TUN RAZAK

Profile of a Patriot

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ZAINUDDIN MAIDIN

Translated by Wan A. Hulaimi

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Foreword

The fourteenth of January 1976 was a sad day in the history of Malaysia when the country lost a statesman who had devoted his entire life to the service of his religion, his people and his country. The death of Malaysia's second Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, was an irreplaceable loss not only to the nation, but also the world.

Abdul Razak had contributed much towards the development and progress, and the prosperity and well-being of people from all walks of life. He was known as the **Father of Development** and the **founder of the New Economic Policy** which brought a successful social transformation to underpin our political stability, our country's development and the well-being of the Malaysian people in an air of harmony that now prevails. His skills though were not confined only to domestic matters. Through an effective foreign policy Abdul Razak had guaranteed the security of our nation in this region, and it was his thinking which gave birth to ASEAN on a foundation of peace, freedom and neutrality in this region.

Much has been done, for instance by way of publications, to honour the memory of this man and in gratitude for what he had done. To commemorate his name alone is not enough. To honour his name alone is not enough. A far more important and meaningful way would be by enabling the people, especially the leaders of the future, to experience and learn from the life, service, deeds and spirit of Abdul Razak's struggle for his people so that they would have a better life in the future. Various ways and means must be adopted to continue Abdul Razak's aspirations so that our Vision 2020, inspired by Prime Minister Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, would be a success too.

This pictorial biography of Tun Abdul Razak has been written to remind us of the deeds of the man, and to bring forth an awareness of the struggle which provided the basis for our country's move forward to claim its rightful place in all areas of achievement, especially in social, political and economic advancement, and also in technology so

that our 'Independence' would be more meaningful.

The Tun Razak Foundation also hopes that by publishing this book the good name of Abdul Razak would be remembered. To this end, on behalf of the Foundation, I would like to record our grateful thanks to Datuk Zainuddin Maidin and Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn Bhd for their hard work in the preparation of this book. I would also like to express my thanks to libraries, government departments, corporations and individuals for their contributions and co-operation either directly or indirectly to make this book a success.

Tan Sri Abdullah Mohd Salleh
Chairman, Tun Razak Foundation

Introduction

Following in the footsteps of Tun Abdul Razak from the days before Independence, through the early period of nationhood and afterwards as he swam with the ebb and flow of a new nation, and then to his final days, is like remembering the rays of the morning sun beaming down on the countryside. As the day progresses, the heat intensifies, and then dark clouds drift into the sky bringing rainfall and thunderstorms; and then all would pass. The next day would break even brighter, raising hopes even higher.

It is a pity that Tun Abdul Razak is no longer with us to see for himself the rays of hope shining through from the villages to the cities, nay even to the whole archipelago, as he himself would have wanted right from the start.

On 26 December 1959, Tun Abdul Razak was given full responsibility for rural development. He declared in a broadcast on Radio Malaya that his target was "to establish a strong economic basis for the farmers, so that they will reap full benefits from the land that they work on and enjoy the amenities of life such as those enjoyed by their brethren in the cities."

Without rural development; without the roads and the bridges, the community centres, adult education classes, midwifery centres and clinics; without Felda, Felcra, the Farmers' Association, the NOC, the National Consultative Council, the Principles of Nationhood (*Rukun Negara*), the Sedition Act, the NEP, Pernas, Petronas and MAS, there would have been no foundation for unity, strength through learning and the professionalism that now form the basis for our national stability, the self-confidence and the competitiveness that are now the thrust of our dignity.

All these sprang from the thinking and visionary ideas of Tun Abdul Razak, tasks which he carried out with firmness, strategy and diplomacy and with due regard to the principles of justice and democracy.

In more than a year that I had spent writing and collecting photographs for this book, every person I met who knew Tun Abdul Razak well recalled him with pride and were unanimous in the belief that "He was a great man". In reminiscence they shed genuine tears. A top non-Malay government official who was sometime in the service of Abdul Razak was earnest in his conviction when he said: "This was a leader I would have died for."

To government officers Abdul Razak was a mentor; to his family members and to his kith and kin he was a protector and a compassionate man; to politicians he was a strategist par excellence; to his friends he was true; and to his people who now see the grand edifices that have been built on the foundations that he had laid, Tun Abdul Razak is an enduring visionary.

I express thanks to Allah and also record my gratitude to the Tun Abdul Razak Foundation for having given me this task of recording for eternity in this pictorial biography the sacred journey of a leader in whose footsteps I had followed as a journalist from Ulu Tembeling to the end of his days in London.

Datuk Zainuddin Maidin

Thank You, Tun Razak

If by your deeds we remember you
and your good work made out in words
where do we pick the vocabulary to do so?
look in the hearts of sincere men
and with myriad dictionaries
plumb the depth of hearts to seek the meaning of gratitude

Tun Razak, remind us for surpassing our bounds
and forgive them
who are not grateful

Our admiration and our gratitude to you
is as the wide earth rolling free
for your vision and your dedication
are as mountain peaks so out of reach
as the sea too deep to fathom more
to bring the reawakening of a people
to bring the redemption of our pride
to bring back our lost dignity

Tun Razak, let us inherit your wisdom
your knowledge to discern what's hidden from us
to understand, and for the knowing of the true

We remember you
as the Father of Development who
always listened to the cries and woes of his people
in the resounding questions that seek answering
what politics of Independence if the economy dwindles?
what cheering if the village is lost?
what ails the duck that dies of thirst?
what befalls the chicken that is starved on its feed?

Tun Razak, those are acute questions
searing through with their bitter taste
So you gave firm answers with certain conviction
tempered with the wisdom of a leader

So rose the spirit of development
with calls to toil from dawn to dusk
do not let the land lie fallow
let RIDA be MARA
equip FELDA with FELCRA
so weep no more

but strive with your sweat, not tears
to carry the trust of the people

be certain that development spreads
be certain all's fair and square

We remember you,
as the builder of the Education Policy
laying down a foundation that must stay
firm
the mind and the intellect must be devel-
oped
good morals and good deeds ensure
skills and technology must rise higher
But the dignity of the people and being
true to self
are conditions surely, and the goal

You have laid down the foundation
for dignity of the people in your own
mould
of the National Language Policy
the National Cultural Policy
and the New Economic Policy

Viva, viva, viva

From the depth of your grave Tun Razak
We hear your words and your testament
The policies that you had laid down
must remain immutable
for they are your sacred bequests
magic words born of pure hearts
to defend the dignity and purity
towards a just society
towards prosperity

Tun Razak, remind us if we transgress
on all your deeds
for we remember you in love
AND ARE EVER GRATEFUL

Firdaus Abdullah
University of Malaya
Ramadan/Syawal 1417



Abdul Razak in 1972.

“My only claim to fame is one of simplicity. I started my schooling in a school with an attap roof over me and an earth floor beneath me. I still remember vividly the feel of the mud floor on my shoeless feet.”

Tun Abdul Razak

A Short Life, A Long Deed

Of Bugis lineage, Abdul Razak bin Dato' Hussein, scion of Pahang aristocracy, was born on 11 March 1922 at Pulau Keladi, Pekan. He died in London on 14 January 1976.

He made up his mind to become a leader of men while still at school when these burgeoning qualities were honed in the stark reality of the backwardness and the rural poverty under British rule. This early experience shaped his character and it continued into his teens when he witnessed the cruelties of the Japanese occupation.

In a life so short, he was able to achieve with speed and excellence, a record of achievements which started from his schooldays and continued into his career in government and politics.

Abdul Razak became the UMNO youth leader at the age of 28, Deputy President of UMNO at 29, State Secretary for the State of Pahang at 30, Menteri Besar of Pahang at 33, Minister of Education at 33, Deputy Prime Minister at 35, and then Prime Minister when he was 48 years old.

The zenith of his political career came to him at a time of national emergency when the reins of power were suddenly in his hands. At that time Abdul Razak became director of the National Operations Council (NOC), charged with the responsibility for restoring the spirit and confidence of a nation torn asunder by the dark tragedy of 13 May 1969.

Within a short time he restored democracy to the nation and emerged from the crisis as the second Prime Minister of Malaysia, bringing hope anew to the people.

His legacy was the firm foundation for the nation's future security based on diverse institutions for socio-economic engineering, whose combined sweep spanned the rural areas and the cities. Institutions ranged from FELCRA to UDA, from MARA to FAMA, Bank Bumiputra, Tabung Haji, FELDA, FIMA, Bank Pertanian, LPN, PERNAS, Petronas, MIDA, MNI, MAS, LPP, UKM, SEDC, Bernama and Pusat Islam.

Most of these institutions were born of the problems of the nation, under the New Economic Policy which was introduced after the dark incident of 13 May.

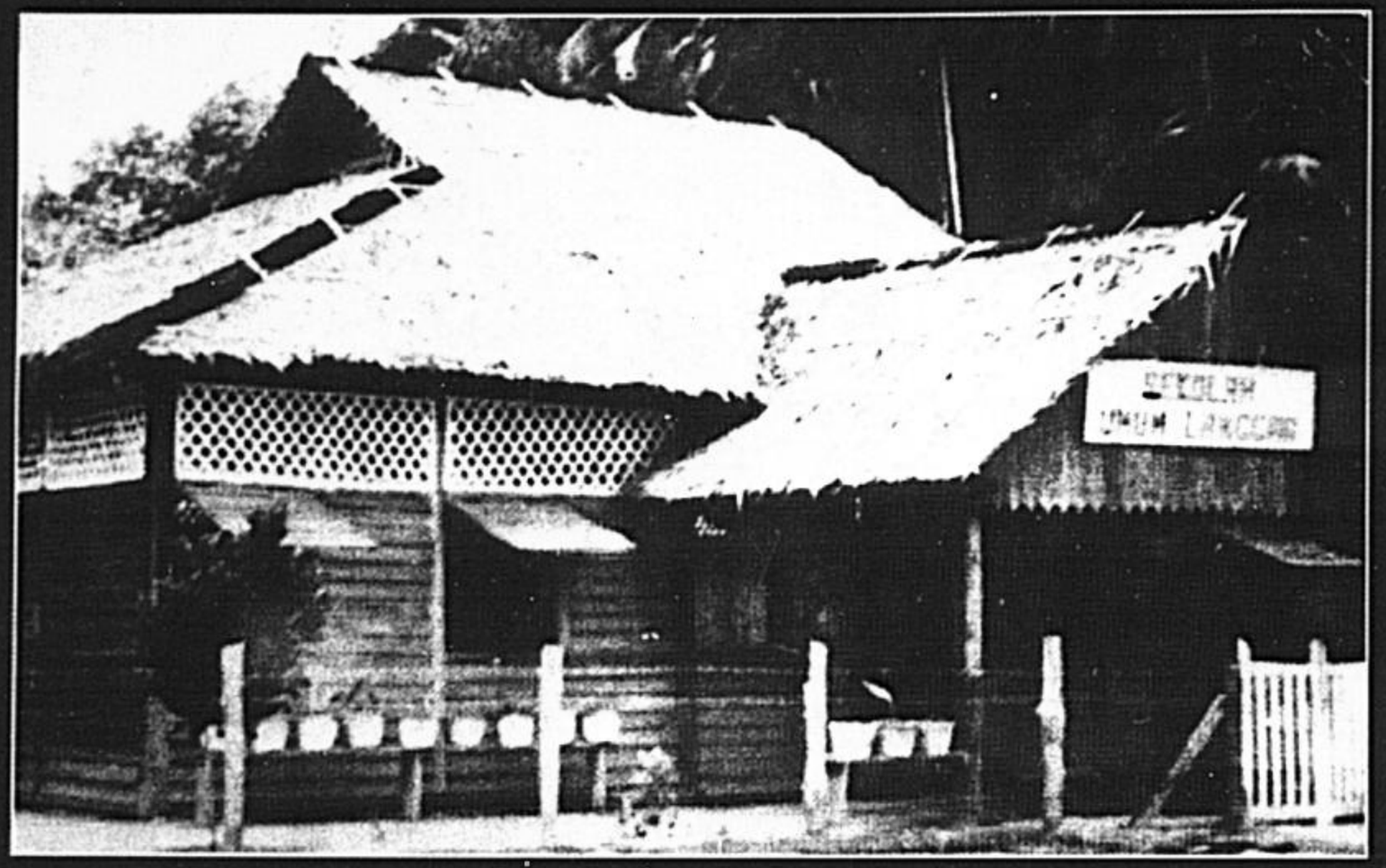
It would seem that Abdul Razak was born to lead. His intellect, sense of respons-



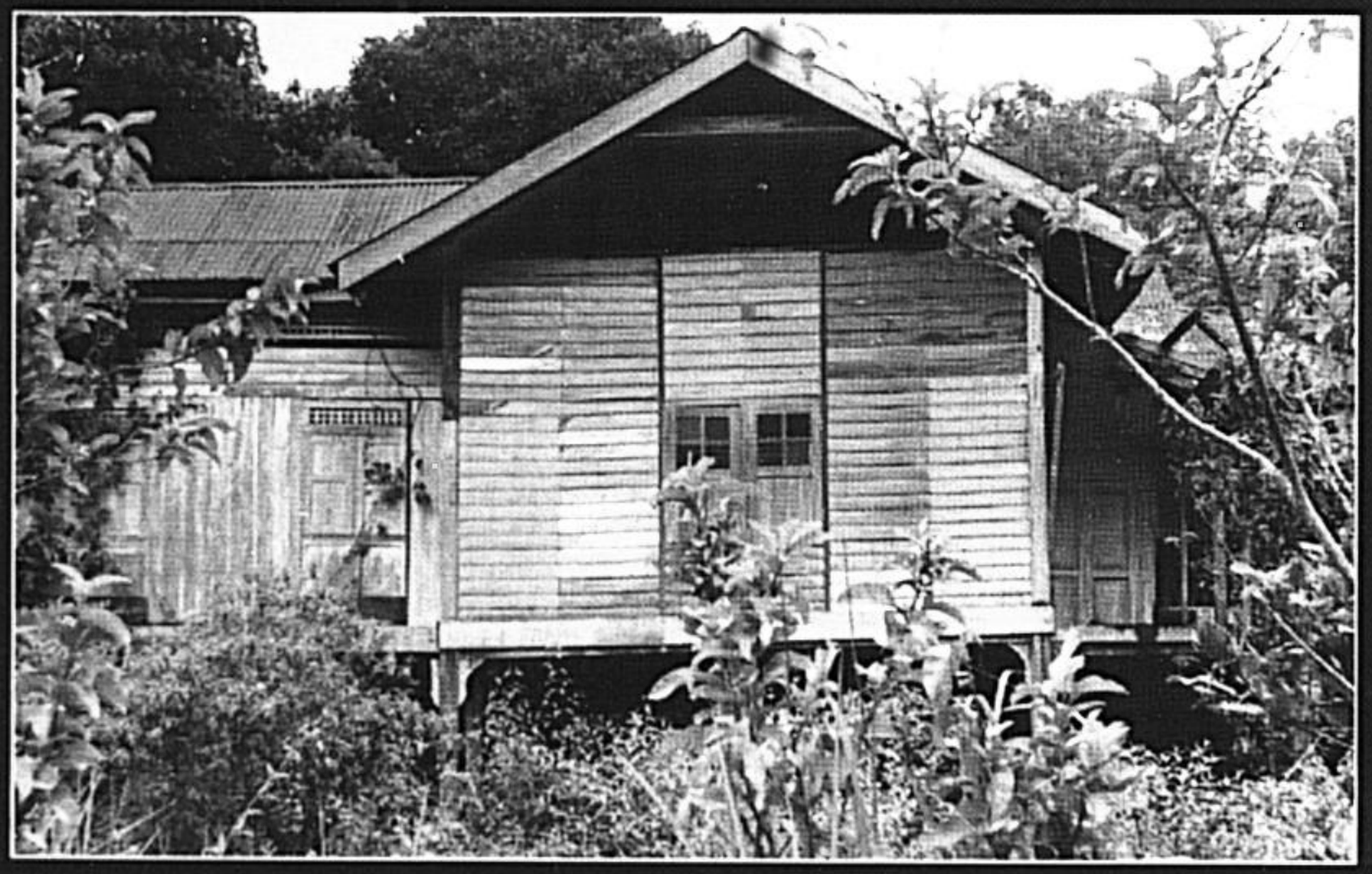
Hussein bin Mohd Taib, Abdul Razak's father, was the 9th *Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar* (OKIS) which carried the title of Dato'. He had two wives and 18 children.



Abdul Razak's mother Teh Fatimah binti Daud descended from the Bugis Sultan Hassanudin.



The Malay school in Langgar, Pekan, Pahang, which Abdul Razak attended in his formative years. Here he started primary education until standard four. Between 1929 and 1934 the school had no classrooms, an enrolment of 60 students with no age qualification, and three teachers. In a speech on 2 October 1967 Abdul Razak said: "My only claim to fame is one of simplicity. I started my schooling in a school with an attap roof over me and an earth floor beneath me. I still remember vividly the feel of the mud floor on my shoeless feet."



Abdul Razak grew up in this house in Kampung Jambu Langgar, Pekan, on the bank of the Pahang River. As a child he was brought up by his grandfather and the experience taught him the hardship of kampung life.

ibility, earnestness, commitment, sensitivity, loyalty and wisdom were augmented by the strength of character which earned him respect, even fear, from his peers when they were students at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar (MCKK).

This strength of character shone through his serious expression, his sharpness of intellect, and his voice, never raised, but always in earnest, and the sense of composure that he carried with his upright personality.

Tuanku Jaafar ibni Tuanku Abdul Rahman, a close friend at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, said of his academic abilities: "I joined the college in 1933, a year before Tun. But he left the college a year before me.

"Abdul Razak received a double promotion twice in his school career, enabling him to sit for his Senior Cambridge examinations after only four years at the college."

According to Tuanku Jaafar, as head boy of the college, Abdul Razak was uncompromising in his approach to discipline at the school.[1]

Fellow collegian Hamzah Abu Samah, later to become his brother-in-law, said: "Abdul Razak was a very active head boy. He took part in all meetings and discussions, he was multi-talented in sports, and had a serious approach to work. He was thoroughly respected."[2]

Abdul Razak was the elder of two children born to Teh Fatimah binti Daud, the first wife Hussein bin Mohd Taib, the *Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar* of Pahang. He had 16 other siblings from his father's second wife, Rokiah binti Salleh.[3]

His parents were of Bugis descent. It is believed that his father Hussein was the descendant of To' Tuan, a Bugis aristocrat who arrived in Pahang in 1722 and married a local lady. To' Tuan made Pahang his home and was involved in the silk weaving trade. The great-granddaughter of To' Tuan, To' Mas, was married to To' Bandar Jenal, son of To' Tondek and the second holder of the title *Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar* (OKIS).

The title passed down to successive generations until the death of the seventh *Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar* To' Ali, when it was taken by one Che Osman, son of the *Imam Perang Indera Mahkota Gendut*.

In 1930, however, the title came back to Hussein bin Awang Mohd Taib, father of Abdul Razak, and then later to Abdul Razak himself.

Abdul Razak's mother, also of Bugis descent, was a direct descendant of the Bugis Sultan Hassanudin through his grandchildren.

One of Abdul Razak's sisters, Maimunah, wife of the late Muhammad bin Jusoh, Menteri Besar of Pahang, passed away on 29 April 1976, about three months after the death of her brother.

As a child, Abdul Razak was put under the charge of his paternal grandfather Awang Mohd Taib in Kampung Jambu Langgar which was located across the river from Kampung Keladi in the town of Pekan. At this time, in 1924, his father had been promoted



Abdul Razak, aged 15.



Maimunah, one of Abdul Razak's siblings, was the wife of former Pahang Menteri Besar, the late (Dato') Muhammad bin Jusoh. Maimunah died three months after the death of her brother in 1976.



Abdul Razak (back row, right) with fellow prefects at the MCKK in 1938. In the front row, centre, is MCKK Principal, C. Bazell.

from an ordinary officer in Pekan to Assistant District Officer in Temerloh.

As owner of the largest house in the village, Abdul Razak's grandfather did not fall into the category of the underprivileged, but being in the middle of a backward and poverty-stricken kampung meant that the household was without basic amenities such as electricity and water supply, let alone other modern facilities. This was a common condition in the kampungs in Malaya of that period.

The kampung dwellers were largely farmers who lived from hand to mouth; they worked the paddy fields, grew vegetables, caught fish from the river, reared cattle and worked as silk weavers, a cottage industry brought over by the Bugis.

Living within the strictly disciplined household of his grandfather did not mean that the young Abdul Razak was kept aloof from village life. He bathed in the river with his friends, rode on the back of the water buffaloes in the paddy fields, and occasionally he would join his friends in their frolics and steal rambutans from compounds of village houses.

Abdul Razak first enrolled in school at the age of six. He would travel a distance of four miles daily to and from the government school in Langgar, Pekan, trudging barefooted through the kampungs and in the soggy earth of the paddy fields. He would be given one cent pocket money daily.

He was barefooted not because his father could not afford a pair of shoes, but because he did not want to be different from the majority of the schoolchildren who could not afford a pair of shoes.

He studied at this school, a thatched roofed structure of wooden planks and earthen floor, until standard four. His excellence in studies earned him the highest accolade in his class every year.

His headmaster Sheikh Hussein said Abdul Razak was no different from the 60 other pupils in his school at the time.

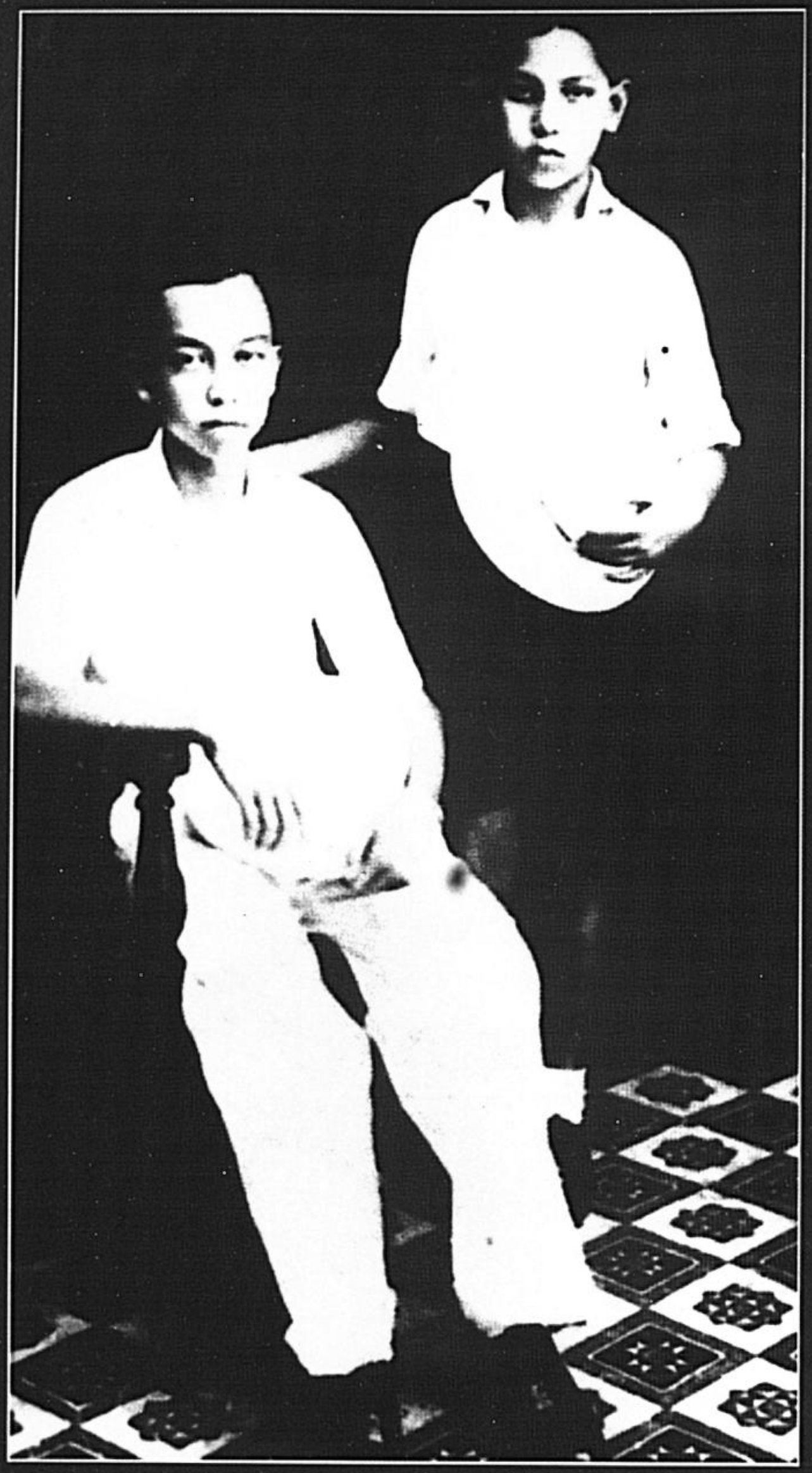
"I knew he was the son of the *Datuk Shahbandar* and Assistant District Officer, an *Orang Besar Jajahan*. But the boy behaved very much like any other children in the kampung. He was rather shy and quiet, just as he is today, well-behaved and he never quarrelled with anyone."[4]

Together with the other children in the kampung, Abdul Razak too received instruction in the Islamic religion and Quran reading from the religious teacher at the local *surau*.

It was probably his family background and his father's role model as a government officer which encouraged him to work hard so that he would be able to follow in his footsteps to the Malay College in Kuala Kangsar.

His father, Hussein, was among the Malay aristocratic elite who were selected in the early days of British rule to undergo a special Administrative Probationer's course, and then appointed as a subordinate Malay officer at the age of 18.

After his admission into the Malay College on 26 June 1934, Abdul Razak continued to show his academic excellence. He passed his Junior Cambridge University Examinations at the age of 15.



In 1934 when he went to the MCKK, it was a new world for him. Abdul Razak (seated) with his close friend Tuanku Jaafar (the 10th Yang di-Pertuan Agong) at the college in 1937.

He began to show his leadership qualities by involving himself in some of the school societies, and he was also active in all college games. He was appointed head boy of the college and was especially noted as a talented player in hockey, football and tennis.

He was also president of the Students Association of the Malay College, and vice-president of the Literary, Drama and Debating Society.

His great leadership qualities were spotted by H.R. Carey, principal of the college. In his testimonial letter, written in support of Abdul Razak's application to become a student probationer for the Malay Administrative Service in 1939, Carey wrote:

"Che Abdul Razak is seventeen years of age. He is head boy of the school, and is a boy of strong character. He is a good leader and is absolutely reliable. He has done well both in school and on the playing fields, having played for the college at both football and hockey; winning colours in both games. He is captain of tennis, captain of his house, and a sergeant in the College Cadet Corps. I have no hesitation in recommending him for a Probationership in the Malay Administrative Service, since he is quite definitely, in my opinion, the type of young man required."[5]

After undergoing the training, Abdul Razak, who had earlier taken merely four years to complete his Senior Cambridge examinations at the college, was given a scholarship to continue his studies at Raffles College in Singapore for three years. He left the Malay College on 31 May 1940, but his studies in Singapore were disrupted by the Japanese invasion of the Malay peninsula.

Even though his stay at Raffles College was brief, through his involvement there with the Muslim Society, he was exposed to the burgeoning of Malay nationalistic awareness.

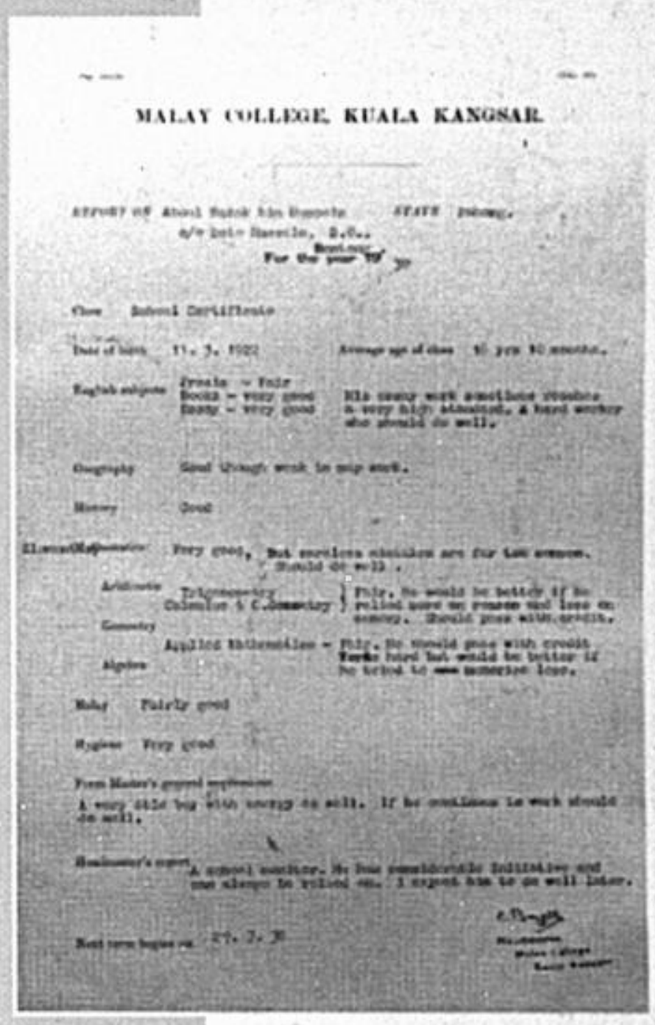
He met for the first time with Sardon Jubir who went to address the students during an occasion sponsored by the college.

Also at the Raffles College he met Ghazali Shafie, who was then a first year student. According to Ghazali, on one occasion, the Malay students at Raffles College wore the *songkok* to show their solidarity in protest against the effort of some fellow students to undermine Ungku Aziz's position as secretary of the college students association and to oust him, ultimately, from the post. The person behind this protest was Abdul Razak.[6]

During the Japanese Occupation, Abdul Razak returned to be with his grandfather in Jambu Langgar, Pekan to live as a farmer in the village; but he found that he was no longer suited to this kind of life.

As a young Malay exposed to the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar and Raffles College, Singapore, he was now imbued with a new awareness to lead, educate and awaken his people.

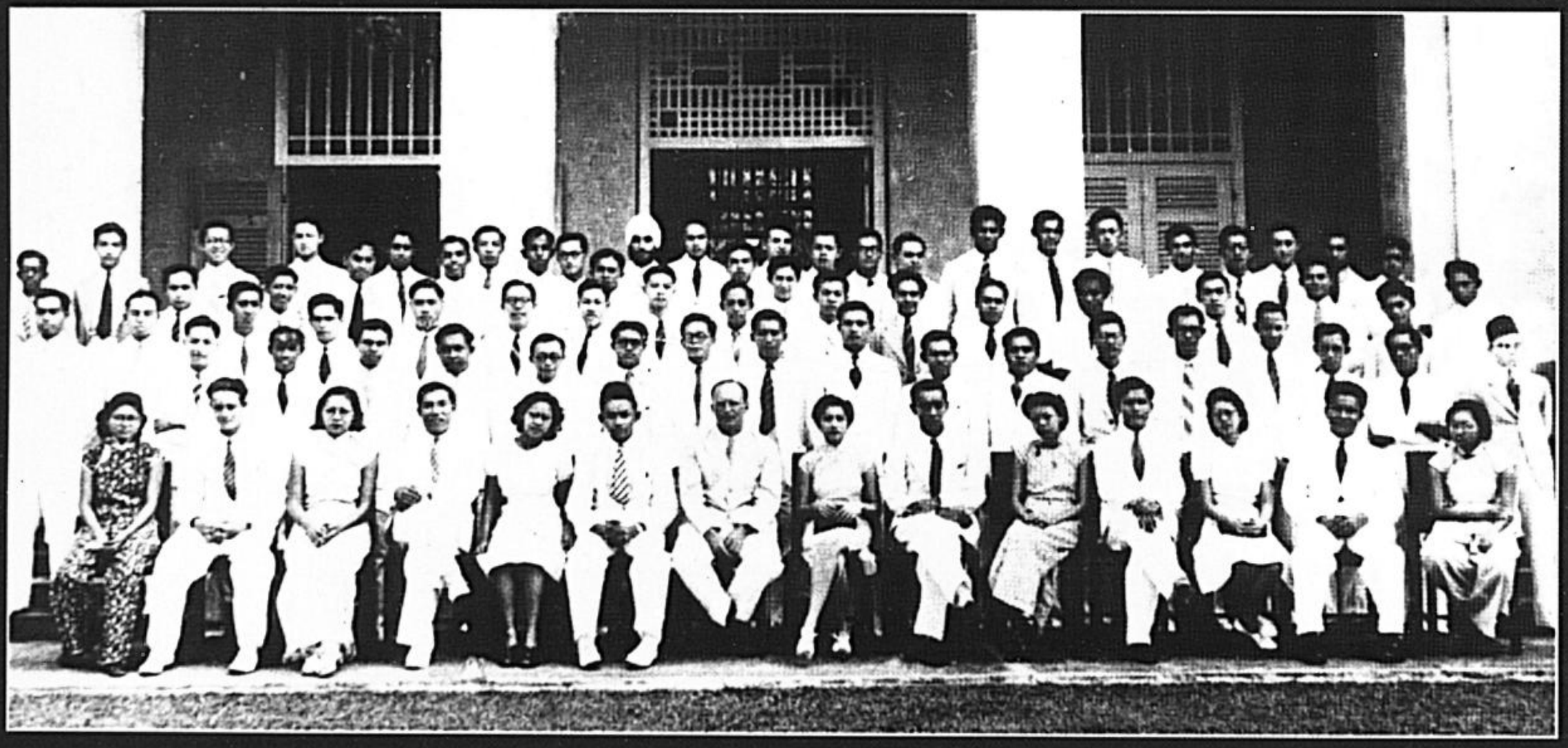
He left for Bentong in 1942 to seek employment. There, in partnership with a few friends, he published a weekly newspaper called *Gegaran Masa*, but it folded after only four issues due to lack of capital and also because the Japa-


MALAY COLLEGE, KUALA KANGSAR

Abdul Razak's school report.



The Malay College, Kuala Kangsar (MCKK).



While studying at Raffles College, Singapore, in the 1940s, Abdul Razak organised the wearing of the *songkok* as a protest against a friend's attempted expulsion. Abdul Razak is seen standing in the second row, far right.

nese were unhappy with the publication.[7]

However, when they learnt of his background as an educated Malay, Abdul Razak was taken by the local Japanese administration in Bentong to be trained as an interpreter. He was sent to the Japanese Government Officers' Training Centre (*Koa Kunrensho*) in Singapore to undergo a six-month indoctrination course in the Japanese language and culture.

On his return to Pahang after completing the course, Abdul Razak was posted to the Japanese Administration Office in Temerloh together with his old friend from Raffles College, Ghazali Shafie. However, as Ghazali had a better command of the Japanese language, he was later sent on a transfer as the most senior officer at the Japanese Propaganda Department in Kuala Lipis. They maintained contact and continued to meet frequently.

Although working for the Japanese, Abdul Razak and Ghazali were also engaged in the underground anti-Japanese Malay Resistance Movement which was formed by Yeop Mahidin, an assistant to Abdul Razak's father at the Bentong District Office. This movement, which was known as the *Wataniah*, had the support of the Sultan of Pahang, Abu Bakar Riayadin Al-Mutasin Shah.

His position prevented him from playing an active role in the movement, but Abdul Razak used his position to provide information about the Japanese army and police movements to the *Wataniah* through Ghazali Shafie or other agents. Among the information provided by Abdul Razak was the timetable for visits to the villages by the Japanese military to obtain their rice supply. This advance warning gave time to the villagers to hide their rice stock.[8]

This was a very dangerous task undertaken by a person with determination, courage and commitment to the anti-Japanese struggle.

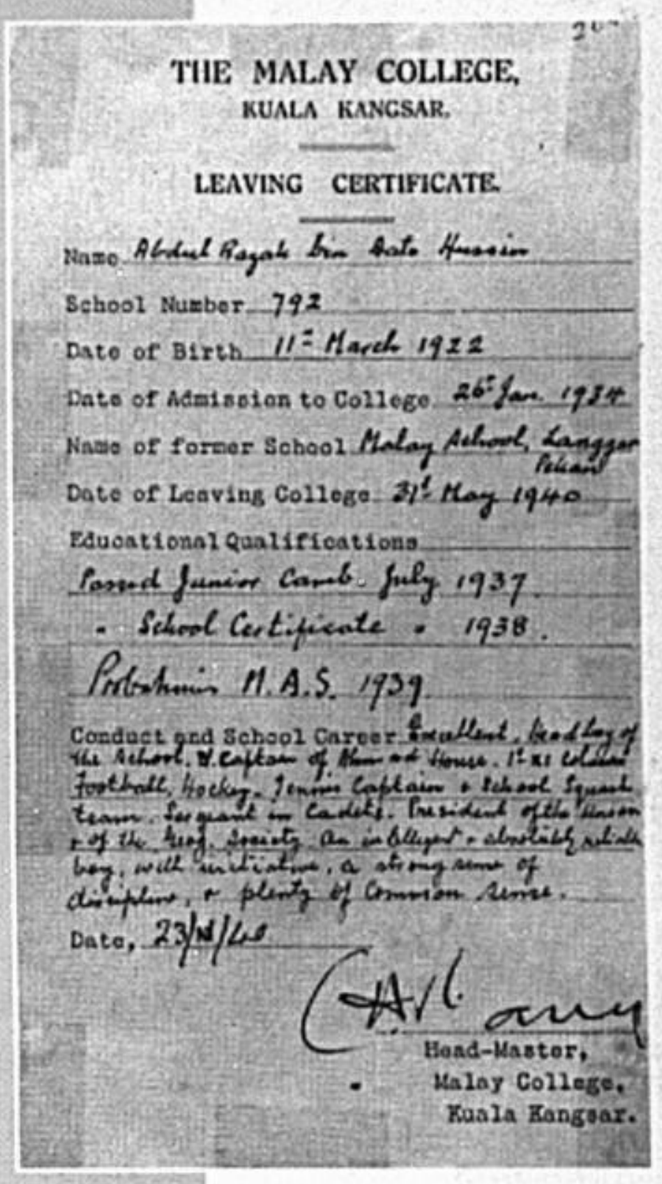
In 1945, the *Wataniah* fighters made direct contact with Force 136, the military contingent of the Allied Forces with special responsibility for co-ordinating guerilla operations against the Japanese in Malaya.

Wataniah and Force 136 co-operated in strategic planning for the landing of the Allied Forces in Malaya. Subsequently *Wataniah* was absorbed into Force 136 in mid 1945.

When Force 136 was disbanded on 1 December 1945 at its final parade in Kuala Lipis which was inspected by the Sultan of Pahang, Abdul Razak emerged as one of the campaign members who received $350 in cash and a campaign ribbon.

After the war, on 27 August 1947, Abdul Razak sailed for England from Singapore to read law at Lincoln's Inn of Court. With his academic abilities he took only eighteen months to complete his studies.

While a student Abdul Razak continued his involvement in the student movement by becoming a member of the Malay Society of Great Britain (KMUK) where he met a prince from the state of Kedah, Tunku Abdul Rahman, who was then president of the society.



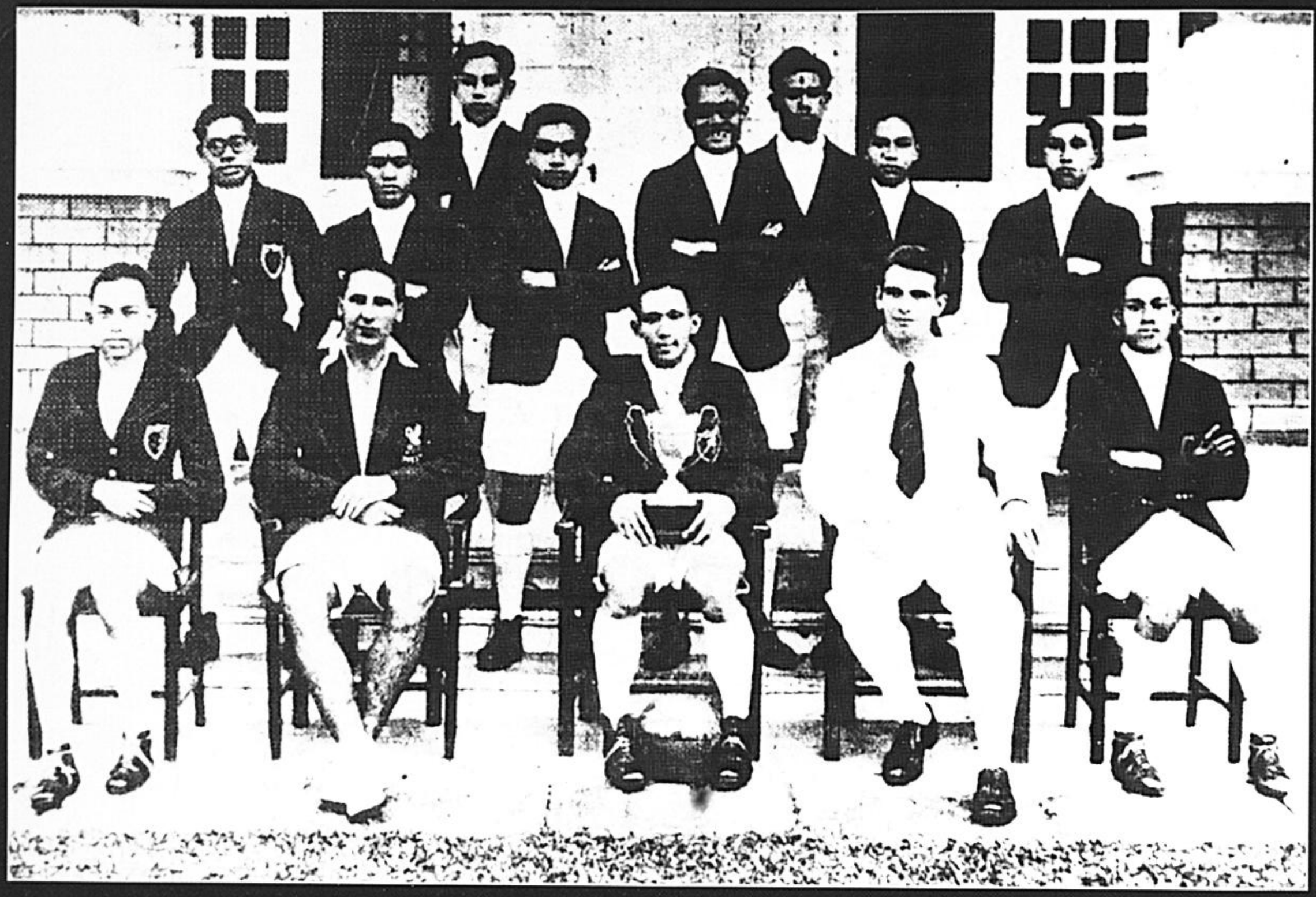
THE MALAY COLLEGE,
KUALA KANGSAR.

LEAVING CERTIFICATE.

Name Abdul Razak bin Dato Hussein
School Number 792
Date of Birth 11th March 1922
Date of Admission to College 26th Jan. 1934
Name of former School Malay School, Langgar Pahang
Date of Leaving College 31st May 1940
Educational Qualifications
Passed Junior Camb. July 1937.
" School Certificate " 1938.
Probationer M.A.S. 1939.
Conduct and School Career Excellent. Head boy of the School. Captain of Hun ad House. 1st XI Colours Football, Hockey. Junior Captain & School Squash team. Sergeant in Cadets. President of the Union & of the Debating Society. An intelligent & absolutely reliable boy, with initiative, a strong sense of discipline, & plenty of Common Sense.
Date, 23/10/40

H.R. Carey
Head-Master,
Malay College,
Kuala Kangsar.

Abdul Razak's school leaving certificate, signed by the MCKK principal H.R. Carey.



Abdul Razak (seated, left) with the MCKK 1st XI football team 1938-1939. Beside him is the college principal H.R. Carey who wrote the recommendation in Abdul Razak's application as a student probationer in the Malay Administrative Service. Standing in the back row, left is Tuanku Jaafar Tuanku Abdul Rahman. Abdul Razak was the deputy captain of the team, and played in midfield. He was the team's stalwart defence, noted for special skills with his left foot and for his headers. He was given the school colours for excellence in football.

Abdul Razak later became the association's secretary. He and the Tunku were responsible for reinjecting life into the KMUK.

When he realised that the KMUK was mainly focused on the Malays, Abdul Razak took the initiative to form the Malayan Forum to draw Malayan students from all races to become involved in political activities for the country.

This was an early indication that Abdul Razak had accepted the realities of the country's socio-political future which would be based on multiracial co-existence and a broader concept of living together. Through this forum Abdul Razak was able to interact with radical British politicians from the Labour Party and lecturers with socialist leanings from the London School of Economics.

Abdul Razak joined the Labour Party and the Fabian Society, but this was mainly because the Labour Party at that time was sympathetic to the Malayan independence struggle.

On his return to Malaya from London in 1950, he served as Assistant State Secretary, and on 1 November 1950 he was formally appointed the tenth *Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar* by the Sultan of Pahang. This award carried the title of Dato' to succeed his father who had passed away in April 1950 when Abdul Razak was in London. Two years later he was promoted to the post of State Secretary of Pahang, and it was while holding this post in 4 September 1952, that he married Rahah when he was 30. She was a lady from Johor and the youngest daughter of Mohamed Noah bin Omar. Rahah was then 19 years old.

He was introduced to Rahah by his close friend Taib Andak who told him that he had been mandated by Abdul Razak's father to seek him a Johor bride.[9]

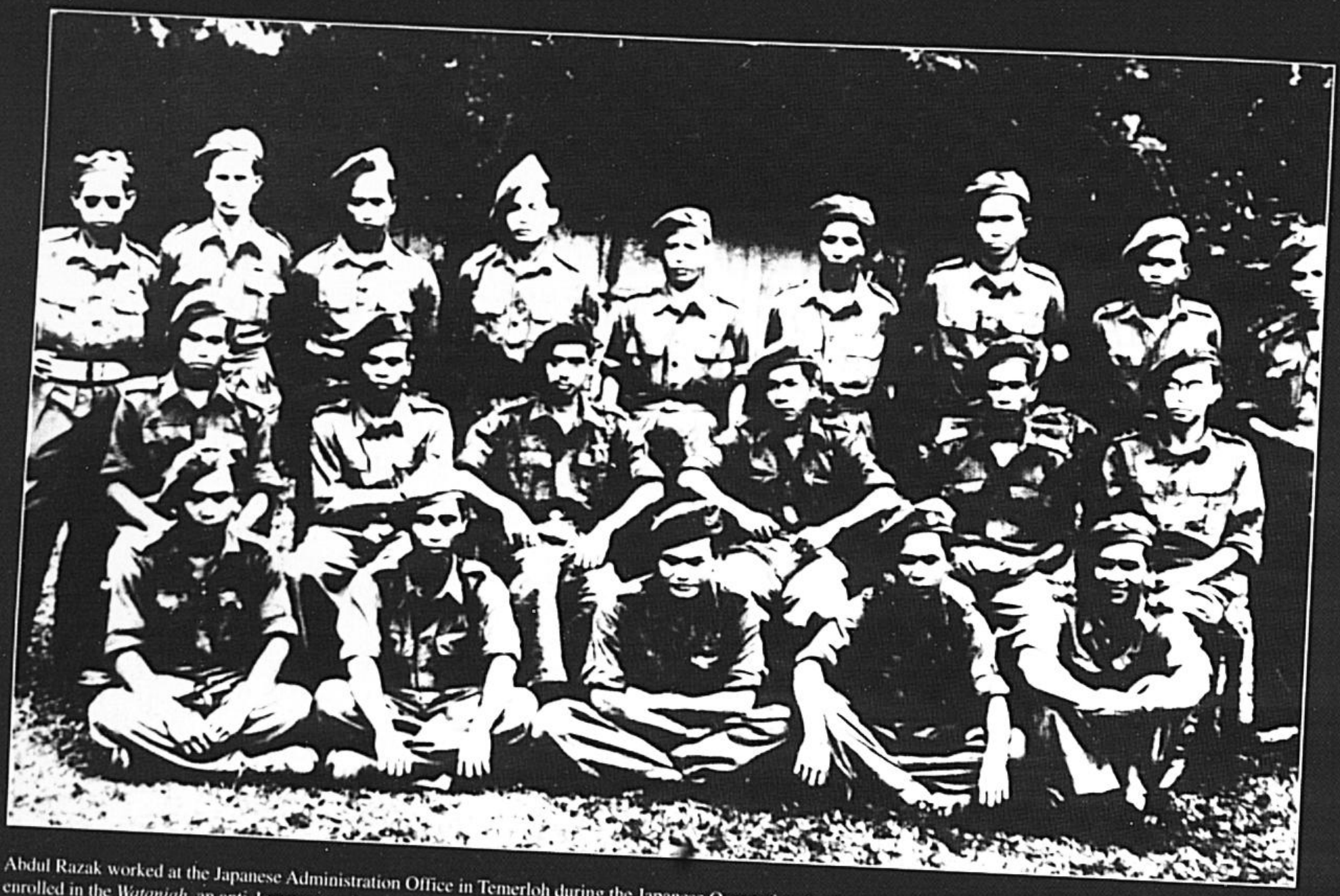
Taib Andak had been close to Abdul Razak since their London days because he had been charged with the task of being Abdul Razak's 'minder' by Dato' Hussein.

As holder of high office Abdul Razak was barred from participating in politics by the British government, but not long after his return from London, in 1950, he was already enrolled as a member of the Kuala Lipis branch of UMNO. UMNO was then led by Dato' Onn bin Jaafar.

The political atmosphere at that time was enlivened by the rising spirit of nationalism, anti-British feeling, and outrage at the atrocities of the China-inclined communist terrorists. These were challenges which beckoned Abdul Razak to swim in the tide of national politics.

Four months after his membership of UMNO, the latent leadership qualities of this educated young Malay with a good pedigree of involvement in political struggle became apparent to the youth wing of the party. They elected him to succeed Hussein Onn as leader of UMNO's Youth wing in a general assembly at the Sultan Sulaiman Club in Kampung Baru. Hussein Onn was elected UMNO's Secretary General.

A year later, on 26 August 1951, when Tunku Abdul Rahman was elected



Abdul Razak worked at the Japanese Administration Office in Temerloh during the Japanese Occupation, but he also enrolled in the *Wataniah*, an anti-Japanese underground movement formed by Yeop Mahidin in late 1942. Members of this team consisted of Malay fighters who were later absorbed into the British sponsored Force 136. Among Abdul Razak's friends in this group were Ibrahim bin Ismaíl who later became Chief of the Malaysian Armed Forces, and Ungku Nasaruddin Ungku Mohamad. This photo was taken during a parade to mark the disbanding of Force 136 near the Pahang Club opposite the Clifford School, in Kuala Lipis on 1 December 1945.

Front row (l. to r.): 2nd Lt Mohamad Taib, 2nd Lt Abdul Aziz Shamsuddin, Lt Yakin Long, Lt Osman Ismail, 2nd Lt Mohd Zain Long.

Middle row (l. to r.): Lt Yaakub Hassan, Capt Abdul Rahman Ismail (Adjutant), Capt Ibrahim Ismail, Major Yeop Mahidin Mohd Shariff (Commanding Officer), Capt Sulaiman Ismail, Capt Abdul Razak Hussein.

Back row (l. to r.): Lt Mohamad Abdul Wahab, 2nd Lt Ibrahim Abbas, 2nd Lt Othman Jasi, 2nd Lt Jaafar Haji Mohd Nor, 2nd Lt Tengku Yunan Tengku Haji Daud, Lt Osman Ali, Lt Halimi Haji Sarbani, 2nd Lt Abdul Satar Mat Dahan, 2nd Lt Alang Nasir.

UMNO's president to fill in the vacuum created by Onn Jaafar's departure from UMNO to form the new Independent Malaya Party (IMP), Abdul Razak was returned unopposed as Deputy President. He was then 29 years old.

Earlier Abdul Razak had been given the task of persuading the Tunku, his close friend in London, to take over the mantle from Onn. At the time the Tunku had withdrawn from active involvement in UMNO.

He later said that he had initially resisted the idea but changed his mind when Abdul Razak responded to a personal letter he had written to him by travelling down from Pahang to pledge his support.

In his letter the Tunku made his acceptance conditional on there being no political shenanigans, antics which he likened to the restlessness of a tethered monkey going up and down the pole. What he meant by this was that UMNO members should remain steadfast to the party. "Only by their willingness to sink and swim with me will I be ready to accept this great responsibility," wrote the Tunku.[10]

The Tunku was then president of the Kuala Lumpur Sessions Court and had just been offered elevation to a judge's post by Chief Justice Sir Foster-Sutton. This he had to turn down when he accepted the post of UMNO President.

With the Tunku, of royal pedigree, as president, and Abdul Razak, son of an aristocratic family, as his deputy, and with their background in higher education and political struggle, UMNO was immediately able to win the continued trust of the Malays and to enhance its image and influence even if Dato' Onn had turned his back on them.

Tunku and Abdul Razak stood out as two leaders of similar outlook at the helm of UMNO, two who were at one in defining their concept of the Malay political struggle based on the constitution, political moderation and true Malayan nationalism.

In spite of his being active in UMNO, Abdul Razak continued to serve as a Pahang civil servant. On 1 February 1951 he was appointed an unofficial member of the Federal Legislative Council until 31 January 1954. In August 1955 he was appointed acting Menteri Besar of Pahang.

In the same year Abdul Razak resigned from government service to contest the first Federal elections as an Alliance candidate (coalition of UMNO, MCA and MIC) on 27 July 1955. He contested the Pahang constituency of Semantan where he successfully defeated the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) candidate Mohammed Yassin bin Mohammed Salleh with a resounding majority of 12 095. He polled 14 094 votes to Mohammed Yassin's 1999.

The Alliance party won a stunning victory in this election, gaining 51 of the 52 seats contested. This enabled them to establish an internal self-government and hopes for full independence through constitutional means were bright indeed. It dispelled completely the British government's anxieties about granting independence because of the possibility of racial strife.



Abdul Razak (right) with friends dressed in Japanese military uniform.



Abdul Razak participated in the Force 136 grand parade on 16 November 1945 in front of the Istana Saadah in Pekan which was inspected by Sultan Abu Bakar of Pahang as Honorary Colonel. This parade was held to mark the success of the group in conducting guerilla warfare against the Japanese army. Abdul Razak is in the back row, third from right.

The commanding officer, Capt Yeop Mahidin bin Mohd Shariff sits to the right of the Sultan of Pahang (in white) and to the left of the sultan is Capt Ibrahim Ismail (Gen Tan Sri Ibrahim). Standing (far right) is Ungku Nasaruddin Ungku Mohamad (Lt General Tan Sri Ungku Nasaruddin).

The overwhelming victory for the Alliance party was based on non-communal votes. Many non-Malay candidates were returned in Malay constituencies.

Following this victory, on 9 August 1955, Abdul Razak, now 33 years old, was appointed Minister of Education in the cabinet led by Tunku Abdul Rahman. He was also made Chief Whip in the Federal Legislative Assembly.

From here his leadership calibre became evident. His standing as a nationalist was further enforced by his firmness in introducing some brave measures in the Razak Report to counter Chinese chauvinism and to fulfil the wish of a large section of the populace who wished to see an independent people with a Malayan identity.

When Abdul Razak was made Education Minister, many Chinese schools in large towns such as Penang and Perak had been infiltrated by communist elements hiding behind the veil of Chinese communalism. Abdul Razak took firm measures to stop this and temporarily closed schools that did not heed the government's warnings. Among these were the Chung Lin and Han Ching high schools in Penang.

Abdul Razak took immediate steps to form a committee of 15 comprising members of the Federal Legislative Council, with himself as chairman, to study the existing education policy and to establish a National Education Policy which would be acceptable to the people of the federation as a whole. Malay would be the national language but the growth and culture of other races in the country would be maintained.

The Razak Report was considered to contain revolutionary policies for schools, with its main aim of unifying the people of all races.

While he was grappling with the many challenges thrown at him in the implementation of the report, Abdul Razak was chosen to join an Alliance delegation to London to seek independence from the British. At the head of the delegation was Chief Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Also in the delegation were Dr Ismail bin Abdul Rahman, Colonel H.S. Lee (MCA) and three representatives of the Malay rulers: Datuk Panglima Gantang from Perak, Seth bin Mohd Said from Johor and Aziz bin Abdul Majid from Selangor as well as Nik Ahmad Kamil from Kelantan. Alliance Secretary General T.H. Tan and an officer in the Civil Service, Abdul Kadir Shamsuddin were made the delegation's joint-secretaries.

The delegation for London chose the slower passage by sea, on the M.V. Asia, which left Singapore on 1 January 1956, so that they could "clear up all points as yet unsettled by the time we arrive" to meet the British.[11]

They came back from London by air with a date set for Malayan independence. They were given a rapturous welcome by thousands from all over the country who gathered at the Melaka town centre to hear Tunku Abdul Rahman announce the date of Malayan independence as 31 August 1957.

After independence Tunku Abdul Rahman became Prime Minister and Abdul Razak the Deputy Prime Minister cum Minister for Defence and Internal Security.



As a student in London, Abdul Razak (standing, left) pursued his sporting interests. Here he poses with friends in the hockey team, among them, Taib Andak (front, right).

Independence raised new expectations among the multi-ethnic and multi-religious multitudes. There were serious challenges to the leadership in the form of racial and religious extremism. Besides this they also had to contend with the activities of communist terrorists in the jungles and on their urban frontlines.

The ultra-nationalists who were hiding behind the veil of religion and socialism brought particular problems to the security and development of the country by their playing up of issues of poverty, anti-capitalism, Chinese and Malay communalism as well as Islamic sentiments.

These challenges, which persisted from the early days of independence till the tragic hours of 13 May 1969 occasionally threatened the unity of UMNO itself but they never caused the Tunku-Abdul Razak leadership to falter.

They remained solidly united and held steadfastly to the platform on which they launched the nation's independence, that is, the formation of an open multiracial society rooted in the market economy and opposed to communism, chauvinism and extremism in all forms.

Apart from Chinese chauvinism, an early problem which the Tunku and Abdul Razak had to face was a group of Malays who regarded independence as meaningless without the immediate withdrawal of British troops and the closure of foreign military bases in the country.

This group demanded that Malaya adopted an anti-capitalist and anti-British policy and also wanted the nationalisation of all British estates and foreign owned property.

Abdul Razak showed his clear support for the Tunku in his battle against these extremist elements when together they waged an all-out war against the Malayan Peoples Socialist Front (a coalition of the Partai Rakyat Malaya and the Malayan Labour Party, the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party). In their battle to quash the extremist elements fighting for Chinese education they used the National Education Policy and the Internal Security Act.

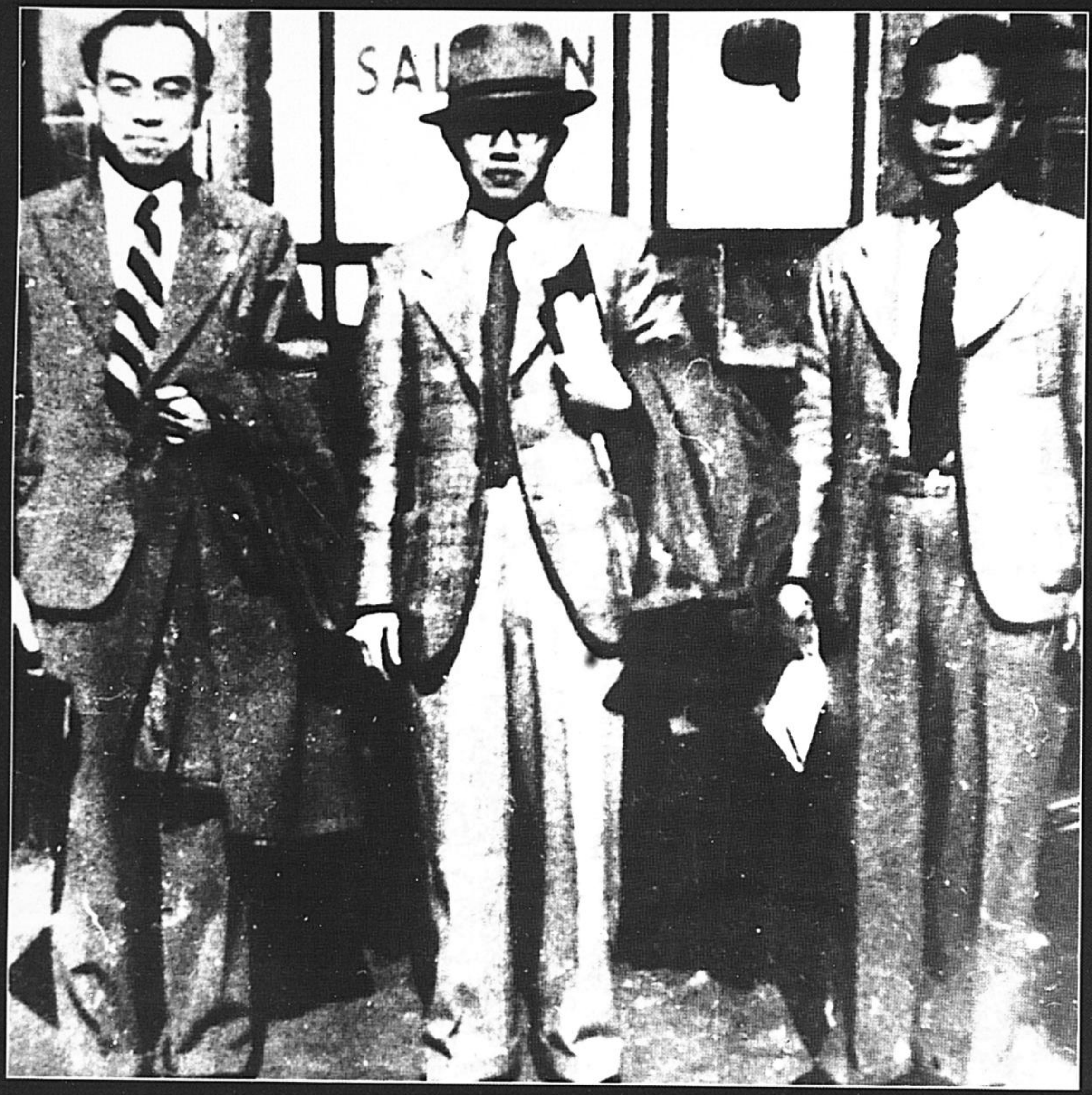
Simultaneously, Tunku and Abdul Razak fought a concerted battle to defeat extremists within UMNO itself.

On this front the Tunku had to ditch Aziz Ishak, the Agriculture Minister who tried to become the peasants' and the fishermen's champion by discouraging involvement in business.

Abdul Razak was also behind UMNO's move to take over the *Utusan Melayu*, the most influential Malay language newspaper, in 1961, when he found that it had been infiltrated by ultra-nationalist and socialist elements.

He did not respond to the extremist demands from his own people even though he realised that in certain circumstances, their support would have greatly enhanced his popularity.

He was unsympathetic to the demands of Malay language extremists in 1967 to remove the English language completely from its position as the country's second language. Nevertheless, in his handling of the problems of his people, he always did so with fairness, subtlety and wisdom.



Student days in London. At far right is Abdul Aziz bin Haji Abdul Majid, later to become Permanent Secretary at the Prime Minister's Department.

With the ending of the state of Emergency on 31 July 1960, Abdul Razak became less occupied with security matters and was able to devote his time fully to his role in national and rural development. When this ministry was created on 17 November 1959, it was under the direct responsibility of the Prime Minister's Department.

When he announced the duties of this ministry in his short New Year broadcast to the nation on 26 December 1959, he said: "With the improving situation, the Alliance government has decided to give the highest priority to the task of improving the lives of the kampung folk.

"The aim of the newly set up Ministry of National and Rural Development is to establish a strong economic basis for the farmers by ensuring that they reap the full benefits from the land that they work on and so that they, as Malayan citizens, will enjoy the amenities of life such as those enjoyed by their brethren in the cities."

He made the declaration that to reach the government's goal as quickly as possible, the government would use all means possible with the same will and determination as shown in the fight to free the nation from communist terrorists.

Abdul Razak took personal responsibility for a poverty eradication programme which was launched using strategies used in the war against communist terrorists.

This he could do because besides having local officers who were fully committed to the ideal, Abdul Razak employed a former British Military Administration officer C.G. Ferguson, to structure the rural development operations in the style of a military campaign.[12]

He appointed Ferguson as Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Rural Development to assist Mohammed bin Baba, who was Chief Secretary at the Ministry.

