

The UMNO General Assembly

Dewan Merdeka, Putra World Trade Centre, Kuala Lumpur 21 June 2001

"MALAYS FORGET EASILY"

Our gratitude to Allah s.w.t. In this turbulent regional political and economic scenario, Malaysia is still calm and able to overcome relentless assaults on its politics and economy, from outsiders as well as their friends internally.

2. Not so long ago, many Malaysians, too, craved to organise what they called "Reformasi", apparently to correct the situation in Malaysia. They were inspired by what had happened in another country. Without taking into account the different situation in that country, they tried through irresponsible means to force the Government to give in to their demands, including to overthrow the Government.

3. Their leaders had gone abroad to seek assistance so that the street violence they planned could be implemented. They knew that Malaysians were not interested in committing violence even though they were paid. That was why foreigners were needed.

4. Unfortunately for these perpetrators of street violence, the leadership of the foreign country concerned felt that it was enough that chaos occurred only in his country. They did not want to see chaos spread to Malaysia. They did not see any good from the chaos in their country. Therefore they did not encourage any assistance to those planning to incite disorder in Malaysia. Thank God. We appreciate this foreign leader's attitude and stand.

5. The situation in Malaysia is not flawless and this we must admit. The Government too admits this. But we have to appreciate the good that we receive. We should be grateful to Allah s.w.t. Many foreigners see us as being very fortunate and blessed that they are willing to risk their lives just to migrate to our country.

6. Other countries may need "reformasi" and a change in the political system and Government. Just because others need "reformasi", does it mean that we too must have "reformasi"? In fact, the changes to be made in other countries have already been implemented in Malaysia since independence. This country has never been under an autocratic or military rule. It was only in 1969 that we were forced to have an emergency rule. But in a short period of time we reverted to a democratic system and held the general election according to

schedule in 1974. Since independence we have held 10 general elections within a period of 43 years. Malaysians are free to choose who ever they want and not only candidates from the Government party like in some countries. Opposition parties too can win elections and have established Governments in four states. And this happened repeatedly. No legal action was taken to prevent opposition party representatives from taking their place in Parliament as in some countries.

7. Therefore, why do we need reform in our democratic system of administration? Why do we need street demonstrations which only serve to cause traders to lose, in particular petty traders whose daily survival depends on their daily income?

8. Apparently they wanted to see the rule of law. But to uphold the rule of law do they need to break the law through street violence, blocking cars, forcing shops to close down and disturbing public order? Those who wish to uphold the rule of law should not break the law. They should use the legal process to stop the violation of laws by any quarters, including the Government. We know in Malaysia, not all cases are won by the Government. And not all Government party candidates win elections. That is why at times in trying to prove independence, the Government is denied justice and loses. If the Government dares to disagree, it will come under increasing pressure. Foreigners ever willing to condemn the Government for the slightest mistakes. Certain quarters know this and become bolder. Justice is therefore undermined.

9. Today they can see that the fruits of "reformasi" in that particular country which they lauded so much are not that appealing. What is evident is that rule of law cannot be imposed as those responsible for enforcing law have lost credibility. The people are not safe. In certain areas people riot, terrorise and kill indiscriminately. Far from benefiting from the democratic process, what is seen as a result of "reformasi" is mob-rule, a lawless rule by street mobs. Things have improved compared with the situation during the autocratic rule.

10. Ironically, those who want reforms, the rule of law and the upholding of human rights were once too happy to join the Government. Why did they not then accuse the Government as undemocratic and abusive of human rights when they were in the Government? Actually, what frustrates them is not the system of government, but their failure to achieve their big ambitions. They like to flatter the whites and are happy if they are praised by these `Mat Sallehs'. Actually these idiots are nothing if not for what we have given them. Unfortunately they are not used to getting a bit of power. Even with a minor

position, they get big-headed and will dance to their master's tune.

11. Those who tried to champion for reforms have been duped and were made use of by certain people. While they have gained nothing those who made use of them gained a lot by faking sympathy towards their idol. Until when are they going to be idiots?

12. When mob rule culture is accepted by their favoured country, the government is powerless to do anything to revive the economy. Whatever they do will be opposed. They run riot and the rioting itself caused any effort by the Government to fail. As the English proverb says, "Those who live by the sword, shall die by the sword". Those who rise through street demonstrations will fall through street demonstrations.

13. The Government becomes weak and not able to act decisively. Pressure on the government can be imposed by anyone, including foreigners. As a result not only economic recovery becomes impossible, but, independence which once was a source of pride is now almost non-existent. This is the result of "reformasi" and street demonstrations. Do we want to see all these brought to our country by this "reformasi" group?

14. The Malaysian economy has recovered albeit not fully. This is not due to the weakness of our approach but due to the economic slow down of other countries.

15. We have faced economic pressures similar to that faced by other countries in East Asia. We were unable to determine if the simultaneous attacks on the currencies of the countries of the East, formerly known as the tiger economies, were planned or not. But what is evident is these countries' economy was destroyed and they may never be able to challenge the West. Further, foreign powers are taking advantage to control the management of their economy through international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

16. Countries which were attacked were forced to submit to foreign powers not only because of the economic recession but also due to their people's irresponsible actions. Because there were people who wanted to topple the leadership, the economic recession caused by the foreign enemy were exploited and this weakened the economic resilience. This eroded the country's independence.

17. If today Malaysia continues to be free and its economy fully controlled by ourselves, it is because not many of its citizens have betrayed the country, directly or indirectly

working in cohorts with foreigners. Because of this we have been able to revive the country's economy better than countries which received loans and "help" from foreigners. The world today, including our detractors, is forced to accept this fact. Only a fraction of Malaysians who are blinded by hate cannot face this reality.

18. We are confident that with the stability and peace in Malaysia, the country's economic recovery will progress smoothly. The recovery, too, proves that the nation's fiscal and economic management is good. It is impossible that we can resuscitate the economy if allegations of Government's wastage over mega projects are true. Actually the country's fiscal position is solid. During the crisis, our money was siphoned out due to the higher interest rates offered outside the country. For several months, Malaysian banks were short of liquidity. But the Government managed to stop the outflow of the Ringgit and forced it to be repatriated. Since then our financial position had strengthened and the economy recovered rapidly.

