

Translation of speech by President of Umno Mahathir at the Umno AG Assembly 2002  
Good values destroyed by hate at Putra World Trade Center  
KL

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June 20: ONCE again we at Umno are able to meet in an atmosphere of peace and calm, to congregate in order to discuss and debate on the situation of the party and our race, the policies and the future of our beloved country, Malaysia.

That we can do so in a good environment is special and even extraordinary. This is because after 56 years Umno is still in existence as a strong party, which is in power in this country, which is well-organised, orderly and effective, and is something we must be grateful for.

Not many political parties as old as ours still exist, much less remain effective, powerful and the party in power.

In addition, we are in a world full of uncertainties, threatened by unusual violence, with oppression of the strong over the weak, the rich against the poor, with wars here and there, massacres, injustices and extreme inequalities between the poor and the rich.

The third millennium and the 21st century has not brought a better human civilisation even though the human race is highly skilled and clever.

The age of Information Technology, the age of knowledge has arrived. But unfortunately man has become arrogant because of his capabilities.

But much of the knowledge that man has gained is used for the good of humanity, but more for increasing the capacity to oppress and kill more people.

The greatness of a nation is measured by the invention and possession of weapons that can kill more people and not by the greatness of its civilisation.

With the total number of nuclear warheads able to destroy the whole world and all of mankind, these nations have forced others to submit to them.

It is clear that mankind has not advanced beyond the Stone Age when power equals right, or might is right.

Those who are powerful can do what they like. Those who are weak must submit to whatever fate befalls them.

Justice and truth have no place in the calculations of the powerful.

Without embarrassment they use two different measures — one for them and one for the others.

Whatever they do is right and proper. But the same thing done by others is wrong and improper.

The Cold War has been over almost two decades but the research and development and the production of new weapons still goes on.

Besides nuclear weapons there are now chemical and biological weapons. The single bullet gun has been replaced by machine guns which can kill dozens with one pull of the trigger, throwing grenades and flames to kill people and burn anything.

The capacity of cannons, rockets, guided missiles and other weapons to kill has been increased.

In the air, the warplanes whose capacity to destroy and kill is already great are still being upgraded.

Airplanes which cost hundreds of thousands of ringgit each, now cost hundreds of millions of ringgit.

Billions are expended by the great powers to equip their armed forces with hundreds of these aircraft.

And the poor countries too are forced to buy these aircraft because if they don't, their neighbours or their enemies will be equipped with these aircraft.

The expenditure on weapons does not give any returns except to boost the morale of the armed forces and the national spirit.

Because of the need to upgrade weapons all the time, nations big and small waste huge sums of money which had been earned with difficulty to buy arms which will not be used, while the poor continue to languish in poverty.

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Still the invention and upgrading of the weapons continues and more and more national funds will be wasted.

At the same time, the creators and suppliers of these weapons cannot understand why there is war here and there.

They apparently are opposed to instability, small wars and various kinds of oppression. They are opposed to the illegal trade in arms.

Perhaps this is because such sales encroach on the arms market which they regard as theirs. That without their production of arms there would not be an illegal arms market does not bother their conscience.

With so much arms in the world, it is not surprising that wars and violent armed uprising occur throughout the world.

Not a day passes that dozens of people are not killed with the weapons invented and marketed freely.

On Sept 11, 2001 occurred an event which shocked the whole world. While the rich countries with their high technology focused on the development of sophisticated weapons in order to increase their firepower, an ordinary passenger plane was used as a guided missile to attack the symbol of the power of one of the most advanced countries. But the effect went beyond the destruction of buildings and the killing of 3,000 people. The greatest effect was to create unprecedented fear of attacks by terrorists.

Not only were the buildings destroyed, the economy of the world was greatly undermined because of the fear of being trapped in an aircraft used as a guided missile.

Billions were lost as tourist activities, businesses and the air-line industry grounded to a halt.

Faced with this unprecedented threat, the big powers appear to have panicked and lost their direction.

Unused to handling attacks by terrorists they resorted to conventional warfare. Although all the Sept 11 terrorists were not Afghans, Afghanistan which had been used as a base by the alQaeda, suspected of involvement in the Sept 11 attack, was attacked with weapons which recognise no one.

Many innocent people, civilians, old and young women, children, the sick, were killed or wounded and millions of the people of this unfortunate country fled to neighbouring countries where they live in miserable conditions, without adequate shelter, without food or medical facilities.

Allah be praised, the Taliban who before were used by certain powers to overthrow the previous Government of Afghanistan, ran helter-skelter.

If not, all the towns and villages in Afghanistan would have been reduced to a rubble and the people killed by weapons that cannot distinguish targets.

But terrorism has not been stopped. The big powers continue to live in fear, continue to live in a state of war because they believe that at any time the terrorists will attack again.

Defeating Afghanistan has not had any effect in the fight against terrorism. In fact, the possibility of terror attacks has increased because Israel, which oppresses Palestine, used the war against terrorism to upgrade its terror attacks against the Palestinians.

Ariel Sharon, the Prime Minister of Israel believes that terror can be stopped by more terror against those whom he claims are sponsors of terrorists.

Every time Israel and its people are attacked by the Palestinian suicide bombers, Sharon orders more Palestinians to be killed.

The ultimate was the attack against Jenin where concrete houses were destroyed while the occupants were still in them.

And so hundreds of Palestinians were killed, far more than the Israelis who were killed by the Palestinian suicide bombers. But the Israeli action not only fails to reduce terror attacks, it actually causes much greater anger among Muslims, which can cause even more terrorism.

Israel must realise that it is surrounded by Arab and Muslim countries. Until when does it expect to counter terror with more terror against the Palestinians? Even if the Israelis kill all the six million Palestinians there is no guarantee that other Muslims and Arabs from the surrounding countries will not terrorise like the Palestinian

suicide bombers.

Remember that the Sept 11 attackers were not Palestinians. They were from Muslim nations around Israel.

It is impossible for Israel to kill 1.3 billion Muslims in order to secure itself.

Ariel Sharon must understand, and the supporters of Sharon within and outside the country, must also understand that countering terrorism with worse terrorism will not save Israel.

As the English saying goes: "You are painting yourself into a corner".

The more oppression and violent the Israeli attack against the Palestinians the more angry and irrational will be not just the Palestinians but all Muslim people.

Then it will be even more difficult to find a solution for Israel's problem; more difficult to put an end to terrorism.

