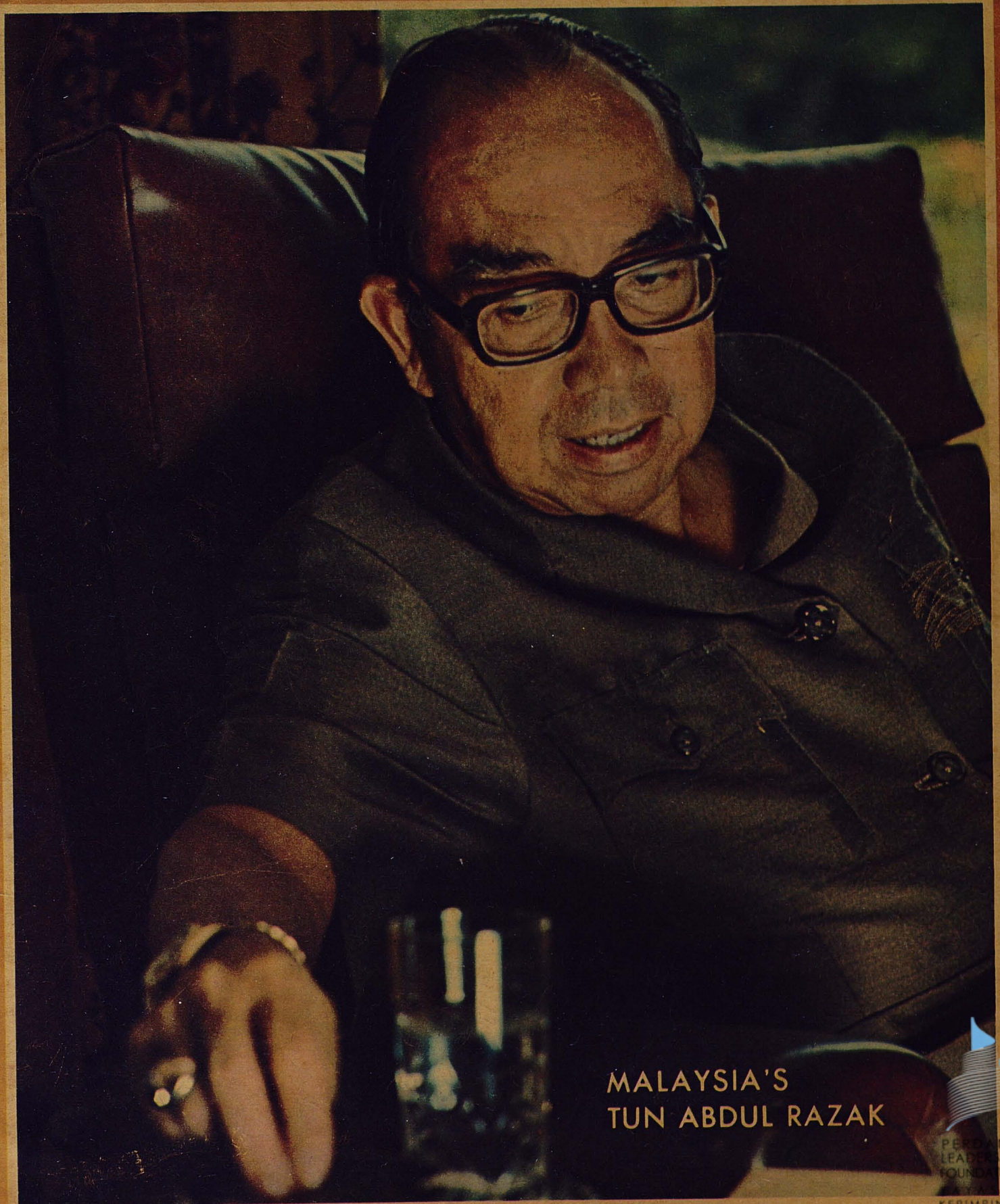


#112098

the asia magazine

Distributed weekly with the following Sunday newspapers in Asia: The Manila Times, The Sunday Times of Malaysia and Singapore, The Bangkok Post, The Hongkong Standard, The Korea Times, The Borneo Bulletin, The China Post, The Djakarta Times, The Saigon Post □□□□ October 10, 1971.



MALAYSIA'S
TUN ABDUL RAZAK

PERDANA
LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION
PERDANA
KEPIMPINAN
PERDANA

EDITOR

R.V. Pandit

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

John Gale

Dom Moraes

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Ivor Smullen

EDITORIAL RESEARCH

Erika Petigura

LAYOUT

Bessie Lee Pui Ling

STAFF PHOTOGRAPHERS

Dick Baldovino; Ashvin Gatha;

Henry Mok; Takeshi Takahara

PRODUCTION DIRECTOR

Toshio Suzuki

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

JOSE LUNA CASTRO

The Manila Times

LEE SIEW YEE

The Straits Times

THEH CHONGKHADIKIJ

The Bangkok Post

FRED T.T. AW

The Hongkong Standard

CHANG KEY YOUNG

The Korea Times

J.R. CALVER

The Borneo Bulletin

NANCY YU-HUANG

The China Post

ZEIN EFFENDI S.H.

