

Squaring up to the challenges within Umno

MSF 28 SEP 1985

THE Umno General Assembly in 1985 will surely go down as a unique occasion in the annals of the Umno struggle and the struggle of the Malay people.

Firstly, this meeting is taking place in Umno's own building. Umno has had its own premises since the earliest days but the previous headquarters was too small to contain any Umno assembly. This just-completed Umno Complex, officially opened on Thursday, is exclusively designed to provide the requirements of the largest yearly meeting in the country — the Umno General Assembly.

The Umno Complex not only signifies the progress of Umno but the success of the coalition Government in Malaysia since Merdeka.

While we have had to borrow to carry out this project, we know nobody would have been prepared to lend to us if we had not the means to pay back. Umno members themselves did not contribute as expected but there had been others, declaring their success a product of the Umno struggle and Government steered by Umno, who have helped Umno erect this new headquarters.

Apart from that, I am confident that the revenue from this complex and the income from several businesses in which Umno has a share will aid us to repay the loans and leave a little over to

constituencies claimed by the opposition there is Umno.

The large membership reflects the interest among Malays to be part of Umno. Unfortunately, the spirit and an understanding of the Umno struggle are still not evident.

Both the special achievements of Umno I mentioned, that is, economic success and increasing membership, can, on the face of it, be taken as progress to be proud of but there are the uglier elements, elements that can cause Umno to collapse from within.

The economic success of the Malay people is not always followed by gratitude. Many who have grown rich and successful are not satisfied merely with wealth. They seek out the political arena and the power supposedly acquired by politicians.

We have seen money

It saddens me to expose this horrid affair (money politics). I know the opposition will use it to club us. But I have no choice.

Firstly, those who question fairness in Umno should ask if they themselves have been fair. Secondly, fairness is usually admitted by those who have got what they were looking for. Should a person lose out, he would certainly doubt the impartiality of the decision.

Umno, in fact, has a democratic system and chooses its leaders by majority vote. Whether the chosen leader possesses a sense of fairplay cannot be guaranteed. What is important is that when that leader has been found to be unfair, he can be replaced through the democratic process. Let us not allow technical nits to get on top of the principles and interests of the party as a whole.

Among the ugly symptoms accompanying the economic progress of the Malays and the expanding Umno membership is

whether the Malays can administer Umno which has grown bigger. This is the challenge facing us now that Umno has grown bigger and has members from every strata of society including those that do not understand the party's objectives or lack the spirit of nationalism.

In the coming special assembly, we are going to table amendments and new regulations to the party constitution with the objective of protecting the solidarity and effectiveness of the Umno.

I agree that regulations are not as effective as self-discipline by all of us. But, in any organisation, even those that are well-disciplined, there are bound to be individuals who are "thorns in society's flesh".

The aim of the new laws are to constraint such people. If the majority of Umno members behave improperly and ignore regulations or laws, amendments to the party constitution will not be of any effect to the preservation of the party.

Co-operation

I hope Umno members will support these amendments in the interest of the solidarity and image of the party. More so, I hope these amendments will not have to be used often, and hope party members will exercise self-discipline and act in a manner of a respected and dignified race.

Umno accepts reality and firmly believes in truth. The reality is that

manage the headquarters.

Gratitude

Secondly, the total count of Umno members has exceeded one million. This proves that enthusiasm for Umno among the Malays is still rising. Wherever we go we find the signposts of Umno branches. Surely all the squatter areas have these signposts. The first shed put up in any new development area will carry a party signboard with an Umno pennant with pride. Even in those

being used in the quest for positions in Umno, whether at the branch, divisional or national levels. Consolations are sent to members with well-wishes from so-and-so. Sometimes in special envelopes with the salutation "best regards" from the person concerned.

Many Umno members are taken for holidays abroad. Many social functions are hosted complete with mini-lectures and benedictions. Luxury hotels are heavily patronised. So too the tour buses, with bookings throughout the year.

Everything has its origin. Money first appeared when general assembly delegates began to be accommodated in posh hotels. Before, these representatives looked for their own lodgings in the small hotels, but since their votes were coveted by Supreme Council candidates, they have been lavishly treated. Thereafter, the money contests occurred.