Today there are already those among the Palestinians who are not prepared for peace with Israel. They want to seek revenge.

They do not care what counter attacks Israel may mount, no matter how cruel. And they do not care as long as they get to kill Israelis and their supporters in retaliation for the cruelties perpetrated by Israel.

We fear that anybody from among those who support Israel will be the target for the terrorists wherever they may be, whether in their country or outside.

Innocent people may be killed or abducted. It is not possible to have bodyguards for everyone when they go here and there throughout the world doing their business.

Israel should understand the futility of its methods. Their supporters should also be aware that fighting against terrorists is not like fighting an ordinary war. In conventional war the enemy country can be attacked until their forces surrender, their country occupied. When this happens the enemy will admit defeat and the war will end. Even strong enemies like Japan and Germany can be defeated in this way.

The war against terrorism is not as easy as this. Terrorists are not Governments which are responsible for victory or defeat of the country. Terrorists do not live in a particular country.

They can be anywhere. They can be ordinary people today and terrorists the next day. They are not regular soldiers who act with proper discipline and take orders. The loss of a leader does not cause them to stop their terrorism.

There is no guarantee that the orders of their leaders will be obeyed, including orders to stop terror attacks, to stop the struggle.

The only thing that will stop their terrorism is the removal of the cause or causes of their struggle. No human being will sacrifice his life especially by exploding himself without cause. And so we must determine the causes of their terrorism and remove them.

We are sure that the principal cause of the terrorism by Muslims is their anger against Israel, the seizure of Palestinian land by Western powers in order to create the State of Israel, the expulsion of Palestinians from the territory when Israel was formed, the building of illegal houses on Palestinian land, the destruction of Palestinian houses, the terrorism perpetrated by Israeli soldiers who shoot and kill Palestinians including children who only throw stones.

Also causing anger among Muslim people is the oppression of Muslim countries and Muslims all over the world.

If terrorism is to be stopped then the injustice and the oppression of Israel against Palestine and its people must be stopped quickly first. The territory of Palestine must be re-turned to the people of Palestine.

Muslims and Arabs are not so blindly obstinate and rigid. They are prepared to recognise Israel if Israel stops the terror attacks, return to their original territory and permit the Palestinian refugees to return to their land, be it in Israel or Palestine. Israel must recognise Palestine as a sovereign state. The Palestinian territory occupied by Israel must be re-turned to the Palestinians.

Although there are many causes of terrorism the main cause is Israel and its violent occupation of Palestinian land. The big powers must handle this problem and solve it if they wish to see an end to much of the terrorism and the fear faced by the world.

Beside, the threat of war and terrorism, there are a lot of injustice and problems facing the world at the beginning of the 21st century. During the Cold War the capitalists restrained their avarice because they feared defection to communism by the poor countries. But the end of the Cold War has freed them from having to contain their avarice. Not satisfied with gaining wealth in their own countries they want to gain access to the wealth of the world. Taking advantage of the tele-communication technology and the speed of jet travel, they devised the concept of a borderless world and globalisation.

They are very frustrated at seeing their former colonies which have become independent stopping exploitation by them. Not satisfied with the international agencies and the non-governmental organisations as their agents to undermine the freedom of these newly independent countries, by declaring that borders are no longer important, they hope to return and regain their power over their former colonies.

They interpret the world without borders or globalisation as the free movement of capital across borders without any condition on the part of independent countries to protect themselves.

Because the poor countries have no capital, the freedom of capital flows does not benefit them. Other than capital, there is no freedom to cross borders. Poor people may not migrate to rich nations.

It seems the inflow of capital will enrich the poor countries. What we are not told is that when capital is pulled out, especially suddenly, even middle income countries can become poor and distressed in the blink of an eye.

This was what was done during the financial crisis in East Asia. Because it was alleged that the Eastern countries were not governed with transparency and properly they were predicted to go into recession.

To avoid losing money the investors pulled out their investment and the currency speculators sold the currency which they claimed they had, precipitately in the currency market.

With this the recession in these countries was certainly ensured and the speculators and the others made a lot of profits for themselves selling their shares and currencies.

This concept of currency trading was invented by them solely for making profits for themselves. The truth is that the Governments which were said to be not transparent and incompetent had actually developed their countries so well that they were known as economic tigers. The truth is that the economic recession in these countries were caused by the rogue currency traders dumping so much of the currencies of these countries and the stock market players short selling their shares.

Although it is clear that this caused the economic disaster, the relevant authorities still refuse to change the international financial regime. They wish to perpetuate this regime in order to continue to rake in profits for themselves. We can see many countries in this world becoming poor so much so that they cannot be turned around because of this international financial system. Truly the international financial system and the borderless world or globalisation pose threats and challenges for the small countries.

It is not that we reject globalisation completely but we believe that the interpretation that gives freedom to cross borders only to capital is very dangerous. We are also worried as to the objective of the giant banks and corporations continuing with their mergers in order to become bigger. If they are allowed to enter the small countries freely then certainly they will dominate all businesses and the economy of these countries.

Local companies and banks will be swallowed up by them. We believe that in the attempt to increase their profits, some of the workers of the banks and companies they absorb will be thrown out. In the end the citizens of small countries will not own any business and will become the paid employees of foreign giants.

What is more frightening is that these giants will become so big, powerful and influential that they will have power over national politics. This has happened in Central America where the manager of banana plantations could determine who becomes the president of a country.

It is not impossible that this will also happen when foreign giants gained dominance of the world economy. Each one of these giants is many times bigger in terms of finance than the majority of the developing countries.

Malaysia, will surely be a target. The foreign media have never stopped denigrating our country. All our views, stands and practices have been condemned by them. What is more we are a Muslim nation where Muslims are in the majority and dominate the country.

Our success simply makes them more angry and annoyed. If it is not for this why should they run down our country so much, as if we have never done anything right at all.

Even before Sept 11, Islam, the Muslim ummah have been condemned as backward, unable to administer and

develop a country and often involved in violence.

This view has become worse since Sept 11. Today anyone with a Muslim name is given bad treatment. They are detained, questioned, examined, attacked, even killed thoughtlessly. Even ownership of certain credit cards are forbidden for Muslims.

It is clear that at this moment Muslims are oppressed and abused in the world. We are disappointed that even though they talk about human rights, justice, Muslims are excluded, without rights and oppressed any time and anywhere.

While we can demand that they be more fair to us Muslims, it is difficult to correct the attitudes and actions of other people, especially those who are our enemies. It is more possible and better for us to try and improve our own attitudes.