The Djakarta Times

BUI PHUNG THE

The Saigon Post

Printed by Toppan Printing Co. Ltd.
Tokyo, Japan

Published by Asia Magazines, Ltd.,
31, Queen's Road, C., Hong Kong.
Telephone: H-221081-4. Cables:
ASIAMAGZIN HONG KONG.

Copyright © 1971 by Asia Magazines, Ltd. Reproduction in any form prohibited unless permitted in writing by the Publisher.



COVER: Tun Razak, Prime Minister of Malaysia, is known as an uncommunicative man, but also as an uncommonly able one. And during an exclusive interview in Kuala Lumpur with R. V. Pandit and Dom Moraes, he did not prove all that uncommunicative. Photo by Henry Mok.

PHOTO CREDITS: Pages 3-11, Henry Mok; 14-21, U.S. Department of War, UPI, and 20th Century Fox; 24-25, Bill Hersey; 26-27, D. Baldovino; 28-29, H. Klutmeier, LIFE Magazine.

Sun Tan
By Collette



PUBLISHER'S COLUMN

"I HAVE SIXTEEN BROTHERS and sisters."

"Are all of them living?"
"Yes, all of them are living; my sisters are all married; and my brothers are in employment or in private business."

"Sir, one does not hear of your brothers or sisters or relatives... I mean there are no accusations of nepotism, no scandals. How much does your poorest brother make?"
"Oh, a few hundred dollars per month, none of us are really rich."

In a continent plagued with corruption, nepotism, favouritism and political pay-offs to relations, friends and patrons, Tun Abdul Razak's example deserves to be applauded. (Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew and his cabinet colleagues and Thanat Khoman and General Carlos Romulo, Foreign Ministers of the Kingdom of Thailand and the Republic of the Philippines respectively, also belong to this honour list).

Another unique feature about the Tun is his conduct while he was the Deputy Prime Minister: no intrigues; no scramble for power. Malaysia, as I have pointed out in this column some months ago, has the singular honour of having had a Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, who gracefully retired to make room at the top for his younger colleague and friend. It is not easy to give up power; the Tengku set a great example by relinquishing power - handing over the reins of the government to a deserving, younger man. Similarly, I have no doubt whatsoever that Tun Abdul Razak will voluntarily step down after two or three terms as Prime Minister.

"I was the Director of Operations for two years, in the Emergency, with full powers. I could do anything I liked; get up in the morning and pass any law... It is difficult to run a government when the power is so concentrated... It is difficult to see that people do their jobs... It is a good thing to have people to tell you that you are not quite right. It keeps you on your toes." That is why Tun Razak restored democracy, *à la* Malaysia, as he termed it.



A vacuum cleaner that does it all for you. With a unique Z air flow, 600 watts of power and a deluxe dust cassette with indicator that only has to be emptied 3 or 4 times a year. Model SC-3300. Loaded with convenience features form A to Z. With the emphasis on Z.



1280 AME



Tun Razak and his wife pose with four of their five sons. The smallest, when this picture was taken, was in bed.

THE QUIET LEADER

*Tun Abdul Razak, Prime Minister of Malaysia,
talks softly, but always to the point*

by DOM MORAES

BRITISH NYMPHETS in bikinis, attended by youthful but muscular beaux, cavorted at the poolside. The boys laughed loudly: the nymphets fluttered their hands and emitted the shrill, voracious cries of baby birds. Two of them were seized by their escorts and tossed into the lifeless, chemically blue water: the air filled with shrieks and spray. The mothers of these chronically lively young people sat in deck chairs in the shade. They talked to each other, read, or smiled benevolently at the activities of their children. From time to time, waiters fetched them tall drinks that clinked deliciously in frosted tumblers.

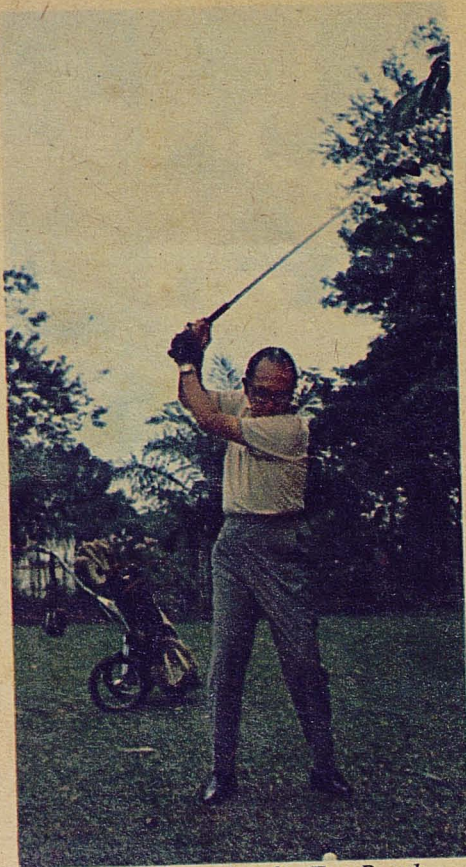
"This is still," murmured the young Malay official beside me, "a very *white club*." His voice held no echo of bitterness. He had been up at Oxford, and the

British were not the overlords of his country any more. People like himself and his two companions, all Government officers, were in charge now: he could afford his small, cynical smile as he eyed the blotched, heavy British mothers, dripping visibly in the heat, and their noisy brood. The battle for independence was over. It had been fought for him by such men as the former Malaysian Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, and his quiet successor, Tun Abdul Razak.