Fairness

We cannot place all blame on the givers. The receivers are also wrong. They solicit, subtly coercing the hopeful candidate for that special consideration. If refused that candidate could come to grief.

It saddens me to expose this horrid affair. I know the opposition will use it to club us. But I have no choice. The bigger the Umno membership, the more such unprincipled persons shall emerge, using dirty tactics to win places. Even the old-timers in Umno forget the campaign principles for fear of losing position.

In view of this, Umno is forced to amend its established laws in order to put up more effective restraints against the abuses of members and party leaders. These laws will give Umno's regulatory boards the power to settle problems without the likelihood of court injunctions, lately in vogue among members who place their own interests above the party's.

I realise there are those who have played up the concept of contract between member and party. It is purported that as long as Umno exists, we have no need for contract. What is required, they say, is fairness in the settlement of problems.

the money politics and the rush for positions I spoke of. Suffice it to say that Umno as well as the

Malaysia is a multi-racial nation. Therefore, Umno will continue to co-operate with the other



Umno will continue to co-operate with the other races as long as their struggle is not against the interests of Umno and the country.

nation will be destroyed should both warnings remain unheeded.

The fortunes of the Malay people and the future of Islam will take a turn for the worst should Umno fall. Umno's destruction will not be brought about by enemies from without but by divisions within, by strife among members. Recall that the succession struggles in the Malay States by royal pretenders to the sultanates led to 400 years of colonisation. Be mindful and be humble. The greedy will lose all in the end.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Dutch and English, the Malay people belonged to so many little kingdoms, carved out of the sovereign disputes among the heirs of the Malay Rajas. The small States were weak and while the race for the throne raged on, one by one they fell to the colonisers.

The formation of Umno in 1946 united the Malays in their struggle against the Malayan Union. This unity through Umno continued until Malaysia achieved her independence.

But, unity and the integration of the Malay States into the Federation of Malaysia brought with it new challenges — that is, an enlarged administration. History shows, only a race which has the capability to administer a big group of people can govern a big and strong State. Without this capability, the people will be fragmented into small States such as those that existed during the early Malay civilisation in South-East Asia.

The question is

racas as long as their struggle is not against the interests of Umno and the country.

That is why Umno willingly became a member of the Alliance and the Barisan Nasional. We are willing to sacrifice some of our interests to give priority to national interests. We want the country to be politically and economically stable, and in a multi-racial country nothing can be more effective in ensuring stability than through co-operation between the various races.

But that co-operation must be effective and sincere. Up to now, the co-operation in Alliance and later the Barisan Nasional has been effective and the coalition Governments set up under the Alliance and the Barisan Nasional have succeeded in developing our country, Malaysia.

Eventhough it is normal for component parties not to interfere in the internal problems of a member party, but the interests of the Barisan Nasional are more important than that of the particular coalition partner. If the events in the component party not only threaten to destroy itself but jeopardise the solidarity of the Barisan Nasional, therefore, the coalition cannot remain indifferent.

Nevertheless, we are careful in our intervention. Adequate time is given to the component party to settle its problems.

Umno regrets when Barisan Nasional efforts to solve the problem before the general elections have been purposely manipulated by certain

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Inventions

What is strange is that these people who have accused Umno of interfering in their internal affairs are also the ones who in the past constantly asked that the services of certain of their representatives in the Government be terminated or to re-instate certain persons into the Government because they believe that such actions can help them in their struggle for power in the component party.

In short, they are the ones who insisted on external intervention to ensure their leadership of the component party. But today, they are also the ones who are blaming outside intervention after they have failed to solve their problems.

The Chinese community is the second largest after the Malays. We like to see that the Chinese are represented in the Government. But two factors must be taken into account.

Firstly, the intentions of Umno to co-operate with the Chinese community must not be exploited for anyone's personal political interest.

Secondly, the representatives of the Chinese community in the Government must comprise individuals who are sincere and honest and not people who give preference to self-interests.

Leaders must be willing to submit to the decisions of the majority. Leaders should not look for issues merely for their own interests. Leaders cannot manipulate regulations to ensure the maintenance of their positions in the party.

