaysians of all races and creeds. They welcome these awarded titles as recognition of service done for the nation and the states.

For the Malays it is important that we should have this institution of rulership. We come from a race of people who believe in leadership right from the level of a village chieftain to the ruler of a nation.

All leaders are given respect and they in turn look after the welfare of those who trust them.

I was, therefore, sorry to read the report (*Star*, October 15) that the proceedings in the Dewan Rakyat had to be adjourned because an insufficient number of members were present to make up a quorum. This is shocking. It never happened in my time. It shows how little interest and how little respect Parliamentarians show for Parliament.

This most unbecoming behaviour on the part of MPs have given rise to public criticism because as MPs they must attend Parliament.

This is not the way the custodians of the nation should behave, particularly when they claim to be the spokesmen of the people and the champions of democracy. It must not be allowed to happen too often as it might offend the public.

Elected representatives have been entrusted to administer the government of the country, so they must work and not just be seen to work. Nelson said at the big naval battle of Trafalgar: "England expects....." and to Members of Parliament, I say: "Malaysia expects you all to do your duty."

Honour the Honoured

I MENTIONED IN MY LAST ARTICLE how we came to use the titles of Tun and Tan Sri and I was asked to elaborate and also to give the reasons why we revived these and other titles when most former feudal countries had done away with them.

When we decided to have a constitutional monarchy we had to introduce all the trappings that accompany royalty. So it was that we drew from the past and brought back the titles of Tun and Tan Sri, and revived the other titles of Datuk.

The titles of Tun and Tan Sri date back to the first Moghul Dynasty of Kedah under Marong Maha Wangsa.

It happened this way: The Moghul Prince of Rom was on his way to China to marry a Chinese Moghul Princess. As the fleet rounded the coast of Sumatra, a sudden storm broke out (these storms are now known as sumatras), the violence of which was unknown before. It wrecked most of the ships, but a few, badly damaged, made their way to Langkawi Island.

The survivors took shelter at a place now called "Gua Cherita", a cave on the tip of the island. The prince was, however, lost and the survivors decided not to go back to India or continue on their journey to China.

They spent some time in Langkawi repairing their ships, and some craftsmen among them decided to carve their story onto the rock at the entrance to the cave, presumably giving an account of their disaster. Hence, the name "Gua Cherita" — the cave with a story. The writings in the cave, however, have eroded away with the passage of time.

The survivors then made their way towards the mainland, using the Kedah Peak as their guiding point. They arrived at the mouth of a river

and sailed up as far as they could, finally dropping anchor in the village now known as Merbok.

The ships attracted a lot of visitors as the people had never seen anyone like them before. In time the chiefs from the interior, who were known as Tan Dharmadeva and Tun Perkasa also came to Merbok. When they arrived they entertained the visitors lavishly.

As it turned out, the people of Kedah (Kalha) had no king and these chiefs offered the throne to the leader of the Moghul survivors. So the first King of Kedah was crowned and assumed the title of Marong Maha Wangsa. He preserved the titles of Tan and Tun and conferred these titles on the chiefs of the country.

When Malaysia became independent, we introduced the highest orders in the country: The *DKM* (*Darjah Kerabat Di-Raja Malaysia*) is only conferred on the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and carries a dark sash, collar and star; the *DMN* (*Darjah Utama Seri Mahkota Negara*); the next highest award is only given to the Sultans.

However, when I retired as Prime Minister, the then Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Sultan Ismail of Trengganu, and the members of the Cabinet decided to confer on me the order of *DMN* — which was a departure from the rule. After his death, Tun Abdul Razak was the next to be awarded this order.

Unfortunately, this order was not always given the due respect it commands. I remember an occasion when I attended a tea party given at Parliament House to Foreign Ministers of Muslim countries who were in Malaysia for a conference. I had to wait on the steps of Parliament House for one hour until the last of the Assistant Ministers had left before my car was allowed to pick me up.

Needless to say, I was disgusted with the casual treatment, not only because I was the first Prime Minister but also because I was the holder of the highest award conferred on an ordinary citizen. In actual fact, the holder of this order takes precedence over all others, except the Rulers. It was expected, at least, that I would take precedence over the Assistant Ministers. It was agreed, in fact, that when I retired I should take precedence after the Prime Minister.

It happened again when I attended the birthday celebrations of the Sultan of Kedah. I was placed in the order of precedence after a judge.

After an outcry and publicity given by *The Star*, the State Secretary apologised.

Even after that, at other functions — official and non-official — I was never accorded the precedence due as a holder of the *DMN*. When Tun Hussein Onn became the Prime Minister he corrected this anomaly and

now Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad has followed his example.

I have brought this matter up not because I want to be recognised but because I feel that the Central and State Governments should be made aware of our Malaysian roll of honor and of the necessity to give due respect to award holders. Otherwise, honors are meaningless.

The next title of importance is the *SMN (Seri Mahkota Mangku Negara)*, which carries the title of Tun. This is the First Class Order of Chivalry given to the citizens of this country. The holders of this title are normally the Prime Minister and the Yang di Pertua Negri and other foreign dignitaries who are honored as close friends of Malaysia.

Next to this is the *SSM (Seri Setia Mahkota Malaysia)*, which also carries with it the title Tun. This is normally given to the senior members of the Cabinet, the Lord President, President of the Senate and other dignitaries. The order of seniority is the date of the conferment of the order.

Then we have the title Tan Sri. It should have been more senior than Tun, but because of the similarity with the Chinese surname "Tan", it was decided to reduce the rank and put "Sri" after it, hence "Tan Sri".

To a Chinese, for instance, whose surname is Lee to add the title of Tan may be wrongly interpreted by those who don't know that the man has two fathers. That may be an insult to him.

Another title, the *PSD* carries the title of Datuk, which is awarded by the King for service rendered to the nation. This award is conferred on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, or by the King himself.

The states are given the right, without restriction, to appoint Datuks in their territories. Perak has in addition, a special hereditary "datukship" given to the four and eight chiefs.

Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin of Kedah abolished the title of Datuk. This was revived only after Independence by the late Sultan Badlishah. The states of Johore and Kelantan had Datuks even before Independence and in East Malaysia, Sarawak has the Datuk Pattingi awarded by the Raja on the Malay chiefs.

After Independence, the title of Datuk Amar was created, in addition to which there are also the ordinary Datuks.

Sabah, under Tun Mustapha, had the most number of Datuks in the whole of Malaysia. It was said, whether it is true or not, that even the Tun's driver was a Datuk.

Kedah and Perak introduced the title of "Datuk Seri". It can be said that Malaysia has, for its size and population, the highest number of honorary title holders in the world.

I would like to see these awards given more selectively, particularly by

the states, so as to give the holders more importance. Many people are made Datuks every year. As the numbers increase the title loses its prestige.

Another matter which is of concern is the slackness in the observance of the rule of protocol. Protocol Officers who are required to accompany foreign VIPs should retire to the back room, leaving the VIP to talk to the host. Instead, they remain in the same room, making it impossible for the host and the VIP to discuss private matters. Their presence can be a source of embarrassment to both host and guest alike.

When we set up our Protocol Division, I sent some officers to be trained in the Thai Foreign Office. The Thais have vast experience in the matter of protocol.

Our Protocol Officers in those days were well aware of their duties, but today there does not seem to be the same strict observance and our young Protocol Officers appear completely lost. They should be briefed on their work and duties, so that they will know what to do in any given circumstances.

In concluding the article, I must mention an incident which happened to me when I resigned my seat in Parliament. I was asked to surrender my train tickets, in these words "*.... mintak Tuan serah balik tiket kereta api...*" — "return the train tickets, Sir..."

I was shocked because this letter came from the Chief Secretary to the Government and he should know the correct form of address.

In my reply, I told them that I might have given up the Premiership and the parliamentary seat but I had not given up my hereditary line of Yang Teramat Mulia, Tunku.

I received a profound apology from the Chief Secretary who said that he had signed the letter without reading its contents. He also he said had no intention of slighting me as he had the highest respect for me.

What was worse was when a Secretary of one of our embassies abroad used the word "*saya*" when speaking to the Sultan of Selangor.

Malay *adat* calls for the use of the word "*patek*" for "I".

One day a telephone repair man in Penang addressed me as "Pak Haji". I was not taken aback or offended because he did not know any better, being a menial worker, but when a top civil servant called me "Tuan Haji" I was naturally offended. Being a top civil servant, he should have known better.

I am particularly fastidious on matters of etiquette because "good manners maketh the man".

Mr Lee Kuan Yew in his interview with the Far Eastern Economic Review referred to me, I quote: "The Tunku was sometimes very dif-

ficult to interpret. His royal style was so subtle that I often missed his nuances" (*Star*, Oct. 23).

I accept his compliment, but I have always believed in being frank and forthright. When I saw that Mr Lee wanted independence for Singapore I just gave it to him.

We have one great difference between Malaysia and Singapore: Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy and Singapore is a republic. This probably accounts for his misunderstanding of me and my "nuances."

Crime in Malaysia

WHEN ONE OPENS THE MORNING PAPER, the first thing that gets one's attention is news of killing, kidnapping, violent robbery, rape — and recently, an epidemic of burglaries.

It has become so bad these days that it is impossible to sleep without wondering what's going to happen in the neighbourhood.

Crime occurs in broad daylight too.

A doctor was taking a stroll in his garden. A car turned in; he was kidnapped and only released after ransom money was paid.

A neighbour opposite my house, Datuk Neoh Choo Ee was luckily out when two intruders entered his house one afternoon. When his wife and daughters resisted them, they were shot and wounded. The police rushed over, but the intruders jumped over the fence and landed right in front of my house in Western Avenue, where I was holidaying at the time. The intruders tried to shoot my policeman sentry, but he was quicker on the draw and wounded one of them, the other got away. Then other policemen arrived and the wounded man fought it out with them and was killed.

Unfortunately, a few years after this, kidnappers were more successful. Datuk Neoh was snatched in front of his gate, and held for a ransom of \$500,000. He was finally released and the police picked up some suspects.

Day in and day out, this happens to various people, although many do not report for fear of reprisals. Banks, goldsmiths' shops, business houses, even small traders and taxi drivers are prey to these abominable criminals.

And now we have an epidemic of planned burglaries by *pukau*, or

ritualist burglars, who put their victims to sleep by hypnosis, charms or magic.

They go from house to house stealing and have never been caught: sometimes they burgle three or four houses in one street. I was told it is against their creed to use arms, so when they are confronted by homeowners the only weapons they have with them are house-breaking tools such as screwdrivers and hammers.

It is said that these burglars come from Indonesia where these crimes are rife.

Indonesians sometimes find it hard to protect their motor cars from being stripped of all the tyres, lamps and other accessories. The burglars can dismantle cars just outside the owner's home without drawing attention to themselves.

They use charms or black magic, or the so-called *pukau* to put the household to sleep. The "*pukau* gangs" never kill or wound unless they are forced to do so in self-defence.

I feel sorry for Tun Haji Sardon Haji Jubir whom I know is well-equipped with charms and talismans — mostly of Javanese origin — which he wears on his person.



The Tunku offering an old friend, Tun Datuk Haji Sardon, a light.

He used to boast to me that he was well protected in those days when we were fighting for Independence. According to him they protect him against violence or evil.

Despite his "invulnerability," he fell victim to these "*pukau*" burglars. The poor man lost a lot of his savings including Toh Puan's jewellery. Contary to their usual practice, they slashed him with a sharp instrument and wounded him. Our sympathies go to him. What happened to him was given prominence in our Press, but this happens to others everyday.

The former general, Tunku Osman Jawa, had a very bad experience too. A "*pukau* gang" broke into his house; they caught him, his wife and son and bound them and robbed them of what they had. Luckily he did not have much in the house by way of cash and jewellery as the burglars cleaned the place out.

Before he could recover from his trying experience, the mental anguish and pain, they came again the next night. But there was nothing left to rob except the food they found in the pantry. So they had a picnic on the lawn and littered the empty tins and bottles all over the place.

Robbers also entered the Datuk Bandar's house but luckily he was away on leave. Like the shrewd man he is, he had kept all articles of value safely, so the intruders got hardly anything.

The police must have numerous files on reports of these *pukau* robberies but they are powerless to deal with them. I am superstitious enough to believe that the police crime detection squad cannot cope with this type of crime.

They must seek the aid of the Indonesian police, who must have vast experience in dealing with these criminals. I am positive the Indonesian police will be happy to co-operate. Our own *bomohs* are no match for these *pukau* intruders, when Tun Sardon, with all his charms, fell victim to them.

There is another type of crime which is not very well known today but which existed or is supposed to exist here. These are the petty thefts by ghostly imps.

These little imps are known as *toyol* and are brought, or were supposed to have been brought, in a bottle from Mecca. They are taken care of by the person who brought them.

They go out to steal for their owners, but only just enough to sustain the master — and what they steal is never more than \$10. So the master is not all that happy, because \$10 these days can't buy much, and they are allowed to roam wild and do what they like.

The most recent experience I heard of happened in one of my Penang houses occupied by my clerk, Hashim Pawanchee.

According to him one night at about 11 pm, he went to the toilet and saw these little imps grabbing the basin which contained the remains of a papaya which Hashim had eaten earlier. Frightened, he went back to his room and called his wife. As she came out, these imps ran towards the stairs and climbed them. The couple noticed that their feet did not touch the ground as they ran.

They were about three feet tall, bald-headed, and had distended stomachs. Each was about the size of a child of two. But they had a mature appearance and shining heads.

So Hashim called in a *bomoh* and was told to place twigs of the drumstick plant around the house, which according to the *bomoh* would keep them away. Sure enough, they have never appeared again.

Before Hashim moved into this house, some prison warders lived there. Small change or money of small denominations frequently disappeared and the warders could not understand it. It was said that these little *toyol* were the culprits who stole for their master.

It is hard to say who their master was but it is believed that they belonged to someone living near the house. This clerk of mine is prepared to swear that his story is true.

Crime even follows us to the races.

When we enter the Turf Club, we hear the warning: "Beware of pick-pockets", but in the excitement of the moment the gamblers forget this and many find themselves poorer by many dollars.

A friend of mine was going to the tote window to buy tickets when, as far as he could remember, a girl bumped into him. He took his place in the queue, but when his turn came he found his wallet missing.

The only place I know where there is no robbery these days, no burglary, no kidnapping and hardly any crime at all, is Saudi Arabia.

There, one can leave one's homes open without fearing some intruder will enter. At the call for prayer, businessmen just cover up their wares with a piece of white cloth, while some of the bigger shops just put down their shutters, and all make their way to the mosques.

After prayer, they return and need not even see if their belongings are intact.

Saudi Arabia became crime-free because of the severe punishment meted out to people caught stealing. Thieves have their hands amputated. More violent crime begets more severe punishment. One must say that Malaya was almost crime-free during the Japanese occupation because of the severe punishment meted out by the Japanese military

and police authorities.

With the crime rate higher than it has ever been before, it is a great pity to see that the police on beat duty are being deprived of the use of arms. They are instead, being given truncheons as used by police in crime-free countries.

Arms should be restored to the police so that they have an effective weapon to deal with these criminals, who are mostly well armed and who will not hesitate to shoot if any attempt is made to arrest them.

Sometimes I feel I would like to escape from this society. But I am too fond of life here.

There is one consolation. Everyone has heaved a sigh of relief over the painless budget presented by the Finance Minister, Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah. At least, the Government is making no attempt to rob us. So, despite the menace we face in our society we can say on the whole that Malaysia is a happy country.

The Greatest Ruler of All

FOR THE LAST 3 OR 4 DECADES, I have made it my duty to hold an annual religious ceremony at the royal cemetery of Langgar.

It begins with a breakfast of *nasi kunyit* (saffron rice) where 300 mouths are fed. These are mostly boys and girls who come to get their little Hari Raya gifts.

In the early days, they were given 10 cents each with the *nasi kunyit*. One could buy quite a bit with the coin then. After the war it was increased to 20 cents. When I became Prime Minister, I gave 50 cents to each child and \$1 to adults.

Although the gifts have had to be increased to \$1 and \$2 respectively, I will carry on this practice for as long as I live. When I die I expect to be buried in this cemetery together with my ancestors and hope my descendants of the line of Putra will carry on this practice.

I told the late Tun Razak this at the funeral of the late Tun Dr Ismail in the covered shrine of Masjid Negara when it was suggested that I had wanted the place for myself.

I am one who has great respect for the memory of my ancestors. One particular person whom I would like to single out, and whose memory I treasure is Almarhum Tuanku Mohamed Jawa, who lived in the early eleventh century of the Hijrah.

According to Encik Mohamed Hassan, the royal chronicler and the Minister of the royal household at the time of Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah, Tuanku Mohamed Jawa, the eldest son of Sultan Abdullah, decided to leave Kedah without anybody's knowledge to seek higher education outside the state.

He left in Hijrah 1015 for Jambi in Palembang, Sumatra, and sought

the help of an Arab tutor named Sheikh Abdul Jalil. The Sheikh was a man of great wisdom and learning, who taught the Malays of Sumatra religion and other subjects of world interest.

Tuanku Mohamed Jawa became his favourite pupil. Abdul Jalil saw great potential in this young man and decided to give him greater attention.

The tutor and the pupil decided to leave Jambi to go to India where they could see something more of the world. There, the Sheikh started classes where he gave lessons to many Indian students. Among them was one outstanding student by the name of Hapisap.

In the meantime, Tunku Mohamed Jawa's father, Sultan Abdullah Al Muazzam Shah, died in 1018. Tunku Mohamed Jawa was to be installed ruler, but the royal councillors were unable to trace him. All the years he had been away he had not communicated with anyone in Kedah.

Sheikh Abdul Jalil was impressed with Tunku Mohamed Jawa. On one occasion, he was heard to remark of his student: "This student of mine is no ordinary man, he must be somebody of good birth because of his good manners and his bearing. But try as hard as I can, I cannot get a word from him as to who he really is. He is somebody of importance and is bound to play a great role in the years ahead".

He therefore suggested to Tunku Mohamed Jawa to return to his country for, in his opinion, he had learnt enough and had proved himself to be an outstanding pupil. Tunku Mohamed Jawa himself was also feeling homesick. So he said to his *guru*: "If you, teacher and Hapisap, my friend, would join me, I will go home."

And so the three of them decided to get a passage to the Malay Peninsula. They were lucky to find a schooner owned by a Muscat merchant of Oman who was on his way to the Malay Archipelago to buy silk and spices.

They sailed around the coast of India to Burma where the boat dropped anchor at the port of Mergui.

