

⊗ Mahathir Mohamad

Translation of text of speech of Umno president Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad

PM: Be proud of

WE meet again at our annual general assembly. Thanks to God Almighty, Umno, which was formed in 1946, is still alive and active, still in power and successful. The 1987/1988 incident has finally ended with Umno's assets returned to us and that Umno Baru is now referred to as only Umno, in its original form.

The majority of those who left Umno because they were frustrated and those who were responsible for making the party being declared illegal by the courts have realised their mistakes and has since returned to the fold. We are thankful to God Almighty for this realisation and their belief in the party and its struggle. Umno's door is still open to all — to those who left Umno, to those who have never joined us, the old and the young, friends and foe, as long as they accept the objectives and concept of Umno's struggle. All are welcome. Umno is not owned by a particular individual. Umno belongs to the Malays and now belongs to all Bumiputeras.

Umno is guided by the country's policies and holds Islam as its belief. Islam is upheld and promoted. But Umno also accepts Bumiputeras who are not Muslims and who are free to practise their own religion. There is no force that they should adopt Islam. And they, too, do not stop Umno from furthering the cause of Islam.

Even though Umno is a party for the Malays and other Bumiputeras, it is also responsible for the citizens of the country from the other communities and religions. Umno's struggle does not deny other communities their rights. In fact, Umno will defend the rights of other communities who do not deny the Malays and the Bumiputeras their rights. The interest and needs of the non-Bumiputeras are

would turn this into a major political issue. It will charge that Umno declares Islam illegal, and not the use of the word "Islam" in the party's name. Looking at Al Arqam, we should realise that the Malays, including the educated ones, are gullible when arguments are made in the name of Islam.

We know that some political parties in other Islamic countries also use the word "Islam" in their name. But in these countries, the disunity is so apparent among the Muslims. The animosity among those using the word "Islam" in their names and those without were such that hundreds of thousands died, injured seriously and had their properties worth billions of dollars destroyed. In the name of Islam, the cruelty inflicted upon Muslims had made peace impossible. As a result, almost all these Islamic countries became weak, backward and easily used as a tool by the enemies of Islam. There is still no realisation that those who use the name of Islam are among the reasons for the weakness of the *ummah*.

In Malaysia, too, there are many people who defend the use of the word "Islam" in their party, arguing that their party is Islamic. That the antics of the "Islamic" party are far from Islamic teachings are not taken into account. That is why the coloniser's strategy of dividing and weakening the Muslims succeeded.

Today, Pas bravely states that those who are not supporting its actions are un-Islamic. It seems that Pas is Islam and Islam is Pas. It also seems that Pas will only co-operate with Umno if Umno accepts Islam. Once again, indirectly, Pas questioned the "Islamness" of those in Umno and branded Umno an infidel as well.

While it is easy for us to counter the wrong teachings of Al Arqam, which is

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Pas interpreted Islam according to its prevailing interest. When its political interest requires co-operation with non-Muslims, it would readily do so. The old interpretation is set aside and a new interpretation is made. There is no consistency in

that, the British plan to prove that many Malays rejected independence failed. The negotiations led by Umno leaders, which was supported by other parties in the Alliance, succeeded in getting independence in 1957.

taken into account and looked after.

This does not mean that we can take over the role of our colleagues from the components in the National Front. We respect these components which represent the other communities. We respect their struggle which are not against the principle and co-operative spirit of the National Front. But as a member of the National Front, Umno too is responsible for the other communities.

That the Umno approach is rationale is acknowledged by the opposition parties. To quote an English phrase, "Imitation is the best form of flattery." In 1990, opposition parties Pas and the DAP tried to co-operate with each other using the National Front formula. In the 1986 general election, Pas co-operated with the Chinese Consultative Committee, a group which is said to be fighting for the rights of the Chinese.

It's true that they failed, but it's also true that Pas and the DAP willingly copied what Umno was doing. That is why they cannot use the co-operation between Umno and the other communities as an issue. We know that today Pas is co-operating with Thai Buddhists, with certain Chinese in Kelantan and with the DAP across the nation.

Previously, Pas declared as wrong in the religious sense co-operation between Muslims and non-Muslims. It seems that Islam forbids such co-operation. As usual,

Pas' struggle. It can do anything under the name of Islam as long as its political interest depends on it.