The fact is that the Muslims have ceased to hold to the true teachings of Islam. Today Muslims and their countries are more prone to confront each other than non-Muslim and non-Islamic countries which are their enemies.

Although we are being attacked by our enemies, even agreement on our defence cannot be reached. There are Muslims and Muslim countries which collaborate with the enemies of Islam and not with fellow Muslim or Muslim countries.

Since the fall of the Ottoman Empire because of disregard for the teachings of Islam, there is no Muslim country which follows the teachings of the Quran on equipping ourselves with enough weapons so as to strike fear among the enemy and to have the capability to defeat the enemy.

By rejecting knowledge and industrialisation, Muslim nations are forced to source their arms from others, including their enemies. Naturally the weapons they get would not be as good as those possessed by the enemy. Because of this, the weapons and the armed forces of Muslim nations do not strike fear in the enemy or are capable of defeating the non-Muslim nations, something that is enjoined by Islam, something that is a part of "Fardu Ki-fayah".

That the Muslims have disregarded "Fardu Kifayah" does not bother them. They concentrate only on "Fardu Ain" and they pray to Allah for help.

But they have forgotten that Allah has ordained that He will not help to change the fate of any community unless they strive to change their fate themselves.

It is clear that merely praying for a change in the fate of the Muslims will not help. They must struggle hard to improve their lot by increasing their capability to devise, produce and use sophisticated weapons for their defence and for their honour.

Muslims must also remember that the Quran emphasised that all that is bad is due to them and all that is good comes from Allah. If misfortune befalls the Muslim, it is due to them.

Do not try to excuse themselves by declaring that it is fated because if they try to better their lot and they succeed, that too is fate.

In order to improve their lot then they must be more skilled and successful in administering and developing their countries; acquire all knowledge and skill necessary for this purpose.

What is more unfortunate is that as soon as the government of a Muslim country tries to develop the country and improve its defence capability by acquiring knowledge in science and technology, there will emerge groups which would oppose such attempts because according to them it is secular and un-Islamic and the Government must be overthrown. These people often use Islam as the name for their group in order to legitimise their violent actions.

Although they call themselves Muslim Brothers or the Party of Allah or Islamic Party, they do not hesitate to ignore the teachings of Islam by declaring the Governments are not Muslim and they are prepared to kill the government leaders and other Muslims in order to prevent the progress which they declare to be secular.

Busy with trying to defend themselves from the attacks, from the war by people who have hijacked Islam, the Governments of Muslim countries become unable to develop their countries and improve their defense. With this, the enemies of Islam are able to oppress Muslim countries, Muslims and Islam. It is not an exaggeration to say that these groups which have hijacked Islam, opposed the acquisition of knowledge other than that concerning religion only, and because of that render the Muslim countries weak are the Betrayers who directly or indirectly connive with the enemies of Islam to oppress Muslims and their countries.

These are the things which must be given attention by Muslims and their countries. They have to correct them-selves, they must go back to the true teachings of Islam in order to save themselves.

There is no use condemning and imploring the enemies of Islam not to oppress Muslims, to be more humane. If it is difficult for us to change our attitude for our own good, can we change the attitude of others and our enemies so that we get the benefit from their doing so.

We have to look again at the situation in Malaysia. During the 450 years we were colonised by the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, the Japanese and the Siamese, there was no serious attempts to liberate the Malay states.

The Malays were so weak in spirit that they believed only the white men can rule their states. If it had not been for the Japanese, an Asian people who are not white, defeating the British imperialists, probably the Malays even today will not demand for independence, because they have no confidence in themselves as people with the ability to administer and develop the Malay States.

The mistake of the British is because they were too greedy and wanted to make the Malay States as full colonies. The Malay Sultans were to be made Chief Kadis in charge of the Islamic religion and Malay customs.

Whoever lived in Malaya, without regard for their race, migrants or not, whether they were citizens of another country or not, would be accorded rights as citizen of Malaya, with the same status as the sons of the soil.

Because the Malays were very weak, they would lose their rights altogether.

For the first time the Malays were shocked, shocked because they would be the dispossessed in their own land, people with no right in their own country.

They would become like the Pales-tinian people in Palestine, or the Red Indians in the US and Canada, the Maoris in New Zealand. Poor, without education, divided between small states with loyalty only to their ruler, without arms or organisation to represent them, it was clear and obvious that the Malays will lose their homeland. They will become "coolies" in their own country, ruled by other people who were wealthier, better educated and more trusted by the British to follow their directions.

But Allah be praised, at this critical moment there came sudden and ex-tensive awareness among the Malays on the dire need for them to forget loyalties and unite in one organisation to fend off the planned Malayan Union by the British.

All the Malay organisations in all the states of the peninsula and the Straits Settlements with one voice agreed to the creation of the organisation called the United Malays National Organisation, a name implying unity inspired by the United Nations Organisation or Uno at that time.

The only party to stay out was the Malay Nationalist Party lead by Dr Burhanuddin Al Helmi and Ahmad Boestaman.

We are very grateful that at that moment the Malays gave priority to unity. Umno was the party which united the Malays. There was no other organisation which could unite them, a unity which was so important in en-suring success to the Malay struggle against the Malayan Union of the British.

Datuk Onn was chosen as the leader of the united Malays, together with various notables from the Malay states and the Straits Settlements.

Such was the unity and support for Umno that the British, who until then dealt only with the Malay Sultans whom they threatened not to recognise if they didn't follow British directions, had to accept Umno as the sole voice of the united Malays.

The Malayan Union had to be dropped in favour of the Federation of Malaya. Umno leaders were appointed to the Federal Legislative Council under the member system responsible for various portfolios.

They were given the honorific "The Honourable", allowances as well as other perks. In the state many Umno leaders were appointed as members of the State Councils.

And so the Malays became aware that politics could bring appointments, status and titles as well as good incomes. It was at this time that several Umno ulama became concerned about their future as Umno leaders.

They saw that although several re-ligiously educated people were ap-pointed to the State Councils, but not many of them would be nominated as candidates to hold high posts in the Central and State Governments.

Their disappointment led them to separate from Umno and to launch their own party. Aware of the strong faith of the Malays in Islam they decided to make use of Islam to attract the support of the Malays. With that they named their party Pan Malaysian Islamic Party or PMIP.

While Umno was busy struggling for independence, PMIP tried to spread its influence among the religious schools and their religious teachers by using Islam for opposing unity within Umno and promised the religious teachers "The Honourable" titles plus good allowances.