In the meantime in Kedah, Tuanku Mohamed Jawa's brother, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin, who succeeded Sultan Abdullah, died in 1121 and the people were in a quandry.

They had to find a direct descendant of the ruler to succeed him. Only after they had exhausted all efforts to find a successor could they appoint another man not in the line of succession to the throne of Kedah.

So the Raja Bendahara consulted all the ministers and decided to find Tunku Mohamed Jawa who, they felt was somewhere in Palembang Burma or India.

It was agreed to send two delegations, one to Sumatra and Java and the other to Burma and India. Tunku Mohamed Jawa had been away for six years and all agreed that it would be a miracle if he could be found. In the meantime a council of regency was set up to run the state.

Datuk Kamajaya and his party went to Sumatra and Java, while Datuk Seri Inda Mambang Sengara Shahbandar set out for India and Burma.

By coincidence, the boat carrying Datuk Seri Inda Mambang berthed in Mergui next to the schooner from Muscat. The Datuk went across to the schooner to ask the captain if he had heard of a Kedah prince by the name of Tunku Mohamed Jawa, whom he believed had gone to Muscat from India.

Tunku Mohamed Jawa, his *guru* and friend, were on deck but since he was dressed in Arab garb, the Datuk did not recognise him. When he heard his name mentioned, he jumped up and the captain said: "Here he is, this is Tunku Mohamed Jawa."

Datuk Mambang rushed to embrace the prince. He was then informed of the death of his father and brother and was told he was to succeed to the throne. Tunku Mohamed Jawa did not want to waste more time in Mergui and proposed to the captain that he set sail immediately for Kedah via Langkawi. He promised to pay him handsomely for his service.

Datuk Mambang, however, advised him not to go back immediately because the Kedah people wanted to give him a right royal welcome. So he said he would send his ship immediately to Kedah to bring home the good news that Tunku Mohamed Jawa had been found.

The prince agreed to wait for a few more days, but he said that the best place to wait would be in Langkawi, a beautiful island off Kedah.

The captain of the schooner agreed that since he was going to be paid good money, why waste time in Mergui. They therefore set sail a few days after Datuk Mambang.

Not many days afterwards, they arrived in Langkawi and entered the harbour. The island people gave Tunku Mohamed Jawa a rousing welcome. News was sent home to say where he was and that he was waiting for advice as to when to return to Kedah.

So it was that Tunku Mohamed Jawa returned to a great welcome of the Kedah people with the firing of guns and the beating of the *nobat*.

On the 12th month 1121, Tunku Mohamed Jawa was installed Sultan Mohamed Jawa Zainol Azilan Muazzam Shah. Immediately after he was made Sultan he started to reform the state.

He set up a Finance Ministry and issued currency in the form of cop-

per, silver and gold coins in various denominations, namely, copper coins of quarter, half and one cent, silver coins of 10 and 20 cents and gold coins of a dollar and two dollars.

He also carried out land reforms by introducing land measurements and title deeds known as *surat putus*. The measurements were *hasta*, *jemba*, *tali*, *penampang* and *relong*. The *relong* and *jemba* measurements are still in use in Kedah today.

The seat of the Government at the time was in Bukit Pinang, near where the airport is now. It was an area with hills and extensive padi fields and was considered one of the richest areas in Kedah, where durians, rambutans and mangosteens grew. But the Sultan, Tunku Mohamed Jawa, did not like it because there was no outlet to the sea. He sought out another site and named it Kota Star.

It was known as "Kota" because the palace was surrounded by brick and mortar walls like a fort. The area, however, was below sea level and was often subjected to floods.

Tunku Mohamed Jawa therefore planned extensive irrigation works, building canals like the Anak Bukit River, the Sungai Raja, and Sungai Tandop. The area became the most fertile one in the whole peninsula with high yielding padi and other farm products.

He finally decided to move his seat of government to Alor Star. The earth from the digging of canals was used to fill the swampy land of Alor Star. There was also a navigable river which flowed to the sea through Kuala Kedah.

Through it all, the Sultan continued to use Langgar as the royal cemetery which he had founded earlier. It was built up and surrounded by walls.

He appointed as religious heads, his two friends, Sheikh Abdul Jalil, as the principal *mufti* with the title of Maharajah Mufti, and married him to Wan Zainab binti Datuk Seri Maharajah Putra Dewa. Hapisap was made *Kathi* of the state and was also married to a court lady.

Tunku Mohamed Jawa had two sons by Cik Puan, Tunku Long Putra and Tunku Anjang. Tunku Long Putra was in charge of all land matters, and Tunku Anjang was in charge of ports and in control of the seas around.

It was the latter who took Trang, Kupa and Renong from the Thais. Tunku Mohamed Jawa also had three children by his second wife, Tunku Putri: a daughter named Tunku Rahmah and two sons, Tunku Abdullah and Tunku Dhrauddin.

Tunku Mohamed Jawa did not forget his work and duty. When he first took over the state, he thought of going into business, particularly

in trading. He consulted his *guru*, Sheikh Abdul Jalil, who advised him against it, saying that once a king turned his attention to business, his country would deteriorate.

According to Sheikh Abdul Jalil, there were certain important principles which the ruler had to observe.

Above all else, he said, the ruler must concentrate all his attention on the state and for this purpose he must find efficient, honest and dedicated ministers of state, who must give their loyalty to him, to Allah and to the people and the country.

They must be able to perform their collective responsibility as Ministers and so they must co-operate with one another and share their responsibilities and duties alike.

Above all, they must not be arrogant but must always attend to their duties with clear consciences and wisdom.

When they undertook any tasks in the service of the Government and the king, they had to have in mind that what they were doing was good for the country and the people.

They also had to try and groom the right men who would succeed them and they must not fear in undertaking this task, that these men would wrest the power from them one day.

The ministers must always work for their Sultan, Allah and the people. They must always remember that they were working not for themselves or to benefit themselves, but for the good of the nation. They must always be on their guard against the enemies of the state.

These were the important principles which Sultan Tunku Mohamed Jawa adopted. So it could be said that his reign brought a hitherto unknown prosperity and peace to Kedah.

He appointed his son, Tunku Abdullah, by the royal wife, as the Tunku Mahkota to succeed him while his other son, Tunku Dhrauddin, was made the Raja Muda of Kedah.

This led to the break-up of the family, for Tunku Long Putra and Tunku Anjang, the two elder brothers, decided to leave Kedah. Tunku Long went to Jambi and married the daughter of the Sultan of Jambi, while Tunku Anjang went to Minangkabau. Both never came back.

Actually, these two brothers, although born of a commoner mother, were much more educated and intelligent than the other two younger brothers and their departure from Kedah was a great loss to the state.

The great man drew his last breath on the first of Ramadan 1174. He was succeeded by his youngest son, Tunku Abdullah, who took the title of Sultan Abdullah Mukaram Shah and became the first ruler to be installed in the new capital of Alor Star. He also took the title of

Almarhum Kota Star the First.

The greatest ruler was undoubtedly Tuanku Mohamed Jawa, whose name will be remembered for all time.

Football in Malaysia and Singapore

I WAS ASKED TO COMMENT on the trouble that has broken out between the Football Association of Malaysia (FAM) and the Football Association of Singapore (FAS), which led to the banning of Singapore from participating in the Malaysia Cup series.

This is not the first time such differences have arisen between the two organisations. I remember in the old days when I first became the President of the FAM, we disagreed over issues connected with the Malaya Cup competition.

In 1951 the Football Association of Singapore decided to disaffiliate itself from the FAM and so they were kept out of the competition.

At that time Mr MacGregor Watt was the President of the Singapore Association and Mr Soh Ghee Soon, the Vice-president. They were naturally perturbed over the turn of events and they came to see me in Kuala Lumpur. I told them the ball was at their feet and it was for them to decide whether they wanted to compete with the rest of the Malayan states, or remain out.

As for myself I was going to stand by the decision taken at the Council meeting and would not make any exception either for Singapore or for any other State.

We had our set of rules, regulations and by-laws and unless these were upheld there was no knowing what would happen to football in Malaya. I stood firm on the principle that the teams must be treated alike. They then decided to go back to Singapore and consult the members of the FAS. Not many months after, they came back and informed me that the FAS has accepted our terms. That year, they were just in time to enter the competition.



Asian Football Confederation — 1967.

After we patched up our first quarrel with Singapore, I went to attend a Cup Final match in Singapore between Singapore and Perak. The people at the gate, however, refused to let me in. I told them that I was the president of the FAM of which Singapore was a member, but they refused to believe me and told me to go and buy a ticket.

Luckily, I saw someone inside who knew me and I shouted to him to call the FAM committee members who were already inside. It was then that the late Datuk Kwok Kin Keng, the late Koe Ewe Teik, the late Lim Kee Siong and a few others came to the gate with some Singapore officials to invite me in.

I did not make a fuss about it or take offence and I only recall this incident as a good joke. It was not surprising to me because it was the first time that an Asian had been appointed president of both the Selangor and Malaysian Football Associations.

In 1965 Singapore broke away from Malaysia but their football association still continued to be affiliated to the Football Association of Malaysia.

Then in 1967 they employed a Bulgarian coach who, it appeared, did not favour Singapore participating in the Malaya Cup Competition.

According to the coach, Singapore should be on their own and after lessons and courses he gave, Singapore should be able to take on any team in Asia.

But Mr Soh Ghee Soon, the president of SFA and a very good friend of mine, refused to listen to him and so Singapore continued to play in the competition.

Then about the end of 1967 or early 1968 Singapore decided to disaffiliate itself from the FAM again and we had no choice but to expel them. They left and for a year or two they kept to themselves and lost much of their fun and form. They, however, came back again when they found they could not maintain their standard of football and the interest of their fans.

About that time, we decided to withdraw the Malaya Cup trophy and substitute the Malaysia Cup with Singapore competing on invitation.

The competition went on well and despite the training of the Bulgarian coach, Singapore was not able to beat the champion team of Malaysia or an FAM team.

In the meantime, Singapore had completed its National Stadium which could accommodate nearly 70,000 people. It was acclaimed as one of the best stadiums in South-East Asia and this created very great enthusiasm amongst Singaporeans who loved football.

Therefore, at each match played at this stadium, the crowd turned up

in full force to cheer their own team which sometimes became embarrassing to visiting Malaysian state teams.

In 1975 I gave up the leadership of FAM and in December 1978, the leadership of the Asian Football Conference. At the presentation ceremony of the United States Sports Academy Award for Service to Sport, I said I had left to give the young people an opportunity to show their worth in football. These younger people are more progressive, more energetic and more dynamic, but they must take care not to be too dynamic as to rip the top off the AFC and FAM.



DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD

to

TENGKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA AL-HAJ

President, Asian Football Federation
Malaysia

for noteworthy contributions to

INTERNATIONAL SPORT

Education-Research-Service

1981

Board of Trustees

Robert E. Wood Dr. Harold Cohen David C. Hunt William D. Johnston III Dr. Thomas F. Reynolds Dr. George E. Ledy Dr. Mark Messner

Board of Visitors

Edward Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

James L. Lander Robert Field Dr. Barbara Parker Dr. Nicholas Lyle Alan Cook Earl Bostler Dr. Don C. Wadsworth

The United States Sports Academy Award given to the Tunku.

In actual fact I was aggrieved with some of the new member countries of AFC who showed utter disregard for law and order. They used the AFC as a forum for their politics. It was because of this that I left.

The leaders must handle the present crisis in the FAM with care, good sense and patience. The break with Singapore is inevitable for it is only right that the leaders of FAM should take our side as against Singapore.

On one occasion, in 1977, the Pahang team played against Singapore. The present Yang di-Pertuan Agong (then Sultan) attended

the match. The Singapore crowd who were exhilarated by the Singapore success screamed and shouted their guts out and this offended the Pahang supporters who felt that the Singapore people had not shown due respect to the Sultan.

When they came back they decided to move for the expulsion of Singapore. The steps they proposed were considered drastic and the FAM rejected their proposal.

This year, the Johore Football Association put up a strong paper seeking the expulsion of Singapore from all competitions run by FAM. The Council at its meeting on November 1 decided to ask the FAS to give their explanation on the objections raised by the Johore Football Association. The FAS duly sent in their explanation.

At the last meeting of the council held on November 29, chaired by Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, it was decided not to invite Singapore for the 1982 Malaysia Cup competition. The decision was unanimous.

Singapore should run their own competition as is done in other countries in Asia. Or they can be invited to participate in international tournaments played here.

On the other hand, it is not right for us to exclude Singapore because of the conduct of hooligans who got out of control at matches. The British football crowds are even more boisterous, unruly and destructive. The riotous behaviour of the teams' supporters in the league matches have caused great concern to the authorities.

Watching a television programme of a match between a Spanish and an English football team played in Madrid, one sees the British supporters fighting the Spaniards and committing all manner of atrocities, including the spilling of urine on spectators in the stands below.

I feel the teams should not be penalised because of the deplorable behaviour of their supporters. We have to agree to confine the Malaysia Cup competition to Malaysian states but we must be sporting enough to allow Singapore to take part in international tournaments organised by Malaysia.

Take horse-racing, for instance. Singapore now runs its own tote, separate from that of the Malaysian Turf Clubs, but horses in both countries are permitted to compete freely.

When Singapore broke away from Malaysia, the Singapore Turf Club did not accord me the same treatment as when they were part of Malaysia. I therefore decided not to go to Singapore for any of their race meetings.

It is clear therefore that Singapore is conscious of its own importance as an independent state. However, without Singapore's participation in

the Malaysia Cup competition, it can be expected that attendances will drop and so will our gate receipts.

But we cannot have it both ways; if we resent Singapore's participation because we don't like the behaviour of their crowds, then we must accept the losses.

Singapore will also suffer because the standard of football will deteriorate, but so will the standard of Malaysian football for the next two or three years.

As a Malay saying goes: Where two elephants fight the grass underfoot will be severely damaged.



The St. Catherine's Football Team. Tunku Abdul Rahman is seated at extreme right.

Two Hours Ahead of Tokyo Time

WHenever I visit Alor Star (which I do quite often on business), I am haunted by the ghost of the past. I feel depressed and sad.

It was here, in this old town, that I was born, grew up and lived so happily with my playmates and friends. Today, none of them are alive except my younger brothers and sisters. They are dead and gone, leaving me with only memories.

The younger generation fight shy of me because I am their elder. They only speak when spoken to. This is the custom of the Kedah ruling house, but good as that may be I feel lost as if in new surroundings.

There is nevertheless a strong sense of affection and friendship from the younger people.

The Sultan, the hereditary ruler of Kedah, is a nephew on the paternal side, while the Mentri Besar, the people's chosen leader is a nephew on the maternal side.

I have a host of other nephews and relatives who could form themselves into any army. Most of them refer to me, or call me "*Ayah 'am*" (Black Uncle).

There is a story — a true one — attached to my birth. I have related it elsewhere but it fits in so well with this story that I will repeat it here.

The keeper of the Sultan's seal had made use of the seal to enrich himself by making gifts of land under the royal seal for a price. When found out he was sentenced to death and the members of his family to severe punishment.

When the sentence was announced the family ran to my mother for help. She approached the Sultan and pleaded with him not to carry out

the punishment because she had conceived and feared that the child would be born deformed.

So the sentences on all were stayed although the keeper of the seal was sent to jail.

When the child was born he was black and so it was then that my mother confessed that at the time of her plea she had not conceived and that she lied to save the family of the keeper of the ruler's seal. So, for her white lie, the child was born black but not deformed. Thanks be to Allah.

By a strange coincidence I was fond of mixing with the humble boys. There were, of course, a great number of them living inside the palace and just outside the palace walls by the river. I used to fish and swim with them in the crocodile-infested river.

Sometimes we used to hear the crocodiles lashing their tails against each other making loud splashes in the water as they fought for some female crocodile's favour.

As a child, I played more than studied and life was glorious and fun.

The first tragedy which stuck in my memory for a long time was the cholera epidemic in Kedah around 1909. It took many lives, among them my elder sister, two younger brothers and half of my playmates.

As I sat outside the palace facing the road, I watched one funeral after another passing before me. I got over the losses, but never the memory of the horror.

I remember this, because now all my friends have passed away leaving me with no more friends of my age in Kedah. I always feel depressed when I imagine their voices and laughter.

The days I remember well were those of the Japanese occupation. It was a hard and cruel life. Nobody was quite sure what would happen: the flimsiest of uncorroborated evidence could land a man in serious trouble.

Kulim was the safest place to be in during the height of the British retreat. While there were looting and disorder in other towns, the situation in Kulim remained calm and peaceful.

The passive defence force and the disbanded Kulim volunteer force were commandeered by me to preserve law and order. We worked in shifts for 24 hours a day.

When the Japanese arrived, there was nothing to loot as all the goods in the shops had been taken to the hills beyond the town.

The Government of Kedah and what was left of the state departments had earlier moved to Kulim. However, when the Japanese came and took the state, all the officials of the Kedah Government returned to

Alor Star, and left the Kulim treasury to pay out the money we had saved.

Nevertheless, because of good order, confidence soon returned and people started to return to their homes and resumed business in a small way. This situation did not last long. The Japanese decided to strike fear into the minds of the people. For no reason, they took away 40 people who were in police custody awaiting trial for pretty offences such as riding bicycles without lights. They slaughtered them.

Once again, terror reigned in Kulim and people started to evacuate the town in fear. I was shocked and never dreamt that such a thing would happen. After that sad and painful experience, things quietened down. I organised a football competition to keep the people calm and the Japanese from harrasing the young men.

The early days of the occupation were the worst. As district officer I was the one responsible for peace and the well-being of the people, besides having a host of other duties to perform. In a way, I was happy to be freed of the work-load when the military authorities decided that I was not co-operative enough and had me transferred to Alor Star.

Alor Star was a very gay town in those days because of the abundance of food. People from other parts of Malaya flocked there, either to do business or to fill their stomachs.

There was one amusement park originally started by Shaw Brothers, but under the Japanese occupation they distributed the shares to the Malays, Chinese and Indian communities in equal proportion with Shaw Brothers.

In the amusement park there was a Malay *bangsawan*, *ronggeng*, Chinese wayang, gambling and food stalls. These attracted large crowds every night.

There was never a dull moment so long as one kept out of trouble. There was hardly any crime except for petty thefts and offences.

I remember on one occasion I went to Penang to buy a few things. I stayed for one or two days and managed to get four bales of white cloth which were precious in those days.

On the jetty on my way back, I met an Indian from Kedah who told me that he saw a chettiar being badly beaten up because he had brought into Kedah a bale of white cloth for his own use. Because he did not reveal the source of his purchase they beat him up.