Recently, I hear voices demanding that Pas should cease using the word "Islam" from its name. I'd like to point out that the approval given to Pas for using the word "Islam" in its name was made by the British during the colonial days. The British are known for their divide-and-rule policy. When Umno was fighting for independence, the British administrators approved the formation of Pas which objected Umno's attempt to seek independence. The British motive was obvious.

We are fortunate because the British attempt to disunite the Malays by having an alternative party did not succeed. In the first general election in 1955 — a referendum which determined whether or not we get independence — Pas objected to independence. According to Pas leaders then, the Malays and the Malay States were still weak. If the British did not protect the Malays, then the Chinese with their economic power would "buy" the Malay leaders and then control the Malays who gain independence.

Thanks to God Almighty, this argument by Pas was rejected by the majority of the Malays. The rejection was so strong that voters even refused to use cars provided by Pas to cast their votes during the 1955 election. Pas only won one seat from the 52 contested. With

But the colonisers' plan to leave a time-bomb among the Malays succeeded. The Pan Malayan Islamic Party remained in independent Malaya and Malaysia. The Federation of Malaya Government, and then the Government of Malaysia, could not do anything to stop the abuse of the word "Islam" in the party's name because this was allowed by the British. We could not do anything because between 1955 and 1959, Pas succeeded in influencing many Malays by spreading allegations that Umno was unIslamic, and that Pas was Islam and Islam was Pas.

Pas used Islam without any qualms whatsoever and interpreted the religion freely. In the 1959 general election, when Pas claimed that those in Umno were infidels, many believed them. A good number of religious teachers in religious schools believed it, especially after Pas told them that they would be made candidates and become *Yang Berhormat* and receive big salaries, something which they never had during the British occupation. With the participation of religious leaders, Pas influence widened. It was not strange, therefore, that in 1959, it took control of Kelantan and Terengganu.

With so many Muslims and religious teachers supporting Pas, the use of the word "Islam" in the party's name by Pas leaders could no longer be deleted. If attempts were made to remove the word which the British had approved, Pas

not a political party, it is difficult for us to counter the teachings of a political party which uses Islam. No matter how far it has gone astray, we find that there are still many who support it and are ready to label the Government "anti-Islam" if steps are taken to drop the use of the word "Islam" from the party.

Recently, a Barisan National leader was alleged to have outraged the modesty of a Muslim woman. Pas keenly politicised the issue. In this matter, the party readily discarded the laws which it made and which it refers to as the *hudud* laws. If it adheres strictly to its laws, it would certainly not have politicised the issue. If the Pas laws were implemented, then it can be seen right from the very beginning that the accused will be innocent because there were no four witnesses with unblemished reputation who clearly saw the act taking place. What was there was the fact that the woman was pregnant. According to Pas laws, pregnancy outside wedlock is adultery and that the sentence for those who commit adultery is stoning or flogging after the child has been delivered. From this, it would appear that the alleged is set free but the victim is sentenced.

But for political interest, Pas did not respect its own laws. What was important was politics, not justice, as seen in Islam. It is also obvious that Pas did not accept its own laws. It draws up the laws because it wants to impress its followers that Pas adheres strictly to the teachings of Islam. How much further will the followers of Pas be blind to this? How much longer will these followers allow themselves to be cheated by Pas and exploited by the former coloniser? How much further will Islam be used by Pas? Only God knows.

All of you realise that Pas justice is cruel. But it appears that we, too, are prone to acts of cruelty. In the same case, we were very keen to pass judgment. We listened to only one side of the story, and even then the source is a poison-pen letter, and we believed that the person is guilty. Does this mean that poison-pen letters can be trusted? What are the motives of poison-pen letters? Where is the sense of justice?

Newspapers which normally ignore poison-pen let-

. at the opening of the Umno general assembly yesterday

our own approach

ters have acknowledged them as a credible source. Newspapers turned rumours into truths, are legitimate and become the basis for probes, criticisms and passing judgments.

Someone even quoted Shakespeare's Julius Caesar: "It is not that I love Caesar less, but that I love Rome more." I wish to recall that the Roman who said this was Brutus, Caesar's adopted son, who, together with Casca, Cassius and other plotters stabbed and killed Caesar.

When Brutus stabbed Caesar, the foster father looked at the adopted son in the eye and said, "Et tu Brute..." fell and died.

Can we use Brutus as an example? Politicians often provide noble excuses when committing a wrong. Such was Pas with Islam and Brutus with Rome.

