

Perdana Global Peace International Conference & Exhibition 2007

“Expose War Crimes, Criminalise War”

“War is about killing people. Killing people as we all know is regarded as a crime in any human society claiming to be civilised. Even if the killing is justified, it would still be wrong, it would still be a crime, it would still be murder. No one may take the law into his own hands and execute a person even if he is a murderer. That is how strongly we feel about taking someone’s life.”

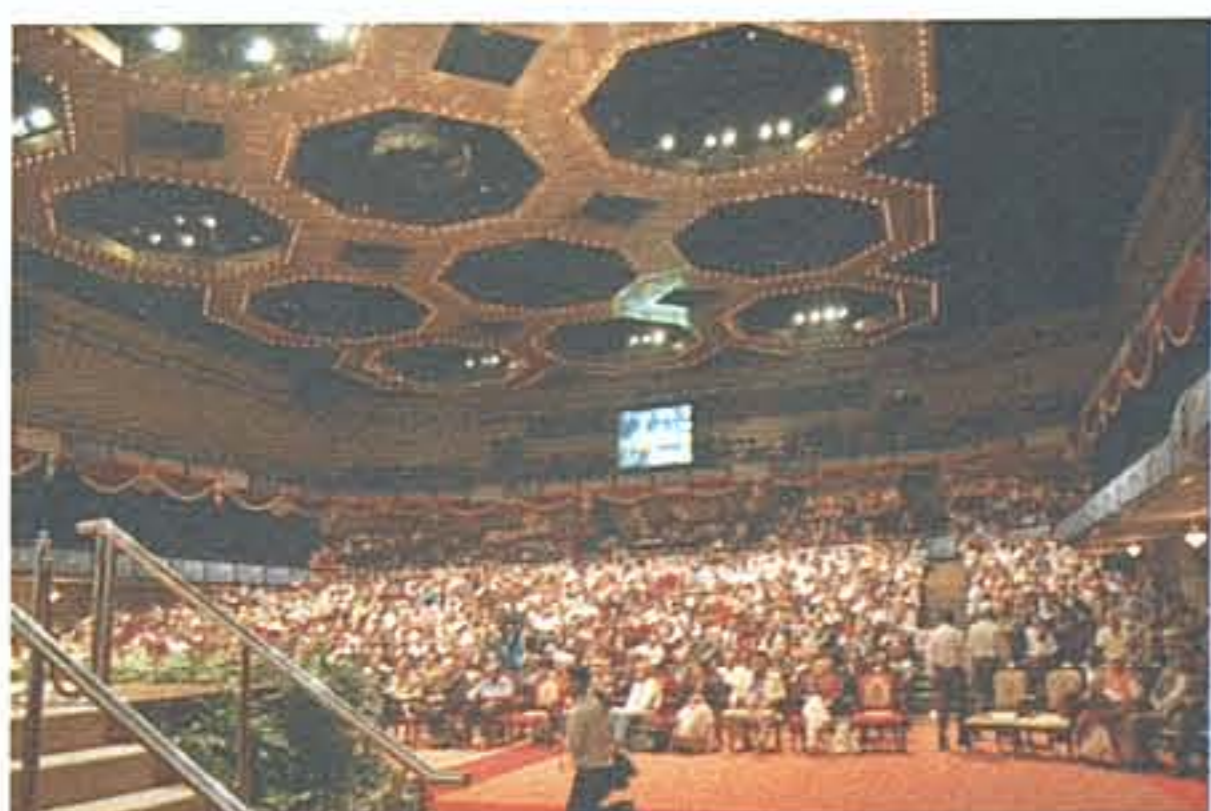


Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Chairman of Perdana Global Peace Organisation

The Perdana Global Peace Organisation organised its “Expose War Crimes, Criminalise War” International Conference from 5th to 7th February at the Merdeka Hall, Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC), Kuala Lumpur. The conference was the third one since the 2005 Perdana Global Peace Forum “Peace Dividends; War Profits” which witnessed the declaration of the Kuala Lumpur Initiative to Criminalise War.

This year, the conference’s theme centred on war crimes. With testimonies from survivors of wars and war crimes, the conference also included full-scale recreations of war scenes and torture prisons, based on witness accounts, documents and photographs. This was the first time an exhibition of this scale and nature has been presented to the Malaysian public, and the thousands who visited the exhibition came away with grim reminders of the dark realities of war.

(More on the Conference on pages 6 to 10)



Perdana Global Peace Forum and Exhibition 2007: “Expose War Crimes, Criminalise War”. February 5th to 7th, PWTC, Kuala Lumpur.

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Chairman's Message

YBhg Tan Sri Dato' Azman Hashim

Chairman, Board of Trustees, Perdana Leadership Foundation

The first half of the year has been a hectic but a rewarding one for the Foundation. In conjunction with the Perdana Global Peace Organisation, the Foundation played a prominent supporting role to the third Perdana Global Peace Forum centred on the theme, "Expose War Crimes. Criminalise War." The Forum featured more than twenty international speakers. With a schedule spread over three full days, the Forum also featured a graphic exhibition on War Crimes and played host to the Preliminary Proceedings against War Criminals on the third day of the Forum. It was heartening to note that the Kuala Lumpur Initiative to Criminalise War, which was first publicised in 2005, is now heard by many more Malaysians and non-Malaysians alike who want to see the end to war. A full spread on the Perdana Global Peace Forum awaits you in this issue of the Quarterly.

On a quieter scale, the Foundation officially selected three scholars to run research on Malaysia's past leadership, and this time two of our scholars will be focusing on the linguistics aspects of leadership, peeling apart speeches of our previous Prime Ministers to uncover their strongest threads and investigate the evolution of specific issues. The third scholar is training her research eye on to Islamic Banking and the policies that have guided the growth of this sector. Given the strong growth of this sector and its economic impact on Malaysia, we look forward very much to her findings.

In April, the Foundation organised the sixth Perdana Discourse Series, this time on media and its role in national development. Our Honorary President's keynote address, as always, was delivered to a packed Perdana auditorium while the panelists gave the audience more food for thought. Excerpts of the keynote address and the panel speeches are within the pages of this issue, and I hope you will find the points raised pertinent and challenging.

With this, I invite you to the second issue of the Perdana Quarterly for the year 2007.



The Foundation's Beginnings

Perdana Leadership Foundation was chartered in January 2003 as a non-profit organisation, founded with gifts from people who supported the vision of a thriving research and learning institution dedicated to the study of Malaysian leadership and nation-building. It is unique in the sense that it began as an entirely private sector initiative, seed-funded and organised by private sector individuals and corporations. Most of the Foundation's trustees were the early benefactors of this Foundation.

The Foundation's physical home in Precinct 8, Putrajaya, was completed in October 2003. The stately building now houses the Perdana Library, an auditorium as well as multi-purpose hall in addition to the offices of the Foundation's Honorary President, YABhg Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad, and his wife, YABhg Tun Dr Siti Hasmah Mohd. Ali.

A tax-exempt, non-profit organisation, the Foundation intends to become the premier institution for the study of Malaysia's Prime Ministers and the central resource centre for research into national stewardship as well as a platform for reflection, debate, and discussion with distinguished figures in Malaysian leadership.

A Belated Birthday Celebration

On 22 January 2007, Institut Pemikiran Dr. Mahathir (IPDM), UUM organised a "Get Together with Tun Dr. Mahathir" in conjunction with the IPDM's Ucap Perdana series at the Perdana Leadership Foundation in Putrajaya. Tun Dr. Mahathir was invited to talk on "Minda Mahasiswa" to over 200 students from UUM. The Foundation also took the opportunity to jointly organise a surprise belated birthday party for the Honorary President who turned 82 in December last year. The Chairman of the Foundation's Board of Trustees, Tan Sri Dato' Azman Hashim, delivered the birthday wish on behalf of the Foundation. Throughout the rest of the afternoon, Tun's favourite songbird, Datuk Yusni Hamid, serenaded the guests with Tun's favourite evergreens.



Tun Dr Mahathir giving a talk on "Minda Mahasiswa"



Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad cuts his birthday cake with Tun Dr. Siti Hasmah cheering



Prof. Dr. Mustapha Kassim presented Tun Dr. Mahathir with a special birthday present from IPDM, UUM



Tun Dr Mahathir singing "Can't Take My Eyes Off You" with Datuk Yusni Hamid



Tan Sri Azman Hashim delivering the Foundation's birthday wish

Events Calendar

March 7, 2007

Trustees Meeting with Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad.

March 12, 2007

The Research Scholars Signing Ceremony was held at PLF for the second batch of PLF Research Scholars.

March 19, 2007

The final installation of the Oral History interview with Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad took place at his office in Petronas Twin Towers, KLCC.

March 26, 2007

Tun Mahathir speaks on "Managing Resources" for IPDM's Ucap Perdana Series

April 18, 2007

6th Perdana Discourse Series on "Media & National Development", Perdana Leadership Foundation.



“The first statement I would like to make is that there is nothing absolute. Absolute freedom does not exist anywhere. So freedom must always be limited by certain requirements of society or the environment. That is the first statement and they apply of course to the media; that freedom of the media is not absolute.”

- Tun Dr. Mahathir on Press Freedom, 18th April 2007 -

Perdana Discourse Series: Media and National Development

On the 18th of April 2007, the Perdana Leadership Foundation and the Institute of Quality and Knowledge Advancement (InQKA) of Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM) successfully organised the 6th Perdana Discourse Series entitled “Media and National Development”. Perusahaan Otomobil Nasional (PROTON) was the main sponsor of the event. Over 250 eager participants attended the keynote address presented by the Foundation’s Honorary President, YABhg Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. His views were later discussed by a panel comprising of Datuk A Kadir Jasin, the Editor-in-Chief for Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd, Steven Gan, the Editor-in-chief for Malaysiakini.com, Jeff Ooi, a citizen journalist and the pro-tem vice president of the National Alliance of Bloggers, and student representative Dr. Kamalan Jeeva.