Allah be praised, the Malays rejected PMIP and continued to support Umno. In the most important elections in 1955 PMIP won only one seat out of the 52 contested.

If the PMIP had won a big number of seats, it was possible that Independence would not be gained in 1957. This is because the PMIP was against Independence for according to them the Malays were not capable of self-government and exerting authority over Malaya because the non-Malays were richer, had more influence on the British and that the British would not hand over the administration of Independent Malaya to the Malays.

The winning of 51 out of the 52 seats by the Alliance Party and the rejection by the Malays who made up the vast majority of the voters in the Federation of Malaya as British colony; the rejection of other parties forced the British to accept Umno and the Alliance as representing all the citizens of Malaya at that time.

The result was the Independence of Malaya two years earlier than was envisaged by the Colonial Office in London.

What brought success to the struggle of the Malays, the people who had been colonised for 450 years, the people who were weak, without wealth, without intellectuals, without arms and armed forces to fight for independence, was the solid unity among them.

This was the only weapon which they had, the most effective weapon which defeated one of the world powers which had only just won a major war.

Today the Malays no longer give priority to unity. Anything can divide and break them up. The struggle for a place in the party, baseless suspicion regarding the leaders, disappointment at not getting a chance in business, opposition lies, an excessive feeling of being safe and many other things can break up the unity of the Malays.

They are not only prepared to be disunited but they are ready to plot with the enemies of the Malays in order to frustrate the struggles of the Malays. Thus Pas which before declared that Umno was no longer Islamic because it co-operated with non-Muslims, is now willing to embrace the leaders of DAP which reject Malaysia as a Muslim country.

Still many of the Malays are not willing to unite in Umno or at least not to remain apart from the majority of Malays who support Umno. The good fortunes that they receive because of Umno's struggles they forget because they are taught by certain people not to be thankful for what they get.

The accusations against Umno was not effective in 1955 but alleging that Umno had become non-Islamic (kafir) gave victory to Pas in Kelantan and Terengganu in 1959.

Since then the attack against Umno for not being Islam by Pas has increased. Now the accusation is made that the leader of Umno does not believe in the Day of Judgement (Akhirat) and many more.

PAS supporters never question the truth of these allegations. For them any allegations against Umno by their leaders must be regarded as true. And so they continue to hate Umno and perpetuate the division among Malays.

The division among Malays has increased because of the baseless accusations against Umno. In the democratic system there is admittedly a role for opposition parties. Without the Opposition the ruling party may commit mistakes without being corrected. The division due to the mistake of the Government is not serious.

Although support can be given to the opposition, awareness and loyalty to the race and religion can still be maintained.

Whenever the religion or the race is threatened the ruling party and the opposition can still come together in defence of race and religion.

In political matters the normal differences of opinion which can separate the followers, should not result in violent enmity such as to prevent total co-operation, to perform religious observances together and to close ranks when threatened by outside enemies.

But we find that the enmity towards Umno is no longer because of political differences or even religion. The enmity towards Umno by some Malays is due to the influence of Pas causing extreme hatred, hatred which was sown from childhood until it becomes part of the culture of these people.

Umno people are not only regarded as not Muslims but the leaders of Umno are depicted as wicked pharaohs (firaun) and, begging pardon, as pimps.

Why these accusations are made need not be questioned or explained. Just hatred.

During the age of ignorance, the Arab tribes fought each other because they considered each other as enemies. Why they were enemies they couldn't remember didn't care.

What was important was that they were enemies and when they met they must fight and kill each other. These Arab tribes only stopped fighting when the Prophet converted them to Islam. As followers of Islam they united and they succeeded in building a great empire which lasted 1300 years.

It is clear that the baseless hatred which had been sowed in the hearts of Pas followers from the time they were small until they cannot think, and the enmity resulting from it — this hatred obstructs unity even when facing a common enemy. This is what we see among Malays now. Irrational politics and the politics of hate have spread until they have destroyed good values which are taught by the Muslim religion such as grate-fulness, being thankful, being brothers in Islam and others.

The Malays who are all Muslims and are the majority in Malaysia are not safe. The Malays are still weak, the poorest people and are backward.

If we take out the Chinese and all that they have built and own, there will be no small or big towns in Malaysia, there will be no business and industry, there will be no funds for the subsidies, support and facilities for the Malays.

The Malays will return to the time when they were colonised before — poor, uneducated and looked down by everyone. Do not assume that after Umno, Pas will form the Government. In politics the unexpected can happen.

The Malays are not safe. But we can secure ourselves, we can make progress, we can regain our honour fully, if we are aware of the dangers that we face now and we make preparations to overcome them.

Firstly even if we have to indulge in politics and have political parties, do not divide ourselves so much that even in facing the enemy or mutual problems we cannot act together with the same aim. What is wrong in having the same stand when brothers of the faith are killed en masse by the Israelis? Should we, even in this matter, give priority to party politics more than to religion? Is there no more brotherhood in Islam between us? Do not charge Muslims of apostasy so carelessly so much so that they cannot be brothers or at least co-operate when facing the same enemy. Let the common enemy be defeated first then return to the enmity between us.

In facing domestic problem we Ma-lays face the same enemy. When we launched the New Economic Policy for the good of the Malays and other Bumiputera, all Malays should unite to support the NEP. For a while there was no Malay opposition to the NEP.

But when foreigners and their media began accusing the NEP of benefitting the cronies of the Government, without any examination the Opposition Malays welcomed these accusations and condemned the NEP.

What they see is just the opportunity to condemn the Government and gain political mileage from this. Let the Malays fail and suffer as long as the party gains a little support. Don't they know that these foreigners have another agenda and they do not like to see the Malays succeed especially as we are able to defend our freedom and our culture? Gloating over the opportunity to make some political gain these Malays ignored completely the opportunities and the scholarships which enabled hundreds of thousands of Malay children who before would never get higher education, to study up to university level.

They did not see that all the Vice-Chancellors are Malays, and so are most of the professors and lecturers.

They do not value the more than 40 funds established in order to help Malay businessmen at all levels, the tens of thousands of contracts which were awarded to thousands of Malay con-tractors. They do not take into account the thousands of licences, Approved Per-mits, shares of companies which were allocated to thousands of Malays under the Industrial Co-ordination Act.

The Government also provided RM3 billion as capital for the National Equity Corporation to initiate unit trusts

which succeeded in making 7.28 million Malays shareholders in the big corporations in Malaysia with investments totalling RM34.89 billion.