The last thing he saw as he made his way to Penang was the man lying on the ground and he could not say whether he was dead or alive. That shook me up terribly because I had four bales which I was going to smuggle into the state.

When I heard this story I decided to turn towards Kulim. When I finally got into Lunas and called on an old friend late in the evening, I related to him the story of my plight. He advised me not to leave yet but to stay till late that night and find a way through the rubber estates to Alor Star.

I did just that and left Kulim at two or three in the morning and finally reached Alor Star at midday without encountering any Japanese on the way.

My sisters heard of my purchase and asked me for a few yards each. I gave it to them and also to some friends. However, I kept one bale for my own use in the event I or any member of my family should pass away. When the war was over this particular type of cloth was still not easily available.

One man asked for it in exchange for a small hill (Bukit Choras) which he owned. I accepted the exchange and developed it into a ram-butan plantation.

After Independence, much development was carried out in this area and I thought the people would appreciate the help we gave them. But when Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir lost the election in 1969 in the constituency of Bukit Choras, I was shaken. I swore I would never set foot again in that place and true to my word I have never been there since. I finally sold the land to Datuk Syed Kechik.

The period of the Japanese occupation was a period of uncertainty, and one had to make the best of life. I had many friends who never gave me a dull moment, so I can say I had quite a good time.

I remember one occasion in my house by the river — a makeshift home it was, because the Japanese had taken my house. The area was so low that it used to be subject to frequent flooding during the monsoon season. Nevertheless it was a meeting place for my friends.

One night we had a party in the house, eating, chatting and joking, while some were playing cards. At midnight my friends got up to make their way home but to our horror we found that the water had reached the stairs and had carried the shoes away. They had to wade barefooted back to their houses.

What really was a welcome relief in those dark and evil days of the Japanese military rule was the advance of time by two hours to fit in with Tokyo time. The extra two hours of daylight gave us plenty of time to rest and work to supplement our income.

I cultivated sugar cane, made my own sugar and sold the juicy canes. Then I had to take charge of the Siamese death railway refugees with the help of Khir, Senu, Wan Ahmad and Md. Jamil — all well known

names in politics and administration.

We had to go round hat in hand, collecting funds for our charitable work. Unfortunately for us, local waifs also found their way into the camp and we had to provide for them as well. However, the two hours of extra light gave us opportunities to work and relax.

Now the proposal by the Prime Minister to fall in line with East Malaysia time is a God-send to the lower income Government servants who can now find something to do after office hours to supplement their wages. I am one who support the proposal strongly. One might ask why I didn't do it in my time. I tried but failed to receive the support from my colleagues.

How All Races made the Merdeka Dream a Reality

WHEN THE WAR ENDED, we still faced an uncertain future. It was rumoured that Malaya would be ceded to General Chiang Kai-shek. Another story had it that Chiang Kai-shek was a spent force and that Mao Tse-tung was the one who would take over. All these stories made the people of Kedah very worried and nervous.

At about the same time, the Malayan Communist Party (MCP), started to take control of some Kedah districts. They were a terrible nuisance. Although they did not harm the Malays they took their revenge on those Chinese who worked with the Japanese. Some Malays and Indians who had gone out of their way to collaborate with the Japanese were also made to pay.

The Malays in Alor Star decided to prevent a communist take-over at any cost. It was then, with great relief that we heard that the Malay Force 136 had moved to Kuala Nerang and had set up their daughters there. Two of my nephews who had parachuted into the area, Tunku Osman, who later became a general and Tunku Yusof bin Tunku Kassim, were among them.

In the meantime I had visited kampongs with Haji Hussein Dol and called upon the people to be ready to defend Alor Star. The response was good. Some Government servants from Perak and Kedah who came to my house to seek protection from the communists were later sent to join Force 136.

I myself later went to Kuala Nerang to meet the commander and men of Force 136. They informed me that they did not have enough men under their command and that the force had just been formed.

Colonel Hassler, the commandant, asked me to send him good, in-

telligent and brave young men.

I told him that as an immediate step to prevent bloodshed in Alor Star, he should advise or direct the Japanese garrison to prevent the MCP from entering Alor Star.

That same evening he sent his colleague, Major Burr, and one of my men, Syed Mansor, to meet the Japanese garrison commander. After that, the Japanese garrison took control of the town.

Meanwhile, I sent four lorry loads of young men to Kuala Nerang. They were immediately put into training and quickly showed their skills, gaining the confidence of the commander.

The only thing I regret is that I was never reimbursed for the money I spent sending them there in the lorries. It came to quite a big sum. Once the commander got what he wanted, he forgot to even thank me.

Then the British Army moved in with their camp followers from India. These camp followers began chasing the women and making a nuisance of themselves, so our Force 136 men were ordered to deal with them.

The communists also came in and set up their headquarters in Jalan Raja. But nothing untoward happened, except that they wanted us to believe their proud boast that they would win independence for Malaya. To please the people they offered a good exchange rate for the Japanese currency and that made them rather popular with the people.

After peace was officially declared, the Japanese army officers were made to surrender their swords in Sungei Patani.

I recall one incident where a vice-admiral walked towards the British military official to surrender his sword. Before the vice-admiral reached him, he fainted.

The military police took him by ambulance to the Alor Star hospital. They noticed that the sword was lying beside him, so they decided to keep it as a souvenir.

Before this squad of military police was transferred, they realised that they could not take the sword with them, and so they offered to exchange it for a kris. Murad, the prison official (who later became Tan Sri Murad, Commissioner of Prisons, Malaya) brought them and the sword to me and I gave them a kris in exchange.

The sword is now exhibited in the Penang Museum.

After the British returned, some of the planters who had lost their properties and possessions when their bungalows were ransacked by the labourers, came to see me and asked about their losses.

I said I had nothing to do with their losses as their belongings had been taken by their own labourers and anything they didn't take was

seized by the Japanese four years ago. One man was so persistent that I gave him my own silver dish as consolation. He went away quite happy — again without so much as nodding a thank you to me.

The administration was taken over by the British Military Administration (BMA). The first batch was headed by Mr G. Sommerville who took to bullying me by way of revenge for what had happened in 1936 when I was the District Officer in Sungei Patani.

He had been the Conservator of Forests and he prosecuted a case before me against a man accused of felling trees in the forest reserve. I considered it hardly befitting the Conservator to prosecute the case himself. He should have left it to his officials. I resented his bullying tactics and threw the case out. He never forgot this and so when he came back to Kedah as head of the BMA he treated me rather badly. I think some of the other officers of the BMA must have brought this to the attention of the British officers in Kuala Lumpur, because not long afterwards he was replaced by Mr E.V.G. Day, who was quite a different man compared to Sommerville.

The situation in Kedah became quite pleasant though in the early days of the British re-occupation I used to buy bread at \$5 a loaf on the black market. But since I had not eaten it for four years I thought it was worth the money. We also had to pay for cigarettes through our noses.

Not long after we were able to enjoy our new life, a fresh storm broke out to disturb the equilibrium of the Malays in Malaya. This was the proposal by Whitehall to change the Constitution of the States of Malaya from a protectorate to a colony. That meant that the Malay rulers would no longer be sovereign heads but Grand Muftis.

This plan was hatched without consulting the Malay rulers who Britain was treaty-bound to respect.

It was a shocking case of treachery against the people who had been so trusting and friendly. This naturally incensed the populace. The rulers who should have shown some fight gave in rather meekly, so the people decided to fight the MacMichael plan on their own.

Political parties were formed in all the states, from north to south and east to west, to fight the Malayan Union plan. Datuk Onn bin Jaafar, the chosen leader, headed the Malays and called all to throw out the MacMichael plan.

For the first time, a Malay revolutionary movement was started; first it went by the name Persatuan Melayu and later the name was changed to UMNO (United Malay National Organisation).

Kedah held what was perhaps the biggest demonstration against MacMichael when he visited Alor Star. The kampong people turned up

in large numbers, so large that when the head of the procession arrived at the *Balai Besar*, the end had not yet started.

So they flocked to the *padang* without further ado and started screaming "Down with Harold MacMichael" and "Long Live the Sultans."

I was the head of Serbekas but among the men who ran that political body was Senu (Datuk Abdul Rahman) and among them were those leaders who had worked with me to look after the welfare of the refugees from the Siam Death Railway.

I had only attended one general meeting of the Malay movement as representative of Serbekas in Kuala Lumpur. That meeting discussed action against the Malayan Union. After that I fell out with the party and decided to go to England and finish my bar exams. Soon afterwards, Datuk Senu also disappeared and Serbekas existed only in name.

The Malayan Union was formed, but it did not last long in the face of strong Malay opposition under Datuk Onn's UMNO.

In July 1946, the British agreed to set up a working committee composed of representatives of the six state governments, two UMNO representatives and four representatives of the Malay rulers.

Malcolm MacDonald, the British Commissioner-General for South-East Asia was the Chairman. They were to draft an alternative Constitution to the Malayan Union.

This committee eventually agreed to a new Constitution, which replaced the Malayan Union with a new government called the Federation of Malaya to take effect from February 1, 1948.

UMNO, under Datuk Onn, had won a major constitutional victory and gained prestige and strength to become the strongest Malay political party in the country.

In essence, the Federal Agreement was an Anglo-Malay compromise and the views of the Chinese and others were sought only before the agreement was finalised and passed into law. This government lasted until 1955.

When I took over the leadership of UMNO from Datuk Onn in 1951, UMNO, newly reformed, with dedicated leaders (among them the late Tun Dr Ismail, Datuk Suleiman, Encik Ghafar Baba, Encik Khir Johari, Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi, the late Encik Rahman Talib, Datuk Haji Hassan Junus, Kaum Ibu leader Puan Sri Fatimah Hashim and UMNO Youth under Tun Sardon bin Jubir) decided to go all out for independence.



The Tunku on the platform.



The Tunku addressing a rally.

The call was soon taken up by the Malayan Chinese under the leadership of the late Tun Tan Cheng Lock, Colonel H.S. Lee (Tun), Ong Yoke Lin (Tun Omar), Tan Sri T.H. Tan (Tahir) and Tan Sri S.M. Yong. Later on Tun Tan Siew Sin joined in.

The Alliance of UMNO and MCA was formed and the constitutional battle for Independence started. Tun Abdul Razak was unable to take an active part, being a State Secretary and acting Mentri Besar of Pahang, and he could do no more than give us his moral support.

After our successes in the local council and municipal elections the Malayan Indians Association under K.L. Devasar and later under the late Tun V. Sambanthan and Tan Sri Manickavasagam joined us.

The greatest victory was the coming together of these main racial groupings for the first time in Malayan history. They were united with the common purpose of creating an independent Malayan nation.

The British knew their rule in Malaya must come to an end and like good sportsmen, they took it in good grace.

"*Merdeka! Merdeka! Merdeka!*" rent the air the length and breadth of Malaya and so it was that with the united and dedicated effort of all races loyal to this country we got our Independence.

Looking Back on 1981

THE YEAR 1981 will come to an end soon. It has been a year filled with events of a mixed nature. It was a year of economic strains and stresses and of a high crime rate. At the same time, it was a year of peace, progress and prosperity.

I started the year rather badly. First I swallowed a fish bone at a dinner and it got stuck in my throat. I had to go to the General Hospital where it was extracted by the doctor the next morning.

Then on January 6, I entertained an Arab delegation to a dinner where we had an enjoyable evening, but on my return home I felt a severe pain in my abdominal region. It was so severe that I had to call my friend, Dr Low Nan Hang, in the early hours of the morning to give me a jab to relieve the pain.

Then Dr Alhady and Professor Somasundram took out my gall-bladder.

That was a bad start to the new year. All my birthday celebrations were called off and I spent the time recuperating in my house in Penang. What was worse I had to give up my golf.

Then, events of importance followed in quick succession. In April, the Government announced a price hike in petrol and so we had to pay more for the use of our cars; nevertheless the motor traffic continued to flow and foul our air.

On May 11 the late Sultan Ismail of Johore was laid to rest at the age of 85 and he was succeeded by his eldest son Tunku Mahmood, the Raja Muda, who had earlier been dispossessed of his right to succeed to the throne in favour of his younger brother, Tunku Abdul Rahman. His succession therefore caused a stir, but happily the crisis was settled and

the parties involved appear to have forgotten all about it, although I must say, the situation at one time appeared very serious. Thank heaven good sense prevailed on both sides.

Then came the UMNO general meeting. The important item on the agenda was the election of the party's Deputy President. The aspirants for the post were two men who have done good work for UMNO and the country and who enjoyed great popularity among the people.

On one hand we had Tengku Razaleigh, the Finance Minister, and on the other we had Datuk Musa Hitam, the Education Minister. Datuk Musa won the election that followed and there was impending danger of a split within the party's rank and file.

Fortunately, party loyalty prevailed and the dark cloud was blown away peacefully. Tengku Razaleigh carried on as Minister of Finance, while Datuk Musa took over the deputy premiership and the Ministry of Home Affairs. Peace reigned supreme once again in the party hierarchy.

On July 13, there was great excitement when it was disclosed that four members of the Soviet Embassy engaged in espionage were using one of the trusted secretaries in the Deputy Prime Minister's department as an agent. Those involved were requested to leave the country, and by a stroke of good fortune, the case closed quietly.

The other sad event was the retirement of Tun Hussein Onn who felt that he needed a rest after his major heart operation. Nobody could stop him from stepping down as Prime Minister though many tried.

He had served for five and a half years and had enjoyed the confidence of the people. He had given glorious, loyal and honest service to the nation, exuding trust among his own colleagues, and the business community in both the private and public sectors.

He had also won the hearts of Malaysians, irrespective of race and religion. They all realised that the strain of high office had a telling effect on his health, and so they took his retirement with great understanding though with heavy and saddened hearts.

We hope and pray that he will live long to enjoy life with his charming and good loving lady Toh Puan Suhaila, sharing all the happiness with the rest of the family to the end of his days.

Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, whom Tun Hussein himself had appointed to be his deputy and to succeed him has taken his place as Prime Minister. The change over was smooth and methodical. As Prime Minister Datuk Seri Mahathir continued to carry out the policy laid down by his predecessors. So this Government is assured of a continuation in its policy.

But he did cause a little ripple in our friendly relationship with our old friend Britain. He criticised them for not giving Malaysia its proper place and for treating us in a slipshod manner. According to him this attitude towards Malaysia was not friendly and unless it was corrected we would have to go our separate ways.

The British Government understood his feelings, and as good diplomats they are trying to narrow the differences. We had our differences before over financial arrangements in 1957 which nearly led to our breaking away from the Commonwealth and so, compared with what had happened before, this rift is but a flea bit.

The Auditor-General, Tan Sri Ahmad Nordin, made a great impression when he criticised the Government for its accounting system. Ministries and Government departments came under sharp attack for the losses incurred by the Government.

How are these discrepancies and mistakes to be rectified? This question must be causing grave concern to the Government. Hundreds and thousands of millions of ringgit have been lost, particularly in the Government spending spree.

The crime rate in this country has also caused serious concern to all law abiding citizens. Everyday, when one opens the paper, one reads of crimes, citizens being kidnapped or extorted, or robbed — sometimes in broad daylight.

That's the penalty we have to pay for being a rich country and we can't blame the police entirely for not being able to curb what has happened. The citizens themselves are much to be blamed for not giving their fullest co-operation to the police in the maintenance of law and order.

There was excitement in Penang over the hijacking of an Indonesian Garuda plane. The plane was on its scheduled flight from Palembang to Medan when it was hijacked to Penang. The hijackers demanded the release of their associates in Indonesian prisons. From Penang they flew to Bangkok where Indonesian commandoes collared them with the help of the Thai Government and saved the lives of the hostages.

All the hijackers were killed. The exploits of these Indonesian commandoes will make history. We are happy, however, that this did not happen in Penang.

Another sad and unforgettable tragedy, unparalleled in the history of this country, occurred at the railway crossing in Permatang Tinggi when the bus carrying a number of young students going on holiday was crushed by a goods train.

"Why was there no gate at this crossing?" is the question now asked. As always, an investigation followed but the lives of these young people

have been lost. The horror of the tragic event will remain in the survivors' memories forever.

When I was the District Officer in Kulim, I must have crossed the line thousands of times, but we took care to slow down to make sure that it was clear before crossing. So how this accident could have happened will be hard to explain.

As regards sports during 1981, our footballers fared very badly at international competitions. Malaysia, being the parent body of soccer in Asia, has fallen badly.

Football has had its ups and downs, but for Malaysia there seems to be more downs than ups. Every effort must be made to rebuild the standard of football, particularly the *esprit de corps* among officials and players.

Coming to Mr Karpal Singh, my fatherly advice to him is just to say "sorry" and save our parliamentary democracy. It is sometimes noble to be humble and in this case, where others find you to be at fault, say "sorry" and shame the devil. People like this quality in a politician. So oblige them and keep yourself in their good books.

The Government back benchers used to have set-to with the members of the Opposition, in particular, the Seenivasagam brothers, but this resolved itself amicably. By so doing, it kept alive the debates in Parliament, so much so that in most days, the guest gallery was filled to over-capacity. I do not see why it should not be so today.

Members should not take it to heart and make enemies of one another for what was said or done in the course of duty in Parliament. This is parliamentary democracy at its best.

On the whole, we can boast of this country as having made great progress in many fields, except, I regret to say, in respect of our television and radio programmes.

As a result of the uninteresting and poor programmes, video tape rental firms are doing big business. In fact, they have helped to liven up the TV at home. I strongly recommend a review of our television and radio services.

For this purpose, experts from abroad should be invited to study our weaknesses and help put them right. The coverage of election campaigns on television has gone on far too long and so have some of the series, such as *The Sullivans*. Ministers' activities could well be put on the *Peristiwa* instead of in the news programmes. There are also too many prejudices for my liking in the presentation of the news. They don't care whether others like it or not.

Watching the *Sejarah* on November 23, I saw the Yang di-Pertuan

Agong presenting Tun Mustapha with the award of Seri Mahkota Mangku Negara. But the television made no mention of Tun Mustapha and, in fact, whenever he appears on TV now his name has always been left out. This is being done on purpose. Poor Tun, he had so many friends before; now that he is out of office they all have disappeared.

Our mass media must be fair and unbiased in their reporting, otherwise they cease to be news media.

As for next year, I see no dark cloud in the Malaysian sky and so there is no reason why 1982 should not be a good and happy year. At least, West Malaysia will have an extra half hour of daylight for us to enjoy ourselves or loaf about.