Distinguished guests included Tun Hanif Omar, Tan Sri Sanusi Junid, Tengku Tan Sri Razaleigh Hamzah, Tan Sri Michael Chen, Tan Sri Abdullah Ahmad, Tan Sri Mazlan Noordin, Tengku Tan Sri Mahaleel Arif, Tan Sri Mazlan Ahmad, Tan Sri Abdul Halil Mutalib, and Tan Sri Dr. Mustapha Babjee. Students, youth groups and NGO representatives attended the event. With the rising popularity of new media tools such as blogs, well-known bloggers such as Ahirudin Attan (rockybru), Nuraina A Samad (3540 Jalan Sudin), Raja Petra Kamaruddin (Malaysia Today) and also Datuk Paduka Marina Mahathir (Rantings by MM) came to give their views during the dialogue sessions.



Tun Dr Mahathir accompanied by Tan Sri Nik Mohamed Yaacob



The packed auditorium during the keynote speech



A breakout session in action



Panelists Steven Gan and Datuk A Kadir Jasin during the Q&A session with the moderator

Editor’s Note: Jointly organised by Perdana Leadership Foundation and Universiti Teknologi Mara, the Perdana Discourse Series made its debut in August 2004 when Tun Dr Mahathir delivered a talk on “National Unity”. With ten programmes in all, the Perdana Discourse Series aims to foster interaction and dialogue between older and younger Malaysians on issues of national importance, such as unity, social re-engineering and education. The Series aims to stimulate interest and increase awareness on the part of younger Malaysians on the country’s leadership path by tracing the policies, strategies and models used during the tenure of the past Prime Ministers. Discussions and issues arising from the discourse will be documented and mapped.

Excerpts from Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's Keynote Address

On the Need for Information:

"We all need information in order to do anything in life. We need information because without information we may do the wrong thing. If you go into a very dark place, you hesitate to walk freely because you have no information about what is there in front of you. It may be some spears are directed at you and you walk into the tip of a spear, and hurt yourself."

On the issue of Spin Doctors:

"Nowadays we have spin doctors who can spin anything. No matter how bad things are, they can be made to look good. That's what doctors are for because if you are sick they are supposed to make you well. But sometimes if we have wrong information, they can also make the information look good."

On Censorship on the Internet:

"One lady told me that never ever think of censoring the internet. Maybe that is very important, the freedom of information, but I still think that there are limits. And this promotion of behaviour that is not acceptable to society that results in crimes, these I think should be limited and should be controlled."

On Press Freedom:

"But, what I want to say is that, we believe in freedom of the press. But we also believe that there is a limit to that freedom. It is the exercise of that limit that is important. Are you going to limit when there is a need to limit or are you going to abuse the power of limitation? If the authorities concerned abuse their power and prevent the press from telling the truth, then of course the country will suffer."

On Blogs as a New Media Tool:

"But the important thing is to have many sources of information. And now we have the internet, the bloggers. They publish things which are not normally published in the media which needs licenses. At the moment the bloggers don't require licenses to post whatever information that they want on the internet. But it is necessary that bloggers, although they are not subjected to the same laws, should stick to the truth and not give information that are wrong. In that way, the bloggers can play a role to correct misinformation coming from other sources. So the presence of the new media is very important in order for people to have a better knowledge of what actually is happening. If they don't, if they allow themselves to listen to only one source of news, then we are going to be fed with misinformation by spin doctors and we will make the wrong decisions."

On the Role of Media in National Development:

"The media can play a role in ensuring that we have a government that can rule the country and rule the country well. Because indirectly, of course, by choosing the right government, you enable the country to develop. If you choose the wrong government, of course, you see a lot of countries in the world which have failed to develop because they happen to not have the right government. The role of the media in modern society is very, very big and very, very important. It is a very powerful weapon. It can develop the country. It can also destroy the country. We have to remember that people do not always act rationally. Common sense is one thing that is not very common. People do things which we know is wrong."



What the panelists said ...

"We do not talk about developmental journalism in the same tone and with the same zeal anymore. It is not considered fashionable anymore ... The media as a whole has become more sensational and I fear that many editors and journalists today are afraid to be nationalistic for fear of being accused of being old fashioned or liberal. I fear that journalism today has fallen victim to the more insidious aspects of the so called free trade, globalisation, the level playing field, openness, KPIs and so on. "

- Datuk A Kadir Jasin on developmental journalism-



"This is where it has become so thriving, so vibrant, the blogosphere. So this is what we have right now. If we were to look at whether bloggers have a role to play when it comes to the relationship between media and national development, I would put it differently. I'll say that ask not the question can freedom of press go against national interest. But ask this, can national interest go against the freedom of the press or freedom of expression even?"

- Jeff Ooi on the current phenomena of blogs -



"Some say that content is king. I think they are wrong, dead wrong. In fact, technology is king, not content is king. And in that sense you can see content providers like print, television stations, radio stations, they are the ones who are facing great problems today. It's the technology and telecommunication companies that are actually making a lot of money. They are reaping the rewards of the internet, not the traditional media."

- Steven Gan on technology vs. content -



"The government at this point in time must understand society at large is self regulating as well. We may need a certain amount of guidance but as a society and as citizens we are self regulating. We are able to make consistent decisions, and if we can't, we should learn how to make them, even if along the way we were to make a few mistakes. At the end of the day, the media serves as a bridge between the elites and the masses and it is through this that the flow of information is sustained. "

- Dr. Kamalan on societal self-regulation -

Perdana Global Peace International Conference & Exhibition 2007 "Expose War Crimes, Criminalise War"



PGPO NGO Session

10th January 2007

The Perdana Global Peace International Conference & Exhibition 2007 kicked off in January with a Perdana Global Peace Organisation (PGPO) NGO Session held at the Perdana Leadership Foundation, Putrajaya. The session's objectives were to explain PGPO's raison d'être and to determine the roles of the NGOs and how they can help bring forward the message of the organisation. The session was chaired by Dato' Mukhriz Mahathir, the Executive Director of PGPO, with Tun Dr. Mahathir, Chairman, delivering a short address. Tun Dr. Mahathir explained the motive behind the pro-peace movement is to change the mindset, the value system and the perception of people with regard to war. He also shared his experiences and answered questions regarding the war crimes that are happening in the world. At the event, Dato' Mukhriz and Dr. Zulaiha, PGPO's Honorary Secretary, answered questions regarding PGPO and the peace forum. Among the NGOs that attended were AMAN Malaysia, Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia (YADIM) and the Malaysian Red Crescent.

Perdana Global Peace Forum 2007 5th to 7th February 2007, PWTC Kuala Lumpur

Day One - 5th February 2007

The Chairman of the Perdana Global Peace Organisation, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, addressed nearly 3,000 people on Monday morning at the Merdeka Hall in Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC), Kuala Lumpur. **"A journey of a thousand miles begins with the first steps. We have taken many steps. Let us march forward in this struggle to achieve true civilisation, to criminalise war,"** he said to the packed auditorium, and his message was met with a standing ovation from the spirited audience. Tun Dr. Mahathir's message was echoed in the eight plenary sessions held over the next two days as more than twenty international speakers who are experts in the fields of science, nuclear study, law, politics and economics, shared their views and experience of war.

The first session, **"War Crimes - An Overview"**, gave the participants a general view, where Professor Michel Chossudovsky gave a historical review, Ms Cynthia McKinney presented an American perspective and Dr. Lauren Moret gave fascinating facts on depleted uranium as the weapon of mass destruction in the 21st century. The second session, **"Weapons of Mass Destruction"**, elaborated on modern weaponry, and Mr. Hans Von Sponeck pointed out that economic sanctions can also be a weapon of mass destruction. Mr. Alfred Lambremont Webre explained the international law regarding war crimes and Dr Saeed Al-Musawi gave his personal account of the Iraq experience on sanctions.

Day Two - 6th February 2007

On the second day, Dr. Shoji Sawada, a survivor of the Hiroshima catastrophe shared his experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Dr. Christopher Busby explained how low-level radiation can be a silent killer and Professor Paola Manduca educated the participants on **new weapons of mass murder**. The following session touched on the mass media as **war propaganda machines** with Dr. Gwynne Dyer and Mr. Michael Carmichael dissecting the relationship between war crimes and war propaganda. Ms Hana Bayaty later explained the consequences of criminalising the right to resist from an Iraqi's perspective. The fifth session was the most awaited one where Dr. Ali Shalah, a former prisoner of the Abu Ghraib prison, courageously gave a **live testimony of his torture in Abu Ghraib**. His heartbreaking account of the horrific tortures inflicted on him moved many to tears. Muhammad Umar and Raed Jarrar discussed the Muslim youth perspective and shared their views at the final session.

Day Three - 7th February 2007

This was the day of the **War Crimes Commission Preliminary Proceedings**, to determine whether or not there is sufficient evidence to convene a War Crimes Tribunal. The proceedings were held before the War Crimes Commission which was chaired by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, with members Datuk Dr. Yaacob Hussain Merican, Mr. Zainur Zakaria, Mr. Musa Ismail, Prof. Dr. Mohd Akram Shair Mohamed and Prof. Gurdial Singh Nijar. The proceedings started with an opening statement by the Legal Counsel, Mr. Matthias Chang, followed by a presentation of Petition from ten War Crimes Victims from Iraq, Palestine and Lebanon. Among them was a speaker from the Perdana Global Peace Forum 2005, 17 year-old Miss Najwa Jalamneh who is a refugee in Jenin, Palestine.

Expert testimonies were then given by Prof Niloufer Bhagwat (Judge of the International Criminal Tribunal for Afghanistan and Vice President of the Indian Lawyers Association), Dr. Saeed Al-Musawi (Former Iraq's representative to the United Nations), Mr. Abbas Abid (a survivor of the Fallujah Massacre), Mr. Dirk Adrieansens (Co-ordinator of S.O.S. Iraq and a member of the Executive Committee Brussels War Crimes Tribunal), Mr. Ibrahim Mousawi (Editor-in-Chief of Al-Intiqad and Al Manar TV) and Dr. Walid Salah Al-Khatib (a Palestinian Peace Activist). All the experts presented facts and findings from their research and experience, to add to the witness testimonies.