The share allocated to the NEC were the result of the restructuring or es-tablishment of new companies which were required by the NEP to provide 30 per cent equity for Bumiputeras.

In truth, without the NEP, the unit trusts and the governmental institu-tions which were managed on behalf of the Malays, today the NEP would achieve only two per cent of the target.

The reason is that when shares are sold to Malays, they immediately resell the shares to non-Malays. It was the same with the licences, AP and the contracts which were given to them.

Only a few of the Malay businessmen, contractors and industrialists did not sell off the opportunities given to them in order to get rich quick.

These people worked hard and some of them succeeded. Seeing that they did not cause the NEP to fail, the Government gave more opportunities to them, no matter who they are, so that eventually there emerged a number who is successful in business.

When this happened then envy and jealousy assailed the people and they accused these successful businessmen of being cronies of the Government and Government leaders. The accusers were not only foreigners and their media.

The Malays themselves joined in to accuse the NEP of profiting only a few Malay cronies.

In fact, the people who are supposed to be cronies were not known before by Government leaders or by the public. If it had not been for their ability and that they did not sell their opportunities but instead they tried until they succeeded, they would not be given any more opportunities. If it is true that the Government practises cronyism, then surely there will be no relatives or friends of the leaders who are poor destitutes.

But in Malaysia many of the friends, colleagues, party members and relatives (of the leaders) who are poor, who have not been given any opportunity under the NEP other than that benefitting all the people, such as schools, electric supply, water, roads etc.

Who are these people who have be-come rich as successful Malay busi-nessmen and industrialists? They are just anyone who worked hard, who did not become Ali in the Ali Baba part-nership. Investigate their background. Did they really succeed because they are cronies or is it because they didn't sell off their opportunities that they succeed? The reason why they get more op-portunities is because they are less likely to sell off their opportunities and they are more likely to succeed. If those who fail or who sell off their opportunities are given more opportunities, then it is unlikely that Malays and the Bumi-puteras will succeed like the other communities. Unfortunately if any Malay suc-ceeded then envy and jealousy will rear their heads and accusations will be made that they are Government cronies.

If the Government does not want to be accused of practising cronyism then every time a Malay is seen to succeed, and can succeed some more, if any Malay raises his head in business, then as soon as possible he should be knocked down, so that he will not succeed again but should fail and go bankrupt.

This way there will be no Malay who succeeds and the Government will be freed of the accusation of practising cronyism. But the Government will not escape condemnation. Seeing that those who become millionaires and billionaires and live in palaces, those who own all the skyscrapers, big businesses and factories; seeing those who took over the privatised Gov-ernment agencies; seeing all these people are non-Malays and the Malays only become paid drivers of the big cars owned by others and they become coolies who are hired by others, then the condemnation of the Government will be more strident.

The Malays would then condemn the Gov-ernment because the NEP had failed. The suc-cesses in other fields such as the National Equity Corporation and the total number of scholarships will not be given any consideration.

Actually if the development of Malay entre-preneurs and businessmen was not made the responsibility of the Government, the develop-ment of the nation would be easier, higher and faster. What slowed down national development was because the Government had to try and try again to balance the economy of the Malays against that of the non-Malays at all levels and in all fields.

The Malays do not lack anything. They have the brains, the energy and skills, the capacity, the manual ability, and strength just like everyone else. If they have not succeeded after being given the opportunities many times, after they have been helped with all kinds of facilities and even money the reason is that (and here I must beg the pardon of the Malays) they are not hard working, i.e. they are lazy and like to find the easy way and the

quick way, no matter what the end results.

They cannot be patient, cannot wait a little. They want to be rich this very moment. Because of that when licences are given, they sell the licences, when Approved Permits for imports are given, they sell the permits, when they are given contracts they sell the contracts for cash.

No work is done other than to be close to people with influence and authority in order to get something because they are Malays, Bumiputeras. After selling and getting the cash, they come back to ask for more.

Truly I feel ashamed to expose all these, especially in front the other people, in front of the whole nation and the world. But they all already know all these. I am not exposing anything that they don't know. I only mention what is already known.

Actually the Malays and the other Bumipu-teras can succeed if they put in a little more effort. For success they must be honest with themselves. Manage properly and avoid doing what is improper. Loans for business must be used only for business, used with good care, managed properly because the money that is borrowed must be repaid. Before making a profit do not spend in anticipation of a profit.

Contain your desires and spend as much as you are capable only and practise what is healthy for the success of your business. God willing we will succeed. Learn from the Chinese. Remember when we sell licences, contracts and other things to them, their cost of doing business increases. We do not have to carry the cost of buying licences or contracts. But even though the cost for the Chinese businessmen is higher, they can still make profits. Why is it that with lower cost Malays and Bumiputeras cannot make a profit? Actually what is required of the Malays and the other Bumiputeras in business is diligence, self-discipline and patience. The skills in business can be learnt through training and experience. God willing, with these qualities the Malays and the Bumiputeras can succeed.

Possibly you are fed up with my criticisms and condemnation. But as a person who has been chosen to lead should not I say what is true with good intention? Am I as a leader required to follow only, so as to be popular with the supporters. It is meaningless if leaders become followers, and remain silent when seeing the followers doing or demanding for what is wrong, what will damage all, leaders as well as followers.

So please pardon me once again because I still have to comment on the weaknesses of the Malay cultural values. All Malays are Muslims, followers of a holy religion, a religion capable of creating honourable and successful people and societies, able to face all kinds of crimes or at least reducing them.

Again, I must draw your attention to the effect of Islamisation of the ignorant Arabs. They became good and successful people who were able to build a famous empire. From being ignorant killers of children, kidnappers of women, terrorists without culture or civilisation, they became orderly people with codes of behaviour, polite and possessing a good legal system. And they succeeded.

Thus the effect of Islamisation on the ignorant. But we find that even though the Malays had embraced Islam for a long time, lately many of them have sidelined the Islamic culture. What-ever is wrong and sinful a good number of them do. Drug abuse, AIDS and HIV, rape, indulging in unnatural sex, incest, murder including killing their own parents and siblings and other members of the family, stealing and robbing and other crimes — all these the Malays commit more than the other communities who are not Muslims.