I can see peace and progress in the coming year in this country. I am particularly happy to see Malaysians of all racial origins getting closer together. For us all, this is a sure sign of peace and stability.

On this basic principle of racial understanding rests the fate and well-being of this country. It is our duty to make a success of our mixed society and Malaysia looks to every man and woman to do his and her duty to his country and his King.

With that I wish everybody a happy New Year and may Allah bless you all.



Tunku Abdul Rahman waving to a crowd before leaving at the end of a National Day parade. On the left is former Prime Minister Tun Hussein Onn.

The Arab Dilemma

THE SAUDI ARABIAN note on declaration of principles for a just and comprehensive solution of the Palestinian question should be accepted and agreed to by all the Muslim people of the world.

The occupation of the disputed territories led to the bitter Arab-Israeli struggle. Unfortunately, the overwhelming strength of Israel won the day and so they continue to be even more arrogant than they were before.

The Arab Muslims are divided: how then can they recover their lost territories?

Many of them are not prepared to send their forces to fight Israel. Egypt, which took up the fighting, had to give it up and then try and work out a compromise solution. This led to strong Arab resentment against Egypt, and as a result the Arabs are even more divided. Recovery of the lost territories appears more difficult.

The Arabs of Saudi Arabia had demanded the withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1957. Israelis had also taken over control of places of worship and the Arabs demanded that other religions should be guaranteed freedom of worship.

In addition, the Saudis demanded the confirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to remain in Palestine, and that a just compensation be paid to those who do not wish to return to their homeland.

It also demanded "the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as the capital."

It is hard to know what is meant by "a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as the capital." Does it mean giving the Jews the right to keep Jerusalem? Obviously, this is so because of what follows. It reads: "the

United Nations be asked to guarantee the implementation of these principles."

These are the terms for peace and unless accepted the struggle will continue.

These Saudi claims do not deny Israel the right of being in Palestine. Egypt had fought a war against Israel in pursuit of the Palestinian claims for a Palestinian Arab State and as a result more territories were lost.

The Egyptians made peace with Israel with terms and conditions considered to be the best.

This led to the assassination of President Sadat, the most outstanding Egyptian leader of the century.

Now, the Jews have taken over the Golan Heights and refused to budge despite America's demand that they withdraw. It is obvious that the Jews do not intend to give up an inch of what they have occupied.

The only way open to the Arabs and other Muslim nations which share Arab feeling and sentiments is to make up their minds as to what action to take.

There is no other alternative short of a holy war. Are Muslims able to fight this war?

There is a faint hope that under the weight and pressure of world opinion Israel might relent and give in to some of the Arab demands. Saudi Arabia's demand appeared quite reasonable but it did not meet with Arab support.

While this tug-o-war goes on, what hope is there of winning the battle against the Jews who are well organised and whose cause has been taken up by the world Jewry? They control the world economy, and economic strength is a powerful element which helps sway world opinion. We are left where we were before.

The combined force of the Arab wealth might be able to weigh down the Jewish economic power but are the Arabs ready to pool their resources to fight a psychological war against Israel?

Outside of the Arab countries, how many of the Muslim countries are prepared to throw in their lot with the Arabs?

These are the questions that have to be considered, not only by the Arabs but by other Muslim states — and many of them are not talking to each other. Iraq and Iran are even at war.

According to Egyptian sources, peace between Israel and Egypt is irreversible, but to broaden this peace and make it stable, the key is US pressure on Israel.

There is an "Eisenhower complex" now at work in the US. In January

1957, with Israeli forces fighting in the Suez Canal area, President Eisenhower intervened, put real pressure on the Israelis, and they withdrew from Sinai in 40 days. The sources also suggested a reduction of US arms deliveries to Israel and a modification of the law that permits Americans to make contributions to Israel exempt from income tax.

The Jewish retort to the Arab demand has been brusque and unyielding. They will leave Sinai to demonstrate their irrevocable commitment to the peace treaty with Egypt but will not accept pressure to make more concessions.

As to the Golan heights and the occupied West Bank, they will retain these territories. In New York, President Reagan has said that Israel's annexation of the occupied West Bank would be "a serious mistake spelling doom for the Camp David accord between Israel and Egypt."

According to him the annexation by Israel of the Golan Heights will negate the peace terms entered into between Egypt and Israel.

America is applying sanctions on Israel but how far they are prepared to go to stop the Israelis from colonising these Arab territories is a matter of great speculation to the Arabs.

The Saudi Arabian terms for settlement of the Arab-Jewish differences appear plausible but they meet with snags on both sides.

On the Arab side, the terms proposed by Saudi Arabia are not strong enough, while the Jews maintain they are too strong. To accept them would be to admit defeat and in their present position of strength they are not willing to do so.

We can take it from their attitude that nothing short of war can settle the issue. That is the position as we see it today.

It is sad to think that Muslims are divided and in such a situation it will be difficult to win the war against Israel. To lose it would cause a setback which would take generations to put right.

So what advice can one give in such a situation?

As the saying goes: "those who fight and run away, will live to fight another day."

That "another day" is the target date for which we have to prepare. We must go all out to win and it is the duty of not only the Arab countries but of other Muslim countries as well to throw in their lot for a Muslim cause.

In the meantime, our only hope is to win over world opinion which can force Israel to relent. Let us shout as loud and as clear as our voices can.

We, one and all, must condemn Israel for its aggressive acts.

Arabs must make a Defence Pact

I SUGGESTED IN THE last article that the Arabs, and Muslims in general, should decide on the target date for the fight to recover Jerusalem and the lost territories, as mentioned in the Saudi Arabian peace terms.

It is necessary for this purpose to set up a defence and military pact among the Arab countries. At the initial stage, it is essential to seek the help of European military experts as advisers. The Germans, of course, will be the best, but others can be co-opted into this advisory military body.

At the moment, each Middle Eastern country is spending a lot of money buying arms and planes from America, France and even Russia. Each country goes its own separate way to prepare its defence.

Without proper planning, determination and pooling of resources, their efforts will be of little value and their hope of recovering their lost territories will not be any nearer to being realised. These arms are expensive and they become outdated as improved ones are being produced every year.

In the matter of joint defence, the Arab countries could well follow the example of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

Here the nations of Europe are united by treaty for the defence of their countries. Their enemies, of course, are the Communists, who, according to the best opinion, are powerful enough to take over the whole of Europe as fast as their machines can carry them.

These NATO nations are constantly in touch with one another in preparing their defence arrangements. America is a powerful nation that supports this defence organisation. If any one member nation is at-

tacked, every NATO country will throw in its lot under a single command to fight the enemy.

In this way they can meet their adversary with confidence. They might lose ground early in the fight, but in the end they will win.

Arab countries are rich and economically strong, but alas they are divided. They have spent so much money without showing much result, particularly in matters of defence.

They will therefore have to do much rethinking in order to strengthen themselves to face their common enemy, Israel.

In economic matters they did well for themselves for God has given them undreamt of wealth. Now they are making a great effort to unite all the Muslim people of the world.

It started off in a miraculous way. A mad Australian attempted to burn down the holy mosque, the Al-Aqsa of Jerusalem and this caused great excitement among Muslims throughout the world.

At the time I was holidaying in Hong Kong and received a message from His Majesty the late King Feisal of Saudi Arabia to attend a conference which he and the king of Morocco were holding in Rabat, Morocco.

I left Hong Kong for Morocco. In Rome I took the plane which was placed at my service by King Hassan and arrived there in time for the conference. There was much talk and much excitement at the conference and in the end it was resolved to form a united Muslim organisation. I was asked to head it.

I set up this organisation in Kuala Lumpur at the time when I was Prime Minister. Malaysia bore all the initial expenses. Immediately after I retired I moved the headquarters to Jeddah where the late King Feisal gave us a luxurious palace for our headquarters.

I put up as Secretary-General for three years but the organisation did not function very smoothly because of the lack of essential facilities. For one, we had no telex links with the outside world, in particular the member countries. A telex link was considered a security risk.

Consequently, things moved slowly and it took three years before all Muslim countries became members.

We did, however, set up the Secretariat on the lines of the United Nations and the Commonwealth because their organisational structures had proved successful. Certain countries objected that I was leaning to the West and they were not very enthusiastic in their support for this organisation. Many Muslim countries were also attracted to other groupings, such as the Arab League, the Afro-Asia bloc and the Third World bloc.



The Tunku as Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference of Finance Ministers.

After a time I decided to win greater popularity for our movement by forming the Islamic Development Bank to give financial help to member countries, to make them feel that they were taken care of by their richer Muslim brothers.

I had to leave the Secretariat to organise the bank and finally at the request of the Finance Ministers in 1974 I handed over the management of the bank to Professor Dr Ahmad.

These were among the real, honest attempts by Muslim countries to strengthen Islamic unity. But they still have no military pact to defend their countries or their religion. They must therefore form one now with the aid of military experts from European countries.

The Arabs are sensitive about this matter because they consider it undignified and humiliating for them to seek aid or expert knowledge from those who are not of their own people. But I maintain that if we are sick or feeling out of sorts, whatever medicine that can help us regain our strength must be used. And when such medicine is not available in our countries we must look elsewhere for it. What is most important is our health.

We in Malaysia went through that experience when we first became independent. We made a pact with Britain to allow their scientists and other technical experts, including military experts, to continue in our service — in some cases for three years, or for such time as we needed them.

Our objective was to make our Independence meaningful. To us Independence did not mean just the joy of being free people. It meant that we had to be happy, to be well provided for and to be secure in all aspects of life.

The late President Sukarno of Indonesia used to condemn us as neo-colonialists and insulted us every day. It failed to have much effect and finally he decided to attempt to wipe us from the face of the earth with his battle cry of "*Ganyang Malaysia*."

From attacking us over radio, he decided on direct aggression and sent his troops to penetrate Malaysia. But in the end the Indonesian people themselves realised that he was being used by the Communists. So they decided to get rid of him and after 1965 we were left free from further trouble. Indonesia became a close ally.

At the same time we formed in 1963 the Association of South-East Asia (ASA), which later included Indonesia and Singapore and was renamed ASEAN. The objective was to try and build up economic co-operation among these nations.



As the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers with the Chairman, the late King Feisal on his left.

Again, the one thing that is missing here is a defence pact to meet a common threat. A defence pact will have to be made some time and it is a matter of urgency that immediate consideration be given to it.

I believe, for that matter, that it must have been in President Sadat's mind to have a military pact among the Arabs when he decided to make peace with Israel. The Arab countries must form a defence pact among themselves and the Muslim countries must associate themselves with it.

Jerusalem has been in the hands of the Muslims since the time of the Crusades when Sallehuddin, the most outstanding Turkish leader, drove out the combined forces of the Christian countries and took Jerusalem for the Muslims.

It is not difficult therefore for us to drive out insignificant Israel from Jerusalem if we really make up our minds to do so. This is the D-Day on which we must all concentrate our efforts, our hopes and our prayers. And by the grace and will of Allah we will win. *Insha Allah.*

Allahhu Akhbar, Allahhu Akhbar, Allahhu Akhbar.

The Way to Racial Harmony

THE NIGHT UMNO GAVE Tun Hussein Onn a farewell party was a night to be remembered. In all my years in politics I have never seen an assembly of so many UMNO leaders from all levels together with the leaders of all the other Barisan partners, the MCA, the MIC, the Gerakan and associate members from Sabah and Sarawak.

They had come from the four corners of Malaysia to do honor to the man, their former leader, who had given loyal and faithful service to the nation. He had never played for publicity or popularity but worked silently for the nation, and this he did well. So well that he won the admiration of all Malaysians irrespective of race or creed.

When I saw the many men and women who had come to attend the party, all the way from Perlis to Sabah, I was impressed. I was touched. Tun Hussein and Toh Puan Suhaila must have felt proud of the tribute paid to them.

In paying tribute to Tun Hussein, the Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, had this to say: "Tun Hussein succeeded in leading Barisan Nasional because he kept his head and he was calm and cool...."

In fact I had heard that he is a man who really stands by the rule, for by his side he would have a ruler with which he underlined every important point he wanted to remember.

"He is a man of principle," said Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir, "and with a depth of vision. He would come out with a decision acceptable by all quarters."

This is only a part of the tribute to the former Prime Minister. As I said earlier all people joined him in honoring a good man, Tun Hus-

sein is such a man.

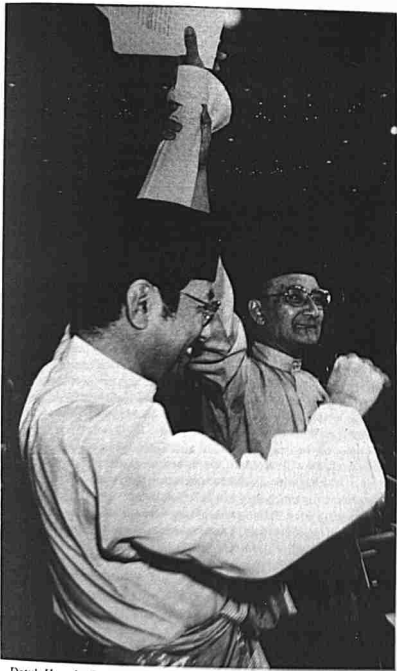
Tun Hussein in turn paid tribute to his wife, Toh Puan Suhaila, who according to him, is his constant companion, his mentor and his controller. In other words, she not only helped to keep his body warm, but his head cool, and in her quiet way gave him the confidence he needed to lead the nation. It was nice to hear a leader who speaks so well of his wife. Those who know Toh Puan Suhaila know how well she deserves such a tribute.

We all wish Tun Hussein and his good lady a good life and a happy retirement. I am glad to hear the Government is showing its appreciation by appointing Tun Hussein as Petronas adviser and chief world-watcher. With his experience and his trusted ruler by his side, he should do his work well.

We must be more than happy to know that since Independence, Malaysia has travelled the right road to peace and prosperity and as Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir said, Tun Hussein helped to lead the Barisan Nasional towards this goal.



Datuk Hussein Onn.



Datuk Hussein Onn holds up Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir's hand after the latter had delivered his speech.

By coincidence, on the night of January 26, Tun Omar Yoke Lin brought me a discarded and dilapidated envelop. I had written and drawn on it for him in 1959 and he had kept it all these years. It was a sketch of my dream picture depicting an angel, or at least a figure of a lady in white, behind a fountain from which water was gushing out in large volumes.

According to the dream, this fountain had been dried up for generations past. This meant that this country never had Independence as the water had dried up from this pool. Now, Independence had come so we could expect prosperity and the angel signified peace and happiness.

I was not clear, at that time, what this dream signified because I knew there was some trouble in the Alliance Party, and more trouble with the Communists. But the prediction of peace, prosperity and happiness came true for our trouble with the MCA was patched up under the new leadership of Tun Tan Siew Sin, followed by the declaration of the end of Emergency on July 31, 1960.

One of the signs of our present well-being is the fact that the leaders of this country have agreed on the policies best suited for a country like Malaysia. We are so various in culture, thinking and religion, yet we are united.

I say here that Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir did not at the time share my policy, for in his book *The Malay Dilemma* he derided me.

But now that he has assumed the office of the highest executive of this country, he must agree that he cannot depart from the basic policy which was enshrined in our declared faith in Malaysia's democratic principle.

He knows, as he is a fair-minded and well-educated man, what is good for us all. He will, no doubt, do his best to serve the interests of this multi-racial society with special consideration for the Malays who have no other home for which they can call their own.

As the saying goes: "*Hujan mas di negri orang, hujan batu di negri kita. Baik lagi negri kita ini.*" Translated into English it means: "Even if it rains gold in other countries but it rains stones in our's, our own country is still the best."

What is wonderful about it is that the other races don't begrudge any favours shown to the Malays so long as they are not deprived of their right to make a living here. They have adopted Malaysia as their home. They, as children or adopted children, are entitled to share the love of their foster parent, Malaysia.

Of course, there are some others who are not and who refuse to be

adopted. But their numbers are so insignificant and small that try as they may, they cannot break up our happy society and tear down our government.

UMNO's politics have changed much since it was first started by Datuk Sir Onn bin Jaafar. It has shown a well-defined development as it progressed.

The first UMNO worked on purely Malay political thinking; its slogan was "*Hidup Melayu*", and its object was to fight the Malayan Union plan which was advocated soon after the war.

UMNO broke up the Malayan Union plan and set up in its place the Federation of Malaya Government which returned to the rulers their rightful status. After this victory UMNO lapsed into complete lethargy.

Datuk Sir Onn then left to form, for the first time, a political party based on non-communal, non-sectarian and non-religious thinking. He called it the Independence of Malaya Party.

UMNO, under different leadership, decided to go for Independence and changed its slogan to "*Merdeka*". The party had to re-organise itself to meet its new commitments. Alone, we could not get Independence and we had to win over to our cause the Chinese, the Indians and the rulers. Having won them over, the battle for Independence started in earnest.

The constitutional struggle for Independence went on relentlessly without any let-up for six years. Finally, the Alliance won for Malaya, for the first time in its history, a united independent nation. Now, the course UMNO is taking is for a united, peaceful and prosperous Malaysia.

We are fortunate in having natural resources and we can expect a stable economy, if we make the best use of this wealth.

One thing, however, we have not as yet mastered is how to win over the others to this nation. This is a task which is not quite so easy to achieve.

They are here to stay. They have built homes for themselves, and they have set up big and small businesses here. They have helped to develop this country and ploughed back all the wealth they have earned into this country. So by all reckoning it should not be difficult to win them over. But there is a third group who refuses to adopt this country as their home and they are urging others towards their own thinking.

It needs the joint effort of all the good citizens to drive some sense into them.

This country has everything our hearts could wish for provided we work for it. Only one-third of our good earth has been opened up, two-thirds is virgin jungle with hidden wealth waiting to be explored. There

is no question of anybody being squeezed out of a living.

While everything that can be done must be done for the Malays, others must be given an opportunity to help themselves. With the attitude of give and take, we can expect to make some headway towards our goal of a united Malaysia.

This is the task that faces our new leaders and they must give their full attention to it. May Allah guide them.

Another Birthday for Me

I WANTED TO SPEND a very quiet birthday this year and so I arranged to have a small party for relatives and close friends in Alor Star. The last time I spent my birthday there was 18 years ago.

Alor Star has fond memories for me. After all, it was my birth-place and when I am there, I often remember my friends and colleagues who are now dead. There are now only three persons whom I visit when I go to Alor Star and they are much younger than I am.