February 7th, 2007 also marked the formation of the **Kuala Lumpur War Crimes Tribunal** which started with the Chairman of the War Crimes Commission accepting the Petition by the War Crimes Victims. This was followed by the convening of the pro-tem War Crimes Tribunal led by Datuk Abdul Kadir Sulaiman, along with the eight members of his panel which deliberated over the points presented by the Commission.

In his closing speech, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad explained the importance of **"public opinion" as the new superpower** and how it can spread new ideas and convince the rest of the world that war is a crime and must be deemed as illegal.

The War Crimes International Conference and Exhibition received good coverage from media all around the world. The initiative was praised by peace activists who believe that the effort made by the Perdana Global Peace Organisation is another step forward in creating a global mindset that war should be declared a crime against humanity.

The text of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's speech is available via the Perdana Leadership Foundation's website (<http://www.perdana.org.my>) and the Perdana Global Peace Organisation's website (<http://www.perdana4peace.org>)

What was said during the Conference ...



"For us, nothing less than the soul of our country is at stake. But for the world, nothing less than the fate of mankind is at stake. Because of the work of the Perdana Global Peace Organisation, Kuala Lumpur has become the peace capital of the world. And because of this conference that should be taken to every continent, Kuala Lumpur will shine the light of peace to the world by showing us the horrors of the wars. "

- Ms Cynthia McKinney (Former representative to the House of Representatives for the 4th District of Georgia, United States of America) -



"The media war is very important. People are misinformed. And when we say that this war is a war of minds and hearts, believe me, America has not won. Even Israel has not won. There are no exceptions. We have to fight this war everywhere and we should win the minds and hearts of the people ... We want to help ourselves to continue to live in sovereignty, independence and dignity."

- Mr. Ibrahim Mousawi (Editor-in-Chief, Al-Intiqad & Al Manar TV) -



"We need to come together, put our differences aside. It doesn't matter if you're a Muslim, if you're a Jew or a Christian ... We want integration but we do not want assimilation. We are 100% Muslim, and we are 100% British, American, Malaysian, or wherever you are, that is the form of integration we need. We don't want assimilation."

- Muhammed Umar (Chairman, The Ramadhan Foundation, United Kingdom) -



"We are dealing with a global new world order, a war crimes racketeering network. They are committing nuclear war crimes, economic war crimes, political war crimes and military war crimes ... Please help us, please join us, please bring your spiritual power to help us convert our world to a peace economy. Because bombing and destroying countries has never created wealth."

- Dr. Leuren Moret (Geoscientist, radiation specialist and expert witness on Depleted Uranium) -

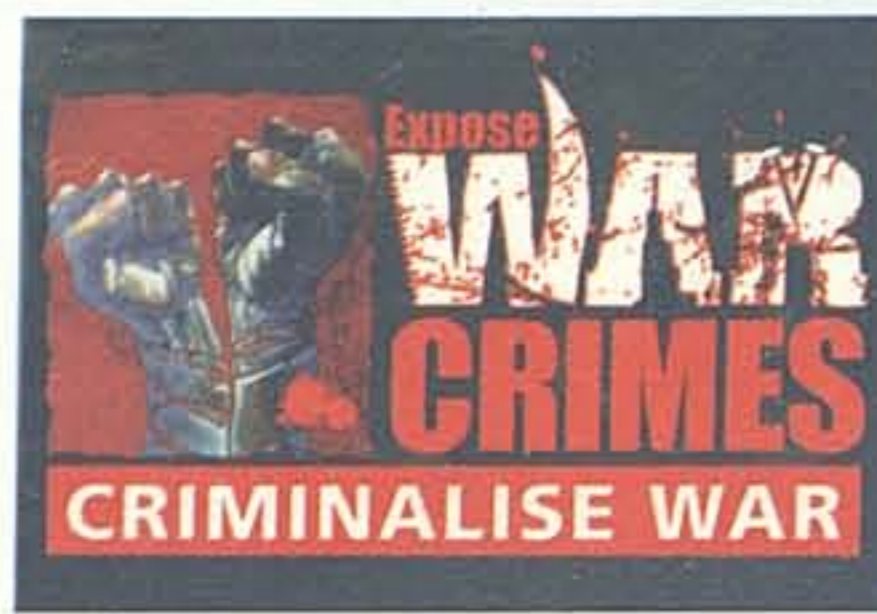
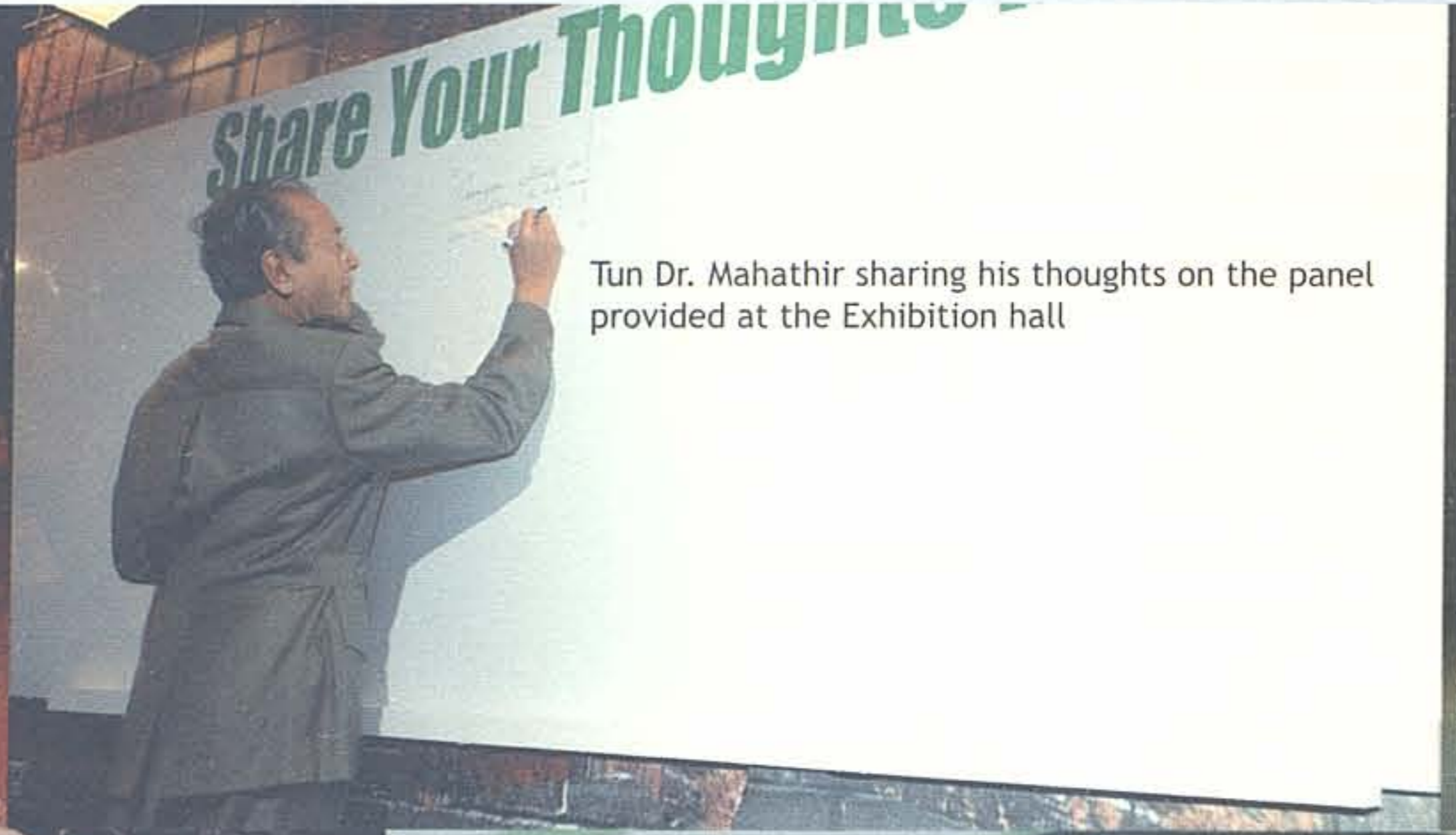


Photo Album PERDANA GLOBAL PEACE FORUM 2007

Photographs by Musyri Mohd Zain, PLF, and UiTM freelance photographers: Hishamuddin Siri, Hakimi Halim, Jalilah Hassan, Norimah Osman, Mazni Muhd Ruzita and Norhasimah Hashim