There are many excuses given for the moral weakness of the Malays. We note if we go by the dress and behaviour of the Malays, they are more Islamic and pious now than before. If we hear them talk we get the same impression. Can such people with so much knowledge about the teachings of Islam, who seem to hold strongly to Islam, willingly commit so many things which are against the teachings of Islam and sinful? People of strong faith cannot possibly commit so many sins, especially the major sins. But the fact is that many Malays are immoral, willingly committing crimes and major sins. Nothing happens without cause. Again we cannot say that it is all fated. Remember again that all that is bad is our own doing and not from Allah.

The culture and the values which people practise determine their behaviour, their success or failure and whether they are well or not. The culture and the good values of the Malays have weakened. Many of us have theories with regard to this phenomenon. I would like to advance my own theory which may be right or it may be wrong.

The culture and the values acquired are by and large from the upbringing by the parents from the time when we were small before we go to school.

If the parents do not have a good culture and good values, they cannot bring up their children with the right kind of values.

Unfortunately many Malay parents nowadays do not have the right values and do not feel responsible for the

upbringing of their children.

Admittedly many are good and responsible but there is a minority which is quite big who are not good by comparison to other communities.

While the parents of other communities control and oversee their children so that they study hard at home and in the school, Malay parents do not do so seriously. Certainly other good values are not instilled effectively.

Broken homes or unhappy families due to divorce of the parents are more common among the Malays. Islam permits marrying two, three or four but if you cannot be fair to your wives then marry one only. I believe those with more than one wife in this hall can be fair to their wives, but I believe that many in the hall and outside cannot.

Some divorce and some don't take care of the lot of their wives who are not divorced, who bear the strains of emotions because they do not get the proper treatment as wives. We can consider these cases as broken families or unhappy families. Certainly such families cannot give a good model for the children, cannot bring up the children well. It is impossible for the father to give time and to attend to all the children from all the wives, especially the one who is not the favourite.

There is no study made of such broken families and the effect on their children. So I don't know whether my views or theory is right or not. But I know with all communities and followers of other religions broken homes usually have a harmful effect on the children.

Is it possible that broken homes are a cause of the low morals in the Malay society? If yes, are we going to allow it to go on? Other than the parents, the influence on our children, the generation which will succeed us, are wielded by the teachers. Teachers can shape an honourable personality by example and by teaching.

There is nothing that is given more serious consideration in Malaysia than education. Twenty per cent of the National budget is allocated to education. Of the one million Government employees, more than 300,000 or 30 per cent plus are teachers in the schools and other educational institutions.

By right all our children should get good education including moral education. Religion plays a most important role since religious education is what makes our children aware of what is good or bad, what is right and what is wrong, what is sinful and what gives merit, what sins are minor or major, and what will qualify us for heaven or hell in the afterlife.

Again I would like to emphasise that the majority of our children in the schools learn and absorb good values, know how to differentiate between right and wrong, sinful or not and because of that succeed in avoiding immoral and forbidden acts.

But in comparison to other communities, followers of other religions, the number of Malay children who are not well behaved, not diligent in studying and when they grow up are involved with variety of forbidden activities is higher.

Why is this so? What is the emphasis in the teaching of Malay children? Is there sufficient emphasis on shaping an honourable personality, on the differences between good and bad, what is forbidden by religion and custom and what is enjoined? Truly those who fail in this task, those who instead teach how to make enemies and hate other Malays and Muslims, those who do not sow the true values of Islam, values that are all honourable, these people are the betrayers of the religion and the Malays.

I am convinced that if the parents show good examples and the teachers carry out their responsibilities sincerely, most of the social ills among Malays would be avoided.

We do not deny that there are other factors that contribute to the damaged morality of the Malays. Violence and immorality as shown in the pictures on the Internet and television contribute towards the moral collapse. But this does not explain why more Malays are involved in social ills. In this matter we have to be honest and speak the truth. Only when we know the real cause can we remedy the ills.

The debate on the Islamic nation is still going on. It does not bring anything good because the highest consideration is not given to the realities, to truth but to the political objectives of certain parties.

When we stated that Malaysia is a Muslim nation, the reason was because we want the matter not to be made a political issue, which can split the Muslims in Malaysia. We stated this because all the conditions for a Muslim state according to the teachings of Islam are found in Malaysia.

We did not make this statement in order to be endorsed by a particular party. The party is a political party that gives priority to politics only. Thus this party is prepared to declare that people who do not support it are

infidels, people who vote for it will go to heaven and many other things. They are willing to say, if all these which are obviously wrong and against the teachings of Islam, is it possible that they will accept the statement made that Malaysia is an Islamic nation? Obviously not.

What is important is that we know and we are convinced that Malaysia is an Islamic state. If because we are accused of not implementing the hudud according to their definition, therefore, our country is not an Islamic country, this should not reduce our conviction as to the Islamic status of our country.

If their conditions have to be met, then today there is no Islamic state in the world. This is because there is not a single country in the world which implements the hudud according to the definition of this party. We do not reject the true hudud. We accept them just as we accept all the teachings of Islam. But we know the teachings of Islam are not rigid and so tight that we must carry them out without taking into consideration the surroundings and the consequences.

We know under certain conditions we are allowed leeway so that the religion will not be a burden and hurt us. If we are ill, if we cannot stand, if we are far from home, in places that are inconvenient we can pray without following the usual physical movements, and we can join two prayers together and shorten them.

And this is so also for fasting, giving the tithes and the haj, all of them according to the conditions which prevail. Even in the declaration of faith, if we are forced by torture we can voice our rejection of the faith as long as in our heart we reject what we had to say. In our heart we remain witness that there is but one God, Allah, whom we worship and that the Prophet Muhammad is His Messenger. Islam is not imposed by Allah in order to be a burden to the followers, to punish them. If this happens, then it is because the Muslims themselves reject the ease of observance that Allah had granted and they try to make the religion as an imposition which burdens them, making them weak and incapable of defending and progressing themselves.

It is so with the hudud. The objective of Islamic laws is to ensure that the Muslim community prospers and is free from injustice. In the Quran there are many verses which emphasise the importance of being just. If in the implementation of laws in Islam the result is injustice then we can be sure that it is due to the Muslim giving greater stress on the process of judgment than on justice.

Man-made laws which result in injustice are not Islamic laws, no matter by what name they are called. All of us, Muslims and non-Muslims know that justice means the criminal must be punished, not the victim of the crime. Man-made laws which punish the victim as being in the wrong certainly cannot be just and cannot be Islamic. What is wrong is not the teachings of Islam but the people who interpret in favour of their political creed. The people who formulate laws so that the victim of rape is punished with a heavy punishment, while the rapist escapes punishment, these people do not hold to the true teachings of Islam to be just.