I always feel sad when I am in Alor Star. I seem to hear voices and laughter which brings back memories of those happy days. It has changed much, and has become a flourishing town instead of the quiet country town. There are big industries such as the Dunlop factory coming up. The whole of the padi land across the river has now been developed with shophouses, while the other side of the town, Telok Wanjah, has also been developed with many highrise buildings and shophouses. So what used to be a sleepy place is now a flourishing business centre in northern Malaysia.

I have made my home in Penang now and have found new friends who are very much younger than I am. I have one advantage in that I can always enjoy the company of those of my age, of those younger than I am and also of those poorer than I am. I always feel at home in their company. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why I keep myself happy.

There are many experiences which have helped to enrich my life. I remember the happy days when I was a young boy without a care in the world, playing in the sun, dancing in the rain and swimming in the crocodile-infested river.

In those days when we had no piped water we used to have dipper

baths from a Chinese jar filled with water from the well. How could one not help liking the flowing waters of the river, so crocodile or no crocodile, I would plunge in and have a quick swim.

I have recounted how I spent my time as a student in Malay and English schools in Alor Star and Bangkok. After that I was sent to Penang for English schooling.

From Penang I went to England and then after graduation at Cambridge I started work as a Kedah civil service officer. I have already mentioned my experiences as a Government servant and how I was compensated with \$6600 as arrears, due on my salary.

Despite that experience, it is nice to feel that the Government appreciated my past service as a Kedah civil service officer and the Sultan has bestowed on me the highest State award.

As one gets old, one likes to avoid parties and public functions. This is the change that comes naturally to one who has reached the ripe old age of 79.

I am fit and well, I still have a good appetite and occasionally do all the things I like to do (like horse racing and playing golf). So I must say I am lucky. I give thanks to Allah and to the many friends who have made my life worth living.

For most people, friends flock around them only when they are in office and influential. As for me I can say I still enjoy the company of true friends, loyal and sincere. One such friend, Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad, regretfully has just passed away at the ripe old age of 87 — one might say of senility.

I remember when Datuk Onn left UMNO. Tan Sri Ahmad was the first man to approach me and ask me to take over the leadership. I was a bit diffident because my past experiences had shown how fickle-minded politicians could be. When they have gained their ends and objectives, they would reject you outright.

I started with the Persatuan Melayu Kedah and Saberkas, then Chairman of UMNO Kedah. When they had sufficient members to put them in power they gave you up. There were many times when I had been given the boot and I decided to keep out of politics and I told Sheikh Ahmad I had enough of it. He, however, insisted that I took over or else it would mean the end of UMNO.

I was still hesitant until the Malay Graduates Association of Johore, under the late Tun Dr. Ismail and Datuk Suleiman, joined the ranks of those clamouring for me to take over UMNO leadership.

Among my comrade-in-arms, Datuk Suleiman was the first to pass away, then Dr Ismail. Now Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad is gone and with his



Datuk Hussein Onn with the Tunku.

death the last of my comrade-in-arms has gone. May Allah bless his soul and give him a place among the *Shahids* — those who have fought and given dedicated service to their country.

I will be the last one to go. When that will be, is hard to tell. God is the sole judge and when he decides, I will go.

I have had a good life. Tan Sri Sheikh Ahmad used to say to me: "Tunku, if you don't indulge in the pleasures of life you would be a *keramat* (a holy man)."

"Sheikh, I said, I have given and will continue to give 75 per cent of my life and endeavours in the service of my country, my God and my people and keep that 25 per cent for myself and my family to do what I like with it. If others can find fault with that, then let it be, for Allah is all knowing and all forgiving. Men, on the other hand are forgetful."

I am the Chairman of Star Publications and I must say "thanks" to the staff and the workers for the paper is doing well.

I am also doing a small hotel business with 43 rooms. I call it the "Hotel Royale" but there is nothing "royal" about it except that it is owned by a member of the ruling house. We have had some problems and trouble with the staff.

One day I called them all together. "Look," I said, "I got Independence for Malaya, then Malaysia — and made a success of it. I organised the Islamic Secretariat of Foreign Ministers. I instituted the formation of the Muslim World Development Bank and made a good job of it. I returned home to organise Perkim, the Muslim *dakwah* and welfare body and made an outstanding success of it. Now I can't make even a living out of my 43-room hotel. Shame on me."

My business is picking up a bit now. If it picks up a little bit more, then my 79th year portends good luck. This is why my friends wish me "Many financial returns of the day."

Of Dogs and Cats

THE BOY WAS PLAYING with a dog on the beach in Batu Ferringhi and I was exercising, walking up and down the beautiful expanse of white sand.

A man suddenly appeared and told the boy: "It is *haram* (forbidden) to touch a dog."

I went up to them and chipped in, "What's so *haram* about it? The dog is clean and friendly and the boy is fond of his pet."

The man politely pointed to a certain *hadith* which says it is *haram* to touch the saliva of a dog.

"Why?" I asked.

"I don't know," he said, "but it said so in the *hadith*."

"I'll tell you why," I said. "It was because of the danger of catching rabies which, in those days, had no cure. So prevention being better than cure, it was prescribed that it is best to keep away from strange dogs."

Today, however, the dogs are free from rabies. It was never the intention of our religion to hate dogs because they are man's best friends and of all the animals, they are the most intelligent and faithful.

I was reminded of the *hadith* which told the story of a woman who was shunned by society because she was a prostitute. Yes, that was the situation in those days but not so nowadays.

According to the *hadith*, a prostitute was passing by a well and she saw a dog with its tongue hanging out for want of water to drink.

"Poor dog," she said to herself. "You must be thirsty." Without further ado, she tore part of her dress and twined it into a rope. Then she took off her footwear, tied it to the rope and lowered it into the well to

dish out some water for the dog to drink. So, said the prophet of Allah, Allah forgave her for her sins because of her kindness to the animal.

The boy was happy to hear the anecdote and the man was content to leave the boy and his pet alone and wandered away.

I turned to the boy and asked him as to how and when he got the dog. He said it belonged to a sick dog which died soon after giving birth to the puppy.

This is what he told me:

"I was fond of wandering about on the beach, picking up pieces of wood to take home as firewood for my mother's kitchen.

"One day I came across a mother dog in the bushes suckling her pups. She looked so ill and thin and her eyes were sunken. I was wondering what nourishment she could give her pups when she was so ill.

"She looked so sad that I felt I must do something for her. I rushed home and took some left-over rice and fish, and some condensed milk and went back to the dog.

"I touched her on the head to comfort her. Her eyes were closed and when she felt the touch, she opened them. I put the food on a banana leaf and placed it near her mouth but she was too far gone to eat. She closed her eyes, never to open them again for she died.

"I looked at the puppies but all except one was also dead. So I dripped a few drops of milk which I had brought in a coconut shell into its mouth and this seemed to revive it. So I brought it back home.

"It is now a year old and has been my constant companion since. Everyday it will follow me to the beach and even go swimming in the sea.

"It has also proved to be a very useful watchdog. My father is a small-time fisherman and we dry fish out in the sun. But cats would come and steal them.

"Now that we have Yatim to stand guard over the fish, no cat dare come near. As a result we are able to keep some dried fish aside for food and even sell them for extra money."

By coincidence I, too, had a similar unusual experience way back in 1959 when I retired as Prime Minister to campaign for the election.

One day, a bitch carried a puppy in her mouth and dropped it near the back door leading to the kitchen of my *Merdeka* house in Alor Star. She went away and never returned. So we had to feed the puppy and it grew up into a very useful watchdog. What happened to the mother I never knew.

Talking of watchdogs, a banker friend of mine owns a beautiful Alsatian trained as a watchdog. Nobody dares to go near him. The postman

would drop all the mail in the post box at the gate and not venture one step inside the compound.

My friend was so confident of the dog's ability to deal with intruders that he did not worry about burglars.

Not many weeks ago, he was awakened from a sound sleep by some strange men who demanded money. To cut the story short, he gave them what he had and the intruders left, richer by a few thousand dollars..

The first thing that came to his mind afterward was what had happened to his trusted friend. To his horror he found him fast asleep!

There are endless stories of dogs. One in particular, Rin-Tin-Tin, made millions for his owner as the best animal "actor" in those days of silent movies.

Wherever his film was shown, it would draw in the crowds. Another dog which earned money for his owner was the famous racing Greyhound called "Mick the Miller".

If my memory serves me right, it never lost a race. As the gate sprung open he would be a length or two in front of his nearest rival and would win all the big events. When he was a bit slow on the start he would follow the other dogs until he found an opening and then he would break through and win the race.

Sometimes the stuffed hare would break down and some of the dogs in the race would stop to maul it. But "Mick the Miller" would run on until he reached the finishing line. It was not possible to lay bets on him but it was fun to just watch him run.

St. Bernards patrol the snowy mountains with a small barrel of liquor tied around their necks. They look for people lost in the wilds of the bitterly cold snowy mountains. When they found anybody in distress they would go over to him and offer the barrel of warm liquid to help revive the exhausted person.

Cats are different for they are confined to the home and want to be fed. Some of the good species are the Persian cats and the Siamese temple cats.

The worst I have come across are the Arabians cats. In Jeddah the cats around the palace compound I occupied would go inside the palace to "do their business" on the beautifully upholstered chairs instead of relieving themselves on the sand outside.

What's even harder to believe was that they could prise open the door of the refrigerator. They did this quite often — to my amazement — and stole chunks of meat. I am able to tell this story because I have witnesses who can bear me out.

Our holy Prophet s.a.w. told us to be kind to cats, in fact, to all

animals. So all we could do was to drive them out without harming them. But they are such real pests! Cats and dogs are bitter enemies. I still maintain that dogs make better pets.

Talking of cats and dogs, I am concerned over what is happening in the Penang State Assembly. The cat and dog fight is between the Speaker and Mr Karpal Singh. As to who is the cat and who is the dog it is quite easy to tell. The one perched on the Speaker's chair in the Assembly is the cat while the one with its fangs bared on the floor of the Assembly must be the dog.

Mr Karpal Singh has asked me to be the peace-maker. I am honored and would be happy to offer my services to the cause of peace but the difficulty is that Mr Karpal Singh refuses to apologise.

"Not over my dead body," he said. But that's obvious for the dead do not speak.

Now, how am I to go about patching up the quarrel when the Speaker insists on an apology? What I must do is to find a way out of the impasse while Mr Karpal Singh is still alive and talking. Where there is a will there is a hope and in the interest of democracy I will try my best. May God help me.



Mr Karpal Singh.

No Danger of Break in ties with the British

A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT sought my views on many subjects during an interview. One of them is a delicate one, that of our relationship with Britain. According to the Prime Minister, he favours closer ties with Asian countries, in particular, Japan.

This is nothing new, except that extenuating circumstances had made it necessary for the Prime Minister to say it aloud.

In other words, the policy of this government is not to put all its eggs in one basket.

With *Merdeka*, the trade policy had veered more strongly towards Japan. Japanese industries which manufacture electronic and other goods grew in large numbers.

Assembly plants were set up to assemble cars and motor-cycles for local use and for export. Anything and everything that Japan could produce for local use or export were also manufactured here in a big way.

The present government has continued this policy with the result that the volume of trade with Japan has increased visibly. Today one can see Japanese goods in shops all along the streets. The increased trade with Japan has provided employment for our people and plenty of business for our businessmen.

Japan has also found big markets in the Middle East. When I was there, I noticed that Japanese electronic goods were mostly manufactured or assembled in Malaysia. Compare this with what had prevailed before Independence. The only Japanese goods sold here then were crockery, toys, and bicycles. There were, however, a lot of photography shops and with that they were able to take pictures of all the vital defence

and security areas. When the net catches they breed Malaya an easy target.

As a result of the Prime Minister's statement, people got unduly excited. "Will this mean a break in ties with the West?" they ask. Without saying much I would like to invite people to think for themselves as to whether it is possible to break our traditional ties with Britain.

Let's look at one example. Our education is based on the British system. Students seeking higher education can obtain places in the universities of English speaking nations, such as America, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and even in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

If we break away from this time-honored practice, how many of our students can find places in Japanese universities? According to a Japanese authority they can allocate some places for our students in their polytechnics.

What good can that do us? We are extremely anxious to get the best education for our students. The opportunity for us to obtain higher education must rest with the education system today.

It annoyed many people, no doubt, when universities and places of higher learning in Britain increased, or decided to increase their fees without making any allowance for students from a country which has been Britain's closest ally and a member of the Commonwealth.

Malaysia has continued to supply Britain with its natural resources and accorded Britain special treatment in respect of investment opportunities and land ownership.

In fact, Britain still owns large areas of rubber and oil palm estates and tin mines in this country. They sold a lot after Independence for fear that this country might go bankrupt and they lose their possessions.

Local people took advantage of this and bought up their properties. This country has gone ahead successfully and it soon became an example and a show-piece of what a newly independent country can do if it is determined to prosper.

Trade with Britain, has fallen compared with trade with Japan as the given table shows:

For the year 1980

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Export to Japan..... | \$6,447.7 million |
| Import from Japan..... | \$5,375.1 million |
| Export to Britain..... | \$779 million |
| Import from Britain..... | \$1,274.1 million |

From January to October 1981

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Export to Japan..... | \$4,650.8 million |
| Import from Japan..... | \$5,218 million |
| Export to Britain..... | \$621.3 million |
| Import from Britain..... | \$985.1 million |

Malaysia, as a member of the Commonwealth, has shown keen support for the organisation. The members of the Malaysia branch have built for themselves a club house with good facilities.

Since the building was built the Commonwealth club has gone from strength to strength and has enjoyed an increasing membership.

I personally would not lay too much stress on the state of Malaysian-British ties, for I can't see any danger of it breaking up.

As one of the men who had helped to win Independence for this country, I cannot forget so easily those early days of Independence.— the days when President Macapagal of the Philippines laid claim on Sabah, the days when the Communists were fighting us and threatening to take over this country.

Britain, and the other Commonwealth allies, Australia and New Zealand, stuck to us through those difficult periods. They could easily have said "Now that you are independent, it is your business — and not ours — to take care of yourself."

I was severely criticised in Parliament for giving away Carcosa to Britain. "What is Carcosa, after all, compared with the thousands of millions of dollars that Britain had spent to help us defend our freedom?" I asked, and that was the end of the debate.

Let us therefore appreciate that the change in our policies is a matter of exigency. We can move one way or the other in the interest of our country, but the basis of our relationship with our friends will remain the same always.

Where Money makes the Election

THE ELECTION MACHINERIES of political parties are now in top gear. The election is expected sometime this year — when, it is hard to foretell. But the parties should be given plenty of time to prepare for the election.

It remains with the Government to announce the date early and not leave it to the people to guess when. The election heat is on now and its intensity can be gauged from party meetings that are taking place throughout the country to choose candidates. Everybody who is anybody wants to stand for the election.

In some parts of Malaysia the election means so much more to the people.

Take Sabah for instance, the voters there look forward to election time.

According to information given me, the people enjoy nothing more than to participate in the election for which they are handsomely rewarded.

To them, election time is carnival time. They come out of their homes all dressed up in their best clothes to attend the rallies and listen to the wordy, no-holds-barred vituperations of the speakers.

Living as they do in remote kampongs, they have no entertainment to amuse themselves. They have no TV in those remote places and so all they do is to work, eat and sleep.

Bored with life, they have nothing to look forward to except the election when they turn up in full force to support one party or the other — it depends on how well they are looked after.

For a small state like Sabah, with a small population and 200,000

registered voters, more money is spent on the election than the combined election expenditure in any four states in Peninsular Malaysia.

It is hard to estimate how much Sabah spends, but according to a very reliable source the amount is so large he dares not mention it.

However, the mess left over from the last election has not as yet been cleaned up. At the moment, USNO has lodged election petitions against the members of the ruling party, Berjaya. These are before the court. Everybody is anxious to hear what the complaint is about.

In the old days, Sabah elections were quiet affairs because it was a one-party state headed by Tun Mustapha.



Tun Mustapha — former Chief Minister of Sabah.

In 1975, the dissident members of USNO broke away to form Berjaya. The circumstances that led to the break up of USNO were precipitated by Tun Mustapha himself who wanted the state to secede from Malaysia.

According to him, however, he never meant it; all he wanted to do was to test his strength. He knew fully well he could not break away from Malaysia, for even Singapore was given its independence only with the unanimous approval of the Malaysian Government in Parliament.

Tun Mustapha's empty secessionist boast caused his downfall.

The disaffected members of USNO immediately decided to form another party, Berjaya, with Tun Fuad Stephens as the head and Datuk Harris Salleh as his deputy.

Not long after that in two by-elections, Berjaya was badly defeated, and Datuk Harris was one of the losers.

Flushed with this victory, Tun Mustapha decided on a snap State election in 1976. That was another mistake, because this time, it was USNO which was beaten. It has never recovered from it.

Tun Fuad Stephens became the Chief Minister and Datuk Harris Deputy Chief Minister, but a plane crash took Tun Fuad's life and the lives of some top Sabah politicians when they were on their way back to Kota Kinabalu from a victory celebration in Labuan. Datuk Harris took over as Chief Minister and has remained in power even since.

The question is: can Tun Mustapha topple him now? According to the Tun, nothing is impossible as long as there is money to fight the election. He himself is prepared to bear the expenses and fork out the funds required. These will amount to many millions of ringgit.

What if he loses? When USNO lost by six seats in the 1976 election, USNO members deserted the party like rats from a sinking ship and crossed over to the other side. So USNO, instead of being a rival opposition party, became a mere passenger in the Assembly of 40 members.

It is clear that USNO must fight this time if only to keep its name alive.

It is obvious, therefore, that Sabah politics is not based on political ideologies, but rather on material gain. Any party that wins the election even by one vote will hold power with additional members and official members.

Can Tun Mustapha afford to take a gamble and make a comeback when past experience has shown that when he lost, members of his party left him and the election left him poorer by millions of ringgit and without a strong voice in the Assembly?

Datuk Haji Mohamed Noor Mansor has stated that "Berjaya is ready

to face USNO in all the 16 parliamentary seats." In a Press interview after his return from Kuala Lumpur, Datuk Harris said, among other things, that Berjaya was ready for the coming election, and in view of the virtual non-existence of an opposition, he has no worries about winning.

The question is how many seats can USNO contest with a measure of confidence? One thing we are certain of is Berjaya will contest every seat and can look forward with confidence to beating a divided opposition party.

The public is waiting anxiously for the result of USNO's petition. We will then know more about what went wrong for USNO in the last election.

Whether Berjaya or USNO is in power, however, is not important. What concerns the people of Malaysia and, in particular, the people of Sabah, is that politics must be clean and every effort must be made to uphold the principle of parliamentary democracy.