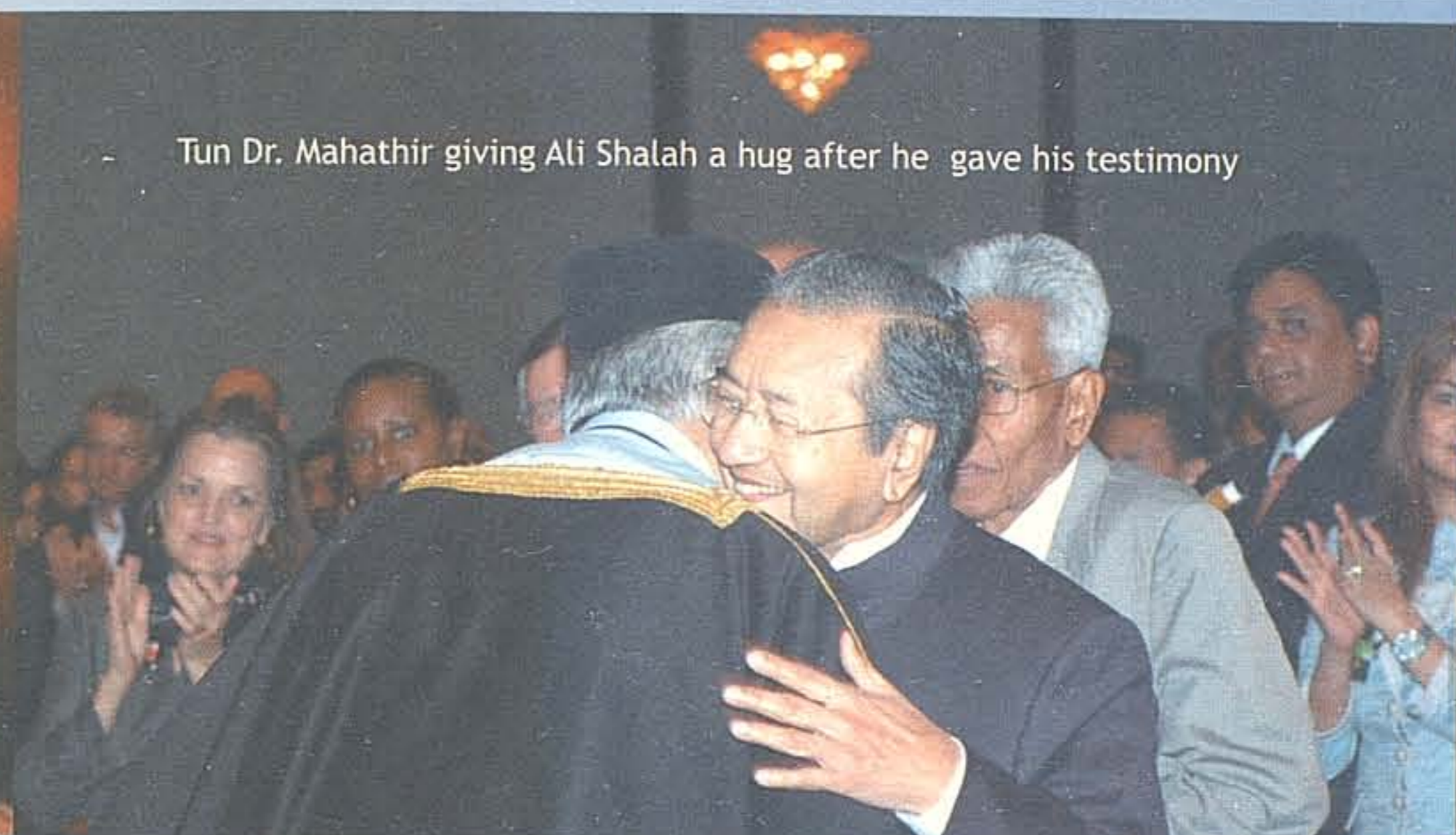
Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad arriving at Merdeka Hall in PWTC with Datuk Kadir Sulaiman



Tun Dr. Mahathir sharing his thoughts on the panel provided at the Exhibition hall



Ms Najwa Latamneh, a refugee from Jenin, Palestine, shed some tears during the war victims testimonies



Tun Dr. Mahathir giving Ali Shalah a hug after he gave his testimony



Session One speakers, (from left) Dr. Leuren Moret, Ms. Cynthia McKinney and Professor Michel Chossudovsky



Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad addressing more than 3,000 people in PWTC during his opening keynote speech



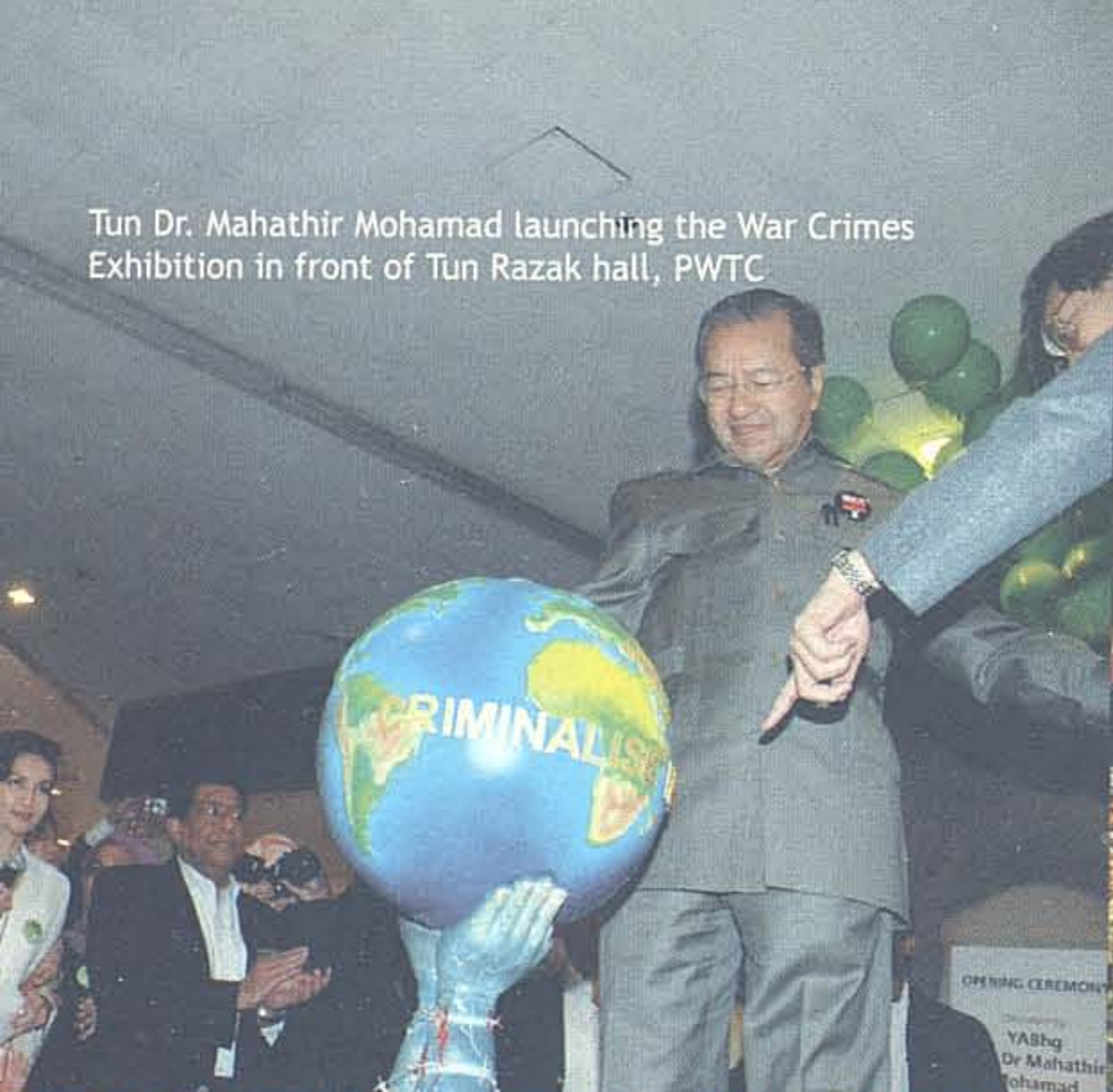
Dr. Ali Shalah with his interpreter during his live testimony on the second day of the forum



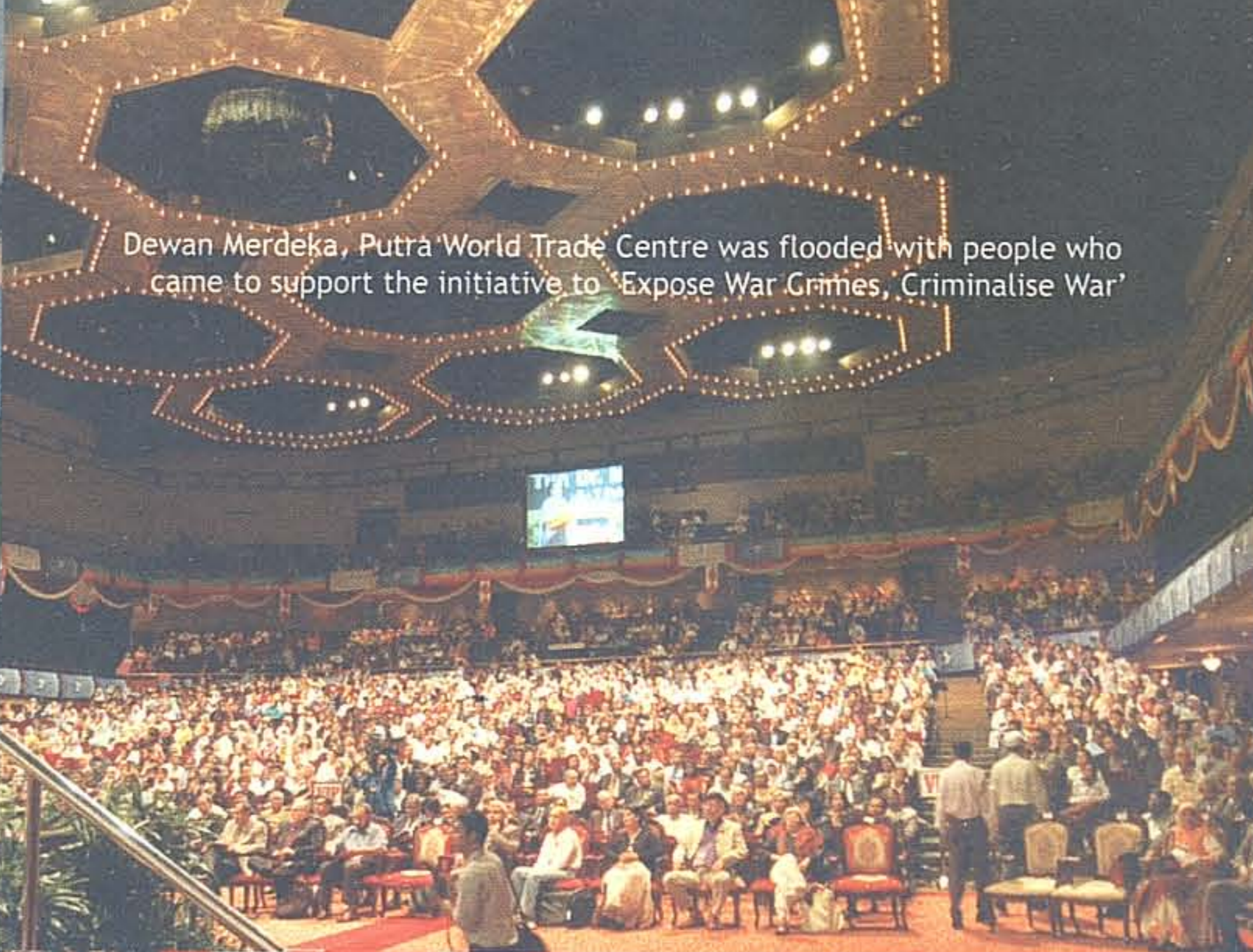
Tun Dr. Siti Hasmah Mohd Ali moderated Dr. Ali Shalah's session