19. Malaysians can truly count their blessings. Those who should be even more grateful are the Malays. But many are not thankful and hope good fortune will come rolling on its own without any effort. In the 1999 election it was clear that many Malays were not grateful and tried to overthrow the Government that saved the nation and Malays themselves. Those who appreciated the Government's ability are the non-Malays.

20. When we fought for independence we believed that with power in our hands, we would be able to improve the lot of the Malays who were by and large poor. They were poor, uneducated and far behind in all aspects. They were servants in their own land to the foreigners whom they regarded as masters.

21. But power by itself will not ensure success for us. Power can actually destroy us. And today we see how power has made many of us irresponsible and very greedy to the extent that the goals we had set out when struggling for independence are now forgotten.

22. In education for example, our problem then was lack of opportunities and affordability to study to the highest levels. Today, opportunities abound and scholarships for Malay children are not hard to come by. But we find that many of our children are not interested in pursuing knowledge.

23. With so many schools and teachers, more than sufficient budget allocation and equipment, it is sad to see Malay children getting low grade rendering many of them unqualified to enter universities if not for a special quota. Malay

children are no less intelligent but without studying hard, even those intelligent ones will not get to be high achievers. What we know is many Malay children are lazy and uninterested in studying. They prefer to loaf around. They get upset if such truths are mentioned. Whether stated or not, the truth cannot be denied.

24. Today we find more Malay female students accepted into universities compared to males. They go to the same schools but while the male students are not serious in their studies, the female students are more studious. They do not loiter around. They are more responsible. Thank God. If not for female students, the number of Malay students in universities would be reduced by half.

25. There is no proof that female students are more intelligent than male students. Their abilities are almost equal. But the poor performance of male students has reached a ratio of 20 males to 80 females. If we accept that there are no big differences between male and female in terms of intelligence, then surely if male students strive hard and concentrate on studying, they, too, can achieve excellent results. We are impressed that while the number of male Malay students is few and their results mediocre, they controlled the student bodies. When will male Malay students realise their responsibility, if not towards their race, religion and country? Do they think that society must support them all the time?

26. Actually the Malays are no less intelligent than the other races. Why we need to have quotas for Malay students in universities is because of our attitude towards seeking knowledge. Non-Malays regard seeking knowledge as noble and society looks up to those who are knowledgeable. With that their parents and teachers pay serious attention towards education of their children and the young. In fact they continue to seek life-long knowledge.

27. Malays do not really emphasise on the acquisition of knowledge. Parents do not force their children to study. Some suggest that since quotas are provided for Malay students, a modest standard of qualification is sufficient to gain entry. The Government will ensure Malay students' entry into public higher learning institutions. This is the Government's responsibility. Any Government will do like-wise. This is the special privilege guaranteed to the Malays forever.

28. Some are influenced by PAS that Malay Muslim children should only pursue Islamic studies. Other forms of knowledge are secular and not important. If studied, more time should be given towards supplementary religious activities which are

made compulsory by those who are against other forms of knowledge other than "fardu `ain" (compulsory religious rituals). Not attending "qiamulail" and early morning lectures and other activities will result in the students being ridiculed for purportedly being lesser Muslims. Even more sad is that what is taught during these lectures is not the true teachings of Islam that can inspire the students to study and pursue knowledge more vigorously. What is conveyed to the students is anti-Government politics, mixed with various `hadis' and `injunctions' which have been interpreted according to the political interest of the party. Let the Malay children fail so long as they can be exploited by this party.

29. Actually efforts to prevent Malay children from pursuing knowledge start from PAS organised kindergartens. At this stage, innocent children are taught to hate UMNO, so that they will be life supporters of PAS. To PAS, knowledge is not important. Religion, too, is not important. What is important is PAS' victory in the general election.

30. When it is explained that other forms of knowledge are just as important in Islam and in fact compulsory to acquire, this fact ensures the safety and security of the Muslim `ummah', freeing them of suppression from Islam's enemies and that demanded by Islam as stated in surah Al-Ghaasyiyah verse 17 to 20, which means: "And the Sky, how it is raised high? And at the Mountains, how they are fixed firm? And at the Earth, how it is spread out" (We can learn a lesson by observing how something is created) However, PAS and its supporters still accuse those who refer to this verse as secular and who placed importance on this world affairs and not of the hereafter. Although it is explained that Islam emphasises balancing between the world and the hereafter as stated in the `doa' which is recited daily, surah Al-Baqarah verse 201, which means: "Give us good in this world and good in the Hereafter" these quarters still accuse that emphasising other knowledge, though without neglecting religion, still means neglecting the hereafter which means being secular. They do not accept even Quranic verses.

31. As usual polemics with regards to the world and the hereafter will continue without any conclusion. Consequently, students will be so confused and will be sceptical of the need to gain knowledge which is not specifically about religion. So are their parents. With that the performance of male Malay students especially in science and technology subjects which are important to prevent any attempts to recolonise Muslims will continue to be poor.

32. Malays will have to determine whether they believe other forms of knowledge, apart from those which are specifically related to Islam are important to them as Muslims and to Islam itself. If we believe that other forms of knowledge are not important, it is better for the Government not to give places to Malay students in public institutions of higher learning in these subjects. There is no need for us to have quotas for Malay students at the expense of the non-Malay students. We should not get angry or disappointed if the number of Malay doctors, engineers, scientists, architects, accountants, lawyers, veterinarians and dentists is small. We should not be angry if whenever we fall sick, we find that no Malay doctors can treat us.

33. If we believe that science and technology, which are rapidly expanding, are important to us Malays as Muslims, we should not rely on quotas alone. Malay students in schools must be serious in acquiring knowledge so that their qualifications are so high to the extent that the number which enters universities far exceeds the quota reserved. They need not neglect all the compulsory rites in pursuing their studies. But do not add to and make compulsory what is not compulsory to the extent that there is no time for knowledge to be pursued. Remember such knowledge is no less important to Islam and Muslims. Regard those who disturb Malay students for their own political interest as traitors to Islam and to the Malay race.

34. We have now entered the information age. We, along with other Islamic countries, have missed and are not part of the Industrial Revolution and the Industrial Age. We lag far behind in acquiring knowledge, which is a catalyst in the industrialisation process. The question is whether we would also miss the Information Technology age, which will radically change human lives, including us Malays in Malaysia.