"The Tun is a man few people know well," said another of the officials. "When strangers meet him, they sometimes think him cold and unemotional, because he doesn't speak easily, as the Tengku did. He is rather shy, really, but he's not a cold person at all, and he's not unemotional. He has a sharp sense of

humour. But he's used to staying in the shadows: he did most of the work even when the Tengku was Prime Minister, but he doesn't talk about it. I hope he will talk to you. The difficulty is not only that he's shy but that he's usually very tired. He works too hard. As you know, to be in his position is no holiday."

THE HOUSE in which Tun Razak lives is close to his office. Broad lawns surround it. He has occupied it for 11 years, so that it has rather more personal character than most official residences. A glass case hangs in the porch outside his reception room: it is filled with the numerous decorations he has received, a colourful display of ribbons and medals. Opposite the decorations, under the stairs, is an array of walking sticks.



Golf in the garden for Tun Razak.

The Tun collects them. They include a stick purchased in the U.S., which can act as a container for beverage: useful for the habitual walker who is also an occasional drinker.

The Tun himself awaited us in the reception room, a short man with a limp handshake. His gentle, intelligent face had a tired look about it. He sighed, and sat down in a brown leather armchair. "My favourite chair," he said. The room was spacious and handsome, with orange sofas and flowers on the tables. At the far end were portraits of the Tun and his wife. On the wall beside us, a glass cabinet was filled with numerous and varied specimens of the Malay *kris*. The Tun pointed to one. "That one," he said in his soft, nearly inaudible voice, "is the hereditary *kris* of my family."

"We have been chieftains in Pahang for 11 generations now. The custom is that when my father died, I took over the *kris* and handed it over to the Sultan. If he gave it back to me, I got the title. The same if I die. My son will have to hand over the *kris*, and if the Sultan returns it to him, he will get the title. But by this time, it's our right. The *kris* has been in my family all these years, we have been Chief Advisers to the Sultan all these years. It doesn't mean that we are all that prosperous. I was born in a village called Pulau Keladi, about a mile away from a small town called Pekan in Pahang."

The Tun pauses often between sentences. His style of speech is slow and meditative: he tends to repeat phrases, almost to himself. "A small town called Pekan," he said. "Yes. In those days, people commonly led a poor life, looking for subsistence. Since I came from the family of the chieftain of the area, I was treated a little differently from other children, but not much. We had nothing special: life was hard for everybody. My father was then in the Civil Service. After my sister was born, my grandparents took me away, and I lived with them all the rest of my childhood, in a village across the river from Pulau Keladi."

He passed a hand tiredly across his face. "I was born in 1922. I started to attend the Malay school in 1928. I remember I used to get a cent a day. Truthfully, if I didn't get that cent, I went hungry. A cent a day," he repeated, with a gruff little laugh. He looked up at the *kris* in the cabinet. "But even then I felt I belonged to a family which was destined to lead the people, I felt I had a duty, when I grew up, to serve the people. As I said, at that time my father was in the Civil Service. This was rare then, to be in the Civil Service under the British, and my main ambition was to follow his footsteps, to be a Civil Servant."

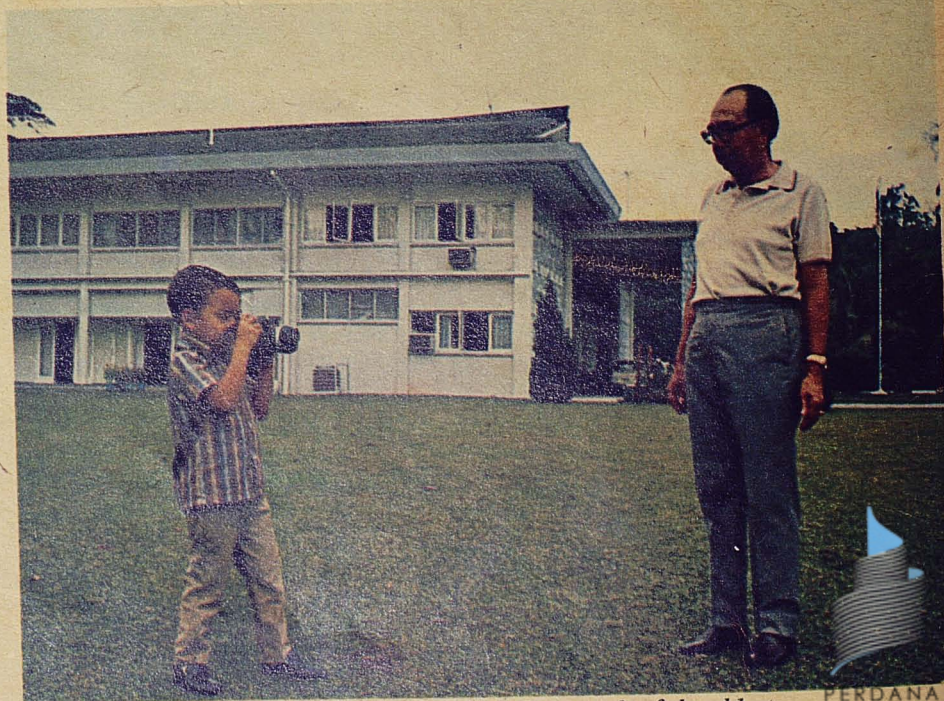
"The thought came to me when I was 10 years old, how badly we were treated by the British. We had the coronation of the present Sultan in 1932. I was 10 years old. They built a very big hall, and all the chiefs including my father, all nicely dressed, all stood in the hall, and the British Governor and the Residents were there. Everyone else was standing: but