Creditors

Umno has no intentions of interfering in the internal affairs of other component parties in the Barisan Nasional. But Umno as a member of the Barisan Nasional is not willing to see the image of the coalition threatened by the selfish interests of a component party or certain people. And Umno is not willing to be

to spend money without considering the adverse implications. We can borrow money from foreign countries and banks to pay off the debts.

But, like individuals who are in debt, the country has also to pay off its borrowings. And these payments will be a heavy burden for us to shoulder. When we are in debt today and it is our children who will bear the burden of repayments. Our ancestors "mortgaged" the country through extravagant spending on massive wedding celebrations and the consequent of it all was that we were colonised.

Creditors today will not colonise us directly if we fail to pay our debts. But, indirect colonisa-

structure projects, especially those that will bring economic returns, are needed. With that, the Government launched several projects even though it was during the economic recession.

The result of our prudent financial management was an improved financial position as compared to other developing countries in this region and in the world.

Nevertheless, we are not free yet from the sufferings. We still need to be prudent in our spending. As such, in the several years to come, we have to reduce our debts. But, we should continue with beneficial projects because if we don't, the construction industry will come to a halt. This means that not only em-

ployment is logical. But, we cannot borrow to pay for recurrent operating expenditure like salaries, pensions and others. We cannot do this, just like someone cannot be borrowing for his daily meals.

In a situation where we are not able to increase our productivity, we must spend within our means. We should make some sacrifices, so that debt repayments will not rise rapidly so much so our balance is not even enough for our operating expenditure.

Unfortunately, there are threats from the leadership of the union of Government employees that if the Government does not entertain their claims, they will go on strike. By going on strike, we will be able to increase our revenue to pay for the salary increases?

Workers

Of course, it is clear that strikes will jeopardise the national economy and slash the Government's revenue. Business will be disrupted and foreign investors, internally and externally, will be frightened to invest. Revenue collection will be affected and development projects for the people will be halted.

Far from assisting the Government in increasing revenue, strikes will reduce the Government's income for a long time, for the effects of industrial action will not disappear as soon as such actions are stopped. The Government's ability to pay will be affected for a couple of years.

The Government is not only responsible to its staff. The Government is also responsible to the people. Up to now, the economic recession has resulted in thousands of workers in the private sector losing their jobs. Many have not been able to work in a neighbouring country for there the economic recession too has caused local and foreign workers to lose their jobs.

Apart from that, shops and their workers directly feel the effects of poor business. Hawkers who survived on subsistence living if the weather is bad, cannot escape the pressures of a depressed economy. Farmers and fishermen, smallholders



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tion or neo-colonialism can take place. Then, our struggle for independence will have been of no use. We and our future generations will then live under foreign manipulation.

It is not my intention to say that the country cannot borrow at all. We can borrow. In fact, we should borrow and often, the value of the currency used in the repayment of debts has dropped compared to the time when we took up the loan. Despite this, there is a limit to borrowings.

In view of this fact, we need to be thrifty and to control our expenditure. National development cannot be carried out as rapidly as before. Projects and subsidies have to be reduced. Purchases of luxury goods from abroad must be reduced, whether by the Government or the people.

But many ask why we are still building bridges and highways. Can't we

ployers will face losses but also workers, suppliers, shopkeepers, hawkers, transport operators and others will similarly be affected.

Once again I like to clarify that steps to overcome the economic recession are prudent spending and increased productivity. Right now, production costs of raw materials are much higher than other countries with similar products. If we do not reduce production costs and increase productivity, our goods cannot compete in the world market.

Development

Once again those that will suffer will not only be the "towkays" but also the workers and others who depend directly or indirectly on raw commodities industries.

Reviving the national economy does not depend on the Government alone. All of us, whether as em-

ridiculed by those who have lost power.

According to the newspapers and rumours, there is a downturn in the country's economy. These reports are supported by the actions of certain employers in some industries in retrenching or reducing the working hours of their employees.

postpone these projects?