The Attorney-General has already said that there's no case. What is the reaction of these people who were keen to pass judgment?

Recently, a British newspaper had reported something about our country. According to the newspaper, even though Malaysia looked developed, even though the economy grows at eight per cent per year, even though inflation is low, even though it's peaceful, even though its foreign investments are high, even though there is no industrial action, the truth is that Malaysia is on the verge of destruction.

This "even though" syndrome or illness is also with us. Even though the Attorney-General has decided that there's no case, even though the dates mentioned were not accurate, even though the party making the allegation was clearly lying, but the truth is that the allegations were more accurate than the evidences suggest. That being the case, some quarters feel that we should just ignore the facts and continue with the hounding, criticisms and sentencing.

Those who criticise these unfair actions will be branded as people who try to defend a weak case. To save themselves, these people join in the hunt, instead. To them, disregard justice to the fallen friend, his family and his children. In politics, one's political interest comes first.

Perhaps, there may be those who argue that since we uphold what is official,

extent of civil wars. And for countries occupied or ruled by Muslims, many are weak, backward in the aspects of knowledge and industries and sometimes cannot manage their wealth well.

If Malaysia is different, peaceful and achieves outstanding progress, it is, among others, due to the close co-operation between people and the Government and their maturity in handling national issues. Workers, farmers, investors, entrepreneurs, traders, officers — all of them work together and help to achieve

competitiveness of their products in the world market, or even in their countries. With this decline, their industries are forced to close down and unemployment rises. It is clear that industrial actions which can impede our competitiveness will not benefit the workers.

On the contrary, our approach has succeeded in increasing employment opportunities which, in itself, has resulted in the increase of income to the workers without our industries being affected.

we have achieved a lot in our effort to eradicate poverty. Those who are not really capable of being self-reliant — the poor, the handicapped, the old and the sick — are given direct aids. Others are given the opportunities to be trained and to work so that their income increases and their families live above the poverty line in our country. No less important is our effort to contain inflation so that the purchasing power of the people, especially the poor, is not adversely affected.

In the effort to restructure society, our focus is no more on quantity like under the NEP, but on quality. We have seen the frustration of placing too much concentration on the quantity or the total wealth owned by Bumiputeras.

A person is not rich because he has wealth for a period of time. Actual wealth comes from the ability to own, manage and raise money and property. For this, the efficiency to manage assets and money is important.

QUOTE

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then why did the party pass an early sentence? I wish to clarify that the sentence meted out was not on the offence mentioned.

Government leaders cannot do anything that could lead to negative impressions against them. Government leaders must not only be clean, they must also be seen to be clean. It is not enough to be genuinely clean but seen dirty.

That being the case, the party passed its sentence with the hope that the matter would end there. Unfortunately, it did not. Those who fell were stepped upon. Such is human behaviour.

Actually, we can give a pat on our back. We have promised to restore the dignity of our race, religion and country. To restore our dignity, what needs to be done is not to insist on others to respect us, not to humiliate us or write in their encyclopaedia that we are lazy. Pressure and demand will not change other people's opinion of us. What can change their perspective is a clear proof that they are wrong and that we are not as claimed. On the contrary, we are a race of great civilisation, efficient in all aspects, knowledgeable and adhere to noble values and are clearly successful.

Today, because of our effort, Malaysia is seen as a model country. Not only has its economy become strong and moved from agriculture and producer of raw materials, its industry exports 78 per cent of sophisticated manufacturing goods. But all these were achieved not by one race alone, but from various races, various religions, various cultures and various languages.

Let not anyone think that peace in this country is a coincidence. Just look at other countries where the society is multi-racial; almost all these countries are stormy and tense. In fact, they face racial strife to the

the country's vision.

There are not many industrial actions which scare off investors and waste working time and productivity. As such, the income of workers increases. It rises because without many industrial actions, investors are more confident and are willing to invest and this created more jobs than workers. There is no Malaysian willing to work who does not get a job with good wages. That is the situation until as many as one million foreign workers go through a lot of trouble to come to work in Malaysia.

The socialist theory is that investors suppress workers and workers must oppose them and stage industrial actions to get fair treatment by their employers. We have proven that a better strategy for workers is by creating a calm and stable industrial climate. In this way, investment increases in vast quantity to the extent that job opportunities increase and employers have to scramble for workers, especially the efficient ones.