35. If we do not want to be left out and become victims of Information Technology, we must seriously strive to acquire this new knowledge. One condition for us to master this knowledge is by mastering the English language.

36. Mastering English will not make us any less Malay or Islamic. Actually the growth of the Malay language is not at the expense of rejecting other languages, but rather through the mastery of other languages. Malay is enriched through the absorption of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Chinese even, and certainly English. Why did we absorb these languages? The reason is because these races who travelled to our country are highly civilised and knowledgeable.

37. To expand the Malay language, Malays themselves must be successful, knowledgeable, and in this age, possess high purchasing power, in other words rich. There is no language belonging to a backward and poor race that can progress in this world.

38. Information in this information age does not come from the Malays. Ninety-nine per cent of the information we need comes from foreigners in English. Similarly, hardware and software technology are developed and distributed in English. It is quite impossible for this information to be translated into Malay for us to use -- although there exists sophisticated translation equipment. Besides, we cannot assign a few information technology-trained Malays to do so much translation work. We need their resources to overcome the ever growing information and technology in the future for our use.

39. It is more practical to learn English, which has become an international language. We should not give excuses that we love our language, that we are language nationalists and that we want to expand our language. The true nationalists are those who help their race to succeed through the mastering of knowledge and attracting many to learn the language of this successful race. In this information technology age, only those who master English will progress and succeed. The Japanese, French and Chinese even, admit this fact and are vigorously learning English.

40. Let us not, due to this narrow perspective towards the Malay language, allow the Malays to once again miss out on the information age revolution, thereby regressing, looked down upon and made to look stupid. As the Malay saying goes "do not buy from the Chinese shop" because we are being information-illiterate. Believe it, we will once again be colonised if we fail to master the language of this knowledge. PAS, which will distort this speech to discredit UMNO, is a traitor to the language, race and religion.

41. Just as in higher education, Malays were left behind compared to other races in the economic field in the pre-independence days. The colonialists controlled 60 per cent of the country's wealth while the rest was owned by non-Malays. By a rough calculation, only one per cent of the country's wealth was in the hands of the Malays during the colonial era. In the towns normally there was no shop owned by Malays. All businesses were owned and operated by non-Malays. Workers, apart from drivers and orderly or office boys, all comprised of non-Malays.

42. In the non-federated states where the Government was not fully controlled by the British, there were many Malay

administrative officers and clerks. They lived in towns. In the federated states of Perak, Pahang, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan British officers headed all departments and most of the lower ranking officers and clerks comprised of Indians and Ceylonese.

43. A majority of the Malays were 'padi' farmers or fishermen earning very low wages.

44. If independence is to be meaningful for the Malays, their participation in the economy must be increased. They must be given the opportunity to trade and acquire wealth at par with other races.

45. Initially, the newly independent Malaysian Government emphasised rural development as many Malays only knew how to farm. But this only served to segregate further the Malays from the towns without adequate share of the country's wealth.

46. Efforts to redistribute business opportunities to Bumiputera did not seriously start until the race riots of 1969. Only after the New Economic Policy (NEP) was formulated, were there adequate opportunities for Malays to participate in trade and industry.

47. For this purpose, licences, permits, Government contracts, shops, forest reserves, commercial areas, capital and various funds were set up. Shares from listed companies and new companies were distributed to Bumiputeras to increase their share in trade and industry. Management training and lessons were provided to those interested in doing business. Civil servants too were allowed to go on early retirement and given training and opportunity to participate in trade and industry.

48. By right, with the large amount of Government aid, the objective of increasing the economic share of Bumiputeras to 30 per cent should have been achieved. Unfortunately Malays and other Bumiputeras do not possess a business culture. Although there are those who succeeded to the point of owning big business and industry, the majority of the Malays failed to maintain and expand their business. All assistance and opportunities failed to ensure the success of the NEP.

49. One weakness of the Malays is they are impatient to become rich. Therefore they will sell every opportunity and allocation given to them. Shares, licences, permits, contracts and others specially allocated to them were immediately sold to others to gain instant profit. After that they will re-apply. With that the only business in which Bumiputeras participate is selling their special privilege. So long as

this continues, it is impossible for Bumiputeras to get their share in the economy.

50. To ensure the shares distributed to Bumiputeras continue to remain in their possession, the Government is forced to establish unit trusts and other Bumiputera agencies. Thank God, through this method, not only shares remain in the hands of the Bumiputera and contribute to the economic share allocated to them but more Bumiputeras can own shares in large corporations. Of 12 million Bumiputeras, more than seven million own shares in big corporations through unit trusts. It is clear that allegations that the NEP only benefited several Government cronies are not true. If we wanted to enrich our cronies it would have been easier for us to distribute all the shares to them only and not to the seven million other Bumiputeras.

51. But this method does not provide the opportunity for Bumiputeras to participate directly in managing business. They will only be sleeping partners who are naive in business management. Besides, many big corporations of which PNB (Perbadanan Nasional Berhad) is a major share holder are not active because PNB, too, does not participate directly in the management of many companies it owns. This means Malays will forever be naive about business. This will not meet the objectives of the NEP.

52. That is why the Government has identified Bumiputera corporate leaders who have succeeded in managing private and public companies. Their number is small. They are given the opportunity to buy a big amount of shares or given government privatised projects. Those capable are given the opportunity.

53. Generally, they succeed in running and managing these large businesses. Foreigners as well as some Malays are not pleased with their success. Allegations are made by the foreign media that all those who are given opportunities are Government cronies, without taking into account who they are. This means no Bumiputera who are given opportunities can escape allegations of being a Government crony. If the Government does not want to be accused, then Bumiputera individuals cannot be given any opportunity to participate in the corporate sector. If we are satisfied to see no Bumiputeras in large-scale businesses, there is no need for the Government to expose itself to all false accusations by giving opportunities to prominent Malay businessmen. Just sell everything to the foreigners and they will no longer accuse the Government of practising cronyism. Or do not have privatisation and continue with Government ownership. Please ask the Telecoms employees whether they are willing to revert as Government employees and be paid Government wages. Besides

we know that all Government-owned corporations are not that progressive.