Thus if a woman claims that she has been raped by a known person and there are signs of force being used and today we can confirm this from examination of the semen as to the identity of the rapist, are we to ignore all these evidence simply because the procedure cannot be followed? In Surah An-Nisaa, the chapter especially devoted to women, in verse 58 Allah exhorts: "God doth commend you to render back your trusts to those to whom they are due, and when ye judge between man and man, that ye judge with justice". In the same Surah verse 112, "If anyone earns a fault or a sin and throws it on to one that is innocent (to accuse the victim of rape who gave birth to a child of adultery) He carries (on himself) a falsehood and a flagrant sin." Just think when the child is born its appearance is like the person accused of raping and with the passage of time it becomes more and more evident who the father of the child is and these days we have ample means to prove who the father of the child is, does not the accusation by the prosecutor and the sentence passed by the judge display injustice, and an accusation that is false because the accused is actually not guilty? The people who accuse the victim of rape as having committed adultery (zina) are clearly wrong and have sinned. Certainly the people who draft the law are unjust, the prosecutors and the judge who sentence unjustly are wrong and have sinned.

In the Quran, Allah repeatedly stressed the need to be just when judging. In Surah An-Nisaa verse 58 which I had quoted: "And when ye judge between man and man, that ye judge with justice". Surah An-Nahl verse 90 carries the meaning: "God commands justice, the doing of good and liberality to kith and kin. He forbids all shameful deeds, and injustice and rebellion." Also in Surah Al-Araaf verse 29: "Say, My Lord hath commanded justice (in all things)". And in Surah Al-Hujurat verse 6, Allah commands: "Oh ye who believe! If a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth, lest ye harm people unwittingly, and afterwards become full of repentance for what ye have done." What is clear is that the religion (of Islam) stresses justice in everything that is done by Muslims. If anything is done or any law enacted by ordinary man, no matter how learned he is, which will bring about injustice, it is definitely not Islamic and against the teaching of Islam.

Because of this Muslims must reject laws made by people who have other interest which will bring about injustice, no matter what name is given to that law. Those who caused Islam to be despised by others for being unjust due to their interpretations will have to answer for their sins in the hereafter. This is promised.

And now certain quarters will say, "The person who says all these has no religious education, does not know the Arabic language and has no right to talk about religion." This arrogant attitude regarding the little knowledge that they have is not approved by Allah and against the teachings of Islam. They should note that the Islamic world looks up to Malaysia and openly regard Malaysia as a model of an Islamic state which they would like to emulate. They do not regard Malaysia as a model Islamic country because of the actions of the people who try to make use of Islam for the political interest of their party. They regard Malaysia as a model because of its administration and its development as well as its struggles for Islam according to the commands of Islam. Many are the accolades which have been received because of the implementations of the teachings of Islam.

The person, who is deemed unqualified and has no right to talk on religion, has been invited by Muslims in other countries to speak on Islam, and his books on Islam have been well received by many Muslims, translated into other languages, including into Arabic and are widely distributed. Therefore, certain parties should not be arrogant and claim that only they can talk on Islam.

If we claim that Malaysia is an Islamic country, the reasons are clear. Muslims in Malaysia are free to live as Muslims; there is no obstruction to the performance of their obeisance to Allah, and they enjoy justice as desired by Islam.

Of course those who commit crimes or abuse the religion for other purposes, those who oppose the Government with violence and other means, those who hide the teachings of Allah which according to Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 174: "Those who conceal God's revelations in the Book, and purchase for them a miserable profit — they swallow into themselves naught but Fire. God will address them on the Day of Resurrection, not purify them. Grievous will be their penalty," these people will be punished under the laws of the country.

And Allah promises in Surah An-Nahl, verse 25: "Let them bear, on the Day of Judgment, their own burdens in full, and also (something) of the burdens of those without knowledge, whom they misled. Alas, how grievous the burdens they will bear." Until now these people have not been able to clarify what constitutes the Muslim nation that they will establish in Malaysia when they are in power. What they have announced are the systems which do not differ from what is found now — that is, indirectly they admit the truth of the claim that Malaysia is already an Islamic nation since our Independence.

They do not mention their intention to apply the laws which they claim to be hudud clearly so that everyone will know the kind of justice or injustice that they wish to apply if, God forbids, they come to power.

The debate on Malaysia as a Muslim country need not go on. There is no necessity to amend the Constitution to make Malaysia a Muslim country. We are already a Muslim country. All that needs to be done is to ensure that the country is not misled by certain quarters because of their political imperatives, until it becomes no longer Islamic, until it becomes weak and is oppressed by the opponents of Islam.

Although I am not satisfied with various things that I have mentioned in my speech, but I must admit that truly we have achieved much progress.

First, in the world where most developing countries have lost their freedom and independence, where their economies have collapsed and poverty assailed many of their people, we are still free to voice our opinions, to remain neutral when necessary, and have turned around our economy and reduced poverty.

Our people live well in peace and security, free from injustice, free from the threat of terrorists groups, which would like to destroy democracy and overthrow our Government.

Although the NEP has not succeeded fully but the disparity between the Bumiputera and non-Bumiputera has been reduced. If before the Bumiputera were only farmers and fishermen, poor and destitute, today there are some Bumiputera who are successful, who are capable in business and industry, who are experts in various fields. They are not only able to compete within the country but also in foreign countries.

There are many Malays/Bumiputeras who are well known for their expertise in administration, finance, development and turning around the economy so much so that they are invited by foreign countries to advise and help handle the problems of their economy and their finance.

The towns in Malaysia have all the facilities found in developed countries. Electric commuter trains, light rail transit, grade-separated high-ways, skyscrapers, including the highest in the world, shopping complexes which sell sophisticated local products and well-known foreign branded goods — all these are to be found in Malaysia.

The rural areas have also been developed well. There is hardly a village that is not supplied with water and electricity, tarred roads, schools and health clinics, telephones and other things which were not available at the time of independence, which are largely not found in other developing countries which became independent at the same time as we did.

The average individual income or per capita income which was only US\$300 at the time Independence was achieved, is today US\$4,000 with purchasing power parity of US\$10,000. There are still some poor people but the per-centage has decreased from almost 50 per cent to only seven per cent. Malaysia is the 17th biggest trading nation among the 192 countries of the world. Total imports and exports amounts to almost US\$170 billion (RM646 billion).