With his military experience, Ferguson helped Abdul Razak to set up the Rural Development Operations Room complete with its own bases, logistics, tactics and strategy to enable him to identify his targets, to plan his attacks and to study any weaknesses with speed.

Each Operations Room had a copy of the development plan, known as the Red Book. The aim was to bring home the point that rural development required emergency treatment.

From the Red Book in his Operations Room Abdul Razak could monitor the pulse of development throughout the country. This book would contain detailed records of development projects in each district complete with maps and charts.

Another non-Malay helper who gave his full devotion to Abdul Razak in this rural development task was Thong Yaw Hong. Thong had been in government service since the early 1950s at the encouragement of Abdul Razak, who was then Menteri Besar of Pahang. He not only knew Thong personally, but was also a family friend.

Thong was able to experience the breadth of Abdul Razak's ambition from being directly and indirectly under him



Abdul Razak (second from left) at a Malayan Students' Association dinner in London. At far right is Lee Kuan Yew, later to become Prime Minister of Singapore.

from the early days of Independence to the day when Abdul Razak drew his last breath. He started as Assistant Secretary at the Economic Secretariat at the Prime Minister's Department in 1957 and went on to become the head of the Economic Planning Unit in the same department for seven years.

Thong had the highest regard for Abdul Razak because "he truly worked for the people, he lived and died for the people, was full of dedication and commitment to the nation. This was the leader I would have died for."

According to Thong, Abdul Razak's idea of development was that it must be far-reaching and permanent. Hence his Co-ordinated Regional Development strategy, with every region having a growth centre which would expand into a township.[13]

The Regional Development Authorities were divided into the Southeast Pahang region (DARA), Southeast Johor and Central Terengganu.

The two main aims of the Rural Development Plan were:

Firstly: To carry out land development programmes planned by a board – the Land Development Board – which gave land to the landless and helped landowners who did not have enough to eke out a living. This plan was carried out with the co-operation of the state governments.

Secondly: To carry out the work of building roads, bridges, the provision of water and electricity supplies, the building of community halls, clinics, mosques and other requirements of daily life.

During the opening of the National Operations Room at Jalan Dato' Onn by Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman in Kuala Lumpur on 4 September 1961, Abdul Razak said: "This room shall be the nerve centre for all national development plans."

He hoped that with the existence of the Operations Room, all heads of departments and other civil servants would devote their full energy to the success of all national development plans.

"This room will determine the progress of our nation, the service, progress and prosperity of our country and people," he said.

From time to time Abdul Razak would hold meetings in the Operations Room with ministers, heads of departments and officers connected with development to assess the progress of development and to devise ways of overcoming obstacles. The room became synonymous with Tun Abdul Razak.

Abdul Razak's commitment, dedication and obsession with rural development is still remembered by officers who worked with him and by journalists who covered his meet-the-people visits to every nook and corner of the nation. During these visits he would make sure that government officers involved in the implementation work and the representatives of the people were doing their jobs.

He would also use these opportunities to launch officially those projects that had been completed.

He would normally keep a tight schedule from morning till late evening.



Abdul Razak posing with his friend (Tan Sri) Taib Andak who remained close to him until his death. When Abdul Razak became Minister of National and Rural Development, Taib was given an important role in land development programmes for the people. They both shared happy memories as students in London.

He would do a speaking tour from one kampung to another, speaking in his low voice which somehow carried across his determination to bring awareness to the people. He delivered almost the same speech at each port of call.[14]

Wherever he went, Abdul Razak would carry his shooting stick which he would lean on whenever he was tired.

In 1962 Abdul Razak covered 43 000 miles by road, air, by boat and on foot. He covered 45 State and 118 District Operations Rooms throughout the country.[15]

Within ten years of his assuming the role of National and Rural Development Minister he had opened the eyes of more than three million adults to the skills of literacy through adult education classes all over the country. He had also built three thousand village schools.

Starting with only 300 in 1961, the number of adult education classes rose to more than 9 000 by the end of 1962.

At the request of these adult learners Abdul Razak then started religious training courses in the hope that they would instil in the kampung folk the desire for self betterment, the will to work hard and to be good citizens living in peace and prosperity.

"Our religion teaches the Muslims to use their mind fully and to work hard for greater happiness and dignity in the now and the hereafter.

"The people, especially the rural folk, must change their philosophy of life, their way of thinking and of working to suit the changing times and this age of development," he said.[16]

Whilst busying himself with the main task of bringing change to the rural people, Abdul Razak was suddenly faced with a new challenge. This was to help the Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman realise his new project for a new Malaysian nation. The idea was outlined by the Tunku in a surprise announcement at the Southeast Asian Foreign Press Association dinner in Singapore on 17 May 1961.

Abdul Razak himself was at first sceptical of this Malaysian concept "which he felt could easily be misconstrued by many people as a British trick to maintain their economic influence in an area where their power to hang on to the colonies was almost at an end."[17]

He himself however became an important player in its formation when he served in the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee. This committee was responsible for assessing the opinions of the people, providing information, holding discussions and ultimately it was charged with the task of making the Malaysian idea a reality.

Abdul Razak acted as adviser to the Prime Minister in negotiations with the British on matters relating to the Malaysian concept which embraced Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore and Brunei.

He became the Deputy Chairman of the Cobbold Commission, an inter-governmental committee with the task of putting together a draft Malaysian constitution that would be acceptable to all. The Cobbold Commission was to examine the desires of the local peoples of Sarawak and North Borneo concerning Malaysia.



From right: Abdul Razak, Tuanku Ahmad Shah (Sultan of Pahang) and Tuanku Jaafar ibni Tuanku Abdul Rahman (the 10th Yang di-Pertuan Agong) in London, 1948.

A series of negotiations were held in London, culminating in the signing of an agreement there on 8 July 1963 between Malaysia, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah and representatives of the British government agreeing to the formation of Malaysia on 31 August 1963.

Abdul Razak led the Malaysian delegation in the negotiations. Once success was reached, he called Tunku Abdul Rahman to London to sign the agreement.

The idea of Malaysia had been opposed from the start by Indonesia's President Sukarno who described it as a neo-colonialist idea. At the same time the Philippines, under President Macapagal, was laying a claim to Sabah.

On 13 February 1962 in Jakarta, President Sukarno made the declaration that Malaysia had to be destroyed.

Abdul Razak tried to seek a negotiated solution through Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio and the Philippines Foreign Minister at a meeting in Manila from 7 - 11 June 1963.

To overcome this objection to Malaysia, the meeting proposed the formation of another grouping for political and economic co-operation among nations within the Malay world, to be called Maphilindo. The idea was accepted at a summit meeting in Manila from 13 July - 5 August 1963 between the three heads of state – Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaysia, President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Macapagal of the Philippines. The plan however failed when Sukarno prevaricated over an early agreement to accept the findings of UN observers on the views of the people of Sabah and Sarawak regarding entry into Malaysia.

On 15 December 1963 Indonesia declared that they would not recognise Malaysia which was officially born on 16 September 1963.

The Indonesian government followed this up by sending armed volunteers into Malaysian territory. In a most ferocious raid in Kalabakan near Tawau, Sabah in December 1963 they killed eight soldiers from the Third Battalion of the Malay Regiment.

This incident was a matter of great disappointment and sadness for Abdul Razak not least because he was the first Malayan leader to sign a Friendship Agreement with the Indonesian Prime Minister Dr Djuanda in Kuala Lumpur on 17 April 1959. Abdul Razak was then Prime Minister when Tunku Abdul Rahman was away preparing for the national elections.

During *Konfrontasi* Abdul Razak played two roles: he was at the forefront in security and defence aspects, and he was also spearheading diplomatic efforts to seek international support for Malaysia and to find a peaceful solution to the problem.

In early 1965 he led the Malaysian delegation to Africa to meet leaders of Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Morocco and Egypt to counteract Indonesian propaganda against Malaysia.

With regard to Indonesia, Abdul Razak's task was made easier because of the close personal contacts he had



As a student in London.



Abdul Razak, aged 28, after being called to the Bar in 1950, taking only 18 months to get through his Bar finals in April 1949 at Lincoln's Inn, in London. He was the first Malay from Pahang to have won the Malayan Union scholarship to read law in London after 70 years of British rule.

had with anti-Sukarno and anti-communist factions in the Indonesian military and civilian administration. Among opponents of *Konfrontasi* were the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI). They were the ones who gave covert support to Abdul Razak in his quest for peace with Indonesia as well as providing him with information on the real situation there.

Among Abdul Razak's closest friends was Des Alwi, adopted son of an Indonesian nationalist, Sutan Shahrir. Abdul Razak had known him during his student days in London in the late forties.

Coincidentally, when *Konfrontasi* was declared, the anti-Sukarno Des Alwi was in political exile in Malaysia. Des Alwi, who was also a close friend of Tunku Abdul Rahman and the Chief Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ghazali Shafie, played a prominent role in arranging secret meetings between Malaysia and Indonesia to bring a peaceful solution to the problem between the two countries.

A top-ranking member of the Indonesian armed forces, Major Benny Moerdani, an active participant in the secret mission with Malaysia during *Konfrontasi*, said that Abdul Razak's sincerity in accepting without question all written and oral communications given him during the difficult period contributed a great deal in facilitating the peace process.[18]

"Razak was very sincere. His attitude was optimistic and open and he fully trusted me. He accepted all information I provided him personally or by letter without question. He trusted me," said Moerdani.

Most of the secret meetings during the period of *Konfrontasi*, whether at official or ministerial level, took place in either Hong Kong or Bangkok.

The Indonesian *Konfrontasi*, spanning three years, was declared over by President Suharto soon after his accession to power on 11 March 1966 once Sukarno had been deposed following an abortive communist-led coup.

In office Suharto immediately expressed Indonesia's desire to negotiate a settlement with Malaysia. As a token of good faith he sent a military mission to Malaysia headed by Admiral Syaaf, to meet Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tun Abdul Razak.

The arrival of a Hercules aircraft carrying members of this mission at Subang airport on 27 May 1966 whilst *Konfrontasi* was still technically in force, was a dramatic moment in the closing stages of the declared hostilities. This arrival immediately brought jubilation and confidence among the people at large, and signalled that peace was in the offing.

In the town of Alor Setar thousands lined the streets to welcome the delegation which flew there after an initial meeting in Kuala Lumpur with Abdul Razak at his residence. Here they would meet with the Tunku at his residence by the riverside in Mergong, Alor Setar.

Although the Indonesian peace delegates returned to Indonesia on the same day, their visit was a historic one and left a deep and lasting impression in the hearts of Malaysians who had been through the experience of *Konfrontasi*.



Abdul Razak (standing, left) with Malaysian and Indonesian students in 1948. While in London Abdul Razak made a lasting friendship with Des Alwi (standing, second from right) who was given political asylum in Malaysia during *Konfrontasi* and became an envoy for Malaysia, specifically, for Abdul Razak.

Standing between Abdul Razak and Des Alwi is Mohd Khir Awang, former Finance Officer for the state of Kedah.

Looking back to this moment Major General Moerdani said that there was a discussion on who ought to make the first move in this quest for peace. It was finally decided by Indonesia that they, being the elder brother and initiators of *Konfrontasi*, would take the first step for peace.[19]

"If Malaysia were to go over to Indonesia, then it would be like an admission of defeat and a surrender," he observed.

Earlier, during his visit to Sarawak on 18 May 1966, Abdul Razak had received a cable from Adam Malik about Suharto's order to begin peace moves with Malaysia.

Four days after the sudden arrival of the Indonesian peace mission in Malaysia, a meeting between the Malaysians, led by Abdul Razak, and the Indonesians, led by its Foreign Minister Adam Malik, took place in Bangkok on 31 May 1966. It was during this meeting that Indonesia formally recognised Malaysia as an independent state.

It was Abdul Razak who had signed the first peace agreement with Djuanda of Indonesia on 17 April 1959. Now it was time for him to lead another goodwill mission to Jakarta – on 11 August 1966 – to sign another peace agreement. This marked the formal end to *Kon-frontasi* which had run for three years.

In the years that followed a close relationship developed between Abdul Razak, President Suharto, Adam Malik, General Ali Moertopo, Moerdani, Panggabean and others.

Even though *Konfrontasi* had welded together the Malaysian people of many races in the tremendous support that they gave to the Alliance party in the 1965 elections, the seed of communalism had already been sown by Singapore through their concept of a 'Malaysian Malaysia'. This tore the people apart even though Singapore's membership of Malaysia had been brief.[20]

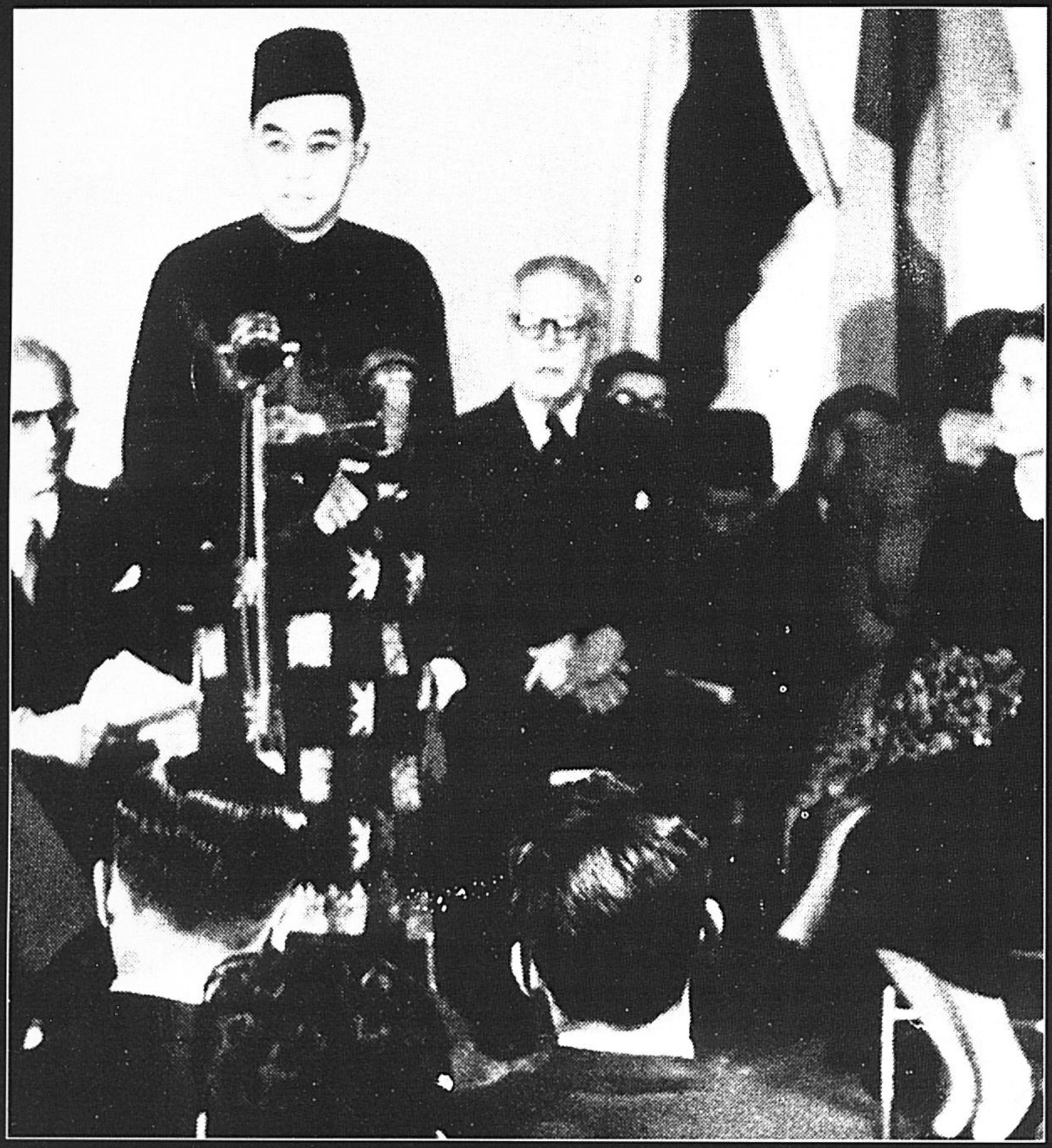
On 21 July 1964, when Singapore was still in Malaysia, racial riots erupted. Abdul Razak rushed to the island to calm the situation.

Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew accused UMNO leaders from Kuala Lumpur of being the cause of these clashes by their stoking of anti-Chinese feelings. But after looking into the cause of this racial incident of 22 July 1964, Abdul Razak was able to report to Kuala Lumpur that the clashes had nothing to do with communal matters but had been caused by a mischievous person who threw a bottle into a group of people who had been moving peaceably from the Esplanade towards Lorong 12 Geylang as part of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday procession.

"The bottle hit the Malays in the procession and it was this that started the clashes."[21] In the riot, eight were killed, 341 were injured and 157 captured.

During a speech in Melaka on 19 July 1965 at the dawn of Singapore's expulsion, Abdul Razak voiced the many concerns that had arisen since the Peoples Action Party of Singapore (PAP), led by Lee Kuan Yew, had been allowed to enter the country's political arena.[22]

In a meeting with people from the



Abdul Razak, wearing Malay costume, speaking during the opening of Malaya Hall in London, 9 September 1949. Sitting to Abdul Razak's left is Sultan Ibrahim of Johor, and (far right) the Duchess of Kent.

various small islands of Singapore on 25 July 1965, Abdul Razak once again hit out at the PAP government for their malicious allegation that the Malaysian government was Malay dominated.

"The Malays had relaxed citizenship rights for the other races and readily accepted other communities as equals in this country but now PAP is accusing us of trying to form Malaysia for the Malays and that the central government is now actually controlled by the Malays."

When Singapore was expelled from Malaysia on 9 August 1965, it was left to the DAP, an offshoot of the PAP, to continue the campaign for a 'Malaysian Malaysia' which was responsible for bringing communal feelings to a height in the 1969 elections. During these elections, substantial gains were made by opposition parties campaigning on communal issues.

Tension arose in Penang when the Alliance party lost to the Peoples Movement Party. The Alliance party was also unable to form a government in Selangor because it gained an equal number of seats to the opposition. In Perak it won only 19 of the 40 seats in the State Legislative Assembly.

Overjoyed by their victory, DAP supporters marched in victorious procession through Malay areas in Kuala Lumpur, shouting: "Malays go back to the kampungs!"

This easily provoked the Malays who were already grieving their loss of power in Perak and Selangor. They started to riot in Kuala Lumpur on 13 May 1969.

Abdul Razak acted swiftly and directed the police and the army to take measures to stop the disorder from spreading across the nation. A curfew order was imposed on the Federal capital.

The day after the incident, a state of emergency was declared throughout the country. Abdul Razak visited the affected areas, accompanied by army and civilian officers.

He ordered the Deputy Director of the Economic Planning Unit Thong Yaw Hong to assist the Minister for Special Tasks Tan Siew Sin to obtain foodstuffs such as rice, sugar, milk, canned sardines for distribution in Kampung Baharu, Kampung Pandan, Datuk Keramat and other areas around Kuala Lumpur where food supplies had been cut off. These supplies were obtained from companies and retail stores.

On the orders of Abdul Razak, Tan Siew Sin changed the Economic Planning Unit into the National Operations Room tasked with the restoration of public order, keeping Port Klang open as a functioning port, and keeping the trains running.

With the declaration of a state of Emergency, Parliament and State Assemblies were suspended and its place taken by the National Operations Council, with Abdul Razak as its director from 17 May 1969, to restore order in the country.

This bloody incident was a black mark in the history of the nation. More than 300 lives had been lost and about 1000 people injured.

Preceding the incident, since 1967 even, Abdul Razak had been under



Abdul Razak and Rahah on their wedding day at the house of the bride's father Mohd Noah in Jalan Wadi Hana, Johor Bahru on 4 September 1952.

pressure from many quarters to take over power from Tunku Abdul Rahman. Those who thought it was time for him to become prime minister included party members, Malay bureaucrats, the top echelons of the army and police, academicians and students in institutes of higher education as well as Malay intellectuals. They felt that this was necessary because the Tunku was seen to have deviated from the national policy and to be making too many concessions.

Abdul Razak told his personal secretary Zakaria bin Ahmad: "I cannot do that to Tunku, he is an old friend. We studied together in London and I frequently made use of his room there. I also used to borrow money from him. I cannot force the Tunku to resign, I do not want to make it a precedent. You go and tell the Tunku, if he doesn't want to resign, then I shall."[24]

Abdul Razak also told his Parliamentary Secretary Michael Chen of the pressure brought to bear on him. He told Chen: "I shall not allow myself to do that. This is not the Malay way. If you are number two, then you are expected to play the role of number two."[25]

Abdul Razak believed wholeheartedly that while man may scheme, God is the prime mover.

He was aware several years before the May 13 incident that this pressure to have the Tunku removed was a reflection of the feeling of the Malays throughout the country who were beginning to be apprehensive about their future. But even if he was in a position to do so, Abdul Razak still remained loyal to the president of UMNO and to his prime minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman.

When, in an ultimatum to the UMNO Supreme Council on 12 July 1969, the Tunku asked members to choose between him and Mahathir, Abdul Razak made it clear that he chose the Tunku. This move by the Tunku was in response to a letter written by Mahathir which he regarded as destructive to all that he had done in his political career.

In his position as Director of the broadly supported National Operations Council Abdul Razak could have swung the council members into making a popular decision in his favour, but he put loyalty before ambition and acted solely in the interest of the nation.

The time for succession finally came on 22 September 1970 when the Tunku himself agreed to step down from the prime ministership to take up the post of Secretary General of the Organisation of Islamic Councils (OIC).

Abdul Razak had himself done the diplomatic groundwork for the Tunku's tenure of office with the organisation which was headquartered in Jeddah. This he did when attending the OIC inaugural meeting there in 1970.[26]

As Director of the NOC he agreed to undertake the task of looking for a suitable person for the post of Secretary General. Malaysia also agreed to bear the cost of his office rental and the salaries of his officers and staff.

Before restoring democracy to the country on 23 February 1971, Abdul Razak toiled day and night to lay a firm





Abdul Razak in the early 1950s.



This picture with Rahah was taken in Kuala Lipis when Abdul Razak was Assistant Secretary of the Pahang Government.

foundation for the country so that there would be no repeat of the May 13 incident.

He set up the National Consultative Council in January 1970 as a closed-door discussion chamber to take over temporarily the role of Parliament in seeking ways of dealing with problems that faced the country and to restore harmony in a multiracial society.

Besides the government, all opposition parties except the DAP, public figures, trades union leaders, religious leaders as well as the professions were represented in the consultative council.

The council reached a consensus on a formula for a return to democracy. They decided that certain matters that had been commonly agreed to and were entrenched in the Constitution would no longer be matters for contention. These were special privileges for the Malays and *bumiputeras* (the indigenous people), the position of the Malay rulers, Malay as the national language and Islam as the official religion, and the citizenship rights of non-Malays.

A Sedition Act required to safeguard against the raising of these issues was passed, and the *Rukun Negara* (Principles of Nationhood) based on faith in God and loyalty to the nation, was declared the national ideology.[27]

Malaysia's return to democracy after 20 months under NOC rule was beyond the expectation of the people both at home and abroad. In the outside world they had expected that democracy would be dead in Malaysia and that authoritarian rule would be entrenched.

Indeed it was Abdul Razak himself who kept reminding NOC members that "I am here because I was elected by the people and we must return to the people."[28]

He also expressed an unwillingness to extend NOC rule even for a day, and regretted the occurrence of the May 13 incident which he regarded as a national tragedy.[29]

During the first parliamentary sitting after the restoration of democracy on 23 February 1971 he said: "I am constantly mindful of the need for normalcy and am striving in all ways possible to bring back that condition so that Parliament can sit again and the honourable members can go about their tasks as representatives of the people."

At this parliamentary session Abdul Razak tabled an amendment to Chapter 2 of Article 10 of the Constitution to prohibit the making of statements that were potentially offensive to the feelings of the communities in the country.

Abdul Razak said: "The disturbances of May 1969 were a black spot in our nation's history but by the will of Allah we have been able to adopt policies and take firm and effective measures to save the people and the nation from plunging into the abyss.

"Even though things are now generally back to normal we must never forget the lessons and the experiences we had from the May 13 incident."[30]

Abdul Razak announced a most radical economic policy, known as the New Economic Policy, which had a twin purpose:

Firstly: The abolition of poverty without regard to racial origin.



Playing his role with great confidence. Abdul Razak (right) dressed in the garb of the *Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar* stepping forward with purpose as acting Menteri Besar of Pahang to accompany Sultan Abu Bakar of Pahang to the State Assembly meeting. Abdul Razak held the post for six months from 2 February 1955, standing in for Tengku Mohamad ibni Sultan Ahmad.

Secondly: The restructuring of Malaysian society to abolish completely the differences between the races according to economic functions.[31]

At the same time Abdul Razak also ordered as an immediate measure that a more balanced approach be adopted in student intake so that more students from the rural areas would be enrolled in the University of Malaya and the Kuala Lumpur Technical College, two institutions which had hitherto been giving priority to non-Malay students from the urban areas.

In 1970 the number of Malay graduates from the science faculty numbered only 20 out of 493 students, 1 out of 71 in the engineering faculty, 15 out of 40 in the agricultural faculty and only 4 out of 60 students in the medical faculty.[32]

He said: "The situation is evidently unjust and is detrimental to national interest."

The most radical change taken to correct this imbalance took place at the Kuala Lumpur Technical College when Ainuddin Wahid, a Malay engineer, was recruited from the Public Works Department to become its principal. He increased the intake of Malay students from only 52.7% to 91.2% for the session 70/71. He abolished the need for a credit in English, arguing that Malaysia had already been independent for 13 years.[33]

There was also an increase in the number of Malay students sent abroad under government and Colombo Plan scholarships, and also through other means.

To solve the problem of unemployment, Abdul Razak set up the Dusun Tua Youth Centre which gave work training and quasi-military training for young people to meet all aspects of the country's manpower needs.

Parking attendant jobs were created in Kuala Lumpur and later in other major towns in the country.

He also encouraged the mass emigration of people from rural to urban areas to participate in trade and industry.

"This is important to balance out the economic roles of the various races in this country," he said.

"For as long as the Malays are in the rural areas engaging in agriculture, the Chinese populating the cities and engaging in commerce, and the Indians functioning as estate workers, then an economic balance cannot be achieved," Abdul Razak said at the Pekan district UMNO delegates meeting on 1 May 1971.

Following this call, and with various measures taken by the government, Malay settlements began to appear around Kuala Lumpur after the May 13 incident. Among these were Kampung Congo (now known as Bandar Tun Razak), Kampung Kerinchi, Sungai Penchala and settlements around the Sungai Besi area.

The Malays also began to be housed in flats, which had hitherto been the preserve of the non-Malays. Among these were the flats in Jalan San Peng and Jalan Pekeliling (now Jalan Tun Razak).

There was a sudden proliferation of Malay hawkers, especially in Jalan Chow Kit, where non-Malay traders had



The Alliance party Independence mission to London, 18 January 1956, under the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman for Independence negotiations with the British government. This team successfully negotiated Malaya's independence on 31 August 1957.
From left: Abdul Razak, Colonel H.S. Lee, T.H. Tan, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra and Dr Ismail bin Abdul Rahman.

always been strong. A Negeri Sembilan royal, Tunku Muhyiddin bin Tunku Sulaiman, emerged to champion their cause and to seek solutions to the problem of trading areas, licensing and other pressures faced by the Malay small traders.

He formed the Association of Malay Petty Traders in the Federal Territory and as its president, fought with determination and courage to obtain proper trading areas for his members. He was known to have enjoyed the patronage and support of Abdul Razak.

At that time, most of the Malay traders were vendors of food and drinks, clothes, and fish and vegetables. The Kuala Lumpur City Hall helped by providing trading areas and stalls.

This was followed by the setting up of various institutions to deal with problems faced by Malay petty traders in supply, agricultural marketing, and the exploitative prices they had to pay for goods, especially rice and petrol. These institutions also provided training for skilled and semi-skilled workers.

There were also institutions set up to help Malay participation in large corporations in Kuala Lumpur as well as in industry at national and international levels.

Among the institutions which acted as engines for the operation of the New Economic Policy were PERNAS, UDA, MNI, MARA, Bank Bumiputra, MIDA, FAMA, LPN, Tabung Haji and Petronas.

Abdul Razak also directed that measures be taken immediately to set up the National University of Malaysia (*Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia – UKM*). As an early step towards fulfilment, Selangor Menteri Besar Harun Idris immediately provided a 2300-acre site for it near the Bangi town centre, about 18 miles from Kuala Lumpur.

Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman and Education Minister Mohd Khir Johari were not keen supporters of this idea of the National University.

The story of the National University started as a seed of an idea during a meeting of Malay intellectuals at the Language and Literature Agency (*Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*) before the 1969 elections. This was a reaction to proposals to upgrade the MCA - sponsored Tunku Abdul Rahman College to university status, as University Merdeka.

According to Professor Bakar Hamid, one of the 50 Malay intellectuals at the meeting and a member of its founding committee, without Tun Razak's support the university would not have materialised. This view was also held by Anwar Ibrahim, a student activist who later became a national leader.[34]

Although this support was not given openly by Abdul Razak, he had many meetings with the National University sponsoring committee and also gave RM5000 towards expenses for the National University Congress at University of Malaya on 15 March 1969. It was here that the decision to set up the National University of Malaysia was made.

Under Abdul Razak not only did the nation see radical changes in the socio-economic policies but also a foreign policy shift away from the shadow of the West to a more independent approach and non-alignment.



Joint mission to London for Independence negotiations comprising the Alliance party representatives and representatives of the Malay rulers. From left to right: Nik Ahmad Kamil, Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman, Abdul Wahab (Datuk Panglima Bukit Gantang), Tunku Abdul Rahman, Mohd Seth Mohd Said, H.S. Lee, Abdul Aziz Majid and Abdul Razak.

At the back are T.H. Tan and Abdul Kadir Shamsuddin.

This Abdul Razak showed by word and action, taking Malaysia into membership of the non-aligned bloc and establishing diplomatic ties with any country that recognised Malaysia no matter what its political ideology.

Recognising that Malaysia shared its borders with five nations, and to prevent a repetition of *Konfrontasi* with any of the neighbouring states, Abdul Razak mooted the idea of a regional grouping on the basis of social and economic co-operation and a negotiated settlement of problems.

He took the lead by talking of an expanded ASA, the Association of Southeast Asia, as promulgated by the Tunku in 1960 to embrace Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. This expanded grouping would be called ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

This idea became a reality when the formation of ASEAN was formally declared in Bangkok on 8 August 1969. Its member nations were Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines.

Ten months after becoming Prime Minister, on 27 November 1971, Abdul Razak brought the ASEAN Foreign Ministers to Kuala Lumpur to sign the declaration of Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

In his speech at the signing ceremony, Abdul Razak said: "The acceptance of this declaration by countries which represent nearly 200 million people is an expression of the importance of our effort to guarantee a new era of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

"The most important thing is this declaration shows our determination to shape our destinies ourselves in order to safeguard our independence and national integrity."

He visited countries in the communist and socialist bloc, and also others belonging to the third world; but his most dramatic gesture was made when he embarked on a six-day visit to Communist China on 28 May 1974. There he met Chairman Mao Zedong and Prime Minister Zhou Enlai.

The two countries later signed an agreement to set up diplomatic ties even though communist terrorists were still engaged in their activities in Malaysia with the support of Communist China. This made Malaysia the first Southeast Asian country to forge diplomatic ties with Communist China.

This gesture gave a tremendous boost to Abdul Razak and the National Front party that he led because it broke the morale of the Malayan Communist Party which had consistently refused to recognise Malaysian independence whilst feeding on the communal sentiments of the Malaysian Chinese community. It was a move that greatly helped the National Front in the general elections of 1974.

On the domestic political front Abdul Razak took the bigger step of setting up coalitions at state level in Perak, Penang, Kelantan and Kedah. The idea that things could be achieved through co-operation and understanding came directly from his experience in the National Consultative Council during Parliament's suspension. From there he



Abdul Razak and members of the Independence mission with the British Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd during constitutional negotiations at Lancaster House, London in 1956.

moved on to coalition at central level, with the Alliance, PMIP, PPP and Gerakan as participating parties.

The first coalition government was in Penang with the Gerakan party led by Dr Lim Chong Eu which took control of the state in the 1969 General Elections. Then followed further coalitions in Perak (with the People's Progressive Party – PPP), and with the Islamic party (PAS) in the states of Kelantan, Kedah, Perak and Terengganu. A coalition was also formed at central level from 1 January 1973. With the participation of PAS, Abdul Razak fulfilled his aspiration to form a National Front.

This was another great achievement during his leadership. Political observers read this as a sign of his astuteness in political manipulation which enabled him to transform the politics of confrontation into one of accommodation and dialogue.

"With the formation of the National Front we can continue to move forward with full confidence and determination to face greater challenges in the future," Abdul Razak said in his radio and television New Year message to the nation in 1973. Other coalition governments in Sabah and Sarawak were also admitted into the National Front.

The first time the name National Front was used was during the national elections of 24 August 1974. From here onwards the National Front symbol of the scale replaced the old Alliance symbol of the sailing boat.

With Abdul Razak at the helm for the first time as Prime Minister the party made tremendous gains during the elections, taking 135 of the 154 seats. In his own constituency of Pekan, Abdul Razak was returned unopposed.

Behind this glittering victory and the new-found strength of the National Front government lurked a problem which Abdul Razak had to grapple with immediately in the shape of Mustapha bin Datu Harun who was leader of the Sabah government. He was proving to be rather inept at state administration and finance, problems which became a threat to the central government.

When Abdul Razak tried to take him away from Sabah politics by offering him a post in the Federal cabinet, Mustapha asked for nothing less than the post of Deputy Prime Minister. Abdul Razak had to decline his request, offering him instead the post of Defence Minister. Mustapha made his acceptance conditional upon Abdul Razak's appointing of a deputy to go with this post, a request which he acceded to when he appointed Dzulkifli Abdul Hamid, a senator from Sabah, Deputy Defence Minister. It became clear when Mustapha held on to the Chief Minister's post while also holding the post of Defence Minister that he was cocking a snook at Abdul Razak.

When he saw that the Federal government was working at other means to keep his progress in check, Mustapha as USNO President called a meeting of the party's Supreme Council on 23 April 1974. At this meeting he submitted a paper on 'The Future of Sabah in Malaysia' which claimed that the Federal government would lay a claim on all of Sabah's wealth.



Abdul Razak with the Malayan Independence delegation to London waving to the crowd which had gathered at the Kuala Lumpur airport on 9 May 1957 to see them off.

In the front is Tunku Abdul Rahman. The other members are Labour Minister V. T. Sambanthan, Transport Minister Ong Yoke Lin and Keeper of the Rulers' Seal Mustapha Albakri.

Abdul Razak's immediate reaction on receiving this news was to withdraw powers of arrest and detention from Mustapha. When asked to resign his post, Mustapha retaliated by threatening to dissolve the Sabah State Assembly and call immediate elections where he would seek a mandate for Sabah to leave Malaysia.

Faced with this challenge, Abdul Razak summoned Harris Salleh and told him that if Mustapha declared independence from Malaysia he would declare a state of emergency in Sabah and appoint Harris as Chairman of the State Operations Committee.

He also asked Harris to form a new party to represent the National Front against USNO in the event of an election. Harris suggested Mohamed Fuad Stephens, then Sabah Governor, as the most suitable person to lead the new party. Fuad agreed to do so.

Tension increased between the Federal government and Sabah when Mustapha refused to sign an agreement which would grant petroleum rights to Petronas in return for 5 per cent of the profits. Twelve other states in the federation had already signed similar agreements which ended state control of petroleum production.

Mustapha went even further when, in breach of the customary practice of state menteris besar and chief ministers, he went on a foreign trip without obtaining leave from the Prime Minister. Mustapha never bothered himself with such practices as he did not want to be tied down by protocol.[35]

He went into direct negotiations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for a loan to solve the state's financial problems. This he did without the approval of the central government as required under the Constitution.

When asking for the loan from King Faisal, Mustapha told the latter that he had fallen out with Abdul Razak because of his opposition to the Prime Minister's gestures towards Communist China. The Saudi King however told him that maybe Abdul Razak had good reasons to do so.[36]

According to Abdul Rahman Yaacob, who was present during the meeting, it was not actually relations with China which had roused Mustapha's ire against Abdul Razak. The real cause was the latter's refusal to allow him to borrow directly from abroad.

Abdul Razak continued in his efforts to weaken Mustapha's position. On 15 July 1975, Berjaya emerged officially as an opposition party in Sabah. This brought Mustapha rushing back from London only to be told by Home Affairs Minister Ghazali Shafie that Abdul Razak and the National Front supported Berjaya because of his threats to leave Malaysia and to hold a general election. This meeting with Ghazali took place at the Tunku's Penang residence.

Three months after Abdul Razak's death, the Mustapha-led USNO government was toppled by Berjaya which won 28 seats against USNO's 20 in the general elections of 14 April 1976. Fuad Stephens was appointed Chief Minister with Harris Salleh as deputy. About three months later, on 6 July 1976, when Fuad died in a plane crash near Kota



Abdul Razak and other members of the Malayan delegation arriving home from another round of talks on Malaya's independence in London on 29 May 1957.

From right: Negeri Sembilan Menteri Besar Shamsuddin bin Naim, Kedah Menteri Besar Tunku Ismail Tunku Yahya, Keeper of the Rulers' Seal Haji Mustapha Albakri, Labour Minister V. T. Sambanthan, Abdul Razak and Health Minister Leong Yew Koh.

Kinabalu, Harris took over as Chief Minister of Sabah.

The year 1975 was full of challenges for Abdul Razak. There were political battles to fight, national crises to grapple with, and within himself there was deep and personal turmoil. There was the crisis in Sabah to contend with, and the Selangor Menteri Besar Harun Idris was becoming a new source of problem.

Only two people knew then that Abdul Razak was approaching death. This tragic news was kept even from his wife Rahah and his children who were all unaware that there was little time left for Abdul Razak to solve all the crises that he was facing and then spend time again for all the unfinished business for the nation.

Six years before, Abdul Razak had been told by his doctor of the bleak prognosis for his leukaemia. But it was not until the latter part of 1975 that his physical deterioration became noticeable.

He began to lose weight, his face began to appear gaunt and sallow. Many suspected that he was unwell but would not ask, and Abdul Razak never told anyone what ailed him. He showed those who were close to him the black spots that were increasingly visible on his hands.

The truth was known only to himself and his personal physician Dr MacPherson, with probably his deputy Dr Ismail being another person privy to this secret.[37]

One day his private secretary Shafie bin Yahya entered his room and saw Abdul Razak shivering in the low temperature of the air conditioning that had been turned up. Abdul Razak showed him the black spots on his arms.

The Secretary of the National Security Council Mohd Amir bin Haji Yaakub was once asked by Abdul Razak to place his hands on his shoulders, and all he felt was bones. When asked by Mohd Amir "What's the matter, Tun?", the reply he got was, "I don't know, Amir."[38]

Shafie believed that Abdul Razak's reluctance to let on that he was unwell was in character because he did not like to unburden himself on other people.

His wife Rahah did not know that her husband was worried about his illness. All she knew was that he was troubled by Harun Idris' reluctance to accept the offer of a United Nations post for a while to escape the heat of the corruption allegations against him.[39]

Abdul Razak, a person who shunned the politics of confrontation, was uneasy with Harun's decision.

"This was the time when I saw that he was worried and sad because I knew that he did not like a confrontation," Rahah said. According to Mohd Amir Yaakub, Abdul Razak was displeased with Harun's attitude and made this remark to him: "Why doesn't Harun want to go? He should go first, after all that was what Rahman Talib did before."

According to Abdul Razak's brother-in-law Hamzah Abu Samah, Abdul Razak had pleaded with Harun in the name of friendship and as a brother to accept that offer.

"Go first, once the situation has settled you can come back and tell me if you wish to continue serving at Federal or State level," Abdul Razak said.



Abdul Razak and Rahah stepping out on a historic occasion. They are seen arriving at the Merdeka Stadium, Kuala Lumpur, to attend the ceremony for the Declaration of Independence on 31 August 1957.

Seeing Abdul Razak's persistence and sincerity, Harun agreed to do so. He was asked by Abdul Razak to accept in writing but for some reason this was never done.

"It could be that Harun was dissuaded by the people around him," Hamzah said.

This roused the ire of Deputy Prime Minister Hussein Onn who wrote to Abdul Razak threatening resignation if Harun was not arrested. He was supported by the Solicitor General Salleh Abbas who pressed for Harun's prosecution.

Abdul Razak told Hamzah that he was forced to act against Harun. On 24 November 1975 Harun was arrested by the Anti-Corruption Board and taken before the Special Sessions Court under various corruption charges.

In spite of his deteriorating health, Abdul Razak continued with his daily schedule. He was at his office as usual, he continued to attend various functions, and went on tours, including one to West Sumatra from 15 - 17 November 1975. This was to be his last visit to Indonesia and also his last meeting with his close friend President Suharto.

The people of Sumatra, in their traditional garb, gave him a rousing welcome with many spectacular and spirited cultural performances.

President Suharto, who became aware that Abdul Razak lacked the energy to continue playing golf with him at the eighth hole in Prapat Sumatra, urged Des Alwi to ask him to stop.[40]

But after pausing for a drink, Abdul Razak continued golfing with Suharto.

In December 1975, the Chairman of the National University Council Abdullah Salleh met Abdul Razak at his office and invited him to participate in the university team in the Annual Inter-University Golf Tournament at the university. Abdul Razak told Abdullah that he had a leg injury.

For a long time Abdullah had been anxiously watching Abdul Razak's health. This time he gathered courage to ask: "Tun, are you unwell?" Abdul Razak sprang from his seat and made a few swings with his arms. "I'm all right," he said, "I'm all right."

When Abdul Razak left for London in mid December 1975, a statement issued by the Information Department in Kuala Lumpur merely said that he was going abroad for a period of rest.

Former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman, who met Abdul Razak prior to his departure, already sensed that that meeting was to be their last.

Tunku wrote in The Star of 29 December 1975, "I met Tun Razak before he left for London and told my wife that I would not see him again. It was a sad farewell and I can still remember the look on his face when he bade me goodbye."

Sanusi Junid, then an ordinary backbencher in Parliament, was also there to say goodbye. Abdul Razak asked him: "Would a person who is aware of his impending death do bad deeds?" "If he is aware that death is approaching he would certainly not do things to incur God's displeasure," Sanusi replied. Abdul Razak laughed.[41]

Before departing for London Abdul Razak told his youngest son Nazir, then a standard four pupil at the Victoria



After independence Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman appointed Abdul Razak Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister in a minor cabinet reshuffle. This photo was taken on 10 September 1957 after the first cabinet meeting since independence at the Federal Legislative Assembly.

Seated, from right: Sardon Jubir (Public Works and Telecoms), Sulaiman Dato' Abd Rahman (Home Affairs and Justice), Colonel H.S. Lee (Finance), Tunku Abdul Rahman, Abdul Razak, V. T. Sambanthan (Health), Abdul Aziz Ishak (Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry).

Standing, from right: Bahaman Shamsuddin (Land Resources), Tan Siew Sin (Trade and Industry), Mohd Khir Johari (Education), A. Rahman Talib (Transport), Omar Ong Yoke Lin (Labour and Social Welfare).

Institution, Kuala Lumpur, that he was going on a long leave and advised him to work hard and to look after himself while he was away.[42]

En route to London Abdul Razak stopped in Paris to rest because his health had deteriorated further. He complained of pains in his stomach and legs. On 22 December 1975, he left with his entourage for London for treatment at the London Clinic.

He was due to return to Malaysia on 14 January but two days prior to the proposed departure he was re-admitted to the London Clinic because of a high temperature. This was a few days after some Malaysian students in London met him in Hyde Park on an outing with family and friends.

Abdul Razak's wife Rahah was urgently called to London when her husband's condition worsened.

When Taib Andak, his closest friend, visited him at the clinic, Abdul Razak whispered to him: "Yib, I'm dying, but please don't tell Rahah."[43]

One of Abdul Razak's family members in Kuala Lumpur received a call from London asking him to take Nazir there to meet his father who wanted to see him very much.

Khalil Akashah, secretary of the working committee of UMNO Malaysia visited Abdul Razak on the night of 13 January 1976. He said that Abdul Razak appeared to be healthy when he left him at about 12 midnight. Later, at 4 a.m. London time, Abdul Razak complained to Rahah that his legs were hurting.[44]

At 9 o'clock the following morning his condition began to deteriorate further. Rahah made him recite the confession of faith, which Abdul Razak did a few times, and gave him some water from the well of Zamzam.

Abdul Razak departed this earth at 11.00 a.m. London time (6.30 p.m. in Malaysia) on 14 January 1976. He was 54 years old.

His son Nazir heard the news in Kuala Lumpur before he was due to leave for London in the company of the wife of Michael Chen.

Abdul Razak's health had long been a matter of concern for the people whenever they saw his gaunt appearance on television and in the papers, but his death came as a great shock when it was announced on radio and television by acting Prime Minister Hussein Onn at 10.47 p.m. Malaysian time on 14 January 1976.

The shock had been compounded by the fact that during his illness Abdul Razak had never taken leave from his work. The common impression was of a prime minister who would not stop working.

It was as if they had found it hard to believe that Abdul Razak had died. The grief became all the more unbearable when it finally sank in. That they had lost a man who had left many imprints as Education Minister, Minister of National and Rural Development, Deputy Prime Minister, Director of the NOC and Prime Minister. Someone who was decidedly a patriot who continued to work for the nation and for his people to the very end.

Notes

1. From *Seluruh Hidupnya untuk Malaysia/A Man of Malaysia*, New Straits Times Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1976.
2. Interview with Tan Sri Hamzah Abu Samah, brother-in-law of Abdul Razak. He was Deputy Home Minister (1967-69), Information Minister (1969-71), Culture and Sports Minister (1971-73), Defence Minister (1973-74), Trade Minister (1974-78) and currently President of Olympics Council of Malaysia.
3. Source: Tun Abdul Razak Memorial.
4. Op. cit. *Seluruh Hidupnya untuk Malaysia/A Man of Malaysia.*
5. *Tun Razak: His Life and Times* by William Shaw, Longman, Kuala Lumpur, 1976, p. 25.
6. Interview with Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie on 4 September 1996. Ghazali is the former Chief Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, Special Functions Minister, Information Minister, Home Minister and Foreign Minister.
7. Op. cit. *Tun Razak: His Life and Times*, p. 44.
8. Op. cit. Interview with Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie.
9. Interview with Datuk Shafie Yahya, son-in-law of Tan Sri Taib Andak. Shafie was Private Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister (1964-72), Private Secretary to the Prime Minister (1972-75) and head of the Anti-Corruption Bureau.
10. *Political Awakening* by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Pelanduk Publications, Petaling Jaya, 1986, p. 24.
11. *Looking Back* by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Pustaka Antara, Kuala Lumpur, 1977, p. 60.
12. Interview with Tan Sri Thong Yaw Hong on 2 September 1996. Thong was Director of the Economic Planning Unit (1971-78) and currently chairman of Public Bank.
13. Ibid.
14. The writer was among the journalists who followed Abdul Razak on his tours of the rural areas.
15. Source: Information Services Department.
16. Speech given by Abdul Razak to officiate the first Religion Training Course in the Adult Education Plan at the National Operations Room on 31 March 1963.
17. Op. cit. *Tun Razak: His Life and Times*, p. 151.
18. Interview with Benny Moerdani in Jakarta on 12 June 1996.
19. Ibid.
20. Singapore was expelled from Malaysia on 9 August 1965.
21. *Utusan Melayu*, 23 July 1964.
22. *Utusan Melayu*, 20 July 1965.
23. *Utusan Melayu*, 24 July 1965.
24. Interview with Datuk Zakaria Ahmad, Abdul Razak's Private Secretary on 26 October 1995.
25. Interview with Datuk Michael Chen on 13 September 1996. Chen was Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (1964-69).
26. Interview with Datuk Kamaruddin Mohd Ariff on 11 July 1996.
27. Speech during the tabling of the Constitutional (Amendment) Bill in Parliament on 23 February 1971.
28. Interview with Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi who held the post of Chief Assistant Secretary, Public Affairs during NOC rule.
29. Interview with Datuk Amir Yaakob on 29 July 1996. He was Deputy Director of the NOC (1969), Secretary of the National Security Council (1973-76), Director of Immigration (1979-80), and Director General of the National Rice Board (1989-92).
30. Op. cit. Abdul Razak's speech.
31. *The Red Book*, Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur, 1971.
32. Op. cit. Abdul Razak's speech.
33. Interview with Tan Sri Ainuddin Wahid.
34. Interview with Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim.
35. See *Politics of Federalism* by Bruce Ross-Larson, Bruce Ross-Larson, Singapore, 1976.
36. Op. cit. Interview with Thong.
37. Interview with Datuk Mohd Amir Yaakub on 29 July 1996.
38. Ibid.
39. Interview with Tun Rahah on 27 October 1995.
40. Interview with Des Alwi on 12 June 1996 in Jakarta. Des was born on the island of Moluccas and became the adopted son of Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Shahrir who were exiled by the Dutch to that island in 1936. He met Abdul Razak, Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie while a student in London in the late 1940s. With Ali Moertopo and Benny Moerdani, he played a role in bringing *Konfrontasi* to an end. He served as ambassador to Berne, Austria and Manila. Prior to that he had sought asylum abroad because of his anti-Sukarno activities.
41. Interview with Datuk Seri Sanusi Junid on 16 September 1996.
42. Bernama report, 14 January 1976.
43. Op. cit. Interview with Tan Sri Hamzah.
44. Interview with Toh Puan Rahah in London. The writer was then (1975-76) Utusan's London correspondent.

“Abdul Razak paid special attention to his children’s education. He wanted them to succeed, to become knowledgeable and to return to their homeland.

“One day you will be proud of them,” he told Rahah.”

The writer



family

Malaysia's second Prime Minister Abdul Razak was descended from Johor Bugis aristocracy who emigrated to Pahang in the 18th century.

Once in his life, he journeyed with his wife Rahah in a boat to Ujung Pandang (in Makasar), South Sulawesi to confirm and trace his lineage.

Abdul Razak's father Hussein bin Mohd Taib descended from To' Tuan, a Bugis aristocrat, and his mother Teh Fatimah binti Daud was a descendant of Sultan Hassanudin, ruler of Sulawesi during the mid 17th century.

On his arrival at Ujung Pandang on the Royal Navy frigate Hang Tuah on 2 May 1972, Abdul Razak visited the tomb of his great-grandfather Sultan Hassanudin who was also known as an Indonesian national hero who had fought Dutch colonists.

Even though his arrival was given a rousing welcome befitting a warrior's return, and he was given the aristocratic Bugis title of *La Tatta Ambarala Daeng Manesa* (a brave and steadfast warrior and admiral), capped with the *songkok* of the highest honour in the Bugis ceremonial custom, with a 200-year-old gold-coated heirloom kris tucked into his waist, and presented with a Bugis schooner with a load capacity of 70 ton, Abdul Razak did not want this to be overplayed by the media for fear that its significance might be misconstrued in a multiracial Malaysia.

It is from this Bugis line that his father Hussein had inherited the title of *Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar* (OKIS) which carried the title of Dato'.

By virtue of his aristocratic blood Hussein received privileged education at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar and was recruited as an officer in the British administration in Pahang in 1916. In 1920 he married one Hajah Teh who gave him two children, Abdul Razak, born on 11 March 1922, and Maimunah, in 1923.

Hussein was also an espouser of causes. He participated in the struggle against the Malayan Union, became president of the Pahang Malays Association, and was also a member of the Pahang Legislative Council. He died in 1950 when Abdul Razak was studying in London.

On the death of his father Abdul Razak inherited the title of OKIS. In fact, Abdul Razak had many siblings besides his sister Maimunah who married the Menteri Besar of Pahang Muhammad bin Jusoh (1974-1978). Hussein fathered sixteen other children by his second wife Rokiah binti Salleh. Among them was Zainun, wife of Hamzah Abu Samah.

On 4 September 1952, aged 30, and while holding the post of State Secretary, Pahang, Abdul Razak married a Johor lady, Rahah, then 19 years old. Rahah was daughter of an officer in the Johor Islamic Affairs Department, Mohd Noah.

There were five issues from this marriage, all male. They were Mohamed Najib, born 23 July 1953, Ahmad Johari, born 29 November 1954, Mohamed Nizam, born 3 October 1957, Mohamed Nazim, born 25 March 1962, and Mohamed Nazir, born 19 November 1966.

Abdul Razak had always wanted a daughter, but when he was bestowed with another son, he told his friends: "It makes no difference," and "we should be grateful for what God has given us."

He once told his parliamentary secretary Michael Chen that should he have a daughter, then he would like to adopt her. Unfortunately it was only after Abdul

Razak's death that Chen and his wife were blessed with a daughter.

Chen would frequently joke with his fourth child Elizabeth Chen: "If Tun were still alive then you'd have been a Muslim girl." To this day the Chens are the Chinese family to have the closest links with Abdul Razak's family.[2] They frequently visit each other.

Abdul Razak and Rahah did however have two daughters by adoption. They were Rohaya binti Bakar and Fathiyah binti Hassan.

Rahah remembers Abdul Razak as a good, even-tempered and loving husband who was full of humour.

They were often seen together, not only at official functions but also on his packed programme of visits to rural areas. Rahah's unassuming nature and easy mannerisms earned her the love of womenfolk in urban and rural areas. This helped to boost her husband's popularity as a leader.

His busy life did not deter him from obligations to the family. He spent his free time with his family either at home or abroad. But his trips abroad were few as "Tun was mindful of what the people were saying."[3] In Canberra he once invited his friend Abu Kassim Ahmad, then serving as diplomat at the Malaysian mission there, to go on a holiday with him. Abdul Razak asked Abu Kassim to look for a moderately priced hotel for them and did not allow him to make any demands on the government. He paid for Abu Kassim and his family from his own pocket.

He asked Rahah to be moderate in everything she did.

He also disliked waste. The furnishings in his official residence Sri Taman were not changed if they were still usable.

He did not lavish his children with opulence when they were students in London.

Abdul Razak paid special attention to his children's education. He wanted them to succeed and to become knowledgeable.

"One day you will be proud of them," he told his wife Rahah.

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1. Interview with Des Alwi.
2. Interview with Michael Chen.
3. Interview with Hamzah Abu Samah.



Abdul Razak was a good and loving husband with a keen sense of humour. Photo, 1972.



Rahah's unassuming manner suited Abdul Razak's inclination towards moderation in everything. This helped boost Abdul Razak's popularity, especially among the kampung folk. Photo, 1972.



Abdul Razak dressed in the manner of a Bugis seafarer during his visit to Ujung Pandang (Makasar) in 1972.

Abdul Razak with his wife Rahah and their five children. From left are Mohamed Nazim (fourth son), Mohd Najib (eldest son), Ahmad Johari (second son), and Mohamed Nizam (third son). Between Abdul Razak and Rahah is their youngest son, Mohamed Nazir. The eldest son was named after the first Egyptian president Mohammad Naguib who overthrew King Farouk on 23 July 1952. This photograph, taken on 31 August 1974, was the last family photograph at Sri Taman.



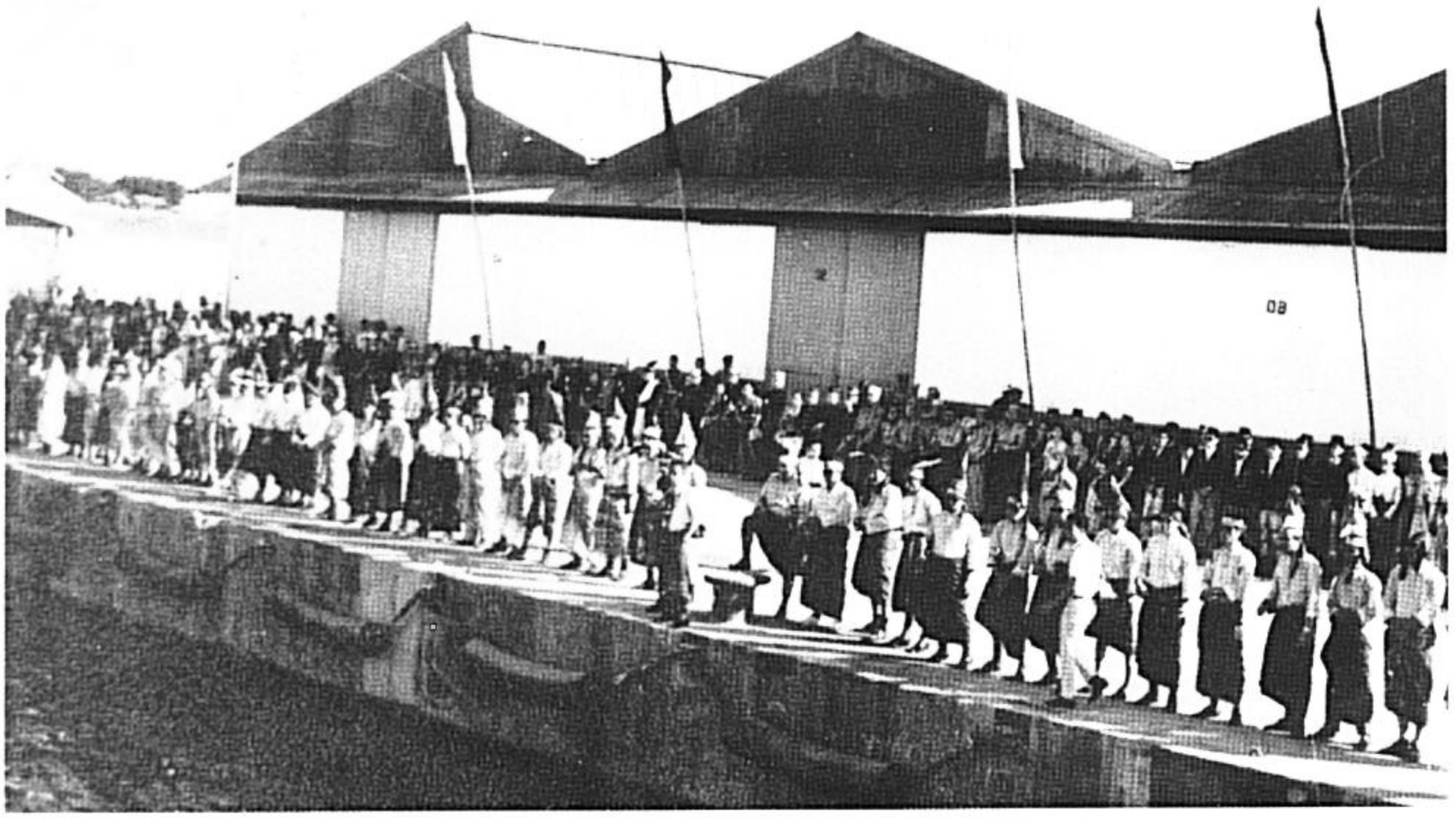


Abdul Razak visiting the tomb of his ancestor Sultan Hassanudin at Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi, on 2 May 1972.





Bugis ceremonial welcome for Abdul Razak and Rahah at Ujung Pandang.



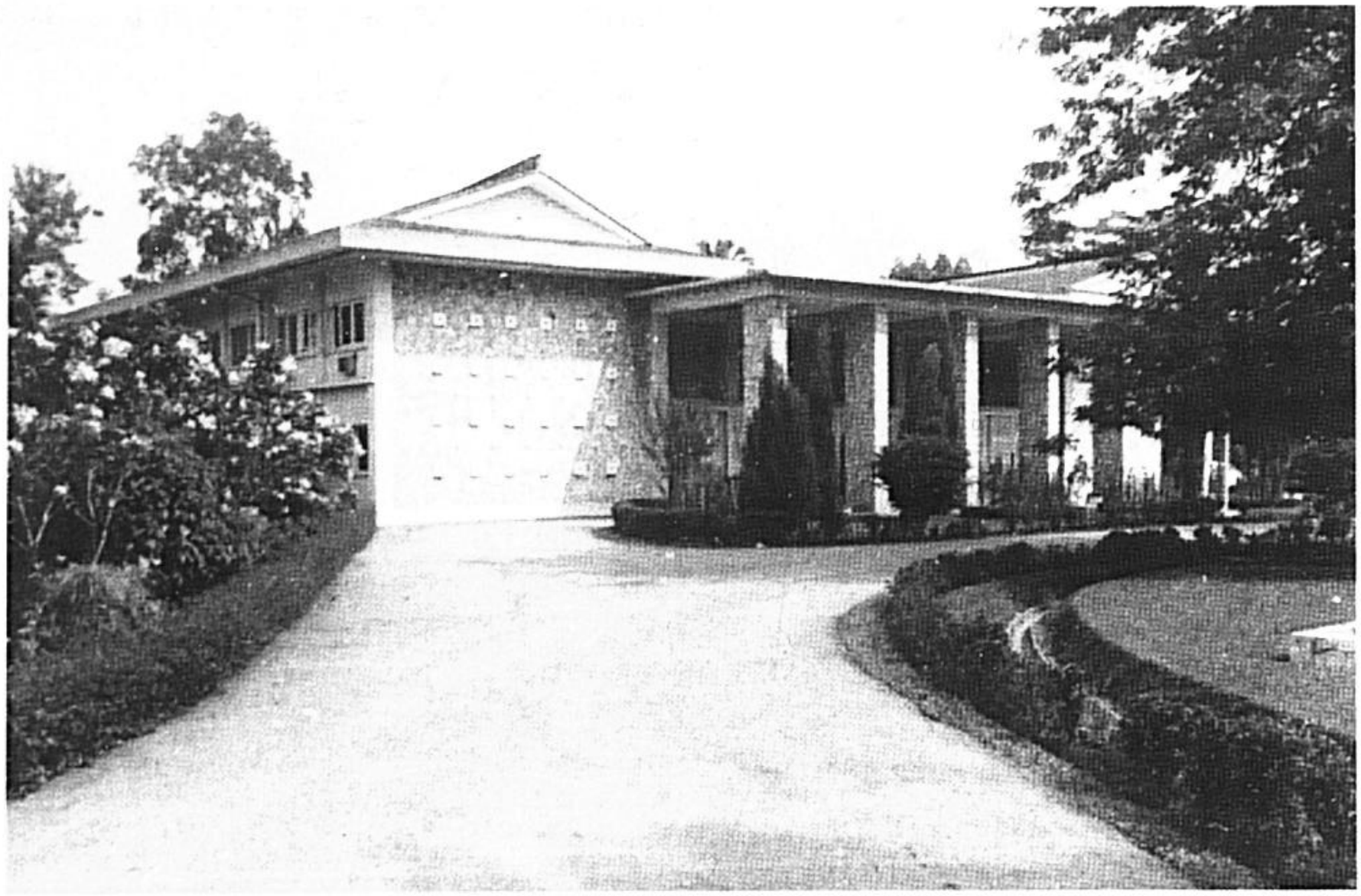
Bugis warriors line up to receive Abdul Razak, a Bugis son who had returned from a glorious voyage.