54. The Government has implemented the NEP and made other efforts to ensure a meaningful participation of Malays. Unfortunately, after more than 30 years of trying, we have yet to own 30 per cent of the country's economy/wealth for the Bumiputera. The Government will be urged to try further, establish a variety of programmes, set up more funds for this and that. Maybe we will also hold Bumiputera economic congress repeatedly to come up with all sorts of resolutions for the Government to implement. The Government will be urged to take action towards the resolutions formulated.

55. After 43 years of trying, after billions of ringgit allocated, after several banks and a variety of funds are established, today the achievement of Malays in trade and industry is still low. We have not moved our business from the sidewalk to a concrete shop. New townships in Malaysia do not reflect the multi-racial society in Malaysia. In the old towns, many Malay urbanites comprise of squatters.

56. Is this caused by the Government's lack of effort? A race which is deprived of Government assistance can clearly succeed. Why can't the Malays who are given all sorts of help succeed?

57. So long as the Malays do not want to admit their weakness, so long as they are not prepared to correct their mistakes, they will fail in trade and industry. What this weakness is, I need not mention here. What I would like to mention is those who want to get rich quickly will be poor quickly. In this world and in the hereafter there is nothing easy, nothing free. Only those who work hard, persevere, patient and honest will succeed, be they in economy or other fields.

58. The establishment of UMNO as a political party in 1946 signified the end of nearly 450 years of colonisation of the Malays and the Malay States. Prior to this anyone could colonise the Malays. They would bow to anyone. Portuguese, Dutch, British, Japanese and Siamese even, all were accepted and respected by the Malays as their masters.

59. Malays in the colonial era had low self-esteem and spirit. They regarded themselves as second-class citizens and were ready to give up anything to others who they believed were more capable than them. Administration of the country, business and industry, menial works even, all were surrendered to the foreigners.

60. Therefore at one time in the early 20th Century, the number of foreigners in the Malay States exceeded the number of Malays. If not for the worldwide recession in the 30's, today Malays may be a minority in Malaysia as in Singapore. But the recession in the 1930 had caused many Chinese and Indians to return to their homeland. Therefore the population of Malays was slightly more than the immigrants. Therefore, it was the Malays who fought for independence and headed the Malaysian Government. We almost became like the Singapore Malays.

61. This is the effect of giving up all work and administration to other people. This is the effect of not being prepared to do a slightly heavier work, a slightly harder work, a slightly different work than being padi farmers and fishermen. Malays were not willing to work in rubber estates or tin mines or learn to trade apart from operating roadside stalls or to lay out their mats in the market and tend to their goods. This business did not expand and Malay traders never moved to better and bigger shops. A Malay's small fortune will never increase. It is a matter of daily survival. There is no future for Malay businesses.

62. Actually the economic conditions of Malays during the British colonial era were very bad and embarrassing. But during the Japanese occupation, Malays were still willing to welcome the return of the British colonials.

63. The Malays were shocked when they were told that the British intended to turn the Malay States into their colony and no more a British protectorate. For the first time in almost 450 years they were colonised, the Malays faced the prospect of directly losing their small states, their country. They would no longer enjoy the status of Bumiputera in their own country. They would be just another race at par with the migrant races. To make it worse, while they are only allowed to possess a Malayan Union citizenship, the immigrants can own dual citizenship -- Malayan Union and their country of origin. Under British Malayan Union, Malays formally became second-class citizens.

64. During the British era, politics was banned for the commoners. Politics was only for the rulers, their advisers and the British. Easily, the British took over all the important administrative activities. The rulers' powers were limited to administration of Islamic laws and Malay customs.

65. Thank God, this little power saved the Malays from facing the fate, which befell citizens of other Western-led colonies. In the agreement which became effective with the British, so long as there was the sun, moon and stars in the

sky, an important condition was that the propagation of Christianity among Malays was not allowed. As a result, the religion of the Malays was saved. If not, what happened in the Moluccas can happen in Malaysia today.

66. Because politics was banned among Malays, there was no challenge for position or rank in the administration, there was no jostling for positions among the Malays. Religious leaders already existed and they established religious schools in the north of the Peninsula. They, too, were apolitical and accepted British rule just like any other Malays. Therefore there was no competition between those who were educated in religion and those from the Malay or English schools. Disunity due to religious differences did not occur. Thank God.

67. When there was move to oppose the Malayan Union, there was no problem for the Malays who graduated from religious schools, Malay schools and English schools to unite to oppose it. All Malays joined UMNO and together they supported the Malay struggle against the colonials.

68. Faced with the danger of having their States seized by the British, the Malay rulers, too, joined in albeit indirectly, in opposing the British. Previously, Malay rulers and territorial chiefs regularly fought to gain position and the throne. This gave the colonialists an opportunity to side with a certain quarter to expand their influence. But once the British gained power, the successor to the throne and chieftains were determined by the British and power struggle was avoided.

69. In the face of pressure and poverty among the Malays, with their limited involvement in politics and no religious clerics or other parties out to split the Malays, and with the rulers and the people facing the same danger, the call for unity attracted encouraging response. There was no other effective way at uniting the Malays than the attempt to seize their States by the colonials. Although they were poor, with no money, education and knowledge, no weapons, what saved them was solid unity.

70. The British, a world power, who had just won the war, who were so cunning and skilful, were forced to bow to the Malays who were united in a political party they had newly established. UMNO, the United Malays National Organisation, under the leadership of a Johorean had united all Malays and their organisations from all walks of life in one political organisation called UMNO. Only UMNO leaders were given the mandate to protest and demand the return of Malay rights towards their States.

71. Actually this was the first time in Malay history since before the Malay Sultanate of Malacca that Malays were aware of their 'Malayness' and united as Malays. Before this they regarded themselves as citizens of their own States and their loyalty was to their State rulers. Misfortune which befell a Malay State did not get sympathy and assistance from Malays in other States.

72. Divided into small states, they were very weak and easily destroyed by anyone. As such, one by one, these states were being dominated or controlled by foreigners. Since the fall of the Malacca Sultanate, during which almost all Malay states and the Malays accepted the Malacca Sultan, the Malay states were forced to look for patrons from the West and neighbouring countries like Thailand. Since then, there was no time period when the Malay states were truly free and independent, and the Malays had never been united because of their 'Malayness'.