they sat down. That picture has always stuck in my mind. The British put us on a stage like *prima donnas*, but with no part to play. This was our country, but they sat there and ruled it, and all that we could do was to stand by and watch. I remember that occasion very well.

"When I was 12, I was sent to the Malay College. It was supposed to be the Eton of Malaya, where the Sultans and the chiefs were educated. I finished early. I passed all my exams, in four and a half years I passed my School Certificate, and in 1939 I joined the Civil Service. Then I went to Raffles College. I passed my first year, then of course the war came. It changed our lives. We saw the British driven away by the Japanese. The Japanese were the same Asian people as us, physically they were even smaller, so we thought, 'If they can defeat the British, we should be able to do it too. After all, this is our place.'"

THE TUN has a very low voice anyway, but for some minutes past it had been increasingly difficult to hear him because of a succession of childish shrieks nearby. At this point a small boy, clearly the source of all the sound, came hurtling into the room, pulled up, stared at us, decided we did not warrant investigation, and hurtled out once more. "My youngest," said the Tun, with a shy pride. "I have five sons. The two eldest, who are 18 and 16, returned recently from school in England. All those records you see lying around," he waved a hand across the room, "belong to them. All boys now seem to like pop music."

I asked him if he had been fond of



The youngest Razak takes a photograph of the eldest.

PERDANA LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION YAYASAN PERDANA

Los Angeles Loves Us

Los Angeles is a city of highways. People zip to work. Zip home. Zip to the country. Zip downtown. And a lot of them zip in Toyota safety. Power. Economy. And comfort. Because a Toyota is backed by worldwide research, modern manufacturing methods and computer-quick after sales service. And Toyota international love.



TOYOTA

If you are in Hollywood, Los Angeles, U.S.A., the man to see is Jack Everroad, your Toyota dealer. He can tell you what highway testing we do to prove Toyota power superiority. (See small photo.) Result? Your Toyota is one of the safest cars built. For high-speed highway driving today.

music as a boy, "Oh, no. There was no time. I was telling you about when the Japanese came. . . They made all sorts of promises which they never kept. They never administered the country properly. Instead, they committed atrocities. People were bullied and tortured. I worked for the Japanese. My father was a Civil Servant. So he had to serve them, as a District Officer. I helped him as his interpreter. But I felt that we should liberate the country. Towards the end of 1944, we came into contact with some British troops who were parachuted into our area.

"It was very risky. If the Japanese had come to know, we would have been finished. They became suspicious, but they were unpopular already, and nobody would provide them with any information. We formed a resistance battalion, and I was supposed to be Company Commander. The idea was that we should go to the jungle and fight. But, fortunately or unfortunately for me, the war ended, and so we never had to fight. And the British came back. But I had seen them conquered by the Japanese, and that filled my mind with the idea that they were not invincible, not invulnerable, that we could make them hand over power to us."

In 1947, the Tun went to London as a student. "I got a scholarship. I was the first student from our state to be sent for further studies — after 70 years of British rule! Even then it was with great difficulty. I wanted to go to University, but they said there were no places. So I said, 'Send me to the Bar.' Then they said I must take my Latin. Three months I studied Latin, and I passed in October 1947. Then I went to the University of London and asked if they had a vacancy. They said yes, but the Government said no. They said it was too late now. That really made me furious. I thought 'The British must leave.'"

He paused. He had seemed tired when we started but now, recalling his youth, he seemed more animated than before. "The Labour Party was in power. They were in favour of handing over power to the colonies. So I joined the Labour Party. Also we from Malaya had our own student unions. There was the Malay Society. It was there that I first met Tengku Abdul Rahman. He was the President. As soon as I met him, he asked me to be the Secretary. That was the first time we worked together. We thought and talked about the national movement. When he left England, I took over as President of the Union."

The Tun coughed, fitted a cigarette into a holder, and lit it. "There was an-

other Union, for the non-Malays, called the Malayan Students' Union. I took part in that too. I started a hockey team for all the Malayan students, and then I started the Malayan Forum, where all our students could meet and discuss matters of common interest. Yes, I did a lot of things while I was studying Law, except study. I didn't do more than three hours study a day. I got through my Law in 18 months. For the next 18 months I had nothing to do except eat my dinners. Life was hard in England then, after the war, but not bad."

ENGLAND at that time was full of colonial students who were later to be the leaders of their newly independent countries. "Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie was there, and so was the present Attorney General. There were others who are now in the Civil Service and the Foreign Service. The Secretary General in the Foreign Ministry was there too. We met the Indian students, they had already had their independence, the Burmese and Thai students, the Ceylonese, students from many African nations . . . At that time there was nothing but talk of Independence. Independence was the order of the day.