When Tun Fuad won in 1976, he promised to get rid of corruption. Yet, abuse still continues and, sooner or later, the central Government must take cognisance of it.

Tun Mustapha was ousted because he showed disrespect to the central Government. Parliamentary democracy must be upheld at all cost. This nation's well-being and security depends on it.

The Long Struggle for Independence

LAST WEEK the Armed Forces Staff College invited me to talk to them about my experiences in the struggle for Independence, the role of the Alliance and the Barisan Nasional in Malaysian politics and the duty of an elder statesman.

At the Armed Forces Staff College dinner there were senior officers sent here for training from Asean nations, Australia, Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Japan, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, South Korea, Sudan, Britain and the US.

They were all keen to know about the early history of Malaya and Malaysia. It was difficult for me to tell them all in one single talk, in particular that period before Independence and the early days of Independence.

In the first instance we had to fight hard to get what we were after constitutionally; in the second instance, having gotten our Independence we had to fight hard to maintain our position. To tell the whole story in one talk was difficult.

I started off by telling how I got interested in politics. That was in the period of the Japanese Occupation when we had to take care of the men who had escaped from the Japanese Death Railway in Thailand until the return of the British.

Then, when the British army returned to Malaya flushed with victory, they decided to change the constitutional structure of the country from that of protected Malay states to a Malayan Union which would virtually make Malaya their colony.

The Malayan Union was drafted in Britain during the war by Colonial Office officials with the advice of some expatriate officers. Sir Harold

MacMichael was sent to obtain the consent of the rulers to colonise Malaya.

He arrived here in October 1945 and by December 1945 the rulers had signed away their rights to allow for the formation of the Malayan Union Government.

This represented a virtual annexation of the Malay States and the reduction of the status of the Malay rulers.

The Malays saw in this an attempt to deprive them of their rights as the indigenous people of the country. The rulers would have no more power to protect or help them. Resentment began to form in their minds. It only needed somebody to stir it up.

This happened when Datuk Onn bin Jaafar, the head of Persatuan Melayu Johore, raised the battle cry of "Down with the Malayan Union. *Hidup Melayu!*" This cry was taken up throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Malays from all corners of the country rallied to his call, determined to fight the Malayan Union to the bitter end. The British saw the seriousness of the situation and immediately took action. They gave in and introduced instead the Federation of Malaya Government.

This gave the rulers and the States a measure of autonomy. A working committee was set up by the British Government made up of six Government representatives, four representatives of the Malay rulers and two members of UMNO. This was presided over by Mr Malcolm MacDonald, the British Commissioner General for South-East Asia.

In July 1946 this committee eventually agreed on a new Constitution for the setting up of a new government to be known as the Federation of Malaya. Under this agreement the High Commissioner would be responsible for safe guarding the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of the non-Malays.

Five months after the formation of the Federation of Malaya, the country was in the grip of growing unrest and violence started by the Malayan Communist Party.

Tin and rubber industries, which were the two cornerstones of the Malayan economy, suffered a severe setback.

So violent was the insurrection, so confident were the Communists, that they declared their intention to establish a Democratic Peoples' Party of Malaya by August 1948.

A state of emergency was declared throughout the length and breadth of Malaya. Curfews were imposed; people living in remote areas and kampongs were moved out of their homes and resettled in closed-in new villages. What followed during those years of the Emergency should

best be imagined for it cannot be described in one article.

From 1948 till Independence, one could not move out of the towns without being harassed by the Communists. Trains were derailed, estates burnt and tin mines damaged. The revenue of the country and British funds were used in the defence of this nation.

The Malay rulers were restored to their thrones. The Malay leaders who fought the Malayan Union were given positions as Mentris Besar and members of the Legislative Council and State Council.



Tunku Abdul Rahman (centre) Taking over power in UMNO from Datuk Onn Jaafar in 1951. The young Hussein Onn is behind him.

Many were given jobs in Government or quasi-Government bodies. The people themselves were, however, left out in the cold and this led to a further feeling of resentment against the Government and the Malay leaders.

It was then on the advice of Mr Malcolm MacDonald that Datuk Onn set up a non-communal party to take over from UMNO. It was first suggested that UMNO should open its doors to non-Malays but UMNO refused to accept the change. Datuk Onn left the party with all its Malay leaders to form the Independence of Malaya Party. UMNO was left without a leader.

It was then that I was asked to take over the party, and with me came the second tier or younger leaders of UMNO. In particular I would like to remember the late Tun Dr Ismail, his brother Datuk Suleiman, Tun Sardon, the late Sheikh Ahmad and Ghafar Baba.



Leading a procession with Tun Cheng Lock Tan to Istana Johore, to enlist the support of the Sultan for Merdeka.

Tun Razak, however, could not join us openly as he was the State Secretary of Pahang, a senior Government civil servant. These were staunch supporters of UMNO and they rallied to my call to save the party and go for independence.

The slogan "*Hidup Melayu*" gave way to a cry of "*Merdeka*". At the same time we realised that without the support and co-operation of the other races, our efforts for independence might not be quite so smooth.

So we asked for the Chinese and Indians to join in. The Chinese did so under the party called the Malayan Chinese Association led by Tun Cheng-Lock Tan for many Chinese felt disappointed with the new Constitution of the Federation of Malaya which did not recognise their birth right.

After the first victory in the 1952 election, the Malayan Indian Congress joined the Alliance, first under the leadership of Mr K.L. Devasar and then under Tun V.T. Sambanthan.

In April 1952, the UMNO General Assembly in Alor Star passed a resolution urging the Federation Government and the Colonial Office to hold federal elections in 1954 as an honest indication of their intention to give Malaya Independence.

It added a rider that if the Government rejected the proposal, the Alliance would, in protest, walk out of all the councils, that is, Legislative, State, Municipal and Town Councils.

At the following Legislative Council meeting, it was decided that the time had come for an examination of the practical issues involved in introducing legislation for federal elections.

The Committee report which emerged from this gave the "official side" in the Legislative Council the majority vote, stating that while it "clearly recognises that the ultimate objectives must be a fully-elected majority, the Government decided otherwise as according to it, the development and experience in the country had not yet reached the stage when all aspects of political and economic life of the country would be adequately represented through the electoral process."

With that UMNO, the MCA and the MIC withdrew their co-operation from the Government.

On July 6, 1954, Sir Donald MacGillivray agreed to give in to the Alliance demand for an elected majority. With this the Alliance members returned to all the respective Councils.

The results of the victory of the Alliance in that first Constitutional battle with the Government strengthened racial harmony in this plural society and paved the way for ultimate Independence.

After the election on July 31, 1955 when the Alliance swept into victory with the loss of only one seat, I presented the High Commissioner with the names of my colleagues who would form the Alliance Government. For the time being, we agreed to leave the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya as it was without making any change.

I recall how as Chief Minister I was not given an official car or official residence. I was given an old house which leaked and on many occasions when it rained, I had to push my bed to a dry corner. One night, before I had time to push it, I got drenched, so in desperation I declared that the British must go so that I could have a dry place to rest my tired bones!

As Chief Minister I was approached by the Communists through a paper advertisement to meet them. The British Government was against it but I insisted that as Chief Minister I had the right to meet the Communist leader and find out from him what his stand was on Independence for Malaya.

I had with me Mr David Marshall, who fortunately or unfortunately, annoyed Chin Peng by trying him as a rebel when we met at the Baling talks. When Mr Marshall asked Chin Peng to lay down his arms because Malaya was going to be given Independence, Chin Peng told him point blank that as a Communist he would fight to set up a

Communist government.

Chin Peng also said that as between the Tunku and him, they could never co-exist as Tunku was against the Communists and he was a Communist. That was what I wanted to hear from Chin Peng and I used what he said to win over the people to our cause. It was obvious nobody wanted a Communist government in this country.

Soon after Independence in 1957, the Communists were on the run. By July 1960 the whole country became "white".



The Tunku at a function in Kulim in 1955, when an oath of allegiance was being read out.

After the defeat of the Communists we were able to carry out extensive development to both the rural and urban areas in the public and private sectors.

The Defence Agreement with Britain and the Commonwealth countries of Australia and New Zealand gave us the confidence to spend more money on economic development and less on the defence of the country. The nation visibly prospered and progressed and the administrative machinery ticked smoothly. As a result we won confidence at home and abroad.

In passing I must mention the role played by our friends and by our own men for having fought our enemies at home and prevented Sukarno with his confrontation policy from taking over our country.

Under the Geneva Convention our allies could not help us unless there was a declaration of war by Sukarno. And since he did not, our own troops had to deal with all the enemies who infiltrated this country.

The nation remembers our friends and our soldiers who died defending the country and whose glorious names are inscribed in the monuments in Kuala Lumpur and Tawau, as well as the many more who live but are wounded and incapacitated for life.

After the Confrontation with Indonesia and the end of the Emergency, Malaya became an outstanding example of what a country could do for itself if it has the will and determination to make good.

It was in September 1963, that Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah joined us to form Malaysia. At the last moment Brunei dropped out because it disagreed with the financial commitment towards the defence of Malaysia.

A rebellion broke out in Brunei in 1963. The Malayan Government sent the police force to help quell the rebellion. This showed the danger that the wealthy State faced. It could not be expected to keep itself safe from the extremist elements among its own people, for it must be accepted that the attempt of taking over the Government and its wealth must be over-powering and irresistible to these people.

The defence of Brunei must pose a serious problem to her authorities. A re-thinking of Brunei's defence arrangements must be given consideration. One thing we can be certain of is that under the Geneva Convention, Britain or other countries for that matter, cannot help Brunei.

Coming to the question of the duty of an elder statesman, I would say that his duty is to study the situation of this region and, where necessary, speak his mind.

On the question of the Barisan Nasional in Malaysian politics, you can see for yourself what they are doing. To cut the story short, I would say that the party has proved to the world that it is able and capable of running the Government, securing peace and goodwill in this nation of multi-racial people. It also shows that it is a party that enjoys the confidence and trust of its people and of all our friends from abroad.

On politicians, my only comment is that they should take things in their stride and above all, be honest, loyal and trustworthy.

We have troubles galore in the world today because of bad leadership but for Malaysia we give thanks to God that we are able to live and enjoy the best of life in a free country. May it remain this way for all time.

Muslim Marriages and New Names

THE CHINESE MUSLIM ASSOCIATION of Johore had two complaints which they brought up at the Annual General Meeting of Perkim, Johore. Although they were discussed at that meeting, they decided to bring up these complaints for the attention of the Perkim National Council.

The complainants said that they were asked to adopt the name of so-and-so bin Abdullah and although they were converted by Perkim and given a certificate, the State religious official refused to recognise it and would not marry them unless they produce a certificate issued by the State Religious Department.

Our religious advisers feel that the use of "bin Abdullah", i.e. Slave of God, is encouraged in the holy *Quran*, signifying that he (the convert) has become a Muslim and has accepted Allah as his master.

What, after all, is in a name? Deep faith in Allah and his messenger is all that is required of a Muslim. The rest is to practise Islam by praying, fasting, acceptance of the *Quran*, payment of *zakat* and a pilgrimage to Mecca if one can afford the expenses.

In fact a Muslim convert can keep his father's name. He is never required or encouraged to change his name or his family name. What then is the significance of adopting "bin Abdullah"? God has 99 attributes — Rahman the Compassionate, Rahim the Merciful, Arif the Just, Akbar the Great and so on and "bin" anyone of these would not be out of place.

No man is required to change his name after conversion. Indonesians of Javanese origin use their own name, so do the Turks and the Chinese.

— "Abdullah" itself has no greater significance than the other at-

tributes of Allah. The directive from the Religious Department to use Abdullah as the surname is difficult to understand. Not only that, but it does make Perkim's work difficult.

Perkim which is credited with having won thousands of adherents to Islam is now faced with this problem.

Next comes marriage. The question is, can converts be married without the certificate from the Religious Department? According to our *Syariah* law, a piece of paper certifying that so-and-so is a Muslim, would do.

The simple guideline, according to Abu Huraira, is "Whoever among you wants to marry can marry and he should marry because it helps him not to gaze and to guard his modesty."

Syed bin Jubair said, "Marriage is for the good of the Muslim nation. Whoever emigrated or did a good deed with the intention of marrying a woman, will be rewarded according to his intention."

The emigrants mentioned were those who left Mecca to join the holy prophet in Medina. These people were encouraged to get married. In fact, people of Medina would even divorce one of their wives to marry her to an emigrant.

Omar Al Khatab said, according to the Holy Prophet, "Whoever emigrated for Allah's sake and his apostle's sake, in fact, whoever emigrated for worldly benefits, or to marry a woman, then his emigration was for the thing, for what he emigrated for."

Marriage, in fact, is encouraged in Islam. All the *hadith* point to this. As we understand it, persons who have declared their faith in Allah and his apostle the holy prophet, are Muslims and no further evidence is required from them.

It is the duty of the religious officials and all Muslims concerned to make life easy and pleasant for converts and not to place obstacles in their way.

Malaysia has a good reputation among Muslims and she must set a good example for all other Muslim nations. The number of converts in this country is a record of which we can be justly proud. No other Muslim country or the combination of Muslim countries could lay claim to such a distinction.

The religious authorities should try to work closely with the voluntary religious bodies for the betterment of Islam. In a plural society, it is necessary to help make Islam better understood.

Islam is very much misunderstood by people of other faiths. Perkim is organised to meet the challenges faced by Islam. We need every possible help from the Religious Department.

Many religious departments are not helpful towards Perkim in its efforts to disseminate knowledge of Islam to others. That, they say, is their responsibility. Perkim is not welcomed in some states, so we are unable to do much religious and welfare work in these states.

Conversion of non-Muslims is carried out daily by Perkim officials. The Chinese, in particular, treasure their ancestry. Wherever they are and whatever religion they adopt, they like to keep their family name. The millions of Chinese Muslims in China keep their family name and so do those Indonesians of Javanese origin, the Turks and the African Muslims.

Those who wish to adopt a Muslim name are at liberty to choose any name they like from the thousands of names available.

With regard to marriage, the Muslim form is simple. The Muslims who want to marry need only go to a religious official who is authorised to perform the marriage ceremony. In this country the authority is given to a large number of persons — *kathis*, *imams* and other religious officials.

What is worrying the Chinese Muslims is that when they go before these officials they are told to produce the certificate which is evidence of their conversion to Islam. Some of them are adamant. Instead of producing their card, they declare their faith in Allah and in the holy Prophet Muhammad: *Asy-hadu-alla-illahaillallah wa-asy-hadu-anna Muhammadar rasullulah*" (I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah). What better evidence of their conversion to Islam than this profession of faith? But this is not accepted.

According to one of our religious advisers, the certificate is a customary law. So like it or not we are asked to accept it. The question is: In remote areas, what will happen to the converts if they die without the certificate from the *kathi*? Would the *imam* of a near-by kampong bury them? In fact there are thousands of people living far away from towns who have embraced Islam, thousands too in Sarawak and Sabah, who have no certificate.

May I suggest that the National Religious Council take a closer look at these questions to clear any misunderstanding and make everybody happy.

Where Barisan's Toughest Battle will be Fought

THE BEATING OF the drum is heard calling on all people, young and old, men and women, to come out on April 22 to cast their votes.

I remember when I beat the first drum on election day in 1952, more than 85 per cent of the people turned up to vote, but that was only the Kuala Lumpur municipal and Town Council elections.

Voting in this country gets such a good response from the civic-conscious people. This is somewhat unusual in this part of the world. In fact many countries in Asia do not have democratic elections any more. In countries ruled by the army, the people have to do what they are told, or else end up in prison.

We give thanks to God that after 30 years, the Government has not found it necessary to interfere with the people's right to vote. They vote if they want to, and don't if they don't want to, but the turn-out on voting day has always been most encouraging. The only regret is that there are no more public political rallies which used to draw such large crowds.

I have mentioned before that when the Alliance demanded elections at national level, the colonial government of the day insinuated that we were not ready for it. I know that Malaysians are the most law-abiding duty-conscious people in Asia. I was confident they would exercise their right conscientiously and without trouble.

We fought the Government on this issue and withdrew our co-operation from the Federation Government. In the end we got our way and the first national election was held in 1954. It resulted with the Alliance taking over as new and equal partners in the Government.

Since then there had been several elections at national and state

levels. Before that, there were the Town Council and municipal elections. Malaysians have a proud record of clean and peaceful elections and I have no doubt that it will be so in the election on April 22.

Of course nasty things will be said by candidates against their opponents, the Opposition as a whole and the Government, but that makes the election more lively.

I heard a story about what happened in Kelantan. At the funeral of a local UMNO leader, there was a large turn out of PAS members — much to the surprise of UMNO men.

After the grave had been filled and the funeral service (*talkin*) had been read, the mourners poured water on the newly-covered grave. Smoke came out of the grave to the astonishment of everybody. People panicked.

PAS members quickly passed the word that the dead UMNO man was being roasted in the fires of hell, and that would be the lot of every UMNO man or UMNO supporter who dies. After the people left, UMNO members examined the freshly-dug earth. They found some chemicals which would emit smoke when water was sprinkled on it. How true the story is, I can't say. According to PAS, only people who vote for PAS will find peace in heaven.

The real trouble will occur within the Barisan Nasional camp. The Alliance, now the Barisan Nasional, has been in power since 1954, and there is no likelihood of any other party toppling it. It is natural, therefore, that members of the party who have political ambitions will try their hands at high-ranking politics.

Successful candidates can start off as a State Assemblymen and Parliamentarians and end up as a Minister and even Prime Minister. Who then would not fight for a seat in the State Assembly or Parliament?

In a democratic country there is no limit to one's ambition. A humble citizen today can all of a sudden find himself in a responsible national position. Whether in politics or in business, those who appreciate their good fortune and know themselves and keep their hands clean can go a long way. But those who forget themselves and start to show off as soon as they get good positions can find themselves lost in a world of their own making. They will be forgotten the moment they retire from public life.

At my age, and with some experience of public life, I have seen this happening many times. To young budding politicians and public figures, my advice is to remember their duty to God and to Man and not to lose their heads when good fortune comes their way.

When we won our first election, the first thing I did was to give thanks

to God and the voters. Next day one of my colleagues who later became a Minister, came to me and demanded that I sack a certain Government official who had used his position to campaign for the opposition party.

I told him that in our hour of triumph, the first thing we must do was to thank God and to thank the people for their support. This was no time to take revenge on people who did not support us.