73. UMNO's greatest success was uniting the Malays from the Malay States in the Peninsula. This unity gave strength to the Malays who had never tasted it for 450 years.

74. According to George Santayana, a Western thinker, those who do not learn from history will be tormented by repeating their mistakes.

75. Have the Malays not learned from their history, especially the 450 years they were colonised; more accurately their history of British rule? Did they learn from their political history, their economic history, their religious history and their history of knowledge?

76. The Malays apparently have not learned much from their history. The Malays easily forget their history. On the contrary, they love to colour their own history with legendary stories for their ego, to comfort and pride themselves in legends which they have created.

77. Thus they love to stress Hang Tuah's saying that "The Malays will never vanish from this earth".

78. It is true that to date we have not vanished. But what kind of Malays who have not vanished? For 450 years they lived in their own countries as slaves to foreigners. Now they are free and able to run their own countries. But have they become a race that is successful and with dignity?

79. The Malays can be said to be quite smart in administering their country in which the population is made up of various races and subgroups. Generally it is known that a multiracial nation is usually threatened by enmity between races

frequently followed by incessant wars. Even if there is no war, relations among the races are normally strained.

80. In Malaysia we find not only races which are different but these differences are aggravated by different languages, cultures and religions. Indeed, this cultural mix becomes easily inflammable.

81. But Malay UMNO leaders in times of struggle for independence were able to foster a smart and special system of racial cooperation. While racial identities are retained, cooperation in a mixed party was created which did not ignore the special Malays as the genuine Bumiputera. The success of the system created by the UMNO Malay was even more amazing because it was created when terrorists, the majority of whom were Chinese, were attacking the Government with the intention of creating a republic controlled by the Chinese. The fact that a majority of Chinese were willing to support an Alliance Party under the Malay leadership who strongly opposed the Chinese terrorists was proof of the ability of UMNO Malay leadership in handling the big racial problem in Malaysia -- overcoming it without sacrificing the rights of the Malays. There is no other multiracial country which has succeeded in overcoming the racial problem as in Malaysia under the Malay leadership of UMNO.

82. This is proof of the wisdom of the Malays and their leaders, i.e. UMNO leaders who used their minds instead of their lust in managing their newly independent country. Even though there were pressures for the Malays to seize all powers and deny the rights of other non-Malays which will force the Chinese to support the power struggle by the Chinese terrorists; the Malay leadership rejected these pressures. With that, terrorism under the Chinese leadership was defeated. If during that time we had greedy Malay leaders who tried to take everything for themselves, Malaysia today not only would be chaotic but definitely would still be backward like most other developing countries. Perhaps riots will occur all the time.

83. Such was the wisdom of Malay UMNO leadership in politics and administration. In the economic development of the country, too, the administrative performance under the Malay UMNO leadership was much better than expected. Malaysia's economic growth has increased to become one of the economic miracles in East Asia.

84. But we cannot be proud of the achievements of the Malays. They have a short memory. After only two generations, lessons from history, old and new, have been forgotten or not understood. To the new generation or those born after

independence, independence does not mean the same thing as did those born and bred during the colonial period. And they cannot accept the idea that they might one day be recolonised. Once we become independent, they claim it will be forever. It is very difficult for them to accept the concept of neo-colonialism. All the Whites who propagate human rights, justice, rule of law, democracy; are trying to recolonise them again? All these are excuses that the UMNO Government uses to frighten the Malays into supporting the UMNO party. The new generation is not easily fooled or frightened. Independence, freedom and the security of the Malays are guaranteed. Any Government in Malaysia will guarantee the safety and quality of life of Malays.

85. As such no attempt is made to change the attitude and overcome the weaknesses of the Malays, who before, had caused the Malay states to be colonised, to be flooded by foreigners until the Malays became a minority. The Malays squabble and are easily disunited. The Malays are not willing to acquire knowledge, unwilling to work hard, refuse to study business management and face business risks. The Malays would still seek for easy ways to get rich quick. And this includes bribery.

86. As a result, Malays today are still weak after 43 years of independence and in power in their own country. They will fail without Government assistance in all areas. Without positive discrimination by the Government, only 20 percent of those entering universities will be Malays. Even then, they will pass with low grades. Without Government intervention in favour of the Malays, Vice Chancellors, professors and lecturers will be made up of non-Malays and not monopolised by Malays like today.

87. In the Government, high-ranking officers and non-Malay professionals will make up the majority. Most Secretary-Generals of Ministries will comprise of non-Malays. A situation where almost all departments are made up Malay officers and staff will change. It is possible also that those who only know the Malay language will face problems in dealing with the Government.

88. Economically, Malay businesses will be limited to only stalls with blue plastic tops at the roadside. There will be no Malay brick shops in towns. Definitely there will be no skyscrapers owned by Malay corporate individuals, not even funds with Malay interests.

89. Government with little sympathy for Malays will privatise all public businesses and departments to foreigners and non-Malays. Under them, privatised entities will develop and

become giant corporations. Perhaps there will be only a handful of Malays among other officers.

90. It is difficult for us to visualise a situation such as this. After 43 years of independence, it is difficult for Malays today to think of a situation when we were colonised. What we know is that today we are independent, today we have a Government that is controlled by us, today the Government protects us. It is not possible for Malaysians to have a Government that neglects Malay interest. Whatever the Malays do, they are safe. Even if they are disunited, even if there are fighting among themselves, they are still safe. That they are still weak in all areas, weak economically, unknowledgeable, not smart, easily bribed, become drug addicts, suffer from Aids and others; all these are acceptable because they are definitely safe, definitely will be protected by the Malaysian Government.

91. What is clear to the Malays is that democratic politics is an easy way to obtain something for themselves. It takes only a little effort. Only a little effort is needed but the benefits are enormous. In the ruling party and other Malay parties, the important thing is the squabble for positions. The ability to provide service and to contribute to the good and to the development of the Malays and Malaysia is not important.

92. It is this squabble which will bring down morality such that we are willing to criticise even those friends who have helped us; willing to bring them down. Bribery becomes possible, religion is easily manipulated and the Malays are split up. No gratitude is expressed for good deeds. We topple, steal and we will do anything to achieve our great dreams.