And to get these workers or to ensure their workers do not move to other industries which are prepared to pay higher wages, the industrialists and employers are forced to increase wages and give better treatment.

Industrial action may help raise the income level of workers. But it also discourages investment and the creation of job opportunities. With this, unemployment will increase, the economy will not grow and inflation will rise because wages increase without being accompanied by an increase in productivity.

Eventually, the country's competitiveness and economy drop. If, today, Malaysia can export to countries considered developed, the reason is because their high production cost reduces the

There are also Umno members who are workers and union members. They must understand and accept our way and approach, which is not a carbon copy of the philosophy and approach of others, but of our own invention. Let's be proud of our approach and do not allow ourselves or our friends to be influenced by the false sympathy of the Western workers and their unions because their intention is not for our benefit, but for their own economic revival and luxurious living standard.

Be convinced that with our approach, our workers will achieve better living standards. However, the workers must remember that we are a trading country and a trading country which cannot compete will fail. Competition depends on productivity, that is, production increases which balance an increase in wages.

Employers should remember that just as productivity increase due to workers' effort can be shared by the owners of industries, productivity increase and profit due to additional investment or efficiency through new productivity system or new machines such as robots, must also be shared by the workers. The country's progress and economic growth are meaningless if workers do not share higher living standard.

The New Economic Policy (NEP) has ended and been replaced by the National Development Policy (NDP). This does not mean the objectives of the NEP to restructure society so that there will be no racial identity with economic function, and poverty eradication, irrespective of race, has been forgotten. These objectives are still being upheld by the Government.

Thanks to God Almighty,

Thank God, through various approaches, we have succeeded in increasing the quality of wealth of Bumiputeras. Many Bumiputeras not only do not sell immediately the shares distributed among them, they also succeeded in raising the amount to the extent that some of them can fully control giant companies once belonging to others. Without any process of company restructuring, Bumiputeras can afford to control and take over companies owned by non-Bumiputeras. And they can afford to set up and expand their companies until they become giant companies themselves.

Privatisation is a lot of help in the restructuring of society. Many of the largest industries and businesses, even the biggest in the country, are today owned and managed successfully by Bumiputeras. Their ability to manage well the various utilities which were owned by the Government in the past is not questioned any more. Such is their ability until they were invited to build and manage infrastructural facilities by Governments of other countries. Bumiputeras' ability today has reached world class.

Privatisation also gives the opportunities to Government workers, the majority of whom are Bumiputeras, to own shares in privatised utility companies and get wages and bonuses better than what were given by the Government.

Small-scale Bumiputera contractors who are efficient and really involved in their businesses also get opportunities for sub-contracts from utility companies and privatised Government agencies.

Today, there are many Bumiputeras among the millionaires and billion-

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Don't use party

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aires in Malaysia. We often wondered why the rich were only among other races, especially the Chinese? We felt uneasy. We were angry with the imbalanced situation. We want to see our own race become wealthy. Today, some among us are already wealthy.

Unfortunately, when our aspiration is realised, some of us were envious of those who have succeeded. Bumiputeras do not mean just us. Just because we don't get anything, doesn't mean that all Bumiputeras do not get, that the NEP has failed, that the NDP has failed and that the effort to restructure society has also failed.

We never promised that all Bumiputeras will become millionaires. We did not promise that every Bumiputera will succeed. Our promise is that the Bumiputeras will get a balanced share in terms of the economy with the non-Bumiputeras. This means that both are equally poor and equally rich. Through the NEP, we have succeeded in getting about 60 per cent of Bumiputera participation in the economy. And through the NDP we have more or less succeeded in also raising the level of Bumiputera quality participation in the same sector.

It is true that non-Bumiputeras also get opportunities from privatisation. This is because they also deserve it. They also contribute to the country's economic growth. Furthermore, those among them who have succeeded have strived to give to the Bumiputeras their shares, either at the ownership level, contract or supply.

The reality is that many, far too many of the privatised projects, are taken up by Bumiputeras. If we look at it in the right frame of mind, we will find, that whenever any parties try to take everything for themselves, the result is that they eventually get nothing or their ownerships are not permanent. But because of the fair-sharing policy that we practise, Bumiputeras in this country are more successful than Bumiputeras in others.