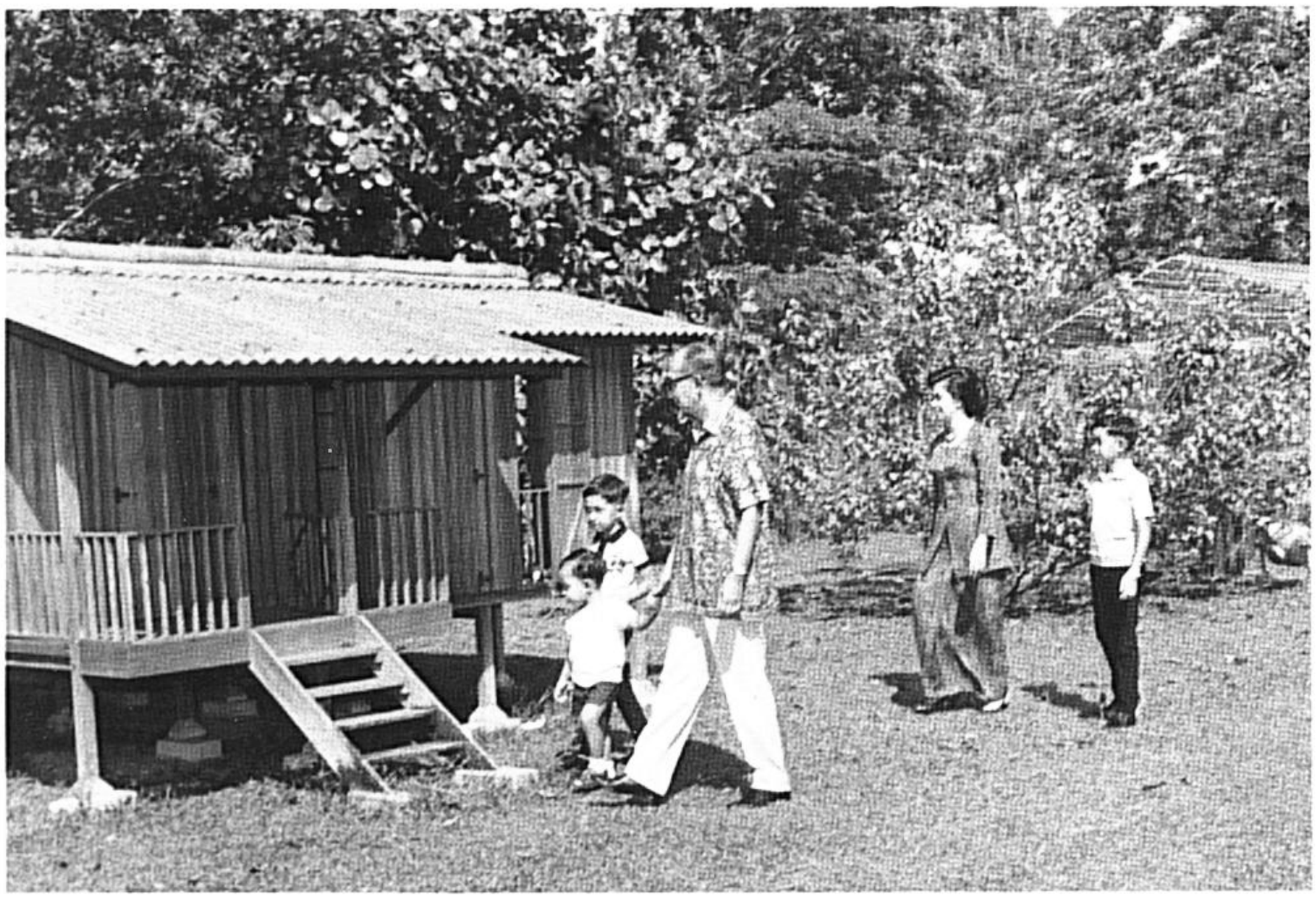
The governor of South Sulawesi, Ahmad Chamil, places a 200-year-old gold-plated heirloom kris into Abdul Razak's waistband on the award of the title *La Tatta Ambarala Daeng Manesa*. The title means 'A brave and steadfast warrior and admiral'.



Abdul Razak receiving the Bugis schooner 'Putera Makasar' (Makasar Prince) from the Governor of South Sulawesi at Port Klang, two years after his visit to Ujung Pandang.



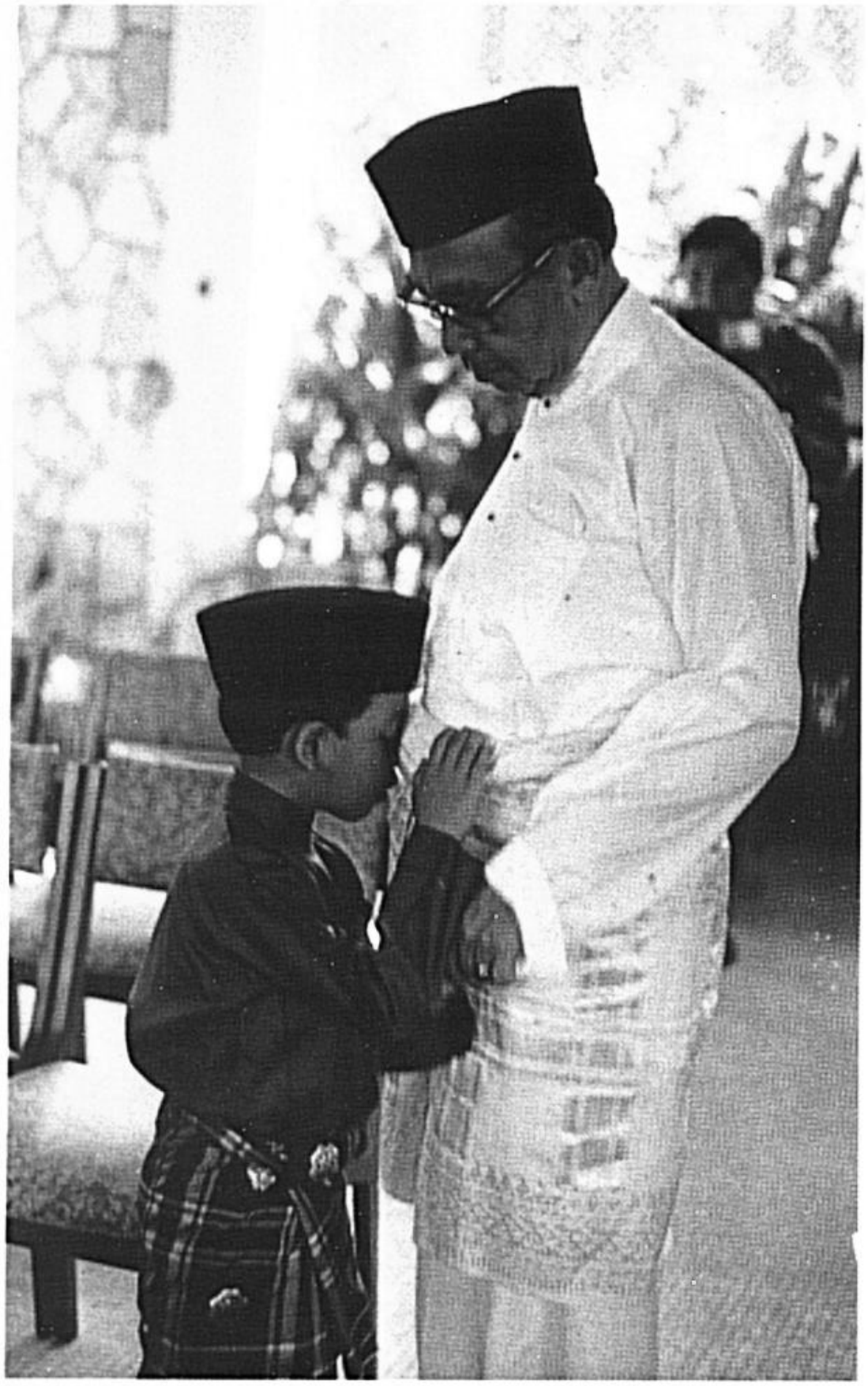
Sri Taman, located in Jalan Perdana, was the official residence of Abdul Razak from the day he took office as Deputy Prime Minister till his death. Now it is the Tun Razak Memorial.



Abdul Razak with family viewing a model home for Felda settlers which was placed in his back garden at Sri Taman on his 47th birthday.



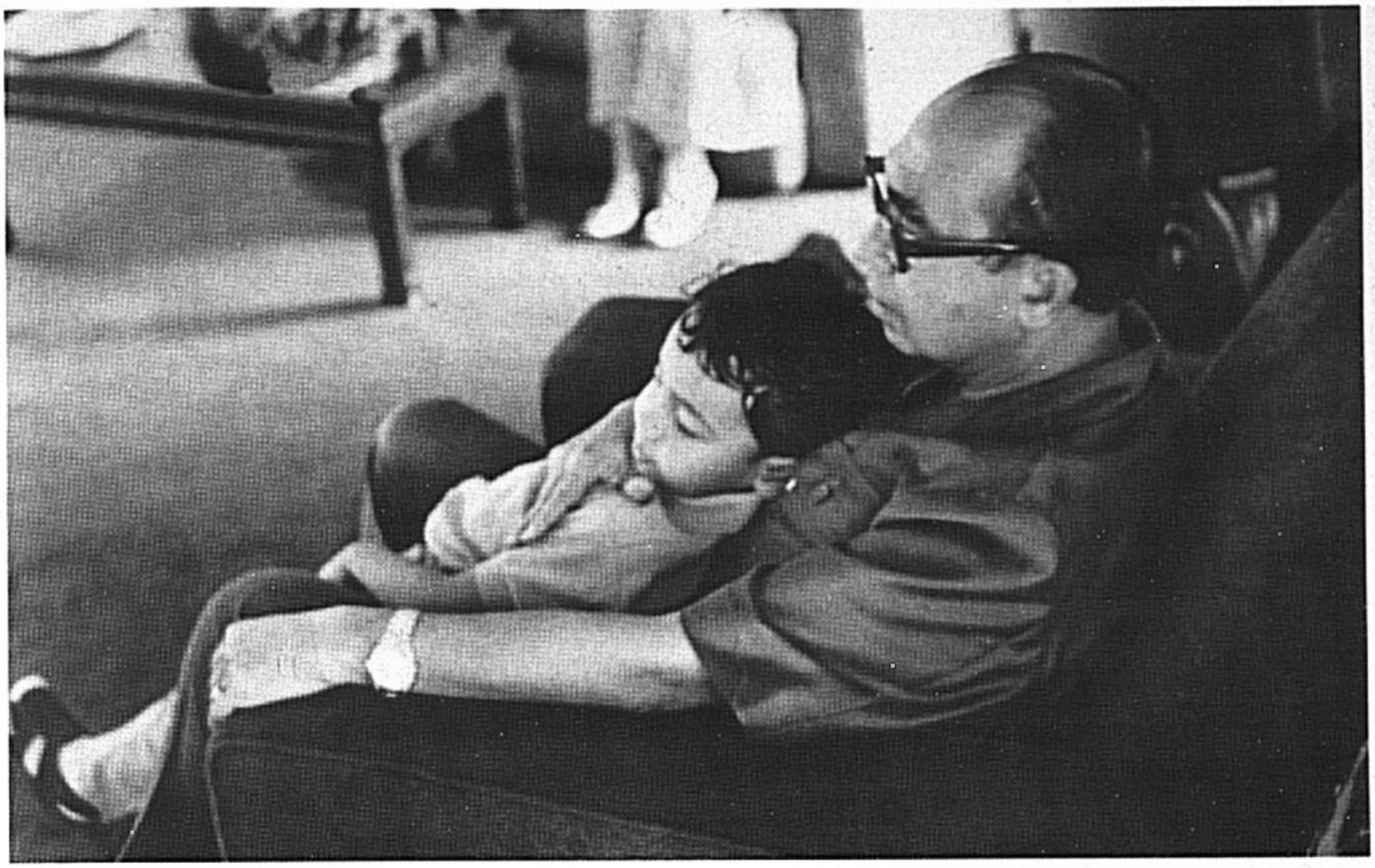
Education Minister Abdul Razak and Rahah in the 1950s, seen with their young sons Mohd Najib (right) and Ahmad Johari (left) at their residence in Kuala Lumpur.



A touching moment between Abdul Razak and his youngest son Mohamed Nazir, 5, during a function at Sri Taman on 16 January 1973. The warm relationship with his children was something which did not go unnoticed by press photographers who were always on the look-out for such moments during receptions at Sri Taman or when he was being received at the airport.



Abdul Razak taking Mohd Nizam in his arms while kissing Mohamed Nazim who were at the Royal Malaysian Air Force Airfield in Kuala Lumpur on 4 January 1966 to welcome their father back from a visit.



Mohamed Nazir grabbing a few moments with his father at Sri Taman on 18 July 1971 as he was waiting to award the prizes in the literary competition for the Silver Jubilee of UMNO Perak. Nazir was often seen to be close to Abdul Razak, but, said Rahah: "It is not that he had chosen him to be the favourite, but that's how it's like when you're the youngest."



A US information officer from Washington, Robert Sterling, showing Abdul Razak a piece of the moon rock brought back to earth by a US astronaut, at Sri Taman. Abdul Razak could not go to the moon rock exhibition, held at the National Museum courtesy of the US government in February 1970 as he was unwell. Also looking at the moon rock is Mohamed Nazim.





Rahah talking with Sharifah Roziah, wife of Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman at the Tunku's birthday party on 16 February 1967. The warmth between the two reflected the same warmth that existed between their husbands based on mutual respect built on years of friendship in London in the late 1940s. There Abdul Razak used to share a room with the Tunku, and frequently borrowed money from him.



Tunku Abdul Rahman, Abdul Razak, Rahah and Sharifah Roziah at a function in September 1972. The Tunku was always on Abdul Razak's guest list when he took over as Prime Minister.

A happy couple: Abdul Razak and Rahah greeting guests during *Hari Raya* celebration at Sri Taman on 6 June 1973.



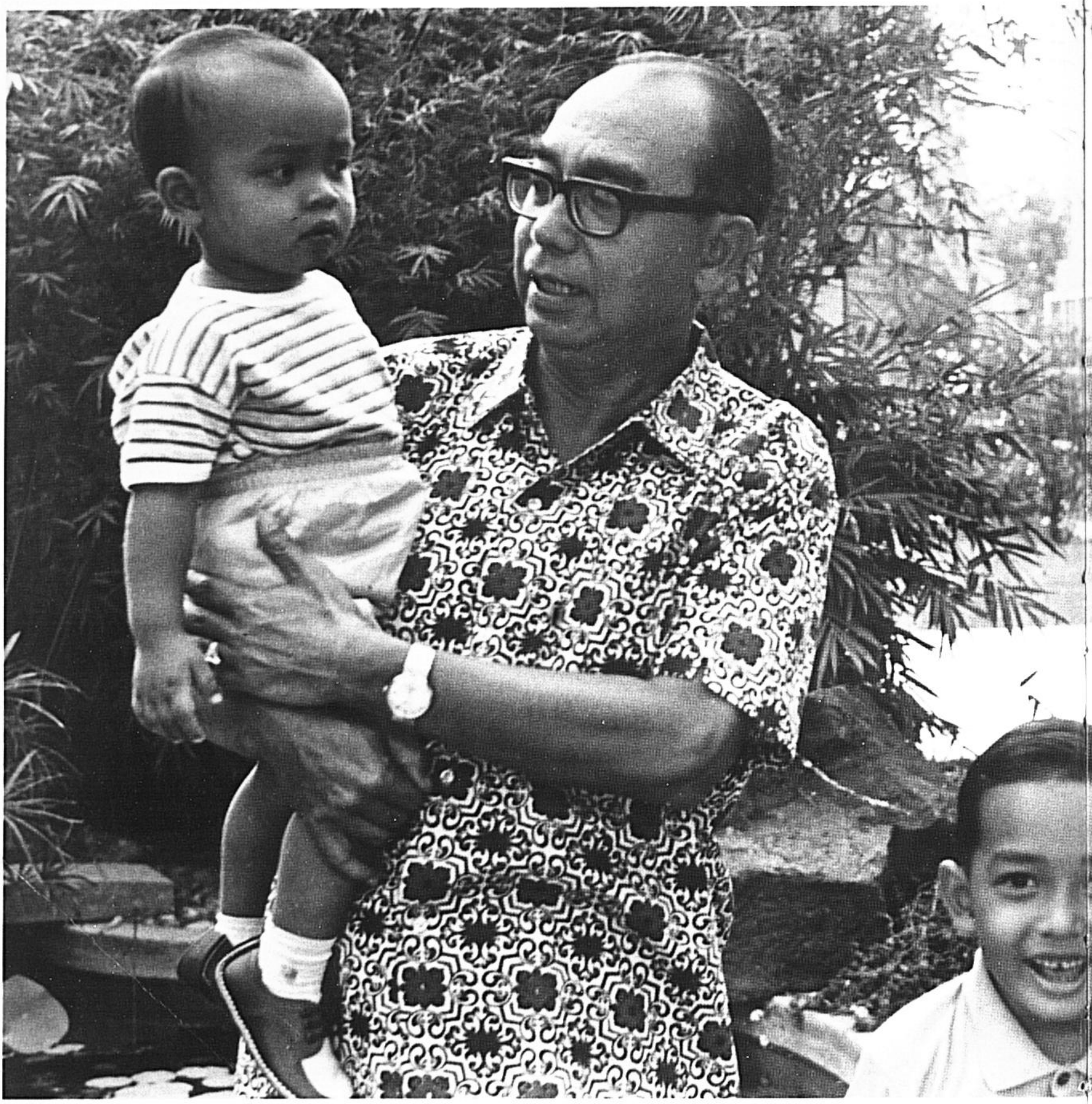


Abdul Razak with his family at Sri Taman on his 45th birthday. Then he had four sons.On the left is his eldest son, Mohd Najib, in his arms is Mohamed Nazim, at far right is his second son Ahmad Johari with Mohamed Nizam, the third son, beside him.



Abdul Razak and Rahah leading his team in a rowing competition against a team led by the Mayor of Kuala Lumpur Yaacob Latif (Tan Sri) on the opening of the reconstructed lake in the Lake Gardens, Kuala Lumpur on 1 March 1975. Now the lake is known as Tasik Perdana. The look of joy on Abdul Razak's face concealed the secret that he was keeping from his wife, the leukaemia that in 1975 was becoming a cause for concern.

Abdul Razak's eldest son Mohd Najib (centre) playing with his brothers, Mohamed Nazim (back), Mohamed Nizam (right), and Mohamed Nazir (front) in 1973.





By the time Abdul Razak reached his 46th birthday, he and Rahah were blessed with another son, Mohamed Nazir (seen here in the father's arms). Abdul Razak's desire for a daughter had not been fulfilled. He was with friends on 19 November 1966 when he was told of the birth of his fifth child. When asked for the child's sex, Abdul Razak replied, "No change." Nazir was to be his last child.





Golfing with his son Ahmad Johari while holidaying in Switzerland.



Dr MacPherson (left) who always accompanied Abdul Razak abroad. He kept the secret about Abdul Razak's leukaemia, something which even Abdul Razak's personal secretary Zakaria Ahmad (right) wasn't too sure about.

Among the pigeons with Rahah in Venice. On the left is his bodyguard DSP Amran bin Haji Ibrahim. Abdul Razak rarely spent holidays abroad with his family. He was very mindful of what people would say of him, even in matters that he was entitled to. However, in the early 1970s he took Rahah and their children on holiday in Europe, which included visits to Switzerland and Italy.



Abdul Razak enjoying the fresh air with Rahah while on holiday in the island of Bali, Indonesia, in 1974.



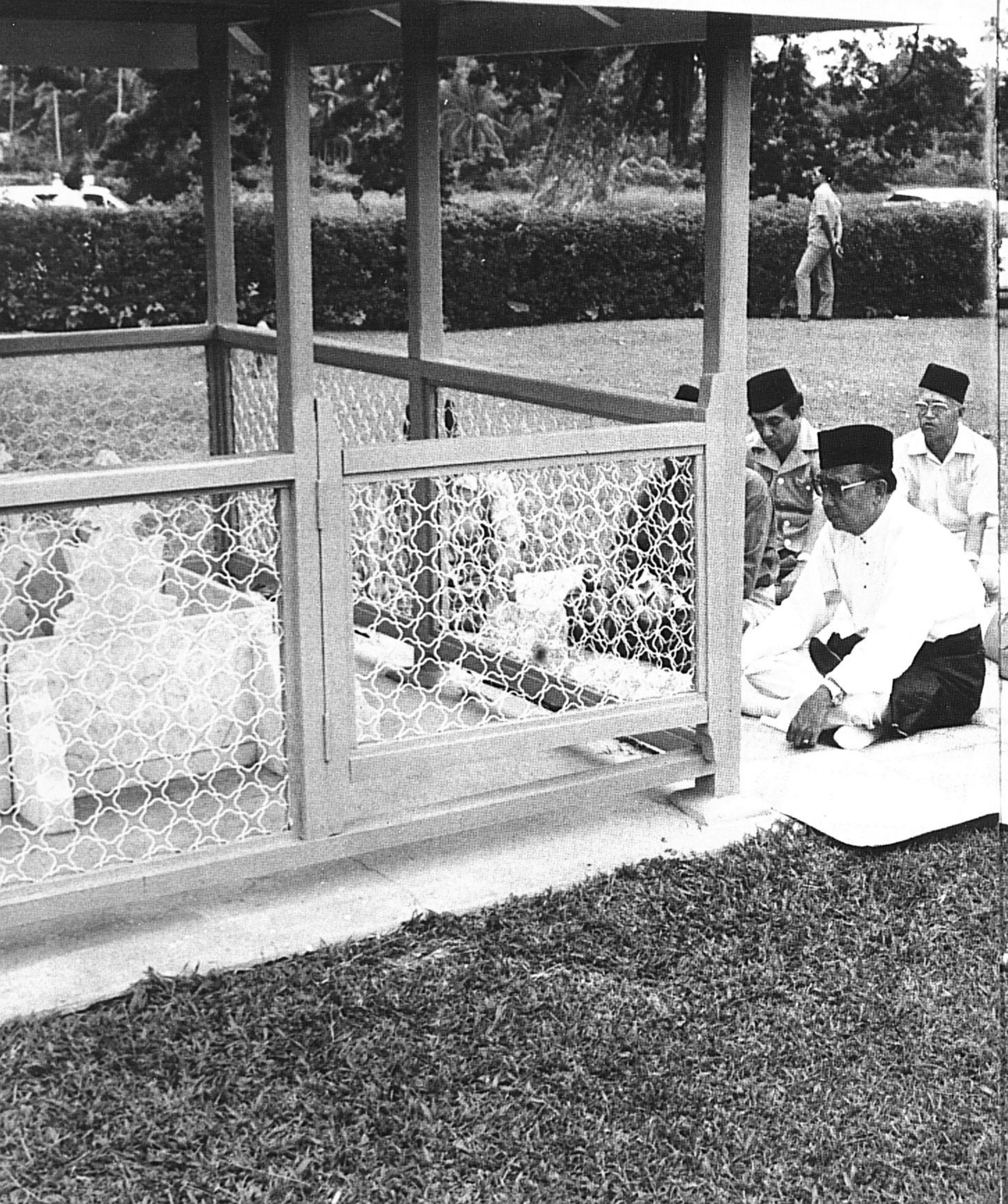
Saying farewell to his mother (standing to his left) Hajah Teh binti Daud who was leaving on a pilgrimage to Makkah on the ship 'KL' which was leaving Port Swettenham, Klang, on 23 March 1961.



Abdul Razak himself went on the pilgrimage on 11 May 1961.



And then a fond farewell to a beloved wife who left for the pilgrimage in Makkah in 1972.





Abdul Razak at the graveside of his mother Hajah Teh at the Muslim cemetery in Pekan, accompanied by his family and his brother-in-law Dato' Muhammad Jusoh, (sitting behind him, second from right) Menteri Besar of Pahang, in 1974.



Asking for Allah's blessings on his 46th birthday.

"I do not ask nor wish for very much, not even on my birthday. What I ask now is in fact my daily prayer ... the continued solidarity and goodwill among our multiracial and multi-religious people," he said on his 46th birthday.

"It so happened that poverty was endemic in the villages and the poor were the Malays. Razak's objective was national development which required him to correct the imbalance."

Thong Yaw Hong
Former Director General
Economic Planning Unit



People in the rural areas in the sixties could remember the joy of seeing their homes lit for the first time by electric light which replaced the flickering light of kerosene lamps; and water began to gush from pipes and was no longer sourced from wells or rivers for their everyday use such as drinking, bathing and washing.

The ridged footpaths in the paddy fields were replaced by earth tracks, and the muddy rural roads were surfaced with tar.

Womenfolk flocked to adult education classes at newly erected community halls in their kampungs to learn to read and write at an advanced age.

In the ten years between 1960 and 1970 more than three million adults throughout the country went through these classes to a whole new world of literacy.

Midwifery centres and health clinics sprouted everywhere in the rural areas.

A massive development project followed in this awakening. Forest areas were cleared for emigration, resettlement and pioneering projects by the landless who were given equal shares of land for living, rubber planting and fruit growing.

They entered a systematic and structured new life. Their working hours and rest periods were scheduled, they were paid according to the amount of work done, even though the land they worked on was theirs.

That was how Abdul Razak rearranged rural life throughout the country in the early sixties when he assumed the portfolio of Minister of National and Rural Development.

The ministry was set up in December 1959 but because of his other commitments as Defence and Home Affairs Minister in the war against communist terrorists, it was not until the state of Emergency was declared over on 31 July 1960 that Abdul Razak was able to assume his responsibilities there full time.

On 26 December 1959, in his New Year speech to the nation on Radio Malaya, Abdul Razak declared: "With improvement in the Emergency situation, the Alliance government has decided to give priority to the improvement of the lives of the kampung folk. To achieve this objective as quickly as possible, the government will use all resources available and will deploy them with the determination and strength that had been applied in freeing the country from communist terrorism."

father of development

Haunted by memories of backwardness and poverty during his childhood years in the kampung where he bathed in the river, was educated in a ramshackle schoolhouse with roofing of *nipah* leaves and flooring of earth, when he walked barefoot to school, Abdul Razak took this responsibility with full determination to lead his people from the bitter path that he himself had walked through.

He waged war against poverty as he had done against communist terrorists in the jungles.

The blueprint for development in each kampung was named 'The Red Book' because red reminded him of the Emergency, and red also stood for immediacy, and danger which had to be wiped out.

Walking stick ever in hand, Abdul Razak went on a meet-the-people tour, a journey which took him by land and by air, in a rowing boat or a motorised launch, on bicycle and on foot, to ensure that the development programme that he planned had reached the people.

In one year Abdul Razak visited no less than 45 State and 118 District Operations Rooms besides meeting the people on a journey which covered 40 000 to 60 000 miles.

He launched various campaigns to change the life philosophy and traditional attitudes of the Malays so that they would become active participants in the development programmes. Among these were the Forward Movement, the movement for Personal Success, and the Renewal Programme.

During the period of stagflation in 1974 he launched the Green Earth Project to give fresh impetus to the government's programme of involving the people in land use, short-term planting, communal farming, animal husbandry and the rearing of fresh water fish.

In the same year he opened a people's restaurant, the Restoran Rakyat, which was managed by his wife Rahah in Kuala Lumpur, to sell quality food at reasonable prices to the low income group.

Through the agencies of Felda and Felcra[1] Abdul Razak opened no less than 800 000 acres of land from Perlis to Sabah. These programmes resettled 85 000 families of 400 000 people.

His involvement in rural development earned him the title of 'Father of Development' among the people, but there were detractors who regarded him as a chauvinist for what they saw as a one-sided development which gave priority to his own people.

This view was not shared by Thong Yaw Hong, former Director General of the Economic Planning Unit at the Prime Minister's Department. Said Thong: "It so happened that poverty was endemic in the villages and the poor were the Malays. Razak's objective was national development which required him to correct the imbalances."[2]

Lt Gen Abdullah Samsudin was commander of the 6th Brigade in Sungai Petani, Kedah in 1973. He asked Abdul Razak why such a huge allocation was set aside for the development of New Villages whereas its occupants were Chinese people who were not government supporters. This was Abdul Razak's reply: "Don't forget that I have made greater allocations to those traditional villages."[3]

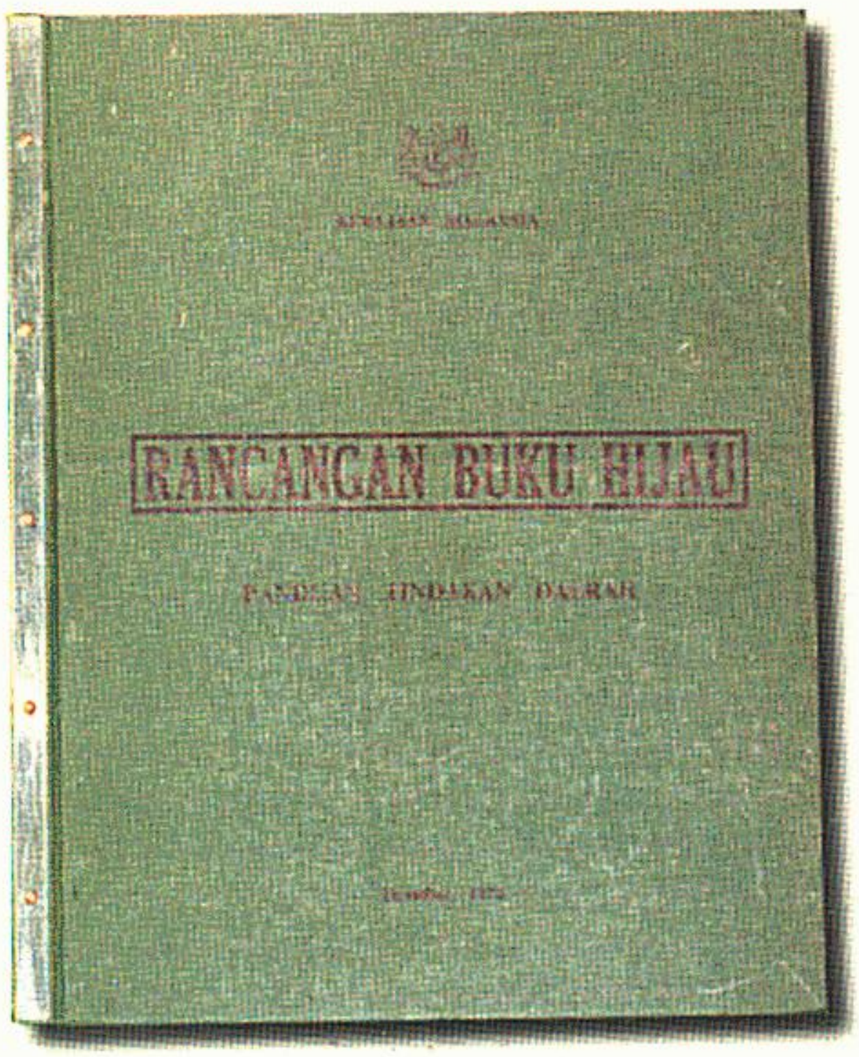
Added former Minister for Local Housing and Development of New Villages Michael Chen: "Razak was a fair man."[4]

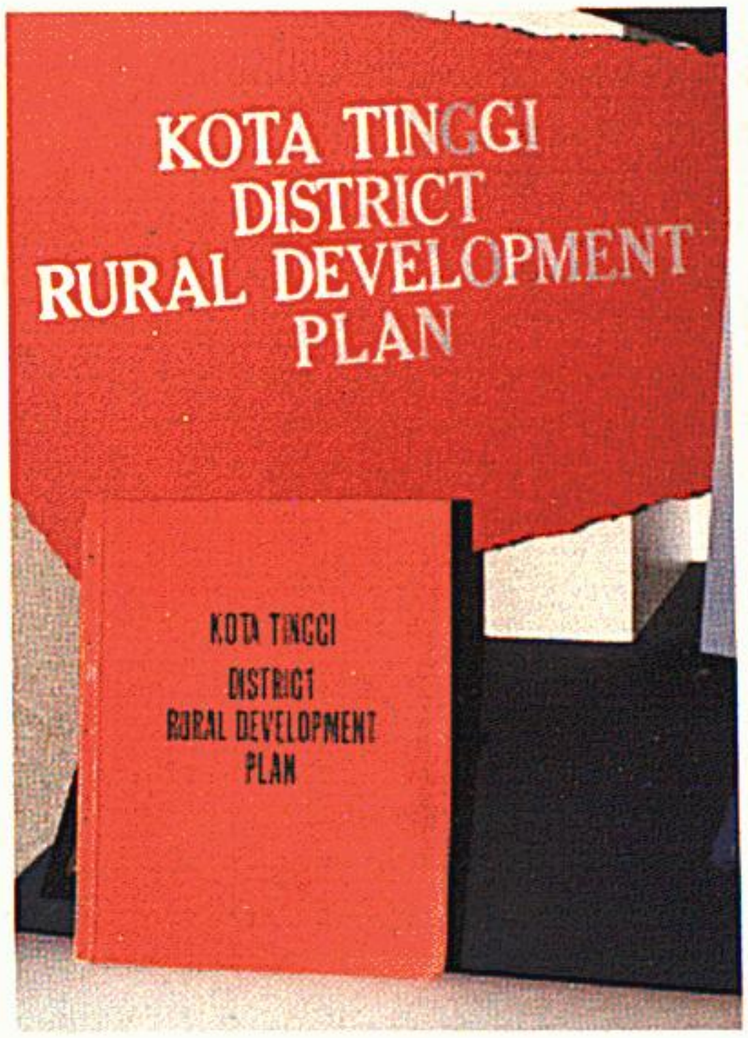
1. Felda: Federal Land Development Authority; Felcra: Federal Land Co-ordination and Reclamation Authority.
2. Interview with Tan Sri Thong Yaw Hong.
3. Interview with Lt Gen Datuk Abdullah Samsudin.
4. Interview with Datuk Michael Chen.


LAWATAN YANG AMAT BER
TUN ABDUL RAZAK
— 1 —
PAHANG=
1 KUANTAN
2 TEMERLOH
3 RAUB
4 BENTONG
5 PEKAN
6 CAMERON HIGHLANDS
7 JERANTUT
8 KUALA LIPIS
JOHORE=
1 JOHORE BAHRU
2 MUAR
3 BATU PAHAT
4 SEGAMAT
5 KLUANG
6 PONTIAN
7 MERSING
8 KOTA TINGGI
SELANGOR=
1 KUALA LUMPUR
2 KLANG
3 KUALA SELANGOR
4 ULU SELANGOR
5 ULU LANGAT
6 KUALA LANGAT
7 SABAK BERNAM
MALACCA=
1 JASIN
2 ALOR GAJAH
3 MCCA CENTRAL
PERAK=
PENANG=
1 BALIK PULAU
2 BUKIT MERTAJAM
3 MBONG TEBAL
4 BUTTERWORTH
PERLIS=
KANGAR
N. SEMBILAN=
1 SERENBAN
2 KUALA PILAH
3 JELEBU
4 PORT DICKSON
5 REMBAU
6 TAMPIN
TRENGGANU=
1 KUALA TRENGGANU
2 DUNGUN
3 MARANG
4 BESUT
5 ULU TRENGGANU
6 KEMAMAN
EFFECTIVE WORKING DAYS
TO IMPLEMENT FIVE-YEAR
PLAN
TIME WASTED
SICKNESS
SUNDAYS AND FRIDAYS



The National Operations Room at the Ministry of National and Rural Development in Jalan Dato Onn, Kuala Lumpur. From here Abdul Razak could feel the pulse of development throughout the land. This Operations Room was set up on 4 September 1961 as a nerve centre for national development. It is equipped with maps, charts, photos, films, diagrams and graphs relating to development at district and state levels. Abdul Razak said: "The purpose of this National Operations Room is not to feel the pulse of development that is still beating, but to detect places where it has stopped so that the causes of its obstruction can be traced and immediately rectified."





The Red Book containing various development projects in every district that is available at District and State level Operations Rooms throughout the land. This Book was introduced by Abdul Razak in 1960 as the primary guide for government officers in activating rural development projects such as road-building, drainage, the building of mosques, clinics, adult education centres, telephone lines and so on.

The Green Book is the government master plan to increase food production so that the nation would be self-sufficient.

Abdul Razak showing his itinerary of visits as Minister of National and Rural Development for the year 1962 during a meeting with District Officers and Supervisors of adult education classes from all over the country gathered at the National Operations Room on 12 October 1963. The planned visits would cover 45 State Operations Rooms and 118 at district level in a journey covering 43 000 miles by plane, rail, car, boat and on foot.

He reminded officers involved in the implementation of Malaysia's Second Five Year Plan (1961-1965) that there were only 1000 working days left because of the total number of 1825 days in the five-year plan, there were 700 days off for weekends (Friday, Saturday and Sunday), public holidays, sick leave and annual leave.

Under his schedule of visits is a pie chart showing these 'working' days and 'non-working' days during the five years.



Abdul Razak leading the way through a paddy field during a visit to Kampung Seng Kala, Raub, Pahang on 17 August 1961.

This trip would have brought back memories of his childhood days in a remote village when he trudged barefoot through paddy fields every day to attend the village school in Kampung Langgar, Pahang.



Villagers from Kampung Sungai Tok Pandak, Kangar assisting Abdul Razak on a makeshift walkway over muddy stagnant water to see for himself the living conditions of farmers in that village in November 1960. On 11 November 1960 he told the country's Deputy Rural Development Officers: "I myself shall visit the districts from time to time to see the result of development plans that are within the powers of the Deputy Development Officers." He asked them to compare their task with that of a postage stamp. "A postage stamp is useful and valuable so long as it remains affixed to the letter until it reaches the addressee. If not the stamp is worthless. Your work will only be valued and greatly appreciated if it brings the desired result."



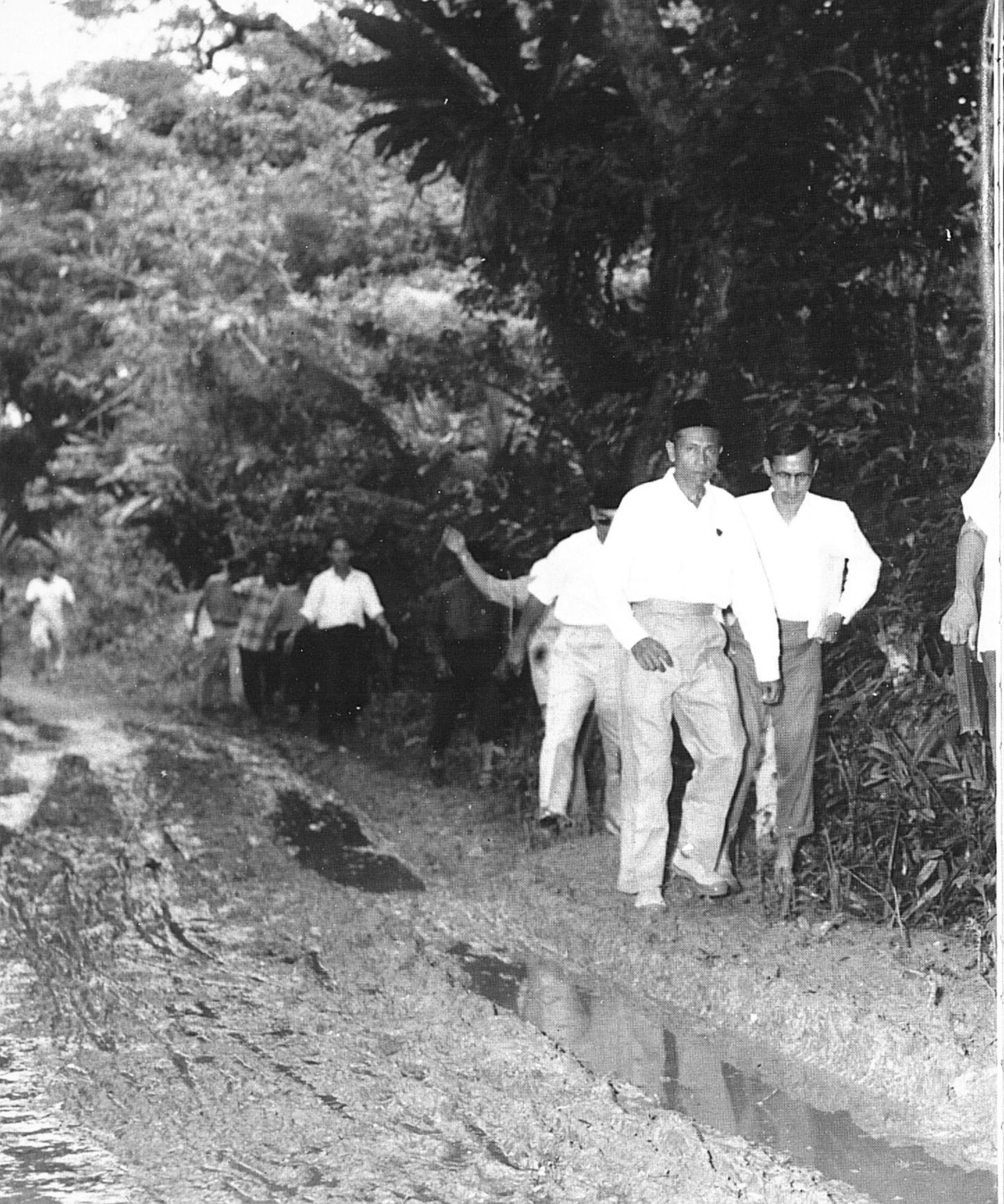
Travelling by boat with his officers to view the lock at the Sungai Padang canal project in Kangar. Sitting at the front with dark glasses is former British Military Administration (BMA) officer C.G. Ferguson who was chosen by Abdul Razak to be his Deputy Secretary at the Ministry of Rural Development. Ferguson used his experience to help Abdul Razak set up the Rural Development National Operations Room, using military strategy to fight poverty. Ferguson was a fluent Malay speaker skilled with the *pantun* (Malay quatrains).



Abdul Razak visiting the Gertak Sanggul road project in Penang in September 1961. Standing on the left is Penang Chief Minister Wong Pow Nee.



Wielding a walking stick on a bridge made from coconut trunks after a visit to Kampung Soi, Kampung Sepat, Kampung Penor and Kampung Pahang in Kuantan on 12 April 1964. In one of those villages he visited an adult education class. In 10 years Abdul Razak gave the gift of literacy to more than three million adults through these classes, launched in 1961, throughout the country.





On 16 December 1961 Abdul Razak walked more than two miles along muddy and slippery roads through thick undergrowth to reach Kampung Paya Luas in Kuala Kurau Pahang to see for himself the construction of a road linking Paya Luas to the main road in Kuala Kurau.





His joy at being able to talk and listen to the problems of kampung folk is clearly visible on his face. Here Abdul Razak is seen during a visit to a new road construction project in Bukit Gantang in the district of Larut and Matang on 22 July 1960.

Note the children's clothing in the 1960s, some wearing the *sarong* and walking barefoot. Some of these children would most certainly have gone on to successful careers as officers and business people after benefiting from the Rural Development Policy, the *Bumiputera* Policy and the New Economic Policy.



On a visit to an area ravaged by floods outside Kota Bharu on 7 January 1967. Among the villages visited by Abdul Razak was Kampung Bunut Payung. Accompanying him is Kelantan Menteri Besar Asri Haji Muda (extreme left) and Public Works, Post and Telecoms Minister Sardon Jubir (third from right).





Arrival by train at Bukit Besi, in Dungun, with Terengganu Menteri Besar Ibrahim Fikri to see the problems of iron mining, an industry in the doldrums in 1964.





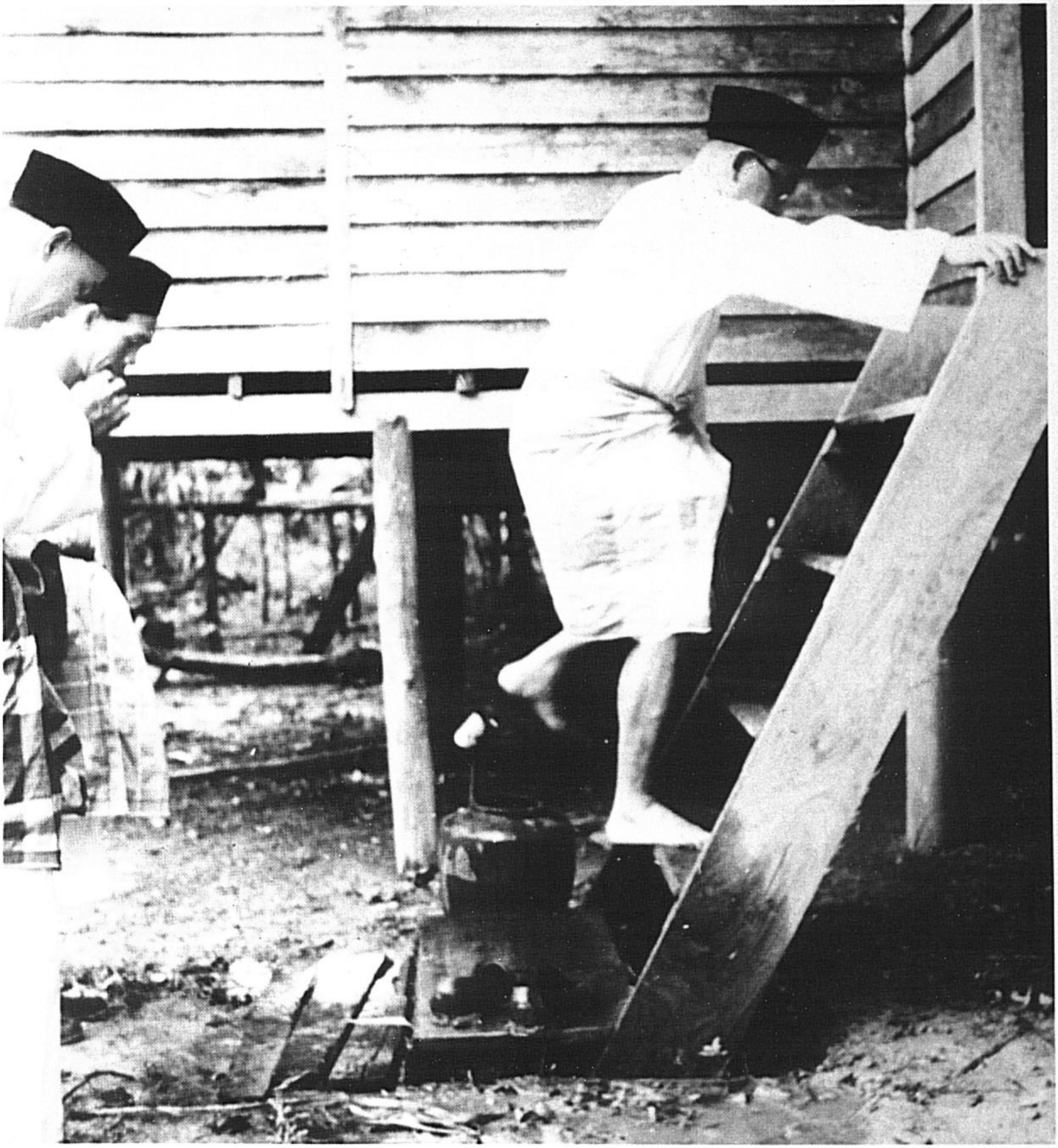
Watching villagers in a self-help project under *Gerakan Jayadiri* (Personal Success Movement) in Kuala Pilah, 1974.



Abdul Razak visiting the Bachok parliamentary constituency, then represented by PAS deputy leader Zulkifli Mohamad, to receive briefing and to see for himself progress in rural development in the area. Zulkifli (seated left) was killed in a road accident near Basrah, Pahang after the 1964 elections. To Abdul Razak's left is Wan Abdul Kadir bin Wan Ismail, UMNO Information Officer who once held the post of Information Minister. In his desire to take development to the people, Abdul Razak was oblivious to political differences. In fact, as he said in an interview published by The Sunday Times, 19 September 1971: "I would like to do in Kelantan what I have done for people in other states, to bring development projects, to open up land for the people, build roads, clinics, schools ..."



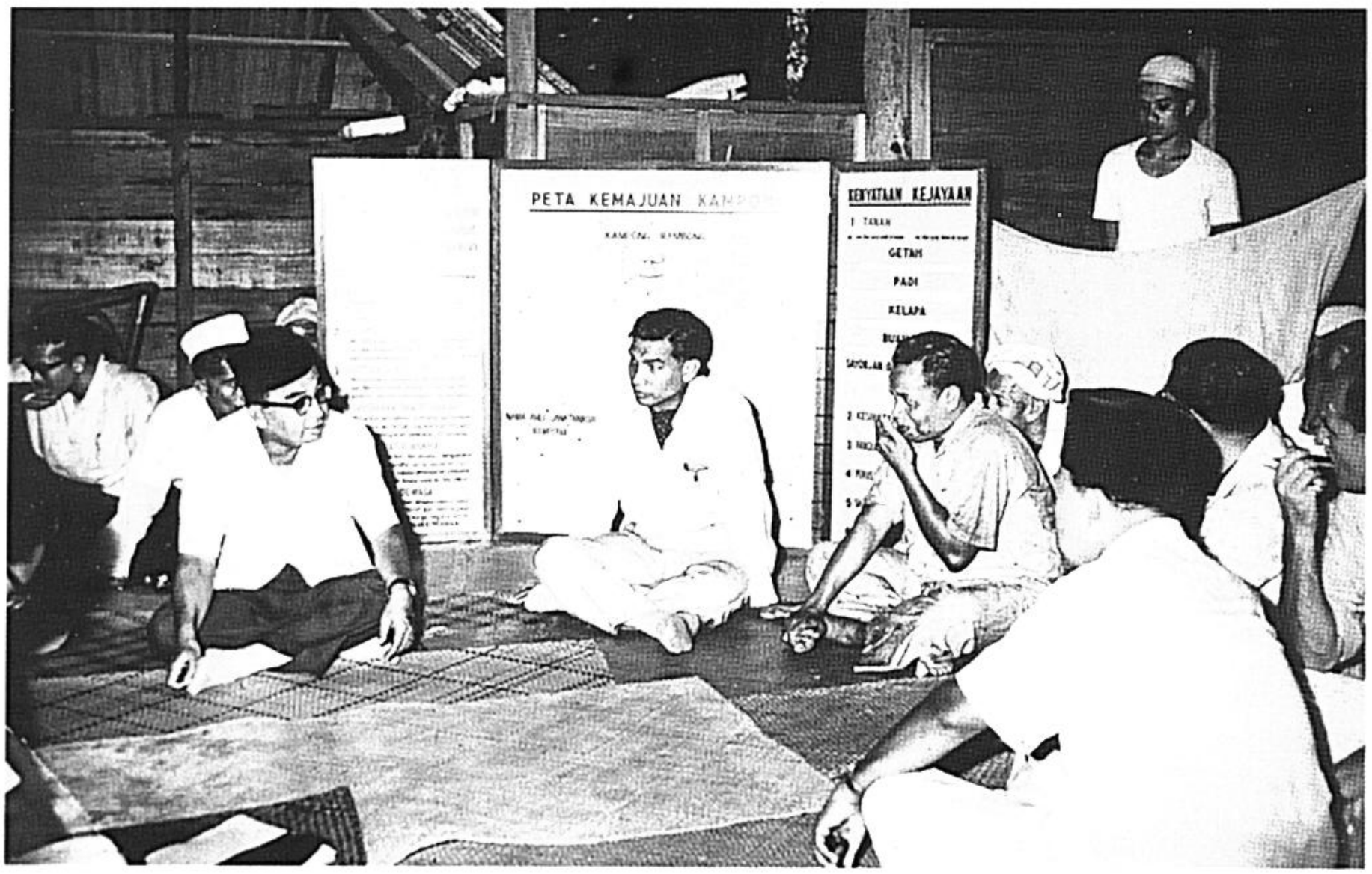
Abdul Razak asking the District Officer of Kemaman, Taib Ali, about rural development projects in his district during his visit on 7 April 1964. Some district officers feared the prospect of being questioned by Abdul Razak during one of his visits because of the probing nature of his questions and his ability to detect any attempts at concealing weaknesses and failures in the implementation of projects.



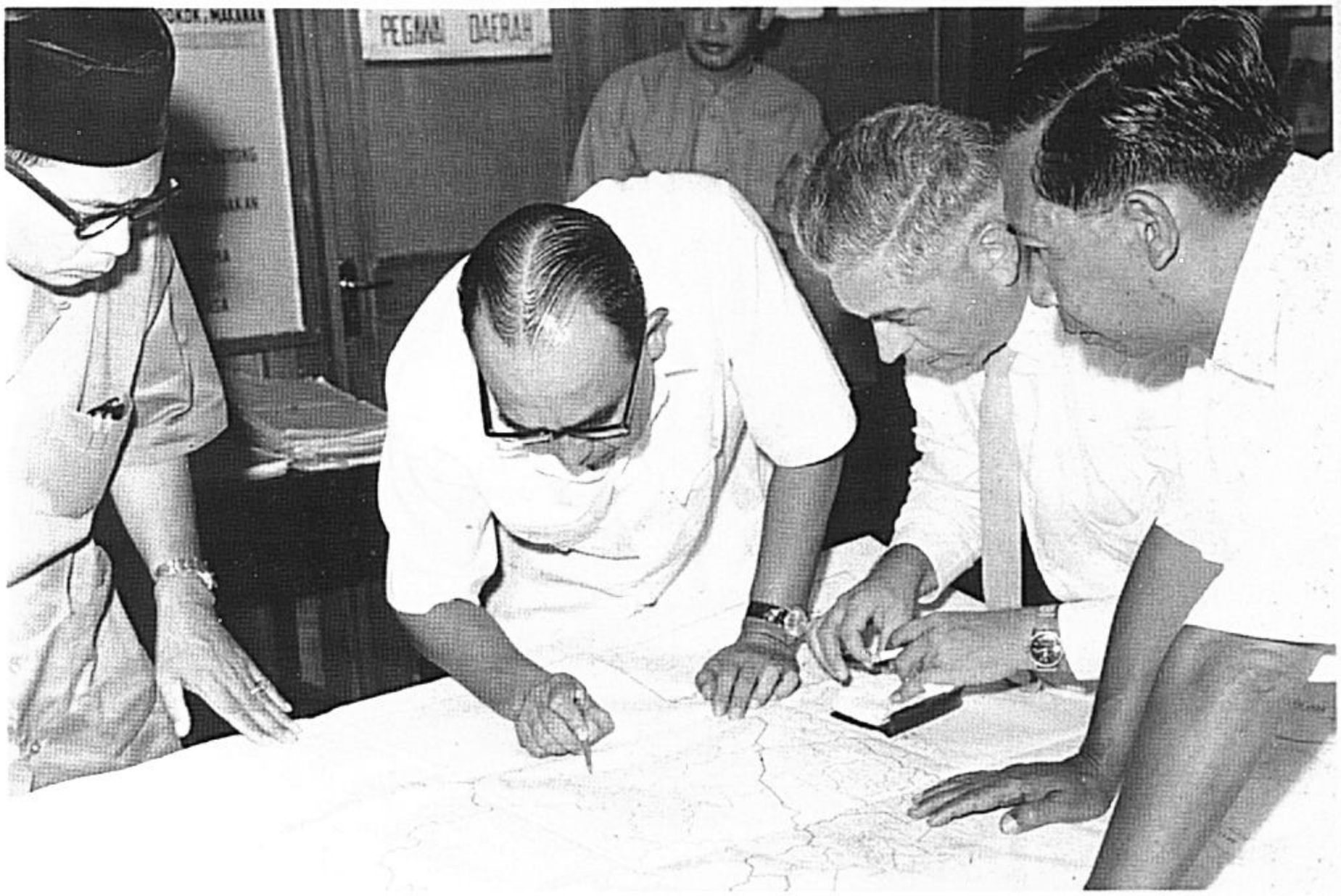
Visiting a village house in Endau during the 1959 general elections campaigns.



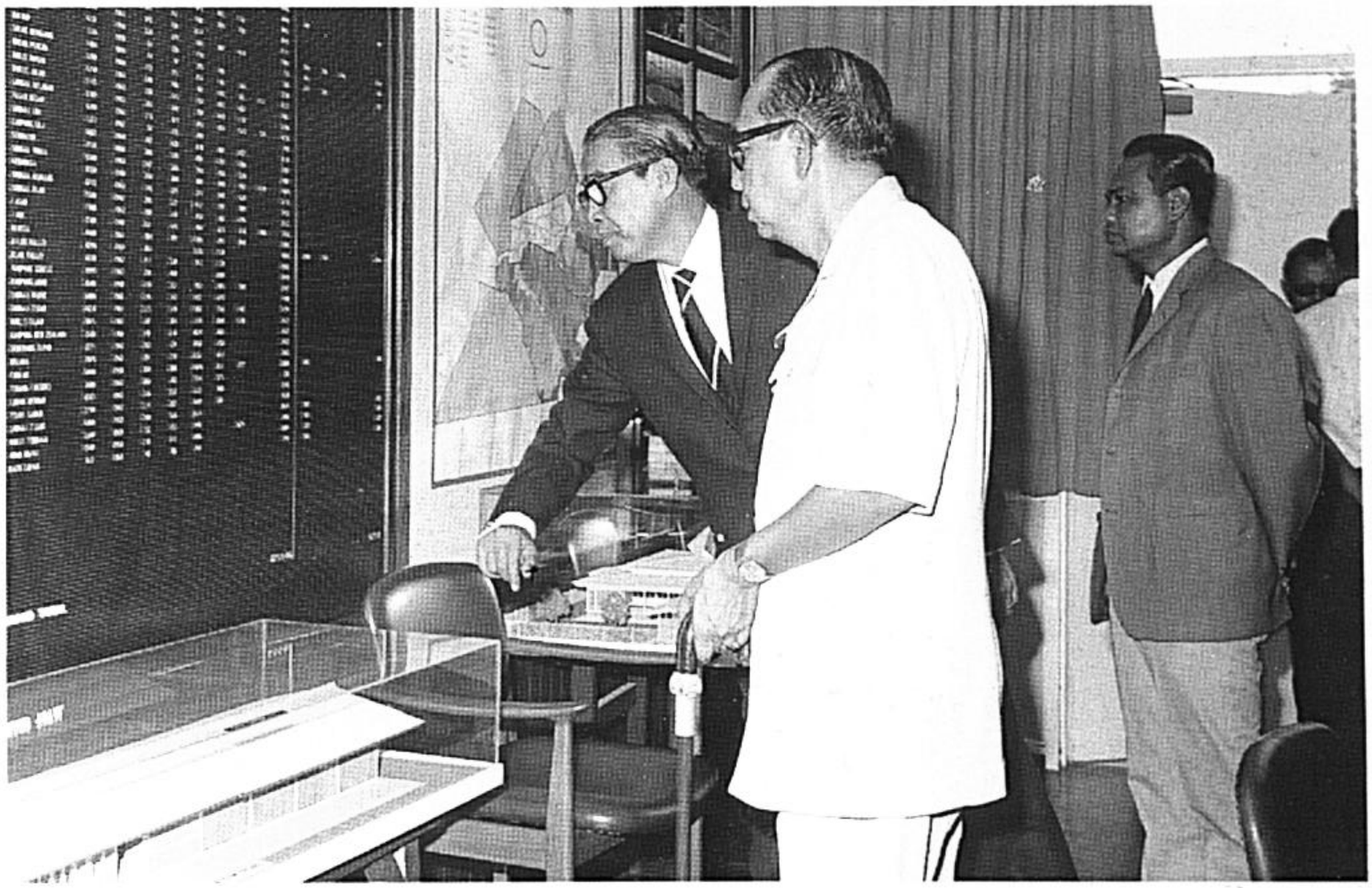
After opening a metalled road in Kampung Parit Haji Yusof, in Krian, Perak, Abdul Razak rode pillion on a resident's motor-scooter to test the new thoroughfare in January 1969.



With the member of parliament and residents of Kampung Rambong in Baling on 12 September 1961, during his visit to the village to instil the spirit of self-help among villagers.



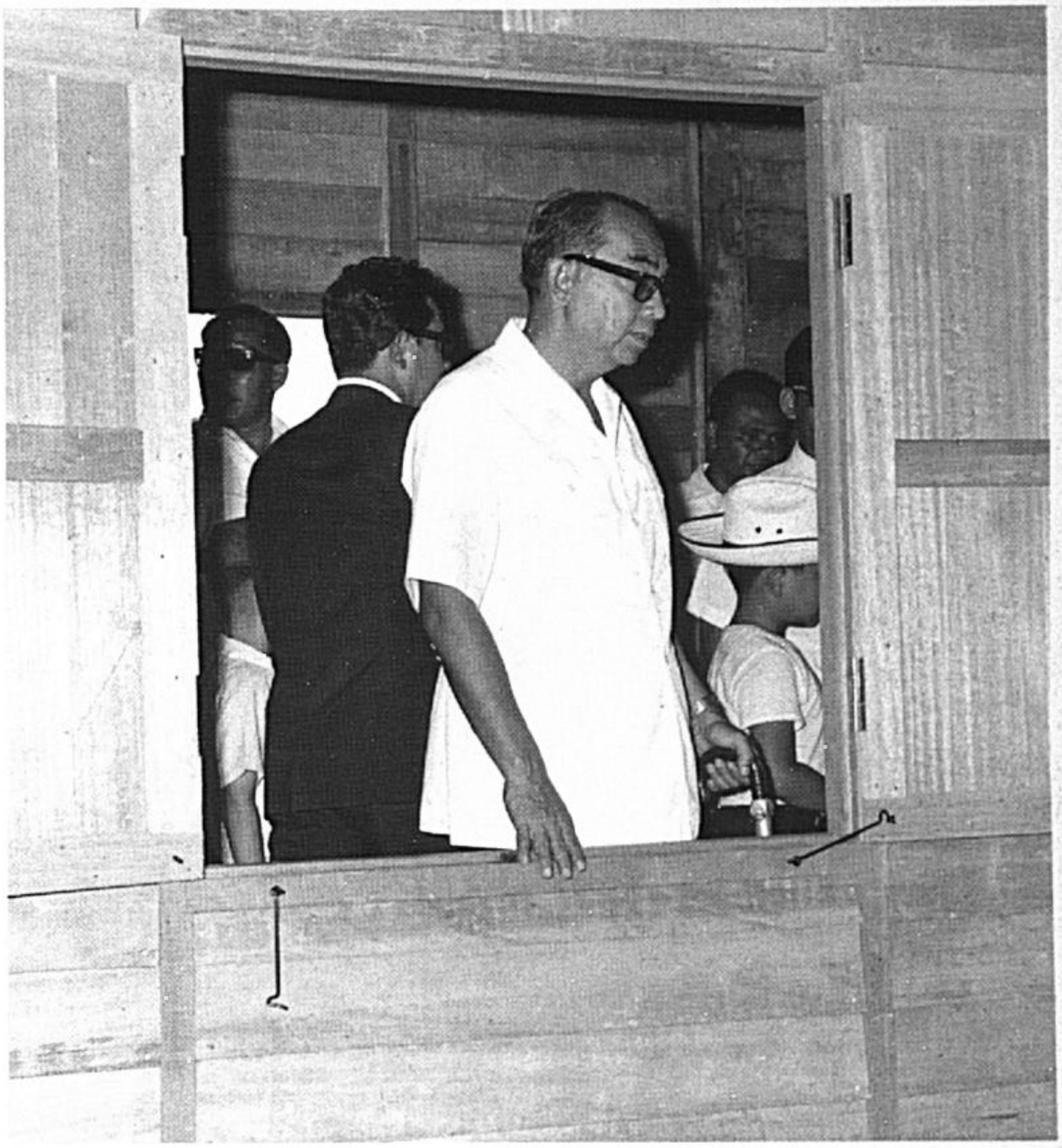
Looking closely at the progress of a development project in Dungun after listening to a report from Terengganu state engineer R.L. Stewart. Looking in from the right is Terengganu Menteri Besar Ibrahim Fikri.



Abdul Razak being briefed by Felda chairman Taib Andak on the progress of Felda projects. Behind Abdul Razak is Ghafar Baba. There are some who believe that the project owed its success to Taib Andak who, as Abdul Razak's close friend, received his full confidence. Taib was able to carry out his duties smoothly without much political interference.







Abdul Razak visiting a MARA low-cost house in Bukit Kati during his visit to Perlis in July 1968. It looks as if he is asking: "Are we going to live here forever?"

Twenty years after his death, the living standard of the people has improved much. Many of the Felda settlers' homes have been transformed and their children have gone to institutions of higher learning to graduate as successful professionals and entrepreneurs.



Visiting the early stages of the Felda scheme in Kampung Awah, Pahang. Behind him are homes constructed for the settlers.

Felda was the most successful of Abdul Razak's projects to transform the lives of kampung folk from poor landless farmers to wealthy growers of rubber, oil palm and properly managed fruit orchards on land given to them for more economic production. Felda was 10 years old when Abdul Razak died in 1976. In the 1990s many Felda settlers in some states became millionaires when their land was used for housing development.



Two cartoons published by the Straits Times newspaper in the early 1960s showing Abdul Razak launching the Second Malaysia Plan as another emergency measure, this time to combat poverty in the rural areas. Looking on during the launch are Pas President Dr Burhanuddin Al-Hilmy (second from right behind the statue), People's Progressive Party (PPP) leader Dr Seenivasagam (far left) and General Secretary of the Malaysian People's Party, Ahmad Boestamam (chequered shirt).



Abdul Razak with his rural development projects in hand, looking on with Finance Minister Tan Siew Sin as his financier. The objective of this plan was to bring modernisation and urbanisation to the villages.



Unveiling a plaque to commemorate the opening of the Muda Dam project in Kedah on 26 April 1969. This project, costing RM228 million, was one of the biggest in Southeast Asia. It enabled the double-cropping of paddy which increased the income of Kedah farmers. According to the Deputy Director of the Economic Planning Unit at the Prime Minister's Department Thong Yaw Hong, this project benefited not only the Malay farmers but also many Chinese rice growers in Kedah.