93. Yet we are willing to attack and weaken the party that has been of service to our race, nation and religion, in fact even to ourselves, in our attempt to gain something for ourselves. We are prepared to break the unity within the party, and that of the Malays.

94. Malays have forgotten. They have forgotten how they were once colonised and despised because they were fractionalised and disunited. They have forgotten their strength and success, when they were once united and had fought hard against the British and had achieved independence.

95. They have forgotten the true objective of their political struggle. Is it necessary for the Malay language to be the official language? Can the status of other religions not be equal to that of Islam? Is it necessary to differentiate between Bumiputera and non-Bumiputera? All this is forgotten.

In our obsession to obtain votes from certain quarters, all Malay rights that we have struggled for become the subject for bargain. Give us the vote and we will drop whatever is regarded as Malay rights.

96. How does the Malay feel about this betrayal towards special Malay rights? Will they support the party, which clearly rejected the special rights of the Malays? The answer is yes, they will continue to support. Party supporters who are willing to gamble Malay rights will convince themselves that the political stand of their party leaders is merely an excuse to get the support of non-Malays. It appears that their leaders are such pious Muslims that it is not possible for them to allow Malay rights to be foregone. When everything is successful these leaders and their party will continue with their Islamic Agenda and cheat the non-Muslims. As a result their supporters will continue to support them fanatically.

97. Please consider this. Today, 72 of the Malay representatives are from the Government and 32 from the opposition. If only the other 21 seats are won by opposition parties, they will get 53 and UMNO 51. To get 21 seats is no longer that difficult. In areas where UMNO won only a small majority, 200 -- 300 votes from other races will mean a win for the opposition. As such, to ignore Malay rights merely to get non-Malay support is certainly wise.

98. But, in order to rule, it is necessary to have at least 97 seats. As such buying and selling, bargaining must be continued. What is there to sell if not the Malay rights? The Government to be created with specific parties will continue to be weak as it is possible for anybody to topple it. If the coalition parties withdraw, the PAS-led coalition will collapse.

99. Can a weak Government such as this rule firmly? Can a weak Government such as this protect the Malays who are still weak? Together we should ponder this.

100. Today, democracy is a political system that is inevitably practised world wide. Western liberal democrats who are said to believe in freedom have pledged not to allow any country to use other systems. Freedom is only to choose democracy. This is the democracy and freedom that is meant by the liberal democrats from the West.

101. We agree that democracy is good. It gives rights to people to choose the best candidate to rule their country. Certainly majority of the population will not victimise themselves by choosing a rogue to lead the Government.

102. But we have seen how the people of a number of democratic countries have chosen individuals who are not sincere, not capable of forming a Government and rule the country.

103. People are easily influenced. If people hold on strongly to religion, religion can be sold, manipulated so that the people are cheated and they will support the wrong party. People are afraid of going to hell. As a result they tell the people that if they wish to go to heaven, then they should support the party that has Islam in its name, even if it is obvious that it abuses Islam, even disgracing God. If people are afraid of becoming infidels, just say to them that despite reciting "Kalimah Shahadat" you are still an infidel, if you don't join an Islamic party, or do not vote this Islamic party.

104. Today Malays are accustomed to corruption. They convince themselves that their actions will not change the election results. But those who think so are not alone. Hundreds and thousands will think likewise. As a result, religion and the nation can be sold to whoever offers money and other things; who ever gives more will win. Obviously democracy does not guarantee a Government that is chosen by the majority will be a good Government. Rogues, religious deviants, the corrupt and the immoral can be national leaders. Look at countries which have rogues as their leaders. Nations were destroyed because of their doing, but the majority still support them and it is not easy to unseat.

105. The rejection of unity by Malays, the defects in the democratic systems, manipulation by unscrupulous politicians who are willing to sell anything, including religion, unfounded hatred, the moral decay among Malays themselves, the loss of nationalism -- all these can result in Malay political power to wither and slip away.

106. Do we believe that when we are weak other people will care for us, protect our rights? Will any other Government give us the service like the one we are getting now? Do we pride ourselves when the Malay race, which supposedly will never vanish from this world, are forced to be protected like the Red Indians in America, are kept in reserve areas and become a tourist product?

107. It is possible that these are mere myths to frighten the Malays into supporting the Government. Foreigners are not as bad as portrayed. Will they not show sympathy and support when their Government is cruel. They, the foreigners are humane. They uphold human rights. They are caring and wish to see that people are free. They will not ill treat us.

108. Don't we see what is happening around us? It seems that by disciplining Government, rogue currency traders are free to devalue currencies, destroy the economy and impoverish countries which are developing rapidly. Millions of workers are unemployed, there are riots in the street, burning of cars and buildings, raping and killing. Governments are brought down because they will seemingly be replaced by a rule, which is fairer and more democratic. Don't we think this is possible when we are weak and we give the opportunity to these ex-colonisers? Are they truly sincere and will not victimise us? Have we forgotten the history of our colonisation, the effect of disunity among us, the effect of handing over our rule to others, the effect of giving up all jobs and businesses to others.

109. Only the blind and the deaf, or the non-blind who refuse to see, or those who prefer to cheat themselves will say all that has been said is an attempt to frighten the Malays and UMNO members so as not to use bribery and politics for their own self interest.

110. Foreigners who once colonised us, who have done nothing to help us, these foreigners have no good intentions. True today they attack the Malaysian Government and its leadership because seemingly the Government has not been fair to a certain group, has not been democratic, that it practises crony capitalism and the like. They appear sympathetic with the group, which seemingly fights for reforms and justice.

111. This is their excuse. Why did they not save the Bosnians and the Kosovars from the criminal Serbs, and allowed 200,000 people to be killed, injured and raped before action was taken? Why did they not protect the Palestinians from Israeli attacks, which killed children; why the sanctions on food and medicine for Iraqis until children were born deformed and many died of hunger and lack of treatment?

112. Muslims everywhere were suppressed. Is it possible that in Malaysia they are so sympathetic with the opposition, with a party which seemingly is struggling to build an Islamic nation? Islam to them is synonymous with terrorism.

113. The answer is 'No'. It is not possible that they would want a Government which they label as terrorists. They only wish to topple the Malaysian Government, the National Front Government, a Government that is prepared to criticise them when they resort to violence, a Government that rejected their advice to hand over the economic management of the country to their agents, the IMF and the World Bank.