He replied that he had already phoned him up asking him to pack up and leave. I told him I was the leader of the party which would assume power and as Chief Minister I had no wish to punish anybody.

I went on radio and thanked the people for the support they gave our party, and I told the Government servants that no matter what they did during the election, no matter which party they backed, they would not suffer any harm. I asked them to give their honest and loyal service to the Government.

I remember how happy the police personnel were when I consulted the rank-and-file about their service conditions. In the days of the colonial government, they were treated like menial servants. Their uniform were khaki shorts, putties and little round caps which gave them no protection from rain or sun. The first thing they asked for was a change in their uniform. This was agreed to. They were given new ones — the same as those worn by officers so that when were first worn, I myself found it hard to tell who was an officer and who was a constable.

The next thing we did was to provide some comfort for our staff and office workers. We introduced air-conditioners in all offices. We improved not only their working conditions but their salary scheme as well. We introduced the first Five Year Plan. Under this plan, land was given to small holders for the planting of rubber and oil palm and we paid them money to develop their land.

The idea of land development first came from a Minister, Encik Abdul Aziz, who had visited India where community development was being tried out with some success.

Under this scheme, tools were supplied to small holders to help them develop their land. The Minister was keen to try it here, but he never got very far though the Government gave him all the help he required.

I liked the scheme myself and with all-out help from the Government I felt it would truly benefit the landless and small holders. I therefore asked Tun Abdul Razak to take the scheme under his wing and make a go for it no matter what it cost. He got a good expatriate officer, Tan Sri Ferguson and put up a scheme which made a complete success of rural development.

From land we turned our attention to industrial, housing and

business development.

Schools were built and free education given to all children of school-going age. Non-government schools which operated in line with the education policy received subsidies. Education expenses rose from \$70 million to \$4,000 million per year. Roads, bridges, canals and other infrastructure were also built.

The record of achievement since Independence has made Malaysia a truly happy country. With this record of achievement it is hard for any opposition party to hope for a victory against the Barisan Nasional.

The election contest will go on and the opposition parties have made no secret that all they hope for is to be represented in Parliament. According to Kassim Ahmad of Partai Sosialis "our main aim is to achieve some representation." It is the same with Party Islam, DAP and other opposition parties.

The PAS had won some adherents among kampong voters. The party played up religious ideology in their party platform. All this naturally sounded very well indeed.

The Malays have a love for religion not shared by other Muslims in the world. Where there are 100 Malays living in a kampong there will be a *surau* and where there are more than a hundred they put a mosque. Their lives and activities are woven around the religious places of worship.

The Barisan Nasional's main battle is against Party Islam in certain states, but in the states where the people are more enlightened, Party Islam would not get that much support.

The DAP has support in the cities and big towns but none whatsoever in the kampongs and rural areas, so naturally they talk of forming a political pact to obtain seats in the State Assemblies and Parliament in order to offer stronger opposition to the Barisan.

Between the two parties, the DAP and PSRM, there is no difficulty about their getting together but Party Islam, based on religion, would not fit in. If the Islamic Party agrees to join in a pact with the other parties, they would lose the support of the Malay masses.

As I had said, the Barisan's hardest battle will be fought on the allocation of seats among the component party members. They can only go to the polls with complete confidence when this issue is settled. The Barisan has proved its worth and the people will be happy to entrust the reins of government in the hands of the party now led by Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir.

A Matter of British Pride

I WAS ASKED for my views on the forced occupation of the Falkland Islands by the Argentines. This is not a matter that can be brushed aside lightly because the annexation of a territory which belongs to another is an act of aggression — a serious breach of international law which can easily lead to conflict or war.

It is difficult to ask Britain to take this act of aggression lying down. Argentina's claim to the ownership of these islands appear to be weak for Britain has occupied them for nearly 150 years. Argentina, on the other hand, had not staked their claim on these islands at any time that we know of.

When I heard the name "Falkland Islands" I immediately thought it was part of Scotland. What interest could the Argentines have in this Scottish island, other than to gain admission to the first division of the Scottish Soccer League? Now we know where these islands are — 650 kilometres from the southern tip of Argentina, with approximately one thousand inhabitants, whose occupation is chiefly sheep-rearing.

According to reports, these people are of British descent and are more British than the British themselves, except that they have no unions to disturb their peaceful working conditions. In summer, the place is infested with flies which often drop into one's soup.

On the face of it, it is hardly worth going to war over but now that it has happened, the implications are serious. In the first place it involves British prestige and honor; in the second, it is an act of blatant aggression and in the third, Britain has other possessions, such as Gibraltar, which must be considered.

If the occupation of the Falklands is allowed to go unchecked, what

would happen if Spain suddenly decides to annex Gibraltar? This could happen, so the annexation of the Falklands, has become a question of vital importance for Britain.

In the circumstances, what should Britain do?

According to reports, there are other disputed islands around the world which could eventually turn into major international hot spots.

The British-administered Diego Garcia islands in the Indian Ocean, where the United States has set up a major military base, are strategically located on a key maritime crossroad. The inhabitants of these islands were evacuated in 1971 when Britain leased them to the United States. But Mauritius has staked claims over the islands which it formerly ruled.

Wise men have mentioned a few courses for Britain to take but one thing is certain — the British lion will refuse to be kicked about by a pack of Argentine footballers whom they taught to play soccer way back in the early part of this century.

The feeling among the British people is that they must send their armada to occupy or blockade the Falklands. Against such British might, Argentina would appear powerless to offer much resistance.

The British fleet has aircraft carriers, such as the *Invincible* and the *Hermes* and Harrier jump-jets and radar to jam enemy missiles. Argentina, on the other hand, has no navy to match that of the British. They have one aircraft carrier which is outdated and hardly serviceable.

The British Defence Secretary, Mr John Nott, said that the British "possess the most formidable and powerful navy in the world after the two super-powers."

The British navy steamed out towards the Falklands on April 6 and should arrive there within two weeks. It confidently believes that Argentina will be subdued.

Britain has told Argentina to withdraw its warships from a 200-mile war zone around the Falklands by today, and any ship or vessel entering this "maritime exclusion zone" is liable to be attacked by the British forces.

When Castro offered his bases to the Soviets, President Kennedy sent the American fleet to stop it, for such a base was considered by Kennedy to be highly dangerous to peace in the region. Castro gave up the idea but not the Russians, so they say.

Whether Russia is involved in Argentina's expansionist plan is not certain; at least there has been no official report to that effect. There is some similarity between what is happening in the Falklands and what happened in Cuba. It might be in the American interest to do more than

just offer sympathy to Britain.

US Secretary of State Alexander Haig went to London to discuss the dispute with British leaders. After which he flew to Buenos Aires to meet Argentina's military President Leopoldo Galtieri. Let us hope that the President will listen to him and withdraw his forces from the Falklands.

The other alternative suggested is to apply economic sanctions against Argentina. This has to be done with the concurrence of the partners of the EEC and the decision, whichever way it goes, might not be reached in time to prevent Argentina from consolidating her position on these islands.

Yet another suggestion is that Britain should appeal to the United Nations to intervene. We know that this takes time, and with the power of veto in the hands of certain nations, the appeal will not get through the Assembly.

In the meantime, the British navy is well on its way to the Falklands and a clash must be prevented at all costs.

Whatever may be the outcome of the conflict, one thing we all pray for is that it will not escalate into war. Commonsense must prevail because a global war would be disastrous to mankind and no country, however powerful, can risk it.

What I hope to see is that all responsible nations ask Argentina to return the Falkland Islands to Britain. If Argentina can show that it has no ulterior motive, such as allowing a foreign power to establish bases on the islands, then perhaps Britain might consider jointly looking after the islands with Argentina. Such an act would make the Falklands the responsibility of both nations.

Polls Sabotage must Stop

MANY EVENTS OF INTEREST are taking place in this country these days. There is the election fever that gets more heated as polling day draws near.

The Press is full of election reports; television and radio coverage brings more news so much so that other events of interest are left out.

The Government machinery is in full swing, in fact working overtime, giving news of Barisan Nasional's strength and the Oppositions' weaknesses.

We hear reports of Opposition members crossing over to the Barisan. What's more, Party Islam has, according to reports, a very slim chance of getting the number of seats it has in mind.

This reminds me of our first election in 1955 when the governing party made full use of its machinery and manpower in an all out effort to defeat the Alliance.

As I said before, the only thing to worry about is the trouble in the Barisan camp. It started off with the "dumping" of the MCA deputy chief then there were squabbles between the MCA and the Gerakan. The situation in UMNO appears to be normal and they are waiting for the results with great anticipation. It is also surprising to see the MIC front so quiet.

Sabah is the state which has always attracted my attention because of the two warring parties — Berjaya and USNO — who are going for one another with no holds barred. Both are supposed to belong to the Barisan and both have been allotted seats by the parent body. Yet, according to Berjaya officials, they are fielding "independents" in USNO constituencies.

There is no secret about what is happening in Sabah. Even whilst these develop, the election petition by USNO candidates in the previous election has not yet been decided. All in all, the state of affairs in Sabah appears unsatisfactory and the Government is taking a serious view of it.

Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad has come out with a directive to his deputy, Datuk Musa Hitam, to investigate the complaints made by USNO when he visited Sabah recently.

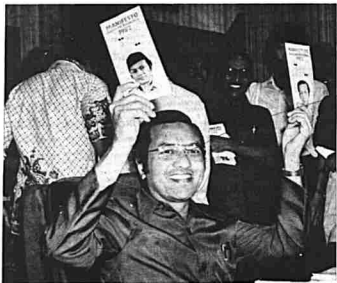
The directive has not come too soon for the rivalry within the Barisan is unbecoming and spoils the good name of the party in power.

USNO has been protesting against Berjaya's sabotage of the election by fielding five "independent" candidates in the constituencies allotted to USNO. This is a serious party offence which should not be encouraged. What if the five "independent" candidates were to win?

One thing that must be done is to ban them from Berjaya and the Barisan.

However, we are happy to see that everything is going according to plan and we are able to hold democratic elections free from tension and strictly in keeping with parliamentary principles.

This is a rare achievement today because elections in other countries often produce violence and other disorders. We are able to show the world how a small country like Malaysia, with its multi-racial society, can shoulder its responsibilities with success.



Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir obliges cameramen by holding up two Barisan Nasional manifestos.

The assassination of the ex-Speaker of Negri Sembilan, Datuk Taha, I was told, has no connection with politics. It arose out of a personal vendetta.

Coming back to the Falklands, Argentinian President Leopoldo Galtieri, has made it clear that Argentina would not renounce its claim on the islands nor would it recall its occupation force. The situation appears to be serious for the British cannot turn back after having sent their naval task force to the trouble area.

It has become obvious that other nations beside the US and the EEC countries, must step in and save the situation.

Another event of grave concern is the sacrilege committed by Israel soldiers who entered the Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem last week and killed two Arabs.

This has caused a great furor among Muslims throughout the world. King Khalid of Saudi Arabia called upon all the Muslims to declare the day a day of solidarity among the Muslims, whereas in fact, it was a day of utter humiliation for the Muslims throughout the world.

The Al Aqsa mosque, in Muslim eyes, is next in importance to the Masjidil-haram in Mecca. The Turks took seven years to liberate Jerusalem from the Christians and they fought against the whole Christian world and not just any one single country alone.

If Muslims truly feel so badly about the desecration of the holy mosque then mere talk and wailing alone is not enough. They must take a firm stand to liberate Jerusalem from Israel.

The Arab countries with all their wealth should be able to provide the best weapons of war and the men to fight for the recovery of Jerusalem.

As I said before, they must step up their war effort by setting up a central command and enlisting the aid of experts to help organise a holy army.

To plead for justice is purposeless and a waste of time for they fall on deaf ears.

At every conference the Muslims just condemn Israel without going further. Egypt decided that they alone could not fight the well-organised Israeli armed forces so they decided to wait for another day.

The support given to Israel by the US was given as the reason for the defeat of the Arabs.

The American army fought North Vietnam, yet could not make much impression against the North Vietnamese guerillas, and finally had to withdraw from Vietnam.

The Muslims must have the same spirit and determination if they want to drive out the Israelis from Jerusalem. Mere talk and condemna-

tion is not enough. What is wanted is action and the determined effort to regain Jerusalem at all costs for the honour of Islam and Allah helps those who help themselves.

Don't let Vanity get to the Head

THE PEOPLE OF MALAYSIA must give thanks to God that the general election is now over and that it had gone on very smoothly.

There were gains and losses but that has to be expected. Some heads rolled, while many were jubilant over their hard-earned victories.

I remember a former Minister who refused to accept my friendly guidance and decided to leave the Cabinet to form a new party to fight the election in 1964.

He lost rather badly but what's worse, he lost his temper so badly that he smashed the crockery and sold his house.

Later he tried to form a Malaysian government-in-exile in a pact with President Sukarno to crush Malaysia. Before that happened he was safely tucked away in detention. That in my mind is taking defeat too seriously.

Even Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir lost the election in 1969. He did not give up hope but stayed on stoically to win the next one and was amply rewarded by Datuk Hussein Onn (now Tun) who made him his deputy. He finally became the Prime Minister.

So taking him as an example, one should not give up hope if one is keen to go into politics. When one stands for election, one must be prepared to face the trials and tribulations.

Malaysia is lucky in the sense that the people understand their rights and obligations under the Constitution. Since elections were held on a municipal level in 1952, they have proved a success and have been conducted according to the strict observance of the

principles of democracy.

We have shown to the world that Malaysians of all races and creeds are politically conscious people.

I am aware of the anxiety that the election must have caused the Government and the political parties, in particular the heads of the parties.

The early days caused me so much pain and anguish, particularly in 1959, when the MCA broke away from UMNO on the question of the distribution of seats. I chucked up my job as Prime Minister and worked ceaselessly to win support for the Alliance.

I realised the country could not expect a peaceful election with the split between the Malays and Chinese. At that time, too, the Malay school teachers, who have been one of the pillars of support for UMNO, decided to break away from UMNO and support the Opposition.

The country was faced with a very serious situation. It was clear that I could not remain in office and at the same time fight those elements who were out to wreck my government.

So I resigned for six months and Tun Razak took my place as Prime Minister. I carried out an extensive campaign to win the people back to the Alliance fold.

Then the old die-hards headed by Tan Siew Sin (now Tun) and Omar Ong Yoke Lin (now Tun), broke away from the rebellious group to found the new MCA. In the election that followed in 1959, the Chinese gave their unequivocal support to the new MCA.

I have told this story many times before but it was an epic struggle for peaceful co-existence among the races in Malaya, now Malaysia, and it is worth repeating.

We had fought together for Independence, then against the communist terrorists and brought an end to 12 tragic years of emergency.

Malaysia, with Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah, made great strides ahead in Independent Malaysia.

In 1963 we were caught in a struggle for political hegemony in South-East Asia. President Sukarno threatened to crush us; President Macapagal of the Philippines moved for the annexation of Sabah. But the Malaysians stood together.

By the grace of Allah, the Indonesians took up the struggle against Sukarno and ended his pro-communist rule.

Macapagal lost the election and President Marcos took over and peace returned to our troubled land.

Then tragedy struck us once again when on May 13, 1969, violent

clashes broke out in Kuala Lumpur. This was instigated by the communists and disgruntled elements in UMNO but we thank God that the trouble got no further than Kuala Lumpur.

In the social field, the people have set up charitable bodies and organisations to help those who are in need of help.

The activities of these welfare bodies are comparable to those in other civilised and more advanced countries.

In the economic field, we have done well, we have built roads and bridges and set up industries and other business activities. We have advanced by leaps and bounds since Independence and have passed the dividing line between an under-developed to a successful developing country. We are able to compete favourably with countries in Asia, except of course, Japan.

In the field of sports, we have done well in soccer, badminton, athletics and in other fields of sports. We may not be world beaters, but we have given the lead in all games that Malaysia participated.

When Malaysia took over the leadership of Asian football, the confederation was hardly known. It had its head-quarters in Hong Kong but at the Asian Games in Japan in 1957, Malaysia took over the leadership and organised it to make it wide-spread and popular.

The Asian Football Confederation was given a prominent place in Fifa, the world soccer body. In badminton, Malaysia was the Thomas Cup champion for many years until Indonesia wrested the supremacy in 1969 and has remained champions up till now. Now Malaysia is slowly picking up and the three Sidek brother — Misbun who won the singles Swedish open and the other pair, Razif and Jalani, the all-England doubles.

Their victories have given a new lease of life and fresh hope to the badminton players in this country and I am confident that in the course of the next year or two, other players will join them to win more laurels for Malaysia.

The Barisan Nasional camp is naturally jubilant over their landslide victory and it was a very creditable performance. The people want a stable government which can guarantee them security, freedom, peace and prosperity, and in this the Barisan Nasional Government have proved their capability.

They have delivered the goods; the prospect ahead promises to be bright.

The non-Malays were at first rather nervous about Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir but he has proved that he has changed with the new responsibilities and his progressive ideas tell him how best to administer the

country.

No man is happier than I am to see the path which Malaysia has shaped for itself. We can rest assured that the future is bright. This victory is a triumph for the leadership of Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir.

Generally speaking, the situation here is that while special consideration is given to the Bumiputras, the others are helped to make the best use of their talents and opportunities.

The benefit derived from this policy has helped and will continue to finance the needs of the nation.

The Bumiputras themselves realise that the business sagacity and acumen of the non-bumiputras has been the mainstay of this nation's economy. They, the Bumiputras, are intelligent enough to see that a short sighted policy can bring ruin to this country.

The Bumiputras are simple people, with simple tastes and ask nothing more of man and God, other than to be allowed to live in peace and contentment. The more enterprising of them have been given the encouragement and aid to go in for big business.

The victory of the Barisan have proved to the people that at least for the next five years, or until the next election, they can be assured of happiness and the country of peace and prosperity.

The Barisan Nasional, headed by Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir, deserve the applause and felicitations of everyone in this country. One last warning: Our leaders must not allow vanity to get into their heads. Long may they govern.

My Visit to China

WHEN WE ARRIVED in Peking we were received by Haji Mohd. Ali Zang Jie, President of China Islamic Association, Peking and government officials. We were taken to the VIP room where tea and sweets were served and Haji Zhang Jie gave an address of welcome.

After the ceremony we were taken to the Daioyutai State Guest House, the same house in which Tun Razak and Tun Hussein stayed when they visited China.

The building was big and spacious. It was in the Government VIP complex where, at the time, the Vice-President of Rumania and the Foreign Minister of Thailand were staying. Leading to the complex was a very well laid out garden with a good path and a glittering stream.