Scattering fertiliser with the paddy farmers during the Personal Success campaign in Tanjung Karang, Selangor, in 1968.



Among the many amenities taken to the kampungs under the Rural Development Plan in the 1960s was the telephone service. Here Abdul Razak is seen trying to make a call from a telephone booth in Kuala Selangor.



Meeting with leaders of the Women's Institute at the National Operations Room on 4 December 1963. Abdul Razak urged the women's leaders in urban areas to play a role in instilling consciousness towards the government's development programme among rural womenfolk.



Abdul Razak's wife Rahah as chairman and manager of the people's restaurant, Restoran Rakyat, having a meeting with the restaurant committee. The Restoran Rakyat, established in 1974, was situated opposite the City Hall at the suggestion of Abdul Razak who wanted to help people of low income in the city to afford good and nutritious food at reasonable cost when the country was facing a period of high inflation.



Speaking at the foundation-stone laying ceremony at the MARA building in Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur, on 6 June 1965. Seated, front row from right, Information Minister Senu Abdul Rahman, Sarawak Affairs Minister Temenggung Jugah, Education Minister Mohd Khir Johari, Public Works, Post and Telecoms Minister Sardon Jubir, Land and Mines Minister Abdul Rahman Yaacob, Selangor Menteri Besar Harun Idris and Pahang Menteri Besar Yahya Mohd Sheikh.



Bank Bumiputra was established with a RM5 million starting capital from the government following a resolution taken at the First Bumiputera Congress. Abdul Razak opened an account at the bank to commemorate its opening in Kuala Lumpur on 14 October 1966. He is handing his deposit to the first Managing Director of the bank Mohammad Razlan bin Abdullah, watched by Company Secretary Mohd Ros Mohd Ali.





Opening the second Bumiputera Economic Congress at the Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur, on 17 September 1968. Abdul Razak is flanked by MARA chairman Ghafar Baba (to his left) and Raja Mohar Badiozaman (to his right) who chairs the meeting.



A committee to implement the resolutions of the second Bumiputera Economic Congress was set up under the chairmanship of Abdul Razak himself to review the effective implementation of all the resolutions from time to time. Abdul Razak chaired a meeting of the committee on 17 December 1968. From right to left were cabinet ministers Ghazali Jawi, Ghafar Baba, Abdul Rahman Yaacob, Senu Abdul Rahman and Sardon Jubir. According to Abdul Rahman Yaacob, the meeting discussed the growing Malay dissatisfaction over weaknesses in the implementation of the resolutions of the first Congress by the Economic Planning Unit (EPU) and the Central Bank under Governor Ismail Ali.



Director of the MARA Institute of Technology (ITM) Arshad Ayub showing a model of the ITM building during Abdul Razak's visit to the building site on 11 February 1969, a year after he had laid its foundation-stone at Batu Tiga, Jalan Klang, Selangor. The ITM was successful in fulfilling Abdul Razak's aspiration to see young Malays, especially those from the rural areas, entering the professions, business and industry. Abdul Razak was noted as a talent-scout of skill. Arshad Ayub, a progressive and high-minded civil servant who was seconded to the ITM played an effective role in planning a productive curriculum and in recruiting a dynamic teaching staff to produce quality graduates. Memories of Arshad as a firm and assertive first Director of ITM is cherished by many former students of the institute.



Abdul Razak was proud of his Operations Room. Almost all state visitors, from monarchs to presidents to prime ministers were taken to this room to receive a briefing on the country's rural development. The Shah of Iran and his wife Farah Diba are seen here listening to Abdul Razak during their visit to the Operations Room during their state visit in January 1968.



Saudi Arabian monarch Al-Malik Faisal visiting the National Operations Room on 8 June 1970.

‘Abdul Razak had thrown in his lot with the Tunku when the latter issued the ultimatum: “Choose between me and Mahathir” during UMNO’s political crisis in 1969 even though he (Abdul Razak) had a high regard for Mahathir.’

The writer



Since his schooldays Abdul Razak bin Hussein had incorporated political struggle into his philosophy of life. He chose UMNO, a moderate Malay political party as a platform to achieve his mission for his people, his religion and his country on his return as a Barrister at Law from Lincoln's Inn in London in 1950.

In politics Abdul Razak established a bond of friendship with Tunku Abdul Rahman for more than 20 years going back to the days of struggle for Independence to the time when they could determine the pattern of government espousing a free market economy, relentless in its fight against communism and extremism, and determined in its aspiration towards a multiracial society.

As the Tunku was held aloft as the 'Father of Independence', so Abdul Razak, the person who made his name in his reconstruction of the urban and rural economy, was given the title of 'Father of Development' by the people.

From his early days he had shown a talent in politics as the hidden trouble-shooter, smooth and effective in reaching his objectives, in his handling of crises and in overcoming situations which were critical. This aspect of his character could be seen in his handling of, among others, the National Education Policy (the Razak Report, 1956), rural development, the formation of Malaysia, the dismissal of Singapore from Malaysia, the *Konfrontasi* with Indonesia, the May 13 incident, the implementation of the New Economic Policy, the Sabah crisis, and the case of Datuk Harun.

He favoured the politics of accommodation to that of confrontation; in turning foes into friends by using the power and influence that were at his disposal and by showing respect for law and the Constitution.

The height of his political career was when he assumed the task of Director of National Operations during the May 13 incident in 1969. Parliament was then suspended and government rule was by decree. Discussions on sensitive issues were banned, public loyalty was inculcated through the *Rukun Negara*, and the hopes and faith of the people were restored through the New Economic Policy, the return to Parliamentary rule and the coalition of political parties, including opposition parties, in a National Front government.

aspects of his struggle

In style and approach Abdul Razak was seen as a strategist and tactician with consummate diplomatic skill, and as a democrat who remained steadfast to the principle of rights and justice.

Despite his firm belief in the principle of Malay hegemony, Abdul Razak was uncompromising in his espousal of the policy of balance and justice in a multiracial society.

He laid the foundations for many national institutions which became strong bases for the way forward towards a balanced share of the national economy, political harmony and peace in the country.

All the institutions that have been inherited from him continue to perform their useful functions, to expand and to bring profitable returns. They have enriched the poor, produced many educated and learned citizens, and increased the number of those with professional qualifications. They have also transformed small firms into large corporations and conglomerates. These achievements go to prove that Abdul

Razak was a visionary far ahead of his time.

The Federal Land Development Authority (Felda) and the Federal Land Co-ordination and Reclamation Authority (Felcra) gave prosperity to the landless kampung folk. MARA, the council for the indigenous people; ITM, the Mara Institute of Technology; UKM, the National University of Malaysia; and Bank Bumiputra, all begot Malays of talent and great capability. Then there is Petronas, the National Petroleum Agency now so imbued with skills so as to be able to extend its operations abroad; UDA, the Urban Development Authority, is still spearheading *bumiputera* participation in urban development; and there is PERNAS, the national foundation now transformed into PERNAS International Holdings Limited.

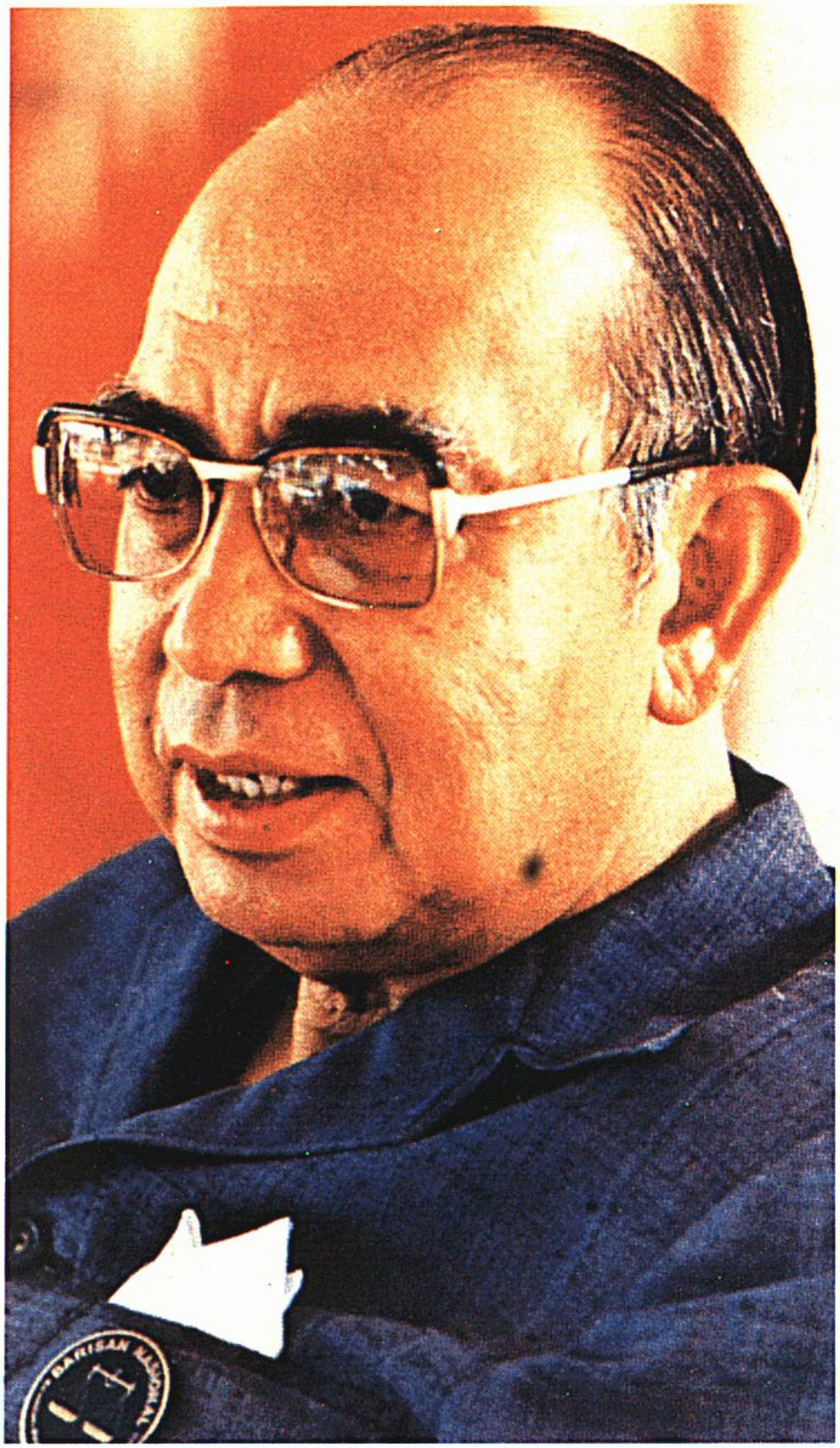
It was also under Abdul Razak's dictate that the Malaysian airline company was set up in March 1971 and given the name Malaysian Airlines (MAL) as precursor to MAS (Malaysia Airlines System) that it became in October. This new name was chosen by Abdul Razak himself from a list of names submitted by the management when the name MAL was found to be unsuitable.

The New Economic Policy that he introduced shaped a new identity for the people of Malaysia in less than 30 years. This eliminated the identification of races in Malaysia according to their economic function. The Malays who were fishermen, farmers or rural workers are now at the forefront of economic development with the Indians and the Chinese. They are in business, industry and in the professions.

Abdul Razak's inclination to solve the problems of his own people did not lead him into desperate measures for their resolution.

He was the utmost nationalist who wanted Malaysia's multiracial society to grow in a balanced and healthy way.

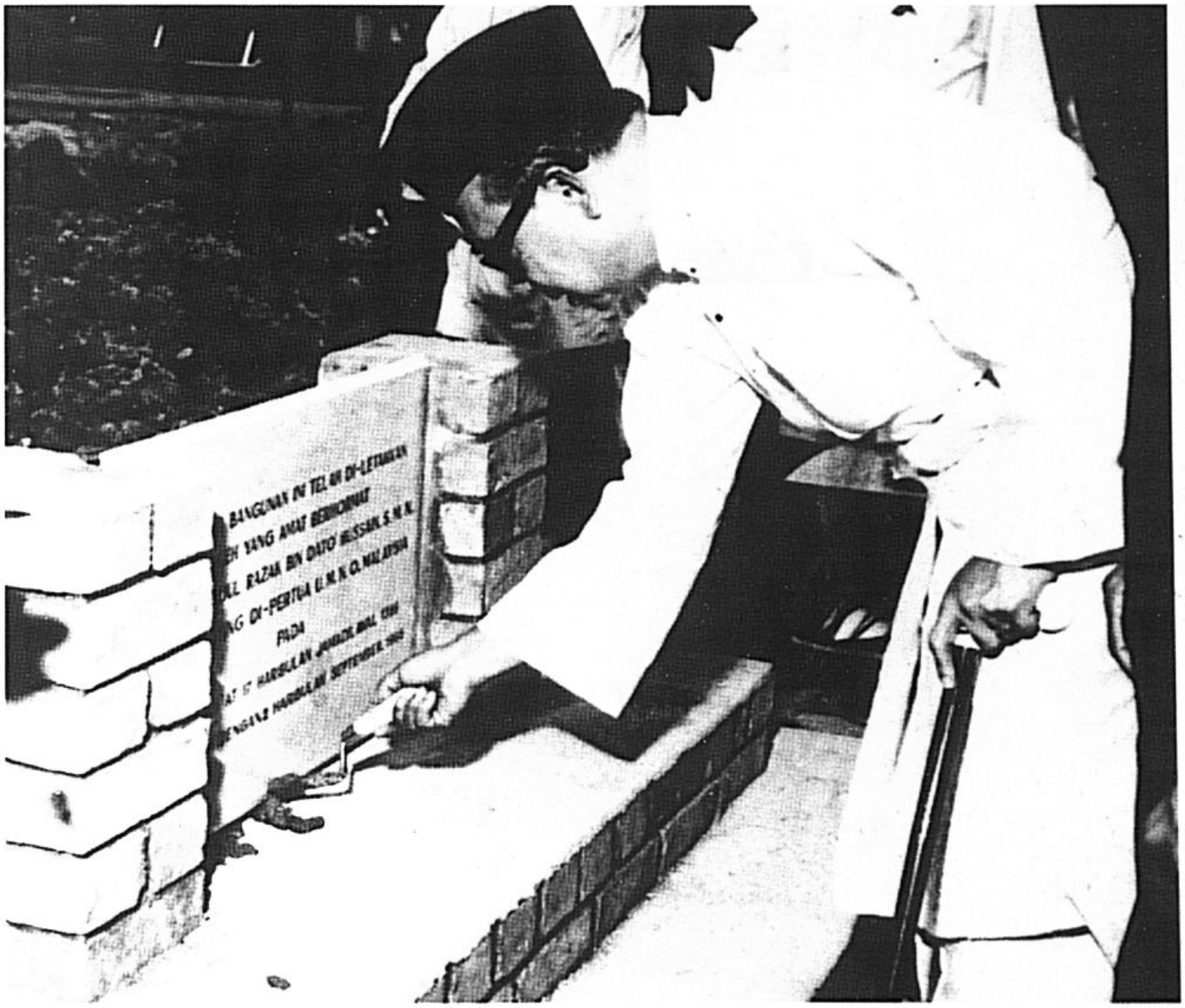
Most of all, Abdul Razak was, without doubt, a visionary par excellence in the nation's history because much of our glorious achievements today have been built on the foundations that he had laid.



Abdul Razak went to the people for the first time during the general elections of 1974 to seek a mandate for the newly formed National Front (*Barisan Nasional*) which used the weighing scale as a symbol. He was the architect of the National Front, a coalition of parties which formed state governments after the National Operations Council (NOC) was dissolved in 1971.



Abdul Razak, Tunku Abdul Rahman and Dr Ismail, the triumvirate of power in Malaysia who together shaped the path of independent Malaysia as an anti-communist nation believing in the free market policy, non-extremism and racial co-existence. Here they are pictured at the UMNO general assembly, in 1959.



Abdul Razak laying the foundation-stone to the UMNO headquarters building in Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur, on 2 September 1960. This building was used until January 1986 when UMNO moved to its new 41-storey headquarters in Jalan Tun Ismail, Kuala Lumpur. This new building cost RM368 million.



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BELIA-BELIA MELAYU DENGAN PERSURATAN.

PADA keluaran THE MALAY-COLLEGE MAGAZINE kali ini tergerak hati sahaya hendak menuliskan sadikit bagi pandangan sahaya di-atas belia-belia Melayu yang berpelajaran Inggeris zaman sekarang di-dalam bahagian persuratan bahasa-nya. Maka di-harapkan boleh kira-nya di-buasa yang lapang bagi menjadi bachaan saudara-saudara sakalian yang maseh di-bangku sekolah-nya lagi sa-mentara tempoh menempoh dunia kerana melayarkan bahtera kehidupan belum tiba ketika-nya. Mudah-mudahan, pada suatu masa di-hadapan kelak, dapat-lah kita bersama-sama melihat bertambah banyak bilangan orang-orang muda kita yang bekerja kûat bagi menegapkan semangat sama-sama bangsa-nya kerana watan kita Semenanjong yang di-kasehi ini.

Ada pun nampak-nya kebanyakan pemuda-pemuda Melayu zaman sekarang ini yang sudah bersekolah Inggeris konon tidak-lah berapa lagi mengendahkan akan buku-buku dan surat-suratan sa-umpama surat khabar dan majallah bahasa-nya sendiri. Ada yang memikirkan, bahawa dengan sebab memegang surat khabar Melayu di-hadapan mata orang ramai boleh jadi jatoh mutu dan darjah diri-nya, dan sa-tengah-nya berkata, surat-surat khabar Melayu tiada berisi ilmu pengetahuan yang boleh menghidupkan semangat dan fikiran yang bernas. Maka yang lebeh ta' elok-nya lagi ia-lah menchercha pula dengan perkataan mengatakan surat-surat khabar dan barang sa-bagai-nya yang ada dalam bahasa Melayu penoh dengan chakap-chakap kosong dan perkara-perkara yang ta' ka-mana sampai-nya.

Maka sunggoh pun ada juga sadikit benar-nya tudohan ini, tetapi sukachita-lah sahaya berkata, bahawa macham mana pun hal-nya, maka ia-nya haq kita juga; sebab ada bahasa Melayu ia-lah kerana ada orang Melayu, meski pun sejarah-nya mengatakan penoh dengan champoran bahasa-bahasa dagan, sa-umpama bahasa Sanskrit, Arab, Hindi, Farsi, China, Portugis, Belanda dan sekarang banyak champoran bahasa Inggeris pula, tetapi ia-lah bahasa yang di-tutorkan oleh orang-orang kita (kechuali bahasa Eropah) sa-menjak berzaman-zaman dengan faseh mengikut pelat Melayu.

Ada pun belia-belia dan pemuda-pemuda yang berpelajaran Inggeris pada masa sekarang ada-lah di-jumlahkan ia-nya ka-dalam hitongan orang yang berilmu, kerana tidak shak segala ilmu pengetahuan yang sa-ni-seni boleh belaka di-dapati-nya daripada buku-buku bahasa Inggeris. Tetapi bukan-kah kelak malu juga jika di-sisi jumlah puak kaum berpelajaran konon itu jahil di-dalam bahasa-nya sendiri terlebeh daripada orang tua-tua Melayu yang di-katakan kunu atau orang yang tiada berpelajaran itu?

Maka tudohan dan pandangan rendah kapada bahasa Melayu itu pada fikiran sahaya terjadi bukan-lah kerana apa, melainkan ia-lah sebab kejahilan mereka juga di-dalam bahasa-nya sendiri. Mereka tiada mengenal akan bagaimana manis-nya dan halus-nya bahasa persuratan Melayu; mereka

An article on 'Literature and the Malay Youth' written by Abdul Razak in the magazine of the Malay College in Kuala Kangsar, 1940. His nationalistic spirit was already apparent during his schooldays at MCKK.

In his article, he said: "I am happy to say to school-going youth that even though your days of learning have been cut short by the need to learn English, please do not distance yourself from Malay writing. Allocate some time every day, even a short one, to reading or writing or to the study of our Malay language. In later days you will be able to know the nature of the Malay language so called and its beauty. Today the Malay newspapers are playing a great role in publishing the thoughts of the Malay nation. By reading them, not only will you be helping the industry for the common good, but you are also constantly in touch with the thinking or feeling of your people at large. Malay journalists in the twentieth century are lively in thought. Their work in developing the Malay language is a big one."

hanya-lah mendapat pelajaran bahasa Melayu-nya sa-kadar Darjah III atau IV sahaja di-sekolah Melayu (darjah yang belum boleh membacha dan mengeja serta mengarang bahasa Melayu dengan sempurna), kemudian terus-lah sahaja masok ka-sekolah Inggeris. Maka pada masa itu di-tinggalkan-nya-lah pelajaran Melayu-nya itu dengan tiada berusek-usek, hingga ia-nya meningkat ka-Darjah VIII atau IX di-sekolah Inggeris (kechuali di-College ini) baharu-lah di-buka-nya balek, itu pun sa-kadar hendak lulus dalam pepereksaan Cambridge-nya sahaja—bukan sa-benar-nya di-buat kerana tarekan perasaan kegemaran mahu tahu selok belok bahasa-nya itu. Maka dengan mempelajari nahu-nya sadikit-sadikit dalam bahasa Inggeris (pada hal kebanyakan tiada pula faham menjalankan-nya dalam bahasa Melayu) dan boleh menterjumah daripada bahasa Inggeris ka-bahasa Melayu dengan ayat-ayat yang telor bunyi-nya atau sa-tengah-nya sa-kadar boleh di-tangkap sahaja maana-nya, maka keluar-lah ia ka-dunia yang lapang dengan pelajaran Inggeris-nya itu di-jadikan perkakas jadi jalan membetulkan taraf dan darjah diri-nya. Maka kekal-lah hal-nya demikian dari suatu masa ka-suatu masa, hingga yang ada, sa-makin lama masa di-lalui-nya, sa-makin jauh dan sayup bahasa-nya Melayu itu di-pandang-nya. Pada hal-nya ini-lah masa-nya yang patut benar bagi-nya berapat-rapat dengan persuratan Melayu-nya yang maseh bengkalai lagi itu.

Maka kurang-lah patut-nya demikian. Bagi belia-belia yang di-bangku sekolah sukachita-lah sahaya berkata, bahawa sunggoh pun tempoh sekolah Melayu tuan-tuan terpaksa di-singkatkan kerana hendak merebut peluang mempelajari bahasa Inggeris, tetapi jangan-lah lupa berjinak-jinak dengan suratan Melayu. Untokkan-lah masa pada tiap-tiap hari, walau pun sa kejap, bagi membacha-bacha atau menulis atau menyiasat bahasa Melayu kita. Kemudian hari kelak tahu-lah tuan-tuan bagaimana rupa-nya bahasa Melayu yang di-katakan ada kechantekan-nya itu.

Bacha-lah surat-surat khabar dan majallah Melayu. Surat-surat khabar Melayu hari ini pada bahagian kandongan-nya tiada-lah berapa benar kurang-nya daripada surat-surat khabar Inggeris; bahkan surat-surat khabar Melayu-lah yang sangat-sangat mengambil berat bekerja menyiarkan fikiran ummat Melayu raya pada masa ini. Dengan membacha-nya sahaja, lain daripada tuan menolong perusahaan kerana kebajikan ramai, maka ada-lah tuan saperti sentiasa berhubong fikiran atau perasaan dengan kaum tuan yang ramai.

Wartawan-wartawan Melayu qurun kedua puloh ini hidup perasaan-nya. Perusahaan-nya di-dalam bahagian hendak memperluaskan bahasa Melayu sangat besar. Apa-kah tujuan wakil-wakil akhbar Melayu mengadakan perkumpulan di-Singapura sadikit minggu dahulu? Maka jawab-nya tiada-lah lain daripada tujuan hendak menubohkan kesatuan kerana menchari persamaan di-dalam lengkongan persuratan Melayu. Maka Kesatuan yang sa-umpama ini, jika berjaya, maka mutu-nya akan kembali kapada orang-orang Melayu sendiri. Tetapi sa-balek-nya boleh-kah chukup berjaya, kira-nya orang-orang Melayu yang berpelajaran tinggi dalam bahasa Inggeris pada hal tiada banyak yang mengambil berat atas sa-suatu pergerakan bahasa-nya sendiri? Sama-sama-lah kita jawab di-dalam hati.

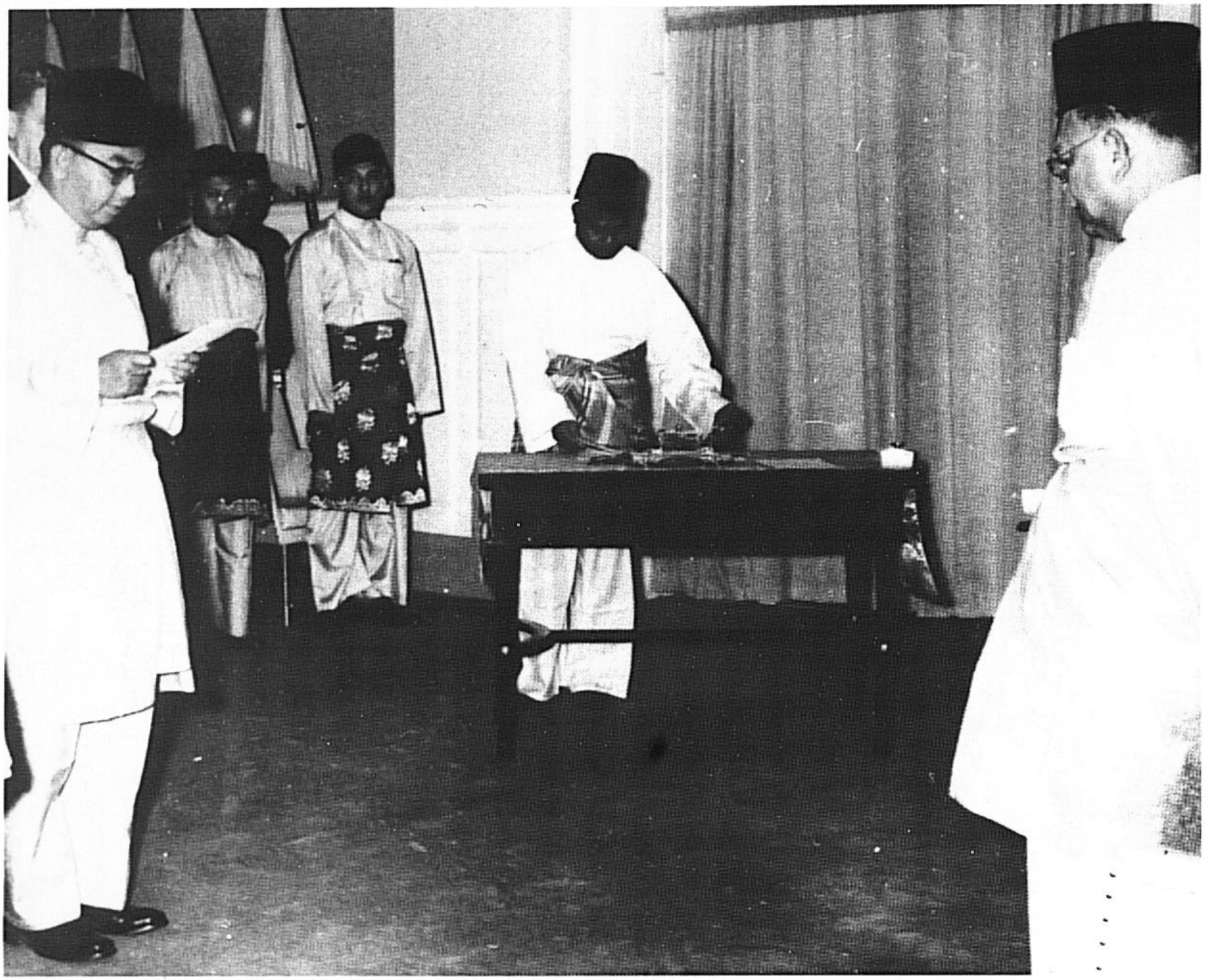
Agak-agak-nya sudah mendengar belaka akan nama-nama Maxwell, Shellabear, Marsden, Wilkinson, Blagden, Winstedt dan berpuloh-puloh lagi tuan-tuan Pegawai kulit puteh yang sangat mengambil berat menyiasat akar umbi dan rumpun bahasa Melayu. Maka sakalian-nya itu tiada-lah akan tergerak hati-nya, melainkan kerana banyak perkara-nya dan rahsia-nya yang ada di-dalam bahasa Melayu itu boleh di-kutip dan di-kumpulkan. Sekarang lihat-lah, sedangkan orang lain lagi sangat mengambil berat di-dalam perkara persuratan kita, maka betapa pula patut-nya kita, tuan punya-nya sendiri. Balek-balek mereka pula lebeh pandai daripada kita sendiri.

Ada pun buku-buku di-dalam bahasa Melayu memang-lah kekurangan. Darjah kandongan-nya betul banyak yang rendah, tetapi kechantekan-nya maseh kekal juga. Perhatikan-lah buku-buku Melayu yang lama-lama. Maka jalan hendak mendapat buku-buku yang mengandongi fikiran tinggi hanya-lah dengan peranteraan tuan-tuan pendeta Melayu yang berpelajaran tinggi dalam bahasa Inggeris atau lain-lain bahasa yang maju sahaja, lain tidak. Maka ini-lah sahaya berfikir sangat patut-nya belia dan pemuda-pemuda hari ini memandang kapada bahasa-nya sendiri. Jadikan-lah pengetahuan Inggeris itu kemudian hari (lain daripada kemustahakan kerana jawatan yang khas) saperti sahabat yang menolong membanyakkan buku-buku dan persuratan Melayu kerana menyampaikan fikiran dan pelajaran kapada orang-orang Melayu yang ramai yang tiada berpengetahuan Inggeris. Orang-orang kita Melayu terkenal bangsa yang terkemudian sa-kali dalam perlumbaan kemajuan di-tanah ayer-nya sendiri pada hari ini. Sedang kekurangan ilmu pengetahuan, kekurangan kuat kuasa dan kekurangan serba serbi-nya. Kita hendak-lah berlari, bukan berjalan merangkak-rangkak, balek-balek di-situ juga.

Al-hasil, berat tanggongan belia-belia dan pemuda-pemuda, kerana kapada-nya-lah tersandar kehidupan marwah bangsa-nya yang kuchar kachir pada masa ini. Mari kita belajar bersama-sama dan hidupkan perasaan suka berbantu-bantuan sa-mentara ada masa lagi, mudah-mudahan jadi-lah kita orang yang tegap dan kuat memikul beban yang berat yang akan kita tanggong kelak, ada-nya.

A. Razak bin Husin,

Prob. M.A.S.

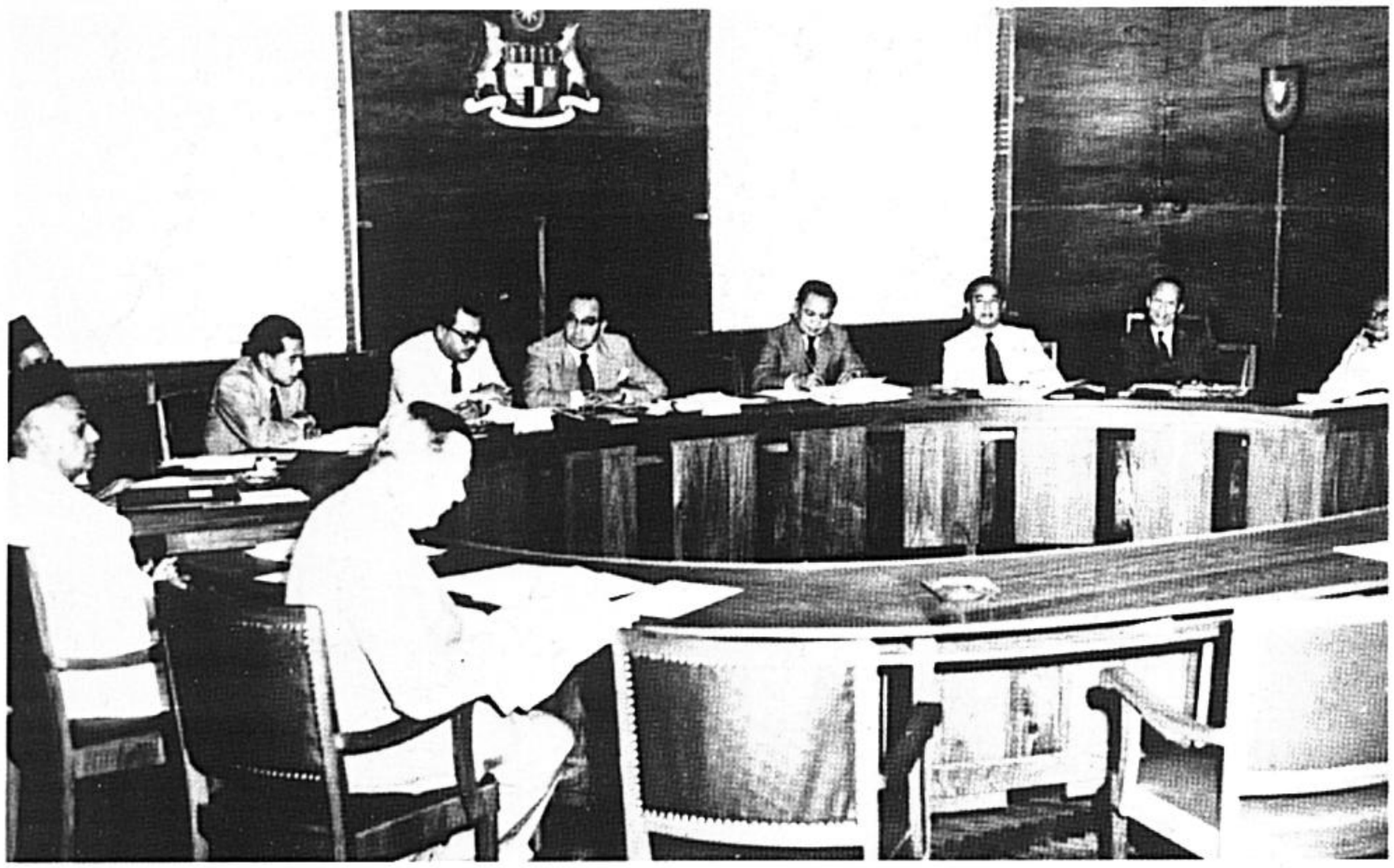


Abdul Razak taking the oath of office as Education Minister before Malaysia's first paramount ruler Tuanku Abdul Rahman, on 9 August 1955.

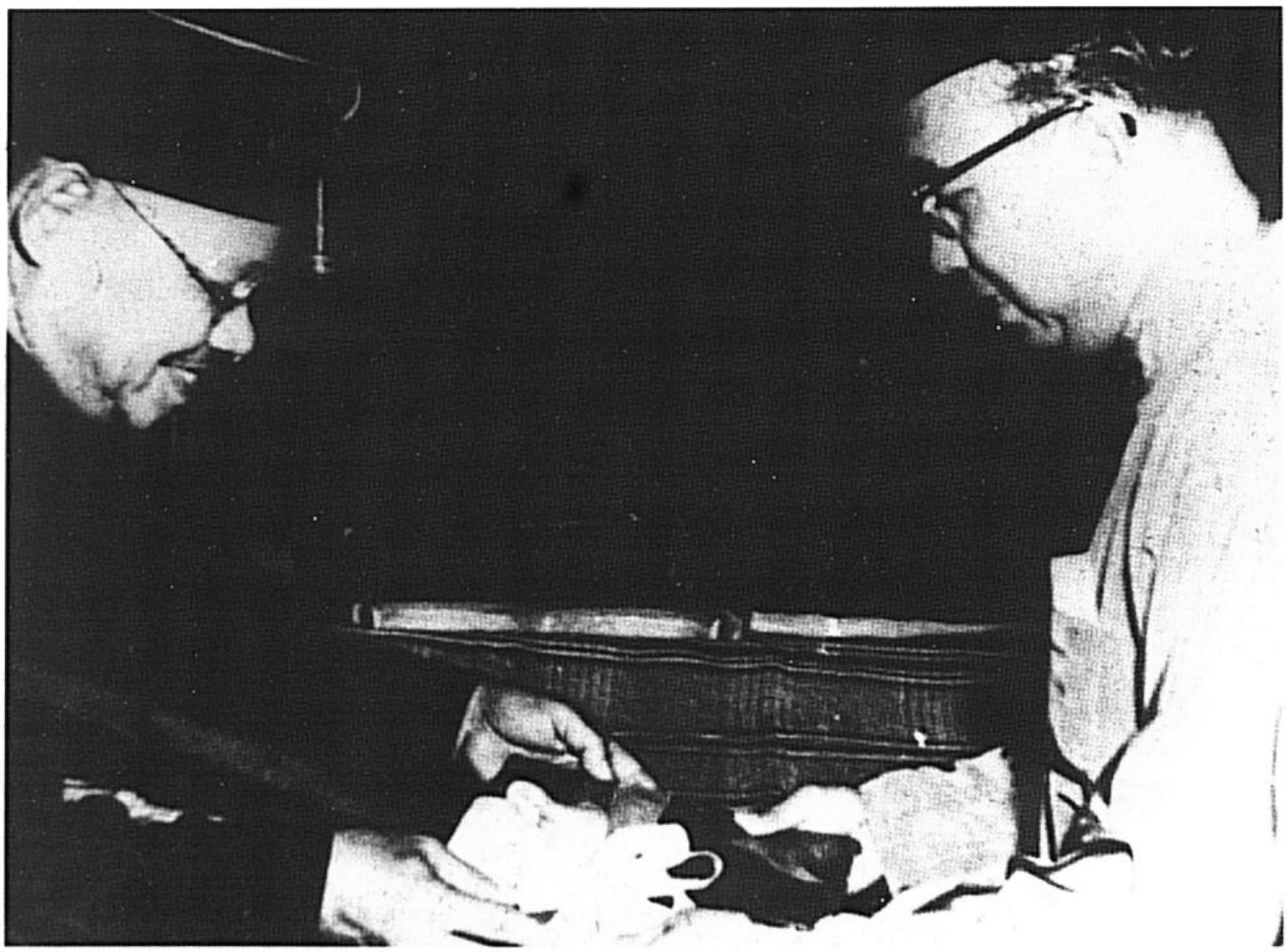
Thus began Abdul Razak's mission to build the country's first national education policy based on the use of the Malay language.

Abdul Razak before the King at the Istana Negara to tender his resignation as Prime Minister, a post he had been holding after Tunku Abdul Rahman resigned his post to devote himself to go on the hustings during the first general elections after Independence.





The Committee for National Education Policy at its first meeting on 30 September 1955, chaired by Education Minister Abdul Razak. Members of the committee were Abdul Razak (Chairman), V.T. Sambanthan, Sulaiman Dato' Abdul Rahman, Abdul Aziz Haji Abdul Majid, Shamsudin Naim, Too Joon Hing, Abdul Rahman Haji Talib, Goh Chee Yan, Zainul Abidin Sultan Mydin, Lim Chong Eu, Abdul Hamid Khan Haji Sakhawat, Leung Cheung Ling, Mohamed Ghazali Jawi, Lee Thean Hin and Mohamed Idris Mat Sil.



The decision of the third Malay Language and Literature Congress which proposed the establishment of the Malaysia-Indonesia Malay Language Board to merge the languages of the two nations was presented to Abdul Razak by literatus Za'ba on 21 September 1956.



Abdul Razak launching the Language Month at the Language and Literature Agency (*Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*) on 26 March 1966.

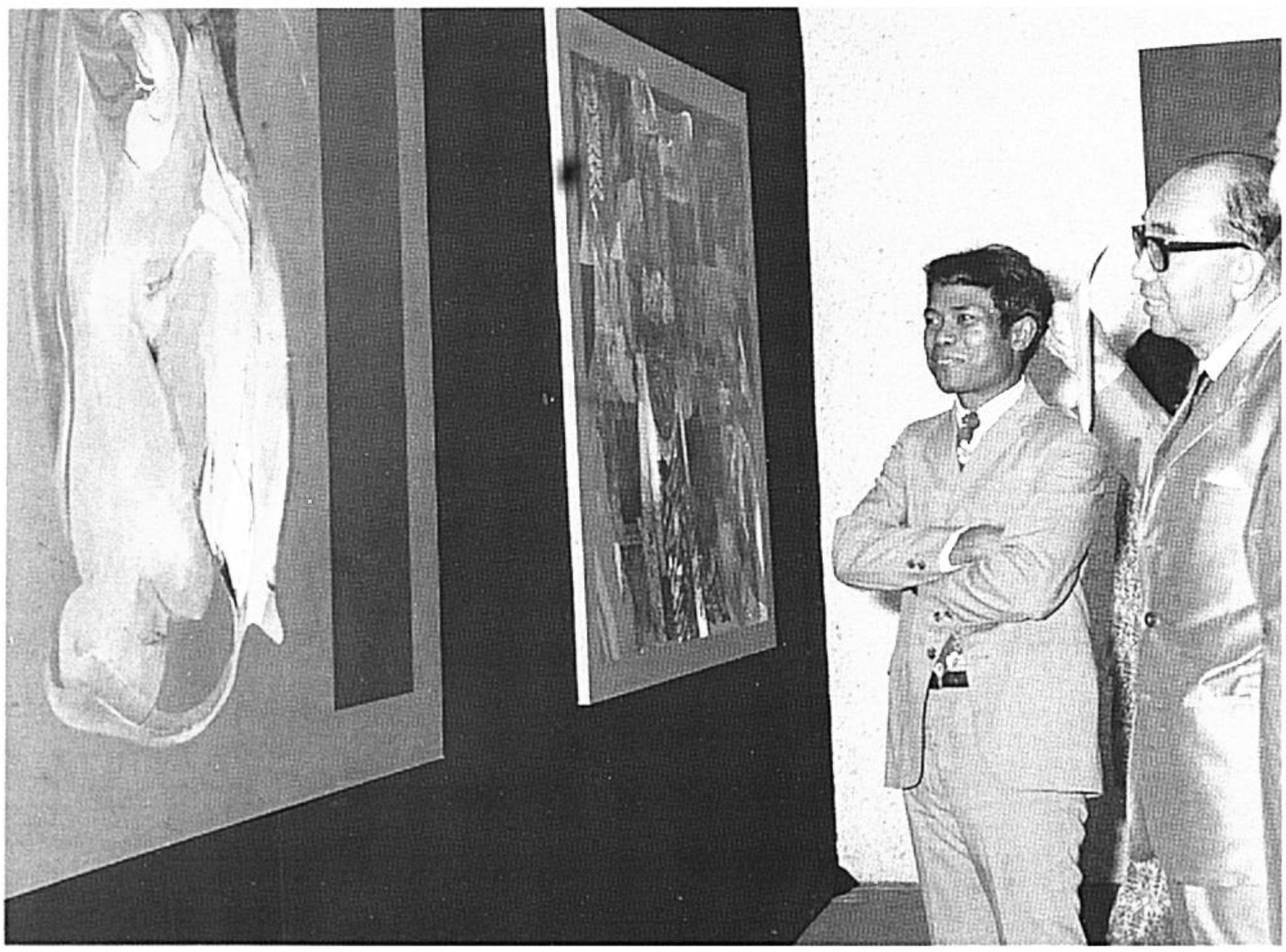
The first National Language week was held from 30 January to 6 February 1960. Abdul Razak hoped that during the week people of non-Malay descent would use the national language at home, in the office and also in their daily intercourse. "This is the only way to make them feel a sense of belonging and the Malay language will truly become an effective force to unite the people in the country," he said.



Education Minister Hussein Onn presenting the document on the new Malaysian-Indonesian spelling to Abdul Razak at the launch of the new spelling system at the Language and Literature Agency on 16 August 1972.



Abdul Razak presenting the Literature Prize 1971 to the well-known national literary figure Shahnon Ahmad at the Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman. Later, in 1973, Abdul Razak referred to Shahnon as the Victor Hugo of Malaysia in his opening speech at the Seminar on Archipelagic Literature at the Language and Literature Agency.



Admiring a work of art by one of Malaysia's leading artists Ibrahim Hussein when opening an exhibition of his paintings at the Dewan Tunku Canselor, University of Malaya.



The National University of Malaysia (UKM) decided to honour the great Indonesian writer and religious scholar Professor Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (HAMKA) by conferring on him an honorary Doctorate of Laws (LL.D) in 1974.

As the first UKM Chancellor Abdul Razak conferred the award on Hamka at the university's convocation in the Parliament building. Hamka met Abdul Razak in his office.



In conversation with the country's writers and journalists during the presentation of the Literature Prize 1972. From left, New Straits Times Group Editor A. Samad Ismail, Berita Harian journalist Alias Ali, President of Gapena (National Writers Association) Prof. Ismail Hussein and Zakry Abadi.





A group of *kompang* drummers and *bunga manggar* bearers form a procession to accompany Abdul Razak and his wife to the Dewan Tunku Canselor, University of Malaya, to open the National Cultural Congress on 16 August 1971. Accompanying Abdul Razak were Deputy Prime Minister Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman and his wife, Hamzah Abu Samah, Nik Ahmad Kamil, and Professor Ungku Aziz and his wife. In his opening speech, Abdul Razak said: "The shape and form of a nation's culture can be determined only after it has gone through a process of evaluation by society and has withstood the test of time, where some of its elements are shaped into permanent aspects of the culture while others are rejected and abandoned. In determining the nature and shape of this national culture we cannot forget the reality of our multiracial society."



Abdul Razak as Defence Minister announcing the surrender of 118 communist terrorists in south Perak on 9 July 1958. To his left is Perak Menteri Besar Ghazali Jawi, and to Ghazali's left is Director of Emergency Operations, Lt General Sir James Casseis.



Abdul Razak as Defence Minister visiting the Federal Regiment at Camp Sungai Udang, Melaka, in September 1959. He was met by Major D.R.Y. Dawson and Lt Colonel M. Osborne.

Malaya was put in a state of emergency in 1948 following terror campaigns by members of the communist movement. However, the Emergency Regulations were not to be lifted until after three years of Independence. Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman signed the declaration to end Emergency Regulations on 31 July 1960 in the cabinet room of the old Parliament building, witnessed by Abdul Razak (on Tunku's right). The man standing is Abdul Aziz Abdul Majid, Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister's Department.



PERLEMBAGAAN
PERSEKUTUAN TANAH MELAYU

PEMASHHORAN MENGIKUT PERKARA 163 DALAM
PERLEMBAGAAN PERSEKUTUAN TANAH MELAYU

(T. ALAM SHAH)
Yang di-Pertuan Agong

BAHAWA SA-NYA ada-lah di-tentukan oleh Fasal (2) Perkara 163 dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu ia-itu Undang² Peratoran Dzarurat tahun 1948, dan mana² undang² tambahan yang di-buat mengikut Perlembagaan itu boleh pada bila² masa di-mansokhkan dengan satu Pemashhoran menyatakan Undang² yang tersebut itu tiada mustahak lagi:

DAN BAHAWA SA-NYA BETA puas hati sa-bagaimana yang tersebut kemudian daripada ini bahawa Undang² yang tersebut itu tiada mustahak lagi:

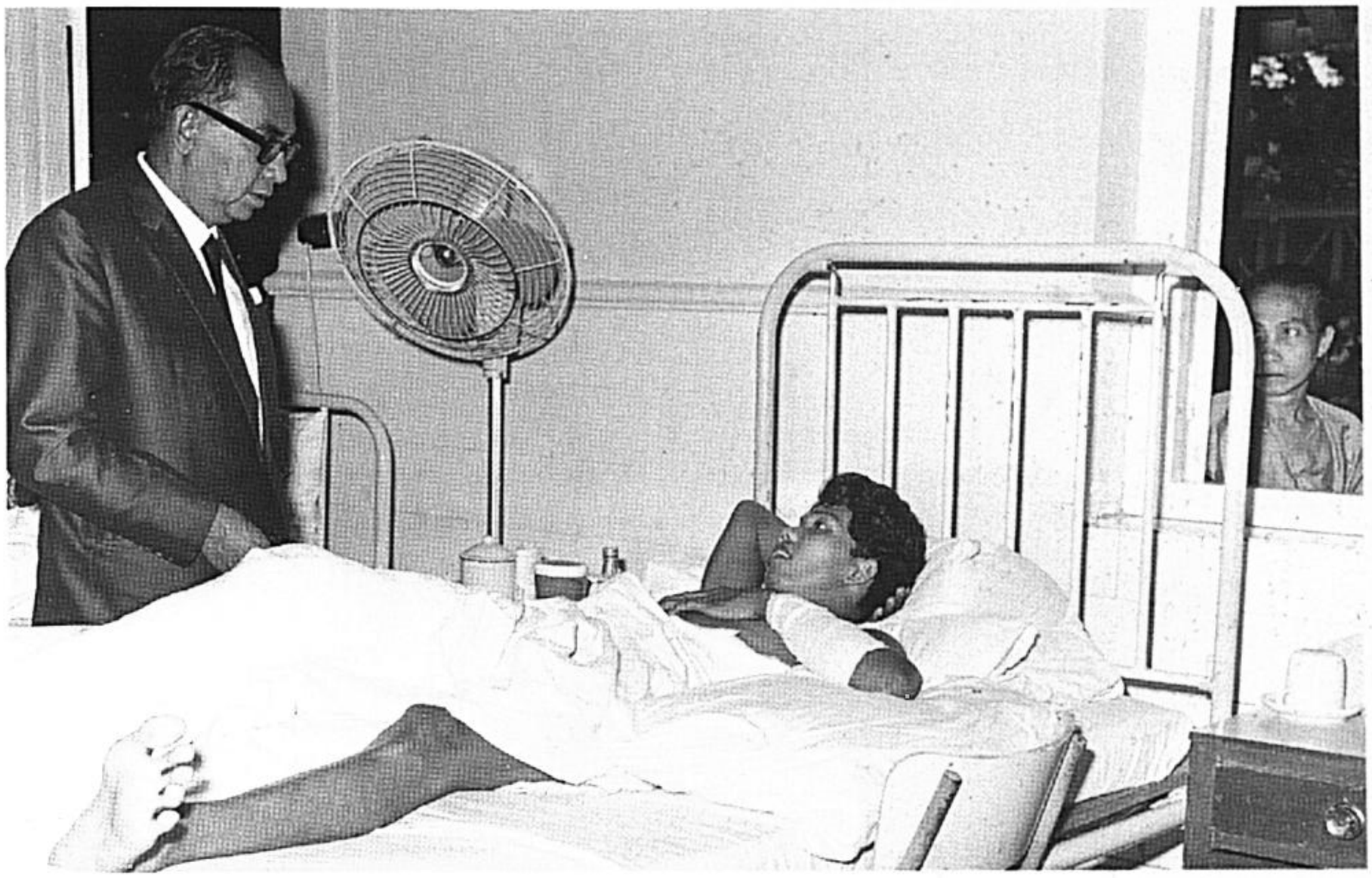
MAKA DENGAN HAL YANG DEMIKIAN BETA, Sultan Hisamuddin Alam Shah ibni Al-marhum Sultan 'Ala-iddin Sulaiman Shah Dengan Kurnia Allah Subhanahu-wata'ala bagi Negeri² dan jajahan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong pada menjalankan kuasa² yang di-beri kapada BETA oleh Fasal (2) Perkara 163 dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu DENGAN INI memansokhkan Undang² Peratoran Dzarurat tahun 1948, dan mana² undang² tambahan yang di-buat mengikut Perlembagaan itu mulai daripada tiga puloh satu haribulan July tahun 1960, dan BETA mengishtiharkan bahawa Undang² yang tersebut tiada mustahak lagi.

DI-BUAT di-Istana Negara Beta, di-Kuala Lumpur, Ibu Kota Persekutuan pada dua puloh sembilan haribulan July tahun sa-ribu sembilan ratus enam puloh.

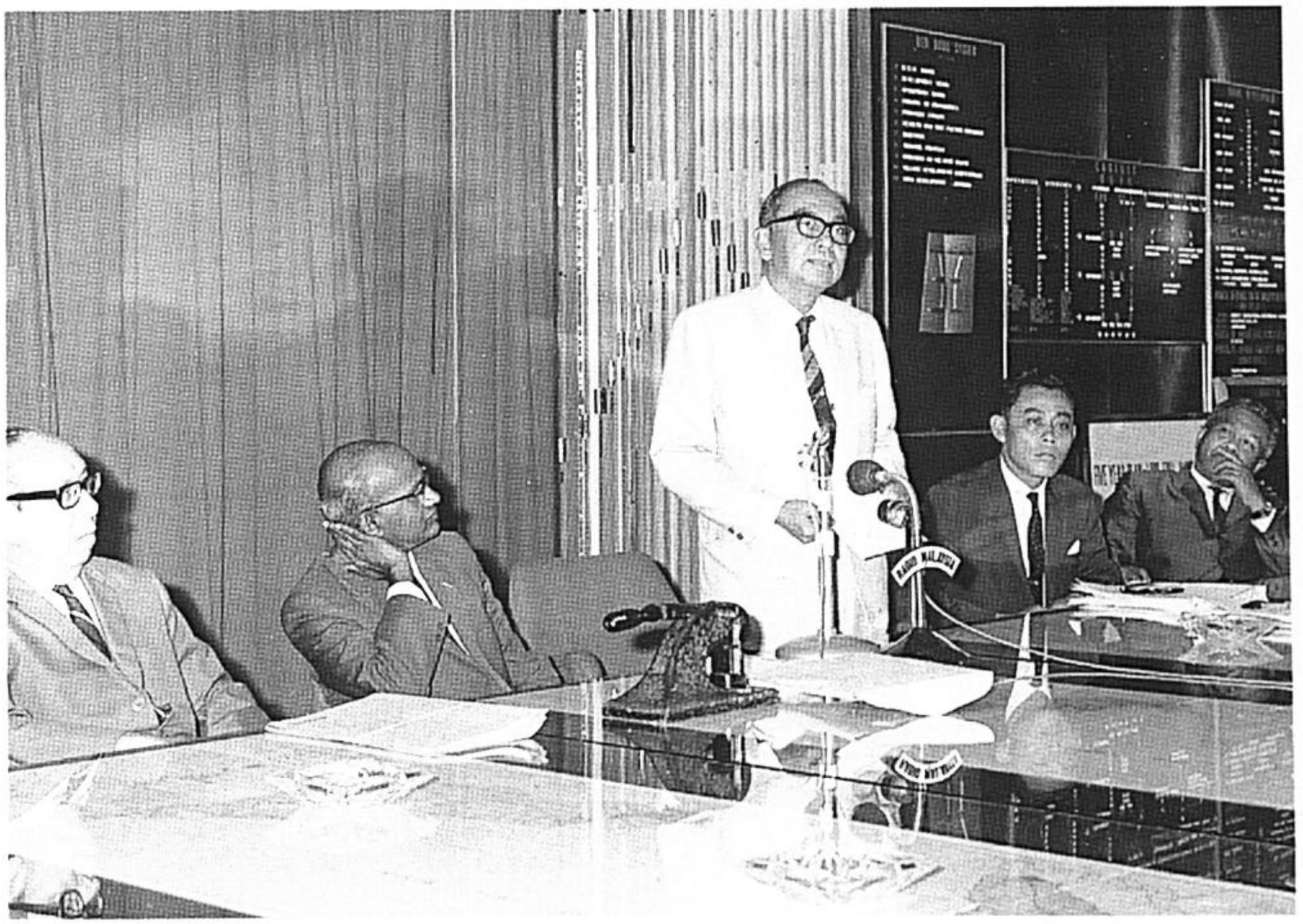
Menjunjong Titah Perentah
Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda
Yang di-Pertuan Agong,

(T. ABDUL RAHMAN)
Perdana Menteri

The declaration which ended the state of Emergency on 31 July 1960.



Abdul Razak visiting Private Abu Bakar Khamis at the Kuala Lumpur General Hospital in 1967. Abu Bakar was injured in a communist ambush in Sarawak.



Warriors' Fund (*Tabung Derma Perwira*) was launched by Abdul Razak on 31 October 1968 with the help of national newspapers to collect public donations to help the families of soldiers killed or wounded in the fight against communist terrorists or in other security operations. Two editors-in-chief seen in the picture are Leslie Hoffman, New Straits Times (extreme left), and Melan Abdullah, Utusan Melayu (extreme right).





A smiling Abdul Razak looks on as Sarawak Chief Minister Stephen Kalong Ningkan (1963-1966) signs the Red Book for the rural development programme in the state on 18 May 1966. During his tour Abdul Razak visited Marudi in the Fourth Division. Notwithstanding the political crisis then prevailing in Sarawak, Abdul Razak tried to bring development to the *bumiputera* population living in villages and in the long houses in the state interior. Kalong Ningkan was replaced by Tawi Sli as Chief Minister at the end of 1966 when Sarawak was placed under emergency rule following a constitutional crisis. Kalong Ningkan died on 1 April 1997 at the age of 76.

At a press conference in Kuching in March 1972 Abdul Razak announced the formation of the Rajang Security Command (Rascom) to combat communist terrorists in Sarawak. Sarawak Chief Minister Abdul Rahman Yaacob was made its director of operations. Rascom was an amalgamation of the civilian, the military and the police to speed up policy and decision making and for effective action especially where co-ordination between the various services was required. Following a major success in 1974 which resulted in the capture and mass surrender of communist terrorists, Abdul Rahman invited Abdul Razak to make the announcement, but his response was: "That is your show." Abdul Rahman remembers Abdul Razak as a person who did not crave the limelight for personal popularity.





Abdul Razak receiving the *Darjah Kehormat Seri Maharaja Mangku Negara* (SMN) from the King, Tuanku Abdul Rahman, at the Istana Negara on 7 January 1960. This award carried the title 'Tun'.

Abdul Razak being briefed by Commander of the Malaysian Infantry Brigade Lt General Abdullah bin Samsudin on how the communist terrorists lived in the jungle when he visited the brigade at Sungai Petani, Kedah, in 1973.



The Anti-Corruption Agency (BPR) was formed when Abdul Razak was Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister. A lawyer, Harun Hashim, was made its first director but he did not hold the post for long. The first meeting with Abdul Razak was attended by BPR officers from all over the country. In this picture he is flanked by Harun Hashim (left) and Secretary to the Home Affairs Ministry Sheikh Abdullah Sheikh Abu Bakar (right).



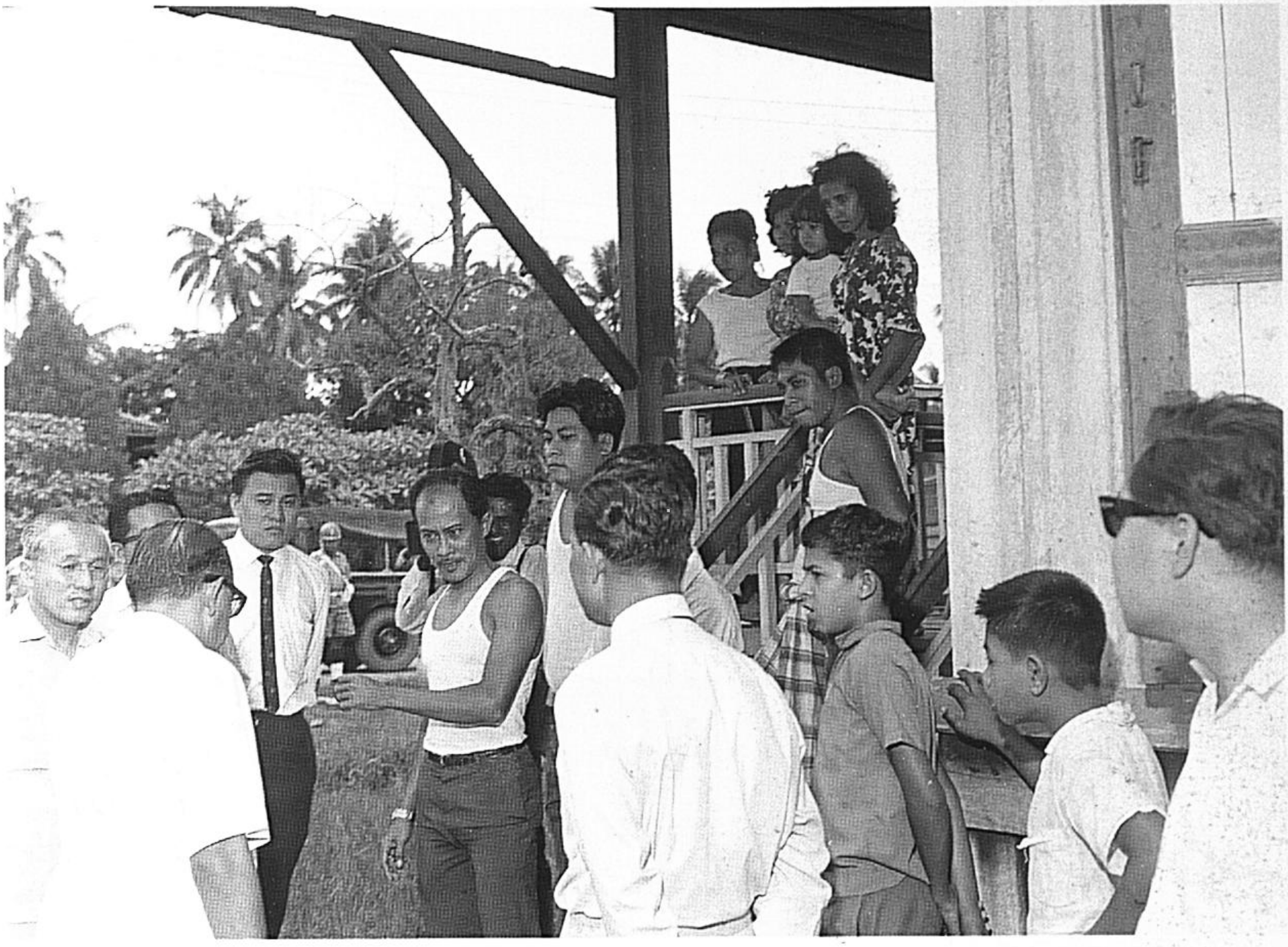
Abdul Razak in conversation with prominent leaders of the trades union movement of the 1960s when he was guest at the annual dinner of the Malaysian Trades Union Congress (MTUC) in March 1969. From left: Secretary General of the National Union of Plantation Workers (NUPW) P.P. Narayanan, Abdul Razak, MTUC President Yeoh Teck Chye, and Zaidi of the MTUC.

Abdul Razak's arrival in Singapore when race riots erupted on the island on 22 July 1964. He and Finance Minister Tan Siew Sin (far left) was received by Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and Finance Minister Goh Keng Swee, both seen with grave expressions. Seen between Razak and Lee wearing the *songkok* is Ahmad Haji Taib, a prominent Singapore UMNO leader of the 1960s.


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Abdul Razak in Singapore visiting Malay kampungs threatened during the outbreak of racial strife. There he held meetings with the residents. He is seen here accompanied by local Malay youth during a visit to Kampung Kaki Bukit in Geylang, Singapore. Among them, Kalam Hamidi (front row, second from right), a prominent writer and dramatist in Singapore at that time.