114. They hate Malaysia especially the current leadership and hate it extremely. They especially hate it because Malaysia was able to defend the economic and financial attack they launched; that we succeeded without anyone's help, that we were successful with our own approach and by using our own money. They hated it because after predicting that Malaysia and its Government will collapse, today it is clear that the tragedy they predicted did not become a reality. On the other hand, Malaysia was able to revive its economy such that in the Year 2000, the economy grew rapidly, much faster than the growth rates of countries which had received their assistance.

115. They loathe the Malaysian Government for exposing their evil intent when it introduced the concept of globalisation and a borderless world. It was Malaysia which first challenged and rejected this concept aimed at dominating the world with economic might, by manipulating the currencies and with giant corporations, which are bigger and richer than most countries in the world. It is only idiots who always idolise the whites who will not accept all this.

116. Yes, Malaysia is extremely hated because we are regarded not only as a big-headed developing country but also it is a country led by Muslims, and an Islamic country -- a terrorist country. It is their media, which really hate us because all they predicted did not materialise. They predicted that racism will prevent the development of Malaysia after independence. But we succeeded in resolving our racial problems in our own way. When the 1969 incident erupted they were happy because their predictions had appeared to become a reality. But in the short term, peace was restored and we invented affirmative action, which successfully reduced racial strains, and enabled the economy to recover.

117. We not only recovered but we became one of the Tiger economies in Asia. Our process of industrialisation was smooth. From an agriculture economy which depended on rubber and tin, we succeeded in becoming the 17th largest manufacturing and trading nation in the world.

118. They attacked our currency and their media waited for us to beg to the IMF and the World Bank. But we did not beg. We recovered through our own effort, with our own money. Thus they became all the more furious. And there are signs that they are trying again to destroy our economy through their reports and writings so that foreign investors would shun Malaysia; the tourists do not come to Malaysia; our share market will tumble, our debts will increase and banks and businesses will be in critical condition. We monitor these attempts and we will develop our own strategies.

119. Foreigners and their media do not have good intentions towards us. They do not wish to change a particular Government for a fairer and more democratic one. What they wish to see is that our country experience misfortunes as what happened to certain countries where their Governments were unable to stabilise their countries, guarantee safety and recover economically. They only wish to see destruction, which befell other countries to happen to our country. They wish us to become their puppet client state.

120. It is not that they loved the opposition and wished to see them taking over the Malaysian Government. They only used the opposition as a tool to achieve their evil intentions. If there are certain people that they wish to promote to mobilise the people and influence the world into believing the bad practices of the Government which they detest, then the seemingly misfortune of that person will be capitalised. Seemingly, the mistreatment to this particular person is proof of how undemocratic and inhumane a certain country is. But when thousands of people in Palestine, Bosnia, Kosovo are brutally killed, they did not blame the Israelis or the Serbs. In their own country, injustice is so very obvious because racial sentiments of the white and their courts are always biased. This however did not cause their media to accuse them of being unfair and unjust.

121. They claim that to protest and demonstrate is a basic human right and democratic. But when this happens in their own country, they beat, shoot and arrest these fighters who uphold these rights. They do not act as they preach. They are about the same. This is the pot calling the kettle black.

122. The Malays should not allow themselves to be deceived by foreigners. Do not become the tool of foreigners to damage our own country. Do not betray our nation and religion. Don't be traitors. Do not forget the history of suppression by the same colonisers.

123. We acknowledge that our country and Government are not infallible and free from defects. As a free and sovereign nation, we should resolve our problems in our own way. Although the process of democracy cannot guarantee everything is good, it can still be used to help overcome problems among ourselves and within our country. Do not easily seek outside help.

124. The Malays need to think wisely. Do not allow our emotions to get the better of us. Do not allow hatred to influence our stand. Do not be inclined to listen to slander because the al-Quran clearly states that to 'slander' is more dangerous than to kill as stated in the surah Al-Baqarah,

verse 191, which means: "To slander is even more dangerous than the effect of killing" To slander is to commit a major sin, far greater than the sin of killing. Those who help to slander also commit the crime. Have fear in God, fear Allah s.w.t. Avoid slandering, do not spread such slander and do not believe those who slander. According to surah Al- Hujuurat, verse 6, which means: "I ye who believe! If a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth, lest ye harm people unwittingly, and afterwards become full of repentance for what ye have done"

125. Make your own correct evaluation on whatever allegations. Aren't almost all the allegations against the Government baseless? The Muda Irrigation Scheme is said to "torture" the soil, the Penang bridge was a waste, the NEP only helped the Government's cronies, the Proton car project will fail, privatisation did not help develop the nation, capital controls could not possibly help to revive the economy and many other allegations, all of which were unfounded. Likewise, the allegation that Dr. Mahathir ignored the voice of the grass roots, does not believe in religion and uses the services of `bomohs' (mediums), does not perform

the `Subuh' prayers -- all these are slander.

126. Please get the proof and concrete evidence regarding these allegations and on these and other projects and Government policies. Didn't the NEP provide higher education opportunities to thousands of Malay children including those of PAS members, such that today their pay is many times more or double that of their parents? Isn't Proton a success such that three quarters of the cars on the road are Proton cars, and those who earlier could not afford a car are now driving a Proton? Did the world not acknowledge that today Malaysia's capital control has succeeded to revive the Malaysian economy?

127. Why do immigrants risk their lives to come to Malaysia? Would they come if their countries are better, with much more employment opportunities?

128. Is Malaysia not an Islamic nation? How many countries with 40 percent of their population who are believers of other religions, are able to accept Islam as the official religion? What criteria should we use before a nation can be regarded as an Islamic nation? Please state clearly. Does it mean that only after `Hudud' laws are implemented that this group will accept this Government as not an infidel Government, non-secular? If PAS wishes to have an Islamic Government, will it reject parties like the DAP, non- Malays and non Islamic Keadilan members who are now their friends.