If there are achievements among Bumiputeras today, it is because they are not too greedy. Attempts to instil anger against the privatisation policy by those who already enjoyed the fruits of this process should not prevail. Ask ourselves: Can Malaysia's development become this rapid had it not been for privatisation and the fair distribution of

tion facing us, all parties must be involved. Parents, teachers, the media, the community and the Government, all have a role and responsibility in the on-going rehabilitation work.

There is no place for any party which passes the responsibility of the rehabilitation effort to others. All parties need to work hand-in-hand to study the problems and come up with an approach and action to contain these problems. Remember, while there have been tribes and races which fell due to social changes, there were tribes and races which succeeded in tackling the problems.

Without hesitation we must study and learn from those who have succeeded and we should reject attitude and values which are found unsuitable with con-

ber, have branches of their business in foreign countries. There are Bumiputeras who buy and manage hotels and industries in foreign countries.

We are not tied to our trade needs to the extent that we have lost our freedom. In the international political and economic arena, we are firm in voicing our opinions clearly. We comment on the injustices of the big powers of Europe, Asia, Africa and other regions. We defend the right of a nation to develop in the issue of human rights, environment, Western protectionist policies, even the issue of morality. Although sometimes, we are condemned and seen isolated from some countries, we are firm in our stand.

Our stand on human rights is not confined to

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Those who today have found place and position should remember that they are there on the strength of the support they receive from others. They should then not be inactive should their place be given to their supporters instead.

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bringing any benefit. Therefore, we cannot support this way. Islam does not confine itself to only one approach, that is, the use of the hand or force to overcome a problem. We can use the tongue or the heart. Use reason in our struggle. Set aside our desires because desires will certainly bring destruction.

Our stand on Palestine is clear. We will not recognise Israel as long as the liberation of Palestine and Baitulmuqaddis (Jerusalem) is not achieved and the rights and property of the Palestinian Arabs are not returned to them. We also do not support blind violence to break down the peace process. We do not support the killing among Muslims because of differing stand. And we will continue to voice our opinion anywhere.

out a break for four decades. Normally, the party that wins independence is not able to administer the independent country successfully. The struggle for independence needs a strong spirit. Administering an independent country needs a different efficiency — efficiency to manage the administrative machinery and showing concern for the needs and wants of the people.

The people will feel indebted to the party which has struggled and helped the nation achieve independence only for so long. People easily forget. The new generation will regard independence as a right and an ordinary thing. What will be focused is the success in administering and developing the nation and placing it among nations that are re-

tives to form a Government and implement our policies and programmes. Individuals in an organisation have to accept that their stand and opinions have to be aligned with that of the majority. Members or leaders who cannot accept majority opinion cannot be in a party. Those who can only support a party when the majority opinion matches theirs and oppose the party when the majority does not agree with them, actually do not understand the party concept and collective responsibility.

To make the party effective, a credible leader is needed. The leader in a democratic party is determined by the voice of the people. There will certainly be a minority which does not support him. If the minority

ing does not often happen. Malay tradition and custom still influence us all.

I am of the opinion that a weak leader of a strong and solid party is better and more effective than a strong leader in a party that is weak and divided. Remember that in the coming election, no one should be too enthusiastic to do anything that can split and weaken our party.

We will not win if our party loses. We will not lose if our party wins. In an election, what is important is not the individual but the party. Therefore, give priority to the party. It is indeed not logical if we hope that all sides support us if we contest, but we will not support if other people contest. Those who today have found place and position should remember that they are there on the strength of the support they receive from others. They should then not be inactive should their place be given to their supporters instead.

I seldom read out a pantun (*berpantun*). But allow me to say one for the first time:

Pulau Pandan jauh ke tengah

Gumung Daik bercabang tiga,

Hancur badan di kandung tanah,

Budi yang baik di kenang juga.

Let it not stop at *kenang* (remember) only. Repay the deed. Don't retire and become an "elder statesman" who takes a neutral position, except if we are indisposed. What every one of us have today is the result of the party struggle. Therefore, repay the party's deeds. Let us not spoil the party just because we did not get (it) this time when we have enjoyed much benefits before. For those who are patient, there is still opportunity.

From the point of view of principle, the Umno struggle has never changed. We struggle for the interest of the Malays and Islam. But from the point of approach, we often change in line with

its foundation and backbone. Our struggle was not disrupted but the Gerakan, Pas and PPP co-operated with us after the racial tension and riot in 1969.