"I had started to become involved in politics before I left for England. Just after the war we had had this trouble with the British. They decided to take away the power of the Sultans and the special position of the Malays. My father became President of the Malay Association of Pahang, and I was the senior officer. So my political involvement started there. My father died in April 1950, so I had to return to Malaya. I had finished my exams, and he'd left a big family, 16 of us, nine brothers and seven sisters. Now all my sisters are married to Government servants, and my brothers are small businessmen.

"I didn't have money, and I had a contract to serve the Government. But the Sultan handed me the *kris* — he made me chief — and he wanted me to serve in the state. I became Assistant State Secretary for a while. Then, after six months, I became State Secretary of Pahang. I was the juniormost officer in the Civil Service in the state, but the Sultan gave me the seniormost post. But I was still involved in politics. About four or five months after I returned from London, they elected me as the leader of UMNO Youth. I told the Sultan, 'I'm prepared to serve the state, but I also want to serve the country.'

"He didn't mind. So I used to do my office work two or three days a week, the rest of the time I spent on politics, going

Tun Abdul



By R. V. Pandit

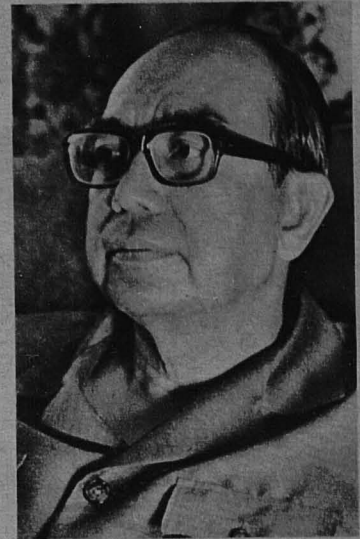
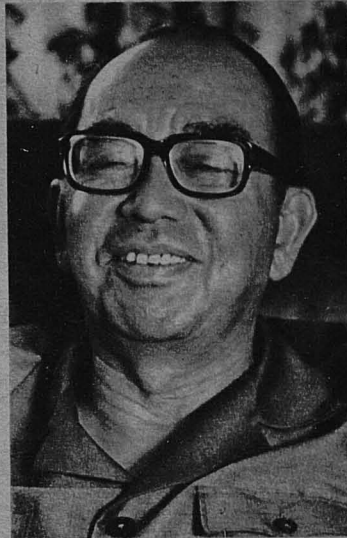
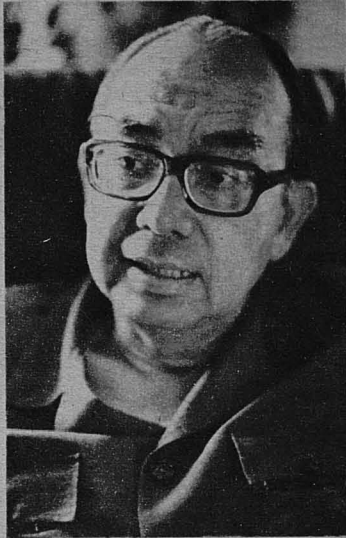
TUN ABDUL RAZAK is an ideal administrator. Not only is he an efficient man, deeply involved in the administrative machinery of Malaysia, but he has a delicate and sensitive feel for the country in whose liberation he played so important a part. Through the long, leisurely years of Tengku Abdul Rahman's Prime Ministership, the Tun, nominally the Tengku's deputy, shouldered much of the burden of rule. He played a vital role in the forming of the Federation, in facing up to Sukarno's Confrontation, in adjusting to the aftermath of the split with Singapore, in solving the internal security problem, and in fighting racial unrest. His nationalist instincts burned steadily throughout all this, as exemplified by his pet interest, a passionate interest: national development. All this established him as one of the most able administrators in Southeast Asia. Tun Razak, however, is basically a political man, a party man whose strength lies in the deep roots he has in the villages of Malaysia.

In a six-hour interview with The Asia Magazine recently, the Malaysian Prime Minister answered, clearly and frankly, an enormous number of questions on national and international political affairs. His answers revealed that he is now more than an administrator: he has become a statesman. We print here some of the questions and answers that emerged from our interview with Tun Razak, the longest interview that the Malaysian Prime Minister has ever granted.

LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION

YAYASAN
LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION

Razak: A Statesman Emerges



R.V. Pandit: Sir, I believe you have an unemployment rate of something like 7%. Since Malaysia's credit standing in the monetary world is very good and you can easily raise funds for development, do you think a massive infusion of capital could further accelerate the country's growth to alleviate this problem?

The Prime Minister: I do not think so. I do not think we can do that for the next five years.

RVP: Is trained personnel one of your problems?

PM: Yes, in a way yes. Manpower is the greatest problem — not money. You have got to train these people and also you've got to change their attitudes to restructure society; if we are to turn life in the rural areas into modern life, new concept from the existing economy into industrial economy, then we have really got to change their attitude and that will take time. We cannot rush into it.

RVP: Do you think sufficient numbers of your people take advantage of the job training opportunities that are offered to them?