129. According to PAS leaders, PAS doesn't want to cheat the Chinese. But PAS is prepared to cheat the Malays by saying that to join PAS is to become a Muslim, vote for PAS and you get to go to heaven, praying with UMNO imams is not legitimate, slaughtering (of animals) by UMNO is forbidden (haram) and many more. Now tell me what sort of Government that does not follow the UMNO-led Government which is said to be infidels, that PAS wishes to set up? Is that Government democratic if everything must be referred to the Council of 'Ulama', who actually are not elected by the people? Does PAS plan to implement the 'Hudud' laws on non Muslims? Will PAS abolish the civil courts and have only the 'Syariah' courts for all crimes, including sodomy and rape? PAS should state clearly and in-depth the type of Government regarded by PAS as non-infidels and non-secular, which it wants to set up in Malaysia. PAS now knows how to write banners in Chinese. So please prepare a national constitution, which is planned by PAS in Chinese if PAS does not intend to cheat the Chinese as they do to the Malays. Put in writing the type of Government PAS plans to set up with DAP and Suqei who are close friends of PAS.

130. PAS has promised a pig farm for the Chinese in Terengganu and Malay Reserve land in Kelantan for Chinese schools. Please provide information on these two promises. Why is it that while Malays from other states are not allowed to acquire land in Kelantan, yet the Chinese are given such land?

131. The world has acknowledged Malaysia as a Muslim nation and many other Islamic Governments regard Malaysia the best model nation for them. Islamic nations and Islamic institutions give all kinds of recognition to Malaysia because they are awed by its development and the development of Islam in Malaysia. More than a hundred Islamic and non-Islamic nations send their students to study at the Islamic International University Malaysia. But in Malaysia there are Muslims who allege that Malaysia is a non-Islamic nation and its Government infidel and secular.

132. We wish to know which Islamic country in the world that PAS will accept as an Islamic nation. If the implementation of the 'Hudud' laws is the criteria used by PAS to accept an Islamic nation, then show us which country in this age really implements the 'Hudud' laws? As far as we can verify, no country has implemented the 'Hudud' law, i.e. from court proceedings till the implementation of the 'Hudud'. This does not mean they have rejected the religious tenets but it is because the society today differs from that of the Prophet's time. Nobody who is free from big sins are willing to give evidence as a witness. Nevertheless, crimes are still

committed and judgement must be made. Does this contradict with Islam? Please clarify.

133. We have become independent since 43 years and the world has acknowledged our success and development. Per capita income has increased from USD 300 per annum before Independence to USD 4,000 currently. The whole country, and not only in the cities, has electricity and water, mosques, clinics, hospitals, schools, roads, tarred roads in the villages. Not only are locals employed but two million foreigners are given employment opportunities in this country. There is no shortage of food or clothing. Even the poor are provided with comfortable houses.

134. Please consider the enormous benefits that we have obtained from this blessed country. And think how all these are possible. They do not come easily. It is through the Government's efforts. A Government chosen by the people, a Government led by UMNO, will continue to preserve and protect the rights of Malays in addition to protecting the rights of other races. We enlarge the national economic cake and from this we distribute equitably among all the races.

135. The only worrying thing is the achievement of Malays. They are too complacent, too confident that there will be somebody who will save them, help them. Many of them are confident that regardless of whichever Government, it will help them. They are confident their political power will remain and ensure that they will be powerful forever.

136. As a result, why do they have to make an effort? They are hard working, they control all the knowledge and skills such that they do not have to rely on quotas, or assistance, discrimination, Malay rights. We must be stupid if we can obtain something easily and freely, yet choose to make an effort to do things ourselves, to buy with our own money.

137. We need not be grateful to those who help us, who give things to us, because what we get is actually ours. We have a right to bite the hand that feeds us because there is a 'Tok Guru' who teaches us to be ungrateful.

138. The Malays are not stupid, not unwise, not unintelligent. They are at par with other races. What others can do, so too, can the Malays. But if we are not prepared to work, then it is impossible for us to expect results.

139. We have to make an effort, be hard working, strive hard to seek knowledge and all skills, hold strongly to good values and reject all sins and practise the good deeds to improve our performance. We can. Malays can. God has given to us what he

has given to others and other advanced races in the world. God has determined that when humans perform a task repeatedly, he will be smart and skilful. Beyond that, we are clueless. Our descendants will inherit such wisdom and skills. If the Malay race is prepared to work hard and not be easily distracted from whatever they are learning, God willing, they will achieve whatever is required both for this world and the life hereafter.

140. But a start must be made. A start begins with discarding the belief that we will be safe no matter what Government in power will assist us. Think of the possibility that we may not be protected and that we need to be independent, stand on our own feet. Those who are usually bed-ridden find it difficult because they have weak legs and are headache -- prone. If we want to be independent, we must stand on our feet, not rely on others and go begging. If possible, do not accept help. If you accept, then reciprocate accordingly. This is definitely more dignified than being ungrateful.

141. Malays who do not rely on their special rights, who work very hard, are patient, do not wish to get rich quickly, doing things the legitimate way will become Malaysians who are resilient and successful. A Malay society which is made up of such individuals will become more secure and be able to compete successfully with anybody else, in whatever circumstances.

142. Soon, when globalisation becomes a reality the Malays will no longer be able to hide behind their special rights, behind NEP, behind their borders. When the walls of the nation are dismantled by foreigners, all policies that protect the special rights of Malays as the sons of the soil, will be challenged. Democracy, equal rights, meritocracy, human rights will be used to destroy the special rights of the Malays. But there will be Malays who will betray and support such foreigners' attacks on the Malays. Perhaps these Malays will be ashamed but it is more possible that they will try to pretend, to be praised by their masters. Many Malays will flatter foreigners, many want to be praised and appear progressive and worldly. These people are worse than the foreigners. Even today we can detect these idiots.

143. We are not convinced we can defend ourselves, maintain our rights if we do not have the strength to be self-reliant, cannot live unless spoon-fed by others. Chances are we will only remain a name in history. The Malays could never vanish from this earth, so said Hang Tuah. We can repeat these magic words, we can discuss, we can use this as a theme for our seminars. But if the Malays are not prepared to work hard, not prepared to seek knowledge and wisdom in this age, we can

still disappear or become slaves like we were in the colonial days and this is obvious because the Malays are now disunited, have rejected unity because many have become greedy as a race, and even religion is no longer regarded as important as much as the power struggle by parties and by certain individuals.

144. Come on Malays, have you forgotten?