Recession

Actually, the recession hit us by surprise. Its effects on the national economy were only fully felt between 1983 and 1985. In 1980, we were still quite well-off so much so we were able to have revisions of civil servants' salaries earlier

employers or salaried workers, are also responsible. The shouts and screams of workers and analysis by experts at seminars and workshops will not bring any benefit as long as all of us do not have a responsible attitude and make an effort to increase productivity. Only prudent spending and higher productivity can be the cure for our economic recession. There is no other cure.

As I have mentioned earlier, the world economic recession has affected our economy. Malaysia is a country where 50 per cent of the Gross National Product is dependant on trade with other countries. With declining demand from advanced countries, we cannot but see our revenue from trade declining. A reduced volume of trade in turn lowers the income received by the Government from export, income and other taxes.

What should we do in such a situation? If we want to continue with our normal spending, we cannot but get ourselves in debt. National debt is a serious problem. Interest and loan principal must be paid. Part of the revenue collected by the Government must be used to pay debts. After paying large amounts for debts and operating expenses, the Government does not have adequate funds for development.

But, development has to be continued and important projects have to be implemented. Therefore, we are forced to borrow.

To borrow for an important project that will reap benefits to the Gov-

and mine workers, all of them suffer not only because of loss of or reduced income but also inflation.

On the contrary, not one worker in the Government has been sacked because of the economic recession. Actually, some of them have received pay increases amounting to 12 per cent, that is, more than one month's salary in a year. There are also some who have been upgraded in their posts and have had their allowances increased.

Does the Government need to entertain its staff only without taking into consideration the other citizens? I am sad that these people who are lucky enough are considering threatening the stability of the country and probably, the rice bowls of other people.

We know that we are going to have a general election soon and we need as much support as we can. But, the Barisan Nasional is not willing to make Malaysia a bankrupt nation purely to fish for votes. We will face the challenges and the threats with a firm stand.

The salary offer that we have agreed to has already affected the nation's financial position. We are not prepared "to mortgage" the nation even if we face the prospect of losing seats.

I am aware that not all Government servants are interested in taking part in the strikes. Those interested are the leaders with their grand ambitions. It is easy to become

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There are threats from the leadership of the union of Government employees that if the Government does not entertain their claims, they will go on strike.

Our country is a nation that depends on trade with foreign countries, especially developed countries, for the growth and stability of our economy. In a situation of deteriorating world economy, we cannot but feel the effects of this recession.

What is important is not the reasons for the recession in foreign countries. What is important is our attitude and measures in facing this recession.

We can adopt an attitude of ignoring reality and continue with our normal practices, that is,

than usual and big increases in wages and pensions.

Similarly, we did not have any reasons to postpone projects that had already been launched. Only in 1983 did we delay projects that had not been committed. Definitely, those projects where contracts had been awarded or the works were in progress, had to be continued. If they were to be cancelled, a large amount of compensation would have to be paid out to the concerned companies. This is a loss without a single benefit.

Nevertheless, infras-

sire for parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy. Other ideologies — socialist or communist, liberal or conservative — did not guide nor influence Umno. Only parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy.

We do not deny the influence of the British in Umno's choice. In Malay history, democracy does not exist. What did was a system of monarchy, in which the ruler wielded absolute power. The system of Malay rule was feudal. It was this feudal system that yielded the Malay States to the colonisers.

Democracy

While we are not so fond of the manners of the British, we do not refuse something purely because of its British origin. As a mature people, we assess and examine to separate the chaff from the wheat. We do not hesitate simply out of regard for origin. The important thing is whether it is likely to bring about good or evil. And we believe that the parliamentary democratic system and constitutional monarchy is as good as a system can be — certainly better than feudalism.

We do not regret our choice. Democracy makes certain that a leader no longer fit to lead will not be able to maintain his position. It is of course better if a leader or a Government is not perturbed or shadowed by the possibility of defeat while drafting policies or setting out programmes. A Government under no such pressure can act with greater justice. Any influential person or group will not threaten to withdraw support if there is nothing to be gained.

However, a popular Government in a democracy is forced to take account of the effects of policy or legislation. In other words, politics determines Government. Pressed by the likelihood of an electoral loss, democratic Governments often put political interests above all else.