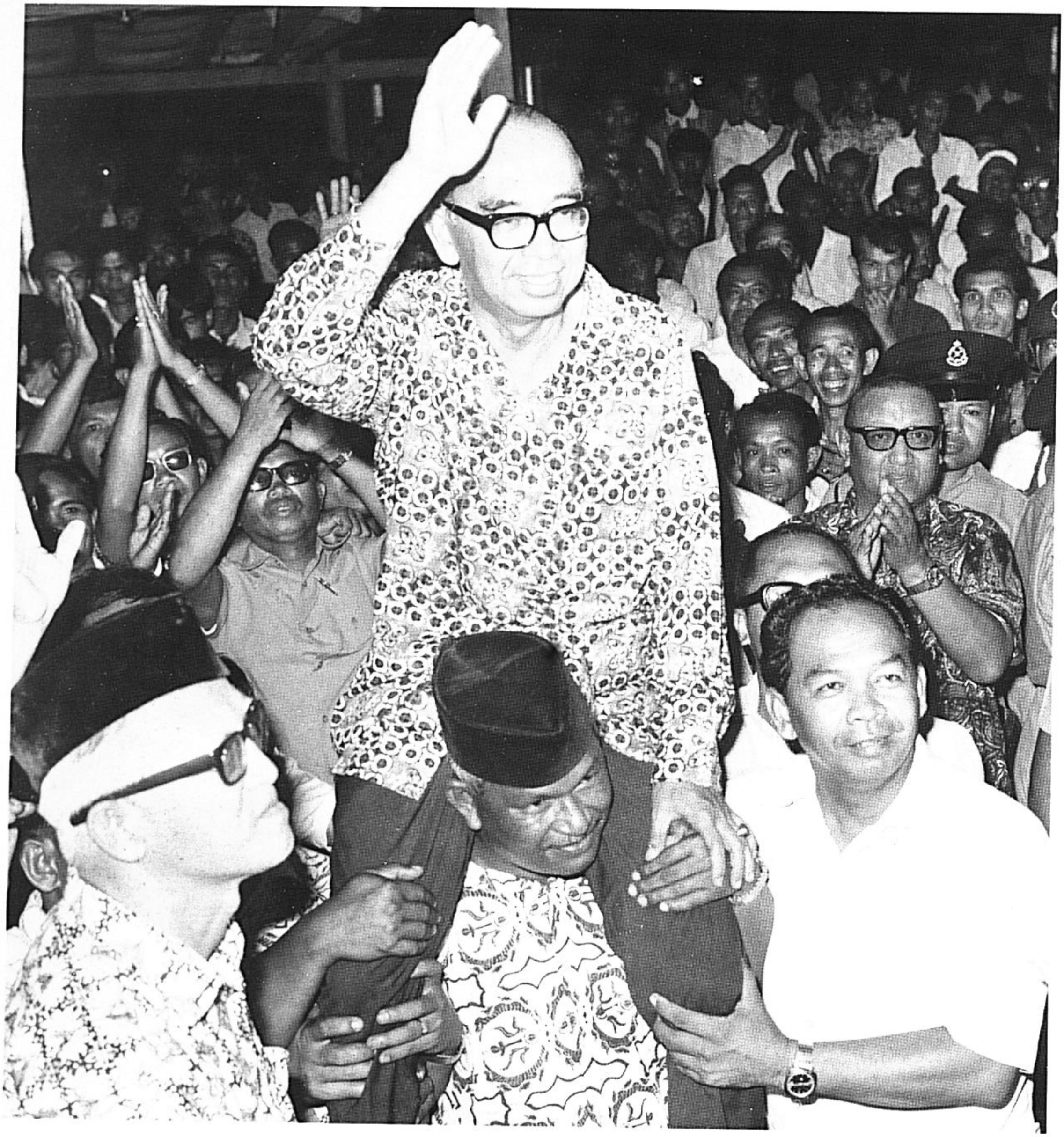
During a visit to Malay kampungs hit by the Singapore racial clashes in Jalan Eunos, Jalan Yahya and Kaki Bukit Geylang, Abdul Razak advised the villagers to remain calm and to respect the law. He told them that the government had taken measures to ensure their safety and to restore order. Looking on (extreme right) is Abdullah Ahmad, Political Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister.



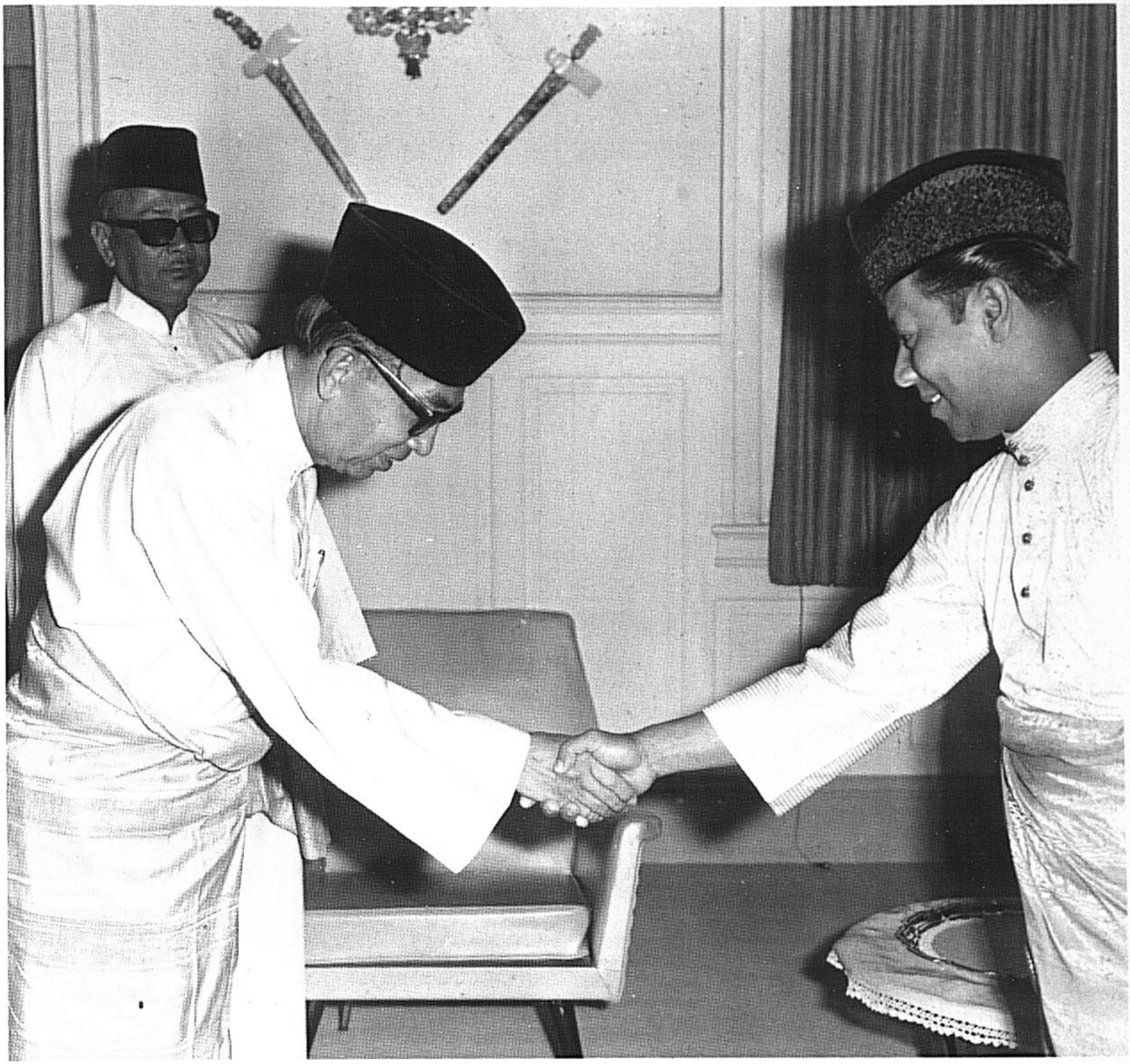
Singapore's relationship with the central government from its early days in Malaysia had been far from cosy. There was, in fact, constant tension between them because of Singapore's opposition to the policy of granting special privileges to the Malays and their campaign for a Malaysian Malaysia which demanded equality for all the races. The island state was finally expelled from the Federation. Here Tunku Abdul Rahman is seen announcing Singapore's expulsion at a press conference attended by Abdul Razak on 9 August 1965. Lee Kuan Yew shed tears before a Singapore television audience but accepted the decision.

The UMNO general assembly in 1968 captured the mood of UMNO leaders after listening to delegates expressing dissatisfaction over the compromises and the tardy implementation of national policies especially those affecting Malay educational and economic interests. The delegates were increasingly turning to Abdul Razak as the man of the moment.





Abdul Razak carried aloft by supporters when he successfully defended his parliamentary seat in Pekan, Pahang, in the 1969 elections with a majority of 8925, defeating Pas candidate Yazid Jaafar. Abdul Razak Hussein (BN) 12 641 votes; Yazid Jaafar (Pas) 3716.



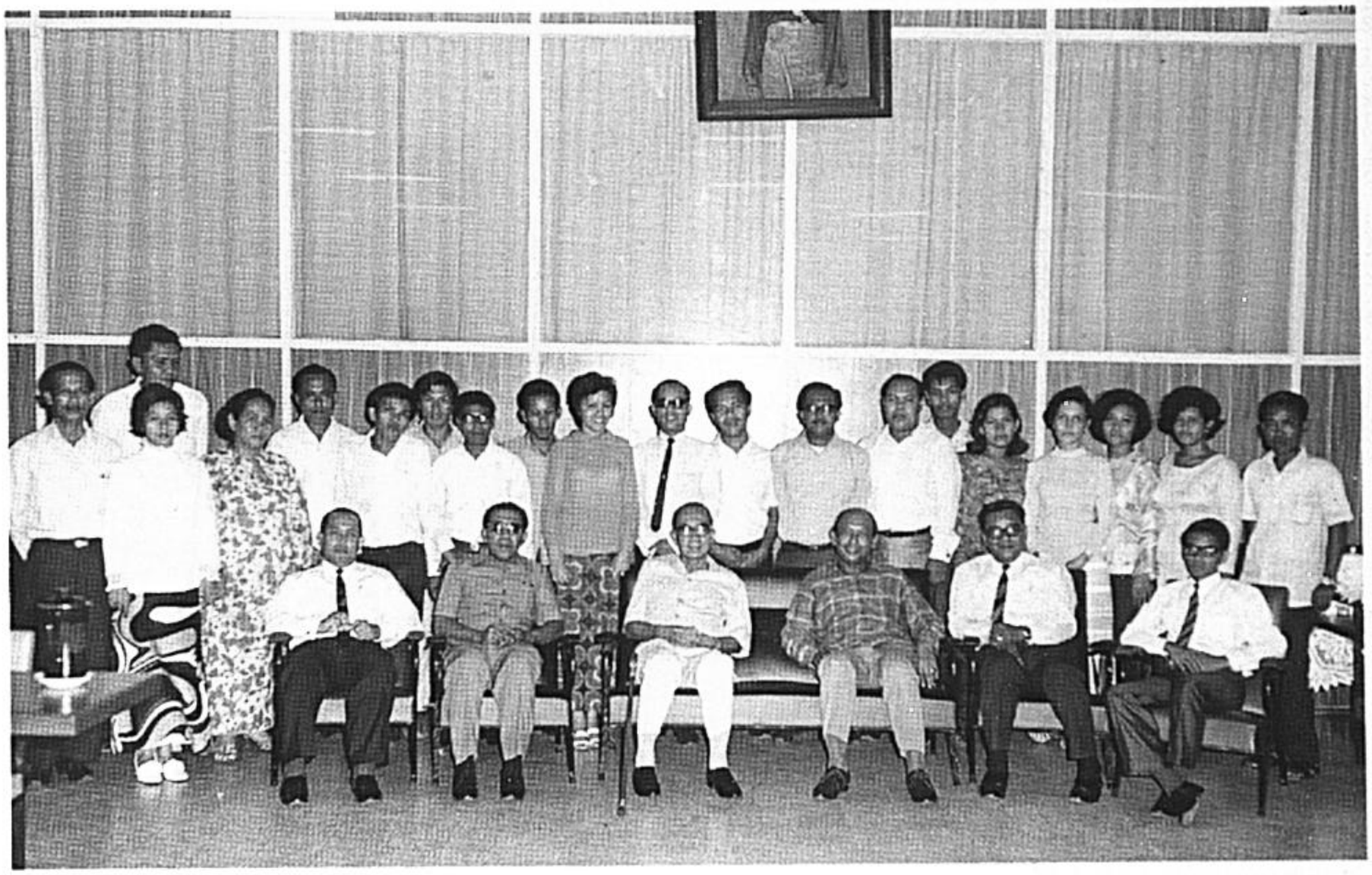
Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman and his deputy Abdul Razak on an historic occasion with the King on 22 September 1970. On this day the Tunku submitted his letter to resign his post voluntarily, passing on the mantle to Abdul Razak who became Malaysia's second Prime Minister. Abdul Razak took his oath of office the following day (23 September 1970). The country was then still under NOC rule.



One hour after his resignation Tunku Abdul Rahman attended a special assembly of UMNO leaders from the whole country at the Language and Literature Agency. He told them that he would no longer be contesting the post of UMNO President and urged them to give their full support to Abdul Razak.



Abdul Razak speaking for the first time at a special meeting of UMNO leaders at the Language and Literature Agency, on 22 September 1970, as Malaysia's second Prime Minister.



Group photograph with officers and staff of UMNO headquarters in October 1970, about two weeks after taking over as Prime Minister from Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Seated from right: UMNO Head of Research Wan Mohd Mahyiddin bin Wan Nawang, UMNO Chief Information Officer Osman Abdullah, UMNO Secretary General Senu Abdul Rahman, Abdul Razak, Special Officer Syed Ahmad Jamallulail and UMNO Deputy Secretary of Works Hassan Haji Ahmad.

Special Assistant to the Secretary General Zainuddin Ahmad is in the back row, wearing a tie.



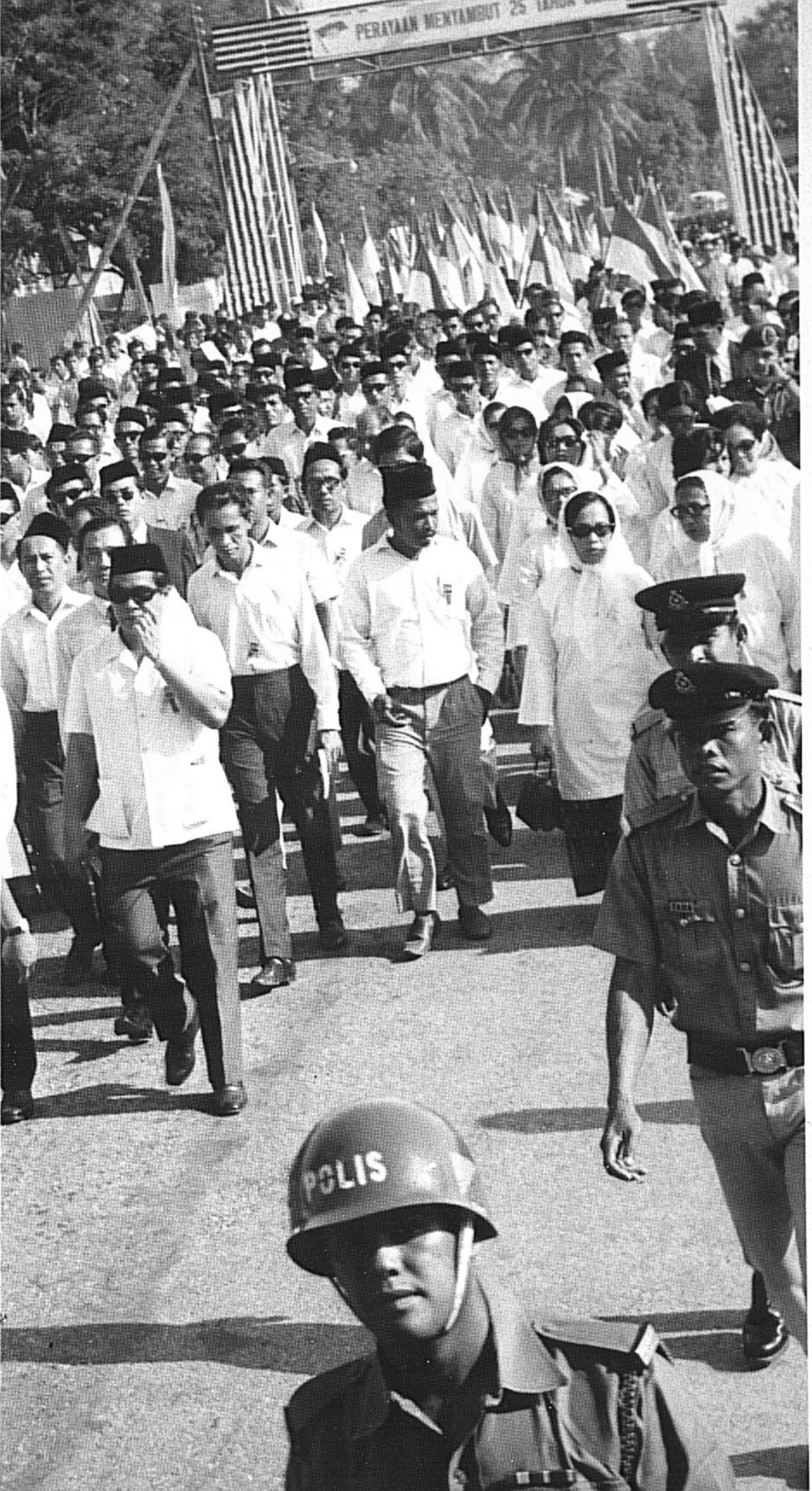
Handshake with UMNO's Deputy Chief Relations Officer Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah on his visit to Kelantan in early 1973 to meet UMNO leaders there.





Abdul Razak's first meeting with Dr Mahathir Mohamad on 16 July 1971 after the latter was sacked from UMNO for opposing the Tunku's leadership. This meeting took place when Mahathir attended an UMNO youth seminar in Morib, Selangor. Looking on (far left) is Selangor Menteri Besar Harun Idris, the person who brought Mahathir to the seminar, and (to Harun's left), Musa Hitam. Also seen here (back to camera) is Professor Ahmad Ibrahim.


BUN HOG LEONG
DUNLOP



Abdul Razak leading the procession commemorating UMNO's Silver Jubilee in Kuala Terengganu in July 1971. This celebration was held nationwide, beginning at central level in May 1971, four months after Abdul Razak became UMNO President.

Abdul Razak addressing a crowd of more than 50 000 at the Selangor Club Padang on his return from a successful visit to the People's Republic of China on 2 June 1974. China recognised Malaysia as a result of the visit and Abdul Razak's popularity rose. He saw it as an opportune moment to call a general election.





Pas leader Asri Haji Muda receiving Abdul Razak, the National Front leader, on the platform to address a rally at the Selangor Club Padang on his successful visit to China. At far right is Gerakan leader Dr Lim Chong Eu. The name *Barisan Nasional* (National Front) was displayed before the public for the first time at this rally which was attended by leaders of all the component parties.



Abdul Razak conferring with Peoples Progressive Party leader S.P. Seenivasagam before announcing the allocation of seats for component parties of the *Barisan Nasional* in the 1974 elections. This photo was taken at the BN assembly at the Language and Literature Agency in August 1974.

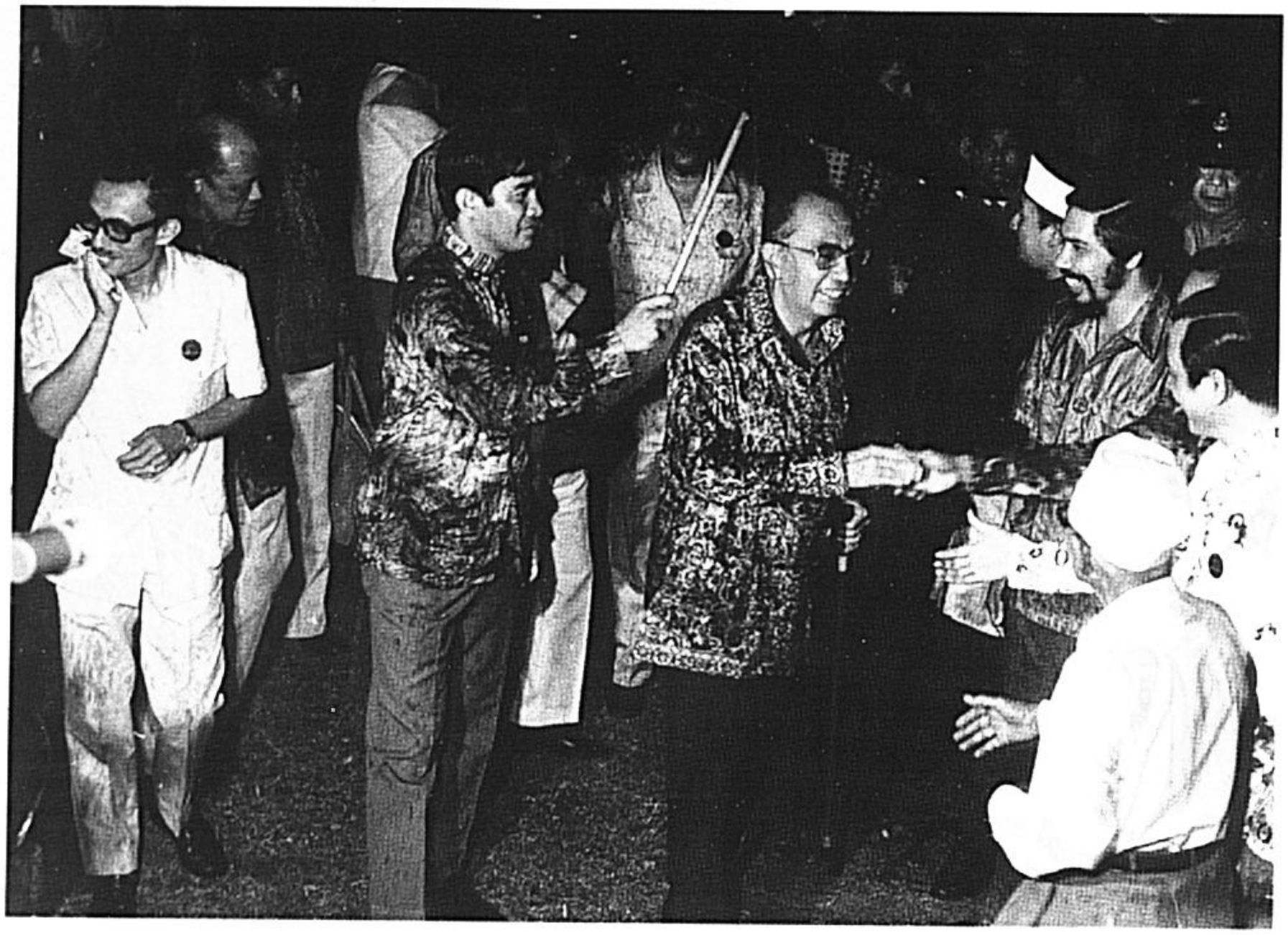
Abdul Razak facing the people for the first time as *Barisan Nasional* leader during the August 1974 elections. He was able to persuade opposition parties to rally behind him in *Barisan Nasional*.




REPAIRERS



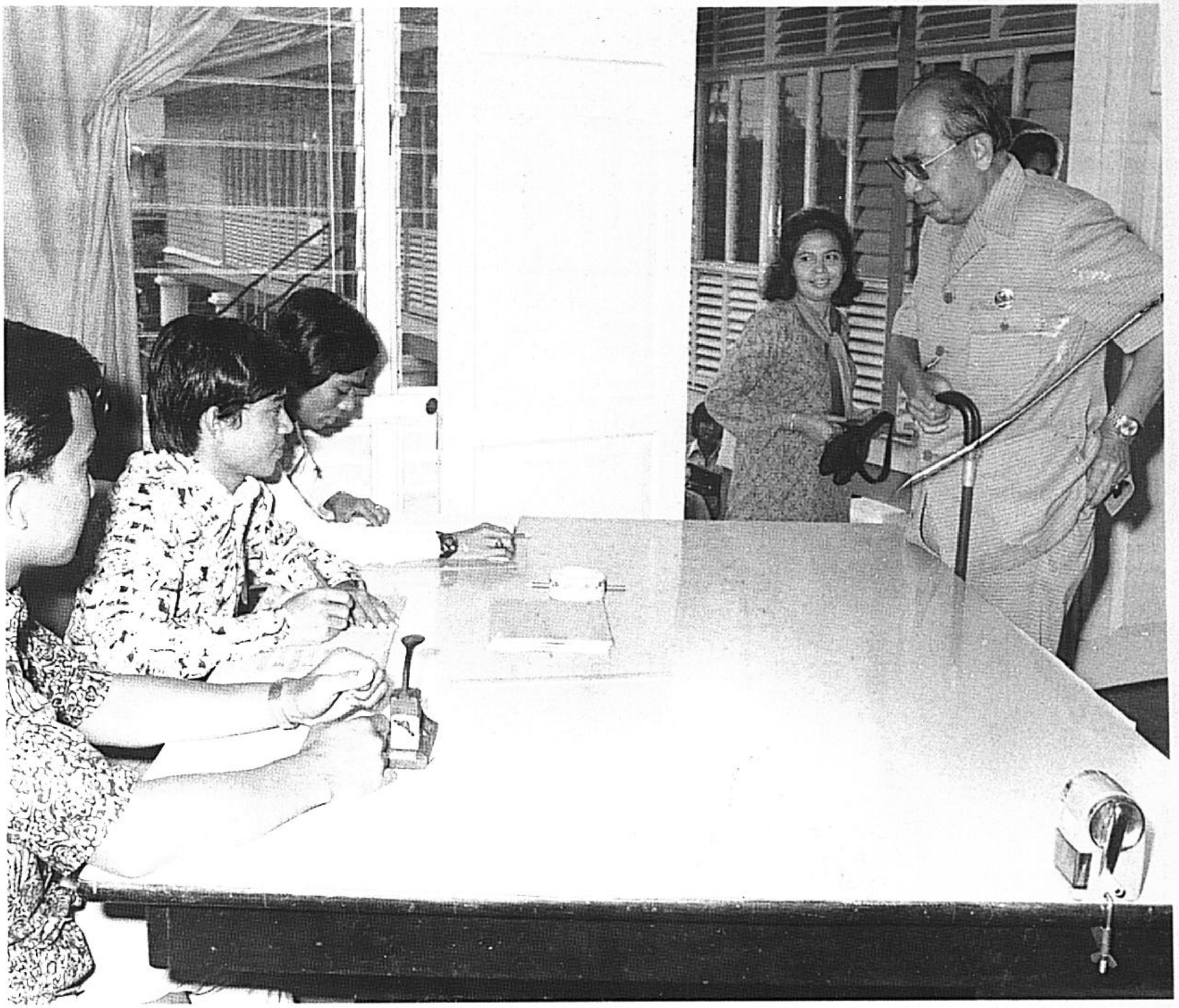
The 1974 elections saw a spirited Abdul Razak leading a co-ordinated campaign with component parties of the *Barisan Nasional* to trounce the opposition. Abdul Razak was keen to prove that the concept of a National Front was accepted fully by the people and he toured the whole country in an untiring effort to do so. Here he was warmly received on a campaign visit to Pahang.



Campaigning in the 1974 elections in Terengganu. Abdul Razak is received by Pas Youth Chief, Mustafa Ali (with beard). At far left is Terengganu Menteri Besar Nik Hassan Abdul Rahman.



Abdul Razak campaigning in Kelantan with Pas President Asri Haji Muda (to his right) and Kelantan Menteri Besar Mohamed Nasir (to his left).



Abdul Razak accompanied by wife Rahah, checking their names in the electoral register before casting their votes in the general elections in Pekan, Pahang, on 24 August 1974.



A crucial meeting of the UMNO Supreme Council Working Committee on 8 August 1973 at the conference room in Sri Taman following the death of Deputy Prime Minister Dr Ismail. From left: Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Aishah Ghani, Sardon Jubir, Abdul Razak, Senu Abdul Rahman, Harun Idris, Ghafar Baba and Ghazali Shafie.



From left: Ghazali Jawi, Jaafar Albar and Hamzah Abu Samah.



From left: Syed Nasir Ismail, Syed Ahmad Shahabuddin, Mustafa Jabar, Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, Musa Hitam and Mansor Osman.



From left: Othman Saat, Jaafar Hassan, Syed Hassan Aidid and Othman Abdullah.



UMNO Working Secretary Khalil Akashah (left) and Samad Idris.



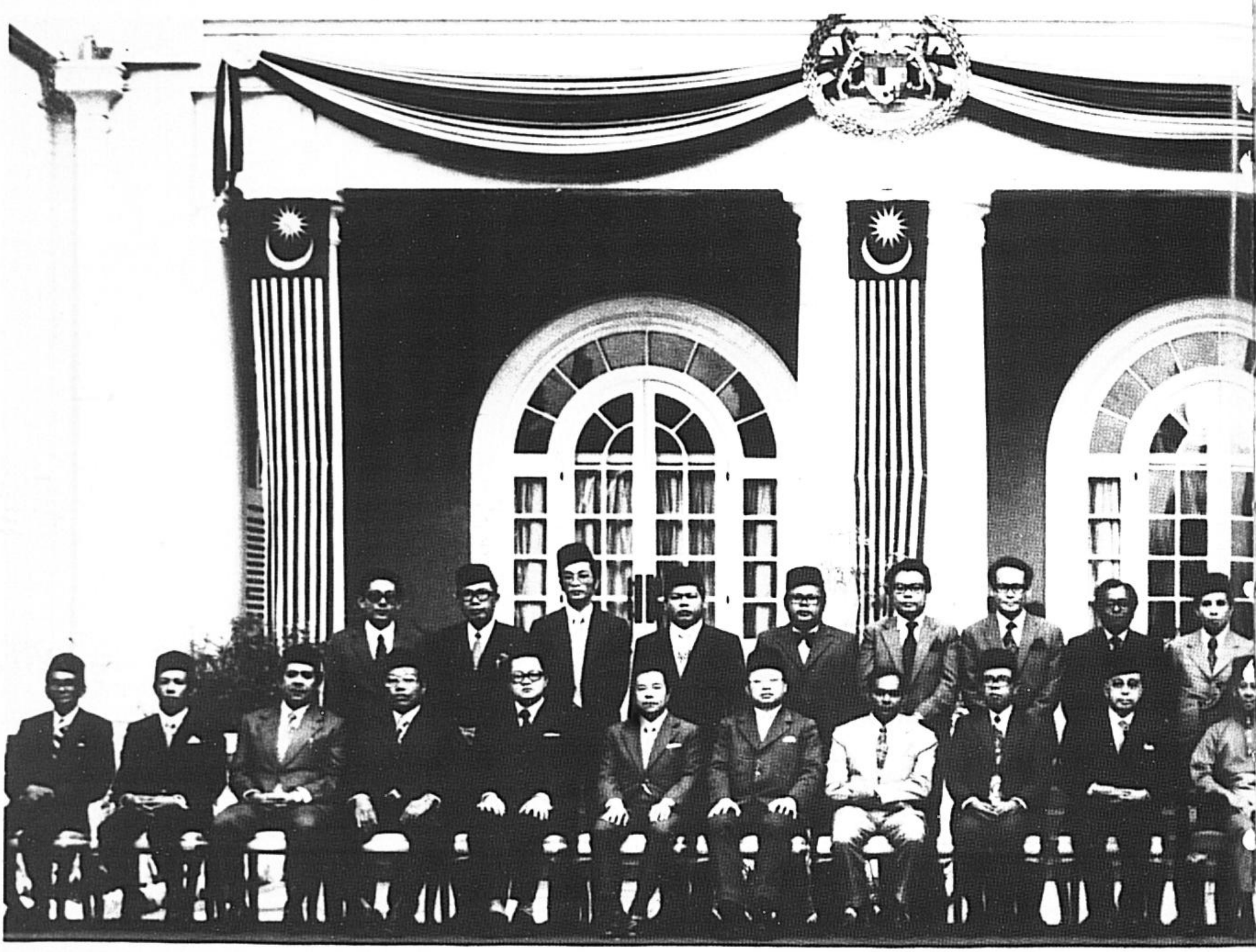


UMNO Supreme Council 1972-1975. This is the first council to be elected for a three-year term after an amendment to the UMNO constitution after Abdul Razak became UMNO President in January 1971. Previously the UMNO Supreme Council members were chosen annually. This photograph was taken in 1973 after Hussein Onn became Deputy Prime Minister on the death of Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman. Absent from the picture is Sardon Jubir, a Vice-President, who was away on duty at the United Nations.

Seated, from left: Aishah Abdul Ghani, Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, Hussein Onn, Abdul Razak, Ghafar Baba, Senu Abdul Rahman and Harun Idris.

Standing (middle row, from left): Ghazali Shafie, Khir Johari, Ali Haji Ahmad, Syed Ahmad Shahabuddin, Mohamed Jusoh, Ghani Ali, Wan Kadir Wan Ismail, Hamzah Abu Samah, Ghazali Jawi, Syed Nasir Syed Ismail, Mustafa Jabar, Othman Abdullah, Jaafar Albar, Dr Rais Saniman, Nik Hassan Abdul Rahman, Othman Saat, Dr Halim Ismail, Syed Nahar Shahabuddin and Samad Idris.

Standing (back row, from left): Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Suhaimi Kamaruddin, Syed Hassan Aidid, Jaafar Hassan, Kamaruddin Mohd Isa, Khalil Akashah (Working Secretary), Musa Hitam, Tengku Rithauddeen, Wan Mokhtar Ahmad and Mansor Osman.

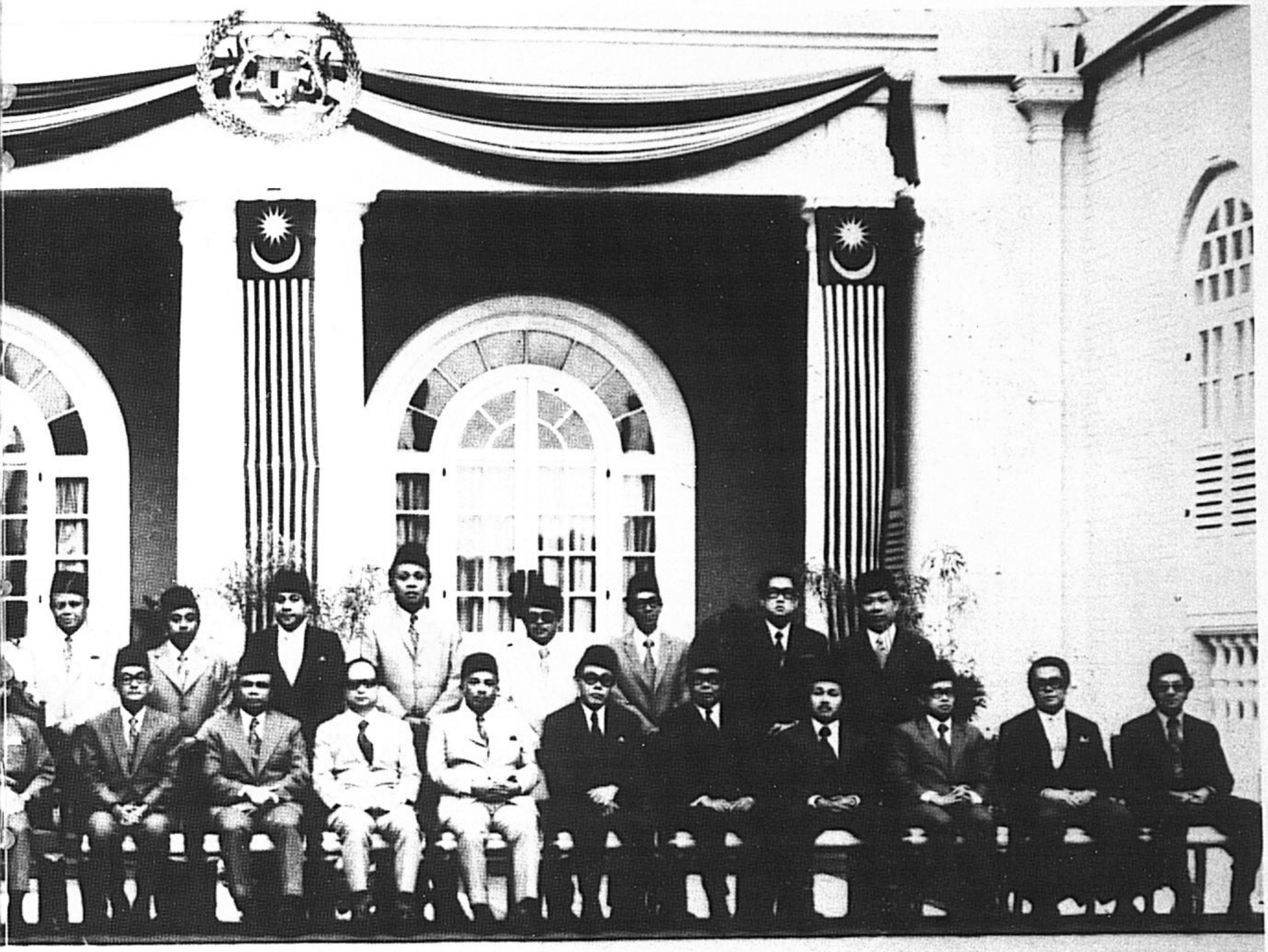


The first *Barisan Nasional* (National Front) cabinet formed by Abdul Razak after the stunning success in the 1974 elections.

Among the radical changes made by Abdul Razak was his appointment of Dr Mahathir Mohamad (seated, far right) as Education Minister to replace Khir Johari who was appointed ambassador with minister's rank.

Mohd Asri Haji Muda from Pas (seated, seventh from right) was appointed Minister with Special Functions.

Seated, from right: Dr Mahathir Mohamad (Education), Michael Chen (New Villages and Housing), Mohamad Yaakob (Energy Technology and Research), Taib Mahmud (General Planning and Socio-economic Research), Ghazali Shafie (Home Affairs), Hamzah Abu Samah (Trade and Industry), Mohd Asri Haji Muda (Special Functions), Lee Siok Yew (Health), Abdul Ghafar Baba (Agriculture), Hussein Onn (Deputy Prime Minister), Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Abdul Razak, Suffian (Lord President), V. Manickavasagam (Telecommunications), Abdul Ghani Gilong (Transport and Public Works), Ong Kee Hui (Local Government and Environment), Lee San Choon (Labour and Manpower), Ali Haji Ahmad (Culture, Youth and Sports), Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen (Information and Special Functions), Musa Hitam (Primary Industries) and Kadir Yusof (Attorney General).



Standing, from left: Paul Leong (Deputy, Primary Industries), Mustafa Jabar (Deputy, Agriculture and Rural Development), Mokhtar Hashim (Deputy, Agriculture and Rural Development), Mohamed Rahmat (Deputy, Public Enterprise), Shariff Ahmad (Deputy, Information), Chong Hon Yan (Deputy, Finance), Richard Ho (Deputy, Transport and Public Works), Athinahappan (Deputy, Law), Abdul Samad Idris (Deputy, Home Affairs), Wan Kadir Ismail (Deputy, Telecommunications), Kamaruddin Mat Isa (Deputy Minister at the Prime Minister's Department), Abdullah Ahmad (Deputy Minister at the Prime Minister's Department), Hassan Adli (Pas; Deputy, Labour and Manpower), Kadir Shamsuddin (Chief Secretary), Abu Bakar Omar (Pas; Deputy, Health), Chan Siang Sun (Deputy, Education), and Dr Sulaiman Daud (Deputy, Land and Mines).



Abdul Razak hoisted by supporters after being returned unopposed to represent the Pekan parliamentary constituency in the 1974 elections. The quality of Abdul Razak's leadership of the *Barisan Nasional* was evident from the election results which gave the BN 135 seats to the oppositions' 19.

“For us in Malaysia, down through the ages, the Straits of Malacca is not a barrier. It is a historical body of water that speaks of an eternal bond which has never been and cannot be severed by the vast ocean or by history.”

Tun Abdul Razak



konfrontasi

The *Konfrontasi* with Indonesia, lasting four years from 13 February 1962 to 13 March 1966, was the most dramatic episode in Abdul Razak's short life.

As Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister he played a prominent role in the diplomatic, military and intelligence operations to fight the Indonesian threat. He also worked towards a peaceful settlement with Indonesia.

If, in Indonesia, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces Sukarno was not aware of the efforts towards peace conducted by his top-ranking officers led by Major General Suharto; in Malaysia too Abdul Razak did not reveal everything about his secret efforts towards peace to Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman or Home Affairs Minister Dr Ismail.

In fact, there were many among the Indonesian army who were not convinced that the *Konfrontasi* would be a success. They were aware that if a military confrontation took place between Indonesia and Malaysia, about 80 per cent of the Indonesian armed forces would be defeated or captured.[1]

Suharto made this calculation based on the existence of a defence agreement between Malaysia and Britain. Faced with this fact he saw the enormous difficulty of launching a direct invasion of Malaysia from the south.[2]

To avoid a disaster, as soon as he took over power from Sukarno on 11 March 1966, Suharto launched a secret operation called Special Operation (*Operasi Khusus* – Opsus) involving Lt Col Kemal Idris, Lt Col Ali Moertopo, Major Benny Moerdani, Lt Col A. Ramli and Lt Col Sugeng Djarot who was then serving in Bangkok as military attache.

They were charged with the task of making contact with Kuala Lumpur, with two persons in particular: Abdul Razak and Ghazali Shafie.

When there was a movement of top Indonesian officials in and out of Kuala Lumpur during *Konfrontasi*, Home Affairs Minister Dr Ismail lodged a protest with Defence Minister Abdul Razak. He took offence at not being informed of the movement of top-ranking Indonesians in Malaysia. As home affairs minister responsible for immigration matters, he was being marginalised, he felt.

"Even though the channels had been opened for some time, this line of communication between the Abdul Razak group and Ali Moertopo continued to be conducted in secrecy. The visit by an Indonesian contact team in Kuala Lumpur was never made known to the British, the mass media and the Malaysian people. In fact this matter was never even reported to Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman himself."[3]

Indonesian contacts with Abdul Razak were made easier by the presence of Indonesian exile Des Alwi in Kuala Lumpur. He was an enemy of Sukarno and a good friend of Abdul Razak during their student days in London.

Earlier on during *Konfrontasi* Major Moerdani, operating under the guise of an officer of the Garuda Indonesia Airways in Bangkok, had been actively involved in smuggling infiltrators into Malaysia and Singapore for sabotage operations. Now he was the person most actively involved in seeking a peaceful solution with Malaysia.

Abdul Razak's first contact with Benny Moerdani was arranged by Des Alwi in his room at the Hotel Amarin in Bangkok in mid 1965. Abdul Razak was there at that time for a golf tournament.[4]

Abdul Razak was impressed by Moerdani who was a handsome man with a stern but relaxed expression.

Razak also thought that Benny's spoken English was very fluent, he was direct, highly disciplined, and correct. Razak used to put it in these words to those around him: "This is the type of officers I like. You see, just like Benny Moerdani."[5]

Benny Moerdani himself felt comfortable with Abdul Razak during this meeting.

"He was optimistic by nature. I liked him the first time I saw him. Tun was very sincere, open and trusted me completely. All the messages that I conveyed to him, either by letter or by mouth, he accepted, he took them at face value. He made the task of ending *Konfrontasi* very easy. He had a high regard for Indonesia and for Dr Hatta," Moerdani said.[6]

Following his meeting with Moerdani, Abdul Razak met Lt Col Ali Moertopo at the Hotel Amarin in Bangkok on his way home from a trip to Burma in December 1965. Further negotiations with Malaysia were entrusted to Moerdani by Ali Moertopo.

An Indonesian army delegation to Malaysia arrived at Subang International Airport on 27 May 1966 as a goodwill gesture. In the delegation were all the officers who were involved in the clandestine operation for a peaceful settlement. They were taken directly to Sri Taman in Kuala Lumpur to meet Abdul Razak.

"From there we flew to Kedah to meet Tunku Abdul Rahman. We were very warmly received, in a spirit of friendship and hospitality because they regarded Indonesians as brothers."[7]

The settlement of *Konfrontasi* with Indonesia came to a dramatic end. The unexpected arrival of the Indonesian army delegation to Kuala Lumpur on 27 May 1966 was followed by a meeting between Abdul Razak and Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik five days later, on 31 May 1966, in Bangkok. The peace treaty with Indonesia was signed by Abdul Razak and Adam Malik on 11 August 1966 in Jakarta.

In his speech at the signing ceremony Abdul Razak hoped that the first friendship agreement between Indonesia and Malaya which he had signed with, among others, Djuanda on 17 April 1959 would be renewed and implemented. The Malaysian delegates' return to Kuala Lumpur was followed within minutes by the Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik and his entourage.

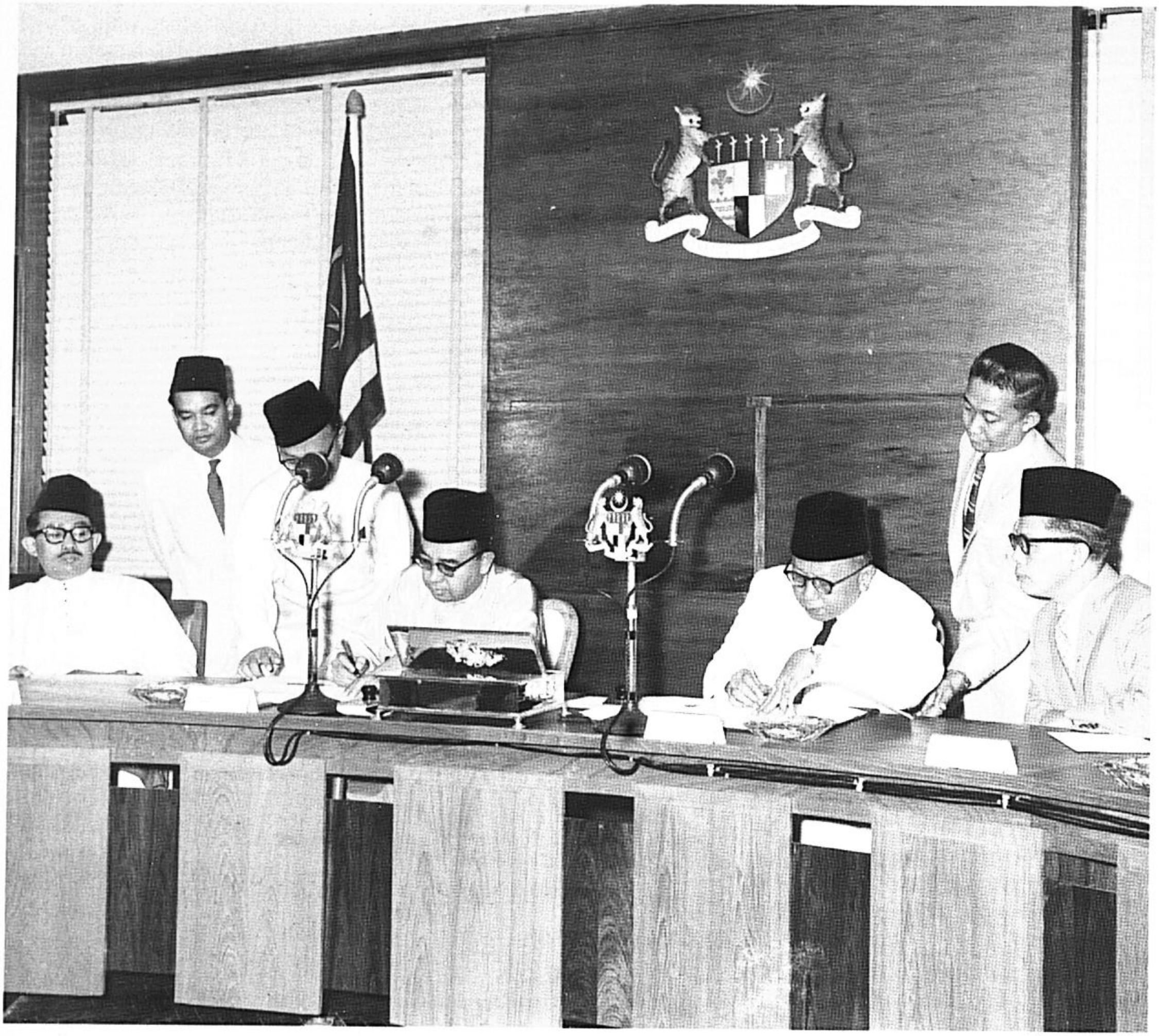
On 17 March 1970, Abdul Razak and Adam Malik signed another friendship agreement between the two countries witnessed by Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman and President Suharto during his official visit to Malaysia.

Abdul Razak went on to become a leader who was much respected and loved by the Indonesian leadership.

Two months before his death in London, Abdul Razak visited Suharto in West Sumatra. There he was received for the last time with great warmth and in total friendship by the Indonesians.

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1. *Kemal Idris: Bertarung Dalam Revolusi* by H. Rosihan Anwar (ed.) et al, Pustaka Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1996, p. 201.
2. *Benny Moerdani: Profil Prajurit Negarawan* by Julius Pour, Yayasan Kejuangan Panglima Besar Sudirman, Jakarta, 1993, p. 323.
3. Ibid, p. 332.
4. Interview with Des Alwi.
5. Op. cit. *Benny Moerdani: Profil Prajurit Negarawan*, p. 330.
6. Interview with Benny Moerdani on 12 June 1996 in Jakarta.
7. Op. cit. *Kemal Idris: Bertarung Dalam Revolusi*, p. 202.



The first Indonesia-Malaya friendship treaty was signed by Malayan Prime Minister Abdul Razak and Indonesian Prime Minister Dr Djuanda (in white jacket) on 17 April 1959. Looking on, far left, is Dr Ismail, and far right, Dr Mohd Razif, Indonesian ambassador to Malaysia. Abdul Razak was then prime minister following the Tunku's resignation to devote his time to the 1959 general election, the first after Independence.

Since Independence, Abdul Razak had played an important role in forging strong links with Indonesia especially in the field of culture. He signed the friendship treaty with Indonesia a day after taking over the post of Prime Minister from Tunku Abdul Rahman. When he signed the treaty, Abdul Razak said: "We have achieved what we have been aspiring in our hearts for a long time to re-establish the ties with our brothers which had been severed by Western colonists."

Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Razak with Indonesian President Sukarno during the former's first official visit to Indonesia in 1959 to strengthen ties between the two countries.





Tunku Abdul Rahman speaking during the signing of the treaty for the formation of Malaysia on 8 July 1963 in London. In spite of the stiff opposition from Indonesia, the formation of Malaysia went ahead after the treaty. The Tunku, Abdul Razak and Tan Siew Sin represented Malaysia, while Britain was represented by its prime minister Harold MacMillan, Duncan Sandys, Sir William Goode and Sir Alex Waddell. On 13 February 1962 President Sukarno declared in Jakarta that Malaysia was a neo-colonialist project which had to be destroyed.



Abdul Razak in consultation with the Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ghazali Shafie, on matters concerning the treaty for the formation of Malaysia before departing for London on 25 June 1963 as leader of the delegation to continue negotiations of the Malaysian Constitution. At that time Indonesia had already stepped up its campaign to 'Crush Malaysia'.



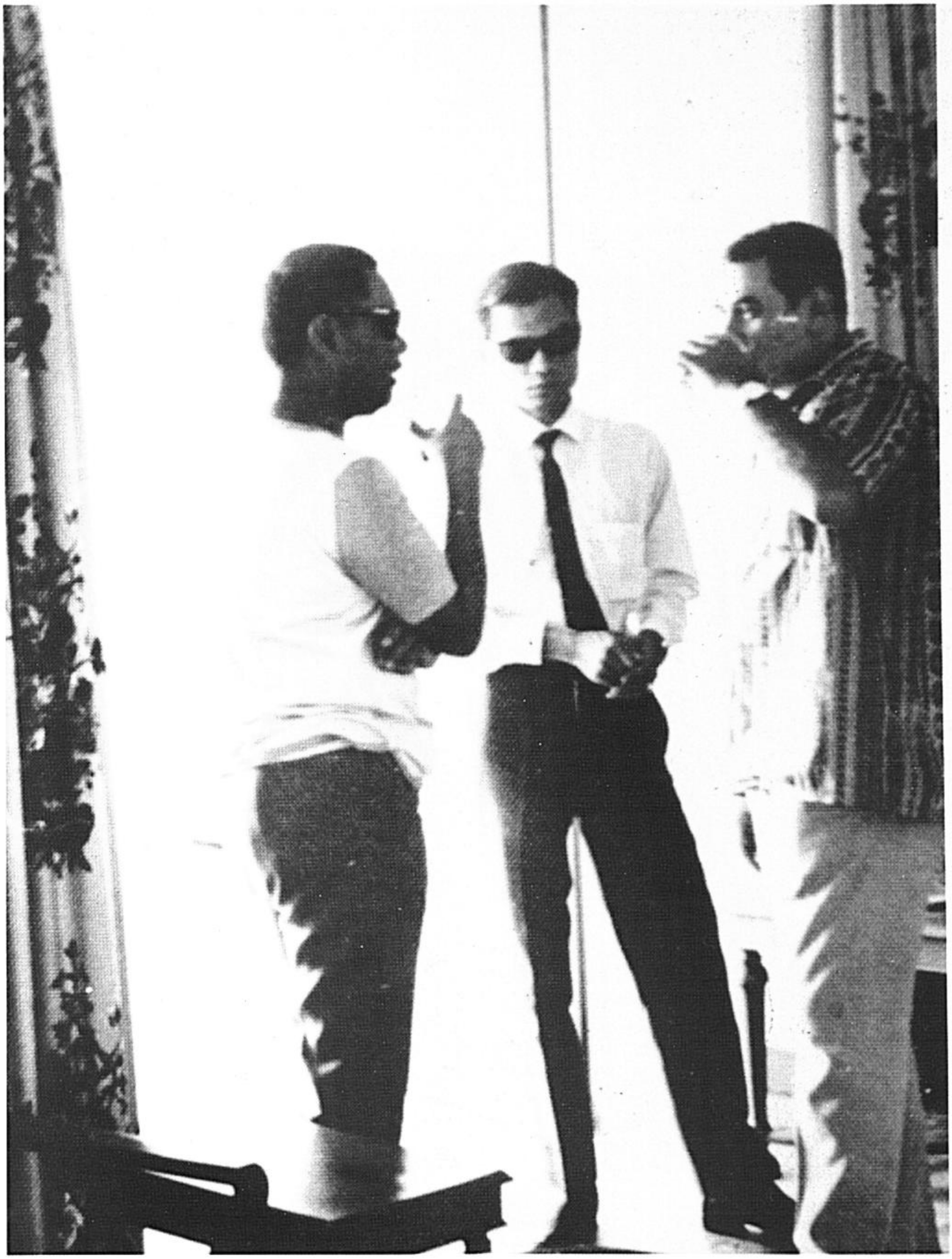
Malaysian Foreign Minister Abdul Razak, Philippine Foreign Minister Emmanuel Pelaez (centre), and Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio (right) signing a document known as the Manila Accord for co-operation for stability and security in the region. Among other things it proposed the formation of Maphilindo for co-operation between the three countries which shared a Malay cultural heritage.

The treaty was signed during a meeting in Manila from 7 - 11 June 1963 following Indonesian and Filipino opposition to the formation of Malaysia.

Abdul Razak however realised that this was a mere ploy by the two countries to delay the formation of Malaysia.



The United Nations, concerned about the stability of the Southeast Asian region following the Indonesian *Konfrontasi*, sent their envoy Narasinham in April 1963 to gauge the feelings of the people of Borneo towards joining Malaysia to report to the secretary general. Narasinham met Abdul Razak at his office in Kuala Lumpur.

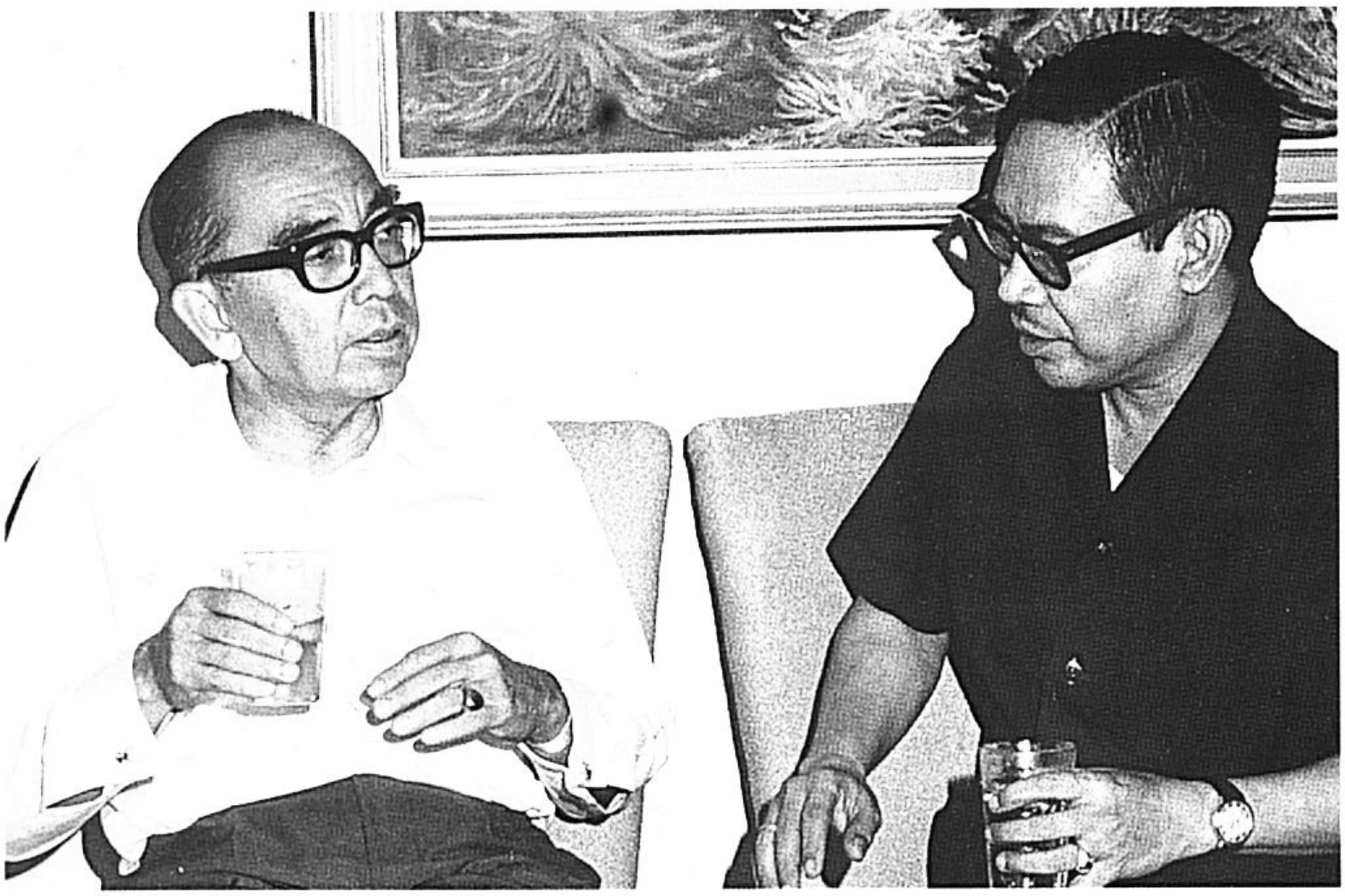


Des Alwi (right), an Indonesian opponent of Sukarno, was given political asylum in Malaysia. He became Malaysia's secret envoy to meet anti-Sukarno groups in Indonesia during the *Konfrontasi* (1962-1966).

Des is giving the last report to Ghazali Shafie and a top-ranking officer of the Malaysian police at Abdul Razak's residence in Kuala Lumpur.



Abdul Razak in conversation with Home Affairs Minister Dr Ismail, possibly about his plans to meet a secret Indonesian delegation in Bangkok. This photograph was taken before Abdul Razak departed from Subang Airport on an official visit to Burma in December 1965. Also there to bid him farewell were Armed Forces Chief General Ibrahim Ismail and Chief of Police Salleh Ismail.



A secret meeting between Abdul Razak and Lt Col Ali Moertopo from the Indonesian Intelligence at the Hotel Amarin, Bangkok in December 1965. This was part of the effort towards a peaceful settlement with Indonesia.



A few days prior to the unscheduled arrival of the Indonesian military mission for peace at Subang International Airport, Abdul Razak, who was then on a tour of Sarawak, received a message from Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik. He is seen here showing the message to Sarawak Affairs Minister Temenggung Jugah.



A happy moment for Abdul Razak with Lt Col Ali Moertopo and Lt Col Kemal Idris during a brief visit by the Indonesian military mission to Malaysia during the *Konfrontasi* as a gesture of goodwill. The mission, headed by Admiral Syaaf, arrived in Kuala Lumpur in the morning of 27 May 1966 and stayed for half a day.



Members of the Indonesian military mission in the Operations Room with Abdul Razak soon after their surprise arrival in Kuala Lumpur. Kemal Idris wrote in *Bertarung Dalam Revolusi*, "The visit was received with great warmth. We were shown the Operations Room for development in Malaysia by Abdul Razak himself. There we saw the programmes for short and long term developments in progress."



Warm camaraderie between Malaysian and Indonesian leaders after a formula for peace was agreed on in Bangkok, 31 May 1966. From left, Ghazali Shafie, Adam Malik, Abdul Razak and Admiral Syaaf. The meeting was held four days after the Indonesian peace mission to Kuala Lumpur. At this meeting Indonesia formally announced its recognition of Malaysia as an independent and sovereign nation.



The dramatic ending of *Konfrontasi* did not take place in Bangkok. On 11 August 1966 Abdul Razak led a delegation of Malaysian leaders on a reciprocal visit to Indonesia.

The Indonesian people lined up along the roads in Jakarta to give the mission a rapturous welcome.

It was evident to the Malaysians that *Konfrontasi* was not the wish of the Indonesian people.

In his book, Lt General Kemal Idris wrote: "Even though the Indonesian army disagreed with the wishes of Bung Karno, there had to be compliance because they were the wishes of the Supreme Commander."







On signing the peace treaty, Abdul Razak and his entourage visited the Tomb of Warriors in Indonesia where top Indonesian army officers, brutally murdered by the communists, were buried. Their bodies were dumped in a place called the 'Crocodile Hole' (*Lubang Buaya*) during the revolt led by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in 1965.

Abdul Razak seen praying at the grave of General Achmad Yani. Beside him are Ghafar Baba (on his left), and Sambanthan (far left). On far right with dark glasses is Hamzah Alang, a popular UMNO leader in the 1960s, and to his right, Michael Chen. Abdullah Ahmad, Political Secretary to the Prime Minister, is wearing a *songkok*.

Earlier, on 17 April 1959 Abdul Razak signed a friendship treaty with Indonesian Prime Minister Djuanda. Now he signs another one with Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik on 11 August 1966 to end *Konfrontasi*.

Watching over Adam Malik is President Suharto who directed the Special Operation (Opsus) to end *Konfrontasi*.

To Suharto's right are chief of Malaysia's land forces General Hamid Bidin and Director of the Police Special Branch Abdul Rahman Hashim.





After signing the Indonesia-Malaysia peace treaty, Abdul Razak and Adam Malik paid a courtesy call on President Sukarno.

Even though the Indonesian multitude welcomed the ending of *Konfrontasi*, this picture captures clearly the look of helpless resignation on Sukarno's face at a time when he had lost power though he still held the post of president. Sukarno, the man who wanted to crush Malaysia, seems detached from the reality that is before him. He looks sad, defeated and humiliated while Abdul Razak and Adam Malik engage in animated conversation.





More than 20 000 Malaysians from all races gather to welcome Abdul Razak back from Jakarta with banners congratulating him and welcoming the Indonesia-Malaysia peace agreement at Subang International Airport, the morning of 12 August 1966.



The height of the drama that ended the Indonesian *Konfrontasi* was Abdul Razak's return to Malaysia a day after signing the peace agreement in Jakarta, followed by another arrival, within minutes, of a goodwill mission flight of the Indonesian air force plane carrying a delegation led by Foreign Minister Adam Malik.

A journalist from Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), to Abdul Razak's right, is seen giving live commentary on this historic occasion.

Abdul Razak, who arrived first, warmly welcoming Adam Malik on his arrival several minutes later at the Subang International Airport, Kuala Lumpur.

AGREEMENT TO NORMALISE RELATIONS
between
MALAYSIA
and
THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Recognising the need for close and friendly relations between Malaysia and Indonesia and to create a climate conducive to cooperation between the two countries, in the spirit of the Manila Agreement and of brotherliness between the two peoples bound together by history and culture from time immemorial

MALAYSIA
and
THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

have decided to conclude an Agreement to normalise relations between Malaysia and the Republic of Indonesia and to this end have appointed as their plenipotentiaries :

for the Government of Malaysia :
His Excellency Tun Abdul Razak bin Dato Hussein,
Deputy Prime Minister/Minister for Defence,
Malaysia,

for the Government of the Republic of Indonesia :
His Excellency Mr. Adam Malik,
Presidium Minister for Political Affairs/Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Republic of Indonesia,

who, having examined each other's credentials and having found them good and in due form, have agreed as follows :

Article 1

1. The Government of Malaysia in order to resolve the problems between the two countries arising out of the formation of Malaysia, agrees to afford the people of Sabah and Sarawak, who are directly involved, an opportunity to reaffirm, as soon as practicable, in a free and democratic manner through General Elections, their previous decision about their status in Malaysia.