PM: This is one of the problems that over the years has got to be sorted out. People have been told that there is this opening and they have got to be brought in to take this opportunity, to take advantage of the opportunities offered to them. That's why it is not possible to go faster than we are doing now.

FLEXIBILITY ON LANGUAGE

RVP: Sir, I realise that every country must have a national language and you must encourage the Malay language in Malaysia. But is the future development of your language going to be on purely classical lines or will it be a

practical medium, using English words which are now so commonly understood in Malaysia?

PM: English is a commercial language and we use English words; we will continue to mix English words with Malay to make the language as simple to understand as possible. This applies particularly in teaching of technical subjects. Like the Indonesians, we also use words like Organisasi for organisation, Institut for institution, Confrontasi for confrontation . . . all this is very common now. Many English words come in our conversation.

THE PARTY IS THE BASE

RVP: How much time do you devote to Party work, national affairs, international relations and so on?

PM: Very difficult to say. The Party is very important. You have got to live up to the Party — that is your base. Foreign affairs, nothing very much. We do not have any problems with any country; we've just to keep track of things. We cannot influence events very much. Our main task here is to formulate policy that we think is practical.

NO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE

RVP: Sir, do you think that the outside powers play a disproportionately large role in the affairs of our region?

PM: In the past, yes, that is what we are trying to avoid. We are trying to get them to keep away from this region in the sense that they should not unduly influence affairs here. They can have trade but for the rest they should leave the countries in this region to lead their way of life. To do things on their own. This is our idea really of a neutrality for South East Asia. As I explained to you, from ex-

perience, we cannot resolve all of the problems in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia without bringing in the big powers. So what we would like for the future is that the countries in this region be allowed to resolve their problems in their own way without influence from outside. Outside powers, the big powers, can trade but that is about all.

RVP: But some of these problems have been created by them. Vietnam was created by the Americans.

PM: It is true. That is the trouble. That is why we want this area to be a peaceful area and to be peaceful it must be free of the big power influence.

RVP: But do you not think they should solve the mess that they have made?

PM: They cannot solve it unless they get out of it. They cannot solve it in the sense that if they try to solve it they cannot do it alone. They will have to bring in China and Russia into consultation. All this can be avoided if they leave this area to the people in this area so that we can solve our problems.

RVP: While the United States is trying to disengage, this treaty of friendship between India and the Soviet Union — do you think this is a Soviet intrusion in our region?

PM: Well, this is again an attempt by the big powers to come into this region. This is contrary to our own concept. We do not like pacts, once you have pacts then you have groupings.

REGIONAL GROUPINGS

RVP: Sir, during the last 15 years there have been many regional groupings of South East Asian countries. There has been ECAFE, SEATO, ASPAC, ASEAN and so on. Do you

(Continued on the following page)

“... we have stated in the past and we say quite clearly now that our policy is that there is one China. But the people of Taiwan should be given the right to start a new nation; that is our considered policy. Now we have got to work out a formula following this policy.”

(Continued from the previous page)

think anything really comes out of these groupings?

PM: I think ASEAN yes, because it comprises of countries in this region which are neighbours: Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, and Singapore. ASPAC is not so good, it is just a consultative body but as I said earlier ASEAN is something more than that. There is the desire among these countries to try and get together and solve common problems, to try and work together in fields where we can work together for mutual advantage and common interests.

RVP: Sir, but since human nature is what it is and since it is this human nature that influences policies of countries, don't you think that unless these countries are equally prosperous, most of these groupings will tend to be uneven and may not be fruitful?

PM: Yes, that is fair enough. The five countries in ASEAN are all of equal status in the sense that they are all developing; they may have different problems, like Singapore has different problems, but still they are developing countries and have one very important thing in common and this is they belong to this region and their survival depends on their ability to live together peacefully and in friendship and co-operation.

RVP: But there has been very little evidence of such co-operation in the past. They have banded together when threatened by outside threats and things like that, but otherwise there has not been much co-operation.

PM: This is one of the things that we intend to tackle. In fact, I have suggested that countries with common interests, like Thailand, ourselves and Indonesia, should stick together and try and work together for economic developments like in the field of manufactured goods; certain goods we manufacture, other goods Thailand will manufacture and still other goods Indonesia should manufacture. This will be the beginning of an Asian Common Market.

BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS

RVP: Yes, exactly, but don't you think, Sir, much could be achieved by bilateral deals instead of regional groupings?

PM: Yes, I agree with you. This is something we are working on. Trade and even just friendly relations are better served by bilateral talks because the more countries you bring in, the more problems they bring. Countries like Thailand, ourselves and Indonesia, we have common problems and if we

agree by bilateral talks then we could try and enlarge this agreement which will get us somewhere but if you try and talk to five or six countries then you get problems, like the Common Market is now facing. Yes, this is what we intend to do. Your view coincides with mine exactly and this is what we have been trying to do, first with Thailand and then with Indonesia, because we have common problems. They are producing the same goods as we do, trying to industrialise the way we do, and the same with Thailand.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

RVP: Sir, what will be your Governments' attitude at the United Nations General Assembly on the question of Communist China's admission?