Nevertheless, we are loath to dictatorship or feudalism. We are more comfortable with the thought that we can change Governments democratically than with the prospect of a harsh and inconsiderate Government that cannot be toppled short of revolution.

Through the system of parliamentary demo-

cracy we can change the people's representatives and Governments as we please. With democracy we could with certainty eject wrongly chosen, corrupt and iron-fisted Governments within five years.

We have selected the system of constitutional monarchy, instead of a republic with a presidential administration because at the time of our campaign for independence, the Rulers in general supported and cooperated with the nationalist movement. The monarchy was not

the Constitution that protects them, these people with vested interests are of the opinion that with the involvement of the Rulers in their activity, they too will be sheltered by the law, and can afford to forgo the policy and objectives of a Government of the people.

They concoct elaborate business plans to attract the Rulers' interest and attempt to get the Rulers to take part. They not only hope to win over the authorities easily but to trounce their competitors primarily the Bumiputera businessmen.



● **But Malaysia is our country, the country of the Malays, the Bumiputeras, Malaysians of Chinese origin, Indians, Ibans, Kadazans and other ethnic groups.** ●

severely obstructionist as in Indonesia or India. In any case, there was no reason to pick a republican system with a President as head of State.

Additionally, the system of parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy entrusts Government upon the people. The King becomes the symbol of Government so that the loyalty of the people to the nation is directed at this symbol of sovereignty. But the administration of the country is in fact decided by the people through free elections.

Because the Ruler is not involved in administration and is unconnected to party politics, the people's dedication is not divided. The people are not clouded by political colour or ideology in their loyalty to King and country.

Unhappily, although this system is running smoothly and politicians do not invite the participation of the Rulers, there is now a different party of persons intending to use the regal influence of the Rulers for their personal ends. Because the Government reveres the Rulers and

Like it or not, this sort of thing mars the good name of the Rulers among the people. Like it or not, should this go on, the public prestige of the Rulers will turn sour. Like it or not, the people will eventually question the system of constitutional monarchy.

Delegates all, the Government has tried its best to conceal these enterprises for the good of the Rulers. But little by little, such enterprises that bear the influence of the Rulers has surfaced to within earshot of the people.

Before the people's respect for the Rulers is disfigured, I wish to advise, nay warn, that group of persons attempting to make use of the Rulers for an advantage in business, to bring that ploy to a halt. We do not want the people to cast doubts on the system of constitutional monarchy. We, in Umno, uphold this system and do not want it threatened or challenged by avaricious personal interests.

Anyone found attempting such an endeavour will be blacklisted and his entire commercial dealings with the Government leered at and ig-

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popular by pressuring others to give in to something.

It is easy to make the civil servants' salary revision claims issue a stepping stone to a much-dreamed-about post. But, that path is dangerous and can work against the person concerned. Therefore, be careful.

Malaysia is a democratic country. Each citizen has freedom of movement. The Government has no intention of curtailing excessively the critiques of the Government. On the contrary, we want to have a more liberal attitude. That is why we have released many detainees. That is also why we have made it easier for a lot more publishing activities to be carried out. That is also why we stopped public confessions through the television and other mass media.

But, as a responsible Government, we cannot ignore the fact that the security and stability of the country is the Government's responsibility. When we feel it is necessary, we will use justly all our powers and laws available to us. No one should have doubts about this.

Even before Umno was formed, the Malay people had stated their support for a democratic system. A meeting of Malay establishments to organise resistance to the Malayan Union had automatically made its resolutions along democratic lines.

When it was formed, Umno enunciated its de-

nored. He will be exposed to the public glare for bringing the system of constitutional monarchy into disrepute.

I like to reiterate that Malaysia is a multi-racial and multi-religious country. While Islam is recognised as the country's official religion, other religions can freely be practiced by their respective followers. Besides, Muslims are protected from the spread of other religions. On the contrary, in spreading and increasing the number of Muslims, the use of force is completely out.

All these, directly or indirectly, are the constitutional provisions, our country's administrative basic law legislated while taking into consideration the Islamic perspective in the administration of a multi-racial and multi-religious country.

The Quran and *hadith* and *sunnah* (traditions) form the foundation of the Muslims' faith. This basis cannot be questioned, but for the daily practice, we need comprehensive practical guidelines.