Some of the attendees



Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad launching the War Crimes Exhibition in front of Tun Razak hall, PWTC



Dewan Merdeka, Putra World Trade Centre was flooded with people who came to support the initiative to 'Expose War Crimes, Criminalise War'



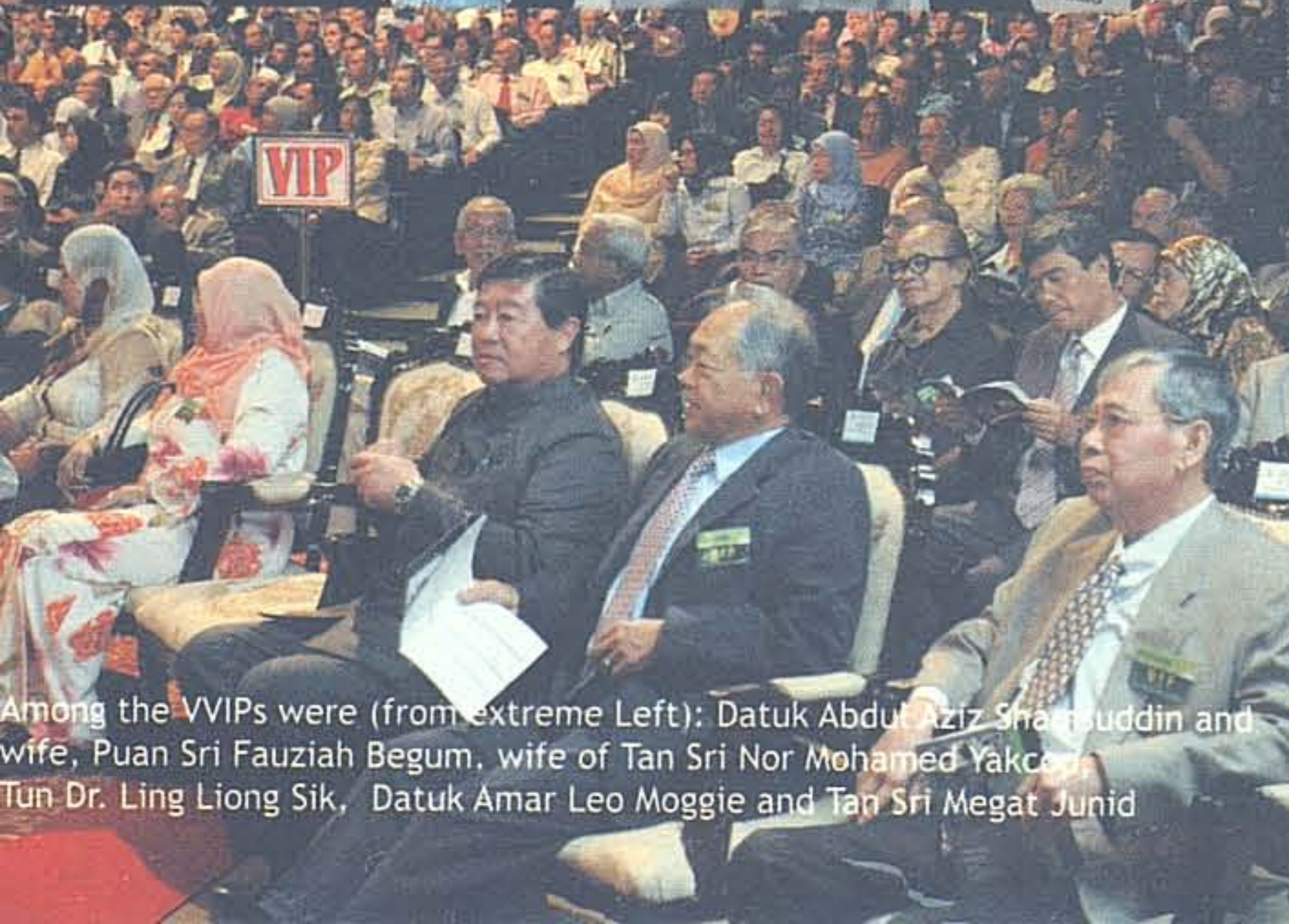
Ms. Hana Bayaty, a member of the Executive Committee of the Brussels War Crimes Tribunal gave her views on Iraqi resistance



Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad and Tun Dr. Siti Hasmah with the War Tribunal pro-tem committee, the Legal Panel and some of the speakers



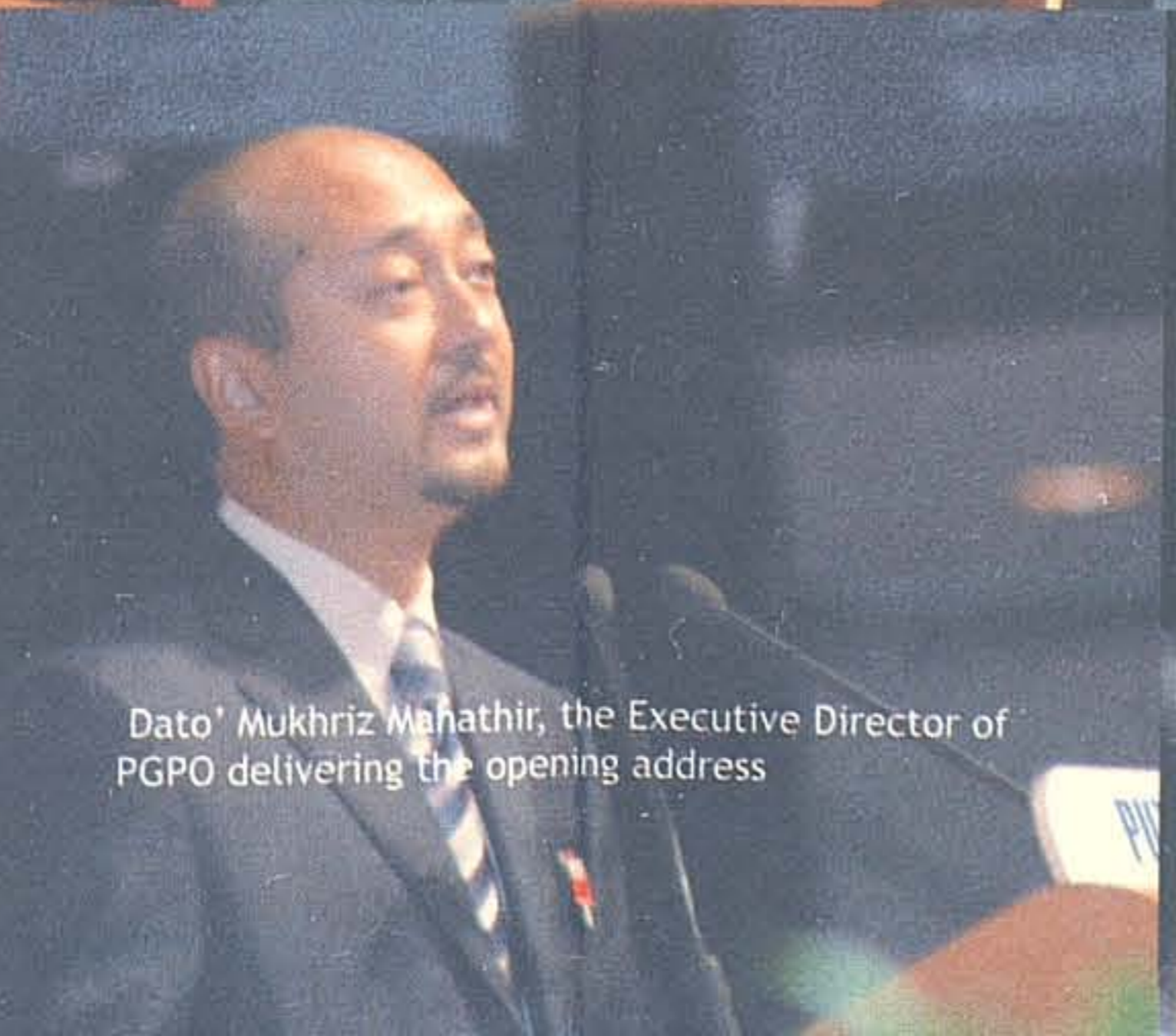
Raed Jarrar, an architect and the Iraq Project Director for Global Exchange shared his experience as a Muslim youth in the United States of America