PM: Well, we have already voted for their admission last year. Our view is that there is only one China — that China's seat should be given to the People's Republic of China. The question of Taiwan is a separate issue; Taiwan is a separate entity and if she wants to she should be allowed independent membership of the UN. This is the view we have but this will largely depend on the fate of the Albanian Resolution that will be moved. I do not think it will be right to expel Taiwan... we have stated in the past and we say quite clearly now that our policy is that there is one China. But the people of Taiwan should be given the right to start a new nation; that is our considered policy. Now we have got to work out a formula following this policy.

RVP: Once the People's Republic of China is admitted to the UN, will your country, Sir, take steps to establish diplomatic relations with Peking?

PM: That is another matter; that is a separate issue.

RVP: Will your attitude depend on the relations of the Chinese Communists with Communists on your borders?

PM: Well, it will be based on the principle that we have agreed upon with other countries like Russia. Russia has agreed to peaceful co-existence and non-interference into our affairs. We will have to request China to do the same; that is quite natural.

RVP: If the People's Republic of China gives such an undertaking, would you accept it on its face value?

PM: We have to.

MSA — CLASH OF INTERESTS

RVP: Sir, I want to ask you a question about the Malaysia-Singapore airlines. MSA was looked upon internationally as a very successful example of regional co-operation. When the split was an-

nounced, was there any way of saving the great joint venture?

PM: No. Because there was conflict of interests — Singapore was more interested in an international airline, in international routes, but we are more interested in a domestic airline and therefore the interests clashed. So unless we separated there were bound to be difficulties. We are not so interested in making profits; we are interested in providing service, if we make a profit well and good but we must provide service if we are to get round the country. You see we have to have a service to the East Coast, to Kota Bharu, Kelantan and East Malaysia and to some small towns, otherwise how can we bring people around and how can we encourage tourism?

RVP: Sir, if the domestic routes on your proposed new Malaysian airline are not profitable, will you subsidise the operations?

PM: Yes. Service to our people comes first.

NO RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS

RVP: Sir, in this era of the technological age where you yourself put so much emphasis on economic development and you repeatedly stress that economic co-operation is the key to fulfilment of the promises that you have made to your people, what is your view of international or regional groupings based on religion?

PM: Religion? Oh, I think that will not work. I do not think we should do that; we should have religious groupings in order to co-operate on religious matters, like the administration of Islamic religious affairs and interpretation of the Koran in a correct way. That's all... We want to work together on research into interpretation of religion, Islam as a religion for all time, and make it a vehicle of progress instead of a hindrance to progress.

LIBERAL EDUCATION

RVP: I am pleased to hear that from you because for the last so many years Malaysia has kept out of groupings of this kind, and this I think contributed to the excellent international image of your country and your former Prime Minister. On another aspect, may I, Sir, ask you to explain how the Moslems in this country open to be so liberal and not in any way fanatical?

PM: I think it is education, the liberal, the British liberal education, and they are practical too. Also the leadership. It is the practical leadership that has helped.



THE UNPACKAGED HOLIDAYS.

If you think a packaged holiday means staying in a cheap hotel and being marched around in a group, think of these as "unpacked" holidays. Because the money you save is not at the expense of quality or your dignity.

When you go on a Thai International Royal Orchid Holiday, we'll take care of all the tiresome details like air

tickets, hotel reservations, transfers and so on. We'll also make sure there's a tour or two you can take. But we'll never tell you what to do or who to do it with. You'll have all the time you need to do your own thing, because that's what a holiday is all about.

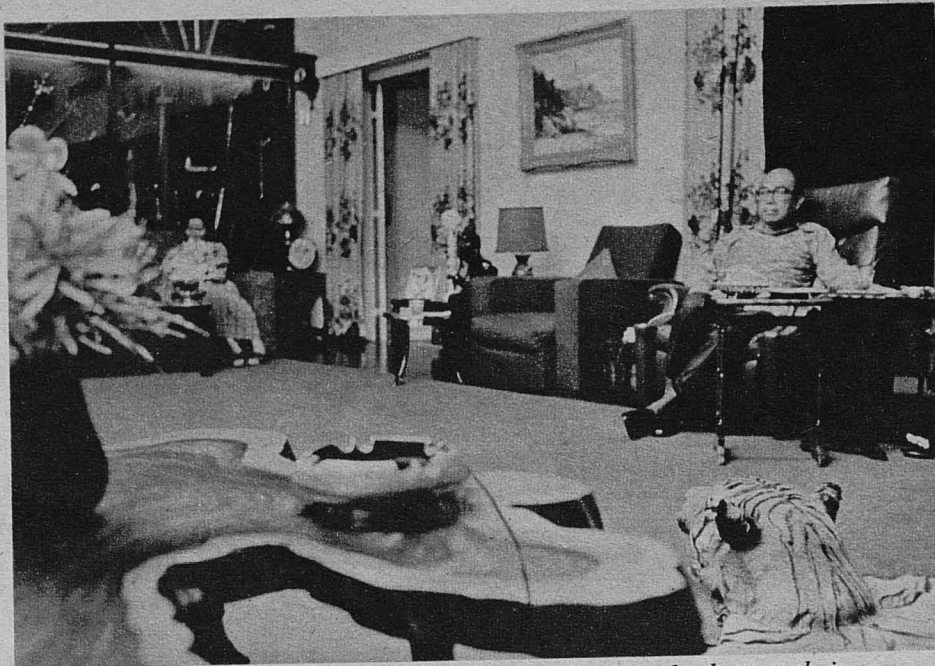
See your travel agent or Thai International for the 1971 Royal Orchid

Holiday booklet that gives full details on all 37 holidays. And see how little it costs to see so much of the world's most fascinating vacationlands.