Society

For instance, verse 60 of *Al-Anfaal* exhorts Muslims to make preparations to defend themselves. During the Prophet's time, this would mean getting ready the swords and horses. In this modern era, defending the *ummah* means getting ready with carbines, machine guns, cannons, tanks, planes, warships, submarines, radar, laser beam ranger finders and 1,001 other modern equipment. While the Quran, *hadith* and *sunnah* provide guidelines, efforts to invent all these equipment must be made by us with the use of the mind bestowed by God.

It is the same with the methods of rule. While the basic guidelines can be found in the Quran, *hadith* and *sunnah* to prevent various modern crimes, to administer economic zones, to control the traffic in towns and on the streets, to manage ports and airports, anti-smuggling operations and 1,001 responsibilities, the Government has to enforce the law using use the mind and expertise on a consultative basis. What is important is that these

and the situation of a country.

It must be emphasised that Islam provides flexibility and takes the contemporary situation into consideration. In the administration, the safety and the well-being of the society are important. We cannot rely on the interpretation made by any ordinary person no matter how knowledgeable the person may be, if the interpretation is so rigid that the safety of the society and the Muslims is threatened.

In Malaysia our administration is not contrary to the principles of Islam in taking the contemporary situation into account, including the situation where half of the people of this country are non-Muslims.

A lot of things which are *haram* (prohibited by Islam) to us are not *haram* to non-Muslims. We just cannot force them to practice what is advocated by Islam. If we try to do that they will find ways to render our attempt ineffective. Besides, our relationship with them will deteriorate and will probably lead to conflict. Their action in avoiding the law can also have adverse effects on the image of the country.

We do not want to become *munafik* (hypocrites) who exhibit religious faith in our own country but commit vices when abroad. We do not want to say something but do something else instead. The name of Islam has been greatly smeared. In fact, the Muslims are being laughed at because of the actions of a group of hypocrites among the Muslims themselves.

Mujahiddin fighters, the struggle to free Afghanistan rests on their own efforts.

To ensure that they fight courageously to free their own country, the love for Afghanistan, the love which knows no fear, which defies death, must be inculcated in the hearts of the Afghans themselves.

This is called the feeling of nationalism and the spirit that culminates from it is called the spirit of nationalism. Though sympathy from all Muslims is important, the struggle for Afghanistan's freedom is determined by the nationalist spirit of the Afghans themselves.

Nationalism

Nevertheless, hostility between two Muslim groups or two Muslim countries is different. Such an enmity is contrary to the teachings of Islam. It is these types of people who are known as *mazhabiah* or *asabiah* (parochial loyalties). They turn their back on Islam as they are too fanatical and loyal to their groups.

Umno is represented by Malays who possess the spirit of nationalism. But we do not turn our back on Islam despite such a spirit. The spirit of nationalism gives strength to the Islamic struggle and brotherhood in Islam.

On the contrary, groups which oppose Umno can afford to deny the brotherhood in Islam and hurl accusation which clearly indicates that it is not Islam which becomes their guidelines, but emotions and the devils.

Conflict

We do not want to be hypocrites. We do not want to make interpretations more rigid than required by Islam and then act contrary to the interpretations we have arrived at and quoted about.

In our efforts to practice and spread Islam, we will use the flexibility provided by the religion if we find it necessary and beneficial to us in the long run.

Therefore, we start with assimilation of Islamic values in the administration. If we succeed in ensuring that our Government is clean, efficient, trustworthy, courteous, diligent, modest, disciplined, responsible and respects other qualities valued by every devoted Muslim, *Insha Allah*, Islam will spread and we will enjoy prosperity in this world and the next (*akhirat*).

This is why we emphasise the assimilation of Islamic values in Government administration. Form is meaningless until the values I have just mentioned are put into practice. We do not want to be in conflict with those who regard form more important, but they should not regard those who do not stress on form as less Islamic. What is important is that if there is any difference of opinion in Islam, we accept the facts of the difference, but we should not break up just because of the difference.