Our stay in Peking was scheduled for five days with itineraries well prepared to suit my wishes. No programme was arranged between 1 p.m. and 5 p.m. as I told them I wanted to rest in the afternoon.

We visited the Summer Palace, the Great Wall of China, the Forbidden City, mosques and the Friendship Store. What interested me most was the Forbidden City.

Why it was called the Forbidden City I found hard to understand because it was a palace and a big and magnificent one at that. There were so many palatial buildings within the walls together with beautiful and impressive courtyards with huge copper vases depicting the provinces of China. It was built in 1406 by Emperor Yung Lo, the first Ming emperor.

In this palace there were other residences and apartments. The first was where the emperor himself rested. It was hard to see the decoration inside because it was quite dim as it was raining heavily outside. I saw his

bed where he waited for concubines to entertain him at night.

Then we saw the residence of the empress and two other apartments, one for the senior concubines or those whom the emperor liked best and the other for the junior concubines.

Then there was also the big quarters for eunuchs who were entrusted with the care and well-being of the concubines. How many concubines the emperor had nobody could tell me, but judging from the spacious quarters in which they lived, there must have been quite a lot. I thought how lucky of the emperor to be so well entertained and served. I was also told that the warlords and nobles had as many concubines as the emperor himself.

We were also taken to the Central Institute of Minority Nationalities. This is an institute where the minorities are being educated in their own language as well as in Mandarin. The aim was to unite the citizens of China; in other words "in diversity they could find unity" through education.

Parties were given by our Ambassador which consisted of a reception to which all the Muslim diplomats were invited. Dinner followed for the members of the delegation and embassy staff and their wives. These ladies served a delicious Malayan buffet dinner.

Next day, we were received by the Prime Minister, Mr. Zhao Ziyang in the Ming Palace. This, according to the Premier, was a special honour to me, as he normally received visitors at the Great Hall.

He was very friendly and regarded my visit as a help to further strengthen the ties between China and Malaysia.

He talked at some length on the economic development of China and praised Malaysia for its high standard of living. It was his ambition, he said, to raise the standard of living of the people of China which at the moment is rather low compared to Malaysia.

Then he went on to talk of religion. According to him, people are free to practice any religion they wished. They also had the choice of, like himself, not practicing any religion. He talked on many subjects but emphasised China's economic development as a matter of first importance.

That night we were given a dinner by the Muslim community. This was followed the next evening by a dinner given by the Director of the Religious Bureau, Mr Qiao Liang Sheng, at the Great Hall of the People. This is a wonderful building, so big and spacious that the Assembly Hall could accommodate 6,000 people. Each big room is named after each of the provinces of China. The first room I entered was named Taiwan, which was included among the 18 provinces of China.



The Tunku with the Chinese Premier Mr Zhao Ziyang.

We were taken from one room to another, all big and spacious, with thick Chinese carpets. The walls of each room was decorated with pictures depicting the scenic beauty of the provinces.

The most amazing thing about this great building is that it was completed within 10 months, 24 hours a day, by professional and voluntary workers who worked side by side in shifts. Such a building in my mind would have taken no less than three years to complete if built anywhere outside China.

The magnificent work shows how the Chinese people can work when their services are required by their Government. What appeared a novelty to me too was to see the millions of bicycles in the city streets. Only diplomats and high Government officials are allowed to use cars.

Men and women all dressed alike and they go about their business wholeheartedly and without paying much attention to anything that goes on around them.

One thing I noticed was an absence of armed policemen patrolling the streets on foot or in cars. The only police I saw were those on traffic duty at road junctions.

I remarked to my host at the dinner how pleasant it was not to see armed police on rounds, unlike our cities where police patrol the streets in cars and on foot to maintain law and order.

He said, "Oh, there are crimes here."

"If there were," I replied "there are no visible signs of it; in our country they rob and kidnap people in broad daylight."

He just smiled.

There are five mosques in the city of Peking. The most impressive and the most beautiful one is the Niujie Mosque built more than 700 years ago in real Chinese style. We were told that the other mosques were equally well attended. During the reign of The Gang of Four, all the mosques were locked up but under the new Government they were reopened and renovated.

After Peking, our next stop was Shanghai, the city I had seen before the Japanese invasion. Shanghai is a sprawling city with 11.6 million people and there are almost as many bicycles as there are men. It was hard to recognise the place after my first visit in 1936, 46 years ago. Nevertheless it still stands out as the principal port and industrial centre of China.

Our stay there was scheduled for two days and we were shown places of interest, the most impressive being the under river tunnel which stretched for six kilometers.



Muslims celebrating the Prophet's birthday at Huaishin Mosque, China.

There are five mosques in Shanghai and we went to the Dongsì Mosque where we performed our Friday prayers.

The next place we visited was Hangchow. We arrived there by train from Shanghai. The train appeared so very long to me — at least a quarter of a mile long — with so many passengers. We stayed there two days though the programme was initially fixed for one day. The city has a panoramic view of a beautiful lake (See Wu or West lake) amidst green pastures and foliage.

We were taken on a cruise round the lake but unfortunately it rained incessantly and the trip had to be cut short. Next, we visited the only mosque in Hangchow where the Muslim population numbers only 4,000.

After two days in Hangchow we flew to Canton, a sprawling city of 6.5 million people. This was another city I visited in 1936. The weather there was as hot as in Malaysia. In fact the day we arrived it was hotter than Malaysia.

There, the men wore light shirts and the women, blouses which made us all feel nearer home, so did the familiar Chinese food and climate.

We visited the Huaisheng Mosque — the oldest in China built 900 years ago. Its minaret leaned to the right and I referred to it as the Seventh-and-a-half Wonder of the World.

In Canton there were more Muslims than anywhere else except of course the Muslim province of Sinkiang. I now understand why the Malays refer to Chinese Muslims as "*orang Kwangtung*" for the first Chinese Muslim to come to Malaya must have been from Canton.

More Observations on China

MY VISIT TO CHINA has given me an insight into another world — the Chinese Communist world. I came away with the feeling that there is no other way of governing that vast country, with the world's largest population, other than the way it is being governed now.

With rigid control and strict regimentation, the well-ordered way of life is maintained. It is the only means possible that can help keep together one thousand million people.

The Chinese as a race of people are very materialistic and are very fond of life and above all, wealth and riches. The three dieties they revere and depict are always wealth, health and longevity. They also want to be blessed with many children as well.

This is the Chinese idea of life but the policy of the present regime does not completely deny the people all these rights. They encourage good health and longevity but wealth must be shared by all.

As to longevity they all seem to live long. They referred to me as a man "of great age", but I told them that to the people of my country, I am perhaps a freak, but for people of China it seems normal to live to a great age.

Some of the Muslim leaders who came to meet me were nearly 90 and Haji Ibrahim Ma's brother was 87. I understand that in Sinkiang province it is not unusual to come across people who are past 100.

Under the present regime, people are not encouraged to have more than one child. In fact, in all the cities we visited, there were banners carrying slogans telling the people to go in for family planning. Loud speakers also blared away eulogising birth control.

There were stalls where free sweet drinks were given to the public,



The Tunku at the Great Wall of China.

while they milled around listening to the advice on how to prevent pregnancy and child birth.

There's a lot we can learn from China on the method of implementing birth control. The way of life of China is strictly communist and there is no poor nor rich to speak of. Everybody has a share and is cared for by the Government.

Compare this with us here. With 130,000 square miles of land and only 12 million people, there is plenty of opportunity for everybody; therefore the Chinese way of life is necessary for China but here, of course, the situation is different.

We are pleased with and appreciative of the way we were treated and entertained. At every province we visited, we were given a warm welcome. Five Muslim leaders accompanied us and looked after us right from the moment we set foot in Peking to the moment we left Canton for Hong Kong.

The journey from Canton to Hong Kong gave us an insight into the Communists and Capitalists world, yet the two can co-exist.

From my conversation with the Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang, it was clear that China wanted to be friendly with other countries, in particular Southeast-Asian countries where our raw materials are of great demand by China in her effort to improve her economic condition.



The leaders of the Chinese Islamic Association.

It was said of Premier Zhao that he emerged from obscurity to prominence in 1971 when he became the First Secretary of the Province of Szechuan.

In that capacity, he began experimenting with capitalist methods and incentives in industry and agriculture, increasing production to 51 per cent and made 90 per cent profit in six months.

It was said of him too by a famous Chinese journalist "Zhao has brains and the right line of thinking". Chairman Hua said to the Japanese delegation that his successor Zhao is "a very talented man." I certainly agree.

All along the journey from Canton, padi fields spread for miles, interspersed with catch crops, such as groundnuts, sweet potatoes, corn and vegetables. There were also fish ponds right to the New Territories of Hong Kong.

When we got into the New Territories, all this natural beauty disappeared and in its place tall buildings rose high into the sky. The contrast is so great; an entirely new landscape and habitat.

What is strange about it all is that the lease of these New Territories will run out in 15 years and China has not given any indication that she will renew the lease though an approach has been made.

The Hong Kong private enterprises carry on with building construction without a care in the world. Big banks, according to information, will not lend for development in the New Territories but private financial corporations owned by Chinese business people, offer loans freely.

In fact there is a Special Economic Zone in the New Territories run by private enterprises.

Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang said "We are interested in development in China itself to improve the conditions of life of our people". On this premise, however, perhaps there is a hope that China may extend the lease of the New Territories to Hong Kong for more years.

Coming into Hong Kong, one feels the great contrast in lifestyles. Everybody is money conscious in Hong Kong and everyone is bent on getting rich, even the doorman, the room boys, the waiters, waitresses and others at the hotel.

A dollar to the man who opens the car door, two dollars to the room boy who brings you a cup of hot water, five dollars for bringing a cup of tea and ten dollars to bring you a meal. Porters expect five dollars to bring up a piece of luggage to the room and a hair cut without a shave costs HK\$130.

Before leaving the colony, I gave a friend HK\$40 and asked him to buy me a bottle of the cheapest eau de cologne from the tax-free shop but he came back with three cakes of Yardly Lavender soap. That's all the money could buy.

Every man you see in the street appears bent on business and every businessman you meet talks in terms of millions.

Hong Kong, half the size of Penang, now boasts of a population of five and a half million people — what a crowd!

The takings on the tote sometimes exceed HK\$15 million per race.

I was very appreciative of the service rendered me in China — no tips and presents are allowed. Each person, I understand, is paid not more than forty yuan a month with free food. I thought I'd like to give the people who served me a present in recognition of their service but they refused to accept any. No one I met talked of money or business.

The Muslim community talked of freedom of worship. By that they mean that they are now free to go into mosques to pray, whereas under the Gang of Four they were not permitted to do so. I asked them what difference does that make to a Muslim; in fact we can pray anywhere and not only in mosques.

I reminded them that their duty is not only to enjoy religious freedom but to establish religious classes to give religious lessons to the young people.

As Muslims they are obliged to know the *Quran*, to pray, to fast, to give *zakat* and if possible to visit Mecca. These are the five principles of Islam and they are further required to believe in God and the Prophet, the Angels, the *Quran*, the end of the world and the omnipotence of

God.

It is very necessary for the young people to be given religious lessons so that they can keep up with Islam. From what I saw there, no such thing was being done.

Islam is likened to fruit trees, I said, and these grow well and bear good fruits in fertile soil. Nevertheless they have to be attended to and cared for. In less fertile soil, more attention and more care must be given otherwise they bear no fruit and will ultimately die.

The fertile soil is the land where Muslims are in the majority and the less fertile soil where they are in the minority. The latter is the case with China.

I invited them to attend our intensive training course which RISEAP holds from time to time but they objected to the presence of Muslims from Taiwan.

To overcome this political problem, I offered to hold a course specially for the Muslims of China, because as a Muslim organisation we cannot bar any Muslim from participating in any religious activity organised in this country, either on account of race, colour or politics because all Muslims are brothers and are equal in the eyes of Allah. They have asked for time to study my offer.

One thing that impressed me is that in all the big cities of China there are mosques and Muslim restaurants, even though Muslims are in the minority.

The religion of Islam came to China nearly nine hundred years ago by land and by sea and wherever Muslims went they made conversions. As a result, the Muslim population of China increased with every dynasty and it reached its highest peak in the period of the Ching dynasty.

It was at first said that the emperor himself was a Muslim but according to the Muslims it was his brother who became one and not him. In any case, the emperor was very tolerant towards Islam. So generals, politicians, scholars of Muslim faith were well favoured in the Court.

Admiral Cheng Ho, a Muslim eunuch in the Court of the emperor, travelled the seven seas in the 15th century long before Christopher Columbus discovered America. He stopped in Malacca during this journey and made a great impact on the Malays of Malacca who referred to him as a saint — Twa Pek Kong.

My journey to China was not only one of goodwill and friendship but of discovery as well. I must thank the Chinese Ambassador, Mr. Yeh Cheng-Chang for having made it possible and for the kind hospitality my party of 11 received from the high officials and those who were assigned to look after us.

Of Snakes, Rows and Dignity in the House

THE SO-CALLED UPROAR in the Penang State Assembly started off with a harmless exchange and ended up with fireworks. Many people are worried that this is happening in the Assembly of the people's chosen representatives.

Heated debates are not unusual in the Penang State Assembly, and members are sworn to perform their important task in a "just and faithful manner, and to advance the peace, prosperity and welfare of Penang and its inhabitants."

We like discussions and sometimes heated debates but these must conform with the rules and regulations as provided in the Parliamentary Standing Orders. Sometimes it might even transcend propriety, but it must be kept within the bounds of dignity of the House of Assembly.

The late D.R. Seenivasagam used to make charges and unsavoury remarks against Government members which led to heated debates. Challenges were thrown at him, taunting him to repeat his charges outside the House. On one occasion, he did and was charged with libel but he got off to the surprise of everybody on technical grounds.

He summoned me once for calling him a "black snake" but when informed that the "black snake" referred to was the "*ular tanah*" that does not bite but constitutes a nuisance to people, he did not proceed with the case.

To illustrate my point, one night this reptile slithered up my leg as I was playing cards in Alor Star. I shook it off and drove it away. Then it returned and wound itself around Justice S.M. Yong's leg. Finally, we had to call the police to keep it away. I never kill a snake in the house if I can help it and will not allow anyone else to do so.

When D.R. Seeni died, his brother continued the vituperations against the Government. Then Tun Razak brought all the political parties into a coalition with the Alliance and renamed the party Barisan Nasional.

All the fun was gone. The sitting of Parliament was changed. The members did not show much interest in the proceedings — at least they did not quarrel. In the days of stormy sessions the gallery used to be filled to capacity.

Sometimes the sessions had a touch of humour. When Dr. Tan Chee Khoo (now Tan Sri), accused some Government leaders of running a mess, I asked him who among us had not erred — only the two of us were on our feet and the house construed that neither of us had ever erred. There was laughter in the House. This came about after the famous Pro-fumo scandal, which broke the back of the Conservative Government.

In fact I was in England myself at the time. That afternoon I attended a Goodwood meeting and had lunch with Lord and Lady Astor at their luxurious home. That evening there was a party at the house which some heads of Commonwealth Governments attended.

I was not able to go as I had another party in London but among those present were the President of Pakistan, Ayub Khan and his Begum.

The party was naturally a happy one and everyone enjoyed themselves, but there was no improper conduct by anyone. There was a kind of stage show by the swimming pool, no less vulgar or obscene than what was shown on the London stage, but the Opposition and the Press made a mountain out of it to the annoyance of the host. The reports made a casualty of the party in power.

Our Opposition thought that they might pull off the same stunt here and started to probe into the private affairs of some of our leaders. I made light of it because our way of life and that of the British is not the same and can never be the same. We Asians are used to the way of life peculiar to our region. Our people openly marry two or three wives, or keep two or three mistresses, if they can afford it. So the stunt never got off the ground.

Our laws and code of conduct in the House of Parliament, or the State Assembly, are governed by Standing Orders and these are based on the British system.

The person who upholds the Standing Orders and controls the House is the Speaker appointed by the House. Proceedings, debates and discussions of any kind within the precincts of the House must conform with the Standing Orders.

All these years, after Independence, we have paid particular atten-

tion to these time-honoured rules and regulations. Sometimes, of course, in the heat of the moment one may say the wrong things or transgress the bounds of propriety, but on the whole, our members are well behaved and the House of Assembly has been well run.

My friend, Mr Karpal Singh, found himself at variance with the former Speaker, Datuk Haji Hassan bin Md. Noh, in the last Assembly and I tried to make peace between them but failed.

Mr Karpal Singh was required to apologise for his suspension to be lifted, but he refused to do so because, according to him, he had done nothing wrong. He said he was within his right to condemn certain actions by the Government in power over the promise of payment of money for projects in a contested constituency in the Penang by-election.

The matter was never settled, but in the following general election the people themselves took a decision by returning the DAP candidate in the Pengkalan Kota constituency and Mr Karpal Singh himself was returned to the Assembly.

Now the ballyhoo has started again and this happened at the beginning of the first session of the Assembly. Who is right here? It is not difficult to judge for during the debate on the motion of thanks for the Yang di-Pertua's address, Mr Karpal Singh sought to move a motion to debate on what was said of Dr Lim Chong Eu by an UMNO State Deputy Chief who alleged outside parliament that Dr Lim was being high-handed in dealing with certain matters.

Mr Singh's motion was not allowed.

In fact Mr. Karpal Singh had already taken the floor for one hour and had said all he wanted to say within that time. But he wanted to make a separate and specific issue of this and he was refused permission to move a motion.

Correctly, I think, the Speaker ruled him out of order.

Standing order 31(2) states: "Except by leave of the Speaker no original motion other than those of the kind enumerated in Standing Order 34 shall be put unless notice of such motion in writing shall have been given to the clerk at least 14 days previously."

Standing Order 34(VII) reads: "A motion of which the urgency is admitted by the Speaker and supported by members rising in their places."

On the question of breaches of order, Standing Order 51(1) states: "If a member shows disregard for the authority of the chair, or abuses the Standing Orders of the Assembly by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the Assembly..... a motion may then be made, upon which the Speaker shall forthwith suspend such member from the Ser-

vice of the Assembly...."

When such member is suspended under Standing Order 51(5), he shall forthwith withdraw from the Assembly chamber and its precincts.

Let us hope, however, that such a thing will not happen. Members with long political standing are expected to exercise care and self-control in the interests of parliamentary democracy, peace and welfare of the inhabitants they represent.

Malaysia has done very well indeed since Independence and it is for the political leaders of the country to maintain this high standard of conduct by Members of Parliament and State Assemblymen.