Article 2

2. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia in its desire for close cooperation and friendship between Indonesia and Malaysia, agrees, and the Government of Malaysia concurs, that diplomatic relations between the two countries shall be established immediately and that they shall exchange diplomatic representation as soon as possible.

Article 3

3. The Government of Malaysia and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia agree that in view of the above, hostile acts between the two countries shall cease forthwith.

Article 4

4. This Agreement shall come into force on the date of signature.

This in witness whereof the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto by the respective Governments, have signed this Agreement.

Done at Djakarta in duplicate, this eleventh day of August, 1966.-

For the Government of Malaysia

TUN ABDUL RAZAK BIN DATO HUSSEIN

For the Government of the Republic of Indonesia

ADAM MALIK

The agreement to restore peaceful relations between Malaysia and Indonesia signed by Abdul Razak and Adam Malik on 11 August 1966 in Jakarta.



Prayers during a rapturous welcome to Abdul Razak on his triumphant return from Jakarta in Subang International Airport. On 12 August 1966, millions of Indonesians and Malaysians who were represented by these two leaders, Adam Malik and Abdul Razak, joined in this thanksgiving and a supplication to Allah for continued peace between the two countries.



During President Suharto's visit to Malaysia in March 1970, Abdul Razak and Adam Malik once again signed a peace agreement and an agreement on territorial waters which had been delayed by the *Konfrontasi*. This signing ceremony, which took place at Wisma Putra on 17 March 1970, was witnessed by President Suharto and Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman.

“When a racial riot erupted in Kuala Lumpur on the afternoon of 13 May 1969, Abdul Razak as Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister immediately ordered the security forces to take action to check its spread. A state of emergency was declared on 14 May, Parliament and the State Assemblies were suspended on 16 May, and on the same day the country was placed under the rule of the National Operations Council (NOC).”

The writer



from the NOC to a new era

Abdul Razak said that 13 May would be remembered as 'a day of national tragedy,'[1] but under his astute leadership, the tragedy gave birth to a policy and ideology that helped bring into reality the beautiful aspirations of his people in a short time.

He transformed the negative emotions of hate and communalism which burnt furiously during the period of racial riots into a rallying point for the energies and the thinking of a multiracial society in order to shape an effective strategy that would bring solidarity and harmony into the country.

When a racial riot erupted in Kuala Lumpur on the afternoon of 13 May 1969, Abdul Razak as Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister immediately ordered the security forces to take action to check its spread. A state of emergency was declared on 14 May, Parliament and the State Assemblies were suspended on 16 May, and on the same day the country was placed under the rule of the National Operations Council (NOC).

On 17 May, Abdul Razak assumed responsibility as the Director of NOC which ruled by decree to restore public order in the country by co-ordinating the public administration work, the police and the army.

Among other immediate measures taken by him was to order the delivery of food supplies to areas affected by civil unrest such as Kampung Baharu, Kampung Pandan, Sentul and others around Kuala Lumpur.

On 16 May, Abdul Razak rushed to the Kampung Baharu mosque to disperse a crowd that was gathering there. He gave them an assurance that the situation was under control and that they could return to their homes.

Once he was certain that the situation throughout the country was under control, Abdul Razak, the man who had formed an opinion early in the day that the NOC was only a temporary measure, asked members of the council to make preparations for a return to democracy.

Following that the *Rukun Negara* (Principles of Nationhood) was declared and the National Consultative Council was set up for frank discussions behind closed doors to formulate a national policy and ideology which would ensure that the May 13 incident would not be repeated.

This council comprised represent-atives of the government, political parties including the opposition, leaders from various sections of the commun-ity, religious leaders, professionals and the intellectuals. His task was made easier for he not only received the support of political parties but also the co-operation and full dedication of his officers.

"Abdul Razak's orders as Director of the NOC were received by his officers with full commitment. He himself never showed his emotions during discussions and in giving his directives."[2]

Abdul Razak told officials: "I am a politician but you are the ones carrying out the task of looking after national security. Do not listen to my political views; the security of the people is of the utmost importance."[3]

On 22 September 1970, when the country was still under NOC rule, Abdul Razak took over the post of Prime Minister from Tunku Abdul Rahman, the man who had held it for 15 years.

The Tunku submitted his resignation to the King, Tuanku Abdul Halim ibni Sultan

Badli Shah, his own nephew, a day after the latter assumed his post. Abdul Razak was sworn in as Malaysia's second Prime Minister immediately after the Tunku had handed his resignation letter.

An hour after the ceremony the Tunku and Abdul Razak attended a special meeting with UMNO leaders from the whole country at the Language and Literature Agency.

The Tunku told the assembly that he would not be in the contest for UMNO presidency in the next UMNO general assembly and called on all UMNO members to give their trust and support to Abdul Razak as leader of the party and Prime Minister.

Abdul Razak gave his undertaking to run the government according to the wishes and the aspirations of UMNO.

Five months later, on 23 February 1971, Abdul Razak brought the nation back to democracy after 21 months of NOC rule.

In his first address to Parliament as Prime Minister on 23 February 1971 Abdul Razak said:

"The disturbances of 13 May 1969 were a black spot in our nation's history, but by the will of Allah, we have been able to adopt policies and take firm and effective measures to save the people and the nation from plunging into the abyss."

He announced a bill to amend some provisions of the Constitution for two principle reasons:

To stop public discussions of sensitive issues to ensure the smooth progress of democracy.

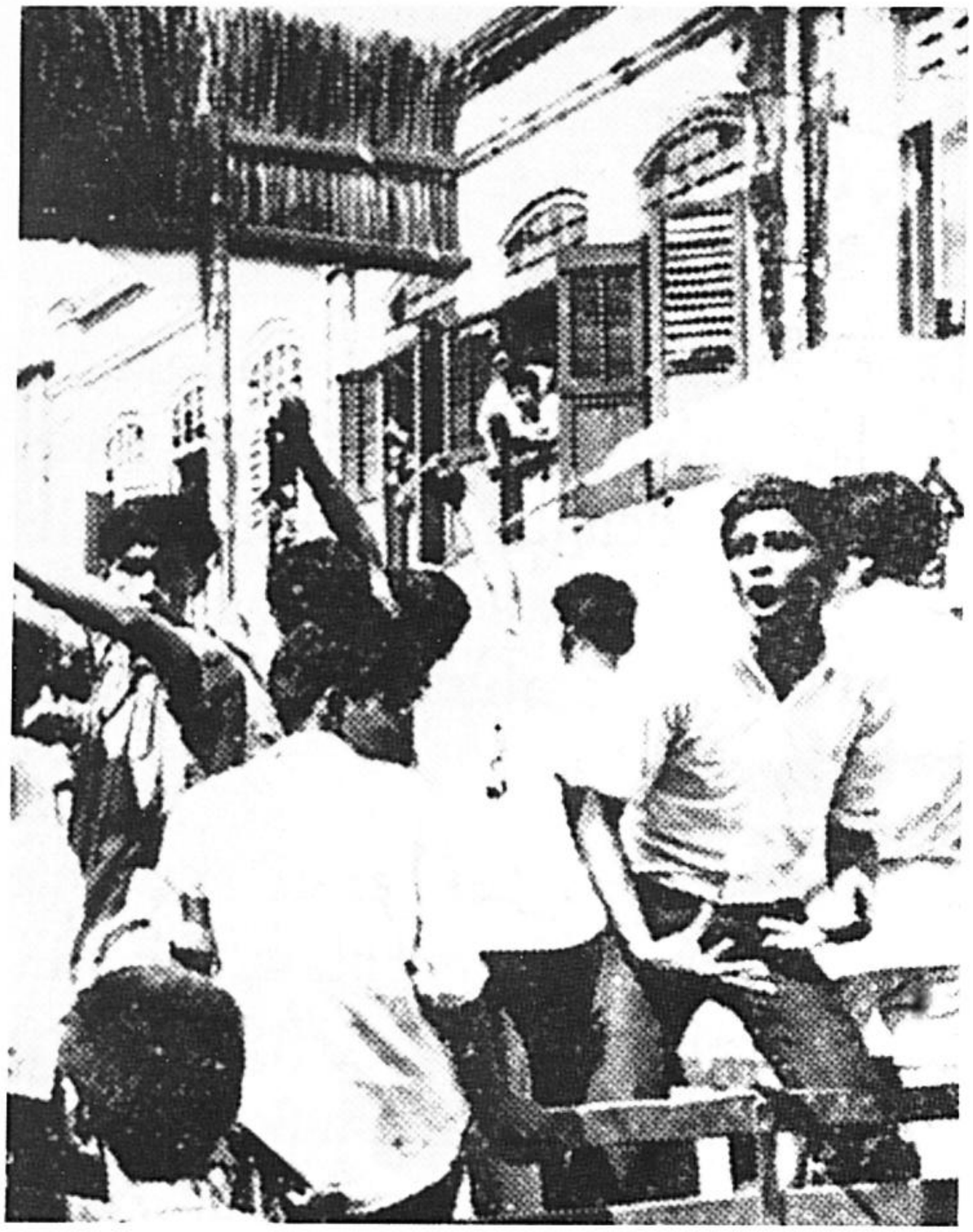
To correct, through the law, some imbalances between the races.

In July 1971, Abdul Razak announced the New Economic Policy (NEP) under the Second Malaysia Plan. The NEP was aimed at the eradication of poverty among the people regardless of race and the restructuring of society to correct the economic imbalance between the races.

Abdul Razak emerged from the trauma of May 13 as a Prime Minister who was not only highly regarded by the people and by the component parties of the Alliance, but also by the opposition parties which had earlier regarded him as a Malay chauvinist.

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1. Said during his speech in tabling the Constitutional amendment bill in Parliament on 23 February 1971.
2. Interview with Datuk Amir Haji Yaakob on 25 July 1996.
3. Ibid.



A procession to celebrate the election victory of the opposition party in Kuala Lumpur in the build-up to the May 13 incident. Participants carried brooms and taunted bystanders.



Cars being burnt during communal riots in Jalan Raja Muda in Kampung Baharu, Kuala Lumpur.



The May 13 incident claimed 300 lives and more than 1000 people were injured. This picture shows the frame of a shophouse in Jalan Campbell (now Jalan Dang Wangi) which was burnt during the riots.

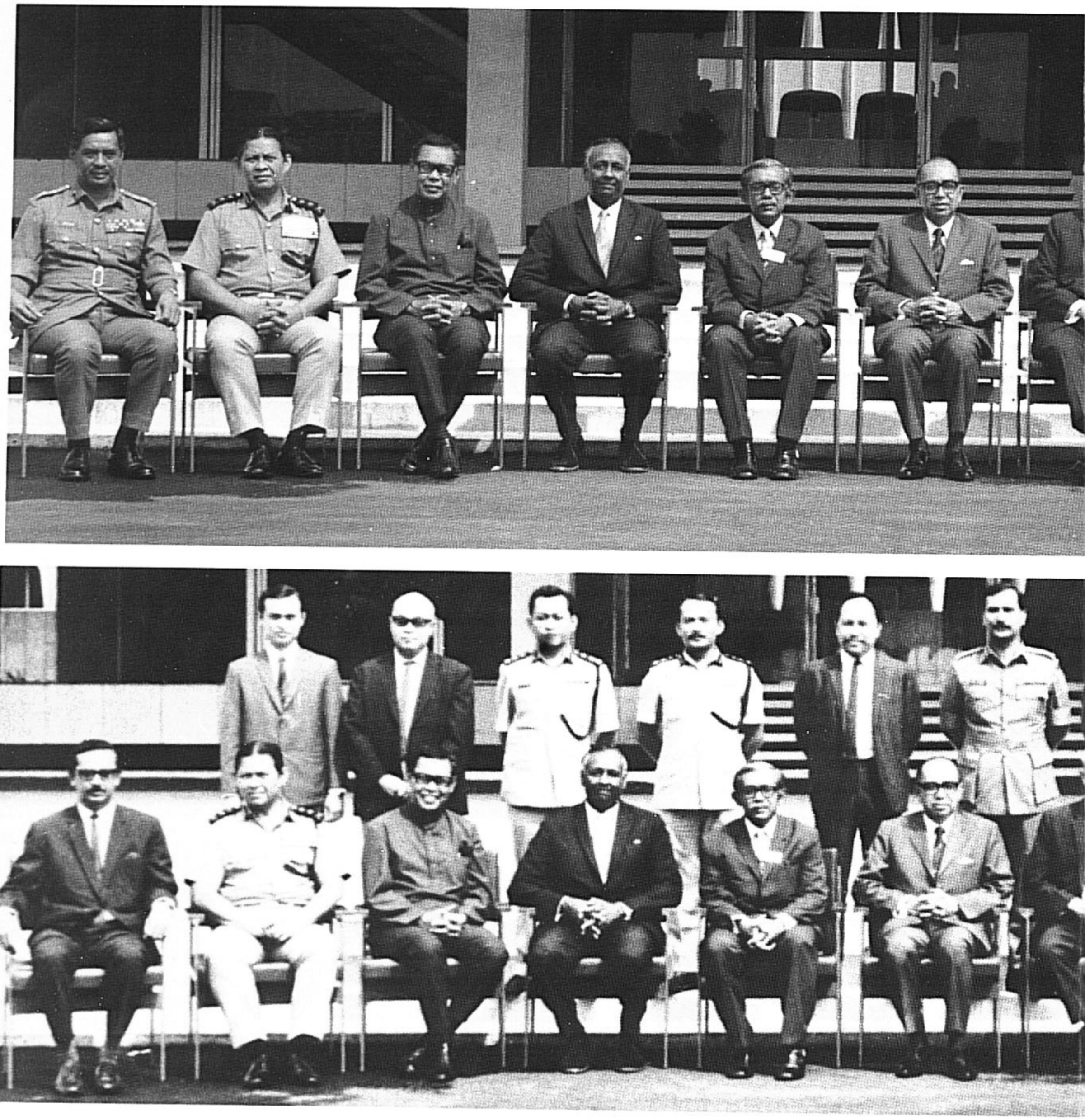
The procession to celebrate the election victory of the opposition parties after the 1969 general elections overstepped tolerable limits especially in Penang and Kuala Lumpur. This finally ended in communal riots in Kuala Lumpur on 13 May 1969. An issue hotly promoted during the elections was that of a Malaysian Malaysia, the seed of which was planted by Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew before the city state was expelled from Malaysia. This idea was later inherited by an opposition party in Malaysia which campaigned for a just and equal society without special privileges for the Malays but based on meritocracy. When riots erupted on the afternoon of 13 May 1969, they immediately destroyed the racial harmony which had been nurtured since Independence; cars and houses were burnt, property destroyed and people were killed for racial reasons. Abdul Razak described it as a 'dark tragedy'. These pictures were taken from the book *Before and After 13 May* by Tunku Abdul Rahman.

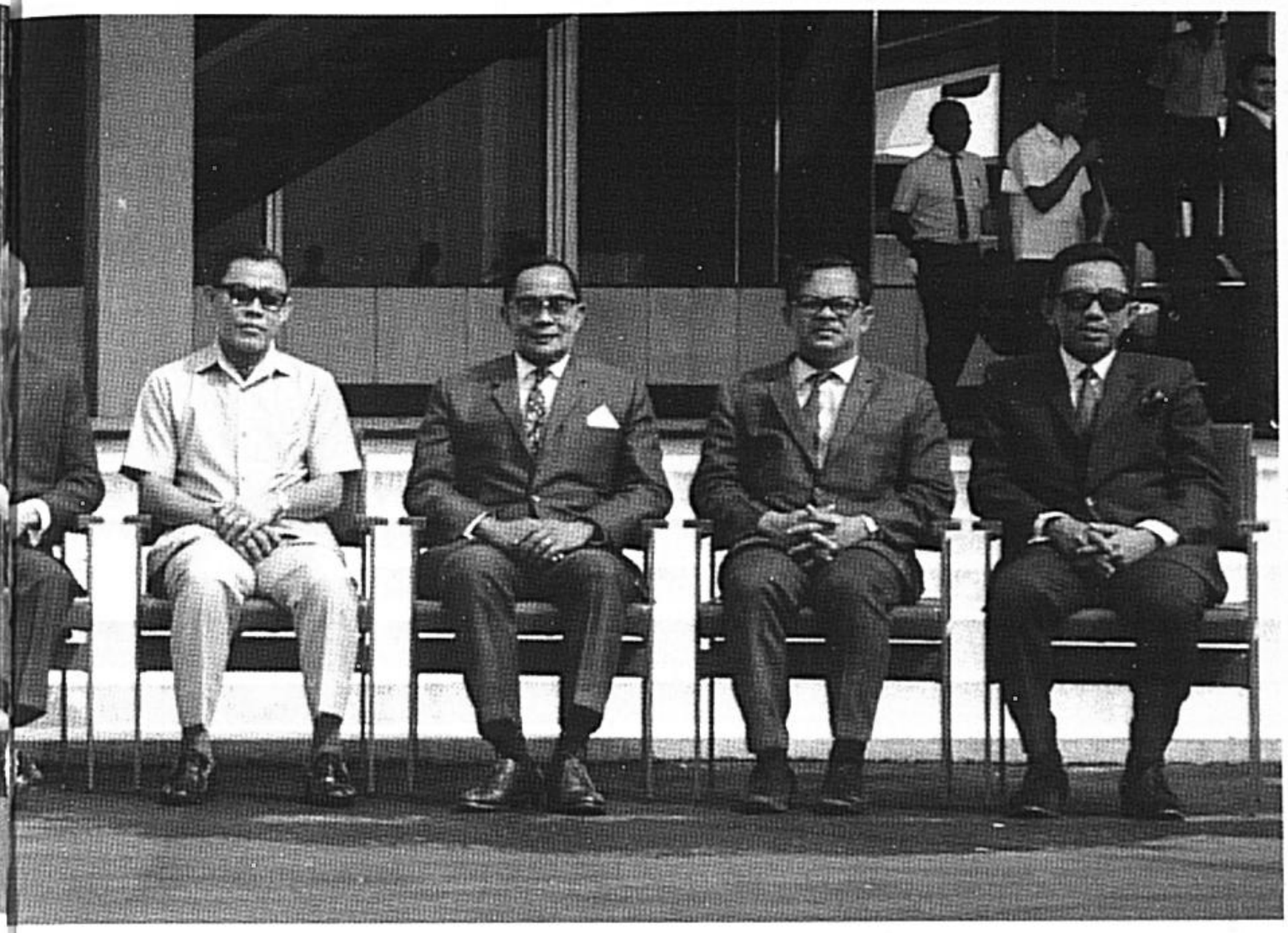


The last NOC meeting on 17 February 1971 was opened and closed with a prayer.

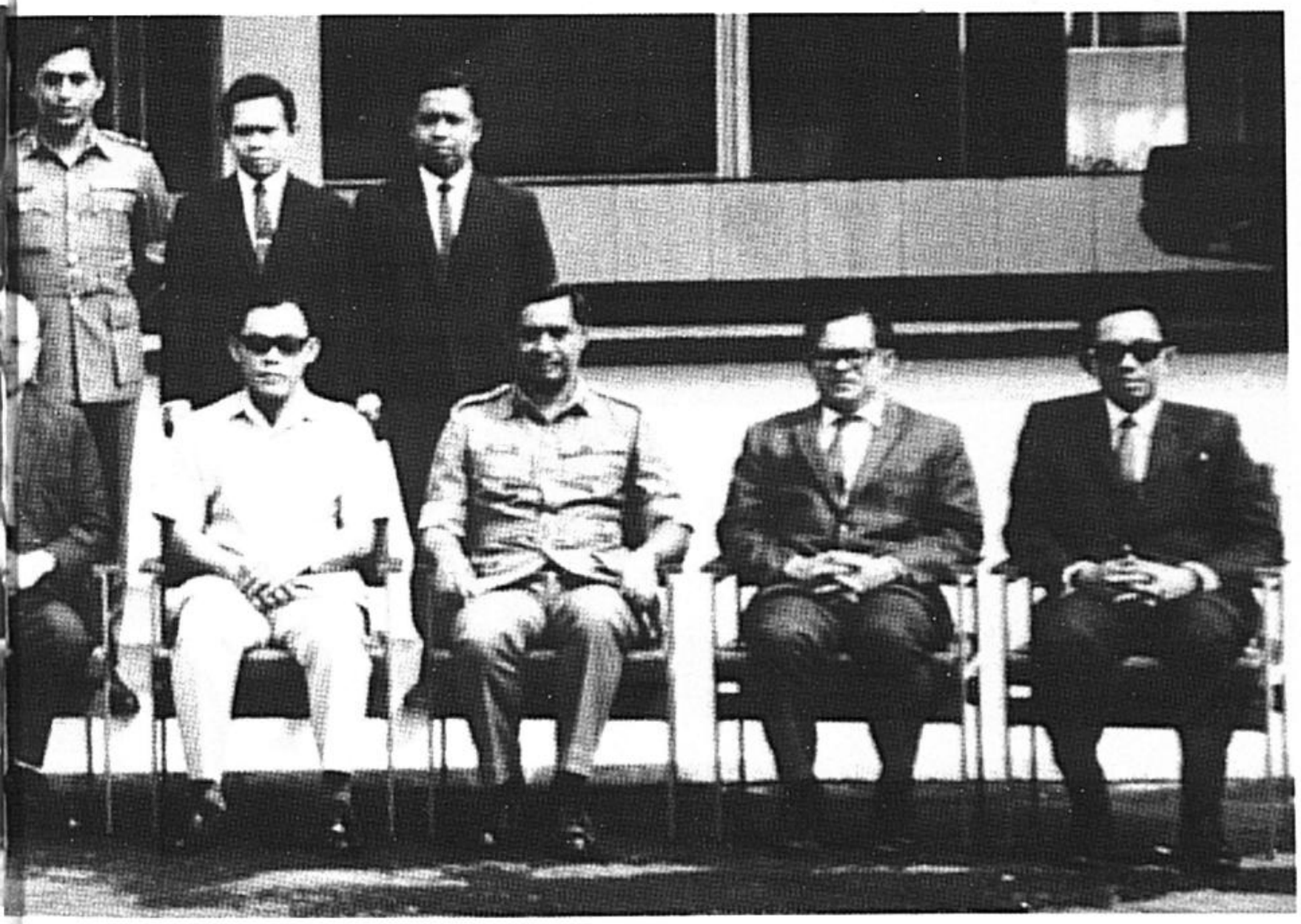
From left: Salleh Ismail, C.C. Too, Abdul Kadir Shamsuddin, Ghazali Shafie, Hamzah Abu Samah, Tan Siew Sin and Abdul Razak.

From right: General Ibrahim Ismail, V. T. Sambanthan and Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman.



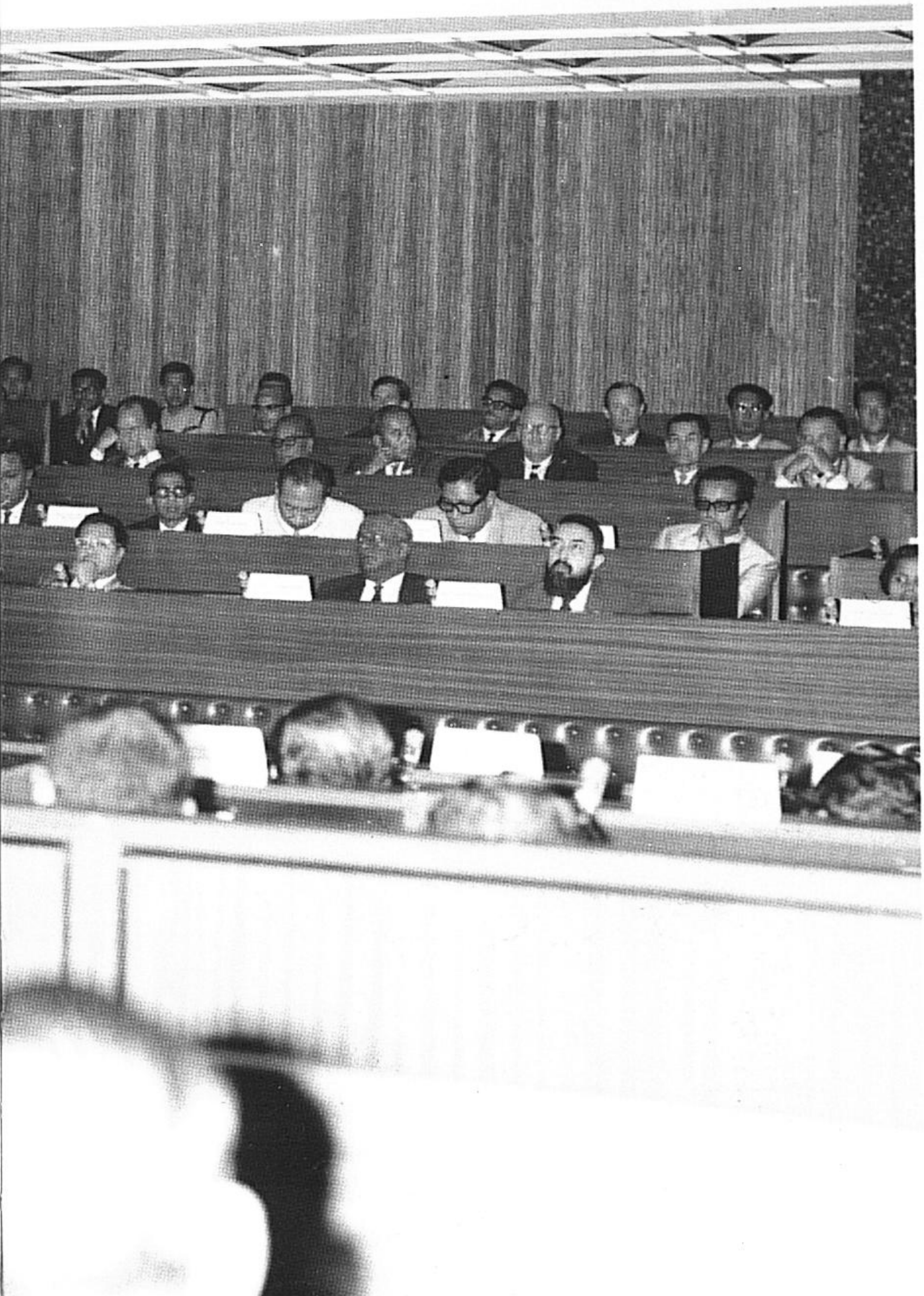


Members of the NOC.
From left: General Ibrahim Ismail (Chief of Staff, Armed Forces), Salleh Ismail (Chief of Police), Ghazali Shafie, Sambanthan, Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman, Abdul Razak, Tan Siew Sin, Hamzah Abu Samah, General Tunku Osman Jewa, Abdul Kadir Shamsuddin (Head of Civil Administration), Abdul Rahman Hamidon (Secretary, NOC).

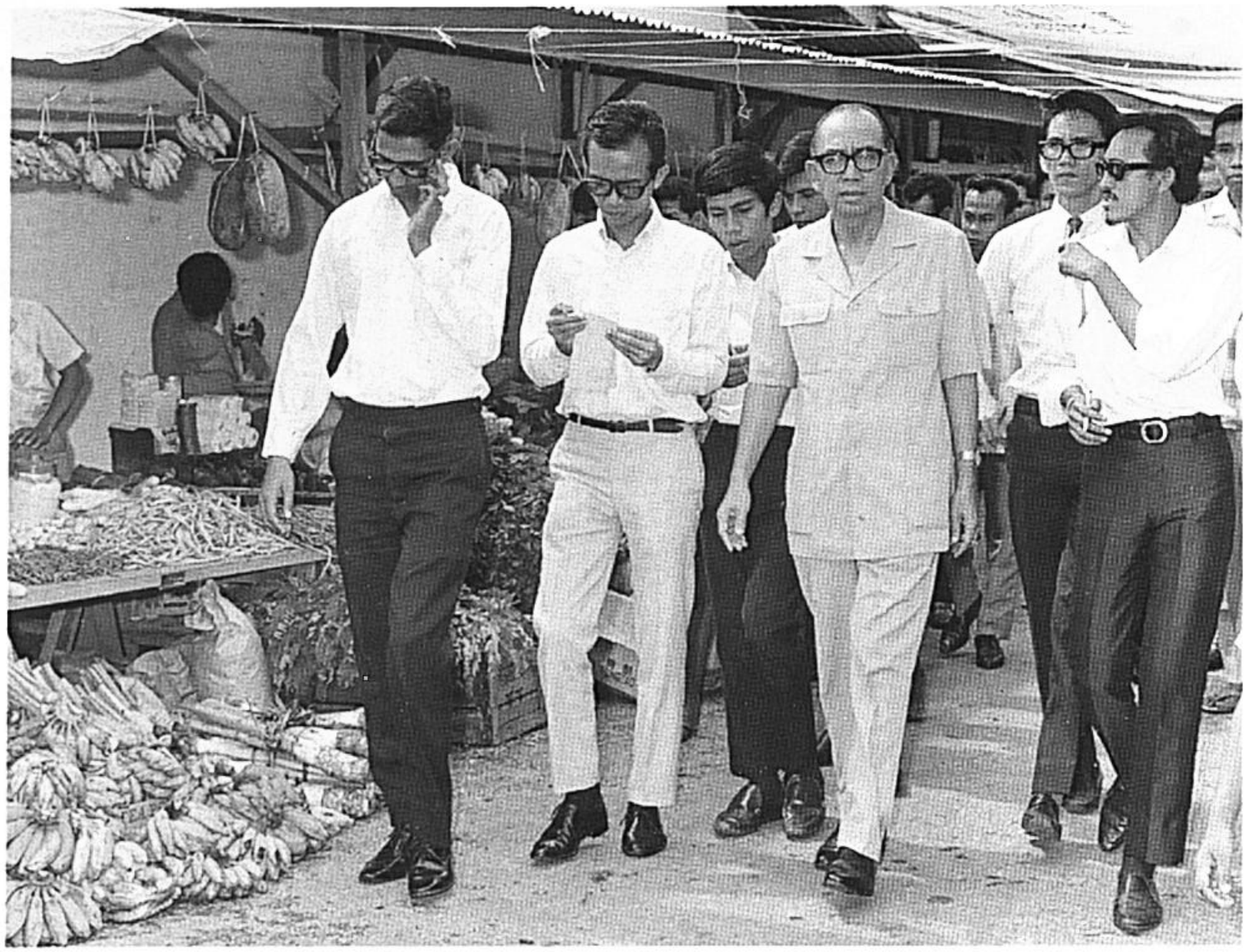


Council Members and Administrative Officers.
Seated, from left: Azizan Zainal Abidin, Salleh Ismail, Ghazali Shafie, Sambanthan, Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman, Abdul Razak, Tan Siew Sin, Hamzah Abu Samah, General Tunku Osman Jewa, Abdul Kadir Shamsuddin, Abdul Rahman Hamidon.
Standing, from left: Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (Chief Deputy Secretary of Public Affairs), C.C. Too (Head of Psychological Warfare), Yahya Yeop Ishak, Haniff Omar, Amir Yaakob, Wan Ismail Wan Salleh, Ghazali Che Mat, Yusuf Rashid (Legal Adviser, NOC), Sharif Buruk.





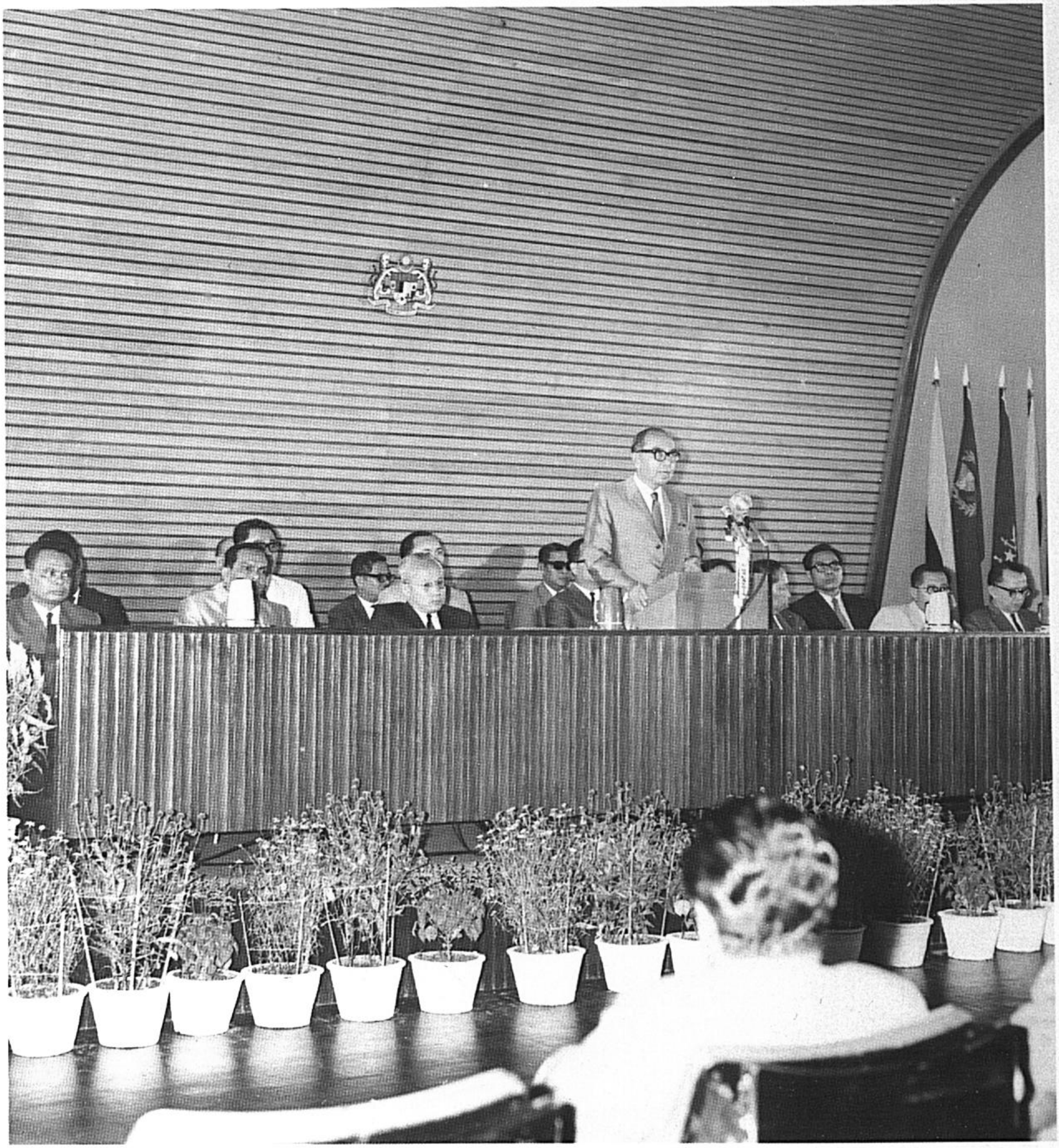
Abdul Razak giving a speech during the opening ceremony of the National Consultative Council at Parliament House on 21 January 1970. This council comprised representatives from various social, religious and political bodies, the professions, academicians and others. The council, formed after the May 13 incident, was responsible for seeking a formula to guarantee peace in a multiracial society once democracy was restored. The opposition party DAP declined membership of the council.



The situation in Kuala Lumpur was still tense when Abdul Razak toured Jalan Chow Kit and Kampung Baharu with journalists in July 1969. In his speech on radio and television on 13 June 1969, Abdul Razak reminded that "the people of Malaysia – the Malays, Chinese, Indians and others – must be prepared to live together as brothers if the strength of Malaysia's multi-racial society was to continue and prosper."



Abdul Razak being briefed on the latest situation two months after the May 13 incident by police and army officers at the office of the Selangor State Secretary. Haniff Omar (second from left) became the Chief of Staff, Police, in the NOC.



Abdul Razak as the NOC Director and Finance Minister announcing the 1970 budget to a special assembly attended by representatives of the people, top government officials and community leaders at the Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman in January 1970.





Meeting the children during a visit to Jalan Raja Bot, a 'sensitive' area in Kuala Lumpur on the first anniversary of the bloody May 13 incident.





A crowd from Jalan Chow Kit was given assurance by Abdul Razak that the situation was under control. Abdul Razak's visit to 'sensitive' areas around Kuala Lumpur on the first anniversary of 13 May was to convince the people that the incident would not be repeated and they could go about their daily life without fear. The areas visited were Jalan Chow Kit, Kampung Baharu, Sentul Pasar, Kampung Datuk Keramat and Setapak. Goodwill meetings were held in those areas to restore friendship between the people of various races. However there were rumours that troubles would recur on this first anniversary. Many people stayed home on that day, but nothing untoward happened.





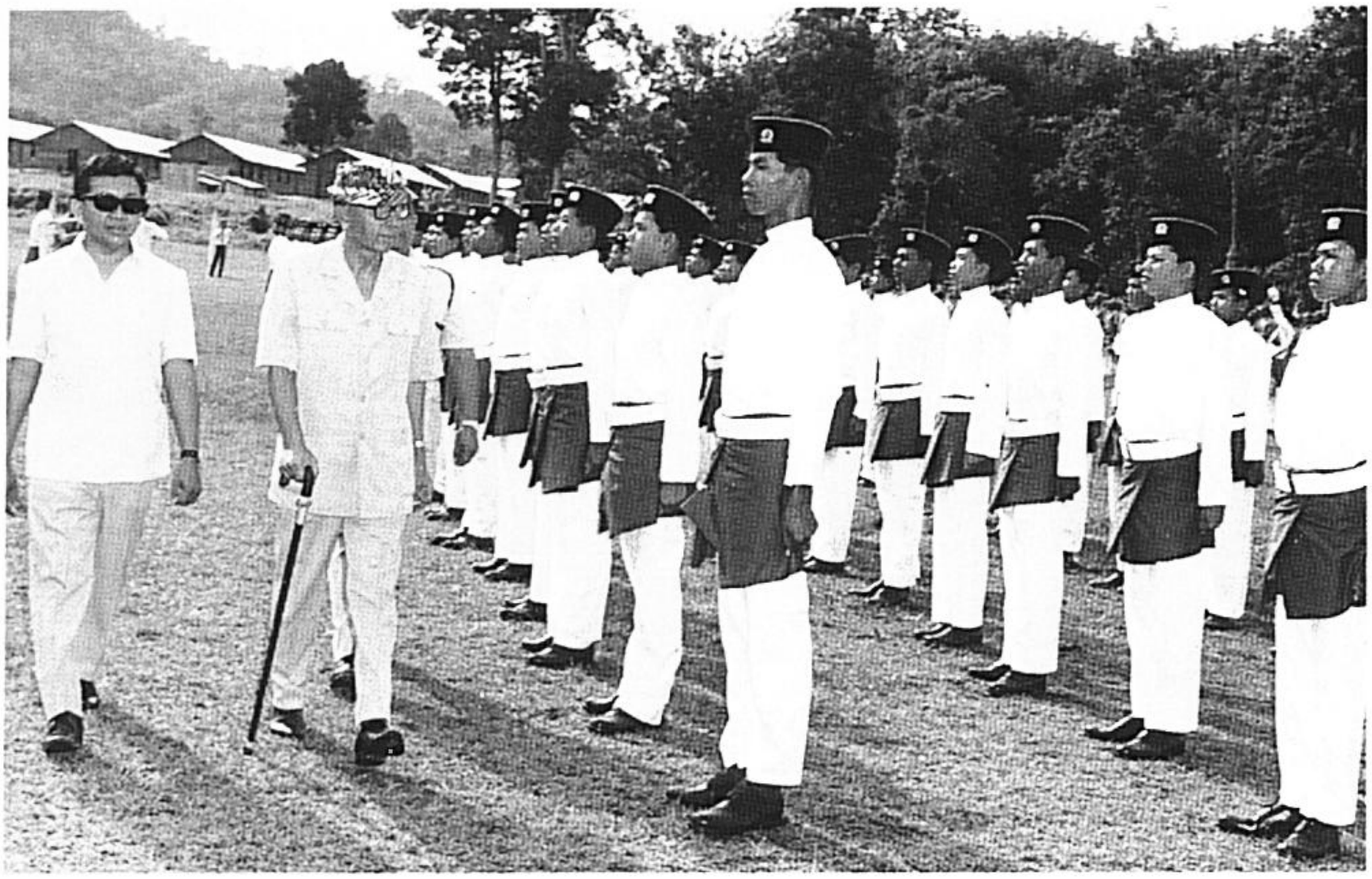
Abdul Razak's cabinet, 1970, with only three new additions: Ghazali Shafie, who was appointed Minister with Special Functions; Hussein Onn, Education Minister; and Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen Tengku Ismail, Junior Agriculture Minister.

Abdul Razak retained most of the cabinet members he inherited from Tunku Abdul Rahman except for Khaw Kai Boh who withdrew from selection. Besides holding the post of Prime Minister, Abdul Razak also held the posts of Foreign and Defence Minister. Dr Ismail was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs.

Seated, from left: Mohd Khir Johari, Sardon Jubir, Dr Ismail, Abdul Razak, V.T. Sambanthan, Ong Yoke Lin, V. Manickavasagam.

Standing, from left: Hussein Onn, Fatimah Hashim, Lee Siok Yew, Ghafar Baba, Ghazali Jawi, Abdul Ghani Gilong, Hamzah Abu Samah, Abdul Kadir Yusuf and Ghazali Shafie.

On 23 September 1970, a day after Tunku Abdul Rahman's resignation, Abdul Razak was sworn in as Malaysia's second Prime Minister before the Agong, Tuanku Abdul Halim, in the Throne Room, Istana Negara, Kuala Lumpur. Twenty-one members of the Abdul Razak cabinet were also sworn in on the same day.



Inspecting the parade at the Youth Skills Training Centre at Dusun Tua, Ulu Langat, accompanied by its commander Sukor Ali in 1969. The urgent problem immediately tackled by Abdul Razak when he became the NOC Director was Malay youth unemployment, especially among those with Malay secondary school qualification because of their lack of proficiency in English. Abdul Razak ordered the setting up of a training centre to train them in all areas of skill needed by the country.



A national banquet was held at Parliament House on the Tunku's resignation from the post of Prime Minister on 22 September 1970. Abdul Razak presented a souvenir to the Tunku during the banquet. "The Tunku's deed was not only to UMNO, but also to the people and the nation. He will be remembered for posterity and will continue to inspire and act as a role model for our leaders and warriors in the future," he said.



Abdul Razak being given a rousing welcome during his first official visit to Sabah as Prime Minister on 26 June 1971. Welcoming him with state dignitaries were representatives from the Sabah *bumiputera* community in their traditional costumes.

Sabah Chief Minister Mustapha Datu Harun here seen accompanying Abdul Razak and wife Rahah in inspecting the line-up of tribal people.

Mustapha did not give the same respect and loyalty to Abdul Razak as he had given to the first Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman. For Abdul Razak he brought innumerable problems including the threat of pulling out Sabah from Malaysia. These actions prompted Abdul Razak to topple him through the ballot box. The USNO government led by Mustapha was replaced by the Berjaya party led by Harris Salleh three months after Abdul Razak's death.



Launching the Urban Development Authority (UDA) at the National Operations Room on 12 November 1971 with an allocation of RM100 million under the Second Malaysia Plan. UDA was among the many institutions created by Abdul Razak under the New Economic Policy to advance the economy of the Malays with emphasis on various projects in urban areas so that they could participate in the urban economy.



On 1 June1972 Abdul Razak launched a workers compensation scheme (SOCSO). Standing behind him is Minister of Labour and Manpower V. Manickavasagam.



Declaring Kuala Lumpur a Federal Territory in a ceremony at the Istana Negara after the signing of the Kuala Lumpur Agreement between the Sultan of Selangor and the Agong, on 1 February 1974. Under the agreement Kuala Lumpur became a Federal Territory under the Federal government.



After Kuala Lumpur was declared a Federal Territory, Lokman bin Yusof was appointed Mayor of the city of Kuala Lumpur. Abdul Razak presents the letter of appointment to Lokman at a ceremony at Parliament House on the same day.





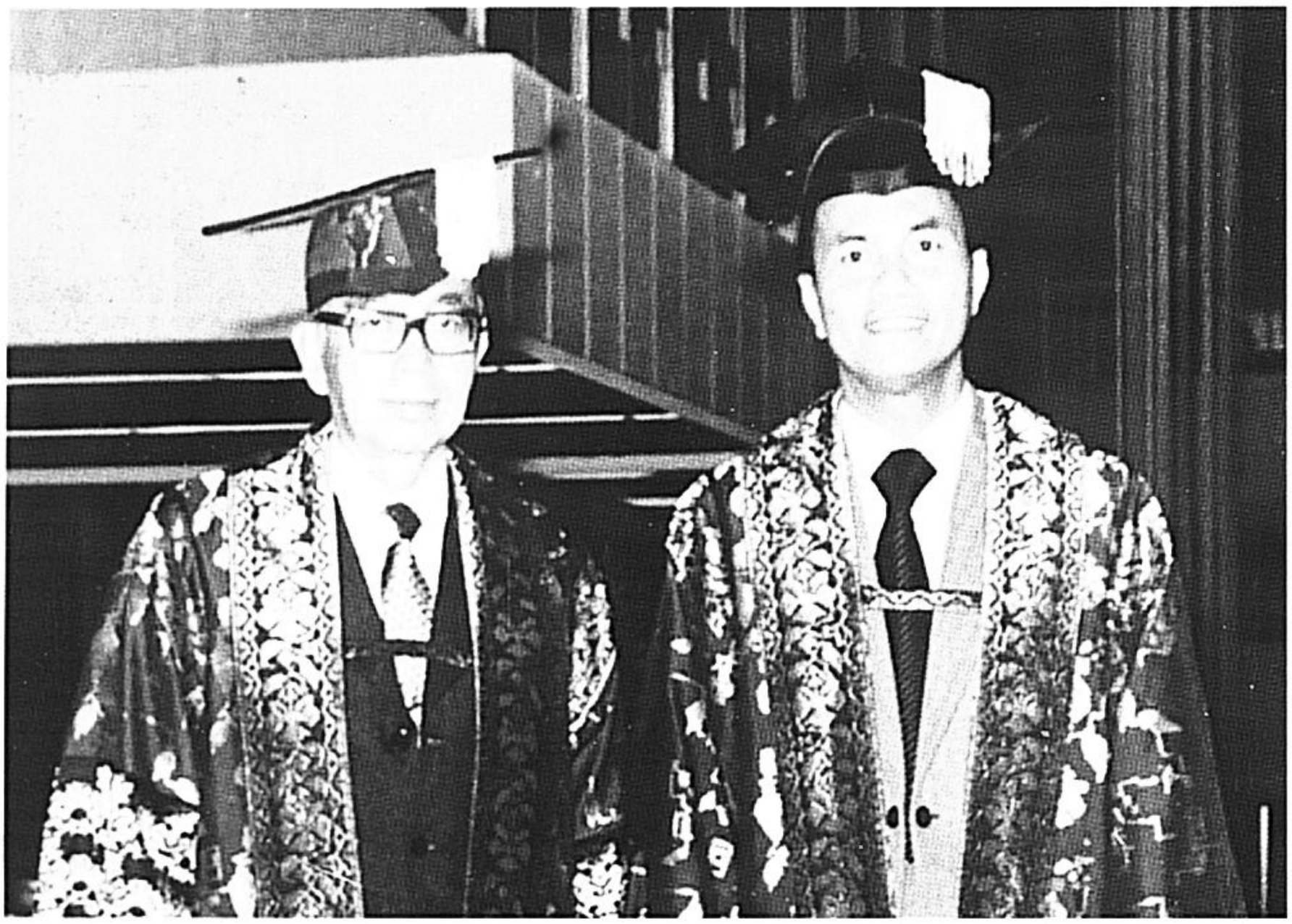


Abdul Razak laying the foundation-stone of the Pusat Islam on 6 April 1973.

Alliance party Secretary General T.H. Tan (in batik shirt), a man much loved by the Tunku and a close friend of Abdul Razak, embraced Islam with his family at Abdul Razak's residence, Sri Taman, in April 1972. From left Mustapha Harun, Abdul Aziz Zain, T.H. Tan, Ghani Gilong, Syed Nasir Ismail and Senu Abdul Rahman. Another 50 'new brothers' accepted the faith at Sri Taman in February 1974.



Rubber Smallholders Development Authority (RISDA) was launched by Abdul Razak on 8 February 1973 at the Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman. "The improvement of the economy of smallholders is closely related to the New Economic Policy. Because of that RISDA will work with all government agencies in other areas besides co-ordinating all activities of the modern smallholding sector in the true sense of the word," he said.



Abdul Razak appointed as Chancellor of the National University of Malaysia at the university's convocation at the Banquet Hall, Parliament House on 23 June 1973. This appointment was in recognition of the important role he played in supporting the setting up of the university, an idea promulgated by a group of Malay intellectuals. Standing with him in the photograph is UKM Vice-Chancellor Dr Ariffin Marzuki. Among those championing the cause of the university was Anwar Ibrahim (later to become Deputy Prime Minister). Anwar said: "Without Abdul Razak's support the university would not have materialised."



Launching the Farmers Association Board (LPP) at the Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman on 13 August 1973. In his speech Abdul Razak said that the important role of the board was to co-ordinate the activities of statutory bodies such as the LPN, FAMA, FIMA, state farming development bodies, RISDA, MARDI, Food Technology Research Departments, the Agriculture and Irrigation Departments, and other bodies to carry out tasks that were directly involved with agricultural development in the country.



Abdul Razak meeting senior officers of the Finance Ministry when he was made Finance Minister on the retirement of Tan Siew Sin in April 1974.

This was Abdul Razak's second stint at the ministry, the first was between 1969-1970 when the country was under NOC rule.



Penang Chief Minister Dr Lim Chong Eu (far right) showing Abdul Razak and wife Rahah a model of the Penang city centre complex which was named after the Prime Minister, KOMTAR (Tun Abdul Razak Complex). Abdul Razak launched the basic piling laying ceremony to the building in 1974. Lim named the building complex after Abdul Razak in recognition of his leadership qualities and because of his great love for the man.

“Small nations looking at the aspirations of bigger ones must adapt their political orientation so that they will continue to survive in the face of this sweeping change.”

Tun Abdul Razak



Two bold steps taken by Abdul Razak which changed the course of Malaysian politics were the introduction of the New Economic Policy in the wake of 13 May 1969 and freeing the country from its pro-Western stance in foreign policy.

Abdul Razak continued the internal policy of being anti-communist and anti-socialist, but abroad he extended the hand of friendship towards communist and socialist countries whilst also maintaining good relations with the West.

He also forged close relations with the Islamic nations of West Asia and other third world nations.

In spite of the communist threat that was still hanging over the country, Abdul Razak took the bold step of visiting China, and became the first Southeast Asian leader to forge diplomatic ties with the country.

These moves proved the common perception of Abdul Razak as an adept manipulator because, as a result these moves reinforced his three outstanding achievements:

- His diplomatic triumph, especially in promoting Malaysia's new non-aligned foreign policy.
- Winning over the Chinese voters who gave a resounding victory to the National Front in the 1974 elections.
- Breaking the spirit of the Malayan Communist Party which refused to recognise Malaysia.

During the *Konfrontasi* with Indonesia, Abdul Razak recognised the importance of support from third world countries. He led a Malaysian delegation to those countries to present the case for Malaysia, a country which had been painted as a neo-colonialist creation by Indonesia.

Abdul Razak as Director of the NOC gave his personal pledge to make the formation of the Organisation of Islamic Conferences (OIC) in Jeddah a success when he attended the first Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers in Jeddah in March 1970.

pioneer of globalisation

He nominated former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman as the organisation's secretary general when Malaysia was asked to take up the post. Malaysia also paid the salaries of officers, staff of the organisation, and its office rental and accommodation for its officials.

"Malaysia can claim to be the country that launched the OIC Secretariat."

In his foreign trips Abdul Razak met many prominent world leaders including US Presidents John F. Kennedy (1963), Nixon, Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin (1972), Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1974), Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the Shah of Iran, and Indonesian President Sukarno.

He attended the UN General Assembly in September 1971 to announce the idea of Malaysia that Southeast Asia be a non-aligned region in the cause of peace, stability and to protect the region from the conflicts and interference of the superpowers.

For the same reason Abdul Razak later brought together ASEAN leaders from

Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia to Kuala Lumpur to sign the ASEAN Declaration on 27 November 1971.

The declaration, signed by Abdul Razak, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik, Filipino Foreign Secretary General Romulo, Singapore Foreign Minister S. Rajaratnam and Thailand's special envoy Thanat Khoman, demanded recognition and respect for Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

The declaration was regarded by Abdul Razak as the achievement of an important first step.

"This declaration shows our determination to shape our destiny ourselves, to safeguard our independence and national integrity.

"Whether we will succeed in the further steps ahead depends on our ability to work together. We cannot expect others to respect us as independent and sovereign countries unless we are ourselves prepared to work to maintain our independence and unless we show our determination to be free from external interference."

He saw a future when other Southeast Asian nations would join in to experience this aspiration and objective and "in joining us to work together to achieve this aim."

Abdul Razak stated his confidence that success could be achieved if all nations showed a willingness to respect our independence and dignity and did not interfere in any way in the affairs of our country whether overtly or covertly.

"This is the only basis on which we can proceed. We cannot be neutral, no one has a right to expect us to be neutral if there is any form of interference in our internal affairs," he said.

Experience of the Indonesian *Konfrontasi* had given him the insight which enabled him to set up a pact which would avoid conflicts between states as well as a forum for peace and co-operation for the common good.

Abdul Razak saw that Malaysia, more than any other country, needed this co-operation because it shared a common border with many states: Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei and the Philippines.

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1. Interview with Datuk Kamaruddin Mohd Ariff on 11 July 1996.





This picture captures the mood during the return of a patriot who ventured courageously into the territory of an erstwhile foe. This calculated move at once boosted our foreign policy image and enhanced his stature at home and abroad.

Abdul Razak stepped out proudly into this glare of publicity on his return from a historic visit to the People's Republic of China on 2 June 1974 bearing with him the good news of China's agreement to forge diplomatic ties with Malaysia.

This agreement was a serious blow to the morale of the Malayan Communist Party which refused to recognise Malaysia. Beyond that it rallied the people solidly behind the leadership of Abdul Razak in the 1974 general elections, the first time he called the elections after taking over as Prime Minister from Tunku Abdul Rahman.

In this picture is seen most of the nation's major political figures, members of the diplomatic corp, and top civil servants all gathered together to receive Abdul Razak and his delegation on his return at the Subang International Airport.

That same evening Abdul Razak appeared in a National Front rally at the Padang Kelab Sultan Sulaiman in Kampung Baharu, Kuala Lumpur. Fifty thousand people were there to celebrate. Here too National Front leaders were introduced to the people for the first time.

Two months later, the general elections were held, and the decisive victory went to the National Front.



Mohamed Nazir, Abdul Razak's fifth son, grabbing the opportunity to capture a glorious moment for posterity with his camera.

Handshake with Chairman Mao Zedong of the People's Republic of China on 29 May 1974.
Abdul Razak was the first Southeast Asian leader to visit China – a country known to have given aid to communist subversives in Malaysia and neighbouring countries.







He was not only received by a military guard of honour, but a cultural dance display, a roll of drums and bouquets being waved in the air by students on his arrival in Beijing on 28 May 1974.

A banner proclaims 'Welcome Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak' in the Malay language at the Beijing airport.

Accompanying Abdul Razak is Chinese Deputy Prime Minister Lee Sin Nin, while Raja Mohar Badiozaman, Special Economics Adviser to the Prime Minister, and Zaiton Ibrahim, Chief Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (far left) follow behind.





Premier Zhou Enlai receives Abdul Razak for the meeting of Malaysian-Chinese delegates in Beijing on 29 May 1974. This meeting took place after Abdul Razak had met Chairman Mao Zedong.



Abdul Razak facing Zhou Enlai during the meeting of Malaysian-Chinese delegates.

The decision for an exchange of diplomats between Malaysia and China was made at this meeting.

The two governments also declared illegal all violations, interference, conquests and subversive activities by foreign powers.

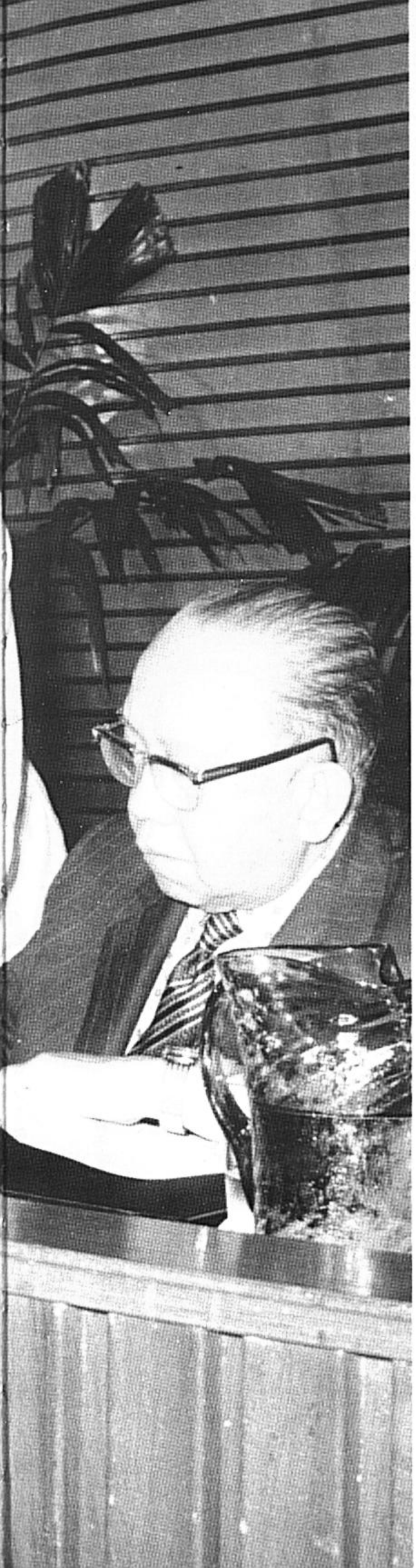
Guard of honour by the army of the People's Republic of China during Abdul Razak's arrival in Beijing on the start of his six-day official visit.





The Malaysian delegation assembled, led by Prime Minister Abdul Razak (eleventh from right) pose for an official photograph with Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai (tenth from right) in the Great Hall, People's Republic of China.







Determined to launch a new foreign policy initiative soon after taking office as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Abdul Razak paid a visit to the Foreign Ministry on 1 October 1970 to exchange views with the men working behind the scenes in shaping the country's foreign policy at Wisma Putra. Here Abdul Razak is seen listening to the Deputy Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Zainal Abidin Sulong on the functions of the various departments in the ministry.

Also attending the briefing are Zain Azraai bin Zainal Abidin, Director of Overseas Information Service (left) and Abdullah Ali, Chief of Protocol (far right).

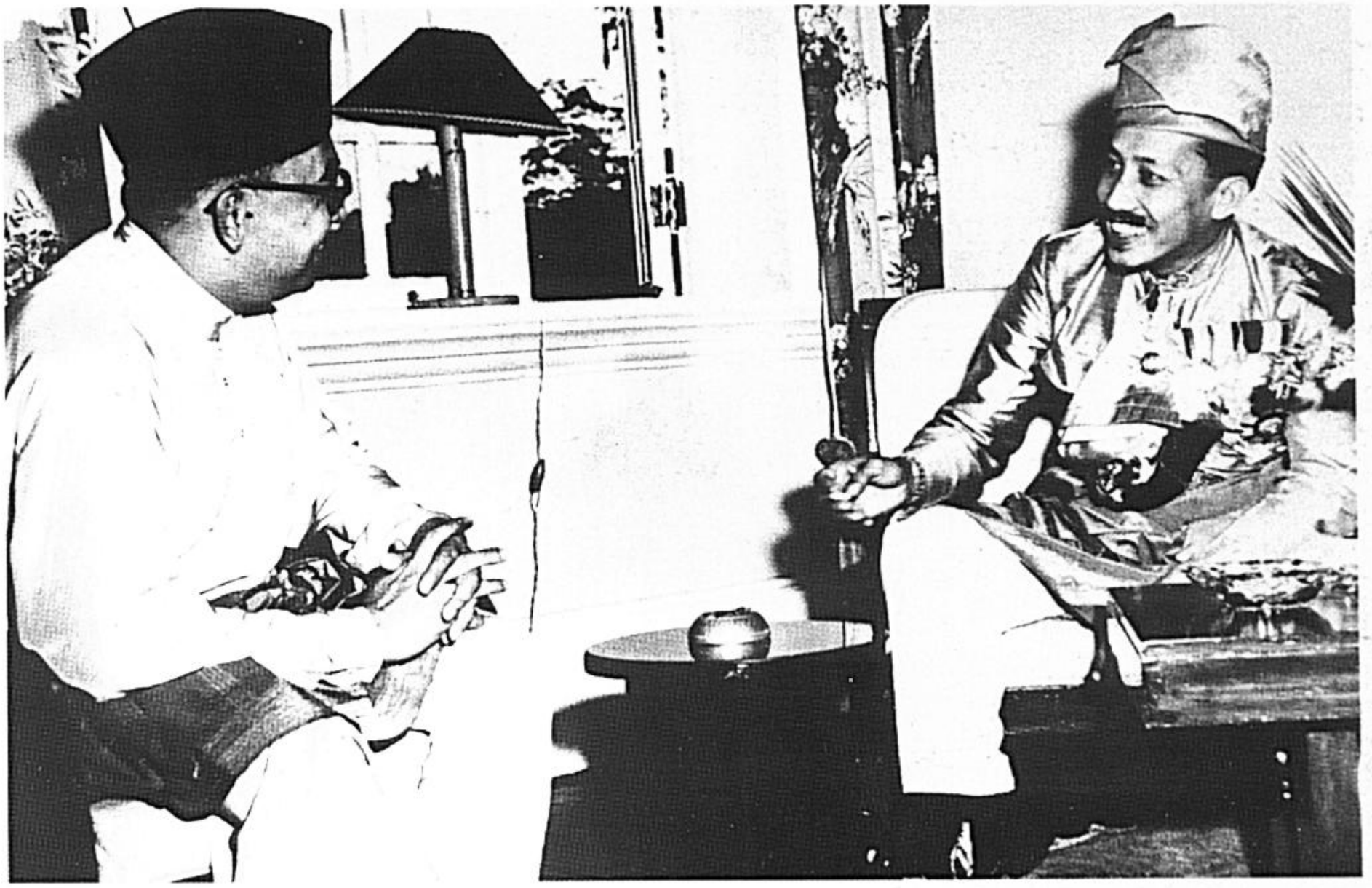
Abdul Razak and ASEAN Foreign Ministers, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik (far left), Filipino Foreign Secretary General Romulo (far right), Special Envoy for Thailand Thanat Khoman and Singapore Foreign Minister Rajaratnam signed the ASEAN Declaration in Kuala Lumpur on 27 November 1971.

The declaration demanded recognition and respect for Southeast Asia as a region of peace, freedom and neutrality.

This declaration was regarded as a most significant early triumph for Abdul Razak in giving a new thrust to the country's foreign policy since he became Prime Minister.



A veteran in the Indonesian war for independence, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, later to become Indonesian Vice-President (1973-1978), visited Abdul Razak in 1971 as Indonesia's Minister of Economy, Finance and Industry.



Deputy Prime Minister of Malaya Abdul Razak in an audience with the Sultan of Brunei, Sir Mudá Omar Ali Saifuddin at the Istana Tetamu (Hospitality Palace), Kuala Lumpur, on 23 April 1959. The Malays in Malaya had had long-standing relations with Bruneians dating back to British rule. This link was strengthened by the countries' leaders after independence. Attempts to include Brunei in Malaysia in the 1960s, however, failed.



During his four-day official visit to Malaysia in 1968, Filipino President Ferdinand Marcos (second from right) attended a reception hosted by Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Razak at Sri Taman. Among guests were Wisma Putra officers Ghazali Shafie (second from left) and Hussein Haji Omar (third from right).



Abdul Razak being introduceed to a group of tribal dancers in Burma (now Myanmar) which performed in his honour during a one-week official visit in December 1965. This visit was at the invitation of the Burmese Prime Minister General Ne Win to strengthen ties between Malaysia and Burma. Since independence Malaysia had maintained a special relationship with Burma even though the latter espoused a closed door policy. This relationship was maintained by successive Prime Ministers Hussein Onn and Dr Mahathir Mohamad.



Being visited by the Prime Minister of Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma, in January 1971.



Arrival at the Lahore airport was greeted by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Abdul Razak was there to attend a summit meeting of Islamic nations in February 1974.



Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato had a meeting with Abdul Razak in Cameron Highlands during his four-day official visit to Malaysia in September 1967.



Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Razak during a visit to the First National City Bank New York in 1963. Accompanying him were Malaysia's ambassador to the United States, Ong Yoke Lin (third from right), and Deputy Chief Secretary of the Economics Division, Prime Minister's Department, Thong Yaw Hong (far right). Second from left is Private Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister, Aziz Hussein.



With UN Secretary General U Thant when attending the General Assembly in September 1966.



A reception in honour of World Bank President Robert McNamara at Sri Taman in November 1971. McNamara received the Tun Razak International Award in 1978 for his contributions to world economic development towards the eradication of poverty.



With Malaysia's permanent representative at the United Nations, Zakaria Ali (centre), and Malaysia's ambassador in Washington Ong Yoke Lin (far right) during the 26th UN General Assembly in October 1971. Seated behind them are P.G. Lim and Abdullah Ali, members of the Malaysian delegation. In his speech to the Assembly, Abdul Razak promoted the concept of Southeast Asian neutrality to protect the region from superpower conflicts and intervention for permanent peace, stability and security.

Abdul Razak, as Director of NOC, attended the first meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Islamic nations in Jeddah in March 1970 where he gave Malaysia's full commitment to make the formation of the Organisation of Islamic Conferences (OIC) in Jeddah a success. At far right is Malaysia's ambassador in Jeddah, Kamaruddin Ariff. When Malaysia was given the privilege of nominating the organisation's secretary general, Abdul Razak submitted the name of ex-Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman.


مالیسیا



British Prime Minister Edward Heath being met by Abdul Razak at Subang International Airport on his arrival for a two-day visit to Malaysia in January 1971.

This visit, taking place only a few months after Abdul Razak succeeded Tunku Abdul Rahman as Prime Minister, was to reinforce friendly relations already existing between the two countries.



Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip made a state visit to Malaysia in February 1972 to strengthen traditional ties between the two countries.

Abdul Razak seen here accompanying the Queen into the Parliament building for the state banquet.

Britain and Malaysia maintained warm relations during the premiership of Tunku Abdul Rahman and Abdul Razak, uninterrupted by periods of crises or tension.



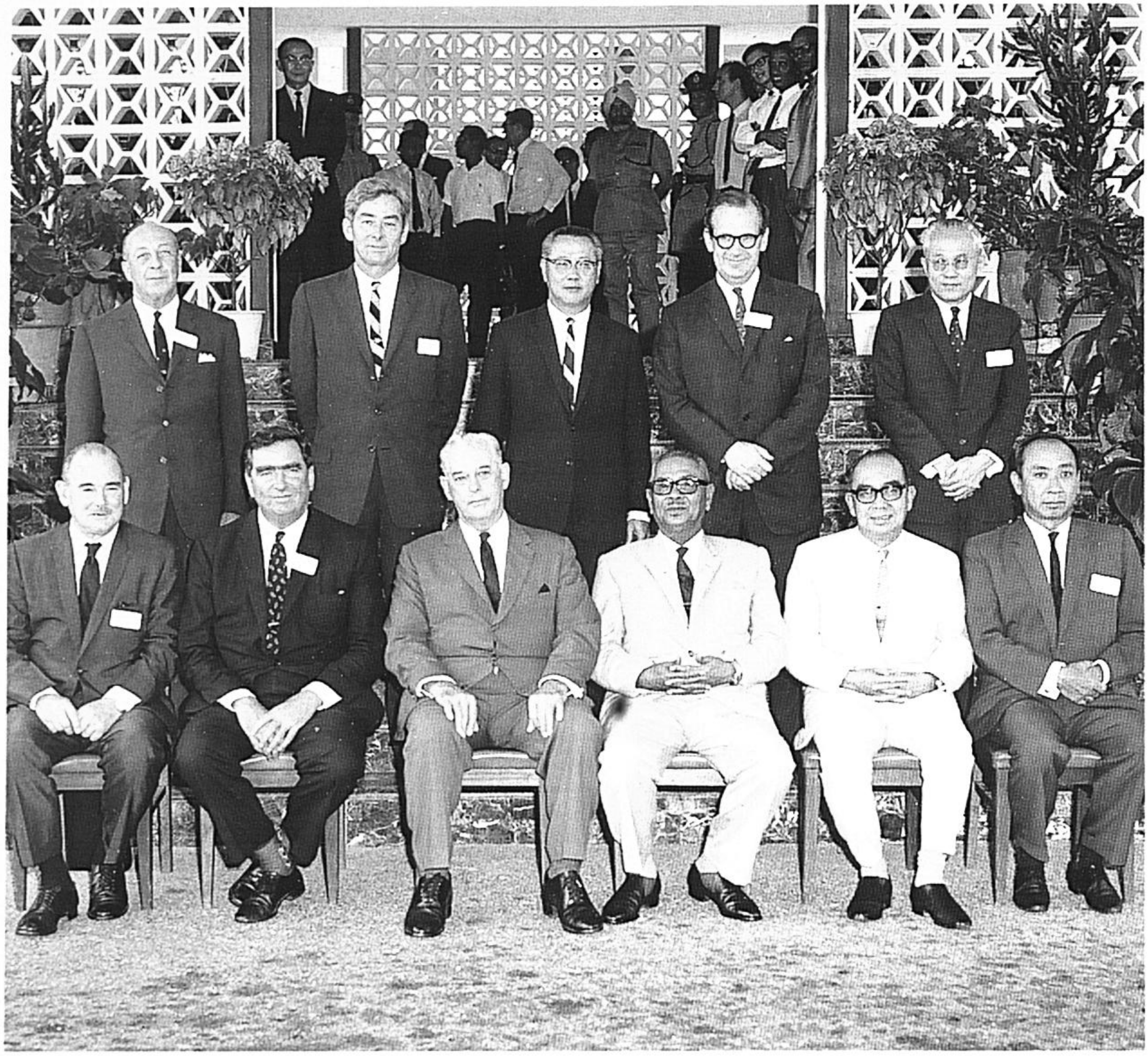
Abdul Razak with British Defence Secretary Denis Healey (left) during the latter's visit to Malaysia in 1966. Abdul Razak's experience of British social and political life during his student days in Britain put him at ease when in the presence of British leaders.



At a state banquet in honour of the Shah of Iran and his wife Farah Diba Shahbanun during their state visit to Malaysia in January 1968.

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in a meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Razak during her visit to Malaysia in late May 1968. Abdul Razak saw the need to strengthen relations with India especially for economic and technical co-operation.





Abdul Razak (seated, second from right) and Tunku Abdul Rahman (third from right) with defence ministers of the five-nation defence pact during a conference in Kuala Lumpur in 1968. The five countries of the pact were Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand and Britain.

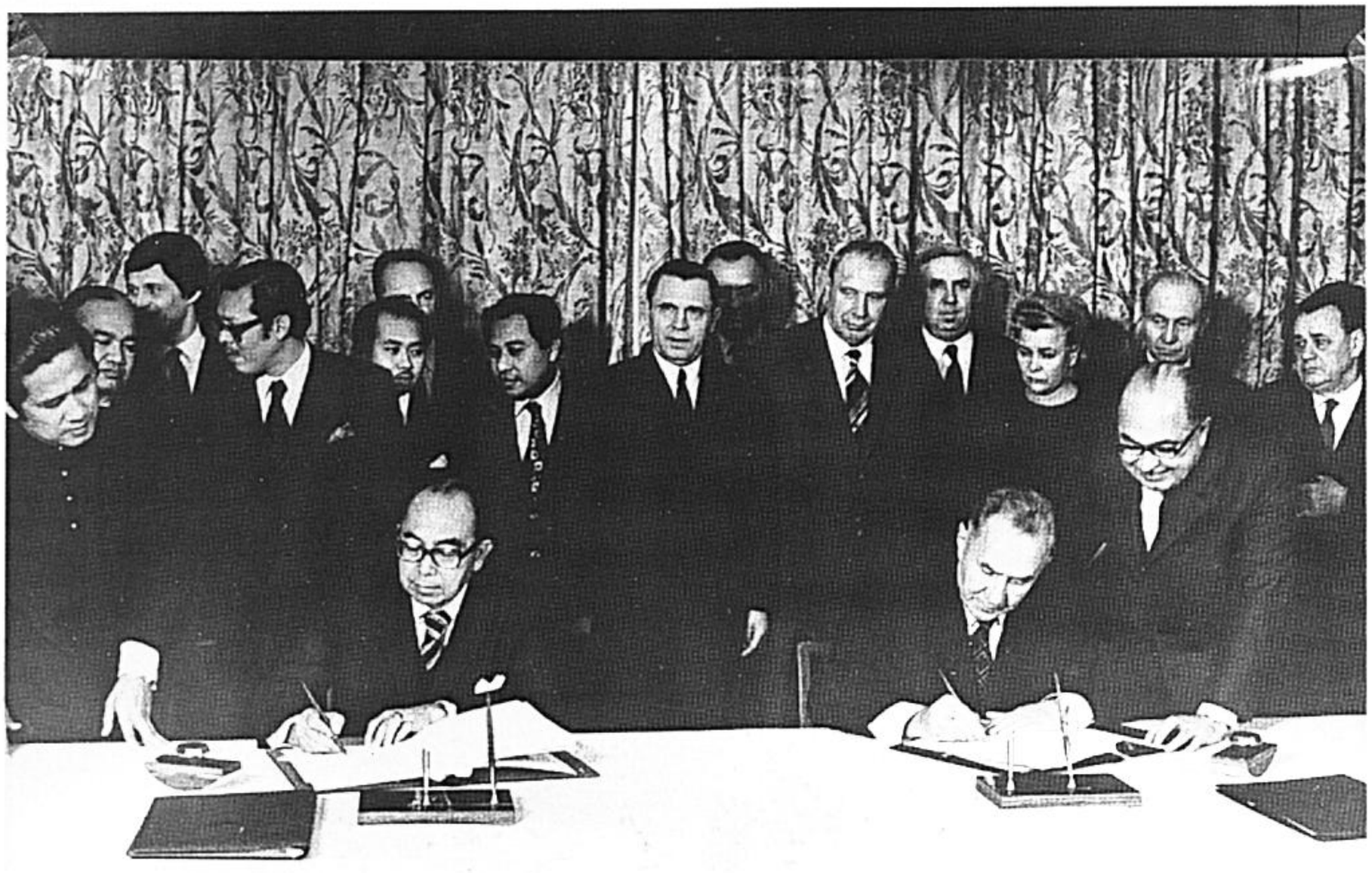
As Defence Minister Abdul Razak played an important role in making the pact an effective one especially during *Konfrontasi* with Indonesia when it became an effective deterrent against Indonesian attacks.

Lt Gen Kemal Idris, the man charged with the task of commandeering Indonesia's assault on Malaysia from Sumatra by President Sukarno told General Suharto: "If war broke out between Indonesia and Malaysia, 80 per cent of our troops would be defeated or captured because of the backing given to Malaysia by Britain, Australia and New Zealand."



Because of his early involvement with the Labour Party and his links with leaders of the Left during his student days in Britain, many had the impression that Abdul Razak had inclinations towards socialism or communism. Among those who moved towards Abdul Razak and tried to gain his confidence during the early 1970s was Soviet ambassador to Malaysia, Kutnetzev. As a gesture of camaraderie the ambassador raised Abdul Razak's youngest son Mohamed Nazir to his shoulder when welcoming him back from the Five Nation Defence summit in London, 1971.

Abdul Razak's close friends denied that he had ever flirted with communism or socialism, adding that his faith in the free market never faltered and that he had always been wary of being ensnared by the ideological claims of the Left. Abdul Razak thought it useful to cultivate links with the Left while in London because they supported Malaya's fight for independence.



Prime Minister Abdul Razak signing a Cultural and Scientific Agreement with Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin in Moscow in October 1972. This trip was seen as a continuation of his efforts to change the pro-Western image of Malaysia. Abdul Razak had previously visited Moscow as Deputy Prime Minister in May 1968 during his 26-day tour of European countries.



Cultural and consular agreement with Tunisia, whose Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Habib Bourguiba is seen here handing over the document to Abdul Razak at Wisma Putra in 1969.



Presenting a Malay kris to US President John F. Kennedy during a visit to the US in 1963.



Meeting another US President, Richard Nixon, during a visit to the US in October 1971 to attend the UN General Assembly in New York.

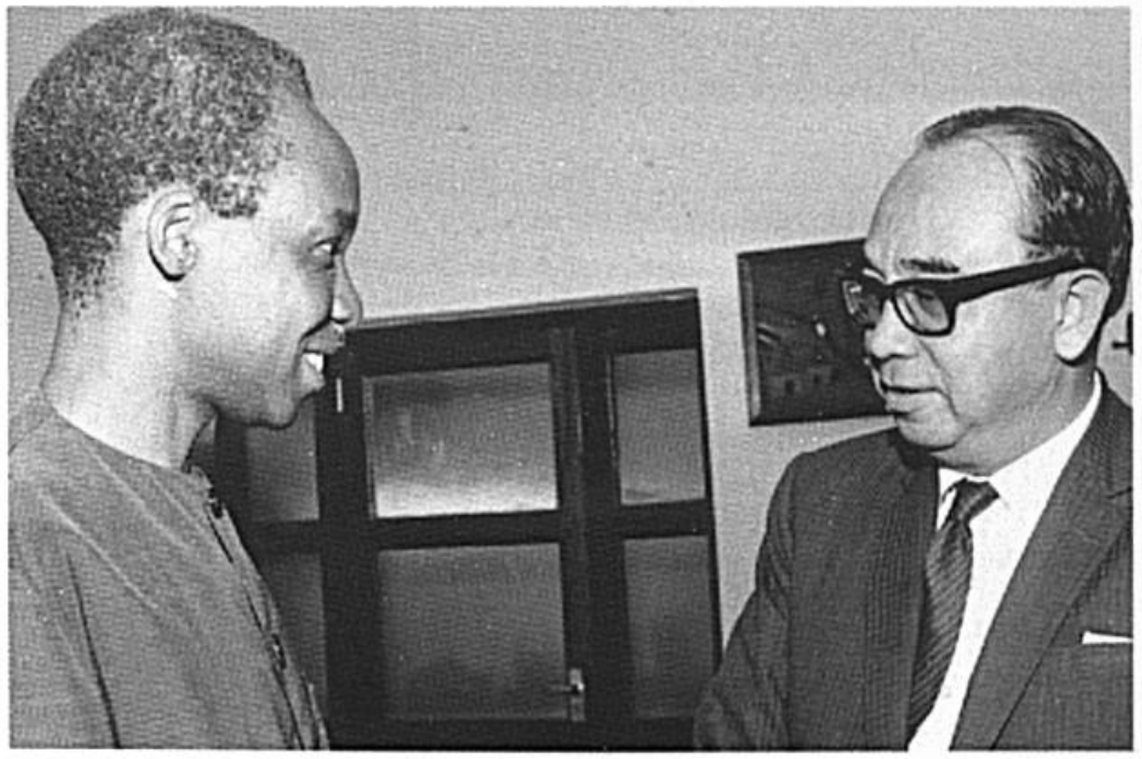
In his efforts to seek a diplomatic solution to the *Konfrontasi* with Indonesia, Abdul Razak toured African states from late March to early April 1965.

Among the countries visited were Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Morocco, Sudan and Egypt.

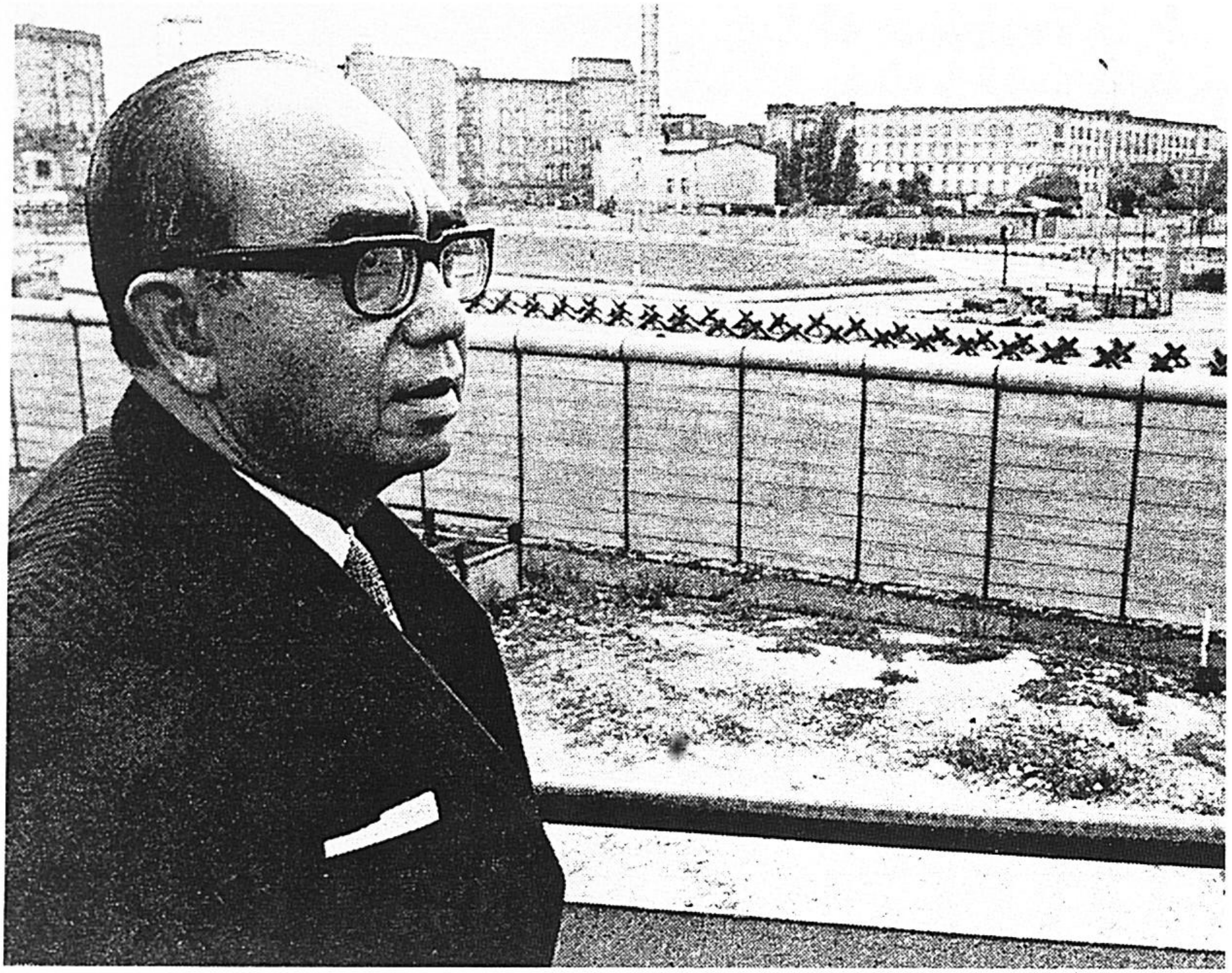
Abduk Razak poses for a photograph with Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta and Malaysia's ambassador to Egypt, Tuanku Jaafar ibni Tuanku Abdul Rahman (now the Yang di-Pertuan Agong) who accompanied him during the tour.



With Sudanese Prime Minister Sir El-Katim El-Khalifa at a dinner given in his honour.



With Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere.



In sombre mood as he looks across the Berlin Wall into the Soviet sector.

He went to the wall which separated West Berlin and East Berlin during his visit to West Berlin in May 1968. The Wall came down with the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe in 1989.

Many visitors to West Germany were taken to see the Wall during its life and it served as a symbol of the tragedy and calamity that communism and socialism wrought on humankind.

“His skills and intellect may not have been expressed with great eloquence in his speeches but his qualities and strengths shone through in his work. He had integrity, dedication and humanity; and he valued accountability.”

The writer



glimpses

Abdul Razak was a person not endowed with charisma in the popular sense, but his moderation and his simplicity etched a profound impression on his family members, friends, all the officers who worked for him and many others who came in contact with the man.[1]

Abdul Razak himself made this self-assessment in a speech on 2 October 1967, when he said: "My only claim to fame is one of simplicity. I am a straightforward politician with a simple background. I started my schooling with an attap roof over me and an earth floor beneath me. I still remember vividly the feel of the mud floor on my shoeless feet."

He was also no great orator. He spoke at rallies or at gatherings in a monotonous tone, in a soft voice, and often accentuated by little coughs.

To each place he visited in the rural areas he brought the same theme. In a day, from sunrise to sunset, he would usually visit no less than five or six villages, where he would repeat the same message in his speeches.

During his speech he would clasp his hands together, raising an arm occasionally to emphasise points he thought important.

His tone was serious with little humour, but it soon became evident that he was intent in his speech and sincere in thought.

Abdul Razak also had a good memory and he always remembered to fulfil his promises.

As a student at the New Asia College in Hong Kong, Michael Chen Wing Sum wrote to Abdul Razak criticising the government policy of giving free education to all regardless of economic status.

Abdul Razak did not reply to the letter but when he met Michael Chen who was offered a job as his parliamentary secretary on his return to Malaysia in 1964, Abdul Razak apologised for not having replied to the letter and explained: "If we provide free education only to the poor, most of its recipients would be Malays. Then what would the Chinese say?"

When Rais Yatim was a student in Singapore he met Abdul Razak at the office of the Singapore High Commissioner in 1971 and asked for his favour to get him a vacation job.[2] Abdul Razak asked him to write a reminder note. He referred Rais to the Selangor Menteri Besar Harun Idris who gave him a job as student adviser at the Dr Latiff Hostel, Jalan Gurney, Kuala Lumpur.

One of Abdul Razak's skills was being able to spot people of leadership calibre.

When Anwar Ibrahim was a student activist in the 1960s and early 1970s, Abdul Razak invited him and his friends to Sri Taman and held discussions with them till late at night.

In his own way Abdul Razak made Anwar feel comfortable with him. He chided Anwar for not tying his shoe-lace and said: "You will be arrested by the police for riding a motorbike without a licence." It was true that Anwar at that time did not have one.

Even though he was fond of Abdul Razak, Anwar did not want to be seen to be too close to him for fear of losing his credibility with his followers.

When Abdul Razak learnt that Anwar's name was not in the list of Malaysian youth representatives at a youth assembly in New York in 1970, he sent Youth and Sports Minister Hamzah Abu Samah to Anwar's doorstep to tell him that he had also been

selected. He is grateful for that to this day and remembers Abdul Razak as a man who was not a parochial partyman.

In the 1960s when Abdul Razak visited areas affected by floods in Baling, Kedah, he noticed an officer helping to carry the bags of rice for the villagers. The officer, Zain Hassan, was asked who he was, and when he replied that he was the Assistant District Officer of Baling, Abdul Razak replied: "I like you."

Abdul Razak took Michael Chen as his parliamentary secretary because he was confident this gesture would help bring him closer to the Chinese community and dispel the wrong impression they had of him.

Michael Chen performed his task effectively and became a person who was trusted by Abdul Razak.

Abdul Razak valued accountability very highly and was always concerned about how his actions were perceived by the people. Sometimes he would carry these sentiments to extremes, even at his personal expense.

He had delayed the appointment of his brother-in-law Hamzah Abu Samah to a ministerial post following his victory in the 1969 election in the Temerloh constituency. Hamzah had resigned his job as a senior civil servant at considerable loss of income to become an MP.

Hamzah's entry into politics had been at the request of Tunku Abdul Rahman, so he went to Tunku to complain about his plight. Tunku told him that his file together with his letter of commendation for a ministerial post had been sent to Abdul Razak nine months before.

Abdul Razak's explanation was: "If I appoint you a minister, people will say that it's because you're my brother-in-law."

Later Hamzah was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before being promoted a minister.

After becoming Prime Minister in 1970 Abdul Razak sold his piece of land in Port Dickson which he had acquired when he was Deputy Prime Minister. He did this to avoid tongues from wagging.

He worked incessantly, taking his red boxes with him after office hours to continue working at home. The next day the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Shafee Yahya, would call at Sri Taman to collect work that he had completed at home.

His approach to work, political or administrative, was uniquely his own. He went about his duties quietly, never pushed his weight around, and never prevaricated in fulfilling his tasks.

But Abdul Razak would not take unnecessary risks. He would only undertake something after thoroughly weighing its pros and cons.

His skills and intellect may not have been expressed with great eloquence in his speeches but his qualities and strengths shone through in his work. He had integrity, dedication and humanity; and he valued accountability.

In politics he was admired as a consummate strategist who worked discreetly in moments of crises and never put himself at the centre of controversies.

As an administrator he was a dynamic person with a professional touch.

As Director of NOC during the May 13 emergency, Abdul Razak told his personal aide, "When the people are under pressure, the Civil Service have to play a bigger role to show the highest impartiality, integrity, loyalty and discipline, and to carry out their responsibilities with full dedication and skill."

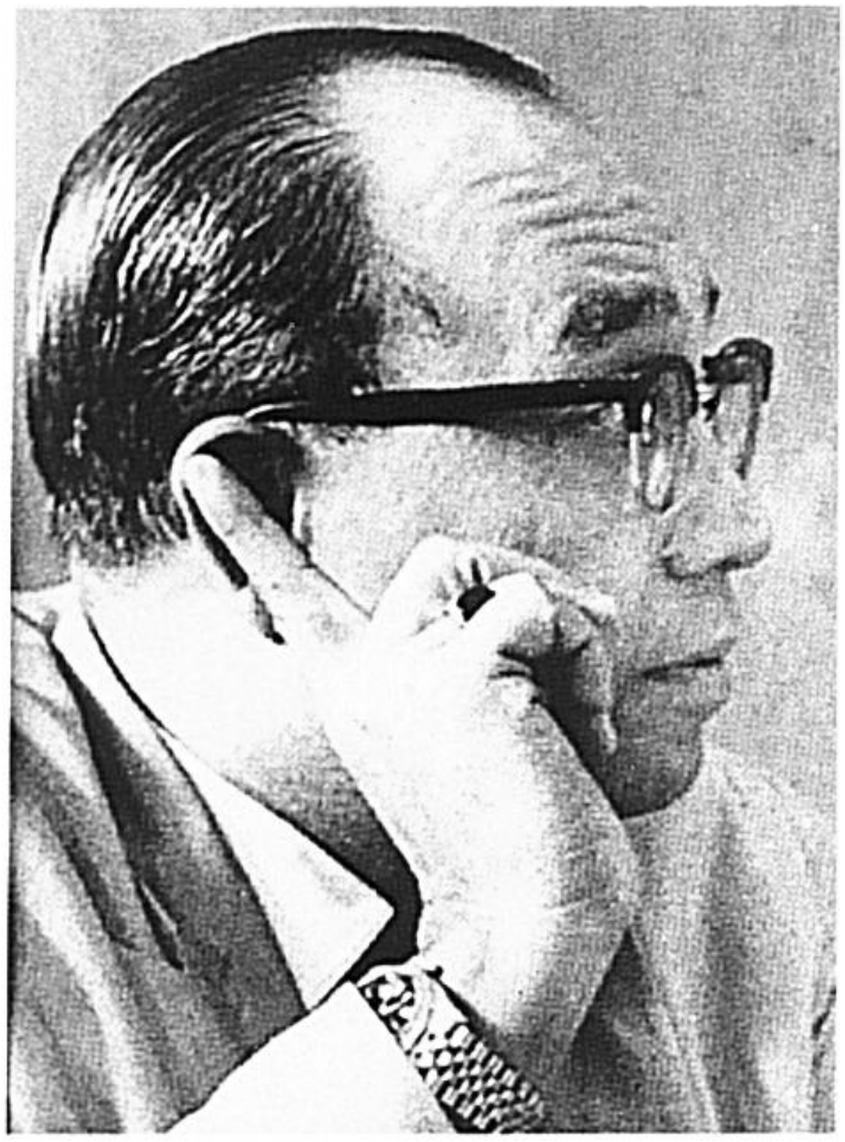
Many civil servants regard the Abdul Razak era as their golden age.

Two weeks after Abdul Razak's death, Shafee Yahya, previously his private secretary who had then moved on to the National Security Council, received a shirt from a person who said that it had been bought for him in London by Abdul Razak.

He was moved by this and could not stop his tears.

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1. This impression was gained from interviews with Tan Sri Aziz Abdul Rahman (Managing Director of MAS from 1982 to 1991), Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim, Datuk Michael Chen, Zain Hassan (former Assistant District Officer of Baling) and Abdul Razak's close friends.
2. *Faces in the Corridors of Power* by Rais Yatim, Pelanduk Publications, Petaling Jaya, 1987.



Listening



Thinking

Even though he was a gentle, soft-spoken person who was deliberate in speech, Abdul Razak's personality and serious mien, and his ability to spot problems and make accurate character assessments added to his strength as a person. This gave him authority and standing in his work as politician and national leader. These pictures, taken in the 1970s, show various aspects of Abdul Razak's personality.



Interested



Agreeing



"Eleven years ago I did, with the Tunku and my other political colleagues, in fact go to war with the British – not mounted on a horse, but sailing the high seas to London to fight not with horses and lances, but with pen and persuasion to obtain from the Realm of England our independence as a nation!" said Abdul Razak on 23 March 1968, in Kuala Lumpur.



When speaking to the public he would place both hands in front of him, and punctuate his speech with little coughs.

He would emphasise certain points not by raising his voice but by facial expressions while raising one or both hands.

Abdul Razak was no fiery orator, seldom injecting humour in his public speeches except at certain functions.

This picture shows Abdul Razak addressing an UMNO Silver Jubilee meeting in Kuala Terengganu.

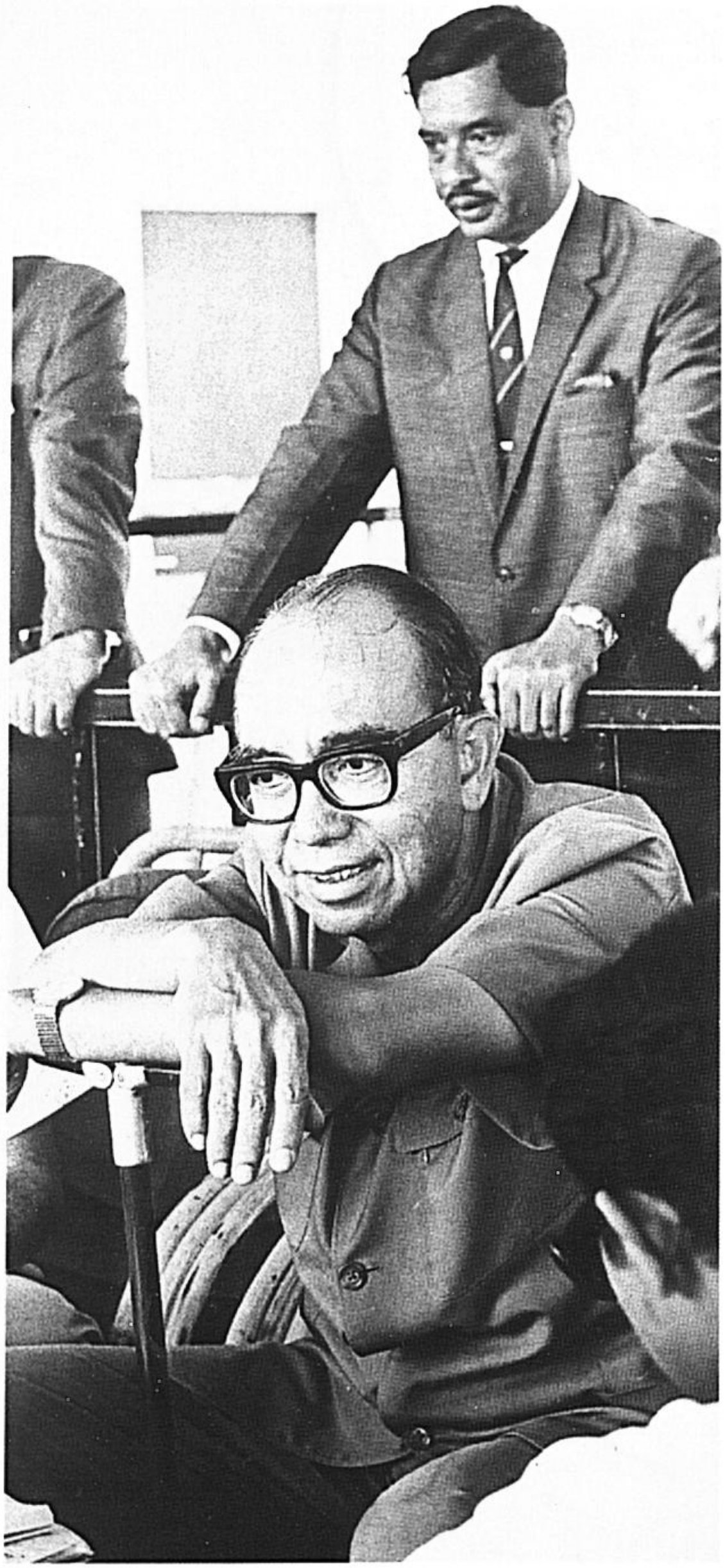


Abdul Razak was rarely seen without his stick. His favourite was the shooting stick.

Watching a national day parade rehearsal in Kuala Lumpur on 30 August 1971. Beside him is General Ibrahim Ismail.



With his new sun helmet and his walking stick, Abdul Razak wears a cheerful expression on his arrival at Subang International Airport from a foreign visit in 1970.



Carrying another walking stick during the opening of the 22-mile Kulai - Kota Tinggi road costing RM3.7 million on 12 September 1969.

The shooting stick was also often used on which to rest his arms while answering questions from journalists.

This press conference was given at the Royal Malaysian Air Force airfield in Kuala Lumpur on his return from a border security meeting in Songkhla, Thailand, in October 1969.

Abdul Razak visiting a 4-storey building which had collapsed in Jalan Raja Laut, Kuala Lumpur on 22 October 1968. At far right is Jalaluddin Bahauddin, then a Bernama journalist and, until recently, Special Officer to Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad.





An array of walking sticks from Abdul Razak's collection.



On 7 July 1973 Abdul Razak returned to the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar to open the Speech Day and prize giving ceremony.

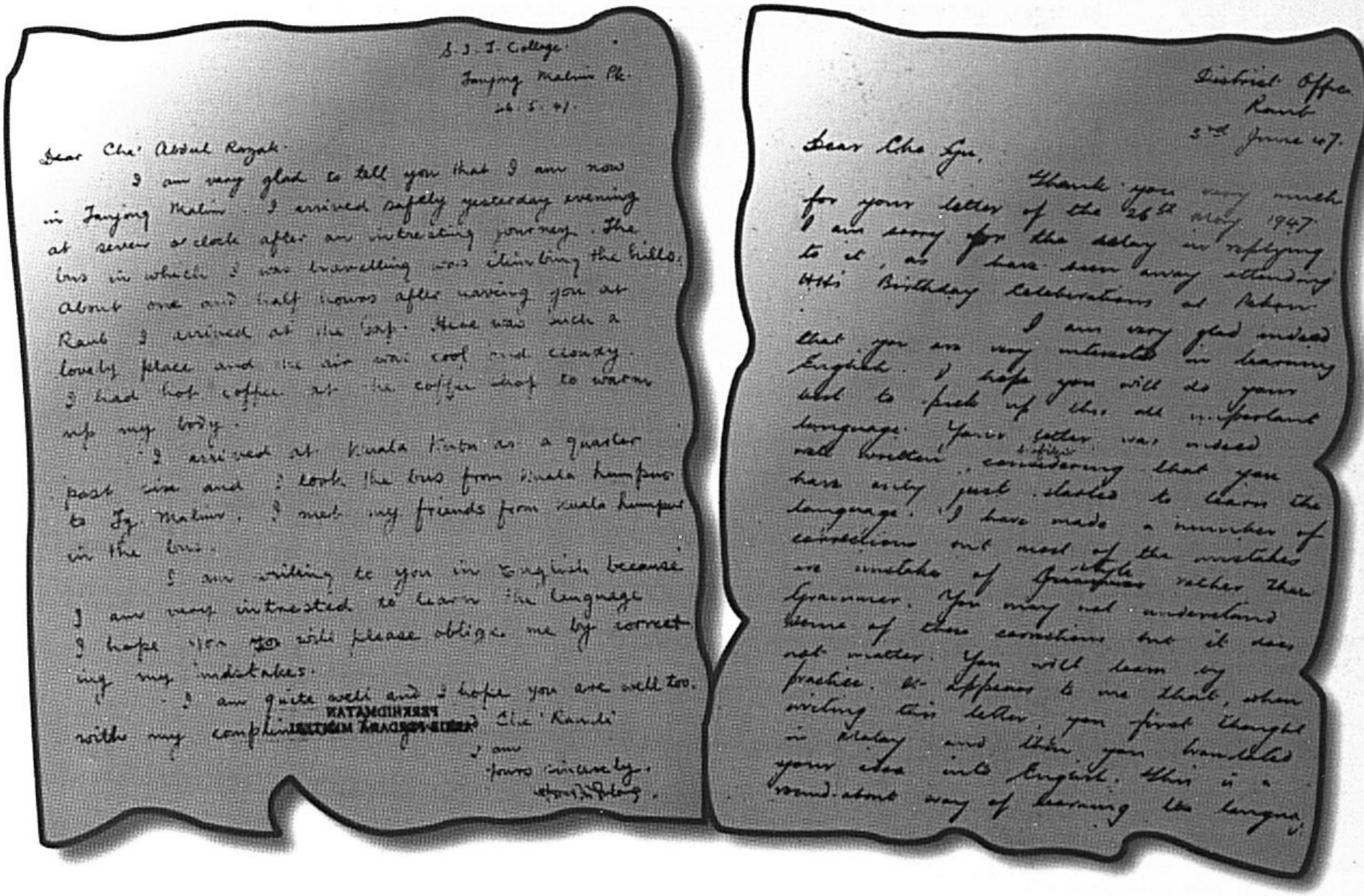
Abdul Razak was a Malay Collegian from 1934 to 1940.



The Malay College Old Boys' Association held a reception at the Lake Club, Kuala Lumpur in October 1970 in honour of Abdul Razak on his becoming Malaysia's second Prime Minister. Abdul Razak joining in the fun with other ex-Malay Collegians while looking at the antics of fellow alumnus Nik Ahmad Kamil.



Abdul Razak had kept close contact with students both at home and abroad from his days as Deputy Prime Minister. He is meeting a group from the National Institute of Technology, Jalan Gurney, Kuala Lumpur, in 1973.



S. I. I. College
Tanjong Malim Pk.
26. 5. 47.

Dear Cha' Abdul Razak.

I am very glad to tell you that I am now in Tanjong Malim. I arrived safely yesterday evening at seven o'clock after an intresting journey. The bus in which I was travelling was climbing the hills. About one and half hours after leaving you at Raub I arrived at the top. There was such a lovely place and the air was cool and cloudy. I had hot coffee at the coffee shop to warm up my body.

I arrived at Kuala Kubu at a quarter past six and I took the bus from Kuala Lumpur to Tg Malim. I met my friends from Kuala Lumpur in the bus.

I am writing to you in English because I am very intrested to learn the language I hope you will please oblige me by correcting my mistakes.

I am quite well and I hope you are well too.

With my compliments to Cha' Kandi

I am
Yours sincerely.
Hasan bin Sulong.

District Office
Raub
3rd June 47.

Dear Cha Lu,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 26th May 1947. I am sorry for the delay in replying to it, as I have been away attending H.H.'s Birthday Celebrations at Kuala Lipis.

I am very glad indeed that you are very intrested in learning English. I hope you will do your best to pick up this all important language. Your letter was indeed well written, considering that you have only just started to learn the language. I have made a number of corrections but most of the mistakes are mistakes of style rather than grammar. You may not understand some of these corrections but it does not matter. You will learn by practice. It appears to me that, when writing this letter you first thought in Malay and then you translated your idea into English. This is a round-about way of learning the language.

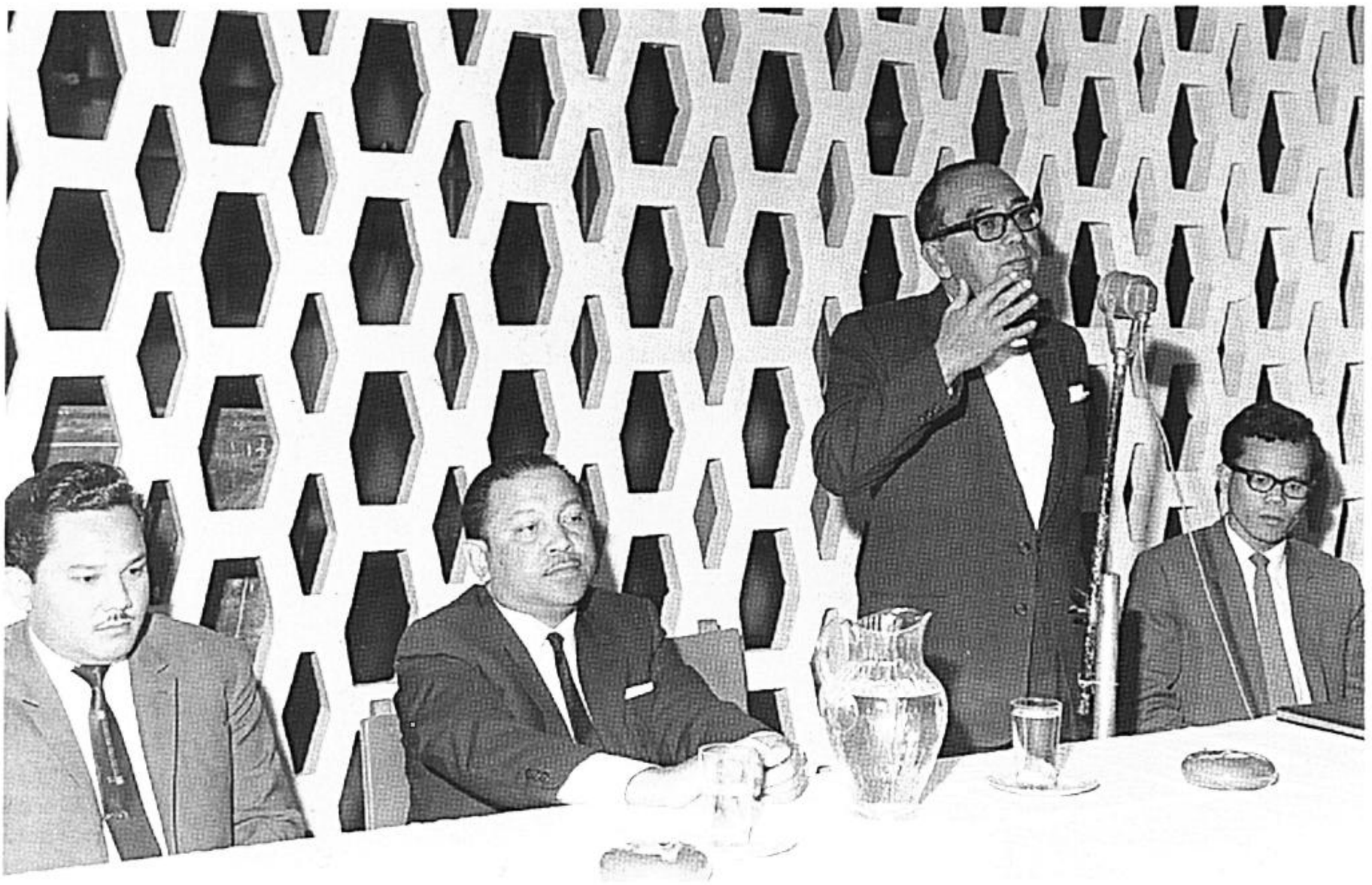
Abdul Razak never forgot old friends, even when in high office. Not only did he give key positions to those friends who were skilled and qualified, but their children too were given jobs if they met the necessary standards.

On 26 May 1947, Hasan bin Sulong, a friend from the Sultan Idris Teachers Training College, Tanjung Malim, wrote to him in English saying that he was keen to learn the language, and asked him to correct his mistakes.

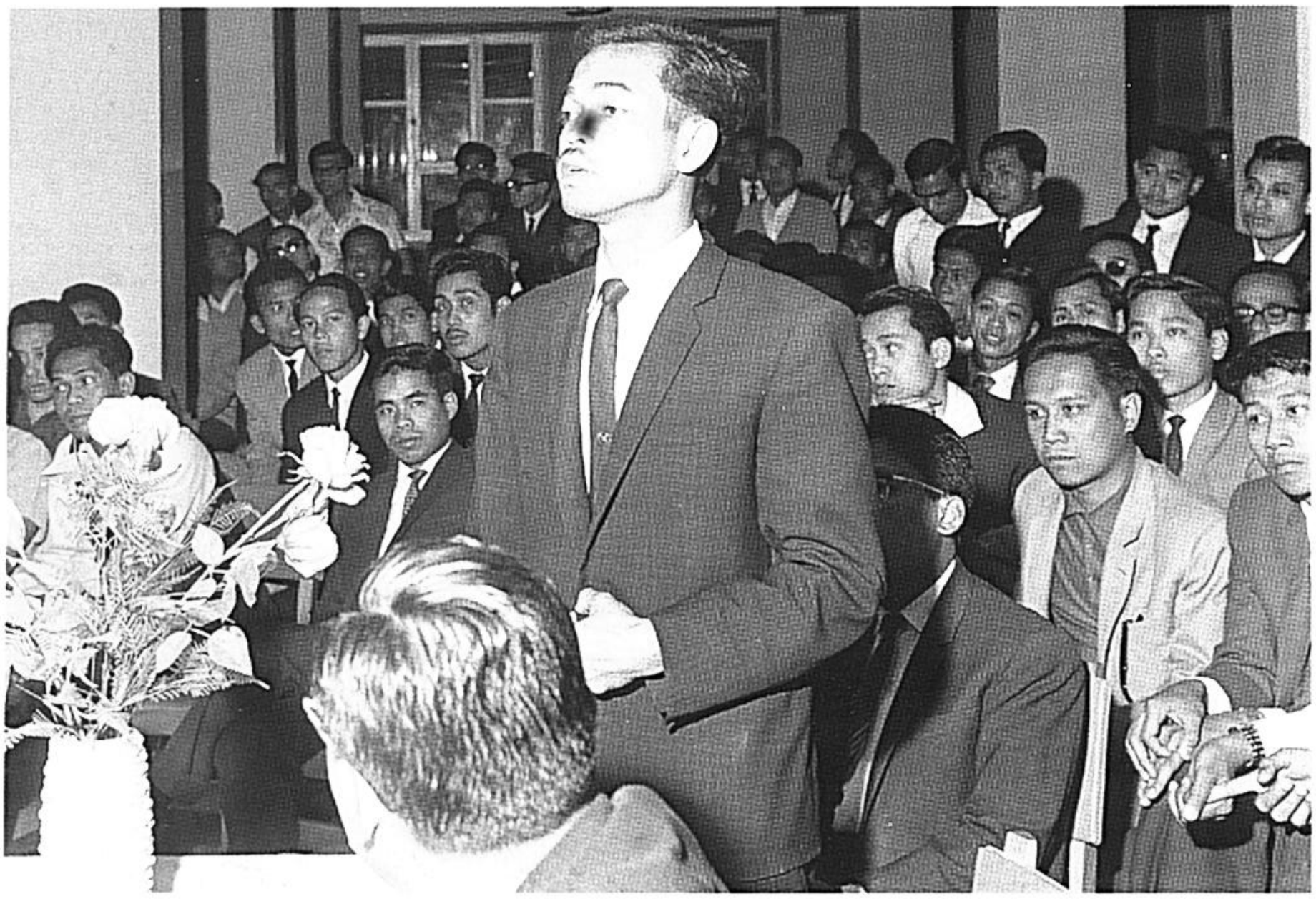
Abdul Razak wrote a reply on 3 June 1947 from the Raub District Office, apologising for the delay and returning the original letter with corrections, "mistakes of style rather than grammar".

He commented that his friend had thought out his sentences in Malay before writing in English.

"This is a round-about way of learning the language," he said while urging his friend to put in a lot of practice.



While on his tour of Middle Eastern states in 1965 during the Indonesia *Konfrontasi*, Abdul Razak met Malaysian students in Egypt. Some of those students who met Abdul Razak are now prominent Islamic scholars and leaders at home. Sitting to Abdul Razak's left is Ahmad Awang, Secretary General of the Malay Association in Egypt (now President of the Islamic Scholars Association, Malaysia). To Abdul Razak's right is Malaysia's ambassador to Egypt, Tuanku Jaafar ibni Tuanku Abdul Rahman (the present Yang di-Pertuan Agong).



A student from the Al-Azhar University, Fadzil Mohd Noor (now Pas president) asking a question from the audience about the effects of *Konfrontasi* on Malaysia.



Concealed behind his serious face is a man who loved to joke, to tease, and to share amusing stories with close friends and family members.

During a reception for the chairmen of Alliance party controlled local councils at the MCA Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur on 2 October 1962, Abdul Razak told an amusing story about the then Finance Minister Tan Siew Sin.

He said that although a non-smoker, Tan Siew Sin reminded him of a perfect minister of finance of a country.

He continued: Three government ministers travelling in a train had only one matchstick between them.

One of them wanted to light his cigarette, another, his pipe, and another his cigar.

The first minister produced a $1 note, lit it with the match, and then used the flame to light his cigarette.

The second minister produced a $5 note, lit it in the flame of the still burning match, and then lit his pipe.

The third minister, a minister of finance and an astute man who was well-informed on financial matters, produced his cheque book, wrote a cheque for thousands of dollars and then lit it up with the same matchstick before lighting his cigar with the burning cheque.

This story, said Abdul Razak, showed how astute the finance minister was compared to other ministers, and Tan Siew Sin was no exception.

This picture captures the personality of Abdul Razak that was often hidden from public view.

The security officer seen standing behind him is Sergeant Basri bin Misran.





Celebrating his 48th birthday in 1968. Beside him is Mohamed Nazim, while Rahah carries Mohamed Nizam.



Friends carrying Abdul Razak to the cake on his 44th birthday at the Lake Club, Kuala Lumpur. Every year, on 11 March, birthday celebrations were held for him at Sri Taman or the Lake Club.

Who would have had the courage to give Abdul Razak a present such as this on his birthday but his very close friend Tunku Abdul Rahman? The Tunku was a man who liked to pull tricks on his friends. Here Des Alwi is the man holding the present but who would not pull out its content. And whose hand is it trying to stop the Tunku from doing so?

A baffled Tan Siew Sin looks on innocently. If a sequence shot was ever taken once the figure was pulled from the barrel, then the picture would have certainly been not usable.



Abdul Razak returning Tunku Abdul Rahman's Thai-style greeting at Abdul Razak's 47th birthday party at the Lake Club.



With journalists at the Lake Club on his 44th birthday. These journalists were his constant travelling companions during visits throughout the country. *Utusan* writer Salleh Yusof is at far right.

A journalist was once asked by Abdul Razak why he was not eating while covering an event at Sri Taman. "I've had something to eat before coming here," he replied.

Abdul Razak would not have this. "No, you must eat. This food was cooked by Toh Puan herself." Abdul Razak would not walk away until he had taken something.

To Abdul Razak's right: poet and journalist Prof Firdaus Abdullah (bearded), and Khalid Yunus (with short hair), now Deputy Education Minister. The writer is standing in the middle row, far right.



Rahah, seen here with women in the media, during a reception given by Abdul Razak for writers and journalists in 1973. Among them are Straits Times journalist Azah Aziz (left), wife of former Vice-Chancellor of Universiti Malaya, Professor Ungku Aziz, and Norlida Saidi, (second from right), a popular broadcaster in the 1960s and 1970s.







As a schoolboy Abdul Razak was a keen all round athlete. As a golfer he was rated as the best in Asia, but while running the affairs of state he could only play with close friends, including Tunku Abdul Rahman.

Abdul Razak was also President of the Olympics Council of Malaysia.

Abdul Razak pulling Dr Ismail's leg when he saw that he was wearing a new pair of shoes at a reception during the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' conference in Kuala Lumpur in February 1973. Looking on with glee are Adam Malik (Indonesia), Rajaratnam (Singapore) behind Razak, Tan Siew Sin (centre) and Romulo (Philippines) at far left.



Admiring a portrait of himself presented to him by the Indonesian government in the 1970s.



The King of Football in the 1970s, Ghani Minhat, who also captained the UMNO Youth football team, receiving a souvenir from Abdul Razak for his services to the game.



The nation honoured the Malaysian badminton team which was able to defeat Indonesia for the Thomas Cup in 1967.

Eddy Choong, the national badminton hero and singles champion, seen here helping Abdul Razak to drink from the Cup. Looking on is Tunku's wife Sharifah Roziah, and another national player, Tan Aik Huang.





Abdul Razak and his wife Rahah were extremely fond of children. He is handing sweets to children after opening a children's playground in Alor Setar, Kedah, in 1972.

The playground was named after Abdul Razak to commemorate UMNO's 25th anniversary.





Rahah handing out donations to children at a rehabilitation centre for the disabled in Cheras in 1974.



Abdul Razak's wife Rahah with members of the women's wing of UMNO helping to pack *Hari Raya* cookies for members of the armed forces in active service in Sabah and Sarawak in 1965. Also seen here is Senator Aishah Ghani (right).



Society women displaying the assorted hair-styles of the 1970s at social functions. Rahah (second from right) and Tuanku Bahyah (fifth from left).

“Only a handful knew that in the final years of his life Abdul Razak continued to work hard even though the prognosis of his illness did not hold much for his future. There were times when he continued to work in pain. His strong devotion to the country had helped him to continue working with undiminished sacrifice and dedication.”

Lim Chong Eu
Former Chief Minister of Penang



"**O**nly a handful knew that in the final years of his life Abdul Razak continued to work hard even though the prognosis of his illness did not hold much for his future. There were times when he continued to work in pain. His strong devotion to the country had helped him to continue working with undiminished sacrifice and dedication."

These were the words of former Penang Chief Minister Dr Lim Chong Eu when receiving the Tun Razak Award in 1996. It gave a graphic account of how Abdul Razak lived his remaining years.

In the year that was to be his last – 1975 – he attended no fewer than 50 official functions.

On his 53rd birthday on 11 March 1975 at Sri Taman, Abdul Razak concealed the pain of his suffering from his wife Rahah and his family and guests by appearing to be merry.

A sampling of the public tasks that he performed in 1975: the opening of the Royal Malaysian Air Force Helicopter Training School; the 5th anniversary celebration for PERNAS; the closing of the UMNO Women's Silver Jubilee celebration; the opening of the Jamek Mosque in Kampung Batu, Kuala Lumpur; the Prophet's birthday celebration at the Selangor Club cricket ground; the formation of the Association of Malay Hawkers and the Malaysian Association of Malay Petty Traders; an official visit to Britain, Sweden and France; attending the third convocation of the National University of Malaysia, opening the 26th UMNO General Assembly; and a visit to West Sumatra where he met President Suharto.

A ceremony which meant so much to him was his appointment as advocate and solicitor at the High Court, Malaya, on 10 March 1975. He described this as something which gave him some 'personal satisfaction'.

Abdul Razak was already called to the bar in London in 1950, but he chose instead a political career.

final moments

"After being in politics for 25 years and reaching some success, I would like to be accepted as an advocate in my own country but not with a view to going into legal practice. I intend to remain in politics for as long as the people need me.

"However I regard it as an honour and with personal satisfaction that I am now accepted as an advocate in my own country and am able to join my contemporaries in this brotherhood of law," he said.

Abdul Razak mentioned the Tunku who was called to the bar at the age of 71 and then predicted that only he (Abdul Razak) would be able to break that record.

He said that unlike the Tunku, he "made the decision to enter this field now and not in later years because I believe that whatever honour and privilege that a

person is given, he should be able to enjoy it while he is still able to do so."

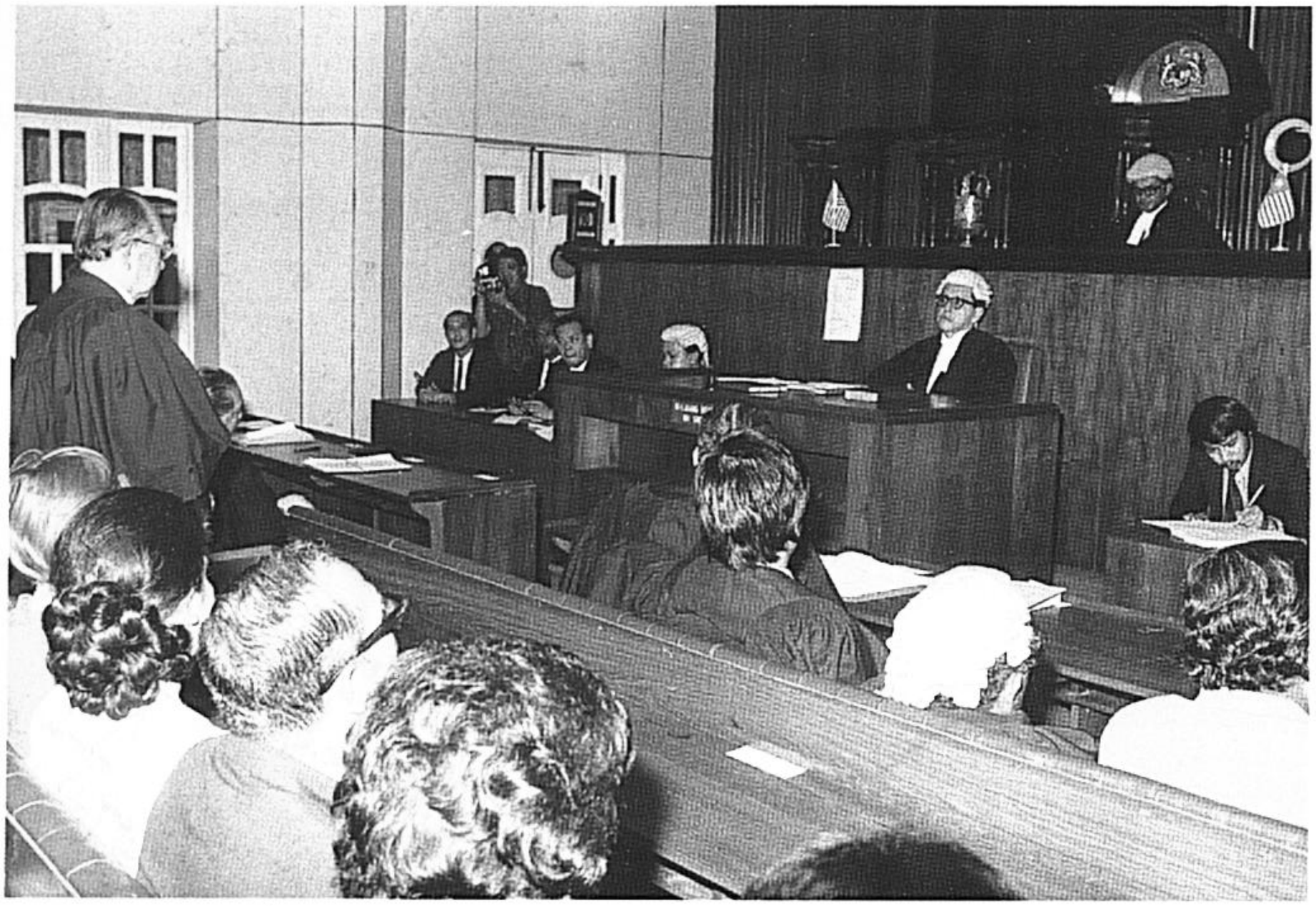
And then he added: "When a person is 71, no matter how much strength one is able to display there is little doubt that one's capacity and ability to enjoy the privileges and the goodness of life will only be in one's mind."

It seemed he knew that he was not long for this life.





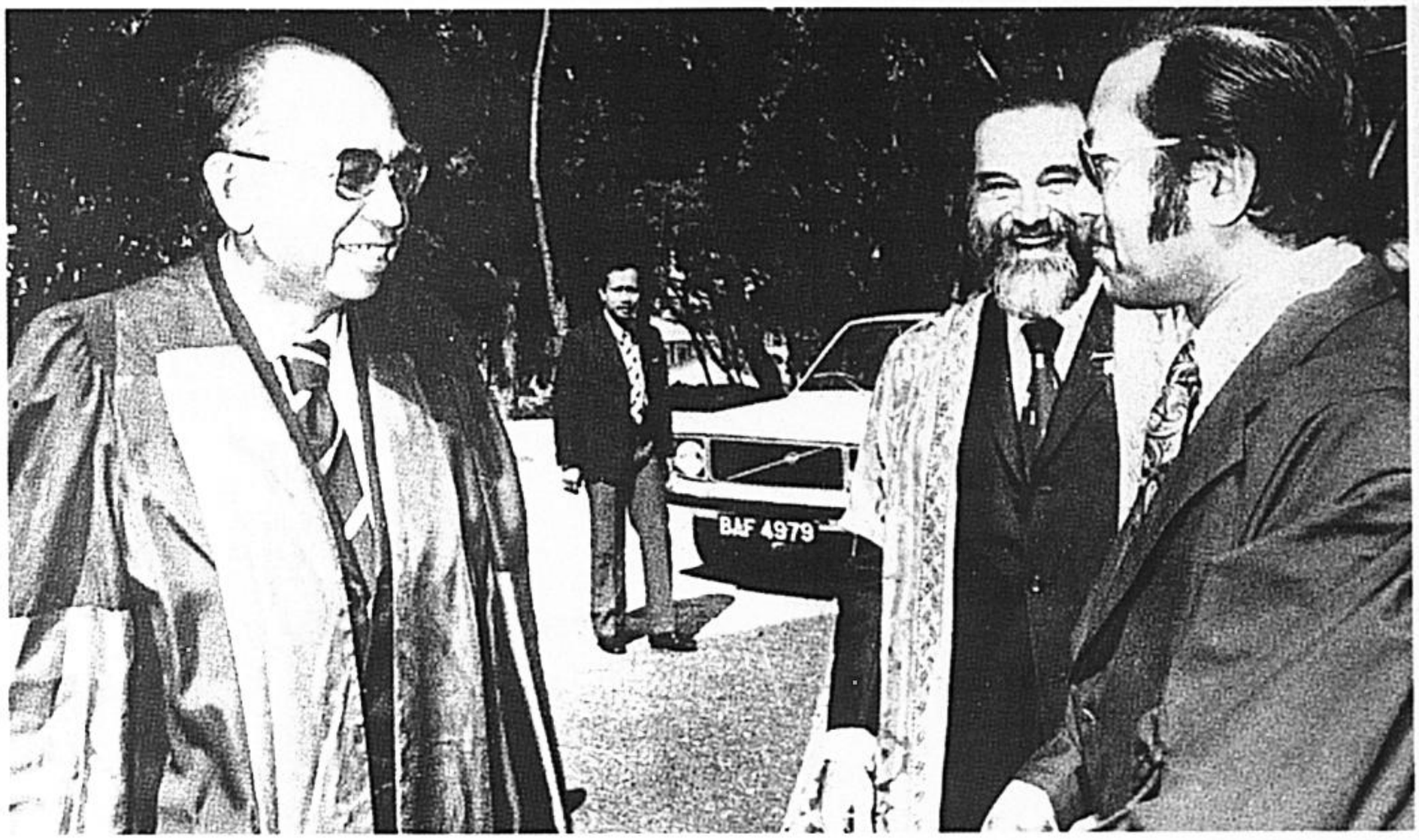
A joke shared. Abdul Razak cutting the *nasi kunyit* (yellow glutinous rice) on his 53rd birthday. He knew then that his illness was getting the better of him, but there was nothing to indicate to Rahah and to those joining him on this happy occasion that this was to be his last birthday. Among the guests were Senu Abdul Rahman (second from right), Pas leader Hassan Adli (third from right), Hussein Onn (left), Ghani Gilong (to Hussein's left) and Omar Ong Yoke Lin.