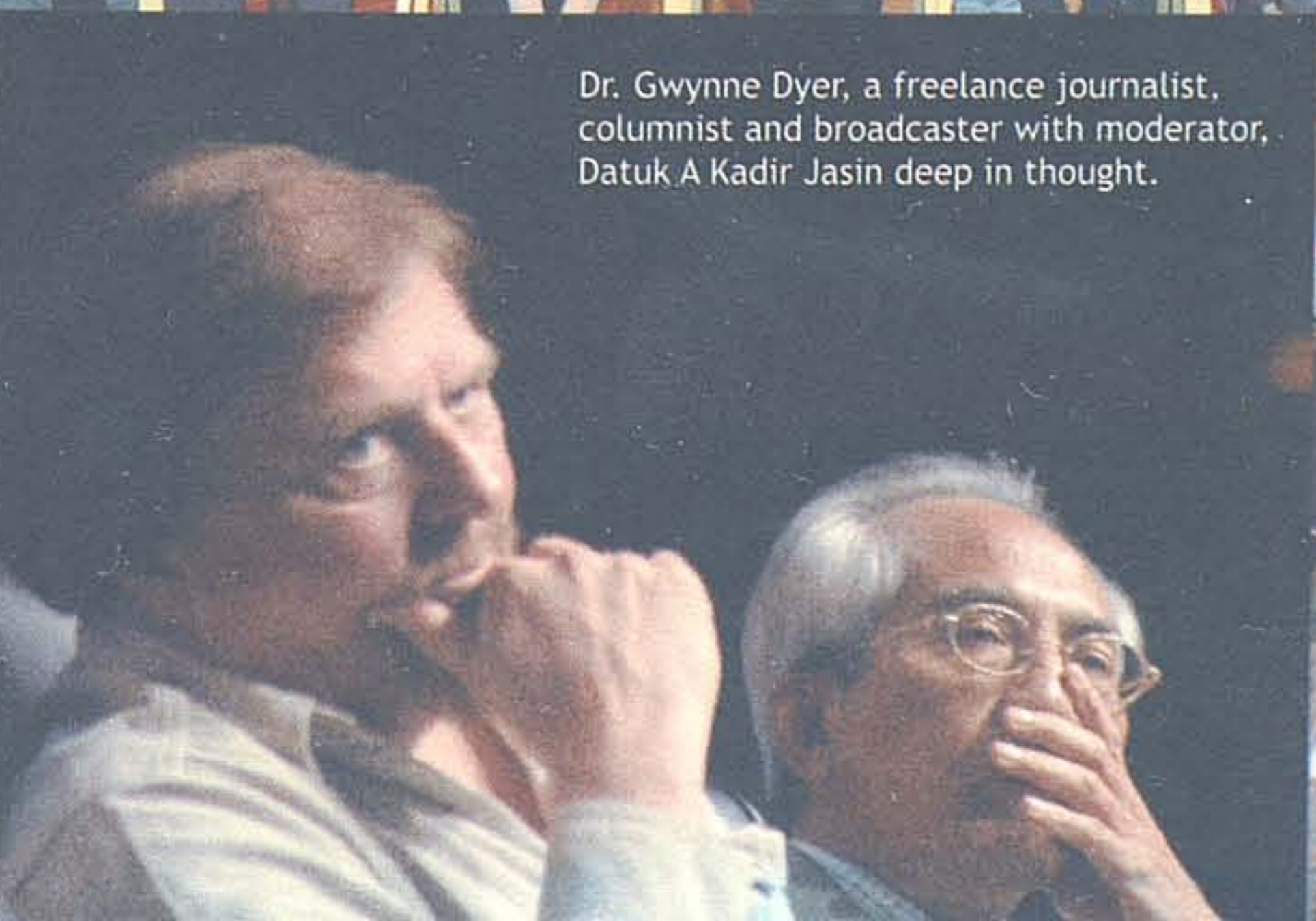
Among the VIPs were (from extreme Left): Datuk Abdul Aziz Shaheed and wife, Puan Sri Fauziah Begum, wife of Tan Sri Nor Mohamed Yakcop, Tun Dr. Ling Liong Sik, Datuk Amar Leo Moggie and Tan Sri Megat Junid



Dr. Christopher Busby, an expert and author on Depleted Uranium, entertained the audience with a self-composed song



Dato' Mukhriz Mahathir, the Executive Director of PGPO delivering the opening address



Dr. Gwynne Dyer, a freelance journalist, columnist and broadcaster with moderator, Datuk A Kadir Jasin deep in thought.



Ambassadors and diplomats also attended the conference

Kuala Lumpur War Crimes Tribunal and Commission - Preliminary Proceedings

"We of the commission look upon these as human tragedies, not confined to any particular race, religion, creed or faith. This is a terrible time that we are living in when powerful, responsible people are quite willing to sanction actions that are totally inhuman. I hope we will be able to achieve something in the way of assuaging the pain that has been suffered by so many people in Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan and elsewhere." - Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Chairman of the War Crimes Commission.



War Crimes Commission

The Kuala Lumpur War Crimes Commission which acts as an investigative body empowered with jurisdiction to receive and hear the statement by the Legal Counsel and testimonies by expert witnesses during the preliminary proceedings. The commission was headed by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad (former Prime Minister of Malaysia) as the Chairman alongside five other members who were Dato' Dr. Hj. Yaacob Hussain Merican (Solicitor & Advocate), Mr. Zainur Zakaria (former President of the Malaysian Bar Council), Mr. Musa Ismail (former magistrate), Prof Dr. Mohd Akram Shair Mohamed (Director of the Legal Unit, International Islamic University Malaysia), Prof Gurdial Singh Nijar (Law Professor, University of Malaya), Justice P.B. Sawant (former India Supreme Court Judge) and Dr. Upendra Baxi (Law Professor, University of Warwick).



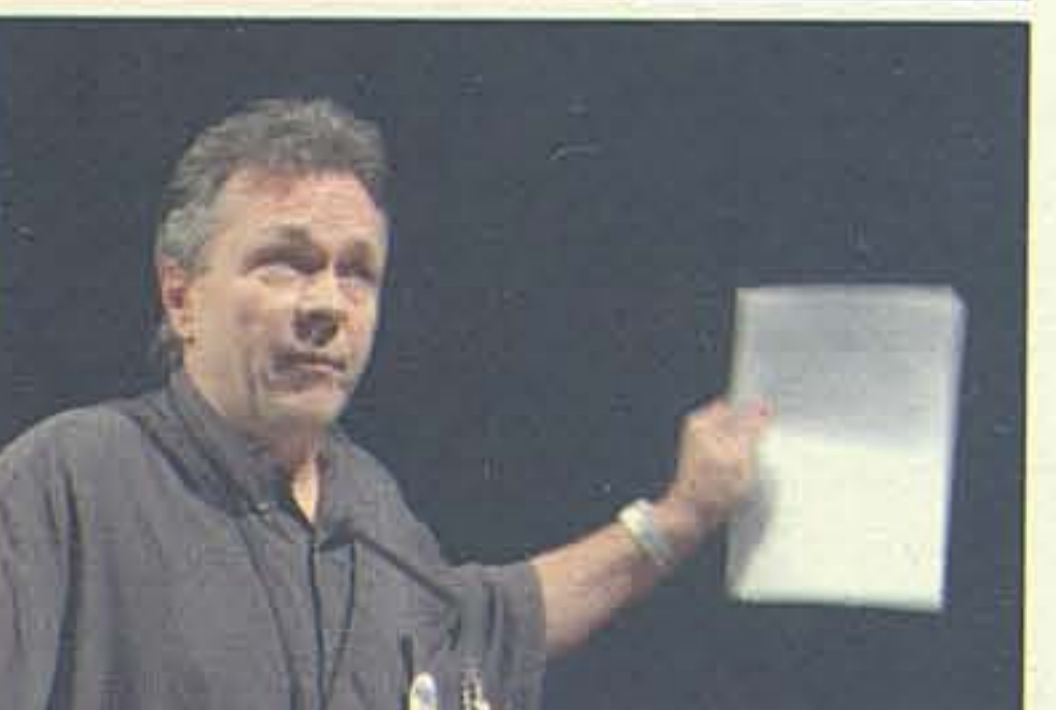
War Crimes Tribunal (pro-tem committee)

The Kuala Lumpur War Crimes Tribunal pro-tem committee deliberated on the findings presented by the War Crimes Commission and will investigate further to decide on allegations of the aforesaid war crimes. This pro-tem committee consists of Dato' Haji Abdul Kadir Sulaiman (former Federal Court Judge) as the Chairman and Tunku Dato' Dr. Hjh. Sofiah Jewa (Advocate & Solicitor and the Founder of Yayasan Tun Suffian Berdaftar), Datuk Mohd Saari Yusoff (former Court of Appeal Judge), Prof Dr. Shad Saleem Faruqi (Law Professor of Mara University of Technology), Mr. Mohamad Arif Md Yusof (lawyer), Haji Mohd Noor Yahya (ex- President of Session Court and ex-Chairman of Malaysia's Industrial Court), Dato' Haji Abu Mansor Ali (ex- Federal Court Judge), Mr. Alfred Lambremont Webre (International Lawyer), Prof Salleh Buang (barrister-at-law and Law Professor of MARA University of Technology), Prof Niloufer Bhagwat (Vice-President of the Indian Lawyers Association, India) and Prof. Francis A. Boyle (International Law Professor, University of Illinois and legal advisor to the Palestine Liberation Organisation).



War Crimes Legal Panel

The Legal Panel which drafts the Rules and Procedures for the Commission and the Tribunal consists of Legal Counsel, Matthias Chang (Chairman), and six other lawyers: Ms. Jacqueline Chang, Mr. Megat Shaharuddin Merican, Ms. Elaine Zarina Zainur, Mr. Avtaran Singh, Mr. Nizam Bashir and Mr. Jamal Ridzuwan Musa.



Apart from being the Chairman of the War Crimes Commission in the recent Perdana Global Peace Forum, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad is also an Honorary Member of the BRussels Tribunal.

The BRussels Tribunal was originally a hearing committee composed of academics, intellectuals and artists in the tradition of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal, set up in 1967 to investigate war crimes committed during the Vietnam War. The first hearing of the BRussels Tribunal took place on 14-17th April 2004 at The Beursschouwburg and Les Halles in Brussels, two prestigious venues in Belgium. It was presided by Professor François Houtart, who participated in the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal on US Crimes in Vietnam in 1967, and who is one of the founding fathers of the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil. The hearing was directed against the war in Iraq and the imperial war policies of the Bush II administration. Its main focus was the 'Project for the New American Century', the think tank behind this war, in particular three of the co-signatories of the mission statement: Donald Rumsfeld, Dick Cheney and Paul Wolfowitz.