Now we accept the Bumiputeras from Sabah who comprise not only Muslims but also non-Muslims. Those who are not Muslims do not oppose our policies and struggle to uphold Islam. And we also accept them without preventing their religious beliefs. Actually, the participation of non-Muslims in Umno is not new. People of Thai origin have been Umno members since earlier on. They have never disrupted Umno's belief in and struggle for Islam. On the other hand, they and other Bumiputeras, are protected by Umno's strength and play an effective role in the party and Government.

Once again, don't let others make this a political issue. They also co-operate with non-Muslims for their political interest. The only difference is that their partners clearly oppose their religious struggle.

Those who have just joined Umno must understand and assimilate the values and approach of Umno. The habit of jumping from one party to another does not benefit anyone. People who like to hop too often cannot be trusted. They clearly do not have a stand. They just have their own interest above everything else all the time.

Those who have just joined Umno should reject the jumping habits of frogs and grasshoppers. In Umno, the process of returning to the right path is not that easy. That being the case, choose Umno in a permanent way and not as a stepping stone.

Preparations for a general election have been done by Umno divisions and branches. But preparations can be further enhanced. Don't be too confident that we become careless. "Dry" and "wet" runs should be repeated again and again to ensure that weaknesses are

We are able to do all that because of the support of the people and because Umno has become a strong foundation of the Barisan Nasional Government. If the National Front is weak, if Umno is divided, Malaysia's voice will fade and no one will care.

Although world praise and respect for Malaysia has made us proud, Umno and the Government cannot forget that Malaysia is our constituency. Therefore, strong attention must be given to the nation's politics and economy. There is a possibility that this is the last time that we are holding the Umno delegates meeting before the general election is held.

Umno and its partners in the Alliance and the National Front have been in power at the Federal level and in almost all States since we became independent 38 years ago. In the political history of democracy, it is rare that a party is chosen by the people continuously with-

spected.

The weaknesses and mistakes of a leader cannot be forgiven no matter what their deeds in the past were. Moreover, the younger generation is normally idealistic and believe that it knows more about how to overcome problems and manage something better.

We have seen how organisations which have struggled for independence in other countries have disappeared. Umno will also face the same fate if we are not careful, if we do not learn from the history of other countries and the history of our country.

It is difficult for an individual carrying out a political struggle on his own to achieve any success or meaning. In a democratic system, anyone can carry out a struggle and freely contest, but the result is nothing more than opinions which entertain.

In a democracy, we need a political party so that we have enough representa-

understands the object of democracy, it has to accept the leader of the majority's choice. It is not necessary that its opinion is not respected by the party or leader. In Umno, we believe in the system of consensus. If this cannot be achieved, the voice of the majority has to be received by all sides.

While the minority must respect and consent to the majority, the leader of the majority should not regard the minority members as enemies. Effort to remove those who do not agree is not democratic and should not be done by any leader.

There are political parties like the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan which have a "faction" system centred around certain figures and personalities. This is not a good system and I need not talk about what happened to the LDP.

Umno's strength until today is because of our compactness and solidness. A leader is normally given loyalty by all sides. Clamour-

current situation and surroundings.

We co-operate with the MCA and MIC although we opposed the stand of the non-Malays during the Malayan Union. We are prepared to co-operate with them because, while they benefit from this co-operation, we do not lose anything. In fact, it was this co-operation that had successfully made our country independent earlier and given us the right to administer and develop our country to this high level.

Later, with the formation of Malaysia, we co-operated with parties in Sabah and Sarawak. Again, we did not lose anything. Our struggle for the Malays is not disrupted but our partners in Sabah and Sarawak are able to free themselves from the shackles of British rule and develop Sabah and Sarawak like the other States in the peninsula.

In 1974, the Barisan Nasional was formed. Umno continued to play a role as

identified and overcome. We cannot possibly be perfect, be free 100 per cent of any shortcomings. But we should work hard towards perfection.

Umno should not lose. Support for us is enough. We have enough members. Allocation is also enough if the expenditure is not excessive. Those who believe that only allocations can determine victory are wrong. Defeat is caused more by attitude and effort that is not wholehearted. For those who really work hard, allocation plays a supporting role only.

God willing, if we strive hard, we will have the 1995 delegates meeting in a more jovial atmosphere. If we are dismal, we should not blame anyone but ourselves.

We meet today because of Umno, our party, and our own commitment and concern towards our race, religion and country. Hopefully, our sincere intention will be blessed by God.