The Muslims, wherever they are, are brothers, but the Muslim community in one place or country should stand on their own feet. That is why though we are sympathetic with the Afghan

As a Malay national organisation, Umno does not doubt its Islamic motivation. Umno will continue to uphold the spirit of nationalism as the spirit of nationalism in Umno is similar to the spirit of nationalism shown by the Afghan Mujahiddin. We will continue to protect Malay privileges and will not neglect our responsibility in order to fish for votes.

Those who do so are betrayers of the Malay cause and are traitors to Islam. Votes are important in a democracy, but we should not sell our race and ancestry for the sake of getting votes. We should not manipulate religious interpretation for the interest of elections as being done by a group which purportedly upholds the teachings of Islam.

On the other hand, we should build up our spirit of nationalism. For this purpose, we must ensure that our capability and ability are on par with that of other races in the country. As long as we have to depend on others to carry out our functions, as long as the specific functions are not under our control and we lack the efficiency, our spirit of nationalism lacks fulfilment. And the racial imbalance will continue.

The spirit of nationalism does not mean chest thumping, to be proud and arrogant or to look down on others. The spirit of nationalism is to motivate us to upgrade our capability so that it is on par, in fact higher than others and with this, we become a dignified and respectable race.

This is the nationalism meant by Umno when we

chose the name for our party and we determine the objective of our struggle. Let not anyone tarnish our nationalist spirit with bad deeds and dishonourable behaviour or actions which will degrade our race.

The Malays will not disappear from the face of the earth. But what sort of Malays? Respectable ones or those who become slaves to others, or those who always seek alms, the dispirited ones and those who cannot afford to defend themselves? What type of Malays who will not perish from this earth? Let us ponder together. If we want respectable and capable Malays, then we have to change our attitude and strengthen our spirit. *Insha Allah*, we will become respectable Malays.

A Malay proverb says *Hujan emas di negeri orang, hujan keris lembing di negeri sendiri, lebih baik negeri sendiri* (literally: rains of gold in other people's country, rains of kris and spears in our own country, still our own country is better). Malaysia is our country. Malaysia is not actually heaven though it does not rain kris and spears. The people are made up of various communities and certainly there are differences of opinions and sometimes disputes. In such a society, there tends to be disagreement on anything that is done or not done.

But Malaysia is our country, the country of the Malays, the Bumiputeras, Malaysians of Chinese origin, Indians, Ibans, Kadazans and other ethnic groups. No matter how poor Malaysia is, the people must love it. This is normal.

People like what they are used to. Thus they are used to their respective countries. That is why there are people who are willing to live in the desert which is so hot and dry. There are also those who are prepared to live in cold countries where the land is covered with thick snow.

They are prepared to live in such conditions and refuse to move. They are willing to fight to their last drop of blood if their countries are attacked. It is because of the love for such common places that races and countries come into existence. It is the love for these common places that is called nationalism.

Prosperous

The Malay race is also the Malaysian race. While we consider the Malay States as the original homeland of the Malays, we recognise the rights of other communities as Malaysian citizens. Though some of them leave the country to live in other countries, we do not deny the fact that the majority of the people in this country are truly loyal to Malaysia. Therefore, we recognise them as citizens.

We, the Malays, should not be ashamed of our love for our country and race. We are ordinary mortals and this is a common human feeling. There is no one whose heart is so without feeling that it does not throb when he returns home from abroad. The longer he is separated from his homeland, the stronger is his heart beat. Indeed, this is the land we love and this is our land.

I am not ashamed to admit that the spirit of nationalism has given motivation to my actions. I believe we all have similar feelings. If not, we should cultivate the love for the people and the country. We will not lose. In fact, we will benefit and become more prosperous. We will be respected and we will succeed.

Umno is a nationalist party. Umno members are Muslims. Therefore, Umno is also an Islamic party. Islam and nationalist spirit do not contradict each other. As a nationalist party, Umno will protect the Malays, in particular, and the people and the country, in general, from threats and outside influence.

Umno will inculcate the spirit of nationalism so that it consolidates every effort to develop and build a respectable, dignified and successful country. As an Islamic party, Umno will uphold the principles of Islam.

This is Malaysia, our country. And it is this country that we will develop and defend. I pray that Allah gives us His grace and guidance.