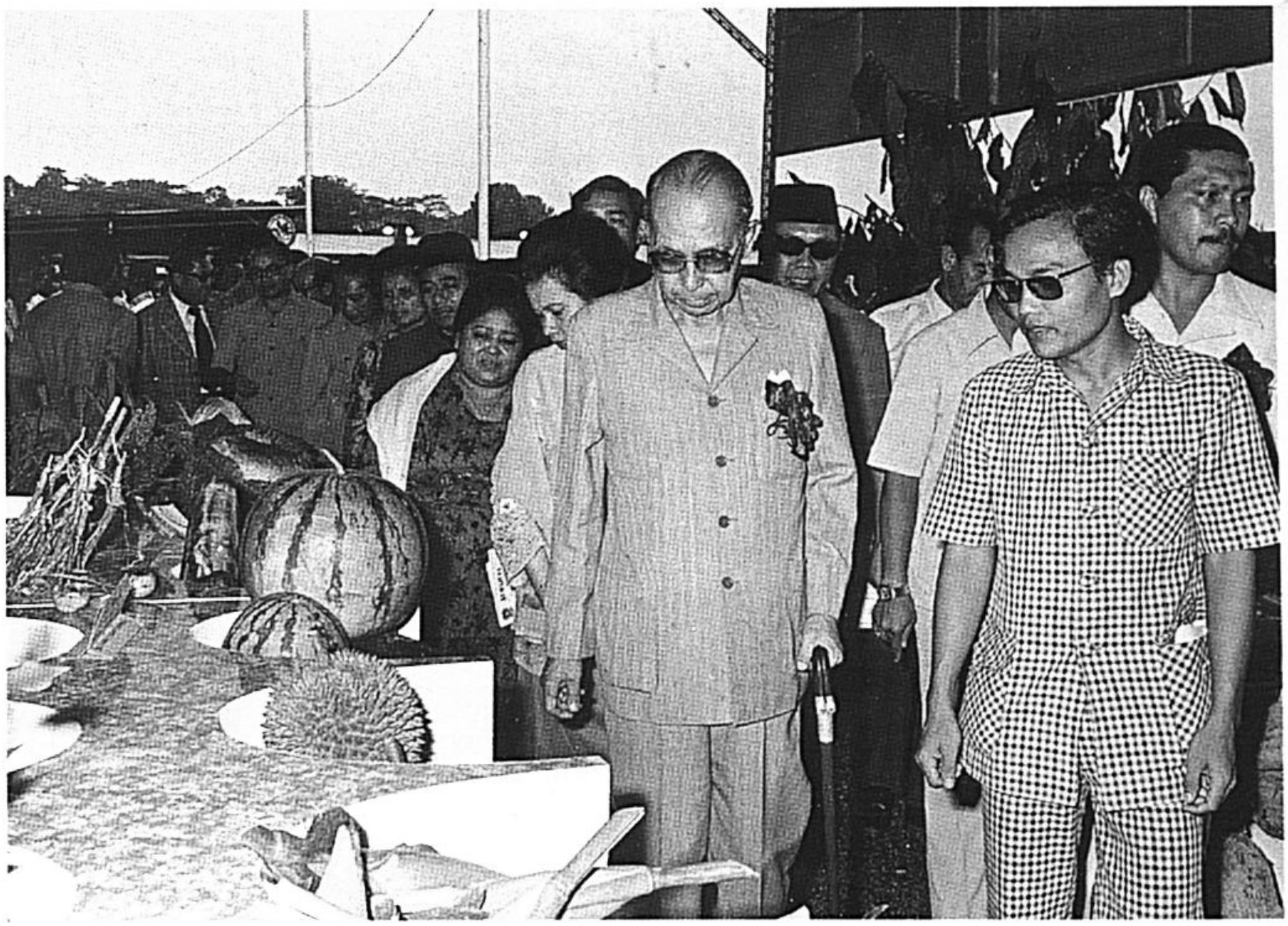
On 10 March 1975, a day before celebrating his last birthday, Abdul Razak was admitted as advocate and solicitor at the High Court, Malaya. "This is not for entry into the profession but solely for personal satisfaction," Abdul Razak said. He regarded politics as his calling "for as long as the people need me."



Abdul Razak with the country's Lord President Mohammed Suffian after being admitted to the Malaysian Bar. His eldest son Mohd Najib is seen in the background, right.



At the University of Malaya to open the Dental Faculty in May 1975. He was received by Education Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad and UM Vice-Chancellor Professor Ungku Aziz.



At the opening of Farmers' Day at Parliament building in August 1975. Standing at right is Ahmad Sarji, Director General of the Farmers' Association Board (1973-1979). According to Ahmad, Abdul Razak once told him to regard the Farmers' Association as UMNO, and UMNO as the Farmers' Association.





US Deputy State Secretary Philip C. Habib meeting Abdul Razak at his office in Kuala Lumpur on 11 December 1975, 35 days before his death. Abdul Razak is seen here to be his usual cheerful self.

Signing a book of condolence on the death of Al-Malik Faisal at the Saudi Embassy. The Saudi King was murdered by his own nephew Faisal Ibni Musad Abdul Aziz in Riyadh on 25 March 1975.





Abdul Razak and Rahah posed for a photograph with members of the Association of Malay Petty Traders at the Hilton Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, on 27 March 1975.

The lone *songkok* in the ocean of faces belongs to association president Tunku Muhyiddin Sulaiman, the man who played an important and courageous role in finding trading sites for Malay hawkers and petty traders around Kuala Lumpur after the May 13 incident of 1969.

In his speech Abdul Razak said he hoped that one day from among these hawkers and petty traders would rise restaurateurs, hoteliers, big scale traders and so on.

"The government will do everything that is necessary to help the Malays and *bumiputeras* in business and industry but it is important for the Malays themselves to show their willingness to go into business and industry.

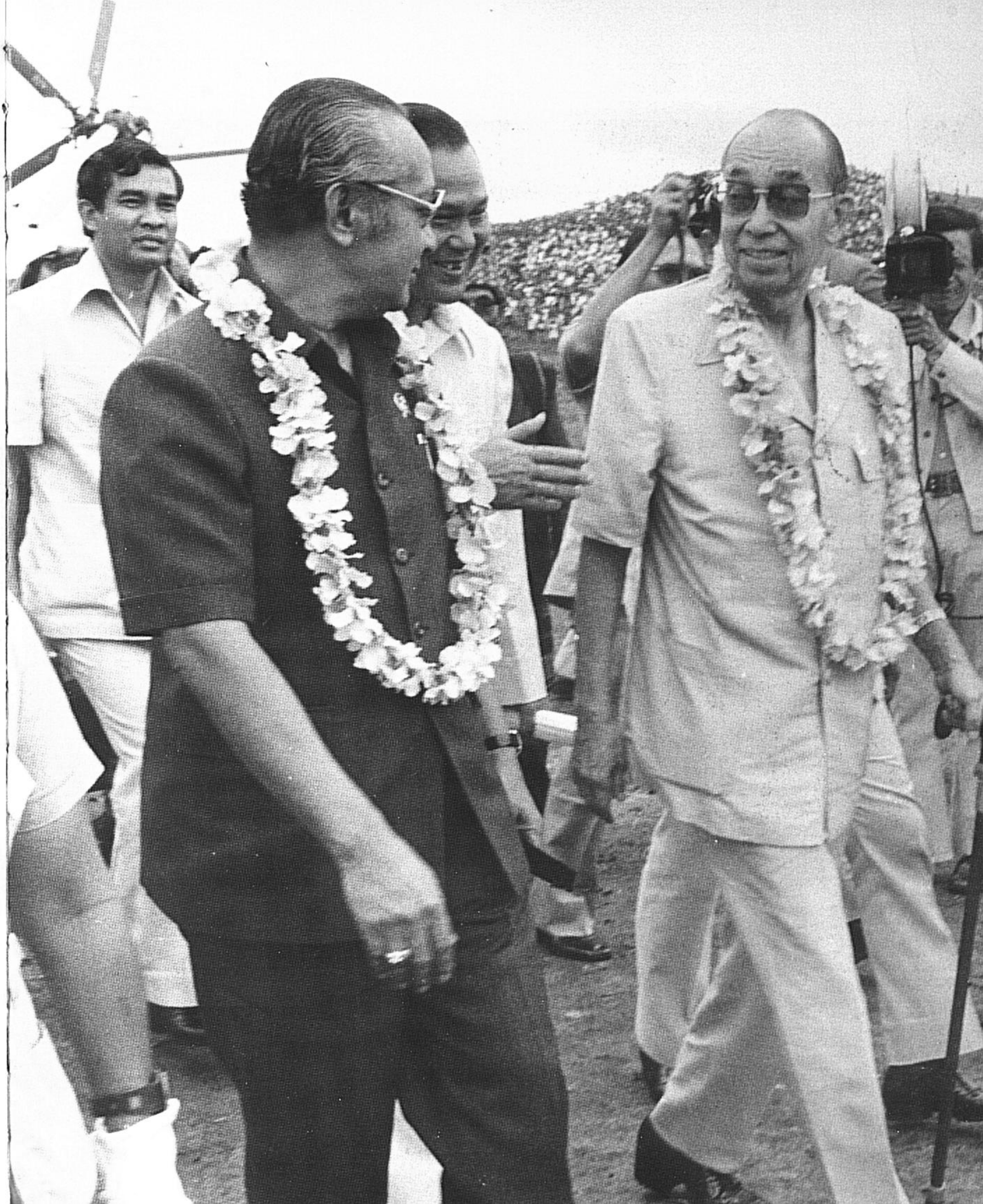
"We must have enough courage to change our attitude and to adapt ourselves to a new economic climate of monetary economics.

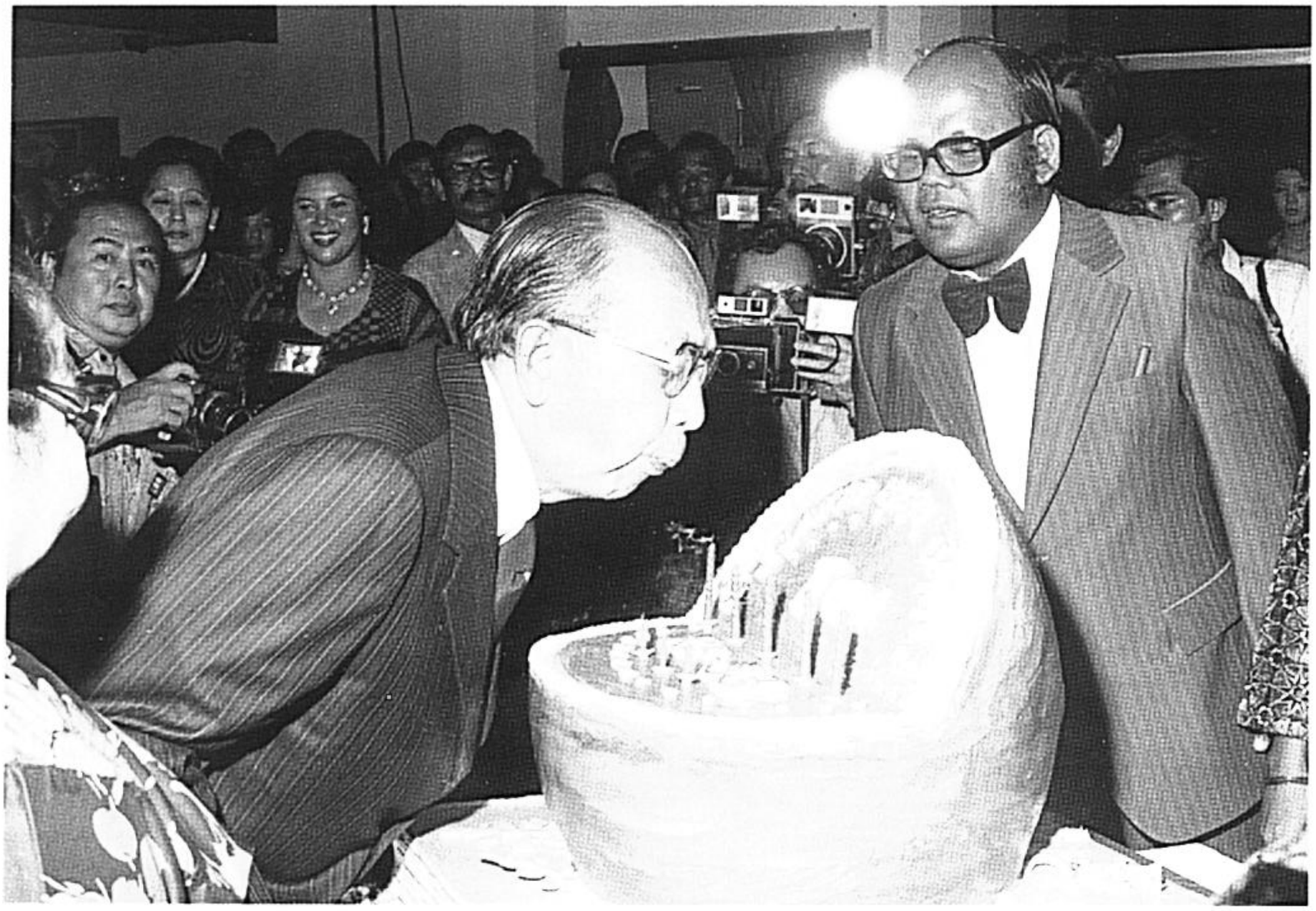
"We must leave our villages and our old workplace which did not bring us adequate incomes, and we must have the courage to start a new way of life for a good standard of living that is modern and which provides adequate income for us to live in a nation that is advanced and civilised."



Abdul Razak receiving Omar Ong Yoke Lin and wife during the *Hari Raya Haji* open day celebration at Sri Taman on 12 December 1975, a month before his death. With his back to the camera it was clear how much his health had deteriorated, but not many people dared ask about his true condition.

Even as he deteriorated further Abdul Razak could still make his last journey to West Sumatra from 15 to 17 November 1975. From Medan he flew with President Suharto to Prapat where his arrival was enthusiastically received by the local people. His gaunt appearance here is evident for all to see.





Radio Television Malaysia staged a Premier Concert Special for Abdul Razak at Wisma Radio on his 53rd birthday, on 12 March 1975 which was to be his last. Deputy Information Minister Shariff Ahmad and other guests look on while Abdul Razak blows out the candles on the cake.



Abdul Razak and Hussein Onn with their wives at the concert staged in honour of Abdul Razak. Abdul Razak and Hussein were more than friends. Hussein's wife, Suhaila (far right) was the elder sister of Rahah. Sitting between Abdul Razak and Hussein is Information Minister Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen.

“Almost all the institutions that now contribute towards the elevation of the people were started by that candle that finally burnt itself.”

The writer



As a national leader and an ordinary man, Abdul Razak could have kept his illness a secret to preserve national security, or for some other personal considerations. But those who were close to him believe that it could be simply this: it was out of consideration for other people.

Zain Azraai, his Special Private Secretary said: "Abdul Razak did not want other people to worry about him."[1]

Two people who held the secret of Abdul Razak's leukaemia for so long were his personal physician Dr MacPherson and Deputy Prime Minister Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman. Dr Ismail himself was then suffering from two potentially fatal conditions, throat cancer and heart disease.

Abdul Razak and Dr Ismail kept the secret of their illnesses to themselves, but on one occasion, probably out of his personal concern for his friend, Abdul Razak expressed concern over Dr Ismail's health to one of his officers, Thong Yaw Hong.

Thong suspected that Dr Ismail too knew about Abdul Razak's illness, but he died before his prime ministerial colleague.

Although Rahah and their children knew that Abdul Razak was ailing, they did not know the exact nature of his illness. So, when Abdul Razak left for London to 'rest', Rahah was not aware of the truth of her husband's declining health.

A statement issued by the Information Department in Kuala Lumpur said that Abdul Razak had left for London to 'rest', when in fact he was going there for medical treatment.

Rahah and family members did not join Abdul Razak on this trip because he did not want to incur unnecessary expenses on the government. In fact, prior to leaving for London Abdul Razak had produced a medical certificate like any other government servant to back up his request for leave.

"I still remember the day in December 1975 when Abdul Razak produced a doctor's letter saying that he was unwell like any government servant would do to request payment to undergo treatment," Zain Azraai said.

return to allah

Rahah rushed to London when she received news that her husband was gravely ill, but their eldest son Najib, then a student in London, had returned home after seeing that his father's health was improving.

Two days before his death, Abdul Razak told his close friend Taib Andak: "Yib, I'm dying, but please don't tell Rahah." He also said he would like to see his youngest son Nazir, but this was a wish not fulfilled as Abdul Razak passed away while Nazir was making preparations to leave for London with Helen Chen, wife of Michael Chen, Minister of Housing and New Villages.

His close friends and Parliament members, on seeing that he appeared unwell, had previously advised him to go on leave for a well-deserved rest. However, he said to them, "How am I to rest when there is still much work to be done."

Despite his attempts to conceal his illness, it was apparent to those around him and those who saw him in newspaper pictures and on television that he was ailing. His insistence to continue working hid very well the fact that he himself

was counting the days.

For Abdul Razak work was a distraction which gave him strength to face the remainder of his days with unfinished business.

In his final years he expressed dissatisfaction with his people who did not show much willingness to improve in spite of various government programmes to better their lot.

"What else am I to do with them?" he said to a top government official.

He was seen to be working to his last day. When news came from London that he had died, it came as a great shock to the people.

Acting Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Onn announced his death on the state broadcasting service RTM on Wednesday, 14 January 1976 at 10.47 p.m.

In tears and choking with emotion, Hussein made this announcement: "The Right Honourable Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Dato' Hussein, our beloved Prime Minister of Malaysia, returned to the comfort of Allah this afternoon, Wednesday (14 January 1976), the 11th day of Muharam, in London at about 6.30 p.m. Peninsular time."

He continued: "On behalf of the government and his family I seek forgiveness from you for *Allahyarham* (Abdul Razak) if he had wronged you in his life. I ask that you pray to Allah to bless his soul and to receive him among the faithful. Abdul Razak died from acute leukaemia, a condition he suffered from a few weeks ago."

Before being flown back to Malaysia, Abdul Razak's body was taken to the East London Mosque and then to the Malaysian High Commission for the lying in state.

Thousands of people in mourning joined state dignitaries to receive Abdul Razak's body at Subang International Airport when a MAS special flight touched down at 5.30 p.m. on Thursday, 15 January 1976.

When the body was laid in state in Parliament House on Friday, 16 January 1976 from 6.00 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. waves of mourners in an endless procession called to pay him their last respects. They then followed Abdul Razak in his final journey from Parliament House to the National Mosque where he would be buried in the Warriors' Tomb with full state honours.

In this last moment for Abdul Razak before being committed to earth whence he came, the people, overcome with grief, surged past the safety barriers to see him for the last time.

The departing patriot was bade farewell by this sea of mournful faces of his people, now crying now in earnest prayers, for the man who in sickness and in health had worked and continued working for them, for the sake of his people and for his beloved country.

Abdul Razak's sudden departure at the age of 54 came with the realisation en masse that this was a candle that had burnt so brightly that light may be shed to guide the progress of his people.

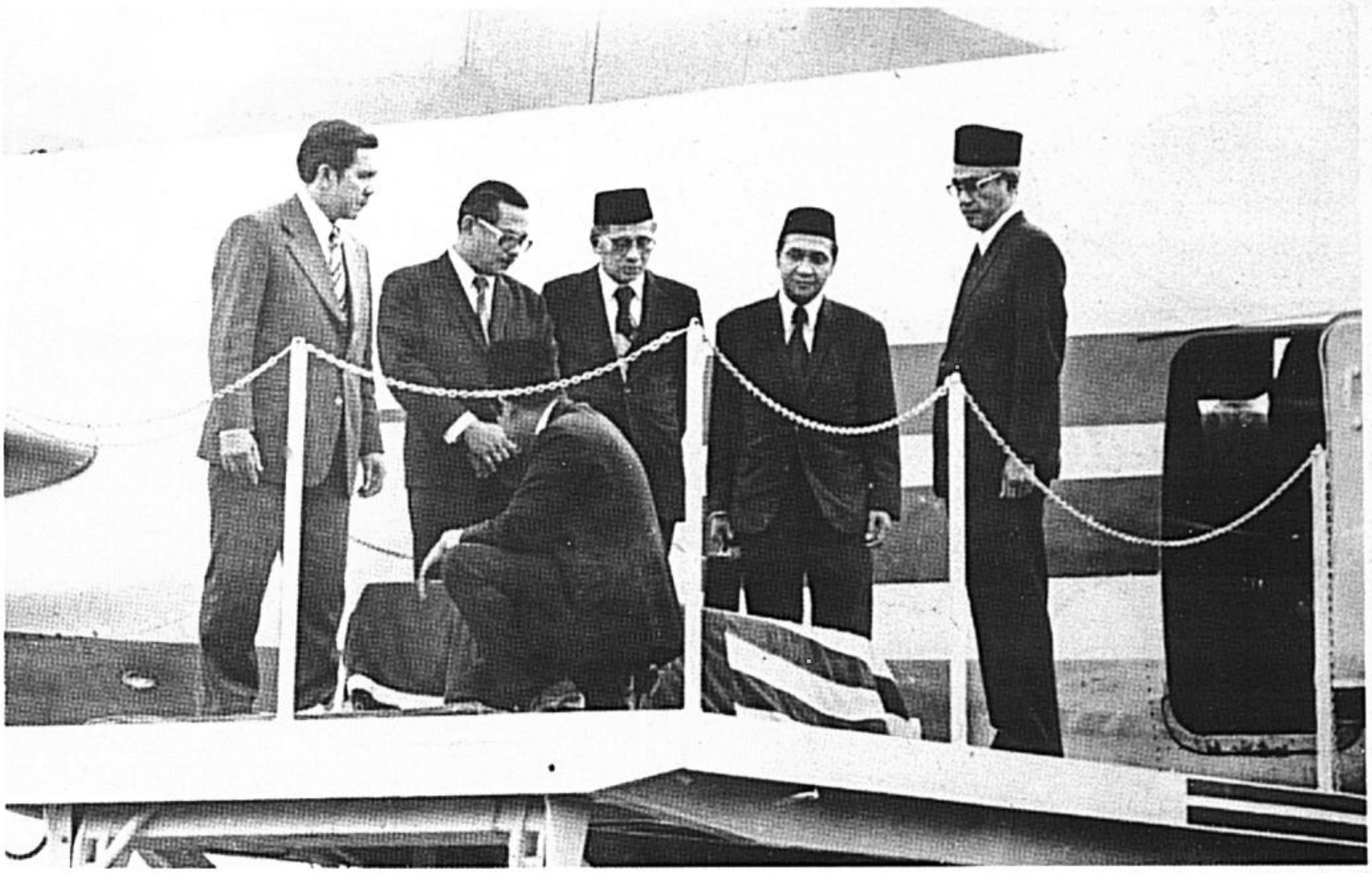
Almost all the institutions that now contribute towards the elevation of the people were started by that candle that finally burnt itself.

Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak bin Dato' Hussein was laid to rest in the Warriors' Tomb in the National Mosque alongside his close friend Tun Dr Ismail bin Abdul Rahman on 16 January 1976. *AL FATIHAH.*

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1. *Seluruh Hidupnya untuk Malaysia/ A Man of Malaysia,* New Straits Times Press, 1976. Zain Azraai, who died on 7 December 1996, worked closely with Abdul Razak for 10 years at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, before becoming his Special Private Secretary, a post he held for 5 years.

London Mosque



Abdul Razak's flag-draped coffin waiting to be lowered on arrival at Subang International Airport at 5.30 p.m., 15 January 1976.



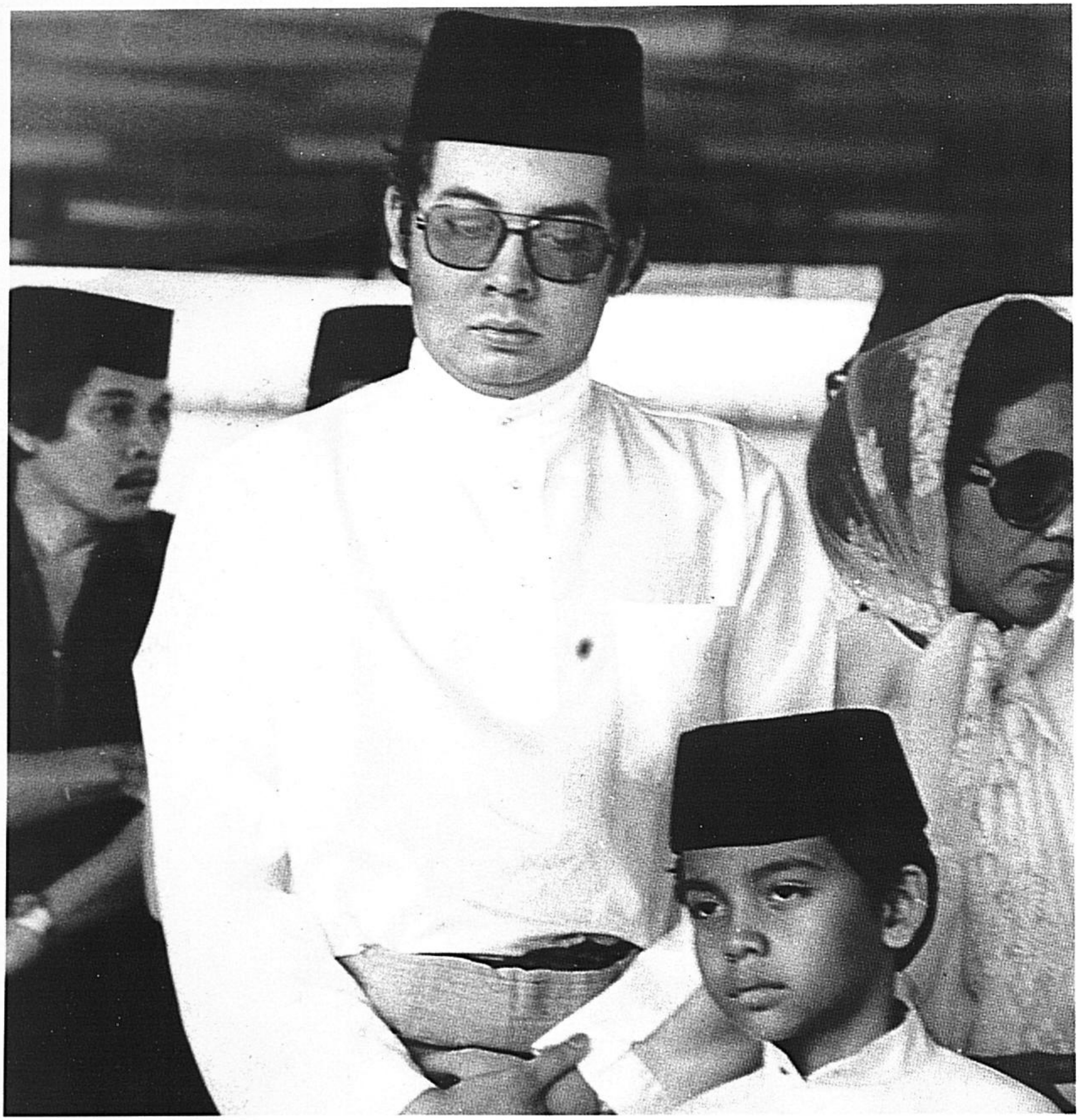
Hussein Onn and the Sultan of Pahang, two close friends of Abdul Razak, embrace each other in shared grief during the arrival of Abdul Razak's flag-draped coffin at Subang International Airport. Hussein was Abdul Razak's brother-in-law while Tuanku Ahmad Shah had been a close friend since childhood.

The body of Prime Minister Abdul Razak was taken to the East London Mosque for prayers. Pallbearers carrying the coffin from the mosque, accompanied by Abdullah Ali (far right), Malaysian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, before being flown to Malaysia.


POLIS



Members of the various services of the armed forces act as pallbearers once Abdul Razak's coffin was lowered from the plane to the hearse which would take the body back to Sri Taman. Thousands of people, shocked and aggrieved by news of Abdul Razak's death in London, arrived at Subang International Airport to see the coffin arrive home.



A moment of great sadness for Najib and Nazir while maintaining external calm during the arrival of their father's coffin at Subang International Airport.

Selangor Menteri Besar Harun Idris was among those who went to Sri Taman to pay his last respects to Abdul Razak before the body was taken to Parliament House. Harun, who was facing charges under the Anti-Corruption Act, was locked in crisis with Abdul Razak shortly before his death. He had turned down Abdul Razak's offer to send him as ambassador to the United Nations to take him out of the heat.

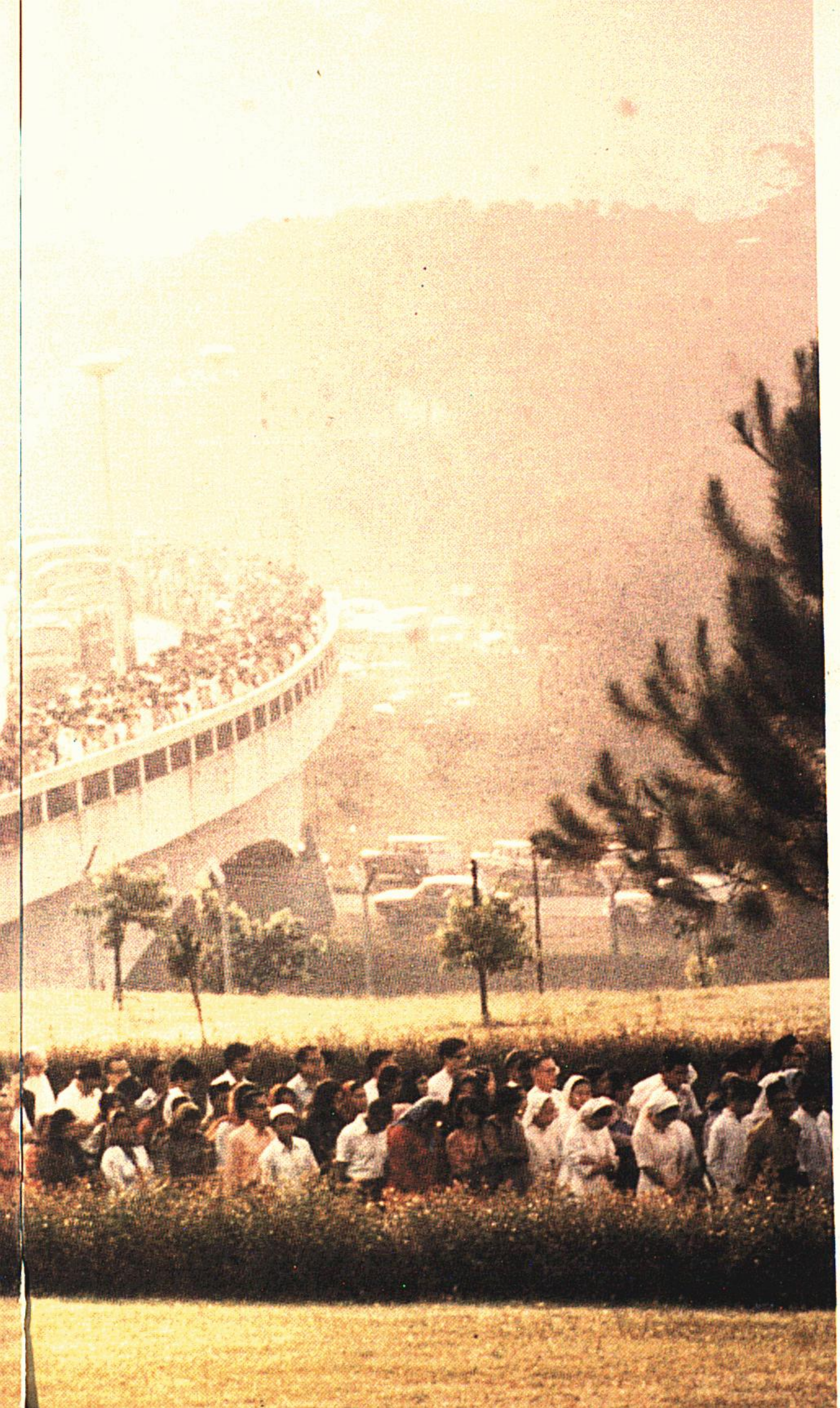






The Malaysian flag is draped over Abdul Razak's coffin during the lying in state at Parliament House before state dignitaries and the common people who came to pay their last respects. The sixth Yang di-Pertuan Agong Tuanku Yahya Petra ibni Almarhum Sultan Ibrahim and the Raja Permaisuri Agong stand before the coffin with, among others, Deputy Prime Minister Hussein Onn, Mohd Khir Johari and Education Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad (far left).





A still mist covered morning in Kuala Lumpur, 16 January 1976. People in their tens of thousands from the diversity that is multiracial Malaysia, form an unending procession towards Parliament House to pay their last respects to a leader who remained close to their hearts.





The final journey past the Sultan Abdul Samad building, past the grief-stricken multitudes en route to the Warriors' Tomb in the National Mosque.

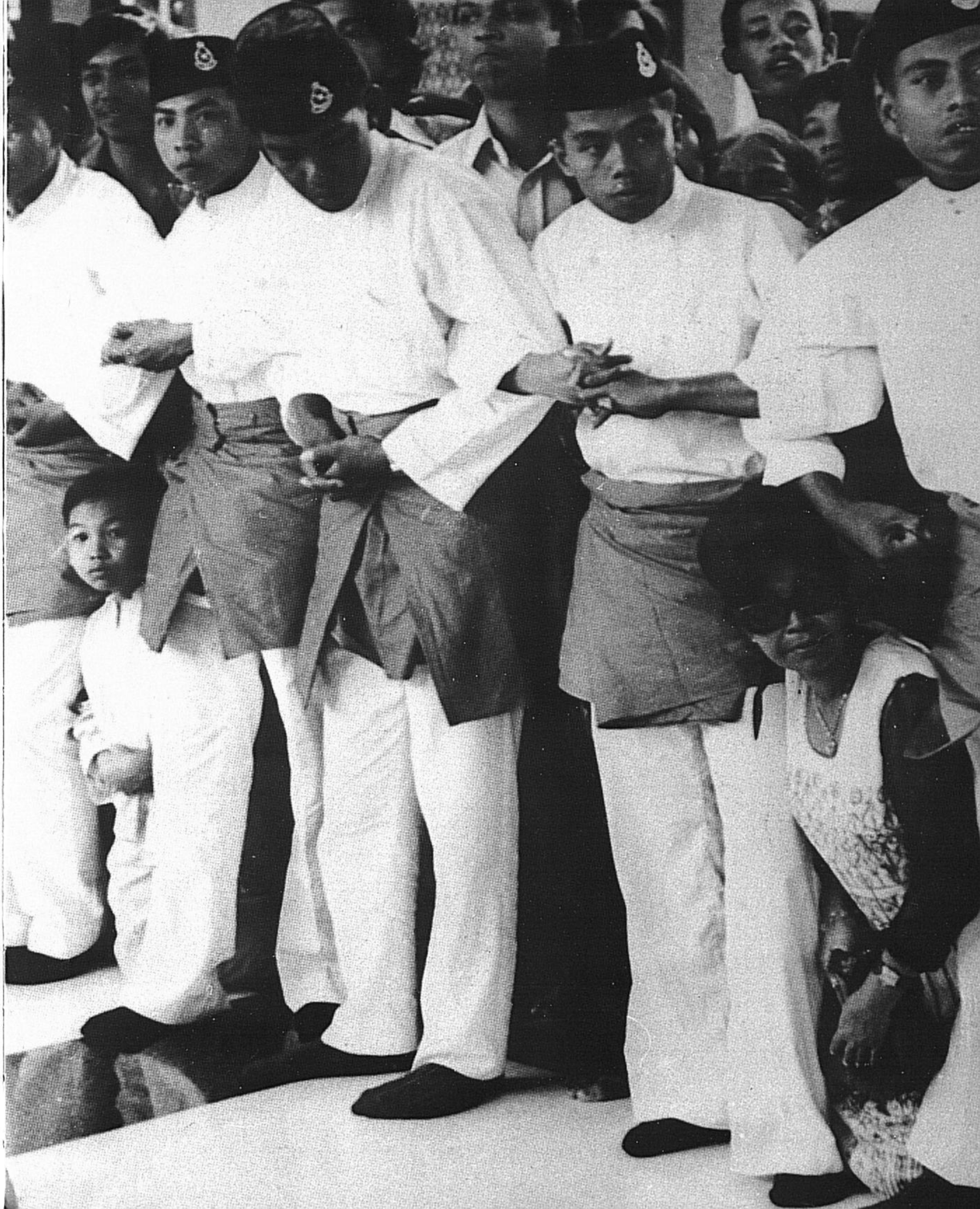


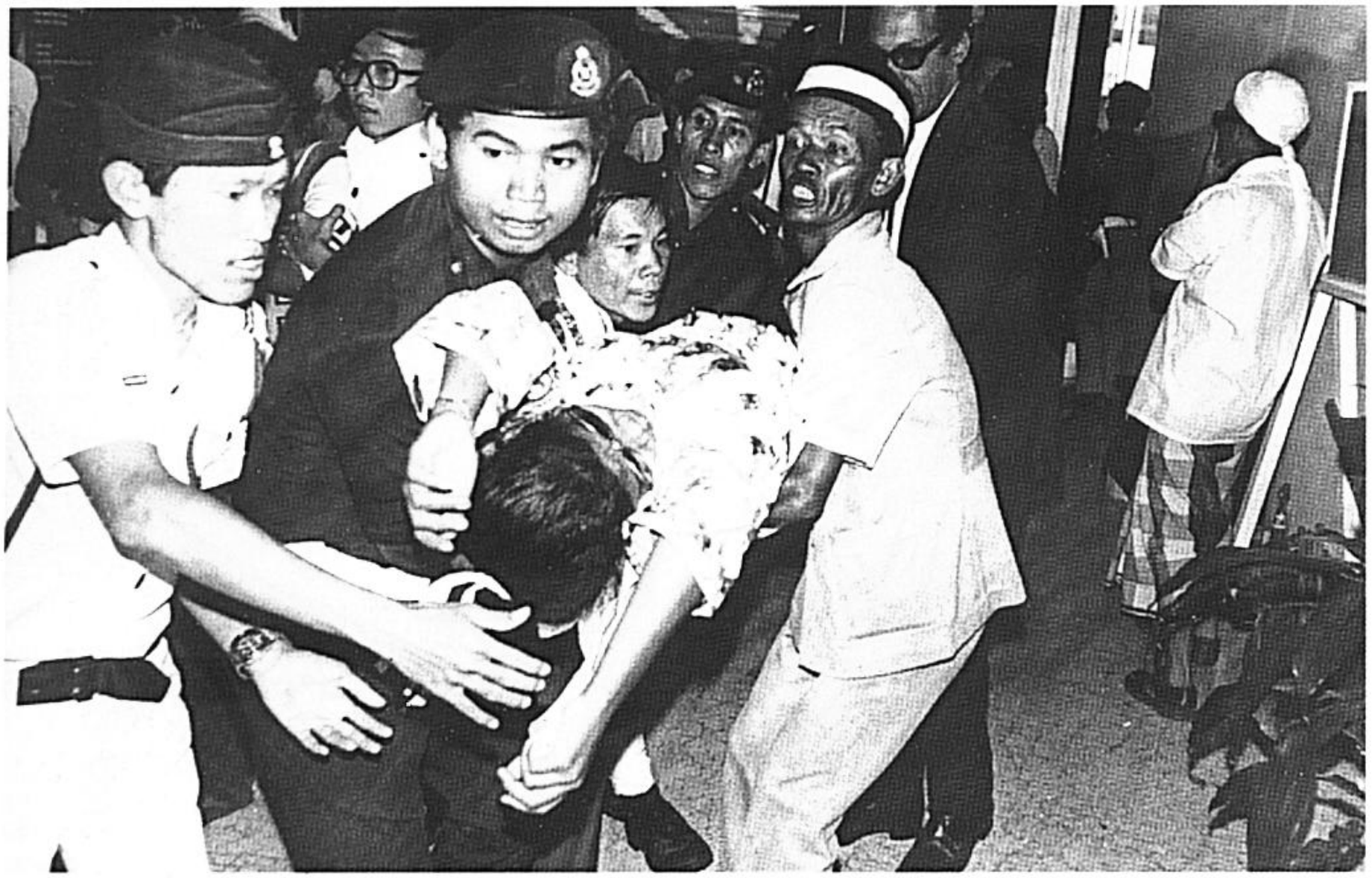
The widowed Rahah surrounded by her children, listening to the funeral service at the Warriors' Tomb in the National Mosque.



Even though members of his family had remained calm, there were many in the crowd who could no longer contain their grief at the loss of a leader whom they regarded as a saviour of the country at a critical moment in the nation's history when it nearly lost its identity and self-confidence. A sobbing mourner being comforted by a companion who also looks to be on the verge of tears.

Heads peering through a police cordon for one last glimpse of the coffin when it arrived at the National Mosque.





First aid workers taking away a woman who had collapsed during Abdul Razak's funeral.



They were not family, but on the day of Abdul Razak's final departure, mourners felt that they had lost someone very close and were overcome by great sadness.

They came from all over the country. Mourners on the day of Abdul Razak's funeral register disappointment when told that that was as far as they could go and no closer to the man whom they had come to bid farewell.







Rahah sprinkling water over the earth that was the last resting place of her beloved husband Abdul Razak.





Abdul Razak's body was finally committed to earth in the Warriors' Tomb in the National Mosque on 16 January 1976. Prayers were recited at the graveside in a finale to a selfless man.

The Prophet said: "When a child of Adam dies, then his links are severed from this world except for three: his good deeds, knowledge that brings him benefit, and the prayers of devout children."



The Tun Abdul Razak Memorial was opened by Prime Minister Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad on 5 May 1982 at Sri Taman, Kuala Lumpur. Among those at the ceremony were Malaysia's first Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's third Prime Minister Tun Hussein Onn, Tun Rahah, and the then Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam.

Prior to that, five weeks after Tun Abdul Razak's death, in February 1976, an institution in memory of Tun Abdul Razak was launched by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah at a ceremony sponsored by The New Straits Times.

Because of public clamour for the setting up of a similar institution, the government put a bill before Parliament for the setting up of a foundation in memory of Tun Abdul Razak. It was passed by the House in July 1976 and received the Royal assent on 28 October 1976. Thus the Tun Razak Foundation was born.

Like a Candle

This article appeared in the New Straits Times on 20 January 1976, a week after Tun Abdul Razak's death. The writer signed himself 'A Colleague' but he has since been identified as Dr Mahathir Mohamad, who was then Minister of Education.

The Selfless Man

Tun Razak was a faithful Muslim and knowledge of the more rapid approach of his own death was received with the equanimity and fortitude of the truly faithful. He did not turn away from his fellow men nor seek to spend his remaining years to ensuring a place in afterlife for himself alone.

Selfishness did not overcome him. Instead he redoubled his dedication to service towards others, to his people, his country and most certainly to his religion. This dedication took a heavy toll of his health. But his doctors were never able to deter him from his self-imposed tasks.

He performed the Haj in 1970 again and then threw himself into his work with renewed energy and unshaken faith. In all that he did there was now a note of urgency as the days and months rapidly telescoped in the face of the inevitable. Sometimes tiredness showed through. How often must the thought of approaching death have assailed him. Those to whom the inevitability of death looms large and real know well the fear and the helplessness.

It would have been natural to falter, to seek pity and sympathy, to retire and rest the tired mind and body. It would have been easy and justified, for there were laurels to rest on. But never once did he falter. To the solicitous comments of his friends, close aides and even immediate members of his family that he looked unwell, his response was to deny and to dismiss. He was fit, he said, and then invariably the subject was switched to work that had to be done.

Towards the end he was particularly concerned over the economy of the nation. He considered it his personal duty to show a good example. But even as he set about doing this his health deteriorated further.

Advised to seek medical care in Europe his first thought was over the expense. Repeatedly he explained that he couldn't pay and hoped that the Minister of Finance would not mind paying. To justify this unexpected expense he submitted a full medical report to the Minister of Finance.

Finally convalescing in London he chafed over his absence from the country. He wanted to return because he had to preside over the meeting of Mentris Besar in Langkawi, Kedah, and other pressing duties.

And when death was rapidly approaching he prayed for three more months. There was the Third Malaysia Plan to launch and a few loose ends to tie up.

This was the man whom we have lost and mourned. He was not perfect. Like every mortal he had his faults. But there is no man, no leader of his people who was more selfless.

He gave every moment of his life to service to others and heeded not his own needs.

He did this fully aware that his days were numbered.

May Allah have mercy on his soul and place him among the Defenders of the Faith, for his selfless service to his people, his country and to Islam is not only in accordance with the teachings of Islam but is also a measure of his abiding faith in his religion.

For us who still live, the life and death of Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Datuk Hussein, Prime Minister of Malaysia, is worthy of the most profound study and contemplation. There is a lesson there that denies that the purpose of life is the pursuit of self-interest and attention to one's own selfish needs, spiritual or otherwise.

Life, the exclusive gift of Allah, must be dedicated to high purpose as if it is eternal, and death treated as if it will come tomorrow.

From Allah he cometh, to Allah he returneth.

– A COLLEAGUE

Perjalanan Roh

Ketika aku mengucap
ina lillah wa ina ilaihi rajiun

Kau bukan mati, perdana
tetapi sekadar istirehat

Dari makrifat sebuah zat
dari perjalanan semalam
yang penuh perjuangan

Siapapun bakal kembali
menghadapi Ilahi

Yang tak terduga bila serunya

Ketika air mata gugur berderai

Kami bukan menangisimu pahlawan

Sekadar manifestasi selamat tinggal
menuju ke pengadilan Yang Maha Tunggal

Di makam pahlawan kau terbaring sepi

Berceritalah tentang perjuangan dan
pembangunan

Sesungguhnya Allah Maha Mengetahui!

Al-Fatihah!

Sabda S
Kuala Lumpur
13 Muharam 1396
15 Januari 1976

A Soul's Journey

(A translation of 'Perjalanan Roh')

When I recite
ina lillah wa ina ilaihi rajiun
You are not dead, premier
but merely resting

From the wisdom of a being
from yesterday's journey
full of struggles

We are all awaiting our call
for a meeting with Allah

When the call will come we do not know

When tears will continually fall

We do not weep for you warrior

Merely an expression of farewell
On your journey to a judgment of God that is one

You lie in silence in the Warriors' Tomb

Speak of your deeds and
your developments
For Allah He knows!

Al-Fatihah!

Sabda S
Kuala Lumpur
13 Muharam 1396
15 January 1976

Heirs





Members of Tun Abdul Razak's family in 1994.
Seated, from left: Nasifuddin bin Mohd Najib, Datuk Seri Mohd Najib Tun Abdul Razak, Norashman Razak bin Mohd Najib, Datin Seri Rosmah Mansor (Mohd Najib's wife), Noryana Najwa binti Mohd Najib, Tun Rahah binti Tan Sri Mohd Noah, Azlina binti Tan Sri Abdul Aziz (Mohd Nazir's wife), Nazreen Zera binti Ahmad Johari, Dr Noral Zeila binti Junid (Ahmad Johari's wife), Nazran Zhafri bin Ahmad Johari and Nazrul Zhasfiran bin Ahmad Johari.
Standing from left: Putri Norliza binti Mohd Najib, Mohd Nizar bin Mohd Najib, Mohd Nizam bin Tun Abdul Razak, Mohd Nazim bin Tun Abdul Razak, Mohd Nazir bin Tun Abdul Razak, Ahmad Johari bin Tun Abdul Razak.

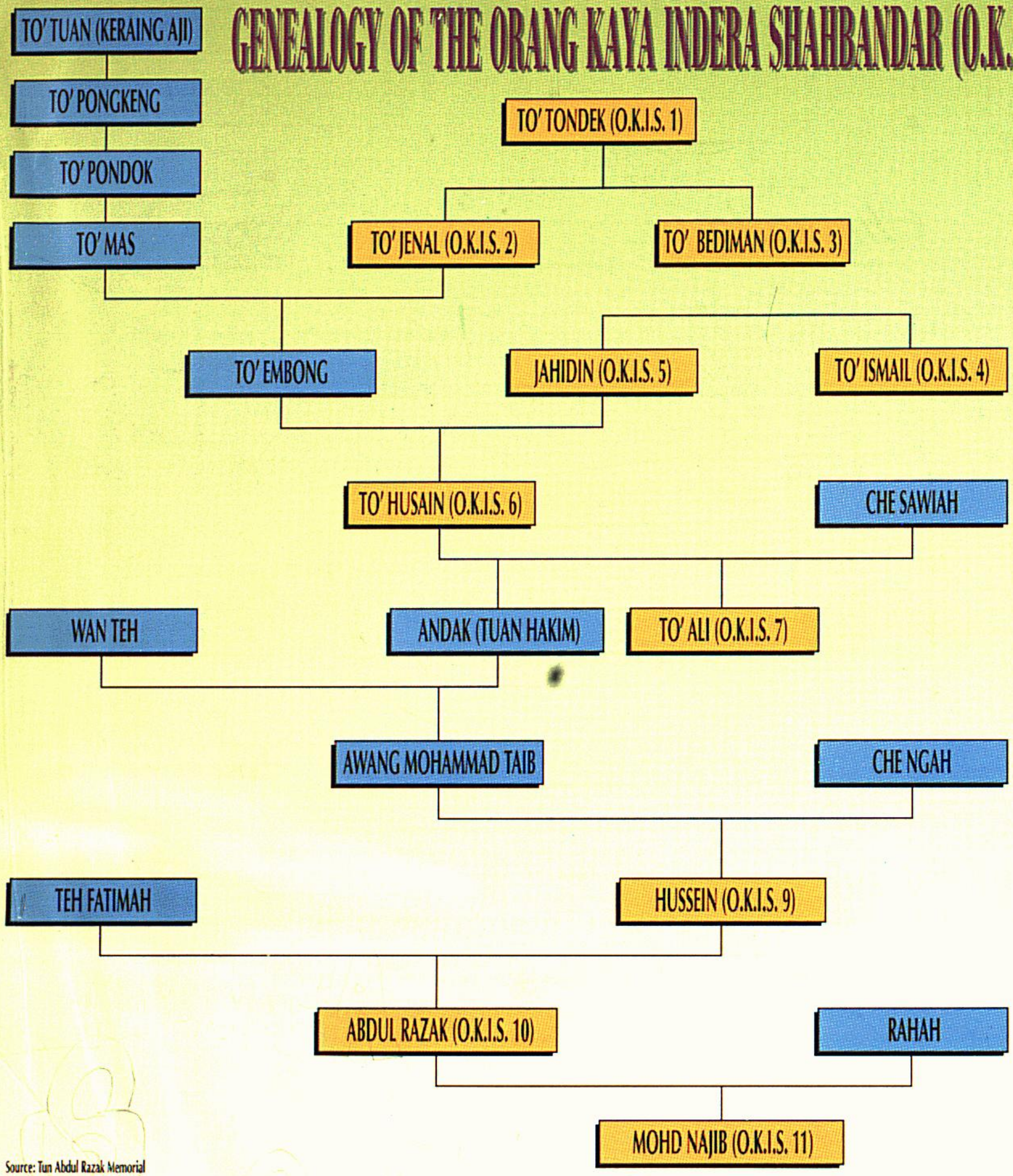
Awards

1. **Darjah Kerabat Yang Amat Dihormati Pangkat Yang Kedua, Brunei (D.K.) Brunei, 23 September 1958.**
2. **Darjah Yang Mulia Pangkuan Negara (S.M.N.), 31 August 1959.**
   Awarded by the first Yang di-Pertuan Agong. It carries the title Tun. This award was made at the Istana Negara on 7 January 1960. Given for service and loyalty to the King and country.
3. **Undang-Undang Darjah Kebesaran Mahkota Kelantan Yang Amat Mulia (S.P.M.K.), 18 July 1961.**
   Awarded by the Sultan of Kelantan for excellent service to the state of Kelantan at the Istana Balai Besar, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, on 18 July 1961. This award carries the title 'Seri Paduka Yang Kehormat'.
4. **Darjah Mahkota Johor Yang Amat Mulia (S.P.M.J.), 28 October 1961.**
   This award carries the title 'Datuk Sri Paduka'. Awarded at the Istana Besar, Johor Bahru, on 28 October 1961.
5. **Darjah Kebesaran Sri Paduka Mahkota Selangor (S.P.M.S.), 8 March 1965.**
6. **Darjah Yang Mulia Seri Paduka Mahkota Perlis Yang Pertama (S.P.M.P.), 21 September 1965.**
   Awarded by the Raja of Perlis at the Istana Arau, Perlis, on 21 September 1965, in recognition of his loyalty and excellent service to the Raja and to the nation. This award carries the title 'Seri Paduka Mahkota Perlis'.
7. **The Vietnam National Order-Grand Officer, Vietnam, 1 October 1965.**
8. **The Ramon Magsaysay Award, the Philippines, 31 August 1967.**
9. **Darjah Pertama Yang Amat Mulia Kinabalu (S.P.D.K.), 1 May 1971.**
   Awarded by the Yang Dipertua Negeri Sabah at the Istana Kinabalu on 1 May 1971 in recognition of his excellent service to the state of Sabah. It carries the title 'Dato Sri Panglima Darjah Kinabalu'.
10. **Darjah Kerabat Sri Indra Mahkota Pahang (S.I.M.P.), 29 May 1973.**
11. **Darjah Kebesaran: Darjah Utama Sri Mahkota Negara (D.M.N.), 21 October 1976.**
    Awarded by the sixth Yang di-Pertuan Agong on 21 October 1976. This award was received by Dato' Mohd Najib on his father's behalf at the Istana Negara. This highest award is normally conferred on royalty, but it was given to Abdul Razak in recognition of his services to the nation.
12. **Darjah Utama Pangkuan Negeri (Pulau Pinang) (D.U.P.N.), 20 May 1977.**
    Awarded by the Governor of Penang at the Residency, Penang. This award was received by Toh Puan Hajah Rahah on Abdul Razak's behalf.

Chronology

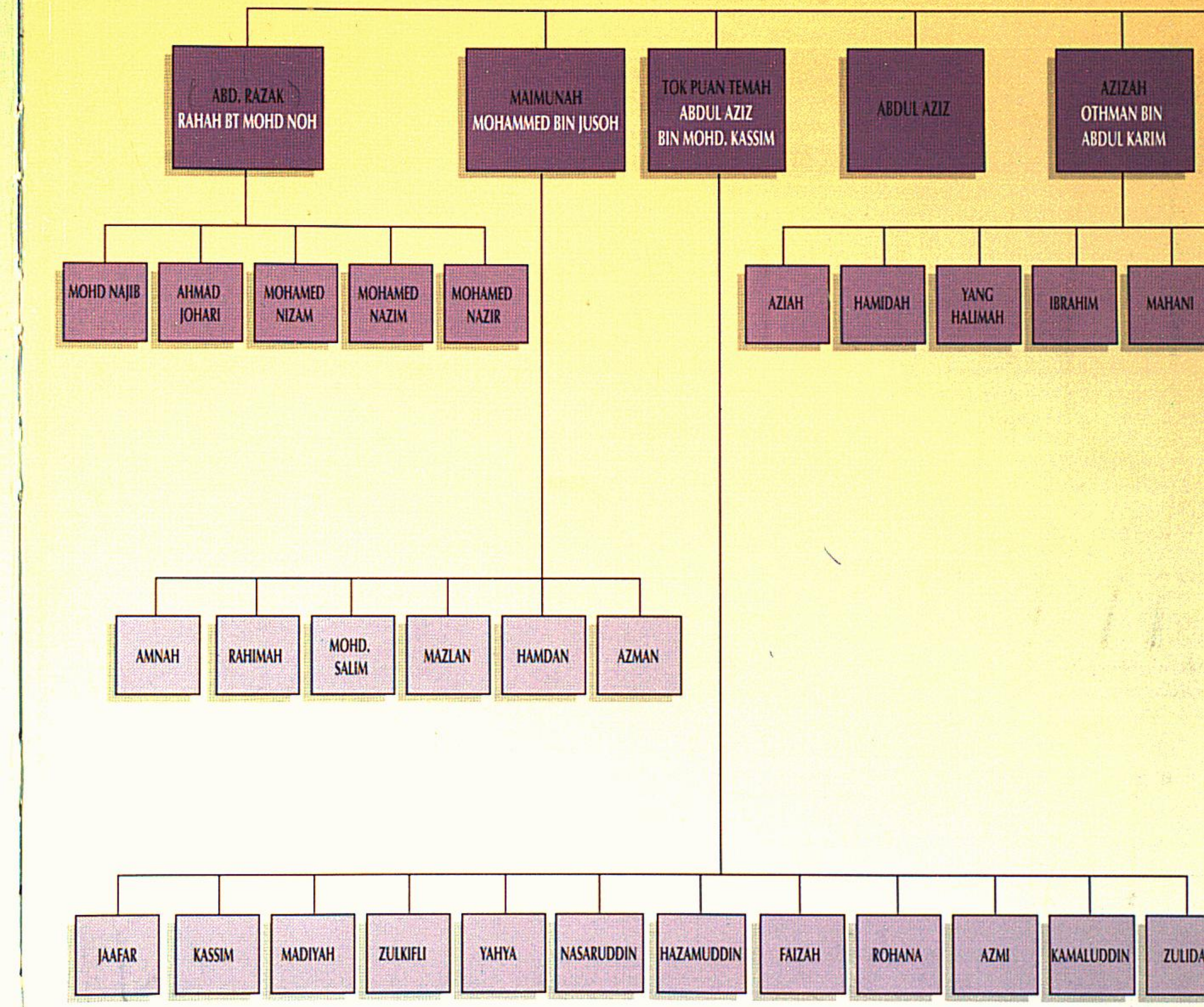
1922 – Abdul Razak was born on 11 May 1922 in Pulau Keladi, Pekan, Pahang.
1928 – Received his early education at a government school in Langgar, Pekan, Pahang.
1934 – Continued education at the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar.
1940 – Awarded a scholarship for further education at Raffles College, Singapore.
1947 – Awarded scholarship to read law at Lincoln's Inn, England.
1950 – Called to the Bar after completing law examinations.
1950 – Elected as UMNO Youth Leader, and became one of its Vice-Presidents.
1950 – Succeeded his father as the *Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar* (O.K.I.S.).
1951 – Elected Deputy President of UMNO. Concurrently elected as Permanent Chairman of UMNO Youth Movement.
1951 – Unofficially appointed member of the Federal Council.
1952 – Appointed State Secretary of Pahang.
1955 – First general election victory in the constituency of Semantan.
1955 – Appointed Minister of Education.
1956 – Became member of the Independence mission to London in January.
1957 – Appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence in September.
1959 – Took up responsibility as Minister of Rural Development in addition to existing portfolios.
1967 – Appointed to another portfolio of Minister of Internal Security (later named Minister of Home Affairs).
1969 – Appointed Director of the National Operations Council (NOC) following the May 13 incident.
1970 – Took up the post of Prime Minister.
1970 – Became President of UMNO.
1974 – Became President of the National Front (*Barisan Nasional*).
1976 – Departed this life in London on 14 January.

GENEALOGY OF THE ORANG KAYA INDERA SHAHBANDAR (O.K.I.S)



Source: Tun Abdul Razak Memorial

Family Relationships



MOHD. TAIB BIN ALI
NGAH BT. MAT

DATO' HUSSEIN
FATIMAH BT. DAUD ROKIAH BT. SALLEH

DUL GHANI

JAMILAH
ABDUL WAHAB
BIN HASSAN

ABDUL KARIM
RAMLAH BT. JELANI

ABDUL LATIF
RADEN ADJENG
JUENAH WIRAMADJA

MASTURA
ABU BAKAR BIN
HUSSAIN

ZULKIFLI

NAL
IDIN

AHMAD

AZIZUL
RAHIM

JOHANNA

MELISSA

MOHD.
AZMI

DARAWATI
LATIFAH
HUSSAIN

MUSTAFA
HUSSAIN

MIRAWATI
HUSSAIN

MOHD.
AZLAN

ZULKIFLI

HUSSEIN

YUSOF

MARIAM

ABBAS

HARUN

JASMIN

JOHARI

JAFFRI

JAFFAR

ZAINON
HAMZAH ABU SAMAH

MOHD.
AZMAN

MOHD.
IZAHAM

SHAHRIL

SALINA

SURIA

JUNITA

ABDUL RAHMAN

ABDUL KADIR
MONA BT. YUSOF

DELANO

AHMAD

KAMARUZAMAN @
MOKHTAR
NORSIAH

NOR
BAIZURA

ZAKUAN

SAFUAN

FUZIAH
SHEIKH RAMLI
BIN SHEIKH ISMAIL

SHEIKH
FAKARUDDIN

SITI
ROZITA

SHEIKH
MUJIB

SITI
LUTFIYAH

SHEIKH
FAHMI

SHEIKH
ISMAIL

SHEIKH
ZAHIR

SHEIKH
BASHEER

SHEIKH
IKHWAN

MUSA
UZIAH BT HJ. OMAR

MOHAMMED
ZHARIF

Tun Razak's Cabinet

First Cabinet, 22 September 1970

Tun Abdul Razak retained most of the ministers who served in the cabinet of Tunku Abdul Rahman, plus the following:

1. Tun Abdul Razak Hussein	Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Defence	5. Hussein Onn	Minister of Education
2. Tun Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman	Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Home Affairs	6. Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen	Junior Minister of Defence
3. Hamzah Abu Samah	Minister of Information and Culture	7. Muhamad Yaakob	Junior Minister of Home Affairs
4. Ghazali Shafie	Minister with Special Functions (responsible for running the Department of National Unity and the Public Planning Unit to study all government policies)		

The Cabinet as on 22 December 1971

1. Tun Abdul Razak	Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Defence	11. Tan Sri Ong Yoke Lin	Minister without Portfolio
2. Tun Dr Ismail Abdul Rahman	Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Home Affairs	12. Mohd Khir Johari	Minister of Trade and Industry
3. Tan Sri Sardon Jubir	Minister of Communications and Transport	13. Tan Sri Temenggung Jugah	Minister of Sarawak Affairs
4. Tan Sri V. Manickavasagam	Minister of Labour and Manpower	14. Tan Sri Ghazali Jawi	Minister of Agriculture
5. Tun Tan Siew Sin	Minister of Finance	15. Lee Siok Yew	Minister of Health
6. Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie	Minister of Information	16. Hussein Onn	Minister of Education
7. Abdul Ghafar Baba	Minister of National and Rural Development	17. Tan Sri Fatimah Hashim	Minister of Social Welfare
8. V.T. Sambanthan	Minister of National Unity	18. Dr Lim Keng Yaik	Minister with Special Functions (responsible for New Villages, the Emergency, and Psychological Warfare)
9. Datuk Hamzah Abu Samah	Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports	19. Dato' Ong Kee Hui	Minister of Technology, Research and Local Government
10. Datuk Abdul Ghani Gilong	Minister of Energy and Public Works	20. Tan Sri Abdul Kadir Yusof	Attorney General
		21. Abdul Taib Mahmud	Minister of Land Resources

The Cabinet as on 5 September 1974

1. Tun Abdul Razak Hussein	Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs
2. Datuk Hussein Onn	Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Minister of Public Corporations
3. Tun Datu Mustapha Harun	Minister of Defence
4. Tan Sri V. Manickavasagam	Minister of Communications
5. Datuk Lee San Choon	Minister of Labour and Manpower
6. Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie	Minister of Home Affairs
7. Abdul Ghafar Baba	Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development
8. Datuk Mohd Asri Muda	Minister with Special Functions
9. Datuk Hamzah Abu Samah	Minister of Trade and Industry
10. Datuk Abdul Ghani Gilong	Minister of Transport and Public Works
11. Tan Sri Lee Siok Yew	Minister of Health
12. Datuk Ong Kee Hui	Minister of Local Government and Environment
13. Datuk Musa Hitam	Minister of Primary Industries
14. Mohammad Yaakob	Minister of Energy, Technology and Research
15. Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen	Minister of Information and Special Functions
16. Datuk Ali Ahmad	Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports
17. Datuk Taib Mahmud	Minister of General Planning and Socio-Economic Research
18. Michael Chen	Minister of New Villages and Housing
19. Aishah Ghani	Minister of Social Welfare
20. Dr Mahathir Mohamad	Minister of Education
21. Mohd Khir Johari	Minister - Ambassador

1. Dr Sulaiman Daud	Deputy Minister of Land and Mines
2. Shariff Ahmad	Deputy Minister of Information
3. Datuk Abdul Samad Idris	Deputy Minister of Home Affairs
4. Datuk Wan Kadir Ismail	Deputy Minister of Communications
5. Mokhtar Hashim	Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development
6. Datuk Mustapha Jabar	Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Deputy Minister of Rural Development
7. Datuk Sri Kamaruddin Mat Isa	Deputy Minister at the Prime Minister's Department
8. Datuk Abdullah Ahmad	Deputy Minister at the Prime Minister's Department
9. Richard Ho	Deputy Minister of Transport and Public Works
10. Datuk Athi Nahappan	Deputy Minister of Law
11. Abu Bakar Umar	Deputy Minister of Health
12. Hassan Adli	Deputy Minister of Labour and Manpower
13. Tan Sri Chong Hon Yan	Deputy Minister of Finance
14. Chan Siang Sun	Deputy Minister of Education
15. Paul Leong Khee Seong	Deputy Minister of Primary Industries

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