THAI INTERNATIONAL

PERDANA
FOUNDATION
YAYASAN
KEPIMPINAN
PERDANA



Tun Razak finds a moment to relax in his favourite leather armchair.

around, I was pretty young then, and when you're young you can stay out late and not worry. The British didn't like it, but there wasn't much they could do about it. I was close to the Sultan, and I had followers in the state. I continued to work in politics. In the 1955 election, when we got 51 or 52 seats, we knew that we had won. We knew that the British would leave. They told us that they would be leaving. When we won the election, they knew they couldn't stay."

There was a pleasant interruption at this point. Toh Puan Rahah, a shy, pretty woman, drifted in, accompanied by her youngest son, the child we had seen earlier. She settled in a chair, while the little boy made quick forays of inspection towards us. "I don't really," said the Tun in reply to a question, "have much time to spend with the children. It is a pity." A moment later, the boy lost his shoe. A series of roars, remarkable in their volume when one considered how small their source was, filled the room, and the roarer retired to Toh Puan Rahah's lap. "You see what I mean," said the Tun, a little sadly.

WHEN HIS SON had been carried away and comforted, he continued slowly, "The British returned power to the Sultans, and they agreed to have a Chief Minister for each state. Meanwhile the Tengku asked me to come into his government. The power was in the hands of the local people, but the British still ruled at the Centre. So, well, I had to leave Pahang after four years as State Secretary. I had to beg the Sultan to let me leave the Civil Service. He asked me why I wanted to leave, because I could be Chief Minister of the state, whether appointed or elected, for

the rest of my life. So I told him why.

"I told him, 'Sir, I have to serve the country. We've got to control the centre. We can't run the country otherwise.'" He agreed. He was always very kind to me. I went to the Centre and became Minister of Education. That was the most controversial portfolio at that time. There were few schools and many languages, there was no educational policy, and at first I really had a rough time. But I enjoyed it. I got people to agree to a national policy of education which is still in effect today. And then in 1957 we achieved Independence, and the Tengku made me Deputy Prime Minister.

"I was then made Minister of Defence and Internal Security. That was for the purpose of ending the emergency. I concentrated on fighting the Communists for two years, and we were able to defeat them. On July 16th, 1960, the emergency ended. As soon as that happened I started the Ministry of National and Rural Development. I thought, having won the war, we must now win the peace. I enjoyed that Ministry very much — travelling round the country, seeing for myself. That's really my element. It's my real ambition in life: to help improve conditions in the villages, since I know from experience how hard life is there.

"I am happy that the Ministry is a success. I ran it myself for 10 years. People responded well, but of course in 10 years you couldn't do everything you wanted to. We expanded the educational facilities. We provided people with the minimum necessities, like roads, houses, water supplies. But when you educate them and provide them with all this, they want more. These educated people — we are churning them out in thousands — na-

turally want better employment. This is the problem we face now. When you change a society, a way of life, you are solving old problems. But you're also creating new ones."

WE STROLLED AROUND the lawn. It smelt of rain and flowers: heavy clouds, overhead, drew together, then drifted apart, much as the people of Malaysia had done in the racial riots of May 1969. "Until 1969," the Tun said, "we were obsessed with our independence. The people who fought for it with us were happy. We gave them land and work. But the children of these people: they grew up in an independent Malaysia. There is no point saying to these young people that we fought for independence. They will say, 'Right, you fought for it and now we are independent. But what will you do for us now? Will you give us employment?'"

"Now let me explain to you the problem. You see, you have this young Malay. He has been educated. He couldn't stay in his village, his father is poor, and he couldn't find work in his home place. So he comes to Kuala Lumpur to look for work. He can't find any, there isn't enough for everyone, so he walks around, he looks at the big hotels, he sees that they are owned by Chinese. So he says, 'I am poor, why should these people be rich? I am a native of this country, my forefathers opened it up.' So he feels that there is something wrong with the system, that it is unjust, and he feels angry.

"They get wrong ideas in their heads, and eventually there are enough other people like our young Malay to start an intrigue. And trouble. But I think now our people have realised that we are sincerely trying to solve this problem. We have said, 'We can't make you rich, but we can give you your rightful place in this country.' That's what we are trying to do. In 1969 I said, 'From now on, we have to face this problem squarely. We cannot sweep it under the carpet.' We've discouraged people from discussing racial matters in public: such talk tends to create a great many problems. We founded the National Unity Council.

"I am the Chairman. We discuss the problem quite frankly, but the solution has to be brought about gradually. If we can help the poor Malays, half the problem will vanish. And we are helping. We now propose to open up large rural areas. One big area in the state of Pahang — it's 2½ million acres — is an example. There I hope we can build towns, start industries, and absorb all these youths who are now unemployed. That's the main thing." He paused to light a cigarette. He is a moder-