Taken from Gabriele Zamparini's exclusive interview with Dirk Adriaensens, Coordinator SOS Iraq and member of the Executive committee of the BRussels Tribunal on November 29, 2005. Gabriele Zamparini is an independent filmmaker (documentaries XXI CENTURY and The Peace! DVD), writer (American Voices of Dissent) and journalist based in London.

Perdana Focus: Research Scholars Signing Ceremony

On the 12th of March 2007, a research signing ceremony marked the official commencement of the research awards granted to three new Perdana Research Fellows, Dr. Abdul Muati @ Zamri Ahmad from Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM), Prof. Dr. Maya Khemlani David from Universiti Malaya (UM) and Dr. Noor Inayah Yaakub from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). These Research Awards offered by the Perdana Leadership Foundation brought in three new scholars with interesting research topics to benefit not only the Foundation, but also the country's intellectual repository.

The signing ceremony was held at the Foundation with YBhg Tan Sri Nik Mohamed Nik Yaacob, the Foundation's Executive Director, signing the research agreements, witnessed by Dato' Prof. Dr. Qasim Ahmad, a representative from Universiti Teknologi MARA, the Foundation's academic collaborator for the Research Awards.



From right to left (R-L): Prof. Dr. Maya Khemlani David, Dr. Inayah Yaakub, Tan Sri Nik Mohamed, Dato' Prof. Dr. Qasim Ahmad, Dr. Abdul Muati @ Zamri Ahmad and Dr. Inayah's research partner, Dr. Wan Kamal Mujani .

Editor's Note : Perdana Leadership Foundation's Research Awards was introduced in 2005 with the aim of stimulating research on the leadership of Malaysia's past Prime Ministers. The Foundation offers short-term and long-term grants to qualified scholars with academic administration provided by the Institute of Research, Development and Commercialisation (IRDC), Universiti Teknologi MARA. The objectives of the Research Fellowships are: to encourage the study of this country's history beyond facts and figures; to yield valuable insights for future Malaysian leaders and how their leadership as well as policies affected national development; to increase awareness of, and boost interest in, Malaysia's rich intellectual heritage.



Dr. Abdul Muati @ Zamri bin Ahmad
Persoalan Melayu dalam Ucapan Perdana Menteri Malaysia

With an extensive background in communications and a special interest in studying speeches from national leaders and corporate figures, Dr. Abdul Muati is focusing his research on the speeches of Malaysia's Prime Ministers, from Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Abdul Razak, Tun Hussein Onn, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad to Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, regarding issues of the Malay race. Dr. Abdul Muati aims to dissect the common issues regarding the Malay race that run through all the speeches and how these were used to determine the direction for the Malay community.

Dr. Abdul Muati is currently the Head of Communications Department, Universiti Putra Malaysia. He has a Bachelors degree in Adult Education and Extension (UPM), an M.A. Comm. Arts & Sc. from Western Illinois University, USA, and a Ph.D in Speech Communication from University Malaya.



Prof. Dr. Maya Khemlani David
Constructing Group Realities:
Leadership Discourse of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad

A veteran in the linguistics field for almost 30 years, Prof. Dr. Maya Khemlani David has chosen to examine the discourse of former Prime Minister Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad and his methods of constructing group realities during his premiership. The study will focus on the perceptions and responses of a representational cross section of Malaysians to Tun Dr. Mahathir's discourse and their effect on national unity. The goal is to identify constructive discourse in a multi-ethnic setting.

Prof. Dr. Maya Khemlani is a Professor in the Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, Universiti Malaya. She has a Bachelors degree in Economics from Universiti Malaya, a Masters in Public Administration from Universiti Malaya, Masters in Applied Linguistics from University of Essex, UK and a PhD in Sociolinguistics from Universiti Malaya.



Dr. Noor Inayah Yaakub
A Study of Leadership Policies Relating to Islamic Banking in Malaysia and the Development of Malaysia's Islamic Banking Sector from Independence to the Present Day

A lecturer in the Faculty of Law, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and an expert in Syariah/Islamic Law, Dr. Noor Inayah leads a team of researchers to study the historical background of Islamic Banking in Malaysia, the Islamic Banking System during Tun Dr. Mahathir's era, the recent developments of the Islamic Banking Industry in Malaysia, the legal issues regarding Islamic Banking, and will give her proposals and recommendations to promote Malaysia as the Centre for Islamic Finance.

Dr. Noor Inayah Yaakub is currently a senior lecturer in Banking and Islamic Banking Law, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. She obtained her LL.B in Syariah from UIA, her LL.M from University of Bristol, PhD in Banking Law from University of Manchester, UK and was formerly an advocate and solicitor for the High Court of Malaya and Syariah Lawyer in Wilayah Persekutuan.



Tan Sri Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah delivering his speech

The Thoughts and Vision of Tun Abdul Razak in Nation Building

Excerpts from the speech given by former Finance Minister, Tan Sri Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah during the Annual Grand Seminar of The Federation of Malay Development and Education Organisation held on March 30th, 2007 in the Main Hall of Akademi Islam, Universiti Malaya.

Education:

"In 1955, Tun Razak, the Education Minister in Tunku Abdul Rahman's cabinet government, was given the responsibility to chair a committee which re-evaluated and re-examined the policies and education system left by the British, and to propose new policies for the government to consider. The Razak Education Committee which consisted of representatives from all races in the Federation of Malaysia (including a few British officers), received 164 memorandums, proposals and letters from various organisations (including thirteen foreign governments) and individuals which required the committee's consideration.

This committee proposed two important formulas to create racial or national unity through the education system: First, the education system in the Federation of Malaya (Malaysia) must use the 'common-content syllabus'; and second, the national education system after Independence must use **one common language**, which is the national language, as the main medium used in the system. Based on the Committee's report, which I would like to quote:

"[Education in Malaya should aim] to bring together the children of all races under a national education system in which the national language is the main medium of instruction, though we realise that progress towards this goal cannot be rushed and must be gradual" (from the Razak Education Committee Report Chapter II, Paragraph 12).

The proposal was accepted by the Cabinet and was brought to the Federal Legislative Council on 18th May 1956 to be debated. A few government supporters from UMNO in the Council opposed some of the proposals by the Razak Education Committee, because they thought that the Committee was too accommodating of non-Malay demands. Razak and his friend (Tun) Dr. Ismail Abdul Rahman defended the report. Dr Ismail stated that **'Independence is not only for the Malays but for every single race living in this country'**. The Federal Legislative Council's decision was then regulated in the Education Ordinance 1957 (replacing the Education Ordinance 1952).

The Education Ordinance 1952 didn't please the Chinese nor the Malays. The Chinese opposed the Ordinance because it separated the Chinese education system from the government system. Chinese schools had been handed over to the private sector and did not qualify for subsidies or funding from the government. However the Chinese were later 'satisfied' with the new education policies, legislated under the Education Ordinance 1957, which finally accepted the

Chinese education system into the government. Chinese schools would be eligible for government subsidies as long as they met certain requirements, for example, if they accept the education syllabus provided by the government and teach the Malay language as a compulsory subject in all Chinese schools. [This issue has been discussed by Tan Liok Ee (1997) in the book *The Politics of Chinese Education in Malaya 1945-1961* (Kuala Lumpur: OUP)]. The Malays, however, opposed the 1957 Ordinance because it prioritised education in the Malay language up to only primary level.

Based on the education policies under Razak's Vision, all the schools in the nation, be it national schools or vernacular schools, started using the 'common-content syllabus', unlike during the time before Independence.

Malay schools which were formed before Independence were replaced with "National Schools", and in these 'National Schools', the main medium is the national language which is the Malay language. English was made compulsory in national and vernacular schools. This means that students in the national schools, aside from being taught in Malay, must also learn English as their second language. This dual-language policy was absent from schools, pre-Independence.

Following 13th May tragedy in 1969, the country's administration was placed under the **National Action Council (MAGERAN)**, and through the Minister of Education at that time, Dato' Haji Abdul Rahman bin Ya'kub, under the Education Act 1961, Section 21 (b), the government changed all English schools to National School status. This change of status started in 1970 and progressed gradually until 1981, until all subjects taught in English schools from Standard One until Form 6 (and also for the 'Higher School Certificate' exam which was then replaced with the 'Sijil Tinggi Persekolahan Malaysia'), were taught and conducted using the national language. **In 1982, all public universities were required to start their first year lectures using the Malay language as their main medium.** But we must not forget that Malay language has been used as the main medium in tertiary education since 1970, the year Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia was formed. Even in 1965, the first group of students from Sekolah Kebangsaan Aminuddin Baki were accepted into Universiti Malaya to pursue a Bachelors degree majoring in the Malay language."

First Ladies Feature Article: Tun Suhailah Tan Sri Mohamed Noah

Tun Suhailah Tan Sri Haji Mohd Noah was Malaysia's third First Lady, the wife of the late Tun Hussein Onn, who led the country from 1976 - 1981 and passed away in 1990. The Perdana Quarterly did not get the chance to interview Tun Suhailah, due to her health condition, but her family was kind enough to share the latest interview conducted by the National Archives with the former First Lady. The interview was conducted in early 2006 to coincide with the opening of Memorial Tun Hussein Onn. In this interview, we gleaned some interesting anecdotes of Malaysia's third Prime Minister. Here are excerpts from the interview.

On how Tun Hussein Onn and Tun Suhaila met

It was during an UMNO concert in Johor, where my sister, Tun Rahah, and I were acting for a play that was part of the concert. I played the bridegroom in a mock wedding ceremony while Tun Rahah was the bride. That was where I met Tun Hussein. We were married on the 12th of February 1948, on Tun Hussein's 26th birthday. From that time on, everytime we celebrate Tun Hussein's birthday, he would take out the wedding picture and remind everyone that it is also our wedding anniversary.

On their early life as a couple

After we got married, we moved to Kuala Selangor, then to Klang, where I gave birth to our first child, (Datin) Roquiya Hanim. At that time, Tun Hussein served as the Assistant District Officer (ADO). After Roquiya was born, we moved to London and lived there for 11 years before returning to Malaysia.