For 54 months continuously we recorded surpluses of exports over imports. Our reserves amounts to US\$33 billion. There is no problem buying goods from other countries.

Malaysian houses are no longer built of wood and bamboo with thatched nipah roofs but with brick and concrete and tiled roofs, equipped with water and electricity.

Hundreds of thousands of low-cost houses have been built every year. If they don't own cars, the ordinary workers own motorcycles.

The life of the Malays and Bumiputeras are also better than before. For those who are prepared to work without being too choosy there is always work for them. If there are so many foreign workers, it is because Malaysian workers are not prepared to do certain work as well as there being many job opportunities.

The farmers and fishermen are still poor compared to other workers and their poverty will never be overcome because the farmers with two hectares of land who work only part time for a few months in the year cannot possibly earn as much as the salaried workers who work eight hours a day the whole year long except for holidays.

If the farmers and the fishermen who catch fish inshore are prepared to use the free time they have on their hands to do some work, to produce handicrafts, their income would surely increase and they would not remain poor.

Increased subsidies are not the answer to their poverty as is the increase in the price of their farm produce or the fish they catch. The price of their products is already higher than similar products from neighbouring countries. If the prices are increased what we will see will be a lot more smuggling.

Other than the poverty of the farmers and fishermen and those who are too choosy about their work, Malaysians, including the Malays and other Bumi-puteras, live in peace and plenty, which will improve as the economy grows.

In truth the race that succeeds is the race that is hard working and is pre-pared to face all life's challenges. There is no race that is backward because of their skin, or their race or religion or they live in a tropical climate. We have proven that when Malays or other Bumiputeras are prepared to try hard they can master all knowledge and skills to make them successful people.

The Malays as Muslims can pray and appeal to Allah so that they become successful, but remember that Allah has stated in the Quran that He will not change the fortunes of anyone unless he strives to change it himself. Also remember that all the misfortunes that befall us are of our own doing and all that is good comes from Allah. Don't be quick to blame our misfortunes as fate that has been ordained by Allah. Our misfortunes are due to our not striving to improve our lot ourselves. When we strive, Allah will grant us success.

I beg your forgiveness for the harsh words that I use in this speech. But I don't use filthy words, nor do I call anyone by shameful names. My language is not book language because I am not a language expert or a literary man. The only thing that I wish is that people should understand what I say.

I am using ordinary language be-cause it is easier for me as a Malay who loves his own race, loved it since I realised I was a Malay some 65 years ago, at which time I realised that I was from a race that was looked down upon, a colonised race, a race without honour, a race with a feeling of inferiority when set against other races.

Like all people in the same situation, I dreamt I could change the percep-tions I had, the perception of the Malays, the perception of other races towards my race. I did not dream I could do much to achieve this except as an ordinary citizen. Through the support of Umno members, the Malays, the other Malay-sians, I became someone who could play quite a big role to change a little the status of my race, the Malay race, to change the perceptions of this race.

I have tried my very best. There has been a little success, say some people. I have no right to assess my own achieve-ments. That is the right of others. But I have tried as hard as I can. There were times when I was elated with what I thought was my success. But mostly I feel disappointed — disappointed because I achieved too little result from my principal task, the task of making my race a successful race, a race that is respected, a race that is honourable, a race that is highly regarded. I beg your pardon because I have failed. I pray that from

among the Malays there will emerge a leader capable of changing certain characters of the Malays and the Bumiputeras so that they will have a culture more compatible with success.

From the point of view of the organisation capable of making the change, we already have it. Umno is the party which is capable of changing the culture of the Malays. Umno had succeeded in uniting the Malays and removed their feeling of inferiority until they became brave enough to rise and face the colonialists, to demand their rights.

But unfortunately this small success has spoiled or undermined the thinking of the Malays until they believe they are already safe and can do anything. Today their national spirit has weakened and their ability to face challenges has been reduced. If today they are colonised there is no guarantee they will have the capacity to oppose the colonialists. Because of the split in their unity, their political clout has diminished. They are not yet aware of this but today when their rights and status are challenged openly they are not capable of defending them-selves. They seek refuge through political power. But because of the break in their ranks their political power has been eroded and not as strong as before. And one day this power will disappear altogether.

This is fine if the Malay individual becomes strong, possessing certain skills in the field of knowledge and economy, the ability to compete without any special rights which they now consider as theirs. But they have not become strong individually. Actually they are not prepared to face any competition at all. They are so afraid of the other communities. Without the experience of competing with others, if the protection is suddenly withdrawn they will not be able to survive.

The Malays are clearly far from being safe. Do not think that the power of the Malays in the political arena is permanent, that it will guarantee the safety of the Malays forever. Be aware there is nothing permanent in human society, certainly nothing permanent in human politics. There are races which never progress and races which progress and then were destroyed and disappeared from the surface of the earth. We do not have ambitions to become a great race, a world power. But we do want to be always free, independent and not looked down upon, and colonised again.

Even for this we have to be alert and work hard so that not only will our political power be resuscitated and made permanent but the ability of everyone of us in all fields, in our mastery of knowledge and skills in business and industry, is enhanced so that we can face and overcome all competition and challenges unassisted.

For this we must return to the culture and high values of our race and to the teachings of Islam. Today many non-Muslim countries claim that Malaysia is moderate in terms of its Islam, but this is not true. We are not moderate Muslims. We are Muslim fundamentalists, that is we try to hold to the basic teachings of Islam found in the Quran and the verified Hadis.

The fundamental and true teachings of Islam will make us Malays a people who are good and successful. Why not? Doesn't Islam command us to be united and brotherly? Doesn't Islam ask us to read, to acquire knowledge? Doesn't Islam ask us to seek the good life in the hereafter while not forgetting our share in this world. Doesn't Islam ask us to make enemies only with those who make us their enemies. Doesn't Islam urge us to do good and reject that which is bad, to be just and many more that is good and that can contribute to our development? But many of us Malays, who are all Muslims, follow their lusts and invent or interpret Islam to render right the wrong things that they do and go against the teachings of Islam. And after that we cannot understand why we fail.

The task for Umno, the task of the Umno leadership is to lead and to give guidance as well as examples to all Malays to return to the correct path. And this we must do by giving reminders and to show the right way to the Malays.

So let us renew our oath to bring success to the Umno objectives to make the Malays successful people, people who will not weaken their attachment to the true teaching of Islam. God willing, with strong effort towards this, Allah will grant us our wishes.