On Tun Hussein Onn's favourite dishes

Tun Hussein loved Ikan Masak Pindang, Sup Kaki Lembu, Mee Rebus, and Arisa, a local Johor dish which originates from Turkey. We only made Arisa for Raya because it is difficult to prepare.

On Tun Hussein Onn's personality

Tun Hussein Onn was a very gentle, caring and compassionate person. He never raised his voice and was always concerned about the welfare of others. I was the disciplinarian of the family, while he was the more lenient parent.

On her past time

These days, I fill my time with gardening, spending time with the family, playing with my grandchildren, and taking care of my two cats.

Throughout the interview, the former First Lady was ever gracious and generous with her smile. She remembered her time with Badan Amal Kebajikan Tenaga Isteri-isteri (BAKTI), the organisation she founded to allow for wives of ministers to play a more active role in society, and also the Children's Library that she set up, upon which site now sits Malaysia's National Library.

It is clear from the interview that while Tun Suhailah misses her late husband - her eyes misted whenever she talked about him - the memories of their time together still fills her with much joy. At seventy-six and after years of being in the public eye, Tun Suhailah is clearly content to live the quiet life.

Source: *The National Archives*



Event Highlight: Building Mental Acuity and Managing Resources

This year, the Perdana Leadership Foundation hosted two Institut Pemikiran Dr. Mahathir's (IPDM) Ucap Perdana series featuring Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad as the keynote speaker.



The first talk was on "Minda Mahasiswa" and was held on the 22nd of January 2007. In his message to over two hundred Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM) students, Tun Dr Mahathir emphasised the importance of thinking skills in building and improving a nation. It is only through the power of thought and reflection, he said, that humans can evaluate their situation and surroundings and create a better world for themselves. Merely reacting to events is insufficient, Tun stressed. Drawing on examples of past civilizations, Tun pointed out that the better a nation's thinking skills, the sharper will be their analysis of the world and the future, and the more intelligent will be their actions. Thus, university students must always think before they act, and act only after thought and analysis.

On the 26th of March, Tun Dr Mahathir addressed a similarly large group of foreign students from UUM, this time on the topic of "Managing Resources: The Malaysian Experience". In his talk, Tun shared his experience of navigating Malaysia's economy from its agricultural origins to the industrial era, and shepherding it through to the knowledge age. He stressed on the importance of resources in developing a nation and pointed out that countries rich in natural resources can still fail to develop if its human resource - its people - do not develop the necessary thinking skills and capabilities. After his talk, Tun Dr Mahathir fielded questions from the participants, especially those from the Middle East, who were hungry for more insights and learning points from the speaker.

The two events prove that there is much wisdom and knowledge that can be harvested from the past, for those who are open to learning from experience.

Event Highlight: A Prayer of Thanks

There was great relief within the Foundation when our Honorary President, Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad, recovered from the latest health episode which saw him being admitted to the Intensive Care Unit of Institut Jantung Negara (IJN) for almost a week. To give a prayer of thanks for his recovery and to pray for his good health, the residents of Perdana Leadership Foundation organised a Yassin Recitation ceremony on the 28th of May 2007. The congregation was led by Haji Ahamed Basheer Mohd Hussain. As proof that you cannot keep a man who thrives on work away from his office for too long, the Honorary President himself came to the Foundation to join the recitation along with his wife, Tun Dr. Siti Hasmah Mohd Ali.



Tun Dr. Mahathir and Tun Dr. Siti Hasmah joined the ceremony



The residents of the Foundation reciting the yassin



Haji Ahamed Basheer leading the yassin recitation



Tun Dr. Mahathir and Haji Ahamed Basheer after the ceremony

In Brief: Visit from Kyushu University

On the 12th of February 2007, the Foundation received a visit from of 17 MBA students from the Business School of Kyushu University, Japan. The delegation was headed by Shazlinda Md Yusoff, a Malaysian student from the university, who acted as stand-by interpreter, although the students spoke fluent English. The postgraduates were top management officers from Philip-Morris Japan, Fujitsu and Teramatsu Trading Co. Ltd. This is the fourth visit from international delegates that the Foundation has received this year and the Foundation looks forward to receiving more international visitors in future.



Our librarian, Munawar, briefing the students on the Perdana online digital archive

The students browsing materials in the Perdana Library.



A group photo of the Kyushu University students with the Foundation's representatives

Kyushu University's Malaysian student, Syazlinda Md Yusoff explaining who's who in the album of past Prime Ministers.

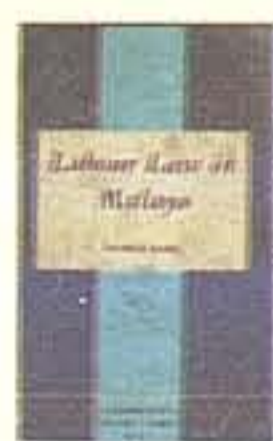
In Brief: Tun Dr. Siti Hasmah's Medical Collection in the Perdana Library

The Perdana Library recently added a special section to house Tun Dr. Siti Hasmah Mohd Ali's pamphlets, books, journals and magazines on medicine, women's health and social health issues. The section includes a cosy reading area and is situated at the Journal and Magazines section of the Library.



Dr. Siti Hasmah's Section in Perdana Library

In Brief: Selected Titles from the Perdana Library's Rare Book Collection



Gamba, Charles. /Labour law in Malaya/ Singapore : Donald Moore, 1955.

This book consists of a short essay presented in the form of a general survey of Labour and Trade Unions law in Malaya, and is also an attempt to discuss local labour problems. The book covers topics such as labour laws in Singapore and the Federated Malay States, trade union law, the system of wages and industrial relations.



Parmer, Norman J. /Colonial labor policy and administration : A history of labor in the rubber plantation industry in Malaya, c. 1910-1941. /New York : J.J. Augustin Incorporated, 1960.

As the subject of labour policy and administration was considered the principal function of colonial government, general observations found that labour legislation seemed scanty and not much enforced. In the book, the author evaluates official labour policies and its sources. The book also includes research and appraisals in the conduct of labour administration.



Stenson, M.R. /Industrial conflict in Malaya. /London : Oxford University Press, 1970.

The book demonstrates the continuity of development of labour and political organisations in the 1930s and 40s. It also relates the overt manifestations of labour and political activity to underlying economic, administrative and social changes, and reveals the changes which were frequently out of harmony, resulting to the more or less acute conflicts from 1935 to 1948.

Editor's Note: The Perdana Library's Rare Book Collection consists of out-of-print / limited edition hard copies of books, theses, essays and journals sourced from individuals and specialty bookstores. There are now a hundred books in the collection.

The Perdana Bookstore

The following titles are available for purchase at the Perdana Leadership Foundation at prices less than retail. If you are interested in any of the titles, please contact Puan Latifah at (+6) 03 8885 8942 / latifah@perdana.org.my. All proceeds from the sale of these items will go to the Foundation.

Books / CD for sale

Books / Speeches by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad.

1. Globalisation & The New Realities
2. Islam & The Muslim Ummah
3. The Malaysian Currency Crisis
4. Melayu Mudah Lupa / Malays Forget Easily
5. The New Deal for Asia
6. Reflection on Asia
7. The Role of Islam
8. Terrorism & The Real Issues
9. The Way Forward
10. Islam, Knowledge & Other Affairs
11. Selected Speeches by Dr Mahathir Vol. 1
12. Selected Speeches by Dr Mahathir Vol. II

Others

13. Monograph Perdana Discourse Series No.1/2004 - National Unity
14. Monograph Perdana Discourse Series No.4/2006 - Political Stability and Sustainability as key Success Factors in Developing Malaysia
15. Final Judgement by Michael Collins Piper
16. The High Priest of War by Michael Collins Piper
17. The New Nuclear Danger by Dr. Helen Caldicott
18. Perdana Global Peace Forum 2005 DVD (Set of 5)
19. Perdana Discourse Series: Positioning Malaysia in the World Arena DVD (Set of 2)

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We also thank all our other individual donors, including those who contributed to the Foundation via the Malaysian Tatler Annual Ball 2005



Event

Merdeka 50: A Celebration of Malaysian Art

The Merdeka 50 Art Exhibition is an exciting event that gathers 67 of Malaysia's renowned artists to produce their own creative interpretations of our nation's fifty years of independence. The project is organised by the Perdana Leadership Foundation, co-presented by the Islamic Arts Museum, and is project-coordinated by the former Director of our National Arts Gallery, a renowned artist himself, Yang Berbahagia Datuk Syed Ahmad Jamal. MPH Group is the publication sponsor while Poslaju is the official courier of this event, taking care of transportation arrangements of all artwork and sculptures.



This unique exhibition will be held at the Islamic Arts Museum from the 1st of August to the 16th of September this year to coincide with Malaysia's Merdeka celebrations and is part of Perdana Leadership Foundation's public outreach and awareness campaign. Among the artists who will be featured in the exhibition are Datuk Syed Ahmad Jamal, Syed Thajudeen, Mansor Ghazali, Yusof Ghani, Dr. Zakaria Ali, Dato' Tang Hon Yin, Dato' Sharifah Fatimah Syed Zubir Barakbah, Yusof Gajah, Dr. Tajuddin Ismail, Tay Mo Leong, Mad Anuar Ismail dan Prof. Ramlan Abdullah.



In conjunction with the exhibition, the Foundation and the Islamic Arts Museum will be publishing an artbook in English and Bahasa Malaysia editions that will contain the artworks of the exhibition along with an essay on the development of art in Malaysia. A beautiful tribute to Malaysian art, the artbook will be written by Malaysia's poet laureate and writer, who is also the exhibition's curator, Dr Zakaria Ali.

The artworks can be viewed online via the Perdana Leadership Foundation website (<http://www.perdana.org.my>) and the Merdeka 50: A Celebration of Malaysian Art official website (<http://www.art4merdeka.com>). For further information, please contact Ms. Nuroh Latif (03-88858953 / nuroh@perdana.org.my) or Ms. Wirduna Ahmad (03-88858960 / wirduna@perdana.org.my)

